CONFLICTS ABOUT THE HAGUE CITYSCAPES

THE MAKING OF A MODERN CITY 1860–2025

Leo M. Oorschot

TU Delft OPEN Publishing

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by

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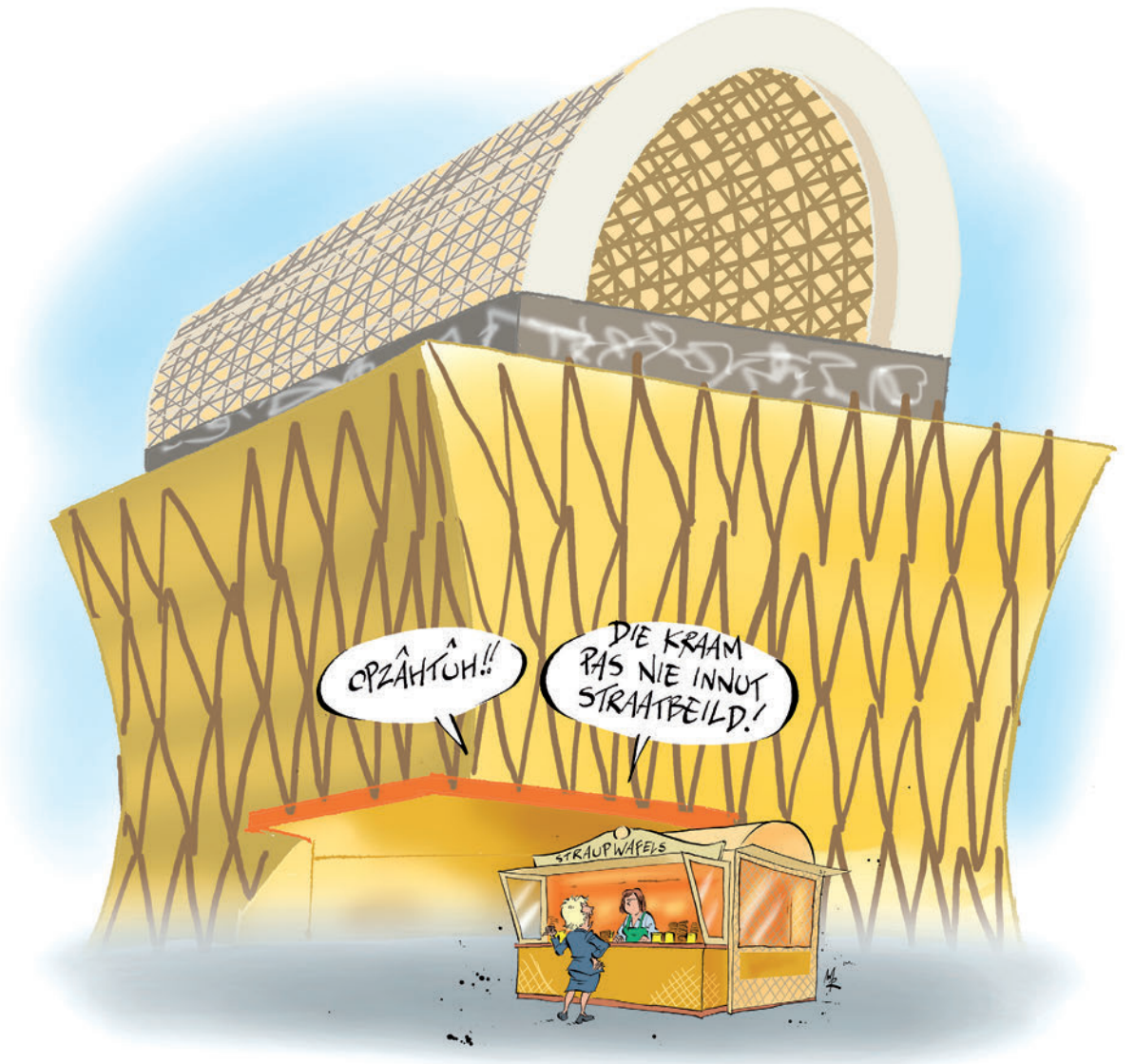

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DR ANTON PHILIPS ZAAL
Theaterrestaurant
Lucent Danstheater

1
INTRODUCTION: ARCHITECTURE IS NEVER NON-POLITICAL

“Architecture is never non-political,
it always reinforces a set of social relations,
whether within the family or between the ruler and the ruled.”
Michael Sorkin (interview by Aleksandra Wagner, 2006)

“A city is nothing more than a reflection of human relationships.
If people don’t want to be somewhere, no city will emerge there. A city is always rooted in people; it is bound to them. … Ultimately, a city is nothing more or less than a crystallized form of society. … If you understand a bit about urban planning and architecture, you can read a city’s history as you walk through it, in its streetscape. Very gradually, you see the panorama shift.”
Yap Hong Seng (interview by Tracy Metz & Geert Mak, 1992)

Left, photo of the Spuiplein by Christian van der Kooy with left the Music Theater (Van Mourik, Vermeulen) and right the Dance Theater (OMA) from the period 1987-2015. Buildings have now been demolished and replaced by Amare. Behind the theaters the two Ministery towers, now transformed and replaced by Leiden Univeristy and Amare. Copyright by Christian van der Kooy, no further use allowed.

1.1
How Politics has been Conducted in Dutch Cities Since 1851

A healthy, democratic urban landscape and an open society are characterized by a variety of cityscapes that exist side by side and succeed one another. This diversity and layering, this heterogeneity in the appearance of cities, has many causes. Industrialization, increased access to education, and the explosive growth of cities have all contributed to it. However, the main contributor to the great diversity of architecture and urban ensembles in Dutch cities was the possibility of public debate in council chambers and the media, made possible by state reforms and the introduction of the Municipalities Act in 1851. Through this law, the cityscape became the domain of public debate and conflict. Since then, municipal politics has been conducted within an overarching, coherent, positive vision of the city's future that responds to the existing situation and offers voters a new perspective.

A cityscape does not emerge spontaneously: it interacts with its environment, creating a positive response to the existing situation or to conditions elsewhere. Yet path dependency also plays a key role in the formation of cityscapes. Local, often societal, conditions call for new solutions. Politicians and interest groups respond to local issues from within their specific context—hence the path dependency.

Of course, not only politicians and administrators engage in politics and desire a certain cityscape. Numerous stakeholders are involved as well: prominent and affluent citizens, active residents' groups, civil society organizations, the national and regional governments, and professionals who shape the city daily, such as architects, urban planners, housing associations, and entrepreneurs. The cityscape as a future vision, sometimes featuring iconic cultural buildings, new urban amenities, attractive public spaces, and beautiful new neighborhoods and parks, gradually crystallizes over time into what this study refers to as the guiding theme of the 'cityscape'.

This study examines the successive and overlapping cityscapes that have emerged in The Hague between approximately 1860 and 2025. These cityscapes have, in retrospect, given the city its layered and heterogeneous appearance, marked by a wide variety of neighborhoods, urban planning approaches, and architecture.

Coherence and Lifecycle of a Cityscape

The cityscape as an idea and as the actual urban landscape are interwoven, interact with one another, influence each other, and ultimately converge into a clearly defined and architecturally distinctive urban environment accompanied by a corresponding narrative.

In any given period, the cityscape fuels the expansion of the city, its urban spaces, buildings, and architecture. It adds a new layer to the existing fabric—these layers exist side by side, at times overlapping, and typically succeeding one another, like layers of sediment in the earth. The term pattern language, coined by architects and theorists Christopher Alexander, Sara Ishikawa and Murray Silverstein (1977), can be applied to this cityscape, in which words and things are brought into meaningful relation.

The idea of a cityscape also requires time to develop and materialize. It is born, evolves, matures, and is eventually forgotten. A cityscape that once enjoyed widespread trust may, over time, lose its persuasive power; a new vision then begins to call to the city's inhabitants.

Debate and Conflict

Representational cityscapes have always existed. Monarchs and rulers had their own visions, which were expressed and enacted through paintings, engravings, literature, and city maps. Rarely, however, did these visions provoke open conflict.

With the state reforms around 1850 in the Netherlands and increased autonomy for cities—marked by the establishment of independent municipal governments, boards of aldermen, and elected city councils—the cityscapes moved to the center of the urban political arena and the press, giving rise to debates and conflicts. Furthermore, from the second half of the nineteenth century onward, The Hague's previously slow-paced urban growth began to accelerate due to population increases.

These processes contributed to a profound transformation in the city's appearance: from a relatively homogeneous image to one characterized by greater layering, fragmentation, and heterogeneity. The city shifted from a single dominant cityscape to accommodating a variety of cityscapes, coexisting and succeeding one another over time.

The Aspirational Vision at the Center

At the heart of the cityscape lies the aspirational vision—the imagined city, the city as it is desired, though often only partially realized. It is the image of the city as it appears on postcards, in brochures and municipal policy documents, on city maps, and in newspapers and magazines.

A cityscape is not the same as a city's identity or DNA. While it may align with these, it can also stand in stark contrast to them. In a given period, a particular cityscape may be strategically deployed by the media to distinguish a specific municipality and position it in relation to other cities — especially in an era of globalization in which cities increasingly compete with one another.

This is not only driven by the new possibilities enabled by the revolution in internet and communication technologies, but also by older forms of media, with their wide array of newspapers and—at the time, groundbreaking—the ability to produce photographs.

The Hague as an Ideal Case Study

The Hague presents itself as a highly suitable object of study and an ideal case due to its numerous conflicting interests, debates, and political controversies. On the one hand, this is driven by ambitious municipal council members, many of whom view their positions as stepping stones to roles elsewhere, such as the national parliament. The Hague offers aspiring politicians a literal stage on which to become visible. As a result, the desire for public representation — expressed through new cityscapes—is especially pronounced here.

On the other hand, these ambitious administrators are confronted by a highly educated, well-informed, critical, and well-organized citizenry. Because The Hague is the seat of the national government offices, many residents are (or have been) employed in public administration, providing them with insights into the inner workings of governance.

Moreover, The Hague is a city marked by stark socioeconomic contrasts, reflected in the quality of its neighborhoods and the diversity of its politics, municipal council, and executive board. This board—comprising the mayor and aldermen—typically mirrors the city's internal divisions. As a result, deliberations in the city council are often intense; harmony is rare, and conflict is abundant. It is telling that, throughout the entire twentieth century, not a single structural development plan was approved by the municipal council.

Precisely because of these dynamics, The Hague constitutes an exceptionally rich case for studying conflicts surrounding cityscapes.

The Aim of This Study

The aim of this study is to identify and define the successive, crystallized cityscapes that emerged in The Hague between approximately 1860 and 2025, along with the conflicts that accompanied them. The study further explores who was involved in shaping these cityscapes, with what motives, and against what contextual background. This includes actors such as mayors, politicians, aldermen, organizations, entrepreneurs, architects, urban planners, and other stakeholders.

In addition, the study examines the extent to which, and in which locations, these cityscapes were actually realized—if at all—and the reasons why many of them ultimately disappeared, often in incomplete form. These dynamics have contributed to The Hague's current fragmented urban landscape as a patchwork of cityscapes.

The underlying hypothesis is that the city is no longer experienced as a cohesive whole characterized by a single, homogeneous image. Rather, it is perceived as a composite of multiple cityscapes from different periods, coexisting and succeeding one another. It is precisely this layering and fragmentation that give The Hague its heterogeneous, kaleidoscopic appearance.

While this phenomenon can be attributed to many factors, such as industrialization, it is above all the rise of the open society and the democratization of municipal governance, along with the associated debates and conflicts, that have facilitated this process.

Moreover, The Hague is notable for its striking variety in architecture and urban design. Although fragmentation and diversity are evident in other Dutch cities as well, these features appear to be considerably more pronounced in The Hague, due in large part to the factors outlined above.

The Environmental Vision The Hague 2050

This study is particularly relevant to the Dutch context, as it interweaves traditionally separate academic disciplines, such as urban planning, architecture, history, and politics, into a coherent analytical framework (Hall, 1988, 1998; LeGates & Stout et al., 2016; Brenner & Keil et al., 2006; Brenner et al., 2014). The key elements covered by these fields converge in the formation of defining urban ensembles.

In educational settings, disciplines such as history, art history, architectural history, urban history, and housing history, are typically taught in isolation. Each is presented as an autonomous domain with its own methods and discourse. In contrast, this study demonstrates how these disciplines are interconnected and what intellectual and practical value such interconnections can yield.

This disciplinary divide is also reflected in the sectoral organization of municipal governments. Rarely will a traffic engineer engage with a heritage officer, or a parks official recognize that original plantings in certain neighborhoods reflect historic planning rationales. Municipal policy generally lacks an integrated vision that connects the historical significance of the built environment, public space, architectural expression, and greenery.

Even The Hague's 2025 *Omgevingsvisie Den Haag 2050: Thuis in een groene metropool aan zee* (*Environmental Vision The Hague 2050: At home in a green metropolis by the sea*) fails to acknowledge these relationships. The integration of cultural-historical values into environmental and spatial planning remains underdeveloped. The notion that an urban ensemble — including its public spaces and green infrastructure — could be designated as heritage, and that such a designation might enhance the city experience for residents and visitors alike, has yet to be broadly embraced at the administrative level. Similarly, awareness that strong historical urban and architectonic ensembles can positively impact the city's appeal to businesses and institutions remains limited. This is regrettable, as the visitors who admire these ensembles are often the city's most effective ambassadors. Moreover, tourism now plays a significant role in the urban economy.

Looking back at The Hague since the state reforms and the enactment of the Municipalities Act in 1851, we observe a succession of realized cityscapes. Like growth rings, they lie beside and atop one another—interwoven into the city and unfolding in time. Some of these urban visions have proven successful and are still cherished by residents; others have—fortunately—been forgotten.

1.2
Research Method and Sources

The Cityscape as First Principle

The inspiring 1991 book *Het veranderend stadsbeeld van Den Haag* (*The Changing Cityscape of The Hague*) remains emblematic of the city's long-standing quest for a singular urban identity—one definitive image with which it might present itself. In the book's preface, the authors refer to "the cityscape of The Hague" (Freijser et al., 1991, p. 8), while the book in fact presents an entire spectrum of cityscapes that can still be discerned in the city today. Typically, people speak of the image of a city in the singular, much like one refers to the personality of a person. The Hague, however, distinguishes itself precisely through its richness of images — its many appearances and cityscapes. We may attempt to construct or search for an overarching image; yet we may also recognize the layering, heterogeneity, and accumulation of distinct cityscapes, and seek meaning and coherence precisely within that multiplicity.

The book *De stad* (*The City*), published in honor of architectural and urbanist historian Ed Taverne, beautifully illustrates this semantic layering. Fittingly, it opens with the statement: "The city is many cities" (Dings, 2006). The Hague distinguishes itself precisely through its abundance of images - its multiplicity of forms and urban representations. At the scale of the entire city, one may attempt to construct—or to search for—an overarching image. Yet one may also recognize the layering, heterogeneity, and accumulation of urban images, and seek meaning and coherence within that multiplicity.

This is not a historical study in the classical sense. A historical study typically implies unity and causality in developments, in which available sources are interpreted and outward forms explained. In the present case, however, such causality is absent. The complex interplay between different groups of stakeholders, broader societal dynamics, and developments in architecture and urban planning has produced a new urban image. In historical research, cause and effect are sometimes reversed: a single group of stakeholders—such as politicians or architects—is identified as the cause, while the resulting form or image is seen as its outcome. Here the order is inverted: the urban image—the form itself—takes center stage, and the motives that shaped it from various perspectives are examined. Historical inquiry thus serves the purpose of understanding the image, situating individual urban images within their historical context in order to uncover the specific conditions under which they emerged, briefly appeared self-evident, and then receded into obscurity. By taking the image of the city or cityscapes as the starting point for the interpretation of architectural history, periods otherwise lacking a clearly defined conception suddenly become visible. In The Hague, this applies, for instance, to the *fin de siècle* and to the architecture associated with *New Urbanism*.

Each chapter in this study can be read as a self-contained story about a dominant cityscape in The Hague. These cityscapes are primarily examined in relation to the production of the city during a particular era. Each image emerged at a specific moment and within a specific part of the city—usually at the scale of urban ensembles. An urban ensemble is a coherently designed and built part of the city with buildings and urban spaces, usually with a distinctive image. Not coincidentally, this is also the scale at which implementation is feasible: projects were executed within a limited time frame, during in which no doubt arose about the image to be presented. At larger spatial scales, such cityscapes become difficult to maintain coherently.

The conditions and circumstances under which individual cityscapes develop over time vary. Each historical period had its own opportunities and constraints. This study of cityscapes in The Hague does not claim to be exhaustive; it focuses only on the most recognizable and influential visions.

The Imagined City

In her essay *The City of the Mind*, published in De Stad (*The City*) Nancy Stieber (2006) offers a clarifying analysis of representations of the city. The city, she argues, is often transformed into a metaphor—one of the many ways in which the urban fabric can be reshaped in our minds. According to Stieber, Ed Taverne's (1978, 1993, 2012) research revealed the wide range of approaches through which the city of the mind can be explored. This expansive field, she suggests, may be categorized into three heuristic domains: *the image of the city, the imagined city, and the imaginary city.*

The *image of the city* refers to the mental representations formed by individuals or groups; conceptualizations evoked by personal or collective experience. These representations are rooted in the actual, existing city, which can be interpreted through various perceptual lenses.

The *imagined city* is the physical city as it is envisioned and represented by professionals such as artists, architects, planners, and others, and through media including visual art, film, literature, music, and advertising. While related to the first category, this one emphasizes the representational choices made by specialists. The position of the image-maker is central. What were their motivations? How was the city portrayed? Who was the intended audience—art lovers or the general public? Was the goal to inspire or to influence opinion? And how does this form relate to the first category?

The third category, the *imaginary city*, refers to fantasy cities that are disconnected from any attempt to portray real urban conditions, such as Augustine's City of God or the cities described by Italo Calvino.

These three categories correspond to varying degrees of transformation of the urban fabric in the mind. The first reveals the city's layered nature but does not aim to represent or persuade—there is no direct audience. The second and third are oriented toward particular audiences and seek to influence perceptions. As Stieber (2006) puts it:

"The image of the city, the imagined city, and the imaginary city are by no means mutually exclusive categories, but rather heuristic tools

to distinguish between the city as it is experienced, represented, and fantasized. The 'City of the Mind' is a complex and expansive subject, and our mental images of the city are a richly layered palimpsest or montage" (Stieber, 2006: 253). She concludes: "This affirms the value of investigating the image of the city, the imagined city, and the imaginary city as a means of uncovering hidden yet potent visions of urban life" (Stieber, 2006: 261).

This study of cityscapes focuses specifically on the *imagined city* and the motivations of the various actors involved in its production. In summary, a cityscape is a perceptible mental framework—without space, time, or causality—but imbued with a chain of associations, ideas, and visions concerning a future state of the city. It provides policymakers and interest groups with both a motive to influence public perception and a guiding principle for interpreting and shaping urban developments.

The Sources Used

This study draws as much as possible on primary sources, such as archival documents, council records, and publications from the relevant historical periods. From the second half of the nineteenth century onward, a wide range of municipal documents began to appear, including council proceedings, policy memoranda, urban development visions, descriptive reports, public information brochures, newspaper articles, city maps, and tourist postcards. The key challenge in working with this vast body of source material lies in identifying a coherent narrative and discerning the guiding theme: the cityscape.

Much historical research has already been conducted into the development of The Hague. These secondary sources provide valuable background and insights into ongoing urban processes. The first thorough archival investigation into the emergence of The Hague was carried out in the eighteenth century by jurist and civil servant Jacob de Riemer (1730, 1739). His study already touched on the foundational theme of cityscapes, portraying The Hague as a village nestled in lush greenery.

Interest in the study of the city grew further in the nineteenth century, exemplified by the observations of journalist Johan Gram (1893, 1906), who wrote about the nature of the city during the fin de siècle. Important contributions were also made by Hendrik Enno van Gelder (1925, 1934, 1937), whose work during the interbellum deepened historical understanding, and by Rein Bleistra (1964, 1967, 1968, 1969. 1970, 1971, 1973, 1975), whose architectural and urban planning research in the 1960s and 1970s further enriched this body of knowledge.

Architectural historian Victor Freijser, as editor and initiator of *Het veranderend stadsbeeld van Den Haag: Plannen en processen in de Haagse stedebouw 1890-1990* (1991), brought together multiple authors to reflect on a century of urban planning. In the 1990s and beyond, city architect Maarten Schmitt produced a series of studies aiming to capture the DNA of the city (Schmitt, 2002; Schmitt et al., 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008).

Numerous publications by Monumentenzorg Den Haag (the Monument Preservation Department of The Hague), have also been consulted, particularly its publications called the VOM series. Among these are works by Strengholt (1981); Rosenberg et al. (1988); Van der Hoeve et al. (1992); Koopmans (1994); and Valentijn et al. (2002). Publications from the Municipal Archives of The Hague have proven equally informative, including works by Stal (1998, 2005; Stal & Kersing, 2004; Stal et al., 2007) and Van Doorn (1991, 1998), which provide a detailed perspective on The Hague's historical development. In addition, publications from staff of the Haags Historisch Museum (The Hague Historical Museum) have contributed valuable insights, including works by Van der Haer (1968), Stokvis (1987), Lit et al. (1989), Hoenstok (1999), Dumas (1991), De Regt (1986, 1987), and Wijsenbeek-Olthuis (1998). Particularly important has been the three-volume series *Den Haag. Geschiedenis van de stad* (*The Hague. History of the City*), which formed a key reference point for this study. This included contributions by Smit et al. (2004), Wijsenbeek-Olthuis et al. (2005), and De Nijs et al. (2005).

Other secondary historical sources have been consulted, some of which are only tangentially related to The Hague. These include biographies of master builders such as Huygens, Van Campen, Post, Van Bassen, Marot, and Reijers, who were active in The Hague and realized buildings and urban interventions in the city.

Finally, sources were reviewed such as interviews, articles, books, autobiographies, and diaries by authors including Lindo, Bakker Schut, Van der Sluijs, and Duivesteijn. A key caveat when using autobiographical material is its potential to reflect one-sided or subjective perspectives. Such sources have therefore been approached with caution and skepticism. Interviews were preferably used as sources when conducted during the relevant period. Retrospective interviews were treated primarily as contextual material and gain significance only when corroborated by multiple independent sources.

The mission of this study has been to extract, from this overwhelming body of sources, the guiding theme—the cityscape—and to describe it within its historical context in order to draw conclusions about the nature of the modern city.

1.3 The Reader's Guide

This study traces how The Hague's urban identity has evolved over time.

Chapter 2 is introductory, thematizing the concept of the city image for The Hague. For centuries, the idea of a 'distinguished village in lush greenery' formed a widely shared urban image and narrative for the city.

Chapter 3 (ca. 1860-1890) covers a period of rapid urban growth, during which laissez-faire attitudes in society re-emerged in three types of new districts and neighborhoods: the elegant residential parks around the Scheveningse Bosjes, middle-class neighborhoods such as Zeeheldenkwartier and Archipelbuurt, and working-class neighborhoods with squalid inner-courtyard slums, such as Schilderswijk. The architecture consisted mainly of simple brick construction, occasionally supplemented with white stucco or keystones.

Chapter 4 (ca. 1890-1914) represents a response to the shortcomings of the preceding period. Public amenities such as drinking water supply, sewerage, trams, and street lighting were created on a large scale. Inner-courtyard slums were banned, and all front doors had to face the street. In the new suburban neighborhoods, this led to the emergence of the typical The Hague portico with an open staircase. The Liberal Union offered the urban population a new perspective, ultimately resulting in the Housing Act of 1901. The architectural style drew inspiration from major metropolises such as Paris, Brussels, and Vienna, but also from Indonesia and classical architecture. Prestigious main streets and squares were lined by residences in which individuality was emphasized exhaustively, highlighting a great variety of materials, entrance portals, roof ornaments, and turrets. Ornamentation was abundant, and the new fin-de-siècle architecture lit up shopping streets like lanterns to entice the public. Examples can be found at Laan van Meerdervoort, in Statenkwartier, Duinoord, Bezuidenhout, and in the city's major shopping streets such as Noordeinde and Reinkenstraat.

Chapter 5 (ca. 1919-1928) discusses the interbellum. After World War I, severe housing shortages emerged, and the city once again grew explosively. Social Democrats and confessional parties dominated local politics, women gained the right to vote, and the welfare state continued to develop. Early modern architecture introduced new hygienic housing, with H.P. Berlage as its greatest proponent. Individuality disappeared from dwellings, and carefully designed residential neighborhoods were built in which brick-built urban blocks and urban space were elegantly combined to create healthy homes with light and ventilation. Inner-courtyard spaces within blocks and double blocks became places for children and parents to meet. On the one hand, sober brick rationalism in the spirit of Berlage took shape; on the other, the characteristic architecture of the Nieuwe Haagse School (New The Hague School) emerged. Important examples include Papaverhof by Jan Wils and Marlot by Co Brandes. The "brown pancake city" was developed with neighborhoods such as Laakkwartier, Heesterbuurt, Vruchtenbuurt, and Bloemenbuurt. After 1930, however, The Hague slipped into an urban-planning hibernation.

Chapter 6 (ca. 1935-1965) discusses the period just before World War II and the postwar reconstruction period. The Hague was heavily damaged during World War II. As early as 1935, plans had been made for the new city with a "green village" character, based on the "Neighborhood Unit." Around 1950, construction resumed, and large-scale postwar districts were built while war-damaged areas were reconstructed. This occurred, for example, in The Hague south-west, where new buildings were created on the site of the Atlantikwall, and in Bezuidenhout near Theresiastraat. Construction took place on an enormous scale, enabling the population to grow to roughly 600,000 inhabitants. Housing, work, and amenities were separated from one another but connected through park- or roadways. Inspired by Scandinavian examples, one of the most beautiful postwar neighborhoods in the Netherlands was realized: Mariahoeve.

Chapter 7 (ca. 1970-1980) describes a difficult period in the city's history. Large numbers of residents left the older districts. The municipality had begun clearing nineteenth century neighborhoods, leaving behind sandy wastelands and boarded-up ruins. Newly arrived immigrant workers also settled in these aging districts. Younger, activist residents demanded the return of livability and advocated "building for the neighborhood". At the same time, the car was widely embraced, necessitating planners to find space in the old city for ring roads and traffic squares. The struggle for the city led to a cultural shift in 1980 under alderman Adri Duivestein and to the cancellation of plans for ring roads and flyovers in the old city.

Chapter 8 (ca. 1980-1984) focuses on winning residents back. By developing attractive residential areas around railway stations, policymakers sought to shape the Compact City. At the same time, restoring the built fabric of the old city and focusing on the city's morphology became central. Urban planning for new neighborhoods still occurred around Loosduinen, with new neighborhoods such as Bezuidenhout-West, Nieuw Waldeck, Houtwijk, and Kraayenstein. But the focus shifted toward urban renewal in heavily cleared districts such as Schilderswijk. Ideas from New Urbanism about the city and livability began to take a central role.

Chapter 9 (ca. 1985-1989) examines urban renewal as a cultural activity. Buildings with colorful and cheerful postmodern architecture were rapidly created on the cleared sites of the nineteenth century districts. The highlight of this period was the realization of the new city hall.

Chapter 10 (ca. 1990-2004) discusses the repair of the city after the conflicts of the decades before. The damage caused in the 1960s and 1970s had to be undone through architecture that matched the surrounding residential neighborhoods. During this period, the Vinex districts Wateringse Veld, Ypenburg, and Leidschenveen were also developed. Inner-city Vinex locations such as Spoorwijk, Duindorp, Transvaalkwartier, and Rivierenbuurt were restructured and renewed. The population began to grow rapidly once again.

Chapter 11 (ca. 2005-2010) covers The Hague's international ambitions. Numerous new institutions established themselves in the International Zone. The Hague aspired to become Cultural Capital of Europe and announced the construction of a new cultural complex on Turfmarkt, later named Amare. The city evolved into a true global city with new architecture intended to create an internationally recognizable cityscape.

Chapter 12 (ca. 2010-2025) opens with the financial and economic crisis of 2008. Construction nearly came to a standstill, while the population continued to grow rapidly due to the influx of expats, labor immigrants, and students. The number of cars also rose sharply. This led to a chronic shortage of space, and a housing crisis that disrupted everything related to urban development and housing. A turning point came with the Paris Agreement (2015), after which the focus shifted toward densification, sustainability, and greening. Existing buildings came to be used more efficiently; vacant offices were transformed into housing, and the existing housing stock was renovated and made more sustainable. To cope with climate change effects, the city needed significant greening and additional water capacity. The Hague gradually evolved from a Compact City into a Polycentric City, where the car received less space, while cycling and public transit took center stage. The city's growth had to be accommodated in new priority areas, such as Binckhorst, CID and Laakhavens, and The Hague south-west.

t'Grauen Haghe
Zypresen

2
THEMATIZATION OF THE CITYSCAPE: A DISTINGUISHED VILLAGE IN LUSH GREENERY

Left, reproduction from 1991 of the village plan from presumably 1560 by Jacob van Deventer.
Collection HGA gr.0236.

Gravenhaghe, T' hoff van Hollant by Ludovico Guicciardini from 1581.
Collection HGA kl.0390.

2.1
City Image as Legitimation of an Administrative Status

'Europe's Richest, Most Beautiful, and Largest Village'

The Hague is located next to the Holland dunes and has never had the luxury of shipping and water trade routes. As a result, it could never develop into an important Dutch water and trading city such as Rotterdam, Delft, Leiden, Haarlem, or Amsterdam. It never got city walls or real city gates; its canals were only dug in the seventeenth century. The Hague also did not receive a town charter in the Middle Ages. This unique geographical and political position would strongly determine the character of The Hague; it came to be used in the city's image to distinguish itself from 'real' cities.

In 1567, the Italian-Flemish merchant and humanist Lodovico Guicciardini (1521-1589) visited The Hague and described the village in his book *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania inferiore* (*Description of the Entire Lowlands, also known as Lower Germany*, 1567) as: "The Hague was undeniably Europe's richest, most beautiful, and largest village. Where do you find an open village with such beautiful walking places as the lush Vijverberg and the neat, orderly planted Voorhout?" (Stal & Kersing, 2004: 67).

The description cited above was accompanied by a map entitled *Gravenhaghe, T' hoff van Hollant* (*The Hague, the Garden of Holland*), showing a village with roads surrounded by orchards and gardens. In this bestseller, Guicciardini repeated the image of The Hague that had been common since Count Albrecht of Bavaria (1336-1404): a distinguished village set in lush greenery; a neutral administrative village between powerful merchant cities. Between 1422 and 1425, court painter Jan van Eyck (1390-1441) painted a courtly fishing party in a stream in The Hague, with the court and the Voorhout in a paradisiacal green environment in the background (now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris). Not only the much-vaunted, tree-filled Hofkwartier (Court Quarter), right next to the Haagse Bos (The Hague Forest), was described as a paradisiacal environment, but the village itself was also seen as such.

The village of 'die Haghe' had no less than four monasteries with extensive market gardens and orchards. Its unusually spacious courtyards with gardens and orchards must have reinforced the image of a paradisiacal village in lush greenery. Because there were no city walls and canals, the village could grow freely along the roads and offer sufficient space for courtyards. The Voorhout and the Vijverberg, with their spacious city castles of the administrators of Holland, grew into the first green suburb of Holland.

After 1470, these spatial developments of the village stagnated, so that paintings dated a century later still provide an accurate picture of the village in the time of Albrecht and Jacoba of Bavaria. In 1553, the painting of the Hofkwartier entitled Haga in Hollandia by an unknown painter repeats the exaggerated pride of the inhabitants, shown in front of lush greenery. The same applies to a painting by Cornelis Elandt, *Haga Comitis in Hollandia* from 1658, a copy of an older painting from ca. 1570. Both paintings are in the Haags Historisch Museum. Other paintings from this period also confirm Guicciardini's description, showing a spacious, open village that was richly endowed with gardens and orchards and that connected to the Haagse Bos. Examples are the map by Jacob van Deventer from 1560 and the map of G. van Giesen from 1730, depicting the 1570 situation.

This glorification of a city image was a flight forward. After all, The Hague wanted to be seen as a distinguished and neutral village for administrators - it could not and should not be a city. It therefore had no city walls, canals, gates, and towers. It could not compete with Dutch merchant water cities such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Haarlem, Delft, or Leiden - nor did it want to.

The creation of the identity of The Hague as a distinguished village in lush green surroundings was the result of complex geomorphological and geopolitical conditions, the interplay over a longer period between what made the landscape possible and impossible; one of these was the presence in certain periods of the Court that wanted to take up a neutral position between the 'real' cities. Due to its location nestled in the dunes, The Hague was unsuitable for growing into a Dutch merchant city, but it acquired its distinct character because of the fortunate coincidence that the Court appreciated its position (Van Doorn, 1991, 1998; Stal, 1998, 2005; Stal & Kersing, 2004; Stal et al., 2007; Smit et al., 2004). Outside the Court, the village and the monasteries, an ensemble emerged that has remained iconic to this day: the first green suburb of Holland with Voorhout and the Vijverberg planted with fragrant linden trees (Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, 1998).

Because The Hague was a village, it had no voice in the States of Holland and therefore only a small say in state affairs. Villages such as The Hague were represented by the nobility, also called the Knighthood, who together held one vote. The other cities, making up 18 votes, welcomed this arrangement. The Hague held a specific position, since it housed many members of the nobility among its inhabitants. These mostly lived in the lush green neighborhoods of Voorhout and around the Vijverberg, separated from the village.

Spatial Development in the Golden Age

Stadtholder Maurits of Orange and Simon Stevin

Not everyone believed in neutrality and valued the bucolic lifestyle. Stadtholder Maurits of Orange (1567-1625) chose The Hague as his residence and dreamed of developing it into a real fortified city. In the same period, many prominent Protestant refugees from the Southern Netherlands came to The Hague, who brought court culture with them, such as Cornelis van Aerssen, Constantijn Huygens, and Simon Stevin.

These families were loyal to the pro-French Oranges; they mainly propagated continental politics, in which the interests of the Oranges

Above a bird eye of village in lush green The Hague by Jacues de Gheyn from 1598. Collection HGA gr.0242.

Below a bird eye of village in lush green The Hague by Johannes van Londerseel from 1614. Collection HGA z.gr.411.

took center stage and the war with Spain had to go ahead. Maurits could count on the money and support of wealthy southern Dutch citizens; the land to place the ramparts and waterworks were there. Part of the plans would be carried out on Maurits' own domains. However, due to the actions of the States of Holland, nothing came of this plan.

The Republic of trading cities and merchants saw nothing in this belligerent policy and therefore the plans for a fortified city came to nothing. As a politically feasible alternative, canals and a port neighborhood were constructed with an orthogonal structure. With all the sub-plans that followed, it seemed that the ideal grid city of Maurits' confidant and teacher, mathematician Simon Stevin (1548-1620), was implemented with - for example the channels, the Prinsengracht, Boekhorststraat and Lange Beestenmarkt. Stevin himself lived in The Hague, in Raamstraat, in a stately pavilion house. From 1593 he worked as a private tutor in fortifications and confidant to Maurits and as an engineer in the army. In 1604 he became quartermaster of the prince. Until his death, Stevin wrote *De Huysbou* (*House building*), a work that was never completed but had a great influence on Huygens. The Hague would never become a real fortified city.

Pavilion Houses

A new French trend to build city palaces according to pavilion model was introduced (Meischke et al., 1997; Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, 1998). These were block-shaped houses with a pavilion roof: a roof with four roof shields and a rich parallel to the facade. These blocks were interconnected so that some palaces consisted of three or more pavilions. Houses with one pavilion, for example, where Hofwijck by Huygens and the Mauritshuis. The Amsterdam architect Hendrick de Keyser is probably the master builder of the House of Oldenbarnevelt (1611) at Kneuterdijk 22.

This was followed by the house of ambassador Van Dyck, later a lepers' house (ca. 1615), located opposite Bierkade along Spui. On the corner of Lange Voorhout and Kneuterdijk, the House of Wassenaar van Duivenvoorde (1624) was built, also designed by De Keyser, an example of a pure pavilion house (Meischke, et al., 1997).

The largest pavilion house was built by ambassador Van Aerssen on Lange Voorhout. His neighbor and assistant diplomat Constantijn Huygens would later own two of the most beautiful pavilion houses, built by the architects Jacob van Campen and Pieter Post. Maurits' contribution to the city itself was probably minimal, but it was the circle around him that was intensively involved in the creation of The Hague and the construction of the city palaces. Maurits would leave The Hague as a place with an orthogonal structure, without walls or gates, but with canals, ports, and new neighborhoods where craftsmen settled. Impressive pavilion houses were built on Voorhout, and simple and affordable versions of pavilion houses were built in other parts of the village.

Maurits' attention was not so much on lush greenery, but he was not against it either. The cityscape of The Hague was steadily built on with Paris as example. It was clear that not all of Maurits' ambitions came true, but an attempt to dig a canal on Lange Voorhout was not sabotaged by the States of Holland. This turned out to be unfeasible due to the geomorphology of the landscape and the location on top of an ancient sand ridge. Perhaps the advice of Stevin, who died in 1620, could have prevented this problem.

Stadtholder Frederik Hendrik and Dutch Classicism

After Maurits' death in 1625, the respectful village with its estates was much expanded. Country estates appeared all around the village. Under his successor stadtholder Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange (1584-1647), Dutch Classicism reached its heyday.

Among the many new and influential residents of The Hague were engineers, master builders and craftsmen from the southern Netherlands, who played a role in the introduction of new urban ensembles with geometric urban spaces and pavilion houses. For example, the families of Stevin, Van Bassen and Huygens came from there, while the family of the architect brothers Van 's-Gravesande and Noorwits came from Norwich, where many families had also fled after the fall of Antwerp (Ottenheym & Tussenbroek, 2011). But it was above all the young wife of the stadtholder Amalia van Solms (1602-1675) who brought the spirit, panache, and style of the French Court to the stiff Protestant The Hague (Van Gelder, 1937). The arrival of the Court of Bohemia in the year 1621 with the 'winter king' Frederick V, Elector Palatinate (1596-1632) and 'winter queen' Elizabeth Stuart (1596-1662), will certainly have been a considerable incentive for this.

Part of the continental politics, as discussed earlier, was an alliance with the French. Frederik Hendrik's Francophile tendencies remained a sensitive subject for Dutch merchants, regents, and Protestants (Hofman, 1983). The capture in 1642 by the French of the free city of the Huguenots, La Rochelle, with the help of the Oranges aroused great anger. For the Oranges, the French alliance was of strategic importance. France and Spain waged war with each other. France supported the stadtholder in his moderately successful campaigns in the southern Netherlands against the Spaniards. During the stadtholdership of Frederik Hendrik, the court became an integral part of the political and social culture of the Republic within Europe.

The fate of The Hague was linked to that of the Oranges and their continental politics. The Hague created a special image for itself, with its many city palaces, pleasure gardens, estates, squares, straight streets full of linden-trees, and block-shaped pavilion houses with hipped roof: a distinguished village in the lush greenery after the French example. In his *Batava Tempe* (1621), Huygens reminded his readers of The Hague as a neutral administrative city with its palaces in a lush green landscape.

From 1621 until his death in 1647, Frederik Hendrik studied architectural problems almost continuously (Ottenheym, 1997: 107). The prince-stadtholder surrounded himself with an elite that was aware of the developments in French court culture and Italian

Pen and brush drawings by Jan van Call (1965 – 1703/6?) from 1690. Above the Lange Voorhout. Collection HGA kl. A 427. Below left Het Plein with the house of Constantijn Huygens on the left and the Mauritshuis. Collection HGA kl.A. 666. Below right the Korte Vijverberg with the Mauritshuis. Collection HGA kl.A 1706.

Renaissance architecture, including its customs, landscaping, literature, music, and painting. Especially his young secretary, diplomat, and cultural expert Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687), his clerk Laurens Buysero and his general and later governor of Brazil Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen (1604-1679) proved to be well informed.

Huge pleasure gardens and summer palaces were built outside The Hague after the latest French fashion, such as Huis ter Nieuburch (1630-34) in Rijswijk and Huis ter Honselaarsdijk (1621-1640). Two of the most beautiful palaces with pleasure gardens in Dutch classicism were built: Huis ten Bosch (1645-52) for the prince and his consort Amalia van Solms, and Hofwijck (1639-42), where Huygens retired after his prince died. Narrow crooked streets of the village were straightened and rearranged, and empty gardens filled up. In addition to the city palaces that were located on Lange Voorhout, Kneuterdijk and Buitenhof, geometric urban spaces surrounded by block-shaped spacious pavilion houses were built on Princen Plein (currently Het Plein), Korte Voorhout, Prinsessegracht, Herengracht, Prinsengracht, Boekhorststraat and Lange Beestenmarkt.

After Frederik Hendrik, the great period of The Hague and continental politics was over. The States of Holland and Amsterdam took over (Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, 2005). All that remained were memories of the beginning of the Golden Age. In the eighteenth century, economic developments in the Netherlands stagnated, and the development of The Hague with them.

Yet the glorification of the seventeenth century of Frederik Hendrik and Huygens with “the distinguished village in the lush greenery” was not entirely forgotten. The historian and jurist Jacob de Riemer (1676-1762) recalled this image in the eighteenth century with his *Beschryving van ‘s Graven-Hage, behelzende deszelfs oorsprong, benaming, gelegentheid, uitbreidingen, onheilen en luister; mitsgaders stigtinge van het Hof, der kerken, kloosters, kapellen, godshuizen en andere voornaame gebouwen. Als mede de Privilegen, Handvesten, Keuren en Wyze der Regeringe* (1730 part I, 1739 part II, republished in 1974). The well-known cityscape of The Hague was described in detail in this work.

2.2
The Monuments of the Oranges After the French Occupation

The Representative City and Monuments of the House of Orange

When it turned out that the village of The Hague did not pay any city tax, The Hague received city rights from King Louis Napoleon in 1806 and was elevated to the status of ‘bonne ville de l’empire’.

The city came out of the war with the French battered; many buildings had been demolished by owners who had moved elsewhere and did not want to pay taxes on their property. After the appointment of King Willem I (1772-1843) in 1815, the old city image of The Hague was gradually renovated and rebuilt as a residence and a representative city with monumental buildings. The Nieuwe Kaart van s’ Gravenhage 1833 (New Plan of The Hague) (HGA gr.0311) by city architect Zeger Reijers of 1833 and 1835 testifies to this. In the edge of the version from 1835, all monuments in the city are highlighted. The courtyards are not shown, only the streets and squares with the monuments. All trees on Voorhout, around the Vijverberg and along the canals are individually indicated.

A few years later, Panorama van de *Noordelijke Provinciën der Nederlanden, bevattende de schilderachtigste gezichten, kerken, hoofdgebouwen, gedenktekens, de belangrijkste straten en pleinen der steden, benevens de wandelingen in en om dezelve* (1836) (*Panorama of the Northern Provinces of the Netherlands, containing the most picturesque views, churches, main buildings, memorials, the most important streets and squares of the cities, as well as the walks in and around them*) by the Van Lier brothers from The Hague, also reminded readers of the old city image as people liked: a distinguished village with huge pavilion houses in the lush greenery in Hofkwartier, on Princen Plein and along the canals. However, this book turned out to be not only a retrospective but above all a program for the future: for the restoration of old values in the Netherlands, and of The Hague with its monuments. This depiction of the city by Reijers and the Van Lier brothers is perhaps misleading. There was no mention of the enormous war damage, the demolished houses, and the slums on the outskirts of the city.

During King Willem I’s reign, the triumvirate of mayor Lodewijk Constantijn Rabo Copes van Cattenburch (1771-1842), secretary Marcellus Emants (1778-1854) and city architect Zeger Reijers (1789-1857) took on the implementation of the representative parts of the city in the period 1824 to 1847. This depiction of the city by Zeger Reijers and the Van Lier brothers is rather suggestive, perhaps even misleading. There was no mention of the enormous war damage, the demolished houses, the slums on the outskirts of the city. In the years that followed, it was mainly conservative forces, including students of Reijers, who promoted the beautification of the city.

The *Nieuwe Kaart van s' Gravenhage*, new map of Den Haag from 1833,
by city architect Z. Reijers, P. Beretta and J.C. Zürcher.
Collection HGA z.gr.0018.

In 1840 Willem II (1792-1849) took over the kingship. During his reign, profound changes to the state took place under Thorbecke's leadership. In 1848 the Communist Manifesto appeared and in February a revolution broke out in Paris because of the economic depression and social unrest, which quickly spread to other European cities such as Vienna and Berlin. There were also fierce uprisings in The Hague, which were put down by the garrison. In this yea, one year before Willem's death in 1849, the Dutch Constitution was passed by Parliament, in which the power and influence of the Oranges was finally limited, and most powers were transferred to the national, provincial, and municipal governments. The state budget was in disarray after the Belgian independence and public debts had become unmanageable. The Municipal Act was introduced in 1851.

Tension increased between the liberals, who did not want government intervention, and the conservatives, who wanted to continue the line of the Oranges and preserve the beautiful city of The Hague. The buildings created by Willem I and II were still a set of separate monuments without any connection to the overall urban plan, as Reijers and the Van Lier brothers show. The existing buildings in neoclassicist style mainly referred to Paris, where the architects of the Restoration were trained. Willem II opted for a different architecture. He was hostile to the powerful club of court architects such as Reijers and Haagsche Teeken-Academie (The Hague Drawing Academy), who had designed all monuments for his father. Neoclassicism had lost all the meanings associated with the Enlightenment and had become a slavish imitation of Parisian court culture.

The English-inspired architecture which Willem II favored had taken on a different political and social significance at that time, with Pugin and Barry as great examples. This neo-Gothic architecture was used by Willem II, although his political power was waning with the rise of the popular liberal Thorbecke. Willem II proceeded to purchase land around the city to realize his ambitions for palace clusters in the green landscape. Willemspark and the Willemshof were central to this. This iconic urban ensemble would have a major influence on the urban development of The Hague. In fact, at this point in time, The Hague was on the eve of a huge urban development that would continue far beyond the canals.

Willemshof 1838 and Willemspark 1843

Willemshof

With Willem II, the orientation shifted from Paris to London and Oxford; from individual monuments in the old city within the canals to park-style buildings outside the canals. In addition, the new king and his consort Anna Pavlovna (1795-1865), sister of the Russian tsar, brought magnificent court culture to The Hague. Willem and Anna lived at Kneuterdijk Palace during Willem's short reign from 1840 to 1849. For his building plans, Willem II bought the Sorghvliet estate on 30 December 1837 and united it with his previously purchased estates Hanenburg and Houtrust.

In the following years he bought the estates Buitenrust, Valkenbosch, Meerdervoort, Cranenburg, and Rustenburg, so that the Royal Domain covered more than 600 hectares. They formed a contiguous area to the north and west of the city. His plan was to build Willemshof near Sorghvliet (Goekoop, 1953). Willem did most of the architectural work by himself with his friend and adjutant J.G.W. Merkes van Gendt, a colonel of engineers and aide-de-camp to Willem. The king had all kinds of works carried out according to his own architectural ideas and plans, although this did not exactly benefit their architectural quality. The king and his hobby architect's difficult dealings with The Hague architects contributed to the rapid decline of the buildings he designed (Ubels, 1966; Blijstra, 1968).

For his most prestigious project, Willemshof, he contracted the English architect Henry Ashton (1801-1872). Ashton had worked on Windsor Palace, made improvements to Victoria Street, and designed some of the finest buildings on that street (Blijstra, 1968; Van der Laarse, 2010). The Goekoop family, when they bought the Catshuis in 1903 - since 1963 the official residence of the Prime Minister of the Netherlands and the reception center of the government – found in the attic about twenty designs by Ashton from the spring of 1838 for Willemshof palace (Goekoop, 1953). In preparation for the construction activities for Willemshof, Arij van der Spuij – former director of the Royal Private Domains of King Willem II - changed the course of the Haagse Beek. The old Beekmolen near Zeestraat, which pumped the water from the Haagse Beek to the Hofvijver, had insufficient capacity (HGA gr.1028). At his own expense, the king had a steam pumping station built at Hanenburg and a canal built to lead the water from the Delfland basin to the Haagse Beek. Thus, the flow of water to his estates and the city could be improved (Goekoop, 1953; Van der Laarse, 2010).

Van der Laarse says about the plans for the enormous neo-Gothic Willemshof palace: "[it] should, however, have become a very monumental palace complex by Dutch standards on the domain of the former Bentinck property Sorghvliet (the current Catshuis). Directly connected to the Binnenhof and its palaces in The Hague, this 'Willemsparkhof' seemed intended in size, scale, and allure a full-fledged counterpart to the great European parks of Versailles, Sanssouci (Potsdam), Schönbrunn (Vienna), and Windsor Castle" (Van der Laarse, 2010: 174-175).

However, Willemshof remained a phantasy only realized in Ashton's designs, because his erratic client endlessly interfered with every detail. Van der Laarse (2010) argues that the transition from neoclassicism to neo-Gothic in palace construction was mainly motivated by the position of the Oranges in the European power play and should have surpassed similar plans:

"Willem II's ideal was to recreate The Hague, just like Brussels, as a city of culture. … He, the son-in-law of the Tsar of Russia and nephew of the King of Prussia, who above all wanted to be a different monarch from his authoritarian father, now chose as head of state a neo-Gothic palace complex with 'a castellated character'." Van der Laarse further argued that: "It therefore seems certain that the Dutch Orange Prince wanted to compete with the European park courts with his

A paintings of the new Palace Zorgvliet by the architect Henry Ashton from 1838.
Royal Collection (Koninklijke Verzameling) AL-044-02.

construction campaigns in The Hague. However, the new national context after the Belgian Secession opposed a continuation of the neoclassical palace style. This was probably the reason why Willem II orientated himself on English neo-Gothic architecture, as it was mainly used for churches and garden buildings in the previous period. All over Europe, in this romantic period of cultural nation-building, the need for a monumentalizing of one's own past grew. The neo-Gothic style glorified the newfound medieval prehistory and the chivalrous heroism of kingship" (Van der Laarse, 2010: 178).

The European context with revolutions in many European cities certainly played an important role, but the social position of the king in a changing Dutch state system with the revision of the Constitution should not be overlooked either.

The Palace Quarter

In addition to the park itself, it was also the surrounding buildings that partly determined the image. Between the palace cluster (Noordeinde, Kneuterdijk), the Alexander barracks (1841/48), and the Alexanderplein (or field) where the cavalry did its exercises, a park for walking and riding was started in 1843 with the building of a riding school for Willem II. The old palaces on Noordeinde and Kneuterdijk were connected by set of new buildings: in the garden of Kneuterdijk Palace the Gothic Hall was built and on Noordeinde the Gothic Gallery. These were inaugurated in 1842 and were designed and executed by the architect G. Brouwer (Rosenberg et al., 1988). An impressive collection of paintings purchased by Willem II, originating from Brussels, was housed here. With the park, one continuous green space was created from Kneuterdijk to Willemshof. Some streets were already partly built up, such as Zeestraat, the extension of Noordeinde, which led to the village of Scheveningen. Where Javastraat is now located was at the time a country road: Laan van Schuddegeest, where the Alexander's squere was located with the barracks under construction in utilitarian architecture behind it. Here Hussars and their horses were housed. In 1875 the Third Regiment, 'the Red Hussars', later called the 'Court Regiment', settled permanently in the Alexander barracks with 400 to 800 men and horses. The Haagse Beek running around the barracks was straightened and transformed into a system of canals and ditches designed by Merkes van Gendt. The barracks were demolished in 1971. In the wake of the park's construction, a fairytale castle neo-Gothic bathhouse with towers and battlements was built on Zeestraat between 1842 and 1852. After only a few years, the building was replaced by luxury villas by developer-architect Johannes Jacobus Delia. Just like the other parts of the Willemspark and the gardens of the palace quarter were built up by Delia.

'Au bon Marché'

In 1843, the Groote Koninklijke Bazar or Grand Royal Bazar was opened at Zeestraat 80-82, a kind of department store and museum for exotic products from all corners of Europe and the colonies. The concept of the department store first appeared in Paris in 1851 with the opening of 'Au bon Marché', in which small 'shops' were placed together into one uncluttered space. Originally, the Bazar was a narrow one-story building with two naves, but in 1882 it was converted into a light, open building in an eclectic style with an open façade. Between the pilasters were wide shop windows where citizens could admire the exotic merchandise of the world on their Sunday walk to Scheveningen. The entire building exuded the openness, freshness, and lightness of a department store. Gram (1906: 161-164) described the rise and fall of the bazaar, a building full of curiosities and exotic wares. It was a combination of museum and shop in curiosities from Europe and the colonies. In 1927 this first bazaar in Willemspark was closed. The economic epicenter had shifted to the city center, where a variety of bazaars and department stores were built on the sites where seventeenth century houses with workshops and shops had once stood.

The Riding School and Barracks

Along the park on Nassaulaan, architect Brouwer of Merkes van Gendt designed and built a riding school for the king in 1845, which also gave the park a wall on this side. On the map by the Belinfante brothers, produced in 1845 and published two years later, there was no mention of the park's construction. The new riding school was already shown as built and the construction of Nassaustraat was in preparation, since the route is already sketched on this map. This street was exactly in line with the entrance of the Oranjekazerne (Oranje Barracks), so that a coherent urban ensemble was created between the two barracks and the park. In 1846, houses for the officers of the Frederiks Barracks, located in the Frederikstraat, were built next to the riding school on Nassaulaan, so that the wall was completed. In 1862 a connection was made between Laan van Schuddegeest (later called Javastraat) and Frederikstraat. This provided easy access from one barrack to another and the street network around the park became more interlocked. After the death of Willem II in 1849, the buildings, gardens, and parks of the Oranges were sold in 1855 and the park passed to the municipality. Already in 1863, the riding school was converted into the Willem's church by the architect Saraber. The construction of the park and the riding school resulted in a new building along the edges of the Zeestraat and after 1857 also on Javastraat and Mauritskade, but not in the neo-Gothic architecture preferred by Willem II. The map by Van der Spuij from 1857 showed the ensemble of the park, the riding school, the edge buildings with the bathhouse, the bazaar, and the barracks in their original context.

The Neo-Gothic Monuments of Willem II

Why did Willem II force a break with The Hague court architects employed by his father Willem I? Willem II was strongly oriented towards England and was inspired for his neo-Gothic architecture, as in the Gothic Hall, by Tudor Hall in Christ Church College, Oxford, where he had studied (Blijstra, 1968). The soft yellow color of brick and sandstone of Willem II's buildings seem to refer to Oxford, which was largely built with these materials and gives the city image its own unique atmosphere.

Pen and brush drawings of the Gotische Galarij in the Paleiskwartier Noordeinde by A. WIjnantz from 1847. Collection HGA kl.A 598.

In the years before Willem II became king, in 1836-1837, the Houses of Parliament in London were built by architects Augustus Welby Pugin (1812-1852) and Charles Barry (1795-1860). The work was a critique of Enlightenment rationalism and burgeoning industrialization. It was also a critique of neoclassicism, the architecture of the Enlightenment, an architecture that symbolized the Republic. Pugin recalled the 'true ethos' of the Middle Ages in north-western Europe where the monarch, like the church, still stood as an equal among his subjects. In books such as Contrasts (1836) and *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1841), Pugin described his social and architectural ideas in detail (Bank & Van Buuren, 2000: 155-164).

Pugin's criticism did not mean to abolish the achievements of industrialization and capitalism, but he advocated for a restoration of the long-lost medieval community ideal with a specific place awarded to the sovereign. Early industrialization in England drove people apart and deprived them of historical awareness and awareness of their common origins. Especially in this troubled period of continuous uprisings in many European countries, leading to state reform, the historical connection of the people with their monarch was questioned by more and more people. This was symbolized, for example, by utensils reproduced as industrial mass products. These were signs of decline for Pugin, and presumably also for Willem II: people had forgotten the authentic original of the product, just as they had forgotten the original social structures from which they came. Pugin felt that the quality of such items could be improved if they were designed and manufactured by artists instead of produced industrially, endlessly repeating the original but without the same quality.

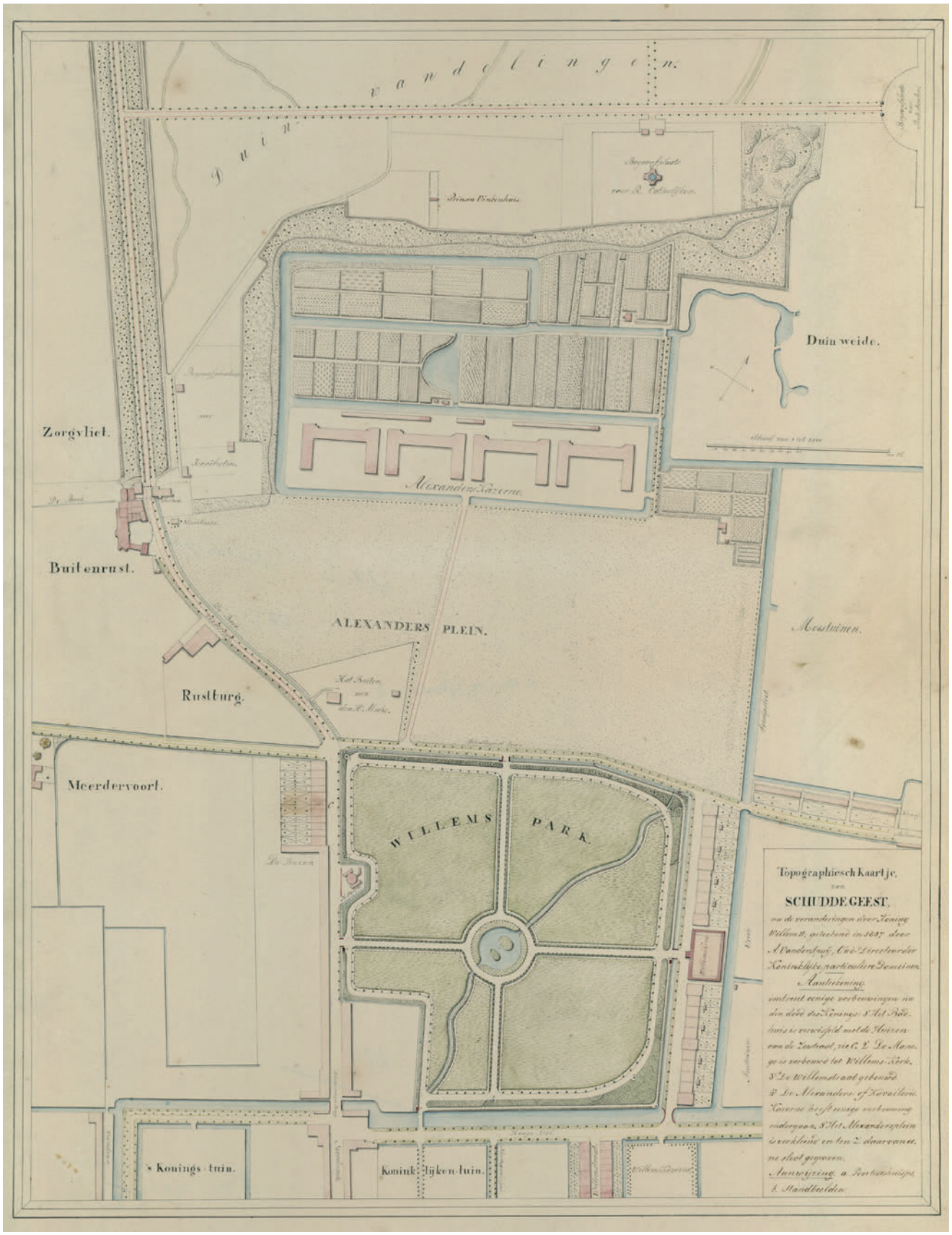
Pugin was supported by Henry Cole, who strongly encouraged arts and crafts and helped organize the London World's Fair in 1851, where crafts from all over the world were exhibited. Cole's pupil Gottfried Semper had a major influence on architecture in the second half of the nineteenth century, including Dutch architects like Berlage. Pugin, Cole, and Semper did not reject industrialization but wanted to perfect it by restoring it by the artist's hand, thus restoring a common origin which was assumed to have existed in the Middle Ages, as expressed in Gothic architecture. Seen in that light, the ideas of Pugin and his circle offered a perspective for both the Oranges and the Dutch people. Given Willem II's interest in art and England, it is certainly plausible that he was aware of the political and social significance of Neo-Gothic architecture in the ideas of Pugin and Cole.

Only after the death of Willem II did another follower of Pugin's ideas, John Ruskin, take a much more extreme position in his book *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849). He rejected all industrial products and use of machines and glorified craftsmanship and artistry.

At the local level, the Oranges were sensitive to Roman Catholic emancipation, as was shown in the conflict about the Roman Catholic cemetery that had been created in 1824, where the Catholics had to pay a toll to get buried. The Oranges supported influential Catholic middle-class families in The Hague such as Peek, Krul, Smulders, Kaiser and others (De Regt, 1986: 58-61). A few years earlier, the court architect Tollus had already built a chapel on the cemetery (1833/38).

The Steam Pumping Station at Hanenburg

The construction of an expensive steam pumping station at Hanenburg and the Vliet canal also showed that Willem II had an eye for the needs of the city, since the stagnant flow after raising the water level in 1825 had saddled the city with stench, disease, and death. He saw himself as a benevolent monarch who imagined himself as part of his people and therefore had to intervene, even if it was symbolic. Willem II died in March 1849 and was succeeded by his less visionary son, Willem III (1817-1890).



The 1857 map of Schuddegeest by A. van der Spuij shows the Alexanderkazerne (1841) above, Alexanderplein in the middle, and Willemspark below, and at the very bottom the Royal Garden, which connected to the Paleiskwartier. Willempark with Alexanderstraat, which connected to Parkstraat and Lange Voorhout.
Collection HGA gr.1028.

2.3
The End of the Oranges' Involvement in Spatial Developments and Architecture

Changes after 1848

The triumvirate that managed the manufacture and development of the city, mayor Lodewijk Constantijn Rabo Copes van Cattenburch, secretary Marcellus Emants and city architect Zeger Reijers began to disintegrate as early as 1842 with the sudden death of Copes of Cattenburgh at City Hall. Three years later, in 1845, Emants requested to resign due to his health; a year later he was granted leave. Now that Emants and Copes van Cattenburgh had disappeared, The Hague council seized the opportunity to reorganize the Dienst Fabricage (Manufacturing Department of The Hague) (Vijfvinkel et al., 1986). They wanted a broad Manufacturing Department. In 1847, the Manufacturing Department was placed under the control of a council committee, a Commissie van Fabricage (Committee of Fabrication), as it had existed between 1816-24, consisting of the city architect, the mayor, the municipal secretary, and two councilors. Reijers, who had been able to determine his own methods until 1847, was now reprimanded by the committee, which felt that his expenditures had been unnecessarily high. In 1848, the council cut the budget of the Manufacturing Department significantly. Work was postponed and staff laid off. When purchasing material, orders now had to be put out to public tender, which did not always benefit the quality of the materials used. Reijers' health left much to be desired, and he was assigned an assistant architect in 1852. Finally, in January 1853, Willem Cornelis van der Waeyen (or Waayen) Pieterszen (1819-1874) was appointed to assist him. In 1857 the old master builder Reijers died. On the advice of the board of the municipality, his assistant was appointed as his successor. From 1857 to 1874 he would be the city architect of The Hague.

After the reorganization of 1848, the administrative basis was laid for a new Dienst Openbare Werken (Department of Public Works). Every year in June, the department published an annual plan indicating which works and improvements had to be discussed for the coming year. The Hague's expenditures had remained under budget, but after a reorganization of the municipal tax system in 1853 because of the new municipal law, things went wrong: the city suddenly received much less income. This led to tensions within the city council and endless tug-of-war over investments in urban amenities and cost savings.

After the death of Willem II, the Royal House with all its estates and the art it had purchased appeared to be on the brink of financial collapse. The estate faced debts of 4.5 million guilders. Willemspark was sold to the municipality. The impressive art collection of the Oranges was also sold. The riding school had already been sold and the Gothic Gallery along Noordeinde was demolished in 1882 due to dilapidation and the risk of collapse. Willem's widow Anna Pavlovna became the new owner of Sorghvliet. When she died at Buitenrust in 1866, Princess Sophie, Grand Duchess of Saxony, who normally stayed in Weimar, took possession of the estate.

Of all the buildings built by Willem II, only the buildings on Nassaulaan and the Gothic Hall behind Kneuterdijk survived these renovations. After the accession of Willem III in 1849, the Oranges exerted very little influence on the city image of The Hague, except for their involvement in buying and selling royal possessions. Prince Alexander and his aunt Grand Duchess Sophie bought back Kneuterdijk Palace and the Gothic Hall from her personal funds. The garden of Kneuterdijk Palace, which extended all the way to the Hooge Wal (current Mauritskade), was sold to a pupil of Reijers, the architect Delia. After the death of Willem III, Kneuterdijk Palace would remain the residence of Queen Regent Emma and her daughter Wilhelmina until 1940. Thus, the Oranges lived from 1813 to 1940 in the Noordeinde and Kneuterdijk palace cluster.

Willempark: from Private to Residential Park

Conservatives and Liberals about Municipality Development Plans

Willemspark was purchased by the municipality in 1855, with the aim to transform the private walking and riding park into a residential park with luxury villas around a rond-point with a monument to increase the allure of the city. This led to a conflict between the conservative and orange-minded city council of The Hague and the liberals under the liberal statesman Thorbecke, who believed that urban expansion was a task for entrepreneurs.

One of the first plans for the park was the building plan by the German architect Hermann Wentzel (1820-1889) from 1855, court architect of Prince Frederik of the Netherlands. The proposed buildings consisted of several spacious detached villas in a park-like environment. The plan had been drawn up at the request of the municipal executive, but which was rejected by the city council. Next, landscape architect Jan David Zocher (1791-1870) designed the park neighborhood in 1856. He had already shown what he was capable of based on a number of studies, but his design was not selected either. The proposal differed quite a bit from the usual oeuvre of the Zochers and had a static and symmetrical design; perhaps this design was by his son Louis Paul Zocher (1820-1915). Eventually, the new city architect Van der Waeyen Pieterszen designed the park. He also created a symmetrical design but with an oval square instead of a round square. The street plan was also simpler, and the proposed winding avenue had disappeared. Both designs followed the main structure of the existing park: a cross with a circle in the middle. Between 1857 and 1861 separate monuments and urban ensembles were brought into coherence with the streets that made the houses accessible; this emphasized the city image of lush greenery, this time with luxury villas. The building plots were sold at a substantial profit.

The first photographs taken of the city around this period show young trees planted in the park. Modern urban facilities such as elevated sidewalks, drainage of streets through sewers, and gas lanterns were included in the design by Van der Waeyen Pieterszen and were

added later in the surrounding streets such as Javastraat. In 1860, the surveyor Bevers drew a plan map of the Willemspark on a scale of 1:2500, in which the plots, the buildings, the building heights and the height of the monument on Plein 1813 were indicated.

For the Hague liberals in the new city council and national, the municipal development of the residential park by the conservative executive was a painful defeat. In particular, the expropriation of houses and land for the new expansion plans met with resistance from the liberals. In 1858, a council committee was set up which concluded that private construction should be subject to as few regulations as possible (Stokvis 1987: 46). As a result of this tension with the liberals, there was not much truth to further urban expansion by conservative administrators.

Other development plans showed the conflict in the city council. In 1859 the result was the Algemeen Plan van Uitbouwing der Gemeente (General Plan of Development of the Municipality) of The Hague by Van der Waeyen Pieterszen with expansion sketches for Veenpolder in the following years, in the *Plan voor de uitbreiding van het N.W. gedeelte van 's-Gravenhage* (*Plan for the expansion of the north-west part of The Hague*) (ca.1866), and the Stationsbuurt with the *Plan van den Nieuwen Aanleg in het Zuidelijke gedeelte van 's-Gravenhage* (*Plan for the expansion of the southern part of 's-Gravenhage*) (ca.1862/63). In the end, only parts of the plans on municipal land were carried out, just as in the case of another municipal development at Oranjeplein (Stokvis, 1987: 46).

The Architects of the Eclecticism

Eight architects and building contractors from The Hague bought the building plots in the Willemspark and designed and built villas for own account with the intention to sell them. Beautiful mainly whitewashed villas by the architects Elie Saraber (1808-1878), Johannes Jacobus Delia (1816-1898), Arend Roodenburg (1804-1884), Q. Wennekers, J.P.C. Swijser and Jansen (Blijstra, 1968: 36) were built in the park. Saraber, Delia, Roodenburg and Van der Waeyen Pieterszen were students of Reijers, educated at the Hague Drawing Academy Department of Architecture -where some of them would also become teachers themselves.

The influence of Reijers' students on the new generation of architects in The Hague was great. The white colonial villas at Alexanderstraat 1 and 2 by Saraber with a green lawn along Noordsingel and wide verandas and balconies became a standard for residential park architecture. The beautiful brick mansions by Delia along the tree-lined avenues became a standard for the bourgeois neighborhoods that were built in the following years. Only Delia used visible masonry.

The park consisted of Plein 1813 with four monumental white plastered villas, a monument in the middle, two intersecting monumental axes, Alexanderstraat and Sophialaan, and a rond-point as was also in vogue in Paris. Furthermore, it was striking that the axes were not at an angle of 90 degrees; instead, there was an angular rotation. With this, Van der Waeyen Pieterszen seemed to anticipate the extension of Sophialaan to a new urban lay out in Kleine Veentje (current Zeeheldenkwartier) further away. Sophialaan started at the riding school and church and ended to the existing buildings in Zeestraat. The (conservative) municipality hoped to buy the houses there in the Zeestraat and make a breakthrough to the new lay out of the city possible. But they did not get permission from the liberal government. The Nassaustraat and Zeestraat were already built up at this time, as is shown for example in the layout of Zeeheldenkwartier and Archipelbuurt.

The Willemspark with the rigid grid street plan and the rond-point Plein 1813 - a roundabout with a monument in the middle as was also in vogue in Paris - with its four stately houses became the archetype for the street plans of the civilian neighborhoods that were built between 1870 and 1890, for example Zeeheldenkwartier and Archipelbuurt. The buildings in the Willemspark would also set the tone for the years that followed in this part of the city.

The Alexanderstraat Axis, Connecting the Old and New Centers of Power

Around 1860, the first blocks of mansions designed by Delia appeared on Alexanderstraat: Alexanderstraat 3-5, 4, 7-9-11, 8-10-12, 13-15 and 14-16. The building at Plein 1813 no. 1 was also owned by Delia; this was the only white-plastered building by his hand. Two of the most iconic villas of the Willemspark are located on the corner of Alexanderstraat 1 and 2 with Mauritskade, designed by Saraber around 1860: elegant, white-plastered villas in colonial style with wide verandas overlooking the lawn and the canal to the Mauritskade. There, at the same time as the development of the Willemspark, ca. 1860, a contiguous block of mansions was built by Delia on the corner of Mauritskade 19-33 with Parkstraat. The buildings were already drawn on the city map of Lobatto from 1868.

There were also buildings on the other side of Parkstraat. The council reports also show that these houses belonged to Delia. Around the corner in the Parkstraat 109-105 appeared another building block with three distinguished mansions. These were also built around 1860 or perhaps a little later. In the wake of the development in Willemspark, the construction of the Javastraat followed (after 1862/ 64). The residential building Javastraat 1a and 1c (1865) was also designed by Delia. Further on at Mauritskade 43-57 and Mauritskade 1-17, blocks of mansions with great architectural coherence and kinship appeared (Rosenberg et al., 1988: 67). The Alexanderstraat axis was extended via the newly constructed Parkstraat, which took shape from 1859 and led to Lange Voorhout.

In 1862 Van der Waeyen Pieterszen drew the designs for Javastraat on the other side of Willemspark on a scale of 1: 2500. The seven very spacious lots were given a rhythm of buildings placed forwards and backwards; the buildings in the axis of the Alexanderstraat jumped forward (HGA gr.1016). Jan Willem Arnold (1813-1885), who had become wealthy in the Indies, would have his winter residence built there at Javastraat 26 between 1862 and 1864. On either side, the millionaire had three more buildings built, so that he owned Javastraat

20 to 32, that is, almost all the lots that Van der Waeyen Pieterszen had drawn in 1862. The master builder is unknown. From 1910 to 1972, the municipal council chamber was located here. From the wide monumental balcony, the viewer could look out over Alexanderstraat and Plein 1813, to the real center of power at Lange Voorhout (De Regt, 1986). This axis would also form the new connection from the old city to the seaside resort of Scheveningen.

The Dutch Virgin of Plein 1813

A competition organized in 1864 for the monument on the Plein 1813 gave rise to a serious conflict (Moll, 1954; Blijstra, 1968). Two camps emerged, one that supported the neoclassicism of the 'Ebenhaëzer' plan by the architects Koelman and Van der Waeyen Pieterszen, and one that supported the neo-Gothic 'NO' by the architect Pierre Cuypers (1827-1921). In the two final designs there was no king on the pedestal, but the Dutch Virgin, symbol for the unity of the Dutch people and country. All designs that included the king had already been excluded in the earlier stages of the competition. The judges of the competition were a committee of conservative industrialists who were staunch supporters of protectionism and the policy of Willem I. In addition, there was a jury and an assessment committee. The division of labor was obviously not well organized. Ebenhaëzer won the committee's vote with 22 votes to 2, but the jury declared NO the winner. A fierce battle ensued in which all Dutch architects took sides for Ebenhaëzer. The architect Jan Leliman, secretary and later chairman of the Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Bouwkunst (Society of Architecture) (BNA) played an important role in this. Other Dutch great architects who supported this design were government architect Willem Nicolaas Rose (1801-1877), who initially had doubts, and De Greef, Springer, Offenberg, Metzelaar, Bleijs, Eberson, and Gosschalk. The other party referred to important foreign masters such as Viollet le Duc, Labrouste, Garnier, Semper, and Bötticher. Eventually, the Ebenhaëzer design was carried out, but the conflict within the world of architects and society had become sharply visible. The controversy surrounding the competition for the monument on Plein 1813 symbolized the transition from the conservative orange attitude and the Dutch Hervormde Kerk towards the liberal and more open society with space for Roman Catholics (Blijstra 1968: 37-38). However, although he lost this competition, Cuypers would return to make his mark in The Hague.

2.4
The Hague: Distinguished Village in Lush Greenery

In the years which saw the waning of the powers of the House of Orange and the political transformations after 1848, the urban fabric - cityscape - of The Hague was thematically shaped by conservative and pro-Orange forces. The initial impetus for this stemmed from the unrestrained ambitions of King William II for the city, few of which were ultimately realized. Under the Oranges, urban development remained confined to a series of isolated monuments and parks. The promenade and riding park created under William II constituted an enclave within The Hague and, only after its subsequent transformation, became integrated as residential park into the wider urban structure through the development of Parkstraat and Javastraat.

Willemspark, a municipal undertaking, came to serve conservative interests as a model of a respectable city. Expropriation of land for urban expansion was rejected by the liberal statesman Thorbecke, as in the liberal conception, urban growth was not a governmental or municipality responsibility. After 1860, the extension of neighborhoods became the domain of private enterprise, with land development companies to lay out street plans and sold the plots to small-scale contractors constructing a few terraced houses for own account.

The Hague's specific urban morphology and relatively open spatial structure were largely determined by its geomorphological setting. The geomorphology of the landscape was determined by old coastal sand ridges running almost parallel to the shoreline and leads to the orthogonal patterns of roads, i.e., long linear axes. Its location close to the dunes, at a distance from navigable waterways precluded the city from evolving into a typical Dutch city characterized by proper canals, walls, towers, and gates.

Instead, The Hague historically derived its significance from its position as a neutral administrative center. Hofkwartier, together with an adjacent village - surrounded by extensive landed estates - constituted its historical nucleus.

Owing to the open configuration of the medieval village, with monasteries, large inner courtyards in the village, and the city palaces along Voorhout and Vijverberg within the verdant Hofkwartier, The Hague preserved its identity as a "distinguished village amidst lush greenery."

Following 1860, however, the city expanded rapidly beyond the seventeenth century canals.

Ledig Erf
Sack Straat
Pieter Straat
Paelsteeg
Dijk
Korte Molenstraat
Molen
Straat
OUD R.C. KERK
Julvrouw Ida Straat
R.C. KERK
Korte Hoogstraat
Slijk
Einde
Geest
KRANKZINNIGEN GESTICHT
Vlier Steeg
Nobel Straat
Pape Straat
Zuiling Straat
MAGAZIJN MILIT. KLEEDING
Kromme Elleboog
Tuyn Straat
Anna Straat
Kerkplein
POST KANTOOR
GROOTE KERK
RAAD HUIS
BURGER WEES HUIS
BURGER SCHOOL
Hooge Westeinde
Groenmarkt
Haven Straat
River Vischmarkt
Neerd Einde
Heul Straat
Kneuterdijk
Hooge Nieuw Straat
Plaats
Vijverberg
Hof
Vijver
Buitenhof
Binnenhof
1e KAMER
R.C. KERK
MINISTERIE VAN BINNENL. ZAKEN
RIDDER ZAAL
2e KAMER
KANTOOR GRIFFIE
GEVANGEN HOF
HOGE RAAD
Hof Straat
Achterom
Spui
Lange Poten
Lombard
Azendelft Straat
R.C. KERK
LUTH. WEESHUIS
Jan Haspelen Str.
Schuiten Straat
Nieuw Straat
Veene Straat
Laan
Korte Heerlem
NED. KERK
Vlaming Straat
Gracht
Groote Markt
Brouwers Gracht
Dienaars Poort
HOFJE van WOUW
Lange
Bockhorst
Hooge Zand
Herderinne Str.
Lutherscke Burgwal
Hamstraat
Gedempte Burgwal
Berder Straat
Oog Sint 't Zeel Str.
Pavijoens
Kater Straat
Nieuwe
Molstraat
Veldersgracht
Gedempte Gracht
Spui
St. Jakobs Straat
Zuidwal
BURGER GASTHUIS
Hamerslop
Molstraat
Rozemaryn Straat
Veerkade
Amsterdamsche
Lange Kneuterdijk
Biezen
Turf
Schapen Steeg
Bagijnen

3
CITYSCAPE OF LAISSEZ-FAIRE
1860–1890

“All those wheelbarrows belong in Paddemoes (St. Jacobsstraat), Bezemstraat, Lange- and Voldergracht. In numerous narrow, slippery passageways leading to dark alleys live those industrious street vendors, whose hoarse cries resound through the streets all day long. At the entrance to these slums, one sometimes sees their wives and children squatting or leaning idly. The shabby garments of these girls and women only serve to accentuate the brilliance of their dark, sparkling eyes and their beautiful black hair. Even their posture betrays a certain grace, rarely encountered among the lower classes of Christians.”
Johan Gram, *Haagsche schetsen* (*Sketches of The Hague*), 1900: 228

Left, a fragment of the map by J. Lobattoo and C.E. Last from 1868, on behalf of the
Vereeniging tot Onderzoek naar de Middelen ter Verbetering van den Gezondheidstoestand der Gemeente 's-Gravenhage.
Collection HGA z.gr.0024.

Lage Zand, Spuikwartier. Photo by J.G. Happel from 1907.
Collection HGA 0.42445.

Bagijnestraat, Spuikwartier. Photo by J.G. Happel from 1907.
Collection HGA 6.07341.

Elsemoerstraat, Spuikwartier. Photo by J.G. Happel from 1907.
Collection HGA 6.07342.

Lage Zand, Spuikwartier. Photo by J.G. Happel from 1907.
Collection HGA 0.42446.

3.1
Introduction

The cityscape of Laissez-Faire addresses the socio-economic stratification of society in the period following the state reforms around 1850, the emergence of a new political culture, and the rapid population growth of The Hague - these developments had a clear impact on the spatial organization of the city and on the quality of housing.

Three types of new districts or residential neighborhoods emerged: the elegant residential parks around the Scheveningse Bosjes, the middle-class neighborhoods such as the Zeeheldenkwartier and the Archipelbuurt, and working-class neighborhoods with squalid inner-courtyard slums, such as Schilderswijk. The architecture consisted primarily of simple brick construction, occasionally complemented by white stucco or keystones.

This period begins with the outbreak of cholera in Scheveningen and The Hague, and the observations of physician Schick concerning hygienic conditions in the city. A prologue that sharply frames the conflict inherent in urban development. Schick identified a relationship between epidemics, the densification of the city due to the influx of new residents, the construction of housing on inner courtyards, and the deplorable living conditions in the slums of The Hague and Scheveningen. This research formed the starting point for new legislation, the development of urban infrastructure, and a changing vision of the city. In the second half of the nineteenth century, physicians, engineers, and architects jointly pursued the ideal of a hygienic and healthy city for all.

3.2
Prologue:
The Observations of Physician and Hygienist Schick, 1852

On the State of Health in The Hague: The Cholera Epidemic of 1849

The research conducted by the physician and hygienist Johannes Wilhelmus Schick (1818-1853) in 1852, published as *Over den gezondheidstoestand van 's Gravenhage* (*On the State of Health in The Hague*), remained of major significance for the development of The Hague until the Second World War (Bakker Schut, 1939).

Schick established a connection between the city's rapid expansion after the Napoleonic era and the influx of new inhabitants; the densification of the urban fabric through slums in inner courtyards and the subdivision of decayed mansions was going on at that time; and the relationship between soil conditions and the health of dwellings became in question. Many residents of The Hague and Scheveningen were afflicted by cholera and typhoid. The city grew from 42,000 inhabitants in 1814 to 72,467 in 1850. For the period 1877-1919, demographic data were recorded: approximately 38% of newcomers originated from South Holland, 47% from other provinces, and 5-6% from abroad, primarily Germany and Belgium, and to a lesser extent from the colonies (Stokvis, 1987: 172).

For the first time, Schick interlinked the fields of pathology, statistics, and locational conditions, thereby placing housing conditions, urban location, and health at the center of inquiry. He demonstrated a correlation between epidemics and the city's densification within its seventeenth century canals, where large groups of vulnerable newcomers settled. In this way, Schick laid the groundwork for the movement of the hygienists - a circle of like-minded reformers who pursued improved sanitation, healthier housing, and sound residential neighborhoods. His research inspired numerous initiatives and legislation in the second half of the nineteenth century concerning housing construction, urban planning, and the provision of public utilities such as drinking water and sewers, designed to mitigate adverse locational factors.

Schick's study reflects a paradigmatic shift: the transition from the premodern city to the modern city, where hygiene and amenities such as potable water, sewerage, and healthy dwellings became central concerns. This paradigm shift occurred almost imperceptibly, yet in retrospect it clearly delineates the conception of cities into a period before and after Schick. It is no coincidence that Schick's research took place in an era of profound administrative reform in the Netherlands, marked by the introduction of the Municipalities Act of 1851. This period represents a watershed: before it, the old city prevailed; afterward, the modern city emerged, in which science regarding hygiene increasingly informed the design of new neighborhoods and

Platte Grond
van
'S GRAVENHAGE,
VERVAARDIGD OP LAST VAN DE VEREENIGING TOT ONDERZOEK NAAR DE MIDDELEN
TOT VERBETERING VAN DEN GEZONDHEIDS-TOESTAND IN GEMELDE GEMEENTE
Met het Kadaster overeengebracht en van perceelen voorzien
door C.E. LAST, LANDMETER BIJ HET KADASTER
Geteekend en op steen gebracht door J. Lobatto & Z.ᵒ
1866.
Schaal van 1:2500

housing, culminating in the passage of the Housing Act of 1901.

This paradigm shift is also legible in the city maps produced at the time. On the maps by Van der Poth (1812), Zürcher (1817), Reijers (1833), and Belinfante (1847), the city was represented through its prestigious buildings, while everything within the buildings lines along the streets was left unmarked or shaded.

In contrast, in 1868 The Hague's hygienist's organization Vereeniging tot onderzoek naar de middelen tot verbetering van den gezondheids-toestand (Association for research into the means of improving the state of health) commissioned surveyor C.E. Last (land surveyor of the land registery) and engraver J. Lobatto Rz to produce a city map in which the slums were meticulously recorded, thereby underscoring the significance of Schick's work.

Earlier research on Schick's work has been conducted in different periods and with varying motives (Stokvis, 1987; Houwaart, 1991; Lintsen, 1993; Van der Woud, 2010). In the second half of the nineteenth century, hygienists in The Hague elaborated on Schick's program for the city through legislation, improved housing, and sanitary provisions. These nineteent century hygienists from The Hague are the central focus of this chapter. The city's first urban planner, Isaac Anne Lindo (1848-1941), began to implement large-scale infrastructure such as sewerage, drinking water, streets with sidewalks, railways, and electricity after 1890, thus creating the urban landscape of the fin de siècle. It was not until the interbellum that Bakker Schut (1939) extensively documented these areas with numerous studies, photographs, and descriptions. Stokvis (1987) highlighted specific neighborhoods such as the Jewish quarter (neighborhood R) with its shops, the red-light district (neighborhood Q), and Kortenbos (neighborhoods A, B, C) with its Catholic community and various activities. Ies van Creveld (1989) provided a depiction of the life of the poor Ashkenazi Jewish community, many of whom were refugees from Poland and Germany and found simple shelter and existence in The Hague from the sixteenth century onwards. The residents of the working-class neighborhood Kortenbos (neighborhoods A, B, C) were studied by local historians Wuite (1990), Langerak (1984), and Langerak & Zomerveld (1993). The red-light district was also explored in detail. Dutch author Ferdinand Bordewijk (1884-1965), known for his evening walks through The Hague, portrayed the slums and alleys of the city in his writings. Under the pseudonym Ton Ven (1962), he depicted neighborhoods with poorly painted women in the eros walk (no.7). Additionally, works such as De Wingerdrank (1937) and Het Rode Paleis. Ondergang van een eeuw (1936) provided disconcerting portrayals of the darker side of the city. The Rivierenbuurt, the red-light district, the Jewish quarter, and the working-class neighborhood of Kortenbos have largely disappeared, leaving only a few fragments of buildings behind. Occasionally, parts of slums or courtyards can be seen, serving as silent witnesses to the hardships of the nineteenth century.

Left, the map by J. Lobattoo and C.E. Last from 1868, on behalf of the Vereeniging tot Onderzoek naar de Middelen ter Verbetering van den Gezondheidstoestand der Gemeente 's-Gravenhage.
Collection HGA z.gr.0024.

Life of J.W. Schick

Migrant Workers in The Hague

Johannes Wilhelmus Schick, born in 1818, was a physician in The Hague. He was a descendant of a German family of furniture makers who had established the company J.A. Schick & Co in The Hague after the Napoleonic era. The family came to The Hague because they were commissioned to make the furniture and furnishings for Noordeinde Palace on behalf of King William I, who had lived in the palace since 1817. The immigrant Schick belonged to the new elite of The Hague and was not part of the old order of the Reformed administrative elite. It is unclear what religion or philosophy Schick adhered to, though he may have supported the changes that the liberal Thorbecke brought.

Johannes' sister married Willem Jozef Andries Jonckbloet (1817-1885) in 1848 in The Hague. His sister's family remained childless (Krul, 1892). Schick and his brother-in-law Jonckbloet likely knew each other from The Hague gymnasium, renamed Stedelijk Gymnasium (City grammar school) in 1838. Jonckbloet studied there from 1831 to 1835. Both then continued their studies in Leiden, where the reformer Thorbecke was a professor, advocating for the reform of constitutional law and the constitutional system. Jonckbloet's parents were Johannes Reinier Jonckbloet, a courtier, and Susanna Diehl, a lady-in-waiting. It is believed that his biological father was King William II (dbnl.nl; parlement.com). Jonckbloet served as a liberal and member of the House of Representatives from 1864 to 1877, focusing particularly on education legislation and aligning with another prominent liberal, I.D. Fransen van de Putte. This group criticized Thorbecke's colonial policies.

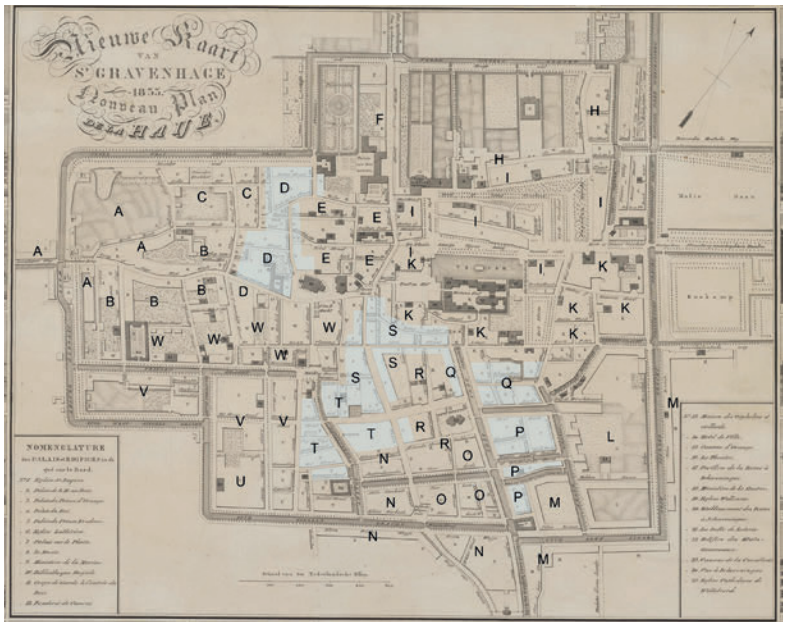
Schick obtained his doctorate in medicine from Leiden University on October 28, 1843 and established himself as a doctor in The Hague in 1845. In the autumn of 1851, he purchased the large building at Noordeinde 138-140, where his family's business had once been located, indicating his considerable wealth. In early 1851, Schick visited Vienna with a group of physicians to view a collection of optical instruments by J. Reis. In December 1852, he was appointed inspector of the municipal pharmacy. He also briefly served as a physician at the first bathhouse of Scheveningen (Krul, 1892).

Schick's Position Within the Hygienists

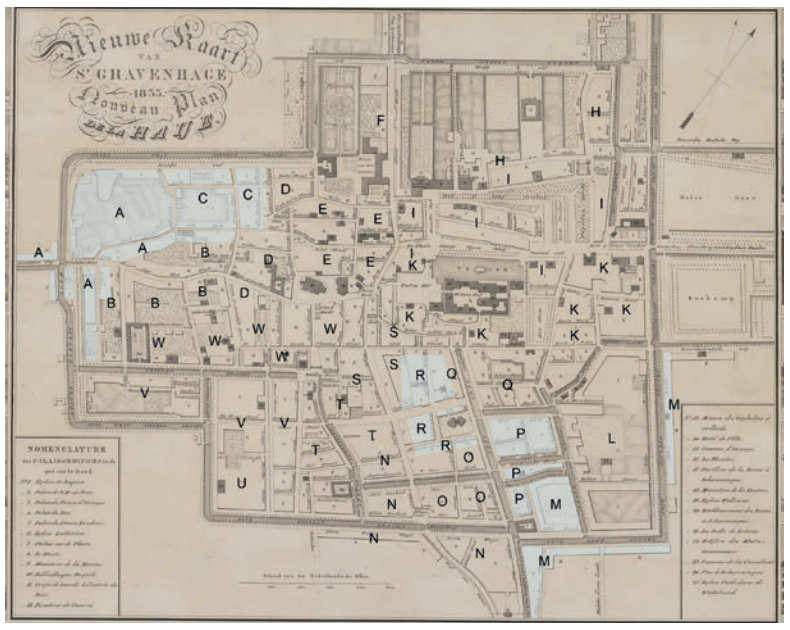
Schick's position within the hygienists' movement was characterized by his method of localism (Houwaart, 1991). Localism sees the health of a population as influenced by specific local conditions, contrasting with the traditional focus on pathology in medical studies. During Schick's time, death was typically attributed to factors such as dietary patterns, which differed according to social class. The localism approach, however, provided a more suitable explanatory model by calculating the number of deaths per unit of time relative to the population size at each location, i.e., the 'mortality ratio' or 'mortality number'.

By analyzing the ratio of deaths to births over time and across different locations or cities, Schick identified problematic areas. Once identified, further investigation could pinpoint specific causes. Schick

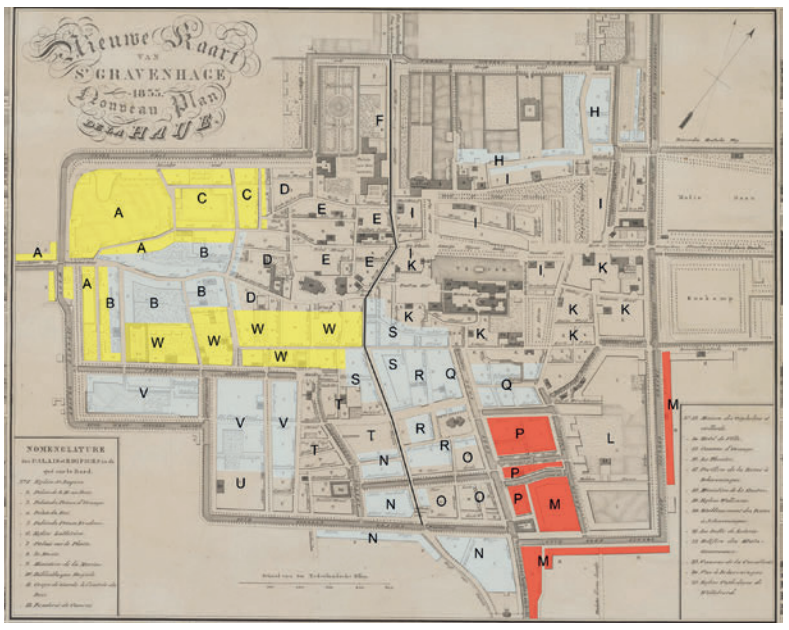
The map with the three low-lying polders in the Districts L, M and V.



Among the most densely populated neighbourhoods with the highest number of people per dwelling in Districts P, Q, T, S and D.



The parts with the poorest residents in the Districts P, M, R, A and C.



Among the neighborhoods most affected by the cholera epidemic of 1849. Especially in the red districts P and M were hit hardest, then the yellow districts A, C and W. Then the light blue districts, the non-colored neighborhoods (especially in the Hofkwartier) were hardly affected. The relationship between poverty (and the associated lousy housing) and cholera is striking.

Maps above are based on Schick's findings on the city map of Zeger Reijers from 1833 drawn up by the author.

introduced French and English insights to the Netherlands, linking mortality rates directly to local conditions. This approach originated in the Enlightenment and gained prominence between 1830 and 1850 in France and England. In the Netherlands, however, it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that this approach gained significant influence (Houwaart, 1991; Lintsen et al., 1993).

Although Schick did not explicitly mention him, it was likely physician C.J. Nieuwenhuijs who, with his work *Proeve eener geneeskundige plaatsbeschrijving (topographie) der stad Amsterdam* (*Attempt at a medical topography of the city of Amsterdam*) (1816-1820), first connected epidemics to the quality of the living environment in the Netherlands (Van der Woud, 2010: 235). However, Nieuwenhuijs' work lacked the statistical method at the district level that Schick later employed. Schick did reference a French Enlightenment source that conducted similar research.

An essential role in the activities of hygienists was played by the Koninklijke Nederlandse Maatschappij Tot Bevordering Der Geneeskunst (KNMG) (Royal Dutch Society for the Promotion of Medicine), established in 1848, an organization for doctors in the Netherlands with local branches in many cities. Notable hygienists and contemporaries in The Hague included physician T.H. Blom Coster (1817-1904), who practiced in The Hague from 1843 and served as city physician until 1897. One of the founders of the NMG was J.C.G. Evers (1818-1886), who became chairman of the Hague branch from 1850 and co-founded The Hague Medical Society. Evers conducted medical-statistical research in The Hague during the cholera epidemic of 1848-1849. After retiring as a professor of medicine in Leiden, he served as a counselor in The Hague from 1874 to 1884. L.H. Verwey (1816-1875), a Doctor of Medicine, was active in The Hague from 1839 and advised Thorbecke on public health regulations. Casper Pieter Pous Koolhaas (1831-1893) earned his doctorate from Leiden between 1856 and 1858, settled in The Hague two years later, and became a prominent advocate for sanitary reform.

Schick was the first, following physician Willem Frederik Büchner (1789-1855) (1822, 1826, 1833) and his son Ernestus Christianus Büchner (1812-1882), both from Gouda, to elucidate the deteriorating state of health in The Hague and attribute it to increasing pollution and living conditions in the city. E.C. Büchner, from 1852 until his death, chaired the Salerno Workers' Building Society and advocated for the improvement of workers' housing. Büchner collaborated closely with physician Samuel Sarphati (1813-1866), and together they made significant contributions to public health and urban development in Amsterdam. Interestingly, in a book review of Büchner and C.G. van der Post's work, which included their exploration of the role of statistics in medical research, P.F. Otten already referenced Schick's publications (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, December 13, 1852).

Schick's 1852 study garnered significant attention, with numerous newspaper reports highlighting its importance. Two prominent hygienists, Schimmel and Voorhelm Schneevoogt, extensively discussed Schick's work in the magazine *De Gids* (vol. 16, 1852: 522-525). They emphasized that his work deserved the attention of physicians, city councils, and the emerging field of statistics.

Many hygienists were associated with Thorbecke, who was instrumental in political reforms and fostering a period of political enlightenment. Apparently, Schick also had connections with the national government, much like his brother-in-law. On September 22, 1852, Schick attended a congress of physicians in Brussels (*Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, September 24, 1852); Dutch delegates had been sent by the government, indicating the influence of Thorbecke's liberals. Among the other delegates were liberal politician W. de Sitter from Groningen, philanthropist and prison reformer W.H. Suringar, and chemist Professor E.H. von Baumhauer from Amsterdam. At this congress, Schick was appointed vice president of the organization of physicians. In 1852, Schick published a "Report of the delegate of the Society concerning the European Congress of Hygiene" in the NMG journal (vol. 3, 1852: 185-212), detailing the proceedings of the congress.

Structure and Method of Schick's Study

The trigger for Schick's research was the cholera epidemic of 1849. Despite advancements in medical science, he observed a deterioration in health conditions and an increase in infant mortality in The Hague. The city posed a persistent anomaly because of the geomorphic substrate that Schick sought to investigate through his study. Schick's study is structured into several parts.

First, his introduction introduces the main question, approach, concepts such as 'mortality rate' and 'lifespan', and the method he uses. He then discusses similar domestic and foreign studies. Using the population archives, he compares the causes of mortality from the periods 1755-1773 and 1830-1848, showing the deteriorating state of health after the Napoleonic era in The Hague. Furthermore, he concludes that The Hague was an exception compared to other cities.

The second part deals with circumstances or causes of certain epidemics in relation to air, water, soil conditions, daylight, and densification of plants, animals, and people. Thirdly, Schick discusses the case of The Hague, making the concepts epidemics and densification more concrete. Schick then describes the cholera epidemic of 1849 and investigates various aspects of the neighborhoods, showed the major differences between, and identified causes for these differences. Lastly, he describes the measures that should lead to the creation of a healthy city with facilities such as sewers, a drinking water system, and healthy housing.

It had long been supposed that geographic determinism, a relationship existed between specific places and health. The Roman architectural writer Vitruvius already made a connection between health and place. Schick therefore begins his study with a quotation from *Schat der Gesontheyt* (*Treasure of Health*) by Johan Beverwijck from 1636, in which the relationship is discussed between polluted air and places where the air is always unhealthy, which people cannot afford to leave. Beverwijck's recommendation is to improve this 'evil air' as much as possible.

One of the rare floor plans preserved in the Hague Municipal Archives depicts a street-facing residential house with a shop (no. 23a), with in the open courtyard at the back three one-room dwellings (nos. 25, 27, and 31), as well as two dwellings that had been declared uninhabitable (nos. 33 and 35). The one-room dwellings surrounding the open courtyard shared two toilets. All units were equipped with box beds and sleeping lofts. This ensemble, consisting of a street-facing house and slum dwellings at the back, was owned by a single proprietor and was located at Ammunitiehaven 23–35 in the Rivierenbuurt.
Collection HGA 8086-01, Inv 91.

The other sources Schick used show that he was well-informed by foreign studies. In particular, the mortality tables drawn up by the mathematician Antoine Duparcieux in France in 1745 were an example for him. Presumably, Schick was referring to *Essai sur les probabilités de la durée de la vie humaine* (1746), a study of human lifespan in France. In Schick's time, the densification of cities, regular epidemics, lack of good housing, and urban facilities were also described in the literary works of Charles Dickens and in the observations of Friedrich Engels (1845). Schick did not mention them by name, but does describe similar cases as Engels.

Schick's study was pivotal in linking local environmental conditions and statistics with health outcomes, contributing significantly to the emerging field of urban hygiene and public health in the Netherlands during the mid-nineteenth century. His structured approach and methodological rigor laid the foundation for future studies in this field. From now on, health in cities was not only a concern for doctors, but also for administrators, urban planners, and architects.

Conditions that Determine Health

Deteriorating Health Situation in The Hague after the Napoleonic Era

Schick compared The Hague population archives from the periods 1755-1773 and 1830-1848, revealing a significant deterioration in the state of health. Infant mortality and mortality between the ages of 15 and 35 stood out. Schick observed that: "Of every 10,000 births, only half survived to the age of twenty in this century, whereas in the previous century half did not die until the age of twenty-five." (Schick, 1852: 7). The average human lifespan had dropped from 30 years and 351 days to 29 years and 29 days.

When Schick excluded smallpox, which was prevalent in eighteenth but rare in the nineteenth century, the difference in lifespan in The Hague appeared to have lowered even more, by 3.5 years. Schick concluded that the mortality rate among young children had greatly increased, fewer people were reaching old age, and both the age and average lifespan had decreased. According to Schick, The Hague had clearly deteriorated in terms of mortality and longevity. There had been considerable advancements in medical science over the years and other cities both domestically and internationally showed significant improvements in health status. Using the mortality ratio—the ratio of the number of deaths to the number of inhabitants—as an example, he compared data from various cities in the country. In 1622, Amsterdam had a mortality rate of 1:24.5 (1 death per 24.5 inhabitants), while from 1830 to 1850 it was 1:28. Schiedam in 1747 had a rate of 1:26.6, which improved to 1:34.8 around 1850. Haarlem's mortality rate was 1:26.3 between 1745 and 1756 and 1:33.5 around 1850. All other Dutch cities showed similar increases in longevity. Schick also noted mortality ratios for foreign cities: London had a rate of 1:23 in 1685, improving to 1:40 around 1850, comparable to figures in France. In Paris, the rate was 1:20 at the beginning of the eighteenth century and 1:32 around 1850. Vienna also showed significant improvement. The Hague, with its deteriorating health conditions, was an anomaly in comparison to these trends.

Difference in the Quality of Neighborhoods and the Absence of Government

Interestingly, some cities also tracked the mortality ratios in different residential areas, shedding light on the quality of individual neighborhoods. Schick found that in The Hague, the mortality ratio varied significantly among neighborhoods.

For instance, in York, the mortality ratio was 1:28.22 in the period 1771-81, which improved to 1:43.90 in 1821-1831. In the best neighborhoods the ratio was 1:54.23, in mediocre neighborhoods 1:47.08, in less favorable neighborhoods 1:43.91, and in the worst neighborhoods 1:32.15. Life expectancy in the best neighborhoods was 35.32 years compared to 22.57 years in the worst neighborhoods. In parishes in Manchester and Chorlton-upon-Medlock, the mortality rate improved from 1:32 to an average of 1:39 after the construction of sewers and pavements. In better streets, the ratio was 1:46, in average streets 1:39, and in poorer streets 1:27. Mortality rates were 1:52 in better housing, 1:40 in average housing, and 1:29 in poorer housing. Similarly, in the most impoverished parts of Leicester, the mortality ratio improved from 1:14 to 1:24 after the construction of better pavements. Schick also mentioned the Prince Albert's Exhibition Model Houses for Families that were constructed at the 1851 World's Fair. In homes where only adults lived, the mortality rate was 1:100 over four years, while in homes where children under the age of 10 lived, it was 1:40. This was considerably better than the overall mortality rate in London, which was 1:19.2.

Schick highlighted New Orleans as an example of poor conditions. The mortality ratio was as high as 1:17, quoting a foreign hygienist: "An embankment, seven feet higher than the ground of the city, protects it from the floods of the Mississippi; it is surrounded by swamps; half the streets are unpaved; there are no sewers. The open gutters often present the most disgusting spectacle; several clearings on ground that are lower than the streets have been flooded in wet weather; stagnant water is found under the floors of many houses; etc." (Schick, 1852: 18). Schick also described two other areas noted by hygienists: the islet of Westmannaeyjar south of Iceland and the island of St. Kilda in the Hebrides. On these islands, eight out of ten children died between the eighth and twelfth day of their lives, contrasting sharply with clergymen who lived in healthier environments and did not lose any of their children.

For Schick, these examples underscored the importance of examining differences in quality between different neighborhoods. He also highlighted the repercussions of governments failing to implement necessary health measures, which directly impacted the health of citizens.

Population Situation and Local Conditions

Schick's statement from 1852 reflects his understanding of how human

NOORD ZEE
SCHEVENINGEN
OOST DUINEN
WEST DUINEN
NIEUWE KAART
VAN
'S GRAVENHAGE EN SCHEVENINGEN
op de Schaal van 1:2250
NAAR DE JONGSTE KADASTRALE OPMETINGEN
W. C. v. d. W. PIETERSZEN.
OPGEDRAGEN
AAN DEN GEMEENTEERAAD DER RESIDENTIE.
SEGBROEK POLDER
BENOORDENHOUTSCHE POLDER
KLEINE VEENTJE
VEEN POLDER
ZUSTER POLDER
BOVEN VEEN POLDER

nature is shaped by environmental factors such as climate, location, and lifestyle. Here's an edited version of his statement:

"The nature of humanity varies according to the circumstances in which individuals find themselves. Climate, location, and way of life exert significant influence on both physical health and mental state. When the conditions surrounding individuals change, there is a corresponding alteration in their well-being. Differences in the state of populations between two places suggest variations in local conditions. Similarly, changes in the condition of a population over time within the same place indicate shifts in local circumstances" (Schick, 1852: 19).

This passage underscores Schick's recognition of the dynamic interaction between human health and the environment, emphasizing the importance of environmental factors in shaping public health outcomes. Schick concluded that the condition of the human body and mind varies and is intricately linked to environmental circumstances such as climate, location, and way of life. Changes in local circumstances have direct consequences for individuals. Disparities in population conditions between two different places indicate differing local environments. Similarly, if the condition of a population changes over time in a particular place, it suggests that local conditions in that area have also undergone change over time. This encapsulates Schick's understanding that human health outcomes are not static but are deeply influenced by the evolving environmental conditions in which people live.

In these circumstances, Schick identified that the causes of diseases can be categorized into general and local causes. General conditions affect larger areas and populations, encompassing factors like urban densification and advancements in medical science. On the other hand, local conditions are specific to certain places, influencing health outcomes within those environments. Schick's distinction highlights how both broader societal changes and specific local factors contribute to the health status of populations. Of this, Schick stated:

"To this end, the causes which alter the health and mortality of a population must be investigated. These may be of a general or local nature. General causes exert their influence over a larger extent, affecting entire populations or multiple regions. Local causes, on the other hand, are attributable to specific local circumstances and impact only a confined area. … That local conditions really exert a powerful influence on health, mortality, and longevity, we find proof of this in a comparison of mortality in different places. Thus, it can be seen, for example, that the mortality ratio tends to increase in proportion as the accumulation of the population increases. It is well known that in the same region, mortality in the rural municipalities is more favorable than in the towns. The local situation, the nature of the soil, etc., exert a predominant influence. … Scarcely will we find two places where the ratio of mortality is perfectly equal, but we see that cities which show great similarity in the natural and local conditions also come near to each other in the ratio of deaths, and that there is a very close connection between such conditions and mortality" (Schick, 1852: 20, 22, 23).

Left, map of The Hague and Scheveningen by W. Verstijen of the land register service and city architect W.C. van der Waeyen Pieterszen on behalf of The Hague municipality from 1872.
Collection HGA gr.0327-1, 2 and 3.

Circumstances that Led to Epidemics

Finally, Schick identified the local conditions, causes, or deficiencies that contributed to the cholera epidemic that coursed through The Hague in 1848-1849 as follows:

1) atmospheric contamination caused by:

- Noxious fumes emanating from stagnant canals and ponds filled with decomposing matter;
- Consequences of an inadequate sewer system;
- Excessive clustering of dwellings;
- Overcrowding within houses;
- Poor placement and arrangement of houses;
- Inadequate street cleaning, etc.;

2) the use of contaminated water, spoiled by:

- Significant impurities in canal water and water connected to wells;
- Effluents from faulty sewers;
- Organic matter saturated soil.

The first factor is air quality. Many diseases, such as typhoid, swamp fever, certain forms of dysentery, and possibly cholera, are caused by airborne toxins entering the lungs. In the slums of The Hague, there was a severe lack of fresh air and ventilation, and the damp soil emitted fumes that caused houses to become moldy and residents to fall ill.

The second factor is soil conditions and flooding. Rainwater and well water were typically used for consumption. In the case of well water, new water continually replenishes the well when water is extracted. However, the water quality depended on the filtration processes occurring as rainwater percolated through the ground and groundwater flow. According to Schick, filtration involves both mechanical and chemical processes. Minerals in the soil bind various substances, rendering them insoluble in water. The hydrodynamics of the soil also play a crucial role in draining substances: stagnant water can lead to the accumulation of contaminants in the soil.

Air, water, and soil conditions together constitute a unified whole that, according to Schick, contributed to unhealthy local conditions. Additionally, the general circumstance of neighborhood densification, leading to an accumulation of plants, animals, and people, causing organic pollution within cramped and unhealthy housing, created an unhealthy environment for residents. Schick argues that it is precisely the combination of general and local causes that precipitates epidemics. He states:

"It is evident, therefore, how closely intertwined are the relations among air and water, our primary necessities, with the soil, the habitation, and the cultivation of the land. Where there is no vegetation, where no animals reside—on bare rock, naked dune, or sandy heath—there is no cause for concern. However, as vegetation flourishes, as animals and humans gather, so too will the detrimental effects manifest if no measures are taken to mitigate them" (Schick, 1852: 37).

Schick identified several local conditions in slums that contributed to the spread of diseases: polluted air, contaminated water, poor soil conditions, lack of daylight and ventilation, inadequate housing space, and the high concentration of plants, animals, and people. He emphasized that the absence of effective city governance, which could have implemented improvements, was also a significant local factor. Schick criticized the indifference of The Hague's administration towards addressing these issues, which exacerbated the unhealthy living conditions in urban areas:

"How often does one find houses constructed as though the most unfavorable conditions had deliberately been combined? The houses may be situated too low; or on soil that retains moisture for too long, such as clay; or on ground that canals water too easily, such as peat. As a result, the dwellings become damp and therefore unhealthy. The streets may, in relation to the prevailing winds and the position of the sun, be laid out in an unfavorable direction; they may, in proportion to the height of the houses, be too narrow. In such cases, air circulation is obstructed, harmful exhalations and vapors linger and are retained. Inadequate arrangements of the houses for lighting, ventilation, and heating can be extremely detrimental to health and even to life itself, as can poor foundations and inferior building materials that promote dampness. Finally, the number and size of houses may be too small in proportion to the population. Overcrowding of dwellings is also a principal cause of disease. We have already seen how a certain supply of oxygen is indispensable for health. Where many people remain together in a confined space, oxygen is consumed; in its place appears the dangerous carbon dioxide, which is constantly exhaled by the lungs and the skin. At the same time, human and animal exhalations mix with the air—causes that can render its inhalation even deadly. The dreadful consequences of crowding large numbers of people into small spaces can be observed in the wretched condition of enslaved Africans aboard slave ships. Through constant renewal of the air, the dangers of excessive population density and dampness can be largely mitigated. For this reason, proper ventilation of dwellings is a matter of the utmost importance. Light, and above all sunlight, is likewise essential to health—not only because it acts as a moral stimulant upon the mind, but also because of the direct effect it likely exerts upon the body itself, and certainly upon the surrounding elements—air, water, and so forth" (Schick, 1852: 38, 39).

The 1849 Cholera Epidemic in Scheveningen and The Hague

Natural Conditions and Possible Interventions

After determining the various circumstances that explained the high mortality rate in The Hague, Schick considered the local conditions and their pathological consequences. From this new perspective, he distinguished between natural conditions (such as location, soil conditions, and water flows) and artificial conditions (such as habitation and building types). City governments can artificially improve these natural conditions.

Schick mentioned that locations in which buildings were erected should allow air to enter freely and avoid proximity to shallow stagnant water and marshes, while proximity to the sea and lakes is usually beneficial. The soil must be raised to a sufficient height above the water level because organic components in the soil water affect health. The supply and drainage of water streams should be enough and simple, and drinking water system should be pure and healthy.

Interventions that would have allowed city governments to modify these natural conditions were, according to Schick: "Establishment of airy, dry, spacious, and well-equipped dwellings. A good ratio between the height of the buildings and the distance between them. A proper ratio between the number and space of the houses and the population. Immediate removal of all uncleanliness, garbage, excrement, etc. Proper installation of water pipes, gutters, sewers, wells, etc. Provision of good drinking water and an abundant supply of fresh water for purification. Prevention of all harmful consequences of handicrafts, factories, and factories. Maintenance of plantations" (Schick, 1852: 42, 43).

Specific to the circumstances in The Hague were the soil conditions, with there was a watertight clay layer in the sand, Schick noted. He identified this as the main cause of the high mortality rate. Because water could not adequately drain, the dwellings remained structurally damp. From a medical and architectural point of view, therefore, accurate knowledge of soil conditions was necessary for healthy well water and for the laying of gutters and foundations.

Regarding natural conditions, the sea air was beneficial for The Hague on one hand. On the other hand, The Hague was located close to the dunes on a beach ridge in the upper corner of the area managed by the Delfland Water Board (Hoogheemraadschap Delfland). Streams ran between beach walls running parallel to the sea, and there was peat growth. The dunes between The Hague and the coastline had already been largely Removed for urban expansions and use of the sand elsewhere to create a stable foundation for the buildings. The Binnenhof and the village of The Hague are located on old dunes with a peat layer in between and a clay layer underneath on the south-east side of the city. From two water sources in the dunes, streams run between the beach walls to the Hofvijver. In the Middle Ages, the connection from the Hofvijver to the Vliet, the Spui, was dug. The flow of water was already moderate to poor due to The Hague's high location. Although the dunes drained (Haagse Beek and Spui), the

situation became disastrous after the Water Board raised the basin level in 1827.

Additionally, the densification of the city with the construction of slums for newcomers exacerbated all the problems, as Schick notes: “As far as the location of The Hague is concerned, there are not a few who think that, from a medical point of view, it is not very fortunate. How often are people inland afraid of the proximity of the sea, of the cold and damp winds, and of the rapid changes of temperature which they attribute to it? How frightened are others of the evil vapors they think they see rising from Bosch” (Schick, 1852: 45).

How Densification Occurred

To describe how densification had occurred in The Hague in the past, Schick compared two periods using Jacob de Riemer’s thorough archival research, *Beschryving van 's Graven-hage* (*Description of The Hague*), from the years 1730, 1739, and 1743, and the associated city maps. Gerrit van der Giessen produced these maps as *Haga-Comitis in Hollandia* in 1570 and 1730. The 1570 map was a copy of a painting from that year, and a copy of that painting from 1663 still hangs in the Historical Museum of The Hague (Haags Historisch Museum).

On the 1570 map, the open spaces, bleaching fields, and gardens in the courtyards were still clearly visible, and the canals around the village and the harbors had not yet been constructed. By 1850, everything was crammed with courtyards and slums. Because The Hague is a village and never received city rights, it had no medieval city walls, gates, towers, or canals. The city structure was not very organized; housing followed the roads to other cities or villages such as Wagenstraat to Delft, Westeinde to Loosduinen, Noordeinde to Scheveningen, and Lange Poten to Leiden. The streets and roads are far away from each other, with urban blocks consisting of small houses and spacious courtyards. Some of these courtyards were initially monasteries. After the Reformation, the four existing monasteries had disappeared.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, The Hague’s canals were constructed. Until 1860, The Hague grew within the canals, with only a few houses just outside this area. The first phase of urban densification involved the irregular filling of courtyards between about 1600 and 1870. Typically, a row of one-room houses was built in the yard behind a house, accessible via a one meter wide corridor and a gate on the street, or often a gap between two houses. The zone between the village itself and the spaciously laid out canals remained largely empty, especially Kortenbos, Spijkermakerskwartier, parts of the current Rivierenbuurt, and the area behind Lange Voorhout. During the French period, The Hague turned into a garrison town, full of billeted soldiers and squares where soldiers with horses arrived every morning for roll call. The elites fled the city. From 1808 to 1814, 554 houses were demolished, including prominent city palaces and residences, to avoid paying taxes to the French. The population decreased dramatically, and many houses were left empty (Stokvis, 1987). After the French era large empty houses were split up, courtyards rapidly filled with one-room houses in the slums, and exploitation courtyards appeared in the zone between the canal and existing buildings.

Year	Houses	Inhabitants	Inw/ ha***
1600	2.400	-	
1622	-	17.430	85
1680	4.744	-	
1730	6.000	-	
1790	8.800	50.000	244
1796	-	39.800	194
1814	8.624	42.000	205
1831	8.600	56.000 *	251
1840	8.953	63.556	310
1850	10.780	72.467 **	324
1980		9.591	47
1990		15.783	77
2000	10.825	17.418	85
2010	11.271	17.245	84
2020	12.632	20.300	99

* Including 4,500 inhabitants of Scheveningen.

** Including Scheveningen with 1,342 houses and 6,053 inhabitants.

*** The Hague within the canals (district center) measures 205 hectares. According to Schick's data, only a very small part of the population lives outside the canals.

Data up to and including 1850 is the source: Schick, 1852: 48
Data from 1980 is the source: denhaag.incijfers.nl

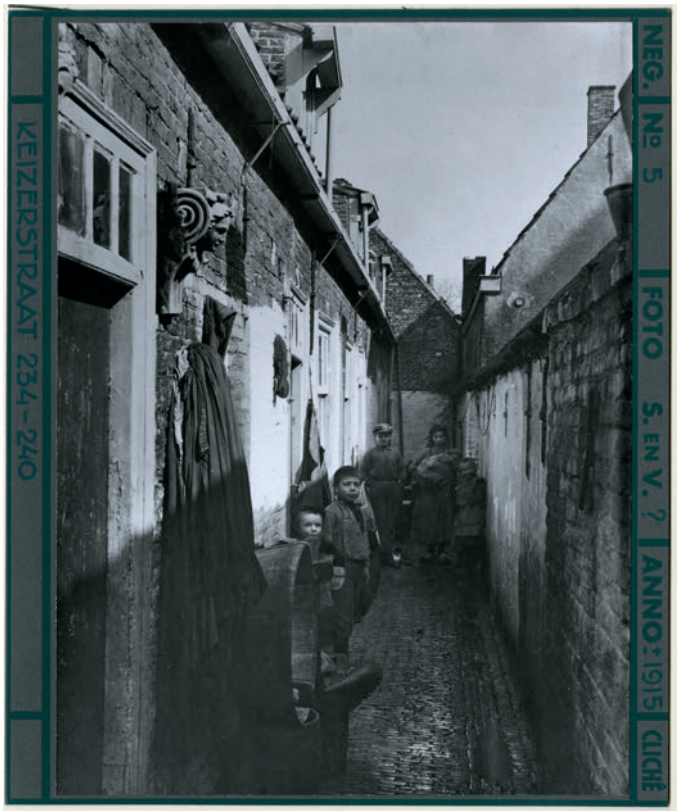
In the second phase, during the period 1869-1880, when the agricultural crisis caused a significant migration to the city, exploitation courtyards were built by entrepreneurs and inhabitants’ self on the still-empty sites and gardens of the city, such as in the low inland polders and on the outskirts of the city. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that the first suburbs were built outside the canals in The Hague. The municipality of The Hague (1948: 7) created models to illustrate the various stages of densification prior to remediation interventions in the interbellum.

In 1795, Schick estimated there were about 42,365 inhabitants; in 1840, 63,556; and in 1849, 72,225. Stokvis (1987) and Van der Woude (2010) also reports these numbers of inhabitants. All three used The Hague Population Archives as a source. After Schick, the population growth would explode: by 1889, there were already 206,002 inhabitants, while only a small amount of construction was being done outside the canals; by 1920, there were 354,987. This explosive growth in population was also an anomaly compared to other cities. As a result of the archival research and the spatial layout used in city maps, Schick relied on the administrative divisions of neighborhoods introduced during the French period.

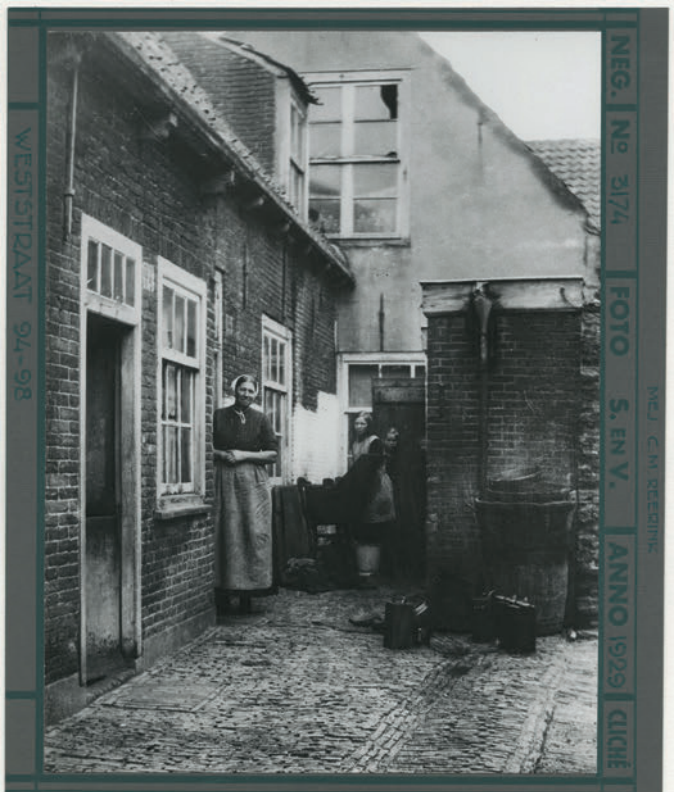
Administrative Division of The Hague

To understand Schick’s research, it is necessary to describe the

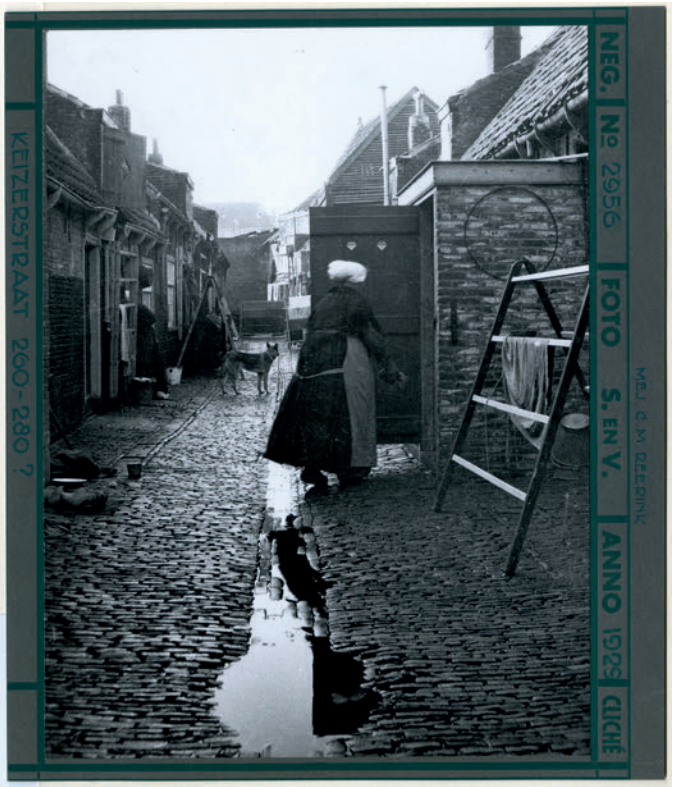
Right, one-room apartments in Scheveningen Keizerstraat 234-240 Bloedpoort Vredenhof. Photo by ?, from the survey of the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing from 1915. Collection HGA 6.07668.



Left, one-room apartments in Scheveningen Keizerstraat 303-317. Photo by ?, from the survey of the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing from 1915. Collection HGA 6.07670.



Right, one-room apartments in Scheveningen Keizerstraat 260-280. Photo by C.M.Reerink, from the survey of the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing from 1929. Collection HGA 6.07669.



Left, one-room apartments in Scheveningen Weststraat 94-98. Photo by C.M.Reerink, from the survey of the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing from 1915. Collection HGA 6.07739.

administrative division of the city during the French period. Between 1797 and 1858, The Hague was divided into Westeindekwartier, Hofkwartier, Spuikwartier, and Prinsegrachtkwartier. The city maps by Van der Poth (1812) and Zürcher (1817) shows this division. Each quarter was divided into districts indicated by a capital letter. Initially, Hofkwartier had its own administration, while the other three quarters were collectively called the village. It was not until the French period that The Hague was granted city rights, merging the village and Hofkwartier into one entity.

The oldest streets also served as divisions between the quarters: Noordeinde-Wagenstraat (formerly called Zuideinde) and Westeinde-Lange and Korte Poten. Westeindekwartier, with districts A, B, C, D, and E, occupied the top left corner of the city. Hofkwartier, with districts F, H, I, and K, was in the top right corner. Spuikwartier, with districts L, M, O, P, Q, and R, was in the bottom right corner, while Prinsegrachtkwartier, with districts N, S, T, U, V, and W, occupied the bottom left corner.

Some neighborhoods had specific characteristics. For example, the shabby Spuikwartier included district R, the Jewish quarter, and district Q, the red-light district (Stokvis, 1987). Hofkwartier around the Vijverberg, Lange Voorhout, and Plein housed wealthy citizens and nobility in city palaces. Westeindekwartier, with its workshops, was home to craftsmen.

Conditions in the Three Low-lying Polders

After the canals were dug in the seventeenth century, the empty spaces within them were filled up. Typically, peat was excavated first, and the building sites were then elevated using sand sourced from the nearby dunes. This sand was transported via the newly constructed canals. However, in the eighteenth century, economic stagnation led to a halt in growth and housing construction. According to Schick, therefore, the peat in the three inland polders within the canals was never excavated, and the terrain was never raised. The first polder was bordered by Herengracht, Fluwelen Burgwal, Nieuwe Haven, Zwarteweg, and Zuid-Oost-Binnensingel (Uilebomen), roughly corresponding to district L. The second polder was bordered by Zuid-Oost Binnensingel (Uilenbomen), Lamgroen, Ammunitiehaven and Nieuwe Haven. Nieuwe Haven, dug around 1660, divided this polder into two parts, which became part of district M. Both polders were located in the current Rivierenbuurt. The third polder was bordered by Prinsegracht, Brouwersgracht, Zuid-Westsingel, and Westsingel, and was part of district V. Today, it is known as Spijkerkwartier. Schick also noted that buildings were set up in the polders outside the canals, in the current Rivierenbuurt and Stationsbuurt, which were never raised.

Schick calculated that one-seventh to one-eighth of the houses, with a population of ten to eleven thousand inhabitants, was situated in low-lying polders. Approximately four to five thousand of these residents lived within the canal area. These areas often consist of slums with one-room houses in cramped courtyards, or slightly more spacious courtyards with back-to-back houses. Due to very poor water flow, these locations were the least healthy to inhabit.

In earlier times, much more water flowed through these areas via the Beek, but this influx had significantly decreased. To improve water circulation, the King Willem II steam pumping station was constructed at the Hanenburg farm. It pumped water from Loosduinsevaart into The Hague's water system, aiming to enhance the flow. However, this effort was insufficient to prevent mud and dirt from accumulating in the canals. Schick explains:

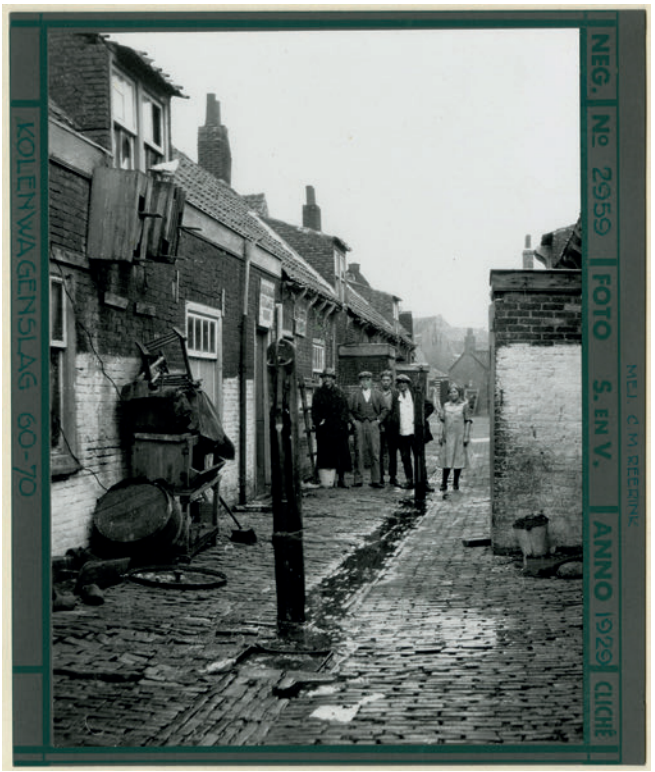
"The quantity of water that can be discharged in this manner, however, is disproportionately small compared to the mass of impurities that need to be carried away. This was evident in 1850 during the widening of the Chapel Bridge, when the water was pumped out for this purpose. In the middle, in front of and under the bridge, workmen sank into the mud up to their knees, where sediment accumulates due to the strongest current forces. It should be noted that a current's ability to transport solid objects depends on its speed. To move substances just slightly heavier than water, a velocity of 8 to 10 duimen [1 duim = 2,54 centimeter] per second is required" (Schick, 1852: 53).

The system of privies and sewers, which discharged into the canals, constituted a unified whole. Schick calculated the inflow of water and the number of solids and excrement carried along, which ultimately accumulated in the low inland polders, resulting in substantial dirt buildup. According to Schick, the only solution to this issue was the creation of a significant water supply, capable of diluting these substances and carrying them away. However, such a remedy was lacking throughout The Hague: "Taking into account human and animal excrement, all types of waste, and the amount of organic matter annually deposited into the ditches and absorbed into the soil, the total is estimated to be approximately 14,000 to 16,000 cubic ells [1 el = 69,4 centimeter]" (Schick, 1852: 55).

Conditions in the Most Densely Populated Neighborhoods

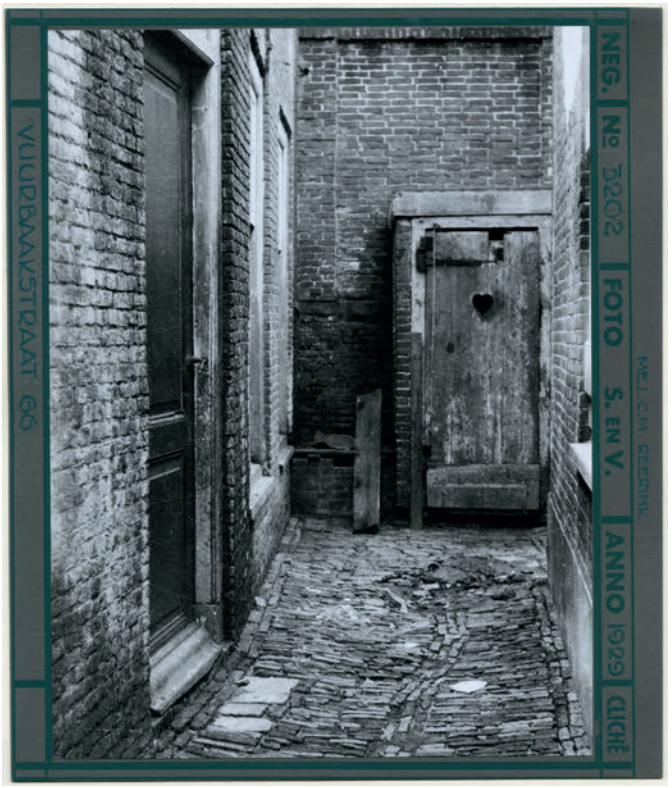
Seventeenth and eighteenth century city plans often depict open courtyards adorned with beautiful gardens, while the areas between the canals and the village were largely undeveloped or used as bleaching fields. However, after the Napoleonic era, these courtyards ceased to be depicted, and the city maps by Zeger Reijers (1833) and Belinfante (1847) illustrate that these areas were now extensively built up. On the city map by Lobatto and Last from 1868, the proliferation of slums and exploitation courtyards is meticulously represented. This significant densification began after 1833, as argued by Schick.

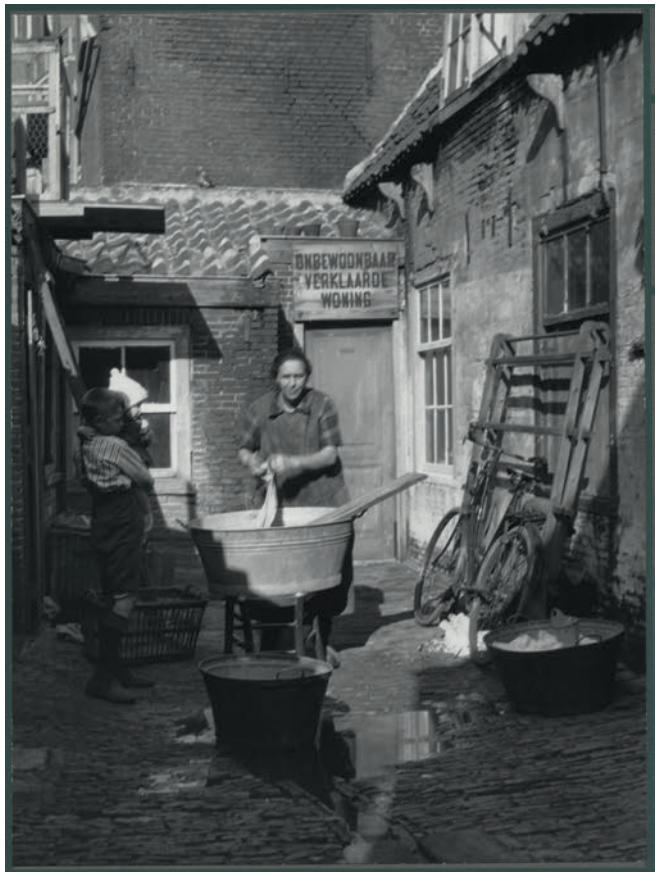
According to Bakker Schut (1939), between 1841 and 1871, the densification of courtyards and vacant fields within the canals, devoid of streets, occurred due to the Municipal Law Article 41, which was introduced in 1841 and remained in effect until it was replaced by the General Police Ordinance of 1871. The article read: "No one shall be permitted to erect a new building on the street or public road, adjacent to existing buildings, streets, or squares, unless the Mayor and Aldermen deem it beneficial upon presentation of a building plan or statement, under penalty of demolition at the owner's expense" (Bakker Schut, 1939: 6). According to Bakker Schut, this partly contributed to the problematic development of housing conditions in



Right, one-room apartments in Scheveningen Vuurbaakstraat 66. Photo by C.M.Reerink, from the survey of the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing from 1929. Collection HGA 6.07715.

Left, one-room apartments in Scheveningen Kolenwagenslag 60-7. Photo by C.M.Reerink, from the survey of the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing from 1929. Collection HGA 6.07679.





Right, one-room apartments in Scheveningen Weststraat 272-288. Photo by C.M.Reerink, from the survey of the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing from 1929. Collection HGA 6.07744.

Left, one-room apartments in Wassenaarsestraat 64-70. Photo by C.M.Reerink, from the survey of the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing from 1929. Collection HGA 6.16173.

The Hague in the subsequent years. The "Class Separation" (Stokvis, 1987; De Nijs & Sillevis, 2005) thus also manifested as a spatial division, with distinguished streets and elegant squares reserved for the elite residents of The Hague, contrasted with slums in unpaved, poorly lit courtyards. The city palaces in Hofkwartier were enormous, while middle-class houses in shopping streets were also spacious. In contrast, slums in areas like Spijkermakerskwartier, Rivierenbuurt, Westeinde, and Kortenbos mostly consisted of one-room houses measuring sixteen to twenty square meters each.

Schick also pointed out that the lack of ventilation and daylight in the one-room apartments of the poor, situated along narrow one meter wide corridors, prevented moisture from escaping. He described these slums as follows:

"In the generally inadequate condition of the private houses, gases disperse into the dwellings where disease-causing factors are often present, thereby exacerbating health issues. The overall arrangement of these houses leaves much to be desired, especially for those who are less well-off. Entire districts suffer from being too low-lying. In many houses, peat has not been properly excavated and the ground has not been raised with sand, leading primarily to issues of humidity. In some places, water almost reaches the doorstep during winter, penetrating cellars in many houses, while unclean water is found just beneath the plank floors of living rooms and bedrooms in others. Moisture is absorbed by walls and floors, which struggle to release it" (Schick, 1852: 56).

Schick also calculated the population density in terms of residents per house across different neighborhoods. Initially, The Hague averaged 6.54 residents per house. With Scheveningen excluded, where the average was 4.5 residents per house, The Hague averaged 6.94 residents per house. However, houses in the city varied greatly in size. District P had 8.7 residents per house, District Q had 8.1 residents per house, and Districts S, T, and D averaged 8.0 residents per house. As Schick noted: "The districts with the most unfavorable proportions are also those with the highest number of dwellings relative to the land they occupy" (Schick, 1852: 57).

It was striking that neighborhoods that were located on the lowest-lying land and were built up later did not have the highest population density. The densely populated districts D, S, R, Q, and P had already been laid out in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and were home to craftsmen with workshops and shopkeepers with shops. For the population in the low inland polders, the most densely populated parts, and the poorest districts, Schick drew the conclusion that:

"Canals and ditches are open sewers, gathering places for all the impurities that a population of 70,000 souls can produce. Filled with dirty and stinking sludge, the black mud and the bubbling gas bubbles show the chemical reactions that take place incessantly. Thousands of cubic feet of gases, which we have come to know as so dangerous and deadly, are poured into the atmosphere and inhaled by us. More than half of the inhabitants drink bad and unhealthy water, and many wells are increasingly spoiled because they are not sufficiently separated from the sewers, or because the water from the canals penetrates them, so polluted with foreign matter that the action of the soil is insufficient to purify it. The latter is confirmed by the example of a number of pumps, which produce odorless and less bad water early in the morning, but the more water is used, the more impure it becomes, and especially the sewage gases are clearly recognizable. In winter, the water in such pumps is often better than in summer. In all these circumstances, one is sure to find sufficient causes for high mortality" (Schick, 1852: 59).

Water Management and Difference between Wet and Dry Summers

According to Schick, the local situation in The Hague had not deteriorated in all respects. Housing had generally improved, he noted. Even in the homes of the lower classes, there was considerable progress. However, in particular the deteriorating condition of the canals, with the increasing pollution of the soil due to compaction and the stagnation of the flow, caused the high mortality rate. Schick saw more evidence of this in the change in the character of the disease, especially in warm years, in which the development and spread of the effluents of putrefaction sped up.

Schick referred to an important historical source and study by The Hague physician Iman Jacob van den Bosch (1731-1788), published in 1776 or 1778: *Natuur- en geschiedkundige verhandeling over de oorzaken, voorbehoedmiddeten en geneeswijze der ziekte in ons vaderland* (*On the Diseases Arising from the Natural Condition of the Fatherland*). Van den Bosch observed a change in the character of diseases in The Hague during the year that was not seen elsewhere in comparable cities, particularly regarding the difference between disease characteristics in wet and dry summers. Dry summers, when the water flow stopped entirely, had a more detrimental effect on health than wet summers. For example, there was high mortality in the dry summers of 1842 and 1846. In wet and rainy summers, such as those of 1841 and 1845, there were fewer diseases in The Hague. Another clue for Schick was the quality of the fishing water. To substantiate his theory about the quality of the water and seabed, Schick consulted local fishermen who testified to a significant deterioration of the fishing water over the last 25 to 30 years.

Schick stated: "Experienced fishermen have assured me that 25 or 30 years ago, as much fish was found in the canals to the south and south-east of the city as there is now in the Delft canal beyond the second mill. Older residents of The Hague remember how, in their youth (more than 40 or 50 years ago), Bierkade was often crowded with anglers in the summer" (Schick, 1852: 66).

The reason for this deterioration of fish, soil, and surface water was partly the considerable increase in population, partly the discharge of sewers into the canals, and partly the raising of the basin level of Delftland around 1827. According to Schick, the filling in of smelly canals polluted the soil even more, so that the water in several pumps that used to provide good water was now completely spoiled.

The Cholera Epidemic of 1849

Schick's archival research showed that districts P and M in the low-lying inland polders were particularly hard hit by cholera. In District P, the mortality rate was 1:33, followed by District M with 1:40. Furthermore, the districts on both sides of Westeinde had high mortality rates: District W had 1:76, District A had 1:88, and District C had 1:96. Along with districts P and M, these were also the poorest districts of the city with the worst housing. They were followed by District Q with 1:115, Ward B and N with 1:120, District V with 1:123, District R with 1:127, District S with 1:140, District H with 1:150, District D with 1:208, and District T with 1:223.

The fact that districts P and M were hardest hit by the cholera epidemic did not surprise Schick at all. He says: "This part is entirely inhabited by laborers and the poor. In many gates and passages, a large population is heaped together; it is a soil on which all the seeds of disease germinate abundantly, and it was to be expected that there the cholera would rage fiercely" (Schick, 1852: 68).

All neighborhoods of the less wealthy been affected by cholera, Schick noted—all neighborhoods on the outskirts of the city, but especially where dirt and water accumulated. Schick comments on this:

"Behind the houses of the Lamgroen den Binnencingel, however, runs a hideous open sewer, which is only equaled by the ditch that receives the outgrowths of the inland polders on Pinksterbloemlaantje. It is therefore not surprising that, of the small population of Pinksterbloemlaantje, 17 people have died of cholera. Nowhere in any of the native or foreign cities known to me have such horrible sewers occurred as in the court city of the clean Netherlands" (Schick, 1852: 69).

Schick's Program for the City of The Hague

To improve the health status of the population, Schick drew up a program for urban facilities and housing.

1) To keep the air and water clean and to avoid, as far as possible, any mixing with foreign matter, he proposed the following measures:

- Dispose of feces and waste through receptacles and sewers; flush these sewers with water to dilute harmful substances; add substances that prevent rotting and gas formation; collect and dispose of waste; install watertight pavement;
- Remove stagnant water everywhere;
- Provide canals with fresh water and maintain flow through them;
- Prevent discharge from factories and workshops;
- Use tools to clean the air.

2) Provide good and healthy drinking water for everyone.

3) Building healthy homes, specifically by:

- Building houses according to a fixed (urban) plan, considering the height of the ground level, the nature of the soil, the direction of the streets, and the distance between the houses relative to their height;
- Ensuring good ventilation when furnishing the houses, including considerations for lighting, heating, construction, privies, sewers, and gutters;
- Adjusting the size of houses to accommodate the number of people living in them.

In the nineteenth century, The Hague endured numerous epidemics. The cholera outbreaks occurred in 1832, 1849, 1853, 1854, 1855, followed by typhus outbreaks in 1856, 1857, and 1858 (Bakker Schut, 1939). However, not all neighborhoods and population groups were equally affected. Interestingly, the Hofkwartier seemed to have been spared from all epidemics.

Stokvis (1987) detailed the social stratification of The Hague in the nineteenth century, each with its distinct living environments and residential neighborhoods. The Hague had a large upper class, but also a large proletariat. According to Stokvis, this social stratification, with a relatively broad top and base, persisted in the second half of the nineteenth century and remains a reality in The Hague to this day. The social stratification based on occupational status in 1849 was: upper class 6%, petty bourgeoisie 33%, and working class 61%. Based on direct tax assessments in 1842, the social stratification could be described, alternatively, as: upper class 18%, petty bourgeoisie 43%, and working class 39% (Stokvis, 1987: 213, 214).

Pre-industrial cities such as The Hague around 1850 did not yet have an entirely strict spatial separation between the working class and the upper class. Many maids and servants lived in city palaces, occupying attics and cellars. The wealthy in Hofkwartier also included barracks where farm boys were billeted. It was not until the great migration to cities, prompted by the agricultural crisis in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, that segregation began. This meant that residential parks for the upper class, middle-class neighborhoods, and working-class neighborhoods filled with slums were located close together.

Researchers from the Royal Institute of Engineers (KIVI) conducted research into the living conditions and published this in 1854 in a *Verslag aan den Koning, over de vereischten en inrigting van arbeiderswoningen* (*Report to the King on the Requirements and Furnishing of Workers' Housing*). The KIVI likely hoped that the Prince Albert Model Homes would be imitated in the Netherlands. Also, in 1854, a committee of the city council was commissioned to write an *Verordening op het Bouwen binnen de Gemeente 's-Gravenhage* (*Ordinance on Building within the Municipality of The Hague*) and "a General Plan for the Development of the City, Including the Construction of New Streets, Squares, etc., in order to assess all subsequent plans and applications against that plan" (Bakker Schut, 1939: 6, 7). A few prominent citizens and members of the KIVI were concerned about the plight of people in the slums. In 1854, they founded the first housing association in The Hague, the Vereeniging Tot Verbetering Der Woningen Van Arbeidende Klasse (Association for the Improvement of the Homes of the Working Class). In addition

to housing, facilities such as a good sewerage system, drinking water system, water management, and city cleaning were installed at the end of the nineteenth century. C.P. Pous Koolhaas (who, like Bakker Schut, begins his publication with a quotation from Schick) continued Schick's work in The Hague with *Middelen tot verbetering van den gezondheid in steden en meer bijzonder in 's Gravenhage* (*Measures to Improve Health in Cities and Especially The Hague*) (1862) and *De waterleiding te 's Gravenhage* (*Water Mains in The Hague*) (1865). From 1890 onward, city architect Lindo significantly advanced the efforts toward creating a hygienic city, with Duinoord as the highlight. In 1901, the Housing Act was passed by Parliament and came into force a year later.

On April 12, 1853, one year after the publication of his study *On the state of health in The Hague*, physician Schick tragically died of typhus at the age of thirty-six.

3.3
Residential Parks, Civic Quarters, and Working-Class Neighborhoods

The New Suburbs of The Hague

Three Distinctive Residential Environments and Het Stedelijk Keur from 1841 to 1892

With its rapid population growth, The Hague was gradually divided during the second half of the nineteenth century into three distinct residential environments, each linked to the socioeconomic status of its inhabitants. The city came to comprise luxurious residential parks, middle-class or civic quarters, and bleak working-class neighborhoods.

A vivid picture of the old city and the new neighborhoods was sketched by the journalist Johan Gram (1893, 1906), the writer Louis Couperus, resident Nini Brunt (1977), who wrote about the old city and the new Zeeheldenkwartier, and city walker Ton Ven (1962)—a pseudonym of the Dutch author Ferdinand Bordewijk, whose stories often take place in the backstreets of The Hague. Supplemented with the first photographs from The Hague municipality archive, these sources give an impression of the atmosphere and character of the completely different neighborhoods of The Hague.

After the Napoleonic era, Hofkwartier and the village of The Hague were legally united and brought under the same municipal administration. In 1861 a breakthrough of great significance took place. The medieval village 'die Haghe' with at its center the Dagelijkse Groenmarkt (daily vegetable market) was connected to the Buitenhof by the construction of Gravenstraat. The symbolic wall between the court and the bourgeoisie was torn down after 600 years.

However, between 1841 and 1892 new walls came to be erected, determined by *Het Stedelijk Keur* (*The Urban Regulation*). This made it possible to build on a large scale one-room units in inner courtyards. In a relatively short time, the city was spatially divided into three types of cityscapes where socio-economically similar people lived together: workers' neighborhoods, bourgeois quarters, and residential parks. The different socio-economic networks of people coincided with the different qualities of the urban ensembles and facilities. This affected the residential patterns in the city, where most people had no free choice.

The residential parks between the old city and Scheveningen were filled with beautiful villas in lush greenery. The bourgeois or civic quarters with a rectangular urban grid and monumental rond-points in the middle consisted of uniform rowhouses in the eclectic architecture with white stucco on brick facades. In the working-class neighborhoods the masonry was dull, and the meagre frivolity of the bourgeois neighborhoods disappeared. No lush greenery was ever seen there.

Because of the layout of neighborhoods and construction of houses,

the three cityscapes each got their own sphere or character and location within the municipality. Each sphere was given its own amenities, its own kind of urban spaces, and its own typology of buildings. Lush greenery was mainly reserved for the residential parks and the squares of the middle-class quarters with rond-points. As argued in chapter 2, the 'village character' and 'lush greenery' were not conscious choices for the city image, but rather the result of geomorphology and geopolitical context. Similarly, the development of three different cityscapes was not a conscious choice by the city council. It happened simply because of the absence of good governance in an age of free market entrepreneurs (Gram, 1893, 1906; Eberstadt, 1914; Van Gelder, 1937; Bakker Schut, 1939; Gemeente Den Haag, 1948; Dirkzwager, 1979; Stokvis, 1987; Koopmans 1994, 2005; Schmal, 1995; Furnée, 2012).

Land Development Companies

The exodus from the old residential city began after 1870. The division of the population into residential areas with different statuses and appearances was similar to developments in metropolises such as London, Paris, and Vienna (Olsen, 1986). However, the types of buildings were not comparable. While in metropolises and smaller cities huge urban residential blocks with apartments were built, in The Hague smaller-scale rows of houses or rowhouses split into up and down apartments were erected, giving The Hague a village character at first glance, especially in combination with the wide green access roads with double rows of trees. The Hague became more like English cities than most other continental cities in terms of its buildings. In England but also in the Netherlands, Belgium, and Bremen, the housing unit was usually the construction unit. A land development company owned the land, parceled it out and sold a few plots to small entrepreneurs who built a few rowhouses on their own account. In other countries, the building unit was often a large residential building or an urban block divided into several housing units (Olsen, 1986: 125). In terms of the socio-economic structure of its population, The Hague was more like London than Paris and Vienna. In Paris and Vienna, all classes lived together in large residential buildings: the poorest lived in the attic and the distinguished citizens on the first floors, so that the population was more mixed. Because The Hague did not have these large residential buildings, the spatial segregation was greater. Houses of the same kind were grouped together in neighborhoods with a homogenous character. In addition, associations for specific groups networks played an important role and perpetuated the segregation society, just like the clubs in London (Olsen, 1986; Furnée, 2012). In The Hague; people were always aware of the status they held.

Planning of The Hague Compared to Other Dutch Cities

The Hague also differed from other Dutch cities in this respect, as the layout of new neighborhoods was planned in more detail elsewhere. Rotterdam had its *Plan tot Aanleg van Nieuwe Straten in de Polders Cool en Rubroek* (*Plan for the Building of New Streets in the Polders Cool and Rubroek*) by W.N. Rose in 1858, Amsterdam the *Plan tot Uitbreiding van Amsterdam* (*Plan for the Extension of Amsterdam*) by J.G. van Niftrik in 1866 and *Plan tot Uitbreiding van Amsterdam* by J. Kalff in 1875. The Hague would never get that far. The city was parceled out and built up by land development companies (who prepared the land and created ready-to-build lots) and construction companies (who bought the lots, constructed the houses, and sold them). Wealthy citizens bought and sold shares in these companies, invest in them, and thus made large profits. The Hague also differed in terms of the residential patterns in cities. For patterns in pre-industrial cities, Sjoberg (1961) presented a model in which the elite of the city lived in the center and the poor were located on the outskirts. In this way, the distance of the poor from the political and religious center was greatest. For Amsterdam, this model is only partially valid (Lesger et al., 2013): the poor did indeed live on the outskirts, but the rich citizens did not live in the old center around 1830, but in an exclusive zone in the canal belt. For The Hague, too, the model only partially holds. After all, legally Hofkwartier, which covered about 25% of the city, was a separate zone until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Lange Voorhout, Vijverberg and Plein formed a green universe of wealthy citizens and administrators far from the noisy center at Dagelijkse Groenmarkt, Hoogstraat and Wagenstraat. On the outskirts of the city, there were indeed shabby houses in Rivierenbuurt, Kortenbos, Spijkermakerskwartier and Spuikwartier (Stokvis, 1987).

How Segregation was Shaped by Entrepreneurs

As point out, in The Hague, the canals were only built at the beginning of the seventeenth century, which is late compared to other Dutch towns. The advantage of this was that the surface area within the canals was much larger than in other cities. There was simply more room to grow, and the canals were not a barrier. Until 1870, apart from the spacious country estates, urban developments also took place mainly within the canals, in the form of densification, as described above, or as damage repair after Napoleonic era. When after 1870 the layout of neighborhoods outside the canals was finally taken up by private land development companies, entrepreneurs anticipated on the socio-economical developments in the city. Due to the enormous population growth, homes were built by contractors on own risk and account, in which an estimate was made of the budget of the buyers or tenants. Land development companies, construction companies and architects shaped segregation with painful precision with houses, streets, and urban ensembles. In all three cityscapes, the village character was emphasized by small- low buildings and scale buildings, unlike in Paris, Copenhagen, or Berlin. However, low-rise buildings of the residential parks and the slums were of vastly different quality.

The Typomorphological Structure of the Residential Neighborhoods

In working-class neighborhoods such as Schilderswijk, Rivierenbuurt, Spijkerkwartier, Kortenbos and, Scheveningen-West and -East, field after field was filled with houses, with usually slums in the courtyards behind the street facade, most of which were demolished after the Second World War. Much better in quality than these exploitation

courtyards with one-room units, but sometimes with a similar typology, were charity houses in courtyards.

The bourgeois quarters such as Zeeheldenkwartier and Archipelbuurt formed unique iconic urban ensembles consisting of a grid street plan with sometimes wider streets (14 meter) and in the middle a rond-points such as Bankaplein, Anna Paulownaplein, Prins Hendrikplein and Koningsplein. The other streets were smaller (about 10 meters) and sometimes courtyards appeared in the urban blocks.

The residential parks were located in a circle around the Scheveningse Bosjes near the seaside resort, such as Van Stolkpark and Belgisch Park. In a park-like setting stood white villas with verandas and balconies, the summer houses of port barons and industrialists.

The social homogeneity within these three living environments became an increasingly important consideration when choosing a place to live (Stokvis, 1987; Schmal, 1995). Driven by status or lack of money, socio-economically similar people sought each other out in these different neighborhoods. The activities of the lawyer and entrepreneur Th. van Stolk were exemplary for the period 1860-90. In a park-like landscape, he laid out Van Stolkpark with its beautiful white villas by, among others, the architect Wesstra. In Zeeheldenkwartier, built for the lower middle class, Van Stolk's street plan was more sober, with simple houses. In the Rivierenbuurt workers' quarter, Van Stolk developed houses and slums of the lowest quality. The trade-off between the investment costs and the revenues was assessed differently by Van Stolk at each location in the city. A factor in this must have been that the original land price. For example, the land price negotiated by Grand Duchess Sophie near the Scheveningen was probably higher than elsewhere in the city. After all, the motive of those who created the city and organized themselves into land development companies was the same: maximizing revenues.

Causes of Spatial Segregation

There were several important factors that led to segregation in these three specific neighborhoods.

Firstly, **economic and political changes**. The Dutch state formation process had entered a phase in which wealthy citizens participated more than before in municipal government thanks to the Constitution (1848), Municipal Act (1851) and the census suffrage that was introduced in 1848; after the amendment of the law in 1887, the middle class was also allowed to vote. Those mostly involved in the creation of the city image were the wealthy citizens. Just after the introduction of the Municipal Act, the conservatives still dominated in The Hague politics, but the liberals gained more and more ground, until they gained the majority at the end of the nineteenth century. The era of mercantilism, the stagnant market, protectionism, and conservative guilds came to an end and the liberalization of the economy and free trade in the colonies increased in pace. Until 1850, the Netherlands was at a standstill, but between 1850 and 1890 the industrial revolution continued. This liberal state was a prerequisite for industrialization (Lintsen et al., 1992-1994, 2003, 2005) (paragraph 3.2.3).

Secondly, **the availability of money**. The *Crédit Mobilier* phenomenon (see par. 3.2.5) suddenly made a lot of international capital available (Vos, 2003). Various disciplines, such as construction, could be organized in Public Limited Liability Companies and thus undertake urban development together. The shares of these companies were not traded on the stock exchange. Public Limited Liability Companies already existed in the seventeenth century, but due to changes in the capital market, a new dynamic took place: many more entrepreneurs took a gamble, both conservative and liberal (paragraph 2.2.2).

Thirdly, **the growth of population**. There was a significant increase in population, leading to densification within the canals and courtyards filling up at a rapid pace. The quality of life became unsustainable and the middle class from the city center moved to the new bourgeois neighborhoods. With this population increase, *Crédit Mobilier* and the creation of Public Limited Liability Companies it became possible to build for an anonymous housing market, in which the arrival of future buyers or tenants was anticipated. Furthermore, the differences between the neighborhoods were exaggerated by the entrepreneurs, for example with the development of Duinoord to show contrast between living on dry sand and wet peat. These national and international developments were reinforced at the local level in The Hague by the specific population structure with a large upper class in the city (paragraph 3.2.4).

Fourthly, **the availability of land**. The available land around The Hague offered space for the new neighborhoods. As early as 1876, Grand Duchess Sophie began selling parts of Willem II's vast estate to land development companies. This involved approximately 265 ha of the total 600 ha of contiguous estates: Sorghvliet, Buitenrust, Rustenburg, Hanenburg, Houtrust and Segbroekpolder. At the time of the sale, Sorghvliet park with the Catshuis was still excluded (Goekoop, 1953). In the years that followed, pieces of land continued to be auctioned. Furthermore, the seaside resort of Scheveningen attracted many financiers from Paris, Amsterdam, and Antwerp, partly because the casino located there was no longer a closed, elitist club but attracted a wider gambling public. The old municipal Kurhaus was sold to Maatschappij Zeebad Scheveningen (Sea-Bath Association Scheveningen, MZS) and replaced between 1885 and 1887. The construction of the steam tram routes between 1878-1887 along the outskirts of the city, by the same financiers who had previously invested money in the MZS and the railways, brought visitors to the seaside resort and Kurhaus (Crefcoeur, 2010).

Fifthly, **building regulations**. The disastrous *Stedelijk Keur* divided the city between 1841 and 1892 into a zone with strict rules for beautiful facades with front doors on the streets and squares, and but left the rest of the city to the free market, leading to a lack of laws and regulations for buildings that were facing the streets, such as courtyards and fields. Within the beautiful facades on the wide streets and the squares with the fragrant linden trees were alleys that led to miserable slums in the courtyards, where one of the darkest episodes of The Hague's social history took place. The Stedelijk Keur suggested a convenient political compromise between conservatives, who stood for a city with beautiful facades on the streets, and liberals

who were mainly in favor of government abstinence, who could act in the courtyards and fields. Especially between 1840 and 1870 there was considerable densification within the canals, with major consequences. Article 41 of the *Stedelijk Keur* read: "No one shall be permitted to erect a new building on the street or the public road in connection with adjacent buildings, streets or squares, other than the Mayor and Aldermen shall judge it useful on presentation of a notice or declaration of the building, on pain that it shall be demolished again at his expense" (Bakker Schut, 1939: 6). Thus, building permission from the municipality was only needed for building along streets and on squares. Bakker Schut argues that this article was most likely the cause of the questionable way in which housing conditions in The Hague developed in the years that followed: slums in the courtyards and fields due to laissez-faire and free enterprise (Bakker Schut, 1939: 6). In The Hague, the *Stedelijk Keur* laid the foundation for a division between those 'living on the sand' and those 'living in the peat'; between the well-to-do and prosperous bourgeoisie with terraced houses located on the beautiful squares and streets, and the paupers in the courtyards, far out of sight (paragraph 3.3.5).

These causes determined the layout The Hague's neighborhoods until about 1892. On the one hand, there were hygienists such as Schick and engineers who denounced the lack of utilities such as drinking water and sewers and a lack of building legislation, especially in the slums. On the other hand, there were architects and journalists who denounced the dullness of the new neighborhoods. Many in the city felt that there was a lack of national historical awareness; after all, history was what united the population and brought a sense of community (paragraph 3.4). The call for quality housing increased, until the amendment of the law in 1887 allowed the ordinary bourgeoisie to vote. In the following period, the period of unbridled laissez-faire came to an end.

Census Suffrage 1848–1887 and the Wealthy Bourgeoisie

A factor that partly determined the segregation of urban ensembles was the influence of wealthy citizens in the city government, caused by the change in the policy and the liberalization of the economy under Thorbecke and the implementation of the Constitution in 1848 and the Municipal Act in 1851. The census suffrage, in place from 1848 to 1917, saw a major change in 1887, after which the bourgeoisie also received a vote. The idea behind census suffrage was that only citizens who contributed more tax than they received (in the form of wages or benefits) were allowed to decide on the use of taxpayers' money. Therefore, wealthy voters dominated local politics between 1848 and 1887, shaping the division between those living on the peat and those living on the sand.

With the introduction of the Municipalities Act in 1851, the highest governing body of the municipality consisted of the elected council and a board of one mayor, appointed by the Crown, and several aldermen who were elected from the council. From 1851 to 1919 this meant two parties dominated The Hague: the conservatives in the early years, who mainly stood up for the interests of the well-to-do bourgeoisie, nobility, and regents, and later the liberals, who supported free enterprise and the limitation of municipal interference (Stokvis, 1987; Schmal, 1995). Stokvis states about the different approaches: "'Conservative' councilors who defended the living pleasure of genteel citizens and 'liberal' councilors who shared the position of building contractors with arguments from economic theory only differed on the role of the government in urban sprawl. While courtyard houses were built for workers on private land in the city center, after 1860 villas were built for well-to-do citizens on public streets outside the canals. Affluent inner city residents and newcomers settled in the suburbs, which initially led the council to strictly monitor their construction to ensure an attractive living environment for taxpayers" (Stokvis, 1987: 45).

Between 1851 and 1887, the city board was in the hands of privileged citizens and the city council was constantly discussing urban facilities and amenities. Still, there was tension. On the one hand, the bourgeois taxpayers called for public hygiene, public amenities, and a respectable image for the city, but on the other hand, they also demanded that the municipal tax be kept as low as possible. It wasn't until the constitutional revision of 1887 that entirely different interests came to the fore in the city council and the city.

Article 80 of the census suffrage stated that, among other things, Dutch male residents aged 23 years and older who pay a certain minimum in direct taxes, or who are owners or tenants of a house with a value above a certain minimum, can vote. From that moment on, amenities such as utilities and infrastructure were built in Dutch cities at a rapid pace.

The New Upper Class

Between 1830 and 1940, the populations of The Hague and Rotterdam grew more than twice as fast as that of Amsterdam and the Netherlands as a whole (Gemeente Den Haag, 1948). This growth is explained by the fact that Rotterdam and The Hague benefited much more from the strong economic growth and industrialization that took place in German cities after the unification of Germany in 1871 (Ladd, 1990). Amsterdam and Rotterdam were already cities of size, and now The Hague was catching up. Compared to 1830, the population of Amsterdam had quadrupled by 1940, while in Rotterdam the number of inhabitants had multiplied by 8.5 and in The Hague by nine.

In 1849 The Hague had 72,225 inhabitants, growing to 90,277 in 1869. In 1889 the city had 156,809 inhabitants, an increase of more than 200% compared to the year 1849 (Gemeente Den Haag, 1948: 47). Between 1859 and 1889 the number of wealthy citizens eligible to vote increased much faster in The Hague (87%) than in Rotterdam (14%) and Amsterdam (6%) (Schmal, 1995).

From 1870 onwards, the exodus of wealthy citizens from the city center started; they mostly moved to the new residential areas built outside the canals according to hygienist principles, such as Zeeheldenkwartier and later Archipelbuurt. The inner city underwent a transformation from a residential city to a service city, from a dark and smelly city to a hygienic and illuminated city with shops and offices. However, this period also saw the decay of certain residential neighborhoods in the

old city. This change was accompanied by an increase in land prices in the attractive parts of the city (Bakker Schut, 1939; Gemeente Den Haag, 1948; Stokvis, 1987).

The population growth among wealthy citizens who settled in the residential parks was also reinforced by the special position that The Hague had as an administrative city. The Hague also offered an attractive living environment with residential parks, luxury warehouses, gymnasia, secondary schools at different levels, theatres, a seaside resort and beach, and various societies. At the turn of the century, the ministries also expanded considerably, so that the share of civil servants in the labor force became increasingly important. There was a large well-to-do civil service, who must have played an important role in the city's development. The rapid growth of the bourgeois neighborhoods may reflect this. Furthermore, more and more embassies and headquarters of companies and trading companies that wanted to stay close to the center of power were established there, especially when after 1870 the trade on the colonies was released by liberal minister De Waal and private individuals were given ownership of Java with the Agrarian Act. Schmal argues: "The growth of The Hague was not accompanied by mass immigration of poor populations. The residence mainly had wealthy newcomers who came to the pleasant living environment that the royal city offered" (Schmal, 1995: 187). These well-to-do citizens and civil servants gave The Hague a broad socio-economic top, but they also required a sizeable lower class of workers in domestic service, in the care sector, and soldiers for the garrison. In the period between 1859 and 1909, the Dutch cities differed considerably in the occupations of their labor force (Schmal, 1995). In 1909, in The Hague 11.7% of the families had a maid and 4% had more than one servant, while in Amsterdam this was only 7% and 2.1% respectively and in Rotterdam 6% and 1.8% (Schmal, 1995: 198).

There were also considerable differences in the type of residential houses between The Hague, Amsterdam and Rotterdam. In The Hague, mainly large and spacious homes were built for well-to-do citizens and the middle class. These houses had a raised ground floor, often with a beautifully ornamented balcony. Space was reserved for the maid in the attic and at street level there was a kitchen in the lower basement. Many of these typical the bourgeois houses were designed by the architect Delia, for example on Mauritskade 43, where the author Louis Couperus was born in 1863.

The new affluent residents required adequate facilities, homes and living environments. There was great demand for fashion warehouses and luxury shops, with the latest fashion from Paris, Vienna, and Brussels. The proximity of the seaside resort and the beach, the luxurious bathhouse and bazaar on Zeestraat, the new zoo, panoramas and theatres for plays and musical performances offered entertainment. The societies were the center of the social life for many inhabitants of The Hague (Stokvis, 1987).

Houses by number of rooms in 1909.

Number rooms	The Hague	Rotterdam	Amsterdam
1	11,9%	11,6%	11,4%
2	17,9%	34,5%	21,7%
3	16,6%	19,8%	25,0%
4-5	29,9%	24,5%	32,0%
>=6	23,7%	9,7%	9,9%

(Schmal, 1995: 201)

Distribution of dwellings by social category (excluding business) by social class in 1919 without occupation

	The Hague	Rotterdam	Amsterdam
Working-class	40.861 (59%)	103.033 (82%)	82.978 (86%)
Middle-class	16.640 (24%)	12.681 (10%)	8.298 (9%)
Well-to-do	11.421 (17%)	10.068 (8%)	5.595 (6%)

(Schmal, 1995: 201)

Capital: Crédit Mobilier and Constructing for the Anonymous Market

The layout of the first new suburbs and the changes in the old city within the canals were accompanied by a new form of financing construction activities and therefore urban extensions. Because they started producing homes in large quantities, i.e., homes for an anonymous market, entrepreneurs had to anticipate the type of customer. They had to decide in advance how many houses to build for those with a well-stocked purse, for the middle class and for workers.

Obtaining capital for a company was considerably simplified after 1860 when *Crédit Mobilier* made a rapid rise in the Netherlands from Paris (Vos, 2003). Large sums of money were invested by new credit banks in private enterprises and urban projects. Examples are De Comanditiekas in Rotterdam (1861), De Algemeene maatschappij voor Handel en Nijverheid in Amsterdam (1863), De Nederlandsche Credit en Deposito Bank in Amsterdam (1863), De Rotterdamsche Bank (1863) and De Amsterdamsche Bank (1871). Furthermore, private individuals organized themselves into Public Limited Liability Companies such as land development companies, construction companies and operating companies and gradually gained significant influence on the development of the city. The role of the municipality was increasingly restricted.

The new system of financing came from Paris, where the brothers Emile (1800-1875) and Isaac Péreire (1806-1880) with their bank Société générale de Crédit Mobilier had made numerous investments in railways, infrastructure, insurance companies, gas lighting and newspapers. The idea was to invest large sums of money directly and to participate in one industry, thus no longer investing a little in

various sectors. The bank thus became mainly a lender that acquired a direct interest in a particular company (Vos, 2003). Many private urban projects, railways, utilities, etc. could be financed in this way. *Crédit Mobilier* was a godsend for housing construction and urban development in The Hague. With short-term loans, companies could borrow money at high interest rates from the new credit banks (Bakker Schut, 1939; Kleinegris & Leferink, 1985; Stokvis, 1987; Doorn & Nijs, 2005). This new way of financing came at a price: the processing time played an important role in the construction of houses and urban layout, because entrepreneurs had to pay the banks high interest rates over the term of the loan. The interest was deducted from the profits of the companies and therefore there was an urgency to keep the time between taking out the loan and the repayment as short as possible. On the one hand, companies wanted speed in development to limit interest costs, but on the other hand, the municipality wanted high-quality housing stock.

By slowing down the development process, the municipality was able to increase the pressure to make companies more lenient in contributing to urban facilities. Entrepreneurs had to pay the loan with interest repayment to the bank, time is money. Furthermore, the municipality required in its General Conditions for Building Sites (Acts of the City Council 1891, Appendix 16:3) that if a company had purchased land from the municipality, the buildings erected on these sites had to be occupied within five years of the purchase. The municipality thus wanted to prevent speculators from leaving construction sites empty in order to drive up the price for competitors. For many land development companies, this was an obligation that they wanted to avoid, because negotiations with the shrewd engineer and civil servant Lindo and his department could be time-consuming.

Expropriation of real estate for urban development was possible from 1851 but cumbersome, until in 1887 the courts gained control over it. In 1889, a Royal Decree prohibited municipalities from prescribing a mandatory street plan (Stokvis, 1987).

The Impact of Land Development Companies on the Development of the City

The way in which neighborhoods were laid out determined what the city would look like. Building for the anonymous market meant that the quality and status of each neighborhood had to be determined in advance. This section investigates how the construction of neighborhoods and houses took place between 1865 and the Housing Act of 1901/1902.

Short Therm Credit and Time Pressure

Landowners or a Limited Company owned or purchased land, this land was parceled out and planned, sometimes in collaboration with several smaller land development companies, on the scale of a whole neighborhood. A street plan with a subdivision in building plots was created and negotiations took place with the municipality about the costs and quality of the urban facilities and connections of the streets. After the street plan was ready and approved, the lots were sold to small entrepreneurs, contractors, or self-employed builders who built a few rowhouses on their own account and sold them. However, some land development companies sold plots often before there was approval from the municipality and so the pressure on the municipality to approve these plans was increased, as happened in Anna Paulowna Park.

With short-term credit, the construction company paid for the land purchase and building materials, and hired workers. The building process often took place piecemeal: when an entrepreneur had obtained some more capital or could borrow money at an absurd interest rate, he built another row of houses. The money borrowed from the mortgage bank was paid to the contractor in installments. The first term went to the land development company and the workers who laid the foundations. In the event of a bankruptcy of the contractor, the subcontractors, workers, and suppliers were not paid. In the nineteenth century, many unskilled workers worked in construction, and it often happened that these workers were left destitute in the event of a bankruptcy of a construction company (Gram, 1893, 1906; Bakker Schut, 1939; Stokvis, 1987).

This practice was the cause of great social misery in the housing and construction sector. According to Stokvis (1987), in 1911 the municipality of The Hague had a total of 140 contractors and about 1,000 self-employed builders and occasional contractors, i.e., people and companies for whom building was not the main profession. The interdependence of the local government with the owners of the Limited Companies that built the city was great. Especially the council reports and correspondence between the many Public Limited Liability Companies and the city council between 1870 and 1905 paint a shocking picture of urban development.

Anticipatory entrepreneurs who built homes in advance or sold the land for housing plots often deliberately exalted the status of a particular neighborhood to lure buyers. The separation between working-class neighborhoods, bourgeois quarters, and residential parks was stimulated and reinforced by private entrepreneurs.

International Networks

Businessmen with an extensive international network who had enough money to invest were, for example, involved in the development around the Kurhaus and casino, such entrepreneurs as Eugène Anselm Jacob Goldschmidt, Louis Guillaume Coblijn, and Moritz Anton Reiss (1839-1893) who were partners in the Sea-Bath Association Scheveningen (MZS), founded in 1883 (Crefcoeur, 2010). Josephus de Sonnaville (1830-1925) initially played an important role in the layout of Zeeheldenkwartier and Archipelbuurt between 1870 and 1890. After that, he focused his activities mainly on the lucrative seaside resort. He was one of the four concessionaires of the MZs and involved in the Société des Galeries, 's-Gravenhaagsche Passage-Maatschappij (The Hague Gallery Association) (1876), which built a shopping gallery at Buitenhof in 1885, designed by architect Wesstra. He was also involved

in the successor of the MZS, the Exploitatie Maatschappij Scheveningen (Exploitation Association Scheveningen, EMS), Exploitatie Maatschappij van Zeerust (Exploitation Association Zeerust) and Maatschappij tot Exploitatie van Hotel Wittebrug (Exploitation Association Hotel Wittebrug).

Barend Janse Johzn (1847-1916?) was an insurance broker and a member of the Municipal Council from 1898 to 1909 for the Liberal Union and from 1902 to 1912 of the Provincial Council of South Holland. He was the director and supervisor director of Nederlandsche Verzekeringsmaatschappij op het Leven (Dutch Life Insurance Association), Nederlandsche Maatschappij voor Electriciteit en Metallurgie (Dutch Association for Electricity and Metallurgy) and Hollandsche-Belgische Bouwgrond Maatschappij (Dutch-Belgian Building Territory Association) which built Belgisch Park. Janse also played an important role in numerous iconic urban ensembles, including the seaside resort, the shopping passage at Buitenhof and residential parks. In 1909, a motion was filed in the Municipal Council against Janse regarding transactions he carried out on behalf of the municipality with the Bouwgrond-Maatschappij Zandoord (land development company Zandoord), for which he was accused of having accepted funds. He then resigned from the council for health reasons.

Neville Davison Goldsmid (1814-1875), whose family was active in London, Paris, Amsterdam, and The Hague, showed that urban facilities and amenities could be financed on a European scale (Lintsen et al., 1993). With the capital of his family, the Compagnie d'éclairage au Gaz des Pays-Bas (Dutch Gas Lighting Company) was founded in The Hague, which had gained the exclusive rights for establishing gas lighting from the municipality for the period 1844-1874 (Stokvis, 1987).

With Goldschmidt, Coblijn, Reiss, De Sonnaville and Janse, international capital gained a face and influence in local politics. Another example is Adrianus Nicolaas de Lint (1838-1894), a raw materials trader from Delft who, like engineer and trader in building land Johannes Bartholomeus Maxwils (1811-1881), was involved in the development of the Archipelbuurt and the Zeeheldenkwartier.

Local Networks

All the companies that dealt with the urban development were Public Limited Liability Companies, a form of legal entity in which the share capital is divided into freely transferable shares. The advantage for the partners was the limited liability for the owners of the shares. For each building (hotels, galleries, etc.) or urban development initiative (residential parks, streets, neighborhoods, etc.), a Public Limited Liability Companies was established. Hence, the names of such companies usually refer to a location in the city or a particular project. Often several parties worked together in a Limited Company, as a kind of construction team in legal form in which each party had one or more shares. The financiers and the landowners often had majority shares (De Sonnaville, Janse Johzn, Goekoop, Scheurleer, Van Stolk), while others, such as architects (Maxwils, Wesstra, Van Liefland), building contractors and materials suppliers (De Lint), took a minority share to show involvement or to take on the development of a street plan themselves (Maxwils, Van Liefland, De Lint). Everyone shared in the profit and risks of the development.

In addition to these companies, which only aimed for short-term profits, there were also companies and individuals who were more interested in creating a beautiful city with good facilities and amenities. Delia was already mentioned, but also the engineer and land trader Maxwils, a hygienist, and the architect-politician Willem Bernardus van Liefland (1857-1919). These people had a completely different attitude than colleague architects and entrepreneurs such as Vogel, De Vletter, and Klomp.

Tensions between Municipalities and Land Development Companies Regarding the Costs of Public Amenities

If a land development company imposed special requirements on the buildings, for example regarding its appearance or the construction time, this was set down in the contract with the buyer of the plot. When land development companies built street plans, the municipality set requirements for these plans. Entrepreneurs then set requirements for the municipality to co-pay for these general facilities or amenities. Negotiations then arose between land development companies and the municipality about the street plans and amenities of the new neighborhoods, such as the construction of Anna Paulowna Park. Initially, land development companies donated land to the municipality in exchange for contracts for the construction of streets, sewers, and lighting at municipal expense. However, at the end of the nineteenth century, the municipality wanted to get rid of these costs and gradually the municipal contributions were reversed. Tension between the land development companies and the municipality was therefore constantly present in the city council reports and this determined to a large extent the street plans, until the passing of the Housing Act in 1901.

Well-known architects such as Van Liefland were involved in many land development companies. For example, Van Liefland and Simons were involved in the land development company Burgerlijke Maatschappij Bouwlust (Civil Association Bouwlust), which was involved in the development of the slaughterhouse and the cattle market around 1887. Van Liefland was also involved in Public Limited Liability Companies such as De Toekomst (The Future), Maatschappij voor Onroerende Goederen (Association for Real Estate), 's-Gravenhaagsche Bouwmaatschappij and Exploitatie Maatschappij Scheveningen (The Hague Building Association and Exploitation Association Scheveningen), and Bouw Maatschappij Anna Paulowna (Building Association Anna Paulowna) (Handelingen van den Gemeenteraad 1891, appendix 78: 18). It is possible that a renowned architect such as Van Liefland held a minority share in all projects he was involved in, as a means of demonstrating his loyalty and confidence in the project. Together with architect Wesstra, Van Liefland was a member of Zuider Bouwgrond Maatschappij (Southern Building Territory Association), which developed the lands of the widow Pronk (Bijvoegsel Nederlandsche Staatscourant, 4 September 1895, no. 207).

The role of land development companies in shaping socio-spatial inequalities within urban planning processes was facilitated by

the city's rapid expansion, prevailing financing methods, and the municipality's reluctance to impose quality standards or city plans like in Amsterdam or Rotterdam. Differences in housing quality—and consequently processes of segregation—were amplified by land development companies as a means of attracting homebuyers. This mode of neighborhood development and housing production for an anonymous market, conducted through Public Limited Liability Companies, produced an urban landscape characterized by laissez-faire patterns: residential parks in lush surroundings, fashionable middle-class quarters organized around rond-points, and unhygienic working-class neighborhoods with slums and epidemics, as described by physician Schick. This process of building residential districts and neighborhoods persisted until the Housing Act of 1901. Land development companies transformed empty fields and dune landscapes of The Hague.

3.4
Conflicts about Health, Hygiene, and Facilities, 1851–1887

Conflicting Interests and a New Tradition in City Mapping

In the second half of the nineteenth century, The Hague transformed from a smelly, dark city into a dry, well-lit service city following hygienist principles. This did not happen, however, without conflicts of interest between citizens, hygienists, the city government, entrepreneurs, and the seaside resort of Scheveningen. For the inhabitants of The Hague, the miserable life in the slums of the people from The Hague and the Scheveningen in the second half of the nineteenth century was made visible by a new way of drawing city maps by hygienists. In addition to the progressive newspapers, which constantly reported on abuses in the slums, it was mainly the city map and the statistical data that made visible to residents of The Hague what was going on in the slums in the courtyards. The hygienic city was born and the second half of the nineteenth century was characterized by the fight to achieve truly healthy homes and urban spaces with modern architecture and urban planning, ready for the twentieth century.

Following in the footsteps of Schick, the new city architect Willem Cornelis van der Waeyen Pieterszen (1819-1874) drew city maps differently in 1858. During the so-called Restoration after the Napoleonic era–the reign of King Willem I, when Reijers worked–areas behind the façade were preferably not drawn, so that the city could be presented as a collection of magnificent monuments. These monuments were often drawn in detail with facades or reproduced in lace. Often, they were enlarged on the city map, so that there was no doubt about the prominence of the palaces and important urban facilities. Especially the city map from 1868 measured by C.E. Last, surveyor at the land registry, drawn and lithographed by J. Lobatto on behalf of the Vereeniging tot Onderzoek naar de Middelen ter Verbetering van den Gezondheidstoestand der Gemeente 's-Gravenhage (1866- 1872) (Association for Research into the Means for the Improvement of the Health Condition of the Municipality of The Hague), meticulously showed all the slums.

Given the large circulation of these lithographs, these maps must have played a role in the process of raising awareness of what took place in the slums. Van der Waeyen Pieterszen had been concerned about the city's sewers and drinking water supply for some time and argued: "The need for good drinking water is increased by the alarming growth in the construction of courtyards and the accumulation of dwellings and people who must search for their water in the middle of the city" (Stokvis, 1987: 35). This new way of drawing city maps and the enlightened ideas of Schick and his fellow hygienists must be seen in the context of the societal developments and political changes during Thorbecke's tenure.

Many city maps in the tradition of the beautiful city of Reijers testify to this old way of drawing: Bakhuyzen & Zürcher (1817) (HGA gr.0305), Bakhuyzen & Zürcher (1821) (HGA gr.0306), Covens & Veelwaard (1830) (HGA gr.0308 & gr.0309 & gr.0310), Reijers, Beretta, Zürcher (1833) (HGA z.gr.0018), Reijers, Zürcher (1835) (HGA gr.0311), Reding (1837) (HGA kl.0435), Van Stockum (1839) (HGA kl.0438), Zürcher (1833) (HGA kl.031), Zürcher (1844), Reding & Schoevers (1844) (HGA kl.0442 & kl.0443), Reding & Fassbender (1844) (HGA gr.0313 & gr.0314), Van Langenhuysen & Schoevers (1844) (HGA kl.0440 & kl.0441), the brothers Belinfante (1847) (HGA kl.0444).

City architects Van der Waeyen Pieterszen broke with this tradition; he was the first to meticulously record the slums of The Hague and Scheveningen. These were then used for the new generation of maps of The Hague in the second half of the nineteenth century. Many city maps demonstrate this new way of mapping: Van der Waeyen & Spanier (1858) (HGA z.gr.0022), Last & Lobatto (1868) (HGA z.gr.0023 & z.gr.0024), Van der Waeyen & Verstijnen (1872) (HGA gr.0327 & z.gr.0042) and Reinders & Verstijnen with the design for a sewer plan (1876) (HGA z.gr.2014).

During the second half of the nineteenth century, enlightened citizens increased the pressure on the municipal government to come up with legislation and urban facilities. But changing the city was not that easy, certainly not because The Hague experienced explosive growth. After the introduction of the Municipal Act (1851) only very wealthy citizens were on city council, whose main aim was to reduce municipal expenditure, these warnings were hardly heeded. Under pressure from public opinion, the municipality reluctantly granted concessions for the building of utilities, often to foreign investment companies which demanded monopolies. The city council thought that such concessions would reduce expenditure, but it became increasingly clear that these facilities and amenities were extremely expensive (Bakker Schut, 1939; Gemeente Den Haag, 1948; Stokvis, 1987; Buiter, 2005). In addition, creating coherence between different urban facilities and amenities was complex. All choices in favor of one amenity had immediate consequences for other amenities. For the sewer system, a water supply network was needed to realize the flushing system. Sidewalks gave the opportunity to build gutters. Main sewers were laid in filled-in canals, with tram routes above them. The Verversings- or Afvoerkanaal (Drainage Canal) had to discharge the sewers into the sea, which led to a conflict with fishermen and shipowners and the seaside resort. With the construction of the ports, the need to use the old city canals as ports disappeared and they could be filled in. All decisions were interrelated, and there were many conflicting interests.

In 1875 Van der Waeyen Pieterszen passed away and was succeeded by B. Reinders (1875-1890) as city architect; he was in office on until 1890. Reinders and also architect and entrepreneur Maxwils were probably relatives of the banker and The Hague School painter Hendrik Willem Mesdag (1831-1915) (Groninger Archief, no. 555). After change in legislation and elections in 1887, the way was cleared to make the creation of urban facilities a municipal task and the city came into the hands of engineers and architects.

The KIVI and the Fear of Degradation on the Civilized Classes, 1854

In 1854, by order of the king, engineers from the Royal Institute of Engineers (KIVI) wrote a report on the state of housing, which was published a year later as *Verslag aan den Koning, over de vereischten en inrigting van arbeiderswoningen, door eene commissie uit het Koninklijk Instituut van Ingenieurs* (*Report to the King, on the Requirements and Interior of Workers' Houses, by a Committee from the Royal Institute of Engineers*) (KIVI, 1855).

Maxwils, who would later develop the better parts of Zeeheldenkwartier and Archipelbuurt, inspected the slums in The Hague for the KIVI and confirmed Schick's findings. In his conclusions, he went a step further and argued that the living conditions were not only the cause of sickness and misery, but also of moral degradation, which would eventually also affect civilized classes.

Maxwils stated: "Limited in space, often poorly lit, imperfectly sheltered from the influence of the atmosphere in damp places and in corridors and alleys, not supplied with all that is necessary. Without a supply of abundant water, without the discharge of the most hideous uncleanness, the workman's dwelling is not infrequently a place of terror for the more civilized, where uncleanness sometimes rises to the top, the atmosphere is ruined by all that is piled, where immorality finds its cradle, and where the foci of diseases arise, whose influence spreads widely around to attack all classes, and to cause the scourge of destruction to enter into the homes of the more civilized" (KIVI, 1855).

The report was not only limited to the old houses but also included new homes. Maxwils complained about the system behind the housing construction: "Little or no attention was paid to the location and humidity; it was only intended to build many homes with little money." The houses were too low—often the wooden floor was only 20 cm above the water—there was no bottom insulation, the masonry was poor, the rooms too small and too low, and there was no airflow. Homes were often built too low in the unexcavated peat layer. There was no clean sand layer, no drinking water, no sewer, no sanitation, no access to daylight, and epidemics of typhoid and cholera broke out constantly.

Association for the Improvement of Housing of the Working Class, 1854

The First Housing Association

Several prominent citizens and members of the KIVI were concerned about the fate of the people in the slums. In 1854 they founded the first housing association in The Hague: Vereeniging tot Verbetering der Woningen van de Arbeidende Klasse (Association for the Improvement

of Housing for the Working Class). Later this association changed its name to Koninklijke Haagse Woningvereniging van 1854 (Royal The Hague Housing Association of 1854). The driving force was Isaac Paul Delprat (1793-1880), an enlightened officer and engineer who was trained in Paris at the École des Ponts et Chaussées and was commander of the Military Academy in Breda and a board member of the KIVI (Dirkzwager, 1979).

The articles of association set out the following ambitions: "The construction of new dwellings furnished separately for each household, in order to rent them out at a fair price; the purchase of poorly furnished houses, either so-called blocks or individual dwellings, in order to improve them as much as possible and then to rent them out or, if necessary, to resell them; to take all such measures as are within its reach to promote the health and cleanliness of the inhabitants, especially by urging improvement in this respect from other owners or from the government; in connection with this, to improve the morality of the inhabitants by all means which experience shall designate as effective" (Bakker Schut 1939: 4). The first local housing association created serval affordable housing projects:

- Hofje van Schuddegeest, 1854, designed by the architect Saraber,
- 42 residential blocks with four small houses each at Van Hogendorpstraat, 1862/69, by Saraber,
- Mallemolenhofje, 1868-69, by architects Jager and Van der Kamp,
- The Red Village, 1874,
- The Delprat houses, 1897/98, by Van der Poll,
- Paramaribohofje, 1881, by Wesstra.

Ordinance on Building and Extension Plan of 1859

In 1854, a committee of the city council was instructed to create an "ordinance on building within the municipality of The Hague" and "to make a general plan for relatively all the expansion of the city, all the construction of new streets, squares, etc. in order to test all subsequent plans and applications in this regard against that plan" (Bakker Schut, 1939).

As discussed above (paragraph 3.2.1), cities such as Rotterdam and Amsterdam already had extension plan in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1859 Van der Waeyen Pieterszen suggested a *Algemeen Plan van Uitbouwing der Gemeente* (*General Plan for the Extension of the Municipality*), but this did not go beyond partial plans for the north-west and southern part. Furthermore, because this land was privately owned and impossible to expropriate, nothing ultimately came to fruition. The municipality was too busy with Willemspark, which was built at municipal expense during this period and whose building plots were sold. Just like the extension plan, no building code were implemented, nor any regulations that Schick had insisted on.

Unsurprisingly, at a council meeting in 1859, councilor De Pinto dismissed all the arguments of the doctors and engineers and opined: "I do not dispute that it is very desirable that houses should be built healthy and well, but I may trust that those who have houses built will understand this in their own interest, but it is equally useful to have good clothes and good food. It is not possible to provide for everything in this matter by Police Regulation. It is said that it is in the interest of public health. I cannot see this: it may affect the health of the individual who occupies the house, but it is not so for others. The provisions are very restrictive. People are under illusions; they follow Amsterdam and Rotterdam, where these provisions have been put on paper, but have never been implemented, because it was not possible" (Bakker Schut, 1939: 8).

Instead of the intended building ordinance, some very fragmentary regulations were eventually incorporated into the *Algemeene Politie-Verordening* (*General Police Ordinance*) (Chapter IV, 1860). It was accepted that there had to be a ratio between the width of a street and the height of a building. The minimum thickness of the building wall was set at 22 cm and a minimum height of 250 cm for a living room was approved. The ban on the construction of back-to-back housing was rejected by the city council by a vote of 28 to 6. The suggestion that each house should have its own sanitation was invalidated by a dispensation power of the municipal executive: one toilet for every six houses was included in the ordinance. The regulations on the thickness of the building walls were not declared applicable to the slums to be designated by the municipal executive; those of Scheveningen were immediately designated by the executive, according to Bakker Schut (1939).

Associations for Health Improvement, 1866–1908

In 1865, sixteen physicians wrote a letter to the city council in which they again expressed their concerns about the health of the population, but this was set aside. A year later, in 1866, another cholera epidemic broke out. In that year, the Association for Research into the Means for the Improvement of the Health Condition of the Municipality of The Hague (1866-1908) was founded, which had a major influence on the hygienic development of The Hague (Bakker Schut, 1939). The association changed its name a few times during its existence: in 1871 it became Vereeniging tot Verbetering van de Gezondheidstoestand te 's-Gravenhage (Association for Improving the Health Situation in The Hague); in 1903 Het Hygiënisch Genootschap te 's-Gravenhage (The Hague Hygienist Association); in 1908 the association was dissolved.

Bakker Schut relates: "Year after year, this association mercilessly exposed the hygienic abuses, and although it could not rely on the approval, let alone appreciation, of the city council, especially in the first two decades of its existence, one got the impression that it was not least thanks to it that better concepts of public housing and hygiene began to take hold. The association gave unsolicited advice to the council and in 1867 sent the foundations for a building ordinance to the city council" (Bakker Schut, 1939: 11).

Important points were a minimum street width of 10 meters, with the height of the houses not exceeding the street width. Each house must have at least two rooms, one of which should be at least 25

square meters in size. The minimum height of a living room should be 3 meters, and there should be a separate toilet for each dwelling, discharging into a sewer or watertight cesspool. The bed box should be prohibited. It should be obligatory to have waterproof masonry of double-baked brick from the foundation to approximately 60 centimeters above ground level. Some of these demands were met, and others were not. The only physician on the city council, Mr. Dr. P. Bleeker, raised the housing issue again at the council meeting of March 26, 1867, showing a 'cholera map' with all deaths recorded (Van Doorn, 1991: 19). Once again, Bleeker made an unequivocal connection between housing conditions, geography, and cases of illness: "And now it has struck me very much that even in the more afflicted neighborhoods, the main streets and canals and moderately spacious streets have suffered very little from the epidemic and that the unfavorable mortality ratio even in those neighborhoods is mainly due to the numerous courtyards, slums, and corridors and alleys, often localities with limited airflow outside and virtually no air flow inside the house" (Bakker Schut, 1939: 9). Bleeker suggested appointing a council committee to investigate what could be done to improve public housing. The proposal was adopted and a committee appointed. Bleeker resigned as a counselor a few weeks later and on May 7, 1867 the committee was dissolved without a vote or discussion in the council (HGA 0036, inv.nr 1-39; Bakker Schut, 1939: 9).

The Stedelijk Keur and *General Police Ordinances*

Between 1866 and the coming of the Housing Act in 1901, the associations of hygienists were able to amend the *Politie Verordening* (*Police Regulations*) step by step through constant pressure. In 1870 and 1871, smallpox epidemics broke out again in the slums. Two years later, in 1873, there was another cholera epidemic. It was not until the *Algemene Politie Verordening* (*General Police Ordinance*) of 1871 that the flawed bylaw of 1860 was revised. The Association for Improving the Health Situation in The Hague was disappointed in this reluctant admission and turned to the city council again, but was not heard. Nevertheless, two articles 44 and 45 were included that would become important for the city (Bakker Schut, 1939: 12):

"No one may build higher in new streets than determined for each street by the City Council" and "No one may build a street except to be determined by the City Council on its width and in the direction."

In the street lay out after 1875, articles 44 and 45 were incorporated in agreements between the municipality and the land development companies. These standards applied to all neighborhoods. However, there were no monumental rond-points with fountains or beautiful streets with linden trees in working-class neighborhoods and the streets there were often narrower than the police ordinance prescribed. Ten meters or less was common, while 12 meters was regulated. In the layout of streets, various articles of the ordinance from 1871 would play an important role. These were provisions that related to the size of the street and height of the facade, but what took place in the courtyards and the slums was still considered of no importance by the council.

Another article dealt with toilets: each home must have a toilet, unless the builder has a permit for a common toilet for every six homes. The association opposed this article, which gave dispensation by the executive to disregard the rule. This was a continuation of the old policy; the Criminal Procedure Commission of the municipality stated that: "The Commission dares to express the opinion that one toilet for every six small houses outside in a narrow environment is healthier than having such an opportunity for every small house inside." The association responded to this curious statement by pointing out that one toilet for six homes meant one for twelve families, or about one for every sixty persons. However, the council accepted the opinion of the Criminal Procedure Commission.

At the urging of the Association for the Improvement of Health Status, the first building regulations were drawn up in 1878: *Verordening regelende de bouwpolitie* (*Regulation regulating the building police*). For the first time, doubts were also expressed in the city council about The Hague's courtyard system. Councilor Rietstap argued on April 10, 1877 that the first courtyard houses were founded by benefactors of the people, with the aim of meeting the needs of less fortunate fellow citizens. The courtyards of the new age, on the other hand, were merely means of speculation and exploitation. From now on, building plans for courtyards had to be submitted to the municipality for approval. The distance between the facades had to be at least 6 meters and the height of the living quarters at least 260 centimeters. People were allowed to build houses back-to-back, a gate to the courtyard was allowed and one communal toilet per six houses remained the rule.

In 1882, a committee from the Association consisting of Carsten, D.E.C. Knuttel and A.H. Pareau reported on the changes deemed necessary in the regulation. When the Ordinance was revised in 1884, the Criminal Procedure Commission informed the Association: "With regard to the further construction and interior of dwellings, the Commission considered that, however desirable it may be, the health measures recommended by the addressees should be observed. The prescribing of such measures, under threat of punishment, would be highly restrictive and impossible to maintain, since it would restrict the freedom of residents in a very questionable manner. If the need to restrict freedom in the public interest has not become apparent, no further than is necessary may be taken in this respect" (Bakker Schut, 1939: 13). This judgement reflected the liberal position of the committee. In a new revision in 1888, an access of 250 centimeters wide and 300 centimeters high was added to the articles of the ordinance; otherwise, everything in terms of building legislation remained the same.

In 1892, during a revision of the police ordinance, article 41 of the *Stedelijk Keur* was abolished—the rule that left building in courtyards and fields to the free market without regulations and subjected facades on the streets and squares to all kinds of requirements. The *Stedelijk Keur* was replaced by an article that prohibited "building other than on streets, laid out on site, according to the dimensions in the direction and at the height determined or approved by the City Council" (Bakker Schut, 1939: 13, 14). It was not allowed to build more than ten meters behind the building line. After 51 years, the construction of working-

class units and slums in courtyards and on empty fields came to an end.

A year later in 1893, the journalist Gram reported about the living conditions: “So, a lot depends on whether the patroness of The Hague is seen first from the front or from the back. ... Dr. Pareau, who recently in The Hague press denounced the layout of the numerous narrow and musty alleys with low workers’ houses, so-called ‘courtyards’, on hygienic grounds, found in all these iniquities reason to compare the courtyard city with someone who only washed their face and hands. There is much truth in this wittily chosen image. Indeed, The Hague’s patroness needs the spacious cloak of love to cover it, which is neither beautiful nor attractive. She appears neat and elegant, kind and brightly, but when she carelessly lifts her tunic a little high, things come up that make you blush greatly” (Grams, 1893: 18, 20).

Gas Lighting, Sanitation, Electricity, and Communication

As for utilities, which also covered the better parts of the city, the city government was more lenient than it was regarding regulations regarding the health of city dwellers. Around 1840, open fires of wood and peat were replaced by stoves that burned coal, with a significantly higher energy yield. Gas could also be made from coal, and was used for street lighting. The residue left behind during degassing was called coke fuel. As early as 1774, the streets of The Hague were illuminated with 1659 oil lanterns. In 1820 the first gas lighting appeared on Binnenhof (Stokvis, 1987).

Gas Lighting in Streets and Homes

In 1843 a exclusive concession was granted to provide municipal gas lighting for thirty years to a partner of the Anglo-French banker and speculator Neville Goldsmid, owner of the Compagnie d’éclairage au Gaz des Pays-Bas, established in Paris in 1844. The Goldsmid family was active in Paris, London, and The Hague and had ties to the Rothschild banking family. The monopoly ultimately cost the municipality dearly: the company installed 880 gas lanterns at its own expense and the operation came to 40,000 Dutch guldens per year, at the expense of the municipality. These high costs were, unfortunately, not reflected in the quality of the lights (Stokvis, 1987). The municipality negotiated and litigated in vain against the company. Goldschmid demanded three million guilders to end his concession, which the municipality could not afford. Around 1870, Goldsmid’s gas factory was built on Lijnbaan, where coal was processed into gas. In 1875, the concession finally expired. In that year, 2900 private customers spent more than three times as much money on gas to Goldsmid as the municipality.

Stokvis (1987: 38) reports that gas lanterns were only placed in the better neighborhoods. However, Van der Haer (1968) collected photographs from the period 1860 to 1870 and showed that the lower-class neighborhoods were also supplied with gas lighting. Almost all urban spaces in the old city and new neighborhoods were illuminated, including smaller streets such as Bleyenburg and Maliestraat. The slums in Scheveningen West, such as Wassenaarsestraat near Seinpostduin, were not illuminated. Another book with photos from the late nineteenth century also shows that even alleys were equipped with gas lanterns, such as Schapensteegje around 1895 (Nieuwenhuijzen & Slechte, 1975). Other urban spaces, such as Lage Zand, were still unlit by 1900. An alley at Westeinde also had no lighting. The lower-class neighborhoods, such as the old Slijkeinde, and the new streets, such as the working-class streets Haveriusstraat and Jacobastraat, were illuminated at the turn of the century. It could be said that around 1870 the city was completely illuminated with gas lighting, apart from slums in courtyards that were still in darkness, according to the minutes of the city council.

Already in 1872, the municipality decided to set up its own gas company. Under the leadership of director J.E.M. Kos, a new municipal gasworks was built on Loosduinseweg-Gaslaan in 1875, which began supplying municipal gas in June 1876 at a much lower price. Due to the arrival of gas stoves, the consumption of gas in the new neighborhoods increased significantly and coke and coal gradually disappeared. In 1880 the old gasworks of Goldschmid on Lijnbaan closed. Gas was not only used by the municipality and private individuals, but especially by companies that worked with gas engines. With the introduction of the coin-operated gas meters by the year 1900, the less well-off citizens were also connected to the gas network. Due to the ongoing urban extensions, the municipality decided in 1904 to build a second gas factory along Trekvliet in Binckhorst. This factory, accessible to cargo ships carrying 500 tons of coal, was opened in 1907. The First World War caused problems for the supply of coal in The Hague, and this was therefore rationed. Gradually, gas extracted from coal disappeared and more people switched to electricity. In 1917, coal had become so scarce that the municipal waste incineration plant was connected to the municipal power plant.

Sanitation

Van der Waeyen Pieterszen published four articles in the newspaper De Opmerker in 1867, in which he described plans for an integrated sewer system in The Hague on a flush basis, operated by steam pumping stations. A drinking water supply network was also needed to flush the sewers connected to the houses; the water would be supplied by the city basin. The waste water of the sewers would be directed to the dunes to serve as fertilizer. Unfortunately, these ideas were not implemented (Buiter, 2005).

The malodorous canals and dirt in the streets troubled the gentlemen of standing, since it marred the city’s image. The city council hired private individuals to clean this waste by handcart and barge and deposit it outside the city. The concessions to do so were granted by tender to the lowest bidder (Stokvis, 1987). This was not always done carefully and in 1871 the municipality took the city cleaning into its own hands. The cleaning service was equipped with new equipment: horse and cart entered the service. However, the stench of the canals, the recurring epidemics, and the partial sewer system with settling pits and discharge into the canals remained a problem. From 1908, dump trucks were put into service and in 1912 the first garbage trucks appeared, first running on electricity and later on gasoline. There

was disagreement in The Hague city council and newspapers about whether to install an integrated sewer system based on the Liernur system, in which feces were sucked out of the water mains by means of negative pressure, for which no separate water pipes would be needed. However, this was not implemented.

Water was provided at first by public wells, pumps, or lead-lined cisterns which collected rainwater. Small households could buy hot water at 'water and fire stores'. The construction of a drinking water supply network was promoted by the Association for Improving the Health Situation in The Hague (HGA 0395; see Stokvis, 1987). As early as 1863, several private concessions were applied for but not granted or realized. After proposals by councilor De Pinto for municipal construction were rejected in 1866 and 1869, his proposal was accepted in 1871 by 18 votes to 11, while two years later it was also decided that the municipality would operate the system.

In 1873, money was borrowed by The Hague for the construction of this facility. Under the direction of the chief engineer of the State Railways J.A.A. Waldorp and the Norwegian engineer Th. Spang, trained in Liège, the construction went ahead: in January 1875, there were already 1002 connections. Foreign entrepreneurs also played a key role in this facility: a London firm laid the pipes. In 1874 the total length was 64 km and in 1912 almost five times that. Consumption increased faster than expected due to the installation of fire hydrants in the city.

Municipal exploitation of drinking water only became profitable when waste of leaking water was prevented by regulating the pressure. In 1884 the collection of waste water in open canals was replaced by drainage through sand in the dunes, which from 1890 also reached a deeper level. The building of the water supply network in 1873-1875 made an integrated flush-based sewer system possible. Now, houses with water connections could flush their toilets into the sewer. A plan for a refined sewer system, in which all streets of the city were given a sewer, was drawn in 1876 by city architect Reinders, with a pumping station to discharge water into the sea. On October 14, 1879, the city council decided with a narrow majority not to build a sewer system, but ordered large sinkholes in Spui and Prinsegracht to be filled in.

Telegraph and Telephone

As early as 1876, the International Bell Company requested that a telephone connection be established and operated. In 1880 the council considered this request. According to the pre-advice to the city council, the municipality did not need such a facility, but some council members thought very differently (Stokvis, 1987). Bell's Dutch subsidiary was prepared to invest in the overhead lines, but in return demanded the exclusive concession for several years. In 1883 there were already 116 telephone connections; when the concession expired in 1897 there were 607.

After many meetings and much opposition from the city, it was not until 1902 the municipality decided to operate the service itself. The telephone service became an independent municipal company. Cables were connected to telephone towers, connected to the telephone exchange through an underground cable. Service expanded rapidly: in 1903, the municipal telephone service already had 2032 connections and was a profitable municipal business. In 1885, W.J. Wisse, deputy director of the Rijkstelegraaf (National Telegraph Service), received a limited concession to build a power station. The Hofsingel power plant, completed in 1889, was taken over by Siemens in 1891. Consumption was still on a small scale; some companies and hotels had their own power stations.

Electricity

Municipal electricity production started in 1904 on the proposal of N.J. Singels, who had previously worked at Siemens and entered the municipal service in 1901. A.E.G. Stork built a three-phase power station and the Cologne company Land- und Seekabelwerke (Land and Sea Cable Works) built a tram cable network. The Gemeentelijk Energiebedrijf (GEB) (Municipal Electricity Company), founded in 1906, aimed to serve a broad market at low rates (Stokvis, 1987). The number of electric light users increased from 372 in 1907 to 10,000 in 1918. In 1917 it was decided to electrify the street lights, a change which was completed in 1919. In the First World War, due to a lack of coal supply for gas, all gas engines were also replaced by electric motors. Finally, in 1915, rental homes were also connected to the electricity mains by coin-operated meters and indoor cables.

Conflict between City and Seaside Resort about the Drainage Canal, 1887–1890

A New Drainage Canal as Part of the Sewer System

Citizens and city administrators shared the same interest: a clean hygienic city. Stench and disease caused constant calls for a proper sewer and water supply system and the filling in of all canals and ditches, even though the drinking water supply had already improved. The main problem was that all partial sewer systems ran into the canals of the old city and the flow remained stationary there. Through the city's most expensive project, the Verversingskanaal (Drainage Canal) and the Steam Pumping Station, the city's waste came to be discharged into the sea. The Vliet, the canal between Delft and Leiden, was thus connected to the sea. Construction began in 1888 and it was completed in 1891. The waste was discharged into the canal via sewers and then pumped into the sea, far south of Scheveningen. Thus, the city of The Hague aimed to reverse the natural flow of the water from the dunes to the hinterland. With the new Laakhavens it was also possible to remove shipping from of the old city, so that the last smelly canals could be filled in.

In 1890, however, the municipality came into conflict with the seaside resort and the fishermen over this intention to spout. Especially the mighty Sea-Bath Association Scheveningen, with its investors from Paris, Antwerp and Amsterdam, was strongly opposed to this and wanted to prevent discharging waste into the sea during the bathing season from Whitsun to October 1 (Vegt, 1889).

The Seaside Resort

During a session of the city council in 1890, municipal secretary Evers argued that in the bathing season of 1889 it had been demonstrated that discharge outside the bathing season was sufficient to clean the canals in The Hague and that the seaside resort did not suffer any damage and contamination. Councilor Van Malsen noted that the sea locks had to be kept closed in the summer because insufficient water could be extracted from Delfland. At this council meeting, the motion to end the discussion was rejected.

The newspaper Algemeen Handelsblad of 11 January 1890 described the dilemma of summer discharge, explaining the interests of the residents in the wet parts of The Hague versus those of the seaside resort. Numerous scholars were consulted by different parties and opinions varied widely, but the council did not reach a decision. Consequence was that there would be no flushing in the summer, despite the negative consequences that entailed for the city. The seaside resort and port were represented by two excellent lawyers and scholars: Mr. Fynje, former city councilor, expert on water management and committee member, who dealt with the sewers of The Hague, and Utrecht professor Overbeek de Meijer. According to these specialists, the filtering canal was of no use and the problem would not be solved by flushing the dirty water system. The Acts of the City Council of 1890 documented all these objections (Annex 4: 1-2; Annex 12-14: 4-10; Annex 17: 11-12, etc., Annex 103: 46-47).

Even German newspapers such as the Frankforter Intelligenz-Blatt and the Vossische Zeitung from Berlin paid attention to The Hague's discharge dilemma and the conflicts in the city, according to Acts of the City Council of 1890 (annex 318: 121-122). Did the interests of a small number of bathers have to come before the interests of all inhabitants of the city? The canals remained gathering places of waste, scholars argued, but the seaside resort was threatened with destruction. The scholars prescribed that there was no need for discharge in the summer months. However, the newspapers argued that all residents of The Hague knew better: that with a solid continuous discharge 'the atmosphere air is pure, and the water flows afresh'. According to the council acts, the newspaper further argued: 'The interests of The Hague far exceed those of Scheveningen, just as the interests of 130,000 souls far exceed those of 18,000.' Nevertheless, the newspaper recognized that the interests of Scheveningen could not be seen separately from the interests of The Hague and concluded the city council that a trial with summer flushing would be carried out.

The Algemeen Handelsblad of 31 January 1890 reported a meeting of the Association for Improving the Health Situation in The Hague about the long-term discharge. The association strongly urged the municipality to continue to discharge into the sea via the Filtering Canal during the summer months. However, the council was not yet convinced of this. The association therefore wanted to take the matter to court. In any case, it wanted to stipulate that during outbreaks of epidemics, the flushing of waste water would be carried out in the summer.

Finally, on July 15, 1890, according to the Acts of the City Council 1890 (annex 320: 122-123), the council decided that flushing could also be carried out in the summer under strict conditions, but high and low tide, wind direction, etc. had to be considered. The Association for Improving the Health Situation in The Hague continued to argue for the filling in of the canals in The Hague and discharging into the sea during the summer season. In 1891, a report from the association appeared, showing that between 1866 and 1874 the number of deaths was higher among people living along the canals and ditches than in other places. In addition to the request in 1891 to the council, according to the Acts of the City Council 1891 (annex 458: 164) to fill in the Nieuwe Haven and the Turfmarkt, the association proposed to fill in Spui, Amsterdamse Veerkade, Stille Veerkade, and Paviljoensgracht.

Scheveningen Habor – Canal – Laakhaven

The Laakhavens and the connection to the Drainage Canal were dug between 1901 and 1902. This created a spacious inland port, accessible through the railway and roads of the city. The port of Scheveningen was built between 1898 and 1904, after a storm destroyed the fishing boats on the beach. New industries were established in the Laakhavens, such as the slaughterhouse on Neherkade and the gas factory in the current Binckhorst.

The new city architect Isaac Anne Lindo had gained extensive experience with ports and waterworks in Japan and tram- and railways in the Netherlands (Lindo, 1911; Lindo, 1910-1919; Gelder et al., 1913; Everts et al., 1918; Maarschalkerweerd, 1998; Neve, 2000).

Large ships could now call at The Hague and supply coal for the gas factory, for example, while transporting industrial products from Schilderswijk, Rivierenbuurt, and Kortenbos. The scale of fishing grew and with it the type and dimensions of the fishing boats. Initially, only small fisher boats (so-called bomschuiten landing on the beach) entered the port, but after the completion of the second port of Scheveningen in 1903, larger boats (loggers, landing in the habor) could also enter. The need for boats to enter the city had been removed and the last open canals in the old city were filled in: the first part of Prinsegracht (1879), Amsterdamse Veerkade (1901), Stille Veerkade (1901), the southern part of Paviljoensgracht (1901), the second part of Prinsegracht (1902), Brouwersgracht (1902), the canal between Turfmarkt and Houtmarkt (1903), and the final part of Spui (1903) (Havelaar et al., 1998).

It was not until 1897 that the first flushing sewerage system was built in The Hague, at first in Scheveningen, where there were no canals. In order not to ruin the seaside resort, the sewage from the Drainage Canal was pumped into the sea at a great distance from the beach through a siphon press pipe. This was built around 1917, when already 300 km of sewer was present in The Hague, since the drinking water network needed this for flushing.

Around 1900, all facilities were in municipal hands and amenities such as gas, electricity, telephone, and drinking water could be offered to the citizens at a reasonable price.

Fear as a Motive for Reluctant Change, 1851–1887

The city administration and council were at first reluctant to make change the building laws and implement better facilities for the citizens—but why? This question occupied the social historian Stokvis (1987) and the civil servant Bakker Schut (1939) in their studies of the nineteenth century in The Hague. Maxwils' words had not been forgotten: 'the fear of encroachment on [the rights of] the civilized classes.'

Stokvis described the riots that occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century. Despite the presence of vigilantes, equipped with sabers and rifles, and the ban on organizations that applied in The Hague until 1872, there were several violent riots by fishermen and slum dwellers. Around 1870, workers, office workers, and lower-level civil servants organized themselves, despite the ban. A militant labor movement developed and a newspaper like *De Ooyevaar* reported on the abuses by municipality and entrepreneurs regularly, even though journalists were often jailed. For Stokvis, these riots partly explained why the city council, after much deliberation, reluctantly gave in regarding urban amenities and building legislation.

In September 1872, the International Workingmen's Association established a subsection in The Hague. This caused a nervous reaction among the elite, and fear of new social unrest. The political agitation reached a peak with the establishment of two newspapers in The Hague: the radical democratic magazine *De Toekomst* (*The Future*) and the socialist weekly *De Vrijheid* (*Freedom*), which began to circulate with the proclamation of the Commune in The Hague in March 1871. The Fifth Congress of The International Workingmen's Association began in September 1872 in dance hall Concordia in Lombardsteeg in Kortenbos and aroused even more unrest among the conservative press and the Orange-minded public. Eventually this ended in a clash between the anarchist Mikhail Bakunin and the communist Karl Marx. Workers in The Hague opted for anarchy instead of a Marxist organization.

For many wealthy citizens, such as industrialist and the local councilor Van Enthoven, there was an indefinable fear that led them to do 'something'. Bakker Schut also points to fear as a motive to give in step by step and to improve the fate of the less wealthy in the city. He quotes from Helene Mercier's book *Over arbeiderswoningen* (*On Workers' Housing*) (1886), which described the Nederlandsche Nationale Vereeniging van Werklieden (Dutch National Workers' Association). This association was founded by conservative Protestants in protest against 'the First International' with the aim of 'removing well-meaning workmen from the influence of socialist ideas'. The workmen who registered as members had to sign a declaration: "The Dutch workmen continue to rally to the throne of the House of Orange, as the pillar of Dutch existence and to the altars representing the religion that constitutes the essence of man" (Mercier, quoted by Bakker Schut 1939: 14). The association was a corporation that built housing for workers who rejected socialism.

Maxwils already noted that disease, misery, and immorality in the slums were ultimately a threat to all civilized classes. The continued uprisings worried the prosperous bourgeoisie. The huge garrison around Hofkwartier, with troops and horses, ensured peace and order, but for how long? With the garrison, the charity courtyards, the orphanages, and facilities such as the Foundation of Renswoude, which gave orphans from The Hague an education, the arrests of many journalists and rioters, and the support of godly, royalist workers, further riots were nipped in the bud in time and the worst was prevented in The Hague.

However, it was mainly the engineers, architects and physicians who gradually transformed the smelly, dark city into a dry well-lit hygienic city, despite the conflicting interests of most council members and aldermen. The dirty industry nearby Station Holland Spoor disappeared around 1890 and from that moment on, The Hague grew into a well-ordered, hygienic service city with attractive amenities.

Ministery van Justice on the Plein in Neo-Renaissance, by the architect C. Peters, constructed between 1876-1883. Photo by A. Frequin from 1912. Collection HGA 0.60887.

3.5
The Lack of Historical Awareness and Boring Architecture

National Identity in Architecture

Renewed Education

The Hague Drawing Academy (later the Royal Academy of Art, KABK), where the spirit of Reijers still lingered, also underwent a major reform at this time. There had long been a debate about whether the Drawing Academy should be solely an art institution or also a technical school; it was considered to expand the existing industrial school with architectural education (Lottman, 1984). In 1859, the Academie van Beeldende Kunsten en Technische Wetenschappen (Academy of Visual Arts and Technical Sciences) was founded, with, among others, city architect Van der Waeyen Pieterszen, Delprat, and Noordendorp on the board. Vogel served as head tutor of construction sciences, and the architect Saraber as tutor for ornaments and architecture.

As early as 1863, the Secondary Education Act of Thorbecke had been enacted to provide for drawing education in secondary schools, so that the art institute became superfluous. New educational institutions were established, or existing ones were reorganized. Examples include the Higher Civic School (HBS), the civic school, the agricultural school, and the polytechnic school of Delft, which laid the foundation for modern, practical education alongside the classical gymnasium. In 1866, The Hague saw the establishment of its first public day and evening school, where instruction was offered in all the subjects taught at an art institute.

Criticism in the Media on Architecture of The Hague

Not everyone was pleased with the architecture in The Hague: the brilliant snow-white villas along the sea, in Willemspark, Van Stolk Park and Belgisch Park, with enormous verandas and balconies in a colonial architectural style, the stuccoed Ministry of Colonies (1859/61), and the cast iron facade of the Supreme Court (1861-1938) on Plein, designed by government architect Willem Nicolaas Rose (1801-1877). In *De Opmerker* (*The Observer*) of April 28, 1866, a weekly magazine for construction and architecture, a letter criticized the assignment for the Palace of the States-General to Rose. His work, and those of The Hague architects such as Saraber and Delia, were heavily criticized in the media. The journal stated: “We prize the works of Mr. Metzelaar and Godefroy too high to dare to compare them with those of Mr. Rose; but we fear to find in the new Palace for the States-General a similar appearance as the unfortunate facade of the Ministry of Colonies or the characterless facade of the Supreme Court. Mr. Rose certainly has merits, but we dispute him as an architect. Whether one looks at the stuccoyed monuments built by him in The Hague, or the villas in Willemspark there and at the beach in Scheveningen, the home for disabled people in Arnhem, or the so-called restoration of the Lottery Hall in The Hague, in none of these one discovers any artistic value, and, what is more, it is sad that the making of designs for so many important buildings has been entrusted to such hands” (*De Opmerker*, April 28, 1866: 1).

In the same issue of *De Opmerker,* the columnist Crito spoke in Letters from the Residence about ‘Parisian or Brussels fashion forms’ used in The Hague, causing a loss of national identity. In *De Opmerker* of December 29, 1866, architects from The Hague were strongly reproached by an unknown letter writer: “We always like to talk about the architecture in the Court City [The Hague], because there is much to reveal and remark about The Hague and its buildings; many a ‘great society’ lives there and from there many judgments are made, up to and about the ‘noblest of the country’, as witnessed by The Hague chronicler who says in *Algemeen Handelsblad* of 20 November 1866: ‘It is a pity that we actually have almost no architect in the whole of The Hague. ... In Amsterdam, people know how to bring character to the new extensions. ... Here is the patchwork without style or taste, papier-mâché houses.’ We have never read greater oracles in a newspaper. There is hardly any architect in The Hague! And structural engineers like Mr. Rodenburg, Mr. Vogel, Mr. Pieterszen, Mr. Camp, Mr. Saraber, Mr. Rose, Mr. De Vletter? What are they all? Are they ‘almost architects?’ No, they are architects in the fullest sense. In Amsterdam, it’s good there, it’s no patchwork, no papier mâché.”

Dutch Neo-Renaissance: De Stuers, Alberdingk Thijm, and Cuypers

The founder of Dutch cultural policy and promotor of Dutch Neo-Renaissance architecture, Victor Eugène Louis de Stuers (1843-1916), would separate art education from the Ministry of Education and arrange it to his liking (Bank & Buuren, 2000).

In the period of nation-building in the nineteenth century, many countries in Europe formulated their own variants of the Renaissance. They began to document and analyze their own monuments and, based on these analyzes, sought a single national style that could serve as a historical guideline for and legitimation of the nation to the population. According to architectural historian Auke van der Woud, an important change took place in ideas among Catholics related to emancipation, including De Stuers, Alberdingk Thijm and Cuypers (Van der Woud, 1997). The political space that liberals such as Thorbecke had created caused emancipatory movements to flare up and brought new ideas about, among other things, architecture. The old view that architectural styles originated from among the people was rejected in favor of the idea that style had to be imparted to the people from above, by experts. This architectural style to be imposed was not a personal invention of the master builders—as individualism was also maligned—but a return to a common and precious possession that had fallen into oblivion and decay due to ignorance. This also meant a radical break with the ideas of the liberal politician Thorbecke, who believed that art was not a matter for government.

The inspiration for De Stuers and his circle was in the national past, that time when the arts were still flourishing, emerging from a natural

and united need for beauty, according to Van der Woud. It was precisely the ignorance of their own history that was the cause of the moral decay of the population in the slums, De Stuers thought. In 1875 he gave two reasons why emphasis should be placed on Old Dutch styles in architecture. First, the taste of the people would be ennobled and civilization would be developed. Secondly, the restoration of old buildings would be of 'incalculable' benefit for architects, because their taste and their technical knowledge would improve and increase. According to Van der Woud, the Amsterdam architect Abraham Nicolaas Godefroy (1822-1899), a lover of old architecture, pointed to an important element that would long be associated with the 'Old Dutch' style, namely the cultivation of so-called typical Dutch values such as simplicity, a sense of calm, austerity, and balance, and an aversion to passion, pageantry, and splendor. Godefroy argued:

"In our time this is felt more and more, as a result of which the so-called natural style, with the undisguised application of national building materials and visible construction, is being practiced more and more, while at the same time carefully gathering what was done in that direction by our ancestors. … Which of the directions outlined above can now be considered the actual national ones, we declare that we cannot determine. The most characteristic of our country is the mixed construction in brick and natural stone of the early seventeenth century, but we fear that a reintroduction of this style would be met with many reservations by the builders" (Godefroy, in Van der Woud, 1997: 109).

Leading Principles

Following Semper and Viollet-le-Duc, De Stuers presented construction as leading to form principles and architectural forms. It upheld the 'truth' that architecture is first and foremost construction and that any form or ornamentation that was not motivated by the needs of the construction or was incompatible with good construction should be rejected. The use of material that was not in accordance with its intrinsic properties testified to backwardness. Brick had to be used as brick and not plastered, as Rose, Delia, and Saraber did. Wood should be wood and not replaced by cast iron, as with Rose. If natural stone was used, it had to be visible, and if plaster was used, then it should be plaster, not marbled.

Neighbors in The Hague

It is striking that followers of these ideas, who would play an important role in The Hague in the second part of the nineteenth century, lived or worked near each other. De Stuers lived in the mansion designed by Delia at Parkstraat 32-34, diagonally opposite the church under construction in Parkstraat by his friend Cuypers, where the young architects Van Liefland and Molenaar took care of the supervision and drawings during the construction. Goekoop lived a little further on in Willemspark and after in the Catshuis; nearby, Scheurleer lived on the corner of Carnergielaan 16 and Laan van Meerdervoort 53F, a stone's throw from De Stuers and Goekoop. Lindo lived at Laan van Meerdervoort 50 in a house that could have been designed by Delia.

Dutch Neo-Renaissance as Government Architecture

De Stuers about The Hague Architecture

In an 1873 article in *De Gids* (*The Guide*), called 'Holland op zijn smalst' ('Holland at its worst'), De Stuers mentioned numerous examples of neglect of heritage in The Hague, such as Gevangenispoort (Prison Gate), once designated as a national monument (De Stuers, 1873). He also took issue with the chaos that had been created during repair work on the stained-glass windows in the Jacobskerk and the cast iron spire that was placed on the tower of the Jacobskerk, which, according to De Stuers, had wasted a lot of money. He also denounced the demolition of the old roof of the Hofzaal and the cast iron structure designed by Rose that had replaced it. As De Stuers pointed out, the consequences of industrialization had become visible in many new buildings in The Hague, such as the Ministry of Colonies, the Supreme Court, the cast iron construction for the medieval Ridderzaal (Knights' Hall) and the spire of the Jacobskerk, many of which had been designed by Rose.

De Stuers also criticized the refurbishment that had stripped many monuments in The Hague of their original character, such as the sixteenth century city hall that had been plastered. "If one did so with some sense, one might turn a blind eye to it; but what is to be said when one sees, for example, The Hague Town Hall painted in such a way that the brown stones are smeared with white and the white stones with brown! What has already been corrupted cannot be put into words. In The Hague, Mauritshuis has been completely plastered, the Binnenhof and the Prison Gate partially plastered; the theatre, built of natural stone, was recently painted, or, as it was called, silicated, which in everyday language means that it was covered with a less costly grout" (De Stuers, 1873: 375). De Stuers was certainly not alone and received much support from powerful notables in the country. Powerful entrepreneurs in The Hague such as his neighbors Goekoop and Scheurleer also enthusiastically supported his ideas in the period to come.

In 1875, De Stuers again sought publicity with his brochure *Da Capo: een woord over regering, kunst en oude monumenten* (*A Word about Government, Art, and Old Monuments*). In the same year, a Department of Arts and Sciences was established within the Department of the Interior, headed by De Stuers, where he would exert his influence as the right-hand man of various ministers until 1901. As early as March 1876, *De Opmerker* warned that the minister's appointment policy seemed to indicate that he was looking for an 'official architecture'. Four months later, through the care of De Stuers, Cuypers was commissioned to build the Rijksmuseum.

The demolition by the government in 1876 of the house of Constantijn Huygens on the Plein was a low point. The building was used by the Ministry of the Navy and was replaced by a new building for the Ministry of Justice. This building had once marked the starting point of Dutch classicism. Together with Mauritshuis, this building was an icon of Dutch historical self-awareness.

In response to this wave of demolition and new developments of Rose,

civil servant De Stuers in 1876 depicted the Binnenhof as seen from heaven after an imaginary redevelopment.

The new Ministry of Colonies (designed by Rose) was replaced by a building with a roof hood and a tower with a spire; the Mauritstoren also received an impressive spire. The whole gave a fairytale impression due to the addition of many towers. This became the ideal image purposed by De Stuers, prof. Eugen Heinrich Gugel (1832-1905), German architect and since 1864 the first professor of the polytechnical school of Delft, and architect Cuypers which every architect who wanted to get a state commission or ever wanted to build a gymnasium or HBS (higher secondary education) had to meet.

Government Architecture

From 1876 to 1901, the national government pursued a policy in which the memory of the Golden Age of the Dutch Republic took center stage. De Stuers, Gugel, and Cuypers played an important role in this. In 1876 Cuypers was commissioned to build the Central Station and Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. The commission for the Ministry of Justice at the Plein in The Hague was removed from The Hague architect H.P. Vogel (who had filled Kortenbos with slums) and passed to C.H. Peters, a follower of Cuypers.

In The Hague, government and municipal buildings were executed in Dutch Neo-Renaissance style between 1880 and 1905. From 1891, the architect of the municipal works department Adam Schadee (1862-1937) designed many utility buildings, industrial buildings, bathhouses, washhouses and schools in this style. Other buildings in this style were charitable courtyards by Van Liefland (a pupil of Cuypers), residential areas in Duinoord and Statenkwartier by Goekoop and Scheurleer, as well as buildings by private individuals and churches, and municipal buildings such as schools and bathhouses.

A New Generation of Architects

The important architects of The Hague in the late nineteenth century belonged to the circle of De Stuers, Cuypers, and Gugel. Architects such as Wesstra, Van Liefland, Molenaar, Mutters, Van Nieukerken, Schadee and Van Lokhorst were iconic architects in this period. The generation of Saraber, Roodenburg, Delia, Vogel, and Rose disappeared quietly from The Hague's scene in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Van der Woud described the movement around De Stuers and Cuypers as the first modern movement, an architecture in which the focus was mainly on their emancipatory meaning, not on the non-committal juggling of historical forms (Van der Woud, 1997). De Stuers, Cuypers, and Gugel wanted to create a single national identity with one homogeneous image as an example for the neglected urban population. A new historical and cultural awareness would offer the urban population perspective for the future, it was believed. They pointed to the degeneration caused by individualism and the laissez-faire attitude resulting from liberal politics as the cause of decay in the city. This led to selfishness and indifference about the fate of the people and to social misery, but also to a proliferation of a variety of architectural styles.

The Journalist and Opinion-Maker Johan Gram

The journalist Johan Gram was not at all pleased with the first construction explosion in working-class neighborhoods and bourgeois quarters in the period 1870-1890 (Gram, 1893, 1906). He especially saw a contrast between the lively city center with its shops and the monotonous new residential areas outside the canals. This was a result of housing construction for the anonymous market, following enormous demand. Entrepreneurs did not have to worry about the quality of their products, because they houses were purchased anyway. In the period from 1873 to 1887, an average of 1000 homes were completed per year, twice as much as in the period 1863-1866 (Bakker Schut, 1939). This led to monotony and often to poor quality. In neighborhoods such as Archipelbuurt, Zeeheldenkwartier, Schilderswijk, Rivierenbuurt and Kortenbos, the variation in the buildings was minimal, while in the residential parks the most magnificent architecture was built. Gram argued:

"Around the beautiful old city, spacious and open, full of greenery and trees, a new one has risen, which compares like the clothes of a ready-to-wear warehouse to those which come from all kinds of renowned tailors, masters, and artists in the trade. Ready-to-wear houses and ready-to-wear neighborhoods: that's the characteristic word. Those dwellings without power, power, or glory, resembling one jacket like another, reminiscent of an endless row of orphans, breathe boredom. One cannot walk without yawning through the so-called new neighborhoods, the heroic neighborhoods, the Indian Archipelago; Van Speyck-, Abel Tasman-, and De Ruyterstraat, Celebes-, Borneo-, Atjeh-, and Riouwstraat. One is annoyed by that monotony, that uniformity, such meaningless building, in contrast to the center in the old city, where variety, solidity, and often good taste give every street its value. It is even worse with the neighborhood to which the names of our great painters have been given: Rembrandt-, Potter-, and Jan Steenstraat, where the cardboard cubes are so thin and airy that he who loves his health and his life reluctantly settles in such a draughty and damp lump of stone" (Gram, 1893: 26).

The Charitable Courtyards of Van Liefland and Simons as Answer to Laissez-Faire

The poor population in the slums of the Schilderswijk regained a new perspective on the futute through charity courtyards in sumptuously designed Dutch neo-Renaissance architecture, in which community spirit, intimacy and collectivity were emphasized. These were inspired by the ideas of De Stuers, Gugel, and Cuypers, especially the courtyards by the architect Van Liefland—a former employee of Cuypers—and the Jewish banker Jacob Simons (1845-1921). Both were politically active in later years: Simons became an alderman for the progressive Liberals and became the genius behind the financing of affordable houses according the Housing Act of 1901. Van Liefland was a counselor for the Catholics and became the main architect of the fin de siècle in The Hague. Both were also partners in various land development companies. Neither came from The Hague itself, with its socially

stratified society, but from outside the city.

The charity courtyards created by Van Liefland and Simons consisted of the Van Ostade houses at Hannemanstraat 156-298 (1885/95) and Woonhofje 't Fort at Jacob van Campenstraat 2-64 (1890/?), both in Schilderswijk, and Woonhofje Van Hoogelande at Johannes Camphuijsstraat 61-85 (1907) in Bezuidenhout. The Van Ostade houses were built by the Vereeniging tot Verschaffen van Woningen aan Minvermogenden (Association to Provide Housing for the Poor) which was founded in 1885. This association had its background in the Jewish community of The Hague. It wanted to house Jewish citizens from the dilapidated Spuikwartier in a more decent way (Creveld, 1989; 1999).

In addition to Simons, several influential Jewish citizens of the city were involved in the founding of the association: lawyer and attorney (David Selmo) Van Emden, government official Mr. A. Texeira de Mattos, municipal and provincial councilor Martinus Hijmans van Waddenoyen, and director of the IJzer- en Metaalpletterij (Iron- and Metalworks) Karel Enthoven, a member of the municipality council from 1865 to 1875.

Van Liefland designed a plan for phases 1 and 2 free of charge for the Jewish association. Phase 3 was designed by the young architect Lodewijk Simons (1869-1936), son of Jacob Simons. Due to a lack of interest from the Jewish population, the houses were rented to other people, regardless of religion, for a low rent. In 1888 Simons founded the 's-Gravenhaagsche Woning Maatschappij (The Hague Housing Association), which commissioned Van Liefland for the construction of 't Fort.

The courtyard on Johannes Camphuijsstraat was built for the Roman Catholic community to replace an older and dilapidated courtyard on the Boekhorststraat. In January 1906, Van Liefland bought a piece of land in the Bezuidenhout for Stichting Hofje van Hoogeland, the Hoogeland Foundation Simons and Van Liefland were active there with their building company, Lindo produced a street plan for Simons and Van Liefland and a location was found on the Johannes Camphuysstraat. There they built 36 houses, which were completed at the end of 1907. At the Van Ostade houses and 't Fort they built on a courtyard so that permission from the municipality was not required. Van Hoogelande's last residential courtyard was built on the street, but still acquired an intimate and introverted character due to the communal courtyard.

Van Liefland's courtyards were all in a simple brick architecture. All houses had two floors and a steep (at least 45 degrees) gable roof. There were also stepped gables that recalled the grand times of the seventeenth century. All homes had a toilet, running water with a countertop and sink, and a sewer connection. The living area was separated from the sleeping area and at 't Fort there was room for a small vegetable garden. The sense of community and historical awareness in the charity courtyards was shown by the way in which public spaces and homes were intertwined and designed. An optimal balance was found between individuality (separate facilities for each home) and collectivity (shared public spaces and a unified image).

Looking similar to the work of Van Liefland, but not designed by him, were the Delprat houses between Hoefkade and Parallelweg. The Association for the Improvement of Housing of the Working Classes built these 46 workers' houses in 1897/8. These homes were designed with front gardens for growing vegetables; the sleeping quarters were separated from the living spaces. Unfortunately, the approach of Van Liefland and Simons was not often copied.

Entrepreneur Scheurleer on the Dullness of The Hague Architecture

The entrepreneur Scheurleer, inspired by the Dutch neo-Renaissance, also took the liberty of pointing out the situation in The Hague to the city council members and the aldermen when submitting his first proposal for Duinoord in 1891: "It cannot have escaped anyone's attention that in the extensions that this municipality has undergone in recent years, very little has been done to give the new neighborhoods a beautiful appearance. Examining the map of our municipality, it will also be seen that wide-ranging plans have only been used rarely, and that generally the only purpose of the building of dwellings is, as it were, factory-like" (City council meeting of November 3, 1891). Scheurleer delicately remarked in his explanation: "It seems that for a city such as The Hague, whose population consists chiefly of private individuals, rentiers, pensioners, etc., and will most likely continue to exist, it is of great importance to ensure that no other cities have any greater attractiveness by their embellishments."

At no point in time was the call for better quality and more beautiful design in the city, by trained architects and engineers, so loud among status-sensitive citizens. Every day, the smell of the old city must have reminded its citizens of what could be improved.

3.6
Scheveningen Bath and the Residential Parks

"Köln – Scheveningen 7½ stunden"

Advertisement city map for visitors of Van Langenhuijsen 1881 (collection HGA kl.1545).

The Casino Is Open to Everyone!

The urban ensemble of the residential parks cannot be separated from the development of the seaside resort and the casino, the steam tram routes and the Scheveningse Bosjes (Crefcoeur, 2010). The residential parks were a less orthogonal derivative of Willemspark.

The often asymmetrical villas in Van Stolkpark, decorated with turrets and verandas, from a distance remind one of the white symmetrical villas in colonial stye by Saraber and the verandas in Willemspark. The seaside resort and the residential parks are therefore always mentioned together.

Often, they were financed by the same people. The famous panorama painted by the banker and investor Hendrik Willem Mesdag (1831-1915) is therefore not an impartial representation of the grandeur of the seaside resort. The dune landscape, shown from the fishing village to beyond the bathhouse—with all the empty building plots—was cleverly depicted in anticipation of future real estate developments.

After 1860, several larger and smaller hotels were established in the vicinity of the Municipal Bathhouse and the Royal Pavilion. Spanier's map from 1864 showed only the Municipal Bathhouse, the roads, and the canal. Smulders' map from 1870 showed a row of small hotels and guesthouses along Gevers Deynootweg and new large hotels next to the bathhouse on the beach. The map by Verstijnen and Van der Waeyen from 1873 also showed this row of hotels and guesthouses (Stal et al., 2007).

Grand Hotels and Villas

The most magnificent hotel was built in 1860 right next to the old Municipal Bathhouse: Hotel Garni or Grand Hôtel Garni Château de la Mer, designed by Saraber. On the other side of the Municipal Bathhouse, three sea villas appeared after 1864: Villa Jacobson, Villa Costa, and Villa Mar, serving as examples for the new wealthy citizens of The Hague. Villa Costa was also designed by Saraber. They were white colonial-style buildings with impressive verandas and low roof hoods that resembled Saraber's villas in Willemspark.

The hotels and guesthouses along Badhuisweg (perpendicular to the coastline) and Gevers Deynootweg (parallel to the coastline) were built by private individuals in the period 1865 to 1870. They were narrow, deep buildings with windows in the side facade and verandas across the width of the front facade, where the sea breeze invigorated the guests. On Mesdag's panorama, painted in 1888, Gevers Deynootweg with its small hotels and guesthouses was also shown. In 1874 the majestic and most luxurious hotel of those days, Grand Hôtel d'Orange, was built by Bouwmaatschappij Scheveningen (Building Association Scheveningen), financed with capital from Amsterdam. A sister company built the Amstelhotel in Amsterdam.The original plan included a residential park nearby, but that was abandoned because of the deteriorating economic situation at the time (Crefcoeur, 2010).

In 1875, Hôtel des Galeries, designed by architect J.J.C. de Wijs, was built on Gevers Deynootplein in strict eclecticist style. This hotel was set perpendicular to the coast, so that the facade faced the square, not the sea. The ensemble of these hotels and pavilions was built neoclassicist and eclecticist architecture.

The Kurhaus, 1885

International capital found The Hague and the developments in Scheveningen boomed. Especially the possibility of a casino, after 1882, was decisive for entrepreneurs from Paris and Antwerp to turn their eyes to Scheveningen. The historian Crefcoeur attributes the success of seaside resorts such as Boulogne-sur-Mer (1765), Trouville-sur-Mer (1825), Deauville (1830), Oostende (1838), and Zandvoort (1829) to casinos and gaming halls.

In Scheveningen this had been hitherto unthinkable because these games were reserved for a class which one could only join by strict balloting, and which granted status and exclusivity to the members. Especially the conservative mayor F.G.A. Gevers Deynoot stuck to this viewpoint. Although a request had already been made from Brussels in 1861 to rent a space for a casino and gaming room, nothing came of it. Only with the resignation of the mayor in 1882 and the arrival of his liberal successor J.G. Patijn increased the chances for a casino. Through investors from places like Paris, such as Goldschmidt, Coblijn, Reiss, the Banque de Parijs (represented by Mr. Landry of The Hague bank Gébel-Landry), Banque De Wolf, and Caters from Antwerp, Scheveningen became a seaside resort of importance. According to Crefcoeur (2010), these banks and individuals also invested in the other seaside resorts, railways, and steam trams.

The new Kurhaus served as an icon of Scheveningen' status. In 1882, Goldschmidt and his Sociéte des Galeries came up with a grand plan for a casino-theatre in the Grand Hotel next to Hotel des Galeries on the current Gevers Deynootplein. This received support from the managements of the two hotels, the Casino Committee and the Hague Business Association. Before this, the city council had already appointed a bathhouse committee called the Vaillant Committee, and in October 1882 it concluded that a large Kurzaal, as in other seaside resorts, was desirable. However, the dunes of Scheveningen were already completely full. The old bathhouse would have to be demolished and replaced by a new building with more possibilities.

City architect Reinders had already outlined some proposals for the adaptation of the old building. The extension of the Municipal Bathhouse caused uproar in the city council meeting of November 25,

The beach of Scheveningen. Photo from 1880.
Collection HGA 5.19129.

The beach of Scheveningen. Photo from 1880.
Collection HGA 0.78878.

Below, small hotels along the Gevers Deynootweg.
Photo by Henri de Louw from 1880.
Collection HGA 0.87411.

1882, because many business owners felt that the city should refrain from these initiatives, while others felt that the municipality should take up this important project, especially the conservative councilor J. J. Mock. Goldschmidt and his associates were not enamored with the municipality's plan to convert the old Kurhaus into a casino, in addition to the casino-theater plan; he said that he would not take any further action until a final decision was made.

Several offers were made for the old bathhouse. The Parisians Coblijn (who lived in Villa Insulinde designed by Wesstra in the summer) and Reiss proposed to buy the old bathhouse and the stables opposite to build a Kurzaal on the site of the bathhouse and a theater on the site of the stables. As in other seaside resorts, they expected an advance of 1 million—half the estimated construction costs for the casino—and stipulated the exclusive right to operate the sea baths (Crefcoeur, 2010). Goldschmidt and associates also made a bid, almost identical to that of Coblijn and Reiss, and asked for the monopoly for the electric tramway that was being considered. He was also a concessionary of the tramway in Ostend. Van Enthoven (also a commissioner of the construction company Nieuw Scheveningen and family of The Hague industrialist Van Enthoven), Ernst Preston count of Bylandt and a group of Amsterdam businessmen, supported by The Hague bank Gébel-Landry, also offered a bid for the old bathhouse.

After endless debates, on 27 February 1883 the city council approved a draft agreement with Reiss, Coblijn, De Sonnaville, and Uijttenhoven by a vote of 23 to 12. On June 7, 1883, the final contract was signed and a Parisian influence descended on Scheveningen, according to Crefcoeur (2010).

After the 1884 bathing season the old Municipal Bathhouse was demolished to make way for a spacious new building by the German architects Johann Friederich Henkenhaf and Friederich Ebert: the Kurhaus. It burned down in 1886, but was immediately rebuilt and opened in 1887. One of the first sketch designs was an asymmetrical, pompous building in northern French neo-Renaissance style. In addition, the axis of Nieuwe Badhuisweg did not connect to the building. After criticism from the municipality, the building was placed right on the axis and became a symmetrical structure. According to Crefcoeur (2010), the construction costs increased, because not much could be reused from the existing building. The spa developed into a distinguished place of healthcare and entertainment for a privileged company.

Wertheim, the 'Spider in the Web', and The Railway

According to Crefcoeur, all those involved were family, personal friends, or business relations of the firm Wertheim and Gompertz in Amsterdam, with the Amsterdam Jew Abraham Carel Wertheim (1832-1897) as the spider in the web. This family had commercial banks in Frankfurt, Hamburg, Hanover, Paris, and Amsterdam. In The Hague, the Wertheims were already involved in the Bouwmaatschappij Scheveningen (Building Association Scheveningen) and the Oranje Hotel.

Wertheim was also involved in the railway line run by the Nederlandsche Rhijnspoorweg Maatschappij (Dutch Rhine Railway Association, NRS) that connected Scheveningen with Germany. Between 1869 and 1897, Wertheim was member and later vice-president of the supervisory board of the Maatschappij tot Exploitatie der Staatsspoorwegen (Company for the Operation of State Railways). He also had a major influence in the construction of the steam tram to Scheveningen. Wertheim's relationships with Coblijn, Reiss, and Ruys were particularly important in the Kurhaus plans and associated developments. Wertheim himself always continued to operate in the background (Crefcoeur, 2010).

On October 4, 1883, the four concessionaries Coblijn, Reiss, De Sonnaville, and Uijttenhoven founded the Maatschappij Zeebad Scheveningen (Sea-Bath Association Scheveningen, MZS) in Amsterdam with a capital of one million guilders, mainly from Paris, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, with some from The Hague. Its name was changed in 1902 to Exploitatie Maatschappij Scheveningen (Exploitation Association Scheveningen, EMS), which had a majority interest in the MZS. In addition to the 'competitors' Goldschmidt, Landry, and Van Bylandt—almost all business relations of the firm Wertheim and Gompertz from Amsterdam—were partners in the MZS. Every year the municipality received rent for the lease from the MZS. Because of these developments, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the contrast increased between the sea resort and the simple farming and fishing community of Scheveningen, still suffering from epidemics (Bank & Buuren, 2000).

Steam Tram Routes to the Seaside Resort, 1878–1886

Of course, accessibility was a precondition for the seaside resort to florish. Hollands Spoor station had already been built in 1847. In 1870 station Rhijnspoor (later called Staatsspoor and later Centraal Station) was built by the NRS. The Hague was now connected to a rail network that extended into Germany (De Bock, 1975). Here, too, the big man behind the scenes was Wertheim. Furthermore, there already was a network of horse-powered tramways that stretched from the seaside resort to other cities. The first concession of horse-powered tramways dated to 1863 (Block & Klomp, 1975).

Between 1878 and 1887, the same period in which the seaside resort developed quickly, a network of steam-powered tramway routes was built between the seaside resort, the Westland region, and the train stations. The steam-powered tramway was like the *Stadtbahnen* built in the German cities, using a small train that was much faster and stronger than the horse tram. In December 1878, a concession was granted to build the first steam-powered tram from Rhijnspoor Station to the Kurhaus (De Bock, 1975). This, the first steam tram in the Netherlands, opened on July 1, 1879 and ran by Koningskade, Raamweg, and Badhuisweg to the Municipal Bathhouse. There was even a 'stock exchange tram' that left Scheveningen every morning at 7.37 am and arrived at the Rotterdam Beurs station at 8.38 am. The second steam tram line, the Westland line, opened on June 24, 1882, connected to lines at Hook of Holland and Maassluis. This line was

Ansicht Villa Devonia from 1904
Collection Muzee 4160.

Ansicht Villa ? from 1895
Collection HGA 5.13345.

Ansicht Villa Ma Retraite Dwarsweg from 1900.
Collection HGA 5.13337.

Map of the Scheveningse Bosjes by Smulders & Co, 1880, with above the lay out of the residential park Van Stolk and below the civilian neighborhood Archipelbuurt.
Collection HGA z.gr.1347 & z.gr.1349.

especially significant for the transport of goods: all Westland vegetable auctions were connected to this line and fresh vegetables could be transported quickly from the agricultural production regions to the cities. This line ran via Loosduinsekade. The third steam tram line was the Voorburg line, opened on June 19, 1885, running from Leiden to Voorburg and then to The Hague.

The fourth steam tram line ran from Hollands Spoor station to Scheveningen via the western side of the city. A concession was granted on May 20, 1884 and three lines were opened on this route on June 12, 1886. The route ran via Parallelweg and the Gasfabriek to Conradkade. At Laan van Meeerdervoort there was the fork that ran parallel to Laan van Meerdervoort to a station at the Peace Palace. From there the route went via the Filtering Canal and with a large bend via Van Boetzelaerlaan to Scheveningen village. A connection was made at the junction of the Westland line, so that goods from the Westland could be transported directly via Hollands Spoor station to other cities. In 1887, the Huygensplein-Delft line was replaced by the much faster fifth steam tram line. The city map by Lobatto from 1891 (colection HGA gr.0352) showed that by then, the entire area of The Hague was crossed by canals and steam tram routes.

City architect Lindo would further expand the electrification of the tram network in the fin de siècle. For this he hired civil engineer Piet Bakker Schut. In 1904 and 1905, the two lines to Scheveningen were electrified using overhead power lines. By the First World War, an electrified tram network connected the seaside resort, the residential areas, the Westland, the old town, the neighboring towns, and the two railway stations. From 1908 to the 1950s there was even a direct train connection from the Kurhaus to Hofplein in Rotterdam via the Hofplein line.

Scheveningen Bath was a chicken with golden eggs for investors. The privileged class could now travel by train pleasantly from Cologne, Rotterdam, or Amsterdam to the luxury Scheveningen seaside resort. However, it didn't stop there. All these new connections made the residential parks an attractive place for wealthy citizens to live.

The Emerald Belt: The Ring of Residential Parks around Scheveningse Bosjes

The name 'emerald belt' refers to the green islands of present-day Indonesia, a former colony of the Netherlands. In The Hague it was also used to indicate the ring of luxury residential parks around Scheveningse Bosjes and Scheveningen Bath. As with other seaside resorts, there was a demand for country houses in the vicinity. Tired German and Rotterdam businessmen moved their social lives here during weekends and holidays. Here they could stroll, dine, do business, and enjoy music in the evenings (Crefcoeur, 2010).

Despite the policy of government non-interference, the municipality laid the foundation for an attractive living environment behind the dunes of Scheveningen. In 1868, on the initiative of alderman H.C.A. Ver Huell, the municipality transformed the canals of the sand extraction places in the dunes into several graceful water features surrounded by a park-like landscape (Koopmans, 1994; Landheer-Roelants, 1999; Koopmans & Valentijn, 2000).

Van Stolkpark, 1875

For the design of Scheveningse Bosjes, Ver Huell attracted the famous landscape architects J.D. Zocher Jr. and his son L.P. Zocher. The Zochers were also involved in the neighboring residential park built by the Rotterdam businessman and lawyer Thomas van Stolk. Between 1872 and 1873 he had bought a large piece of the dunes for a residential park. The villa park and the municipal park were thus designed by one party. The Zochers created a landscape ensemble with villas and water features: Scheveningen Park. Construction began around 1874 and the water features were completed in 1882 (Landheer-Roelants, 1999; HGA z.gr.1343 & kl.1545).

Characteristic of the residential parks in The Hague was the street plan, which was reminiscent of a village with summer villas, hotels, and guesthouses along it. The rond-point with a monumental work of art in the middle was also a standard feature of these residential parks, although it could also be an impressive house or several houses. From this ring, connections were made with the existing urban fabric or landscape. Of course, these ornate English-inspired residential parks were not as stiffly laid out as Willemspark.

For the villas in the new residential parks, the builders did not skimp on construction costs or facilities. They worked generously in different architectural styles. However, one type of villa was particularly popular in the early days: villas in colonial eclecticism with wide verandas and balconies, fronted by a green lawn. Saraber's villas in Willemspark overlooking Noordsingel were the model for this. Villas drawn by Zocher in a residential park study from 1852 looked similar, and villas in this style were built next to the Municipal Bathhouse after 1864. These three villas, wedged between the Kurhaus and the Oranje Hotel, certainly contributed to the popularization of this type. The villas in Van Stolkpark were located in spacious gardens and the curved roads were richly decorated with trees, offering a beautiful interplay between the green trees and the white villas.

From 1875, the first white villas with verandas and spacious balconies were built along Van Stolkweg, for example Villa Louise (ca.1879), Villa Emma (1885/86), Villa Germania (1882/83), and Villa Margaretha (1881/82) (Rosenberg et al., 1988). Shortly after the construction of Van Stolkpark, hotels were also established here, such as the white-plastered Bella Vista (Van Stolkweg 16) with its balcony and verandas, and the enormous Parkhotel (Parkweg 13) in brick. With the construction of Belvedereweg in 1900, the villa park was completed.

Belgisch Park, 1883

Closer to the sea and the Kurhaus was Belgisch Park (Crefcoeur & Van Pesch, 2009). The main contractor of the Kurhaus, the company Fernim, was also involved in the construction of Belgisch Park (Crefcoeur, 2010). The construction of the Kurhaus and Belgisch Park took place in the

same period and the contractor used the same people and equipment for both projects. Should work on the Kurhaus come to a standstill or planning technically falter, construction workers could immediately continue with villa construction. The construction management and operation of the villa park came into the hands of the Dutch-Belgian Building Territory Association owned by Janse Johzn, who was familiar with the contractors of the Kurhaus, Fernim and Gips.

The atmosphere here was different from that in Van Stolkpark: there was a seaside resort bustle, and the buildings were contiguous in many places. Belgisch Park, initially called Nederlandsch-Belgisch Park (Dutch-Belgian Park), was commissioned by E. Cambier, director of the Societé Anonyme des Tramways de La Haye (The Hague Anonymous Tramway Society). Landscape architect T. Coppieters drew the urban plan, although according to Crefcoeur (2010) his contribution should be considered minimal. The oldest part was formed by Belgischeplein, a very spacious rond-point with trees and lawns, adjacent to winding streets flanked by trees. Spacious front gardens and villas with generous balconies and verandas lined this square, such as the colonial-style houses at Belgischeplein 31-34 by Coppieters from 1886. At the end of 1883, the first pavement in the Belgisch Park was laid and the first villas were built: Villa Victorine, Villa Elise, and Villa Jean-Antoine, with onion towers (Luiksestraat 2 and Antwerpsestraat 1). Contractor H. Fernim (who built the Kurhause) built Villa Jean-Antoine for himself, and he named it after the founder of the construction company. In Villa Elise, Janse Johzn and Enthoven established their own insurance company, with one of the policies being the Kurhaus fire insurance (Crefcoeur, 2010). The construction management for Belgisch Park consisted of Janse Johzn, Fermin, Gips, and the Scheveningen contractor and supervisor C.G. Pauptit. Not long after, the construction management for the Kurhaus was formed by almost the same people: Reiss, Janse Johzn, Fernim and Pauptit.

The seaside resort, the residential parks, the steam tram connection to the train stations, and the fast connection to Germany made this urban ensemble successful. The villas and parks that merged into each other formed one green zone around the Scheveningse Bosjes and gave it a unique character, hence the nickname ‘emerald belt’.

3.7
The Bourgeois Neighborhoods Zeeheldenkwartier and Archipelbuurt

Beautification as a Utility

The bourgeois quarters Zeeheldenkwartier and Archipelbuurt were laid out between 1865 and 1890 by various land development companies and built by many small contractors. They are characterized by poor grid street plans with half-completed rond-points and somewhat monotonous in architecture. The location of the buildings and streets is somewhat chaotic, because existing buildings could not be expropriated. This is especially visible in Zeeheldenkwartier, while the Archipelbuurt has a clearer structure.

The expropriation question was central to the layout of the civic quarters. To expropriate, there had to be a clear benefit for society, according to the government and the liberals of Thorbecke. However, the municipality of The Hague with its conservative administrators felt that beautification also benefited society. However, the government stood its ground in this conflict with the municipality.

As a result, the cityscape and neighborhoods—copied from major metropolises—were half-heartedly laid out in The Hague. In the wider streets, 14 meters, which led to the rond-points, shopping facilities were created. The residential streets with a width of 10 to 12 meters had no front gardens or sidewalks; often there were also shops, businesses, and facilities such as schools. The difference with the working-class neighborhoods was that in the civic neighborhoods there were rond-points and more wide streets of 14 meters, so that there were urban spaces for the more expensive houses. Furthermore, there were in civic quarters considerably fewer upper-and-lower-houses. Houses are better built and more spacious. Well-known rond-points in The Hague are Anna Paulownaplein, Prins Hendrikplein, Bankaplein, and Koningsplein. The latter was inspired by the English square, a spacious square with a public park in the middle (HGA 0.38921; see Olsen, 1986). These squares lay like beads on a chain, punctuated by flawed street plans around them.

As with Plein 1813, these squares ideally housed four stately detached houses, the largest and most expensive of the quarter. However, virtually nothing came of this; often a few years later buildings were random placed around the rond-points.

After 1875, the municipality started to set conditions in police ordinance for these quarters, which were also included in council reports (Algemeene Politieverordening voor ’s Gravenhage; September 19, 1871 and June 20, 1876). The street plans presented to the council by the Manufacturing Council Committee, formed the assessment framework for construction plans. This commission had to approve the building plans created by the entrepreneurs. The houses ranged from distinguished bourgeois houses in the tradition of Delia on the wider streets and squares to simple, small houses in the back streets

and in courtyards. The beautiful plaster of the street facades had been reduced to a minimum in the courtyards.

The inhabitants of these new neighborhoods were mainly civil servants, army officers, those returning from the colonies, and middle class inhabitants who moved away from the inner city.

Avenue Parkstraat and the Residential Neighborhood by Delia, 1869

In the records of the city council, the laying out of middle-class neighborhoods and houses in this period is richly documented. One example is the residential district developed by Delia in collaboration with the municipality. This way of working became emblematic of the creation of all middle-class quarters.

Avenue Parkstraat played an important role in this. After the success of Willemspark and the buildings along Mauritskade and Javastraat, during a municipal council meeting on March 27, 1866, the 'Committee of Management of the Estate of H.M. King Willem II' announced it planned to sell the garden at Kneuterdijk as building land. This site is now bordered by Parkstraat, Mauritskade, and Oranjestraat. Amaliastraat formed the center of this neighborhood. The palace on Kneuterdijk was inhabited by King Willem III at that time. This urban ensemble is important because with this neighborhood separate parts of the city were connected by the new Parkstraat, connecting the old center of power on Lange Voorhout to the new center of power: Willemspark.

The committee, municipal architect Van der Waeyen Pieterszen, and the alderman had already discussed this garden, but now the committee had formulated the conditions attached to the sale. The buyer was obliged to leave two streets undeveloped, which should be transferred free and unencumbered to the municipality. These were the streets that were later called Amaliastraat and Oranjestraat. During the city council meeting, the municipality made a commitment that it would pay for the pavement, gas lighting, and sewers in the streets. The committee also set conditions for the buildings. No buildings were to be erected "serving as hospitals, spiritual or charitable asylums, almshouses, theatres, or venues for public entertainment, factories or workshops with or without steam tools, bleaching, butchery, shops selling meat, bacon or venison, together with stables or carriage houses, in so far as the latter are visible from the street." The Stedelijk Keur, still in force at the time, left activities in courtyards to entrepreneurs and speculators, while on the street the facades were not allowed to blemish the city. However, in this prominent neighborhood designed by Delia, construction in courtyards was also limited.

Furthermore, the committee stated during the meeting of the municipal council that the width of the streets should be at least 16 meters and that they should be provided with two sidewalks. It was also stated that there should be middle-sized mansions at least two stories high (12 meters) high to the 'placier list' (cornice). Houses with colonnades or passages were also allowed. Furthermore, it was required: "The houses to be built along Parkstraat, and Mauritskade will have to be at least of the same size as the houses currently present on Mauritskade, calculated from Parkstraat."

The committee set the previously built chic mansions by Delia on Mauritskade as an example for the buyer of the building land. The proposal of the committee and the municipality was adopted unanimously (by 24 votes) in the council meeting. In a missive of the committee of April 24, 1866, several minor additions were made. At a meeting of May 1, 1866, the councilors stipulated that the buyer of the building plots should cede the land to the municipality without restrictions.

Delia made an offer in 1867, but the municipality had apparently regretted the original asking price of 1 Dutch guilder per square meter of building land. The municipality now believed that the price for the land should be the same as for the land that Delia had bought for the houses on the west side of Parkstraat, which Delia already owned. Delia sent a letter to the council to object to this new price. From the letter, which was discussed during a meeting on May 7, 1867, it was clear that the plans that Delia and his employees drew at the end of 1866 for Parkstraat and Mauritskade (between Parkstraat and old buildings at Scheveningse Veer near Noordeinde) had to be seen in conjunction with the plans for the two new streets Amaliastraat and Oranjestraat, but especially with the axis from Lange Voorhout to Willemspark. Delia's proposal was that he would sell a piece of land on Parkstraat back to the municipality so that Parkstraat could be widened and "to connect that street more closely with Willemspark and thus to create a substantial embellishment of that entire quarter, where a better entrance to the Voorhout side could be obtained in the future."

In his proposals, Delia emphasized the importance of these plans for the municipality and the general improvement of the situation in The Hague. Delia's letter showed that the council members thought it was a good idea, but that they still objected to a land price of about 8 Dutch guilders per square meter. Delia had applied for measurements for the houses along Parkstraat and Mauritskade (between Parkstraat and Scheveningse Veer) and wanted to achieve a favorable exchange of land at a low price, for the benefit of everyone. A week later, in May 14, the council deliberated on the proposed land transaction by Delia. The municipal executive, but also council members such as Bervoets, could not agree with Delia's proposals.

At the city council meeting of May 4, 1869, alderman Ver Huell informed the council that the Manufacturing Council Committee considered Delia's proposals and calculations reasonable. Councilman De la Bassecour Caan reminded the city's administration that Delia had bought the garden in order to cultivate it. Delia then turned to the municipality with the request to buy the land along Parkstraat at a later stage so it could be widened. In the end, Delia bought the land in the interest of the municipality. After a vote on the transaction, the city council meeting of May 14 came up with 16 for and 16 against, which meant the matter was pushed forward. At the council meeting of November 2, 1869, new arguments were made in favor of widening

NIEUWE PLATTEGROND
van
'S GRAVENHAGE.
1879.
Schaal van 1 à 7500
Gedeponeerd
AMSTERDAM, G.L. FUNKE.
Bewerkt ter Steendrukkerij v. H.L. van HOOGSTRATEN.
Beijnoordenhoutsche polder.
Veen polder
Boven Veense polder
Polder
Maliebaan
Kooksingel
Plein
Oranje Plein
Station Zuid Spoorweg
Sumatra straat
Laan Copes van Cattenburch
Alexanders veld
Malie veld
Kooksingel
Klein Hertenkamp
Hertenkamp
Zuidwal
Zuiderstraat
Zuiderkerkhof
Zuiderkerkplein
Zuiderkerkstraat
Zuiderkerkhofstraat
Zuiderkerkhofplein
Zuiderkerkhofpleinstraat
Zuiderkerkhofpleinstraatje
Zuiderkerkhofpleinstraatjeplein
Zuiderkerkhofpleinstraatjeplein
Zuiderkerkhofpleinstraatjeplein

Parkstraat and Kloosterkerkstraat, the ministry located on the corner made demands on the tramway that moved through the narrow street but also on the carriages through the street.

Rond-points, Tramways and Avenues

Interesting in this debate are the concepts and words used in the council documents when laying out neighborhoods, which reflect the countries of origin of these urban concepts: 'ronds-point', 'tramway', 'avenue' etc. The influence of metropolises such as Paris and London must have been great in The Hague. Councilor Mock presented the idea of a grand 'avenue': "And now I could accept the pre-advice and allow the whole 84,000 guilders, if by the proposed relocation of Kloosterkerkstraat a beautiful whole would be created there, an avenue in the middle of which one could see the monument of 1813 at its end" (City Council meeting of November 2, 1869: 238). The creation of an avenue would mean that the road to Scheveningen would no longer lead via the narrow Noordeinde, the chairman of the city council argued, but via the new spacious Parkstraat and Willemspark. The old proposal to widen Lange Poten and Veenestraat was also discussed. The chairman recalled at the council meeting of November 2, 1869 that: "For eighteen years we have been discussing the widening of Veenestraat and it is not there yet. And as for Lange Poten, I feel that our grandchildren may not experience the widening of them once." Finally, the council passed a motion to widen Kloosterkerkstraat. Councilors such as De Pinto and Mock and industrialist Van Enthoven voted against this excessive avenue to be paid for by the municipal treasury. At the city council meeting of November 30, 1869, the negotiations between Delia and the municipality had progressed to the point that the municipal executive could present to the council a proposal on the widening of Parkstraat, with an agreed-upon land price and exchange transaction. Finally, towards the end of the year, the municipality and Delia reached an agreement on the land transaction that enabled the widening of Parkstraat. Around 1869 the construction of Oranjestraat with buildings a few years later from ca. 1875 and Amaliastraat with buildings from 1868/9 took place. In 1882 the municipality bought the remaining part of the garden on Kneuterdijk and built Paleisstraat there. Between ca. 1883 and 1890 the last buildings were built here (Rosenberg et al., 1988).

Delia's Distinguished Terraced Houses

A large part of the buildings from the period 1860-1890 in Willemspark (Alexanderstraat, Plein 1813, Javastraat) and from Mauritskade to the palace cluster (Amaliastraat, Oranjestraat, Parkstraat) were designed by architect and entrepreneur Delia. These buildings have a great architectural and typological similarity. There was a low basement (also called *mezzanino* or *mezzanine*) with the staff entrance and the kitchen. The facade was made of blue stone or checkered plaster with small, square windows. The raised first floor contained the living quarters of the owners of the house, with sleeping quarters on the floor above. Both floors had high windows with a white frame in a brick facade. The first floor often also had an impressive balcony on the street side. On the top floor (sometimes also called *mezzanino* or *mezzanine*) the staff and often also the children slept. This had a low, plastered facade with small horizontal windows with consoles between them on which the gutter rested. There was a large overhanging cornice and above it a zinc roof with a slight slope. The status of the different rooms could be determined from the facade materials and the height of the floor. Blocks of Delia's mansions often had a risalite at the ends and/or in the middle, and staggered fronts in the facade, unifying the row of mansions, just as Van der Waeyen Pieterszen had drawn for Javastraat in 1862. Delia's blocks of mansions were imitated in bourgeois neighborhoods such as Archipelbuurt and Zeeheldenkwartier, often in a simpler and more affordable version.

Left, The New City Plan of The Hague by G.L. Funke, 1879. Zeeheldenkwartier and Schilderswijk are laid out by land development companies.
Collection Haags HGA gr.0334.

Zeeheldenkwartier: Beautification Is Not a Public Utility

General Plan of Extension of the Municipality, 1859

The layout of the Anna Paulownapark (currently Anna Paulownaplein and -straat, Trompstraat, De Ruyterstraat, and Bazarstraat in Zeeheldenkwartier) in Kleine Veentje is exceptionally well documented in the council acts due to the high-level conflict about the usefulness of beautification between Conservatives and Liberals. During a meeting of the city council on November 15, 1859, the municipality unveiled a plan to build a second residential park in Kleine Veentje that connected to Willemspark (HGA kl.1125, gr.1096, kl.1126). Two new important streets were planned: the extension of Sophialaan and the extension of Prinsessewal to Laan van Meerdervoort, two through streets and monumental axes that crossed each other at right angles at the level of the current Anna Paulownaplein. Especially for this purpose, the council wanted to build a new bridge over Noordsingel in order to extend Prinsessewal to Strandweg (later called Scheveningseweg) past the Buitenrust Palace to Scheveningen village. Prinsessewal was also extended into Prinsessestraat, which partly also became a breakthrough to Kerkplein and the Jacobskerk, A few years later the buildings around Jacobskerk with the new facades by Saraber were removed, increasing the monumentality of the church. A few years later, one of the most monumental and largest public buildings in the city, the Main Post Office (1886/8-1964) was built on Kerkplein and Prinsessestraat by Cuypers supporter the architect Cornelis Peters (1847-1932).

This ambitious plan by Van der Waeyen Pieterszen would create a continuum of monumental urban spaces and connect the old city with the new residential parks and Scheveningen village. Most of the Manufacturing Council Committee members of the city council believed implementation could only take place if a *Algemeen Plan van Uitbouwing der Gemeente* (*General Plan for the Extension of the*

Parkstraat with terraced houses in the tradition of the architect Delia, photo ca.1895. Collection HGA 0.54341.

Ansicht of the Parkstraat by Henri de Louw with terraced houses in the tradition by the architect Delia, photo ca.1890. Collection HGA 1.90001.

Municipality) would be set up, as described in a report on August 9, 1859. At the city council meeting of November 15, 1859, Van der Waeyen Pieterszens proposal was used a guideline for the later extension and the committee received much support from the council members for these proposals to beautify the city. To realize this plan, housing had to be expropriated, but there was much opposition against this in the council.

At Veenkade and in Zeestraat, the municipality wanted to expropriate and demolish houses in order to extend important thoroughfares. But just like in Schilderswijk, the edges of these areas, outside of the canals, were already built up or building was ongoing, as on Toussaintkade (then called Veenlaan) and after 1860 also on Veenkade (before 1869 called Buitencingel). A good connection to the city was therefore difficult to create, especially since property was scattered and beautification was not a public utility according to the Liberals, and so this argument could not be used for the expropriation and demolition of existing houses.

Anna Paulownapark, 1865

In 1865, The Hague architect S.J. de Vletter (1823-1872) submitted a street plan for Anna Paulownapark on behalf of a land development company, which worried several council members (HGA gr.1097). Anna Paulownapark had to continue the grandeur of Willemspark into Kleine Veentje in Zeeheldenkwartier. At a session of the city council on December 27, 1865, councilor Quarles van Ufford observed that the municipality had been presented with a fait accompli by De Vletter and associates. The land for which the Commission of Manufacture had proposed such grand ideas in 1859 turned out to be sold privately to a land development company. Fifteen building plots on this land had been sold on, which made city expansion there impossible. Still De Vletter shifted all costs for paving, lighting, and sewers to the municipality. Widening the street from Prinsessewal to Scheveningseweg was no longer possible. The entrances to the new neighborhoods would also not look like the Manufacturing Council Committee had thought, they stated: “They too would have liked to see these accesses, convinced that they would be very much aimed at embellishing the entire plan and, above all, making a beautiful whole with Willemspark.” However, for a connection with Willemspark, three or four houses on Zeestraat would have to be expropriated and demolished to be able to extend Sophialaan. This was a cost that the committee could not justify. Access to Prinsessewal was also a problem because it required land from Smeele’s bleaching plant. It was uncertain whether Mr. Smeele would want to cooperate with De Vletter’s plan. Only the third point of access, from Laan van Meerdervoort, could proceed as planned.

The chairman pointed out on the council meeting that an earlier plan by De Vletter in 1859 was in line with the ideas of the committee. The big question was rather who would bear the costs for the expropriation needed for the entrances to the neighborhood at Sophialaan and Prinsessewal. According to the chairman, these costs could in any case not be borne by the city, because expropriation law did not allow this: “Because the minister would say very bluntly: this extension does serve to beautify but is not for the public benefit of the city.” De Vletter offered to contribute 30,000 guilders for the expropriation if the land of the bleaching plant was transferred to him. Land for streets could be expropriated, but land needed next to the streets could not be expropriated. This remained in the hands of the bleaching plant. Councilor Stam argued at the council meeting of December 27, 1865 that: “For The Hague, beautification is a public benefit.” The chairman reminded councilor Stam that the minister did not see beautification as a public issue in other expropriations in The Hague and that the minister and the city council therefore did not share Stam’s view. Eventually, the council decided to continue negotiations with De Vletter, and the Manufacturing Council Committee was asked to draw up a general plan for the Kleine Veentje.

Plan for the Extension of the North-Western Part of The Hague, 1866

In 1866, Van der Waeyen Pieterszen came up with a *Plan voor de Uitbreiding van het N.W. Gedeelte van ’s Gravenhage* (*Plan for the Extension of the North-Western Part of The Hague*) (collection HGA gr.1102). Here, a diagonal street had been drawn by Kleine Veentje, which ran from a newly planned station to Laan van Meerdervoort, with two rond-points, one as a center for the neighborhood and one on Laan van Meerdervoort. Noordsingel and the canal at Prinsessewal would be filled, according to the plan. Three street plans that were discussed with land development companies were drawn on this plan. During the council’s deliberations on February 2, 1866 on De Vletter’s plan, it appeared that he wanted to keep the rond-point in the center of his own neighborhood, while Van der Waeyen Pieterszen wanted it on Laan van Meerdervoort. The streets designed by De Vletter had a width of 10 meters, while the main street was 14 to 16 meters. Finally, at a meeting on February 20, 1866, the council decided on the 1866 Plan for the Extension of the North-Western Part of The Hague with the round-point on the Laan van Meerdervoort but proposed to negotiate with De Vletter about the direction and width of the streets. The connections with the city were seen as essential but problematic, given the scattered ownership structure and the lack of opportunities for expropriation.

Entrepreneurs built in the polders faster than the Manufacturing Council Committee could think and draw. An unworkable situation arose. De Vletter simply carried out his original plan without taking the environment into account. Anna Paulownastraat would never become the wide thoroughfare from Prinsessewal to Scheveningen and Sophialaan would never be extended to the new rond-points in Kleine Veentje. After endless deliberation, the council overwhelmingly concluded that Van der Waeyen Pieterszen’s plan from 1866 had to be implemented, but De Vletter had already sold the land needed for this to builders, so that the rond-point on Laan van Meerdervoort could no longer be realized. At a municipal council meeting on October 9, 1867, the Grand Duchess Sophie also spoke out against the idea of a rond-point at the doorstep of her Rustenburg palace.

Anna Paulowna Park eventually became not a second Willemspark with

Ansicht Zoutmanstraat, Zeeheldenkwartier. Photo before 1900.
Collection HGA 0.84106.

Ansicht Zeeheldenkwartier. Photo before 1910.
Collection HGA 0.87697.

Ansicht Piet Heinstraat, Zeeheldenkwartier. Photo before 1902.
Collection HGA 0.55720.

Ansicht Prins Hendrikstraat, Zeeheldenkwartier. Photo before 1900.
Collection HGA 0.57710.

Ansicht Zorgvlietstraat, Zeeheldenkwartier. Photo before 1900.
Collection HGA 0.84009.

Ansicht Hemsterhuisstraat, Zeeheldenkwartier. Photo before 1905.
Collection HGA 0.27316.

wide streets that connected to the surroundings, but a flawed grid with streets that were too and buildings too high, and two rond-points that were not connected to each other.

General Plan for the Extension of the Municipality, 1876

Finally, the *Algemeen Plan voor de Uitbreiding der Gemeente* (*General Plan for the Extension of the Municipality*) was adopted with 31 votes at the council meeting of November 28, 1876. Everywhere in the neighborhood, a lot of construction was going on, but in a scattered manner rather than following a clear structure (HGA z.gr.2014 and z.gr.0334).

Zeeheldenkwartier and Archipelbuurt were given a grid as a basis with a monumental rond-points in the middle. This extension plan was made by the new city architect Reinders in harmony with the street plan that developer and contractor Gerardus Klomp (1834-1882) had proposed for that part of Zeeheldenkwartier. The diagonal from the previous extension plan was now permanently gone and the rond-point on Laan van Meerdervoort also disappeared. In its place were two rond-points in the middle of the neighborhoods: Anna Paulownaplein in De Vletter's plan and Prins Hendrikplein in the plans by Klomp, Engels, and Haas, although the squares only got their names later.

With the new city architect, the municipality took on a modest role: high-minded ambitions regarding urban interpretation disappeared permanently. In a session of the city council in 1876, it was decided to adopt the streets of Klomp's plan. It is unclear what role Reinders played and what role Klomp took on. The streets did not yet have a name, but the minutes of the municipal council meeting of November 14, 1876 show that they were probably Barentszstraat, Heemskerckstraat, Van Galenstraat, the extension of Bazarstraat, and Piet Heijnstraat. Klomp, who had more interests in Zeeheldenkwartier, lived at Zeestraat 65.

The rules of the General Police Ordinance of 1876 were first applied here. The width for all residential streets parallel to Jacob van der Doesstraat was 12 meters, as well as for the street along the polder canal (Piet Heinstraat), with a maximum building height of 12 meters. For the extension of Bazarstraat, a width of 14 meters and a maximum building height of 15 meters applied.

City architect Reinders and the Manufacturing Council Committee still hoped that with De Vletter and Klomp a straight connection could be improvised between Sophialaan, Plein 1813 and the new planned rond-point, the current Prins Hendrikplein. However, the execution did happen as desired. Bazarstraat could not be extended because building plots had already been sold. The street grid of Zeeheldenkwartier was therefore inconveniently interrupted by a dead-end roads. Three years later, Klomp connected Hugo de Grootstraat with Prins Hendrikstraat, so that the street grid was further affected, as discussed in the council meeting of September 27, 1881. The plan by G.J.M. and J. van der Kroft for the later Van Speijkstraat was discussed in the city council on August 26, 1879 and ran from Van de Spiegelstraat and a cross street perpendicular to Laan van Meerdervoort. Van Speijkstraat was 12 meters wide; the side street 14 meters. This time, the buildings were not allowed to be higher than 15 meters, lower than stated in the police ordinance. Otherwise, the usual rules applied.

At a city council meeting of January 20, 1880, the street plan by architects Engels from Rotterdam and Haas (or Hoos) from Leiden was approved. They proposed to extend Piet Heijnstraat (Witte de Withstraat) and to build Prins Hendrikstraat and all side streets in between (probably Zoutmanstraat, Van Kinsbergenstraat, Van Brakelstraat, and Tasmanstraat). This plan also provided for the construction of part of the projected rond-point (Prins Hendrikplein) and a bridge between Hemsterhuisstraat and Zoutmanstraat, which led to the rond-point. Zoutmanstraat, Prins Hendrikstraat, and the street around the park near the rond-point were given a width of 14 meters with a maximum building height of 14 meters. The other streets were given a width and maximum building height of 12 meters. On March 8, 1881, Engels also requested approval for the extended Prins Hendrikstraat and some other streets. The same rules applied here as to the other plans. The width of the extended Prins Hendrikstraat was also 14 meters and the maximum building height was 14 meters. The other streets were at least 12 meters wide with a building height of no more than 12 meters.

Van Stolk asked permission for the layout of Van Diemenstraat at the municipal council meeting on February 22, 1881. At Prins Hendrikstraat, the new street had to be at least 14 meters wide and at the other streets 12 meters. The maximum building height was equal to the minimum street width. On August 25, 1881, Van Stolk asked permission for the construction of streets between Van Speijkstraat and Prins Hendrikstraat. These were also constructed under the usual list of conditions. Why Van Diemenstraat had to be 14 meters wide was unclear. Perhaps it was the intention to make a thoroughfare here, but nothing came of it. For example, in addition to the residential streets being too narrow, Zeeheldenkwartier also got streets that were too wide, without clear motivation.

Due to the conflicts over the street plans between entrepreneurs, the municipality, and the government, Zeeheldenkwartier received its curiously flawed grid plan of streets with different widths and building heights, dead-end streets and two rond-points that were not connected to each other. Beautification was not a public utility in the Zeeheldenkwartier, but it did give the neighborhood a uniquely chaotic character.

Archipelbuurt: Beautification as a Public Utility

Land development companies that worked in Archipelbuurt did see the usefulness of beautification for the neighborhood. The cooperation with the municipal architects, Van der Waeywn Pieterszen and after 1875 with his successor Reinder, was therefore a lot better. In addition, there were fewer existing buildings, so the problem of expropriation did not arise there. The street plans were laid out between 1869 and 1889 on the grounds of the Alexander Barracks (1841-1848) and a nearby dune meadow. Furthermore, the neighborhood was bordered

by the Jewish (1690), Roman Catholic (1831) and General Cemetery (1830) and the Scheveningen canal, which had been dug between 1825 and 1834. Javastraat (until 1861 called Schuddegeest) was an old country road. The most iconic building in this area was the Alexander Barracks and Alexanderplein, where the cavalry practiced. Behind this barracks were the sites where the new neighborhood was built.

The first street plan was by Maxwils, planned around the current Balistraat, Sumatrastraat, and Laan Copes van Cattenburch. Where today Balistraat and Laan Copes van Cattenburch are located, there was still a field in 1867. Maxwils bought several pieces of land here around 1867, bordered by Schelpsloot, Javastraat, Kanaalweg (now Koninginnegracht) and Laan Copes van Cattenburch, to develop a street plan. Maxwils planned to build a main road over his land from Kanaalweg to Scheveningseweg. He did not start selling building plots at random and consulted with the city architect about the plans, in contrast to the land development companies in Zeeheldenkwartier. The city executive therefore strongly advised the council to be sympathetic to the assessment of Maxwils' fine plan. The city architect and Maxwils reached an agreement that was mutually beneficial and was adopted at the city council meeting of January 21, 1868. The council described it as a great plan and agreed to the plan. The intention was that construction would first take place along Javastraat and the canal. Maxwils also wanted to release the other streets for construction and wanted the municipality to start building these streets earlier. It was important that Maxwils followed the city's wish for a main road, Laan Copes van Cattenburch, on the site owned by the land development company.

Finally, at the meeting of July 21, 1868, the council unanimously approved the plan and found a solution to the land exchange between the municipality and Maxwils. After that, development was halted in this part of the city for several years, perhaps because of the explosive growth of Zeeheldenkwartier.

Behind the barracks, De Lint and his Bouwgrond Maatschappij Duinweide (land development company Duinweide) bought land. This consisted of most of the western part of what would later be called Bankastraat (probably the later Malakkastraat, Celebesstraat, Riouwstraat, Borneostraat, and the smaller side streets in between). The part east of Bankastraat, north of Maxwils' plan, was also bought by De Lint (probably the later Delistraat, Riouwstraat, Atjehstraat, and Batjanstraat). In the council meeting of January 9, 1877, the street plan was approved. The streets had to follow the direction of the approved building plan; the main streets had to be 14 meters wide, and the houses could not be higher than 15 meters. The other streets had to be 12 meters wide, and the buildings could not be higher than 12 meters. Here, too, articles 44 and 45 of the Police Ordinance of 1876 applied, but a striking additional requirement to the De Lint's plan for Duinweide was imposed during the council meeting of March 20, 1877: no more courtyards were to be built.

On November 4 and December 16, 1879, the city council discussed De Lint's plan to extend Bankastraat and thus make a connection with Kerkhoflaan. This required a land transfer from the municipality. In 1881, De Lint proposed to create a rond-point with a monumental fountain at the intersection of Bankastraat and Riouwstraat on behalf of the land development company, with the condition that the municipality would take over this rond-point and fountain. Two designs for a fountain by architect Wesstra Jr. were presented to the council. De Lint argued to the city council at a meeting of March 8, 1881, that: "The reasons which induce the partnership to make this offer are to make every effort on its part, which may be conducive to elevating the Duinweide building site ever more to one of the most graceful and pleasant neighborhoods of the municipality."

Things were completely different in the smaller streets further down in Archipelbuurt, near the Frederiks Barracks. During the municipal council meeting of December 23, 1879, master carpenter W.C. van Rijswijk applied to the municipality for permission to build a street between Schelpkade and Frederikstraat. Presumably this was Prinses Mariestraat near Cantaloupenburg. The street had to be 11 meters wide and the buildings were allowed to be no more than 11 meters high, lower than the minimum set in the Police Ordinance. Furthermore, the usual requirements applied regarding pavements, sewers, filling in of ditches, and rounding out corners.

At a city council meeting of December 7, 1880, the layout of the last part of Archipelbuurt was discussed, consisting of Surinamestraat and Nassaukade (later Nassauplein). The street plan was submitted by De Sonnaville, Post, Uijttenhooven, Braams, and architect Cornelis Jacobus van Roode jr., the partners in the Bouwgrond Maatschappij Suriname (Building Territory Association Suriname). According to the petitioners, the street plan was intended to contribute to the beautification of these streets. Part of the charity courtyard built by Saraber on Schuddegeest in 1854-56 would be demolished especially for this purpose. The new plan consisted of six streets, with Surinamestraat being given an impressive character with a width of 26 meters and a 8-meter-wide green space with threes in the middle. A variety of architects from The Hague would build the houses, such as Van Roode (nos. 2-6, 8, 10-14, 22, 24, 30-32, 34-36, 38-40, 39-45), Besseling (nos. 9-17, 21, 23, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35-37), Wesstra (nos. 25, 28), Van Rijswijk and Posthuma (nos. 16, 20). It included one of the highlights of the Dutch neo-Renaissance: the double mansion (nos. 42-44) with tower and stepped gable, designed by government architect C.H. Peters in 1880-81, where he himself lived. Otherwise, the usual rules of the Police Ordinance applied. The partners also proposed to make Javastraat 14 meters wide at their own expense, so that it better connected to Willemspark. In this way, Surinamestraat, Nassaukade, and Laan Copes van Cattenburch became an urban ensemble that buyers would certainly pay for.

The Benefits of Cooperation

In Zeeheldenkwartier the politically sensitive issue of expropriation of houses and building plots increased pressure on the municipality, even before the city architect and the land development company had agreed. In Archipelbuurt there was cooperation between land development companies and the municipality, with the common

interest of creating beautiful urban spaces and thoroughfares. Zeeheldenkwartier received a chaotic street plan with little room for through traffic and no beautiful streets. For Archipelbuurt, Laan Copes van Cattenburch and Javastraat became important thoroughfares and respectable streets.

Zeeheldenkwartier and Archipelbuurt are both a patchwork of street plans created by land development companies built over a period of about fifteen years, in the street grid of the city architects Van der Waeyen Pieterszen and Reinders. Three people were mainly involved with Archipelbuurt: Maxwils, De Lint, and De Sonnaville. They tried to keep the quality of the neighborhood high, so that the value of the land they sold to building contractors also remained high. In the slightly older and larger Zeeheldenkwartier, many more land development companies were involved in the development.

3.8
The Working-Class Neighborhoods

The Slums of Schilderswijk, Kortenbos, Rivierenbuurt, and Scheveningen

Quite different were the urban ensembles in the workers' neighborhoods; there were no grids with monumental rond-points in the center like in the bourgeois quarters. These neighborhoods were dominated by monotonous urban blocks with low-edged buildings with gable roofs perpendicular to the facade. In the houses along the narrow streets (8 or 10 meters), workshops were often on the ground floor, with houses above. In courtyards were slums with small back-to-back houses and small factories. For the most part, old patterns in the landscape were followed, such as ditches; these often also formed the plot boundaries. These neighborhoods arose in a chaotic way around factories, which were located at roads, railway, tramways, and waterways such as Spui and Loosduinse Vaart, so they could transport raw materials and products to and from them. The structure of the neighborhoods was usually determined by the existing older buildings, drainage ditches, rails, canals, and roads. Schilderswijk was the largest working-class neighborhood. Here, there were already older buildings along the canals. There were also smaller workers' neighborhoods like Rivierenbuurt, Kortenbos and Spijkermakerskwartier inside the canals of The Hague and Scheveningen West and East.

After the construction of Hollands Spoor station, Stationsbuurt florished. The city maps by Smulders & Cie from 1870 and Lobatto from 1891 show that the fields of the Zusterpolder were already enclosed between the steam tram track, the train track, and the canal before the great growth of the municipality. Hoefkade was also already in place, curring through the fields. The neighborhoods Rivierenbuurt, Spijkermakerskwartier, and Kortenbos were limited in size and had a wide variety of buildings. Some had mostly seventeenth century buildings, especially within the canals, but in most cases the buildings dated from after 1870.

In the workers' quarters there were no beautiful wide streets with rond-points or parks that were built at municipal expense, such as the Scheveningse Bosjes. There was no discussion here about expropriating land to create a beautiful cityscape. Here the free market prevailed, and enlightened citizens made efforts to improve the lot of the affected population. The working-class neighborhoods were not built a systematic approach; they were gradually parceled out by entrepreneurs in the most economical way possible. That meant as few expensive streets as possible, so that these neighborhoods consisted of deep urban blocks with overcrowded courtyards. Entrepreneurs did not care about traffic connections or living conditions: the municipality supervised this using the Police Ordinance. The reaction to this miserable state of affairs with exploitation courts was therefore inevitable. A new type of dwellings was developed: the charity courts.

Bakker Schut (1939) showed what these working-class neighborhoods

Schilderswijk. Photo from 1933.
Collection HGA 5.25591.

Charity courtyards Van Ostadewoningen (left) and ‘t Fort (right), Schilderswijk by the architect Van Liefland and Simons, photo’s from 1895 and 1970(?).
Collection HGA 0.30709.

looked like in the different parts of the city, based on large wooden models (Municipality of The Hague, 1948), and compared the population densities between them. He also made photographs and maps of these neighborhoods. The socio-economic conditions of the inhabitants are covered by Stokvis (1987) and Schmal (1995). Residents of Kortenbos are discussed by Morren (1900); Langerak (1984); Wuite (1990), and Langerak & Zomerveld (1993). The creation of these neighborhoods coincided with the development of industrial activities in The Hague in the second half of the nineteenth century. Around 1890 these working-class neighborhoods were fully built. This was also the turning point for the industrial activity in The Hague. The metal industry disappeared and the fish industry booming, and the healthcare industry subsequently occupied an important place (Stokvis, 1987).

The Chaotic Layout of the Workers' Neighborhoods, 1877–1880

The workers' neighborhoods were built in a disorganized way, step-by-step and at a rapid pace. They were subject to the conditions set out in the Police Ordinance of 1876 and thereafter. These plans had to be submitted to the council for approval by the municipal executive (mayor and aldermen), advised by the city architect; the municipality could make modifications. The street widths were agreed between the municipality and the land development company. The minimum width of the street was equal to the maximum height of the facade. The width of a residential street was at least 12 meters, so the maximum height of the facade 12 meters. The width of a thoroughfare was at least 14 or 15 meters and the height of the facade up to 14 or 15 meters. The pavement consisted of bricks across the full width, without sidewalks. Streets were raised with pure sand, up to the level indicated by the municipal executive. The building height was calculated from that level. Corner buildings on each street were rounded with a radius of 3 meters to improve traffic flow. Indoor and outdoor sewers were inspected by the municipality before the municipal executive approved the connection to the main sewer. The street was only taken over by the municipality in ownership when more than half of the dwellings was built up. This last rule caused resentment among residents, who often had to wait a long time for this. However, there was a lot of deviation from these meagre rules, which did not always benefit the neighborhoods.

In the acts of the city council these small-scale plans by entrepreneurs approved, mentioning the conditions in the Police Ordinance and the approved deviation of these conditions. Most of the city council agreed without hesitation. The courtyards full of slums with back-to-back houses, virtually without facilities such as toilets and drinking water, were not assessed by the municipality at all.

On Spanier's city map from 1864 there was no mention of street plans or buildings in the bourgeois neighborhoods and working-class neighborhoods. Smulders' city map from 1870 showed the development around Anna Paulownaplein and the first construction activities in Dichtersbuurt. On the city map from 1879 by Funke the grid structure of the bourgeois quarters and working-class neighborhoods was half filled with houses. And on Stemler's city map from 1884 both the bourgeois and the working-class neighborhoods were almost fully built. Thus, in a period of twenty years both bourgeois and working-class neighborhoods were created.

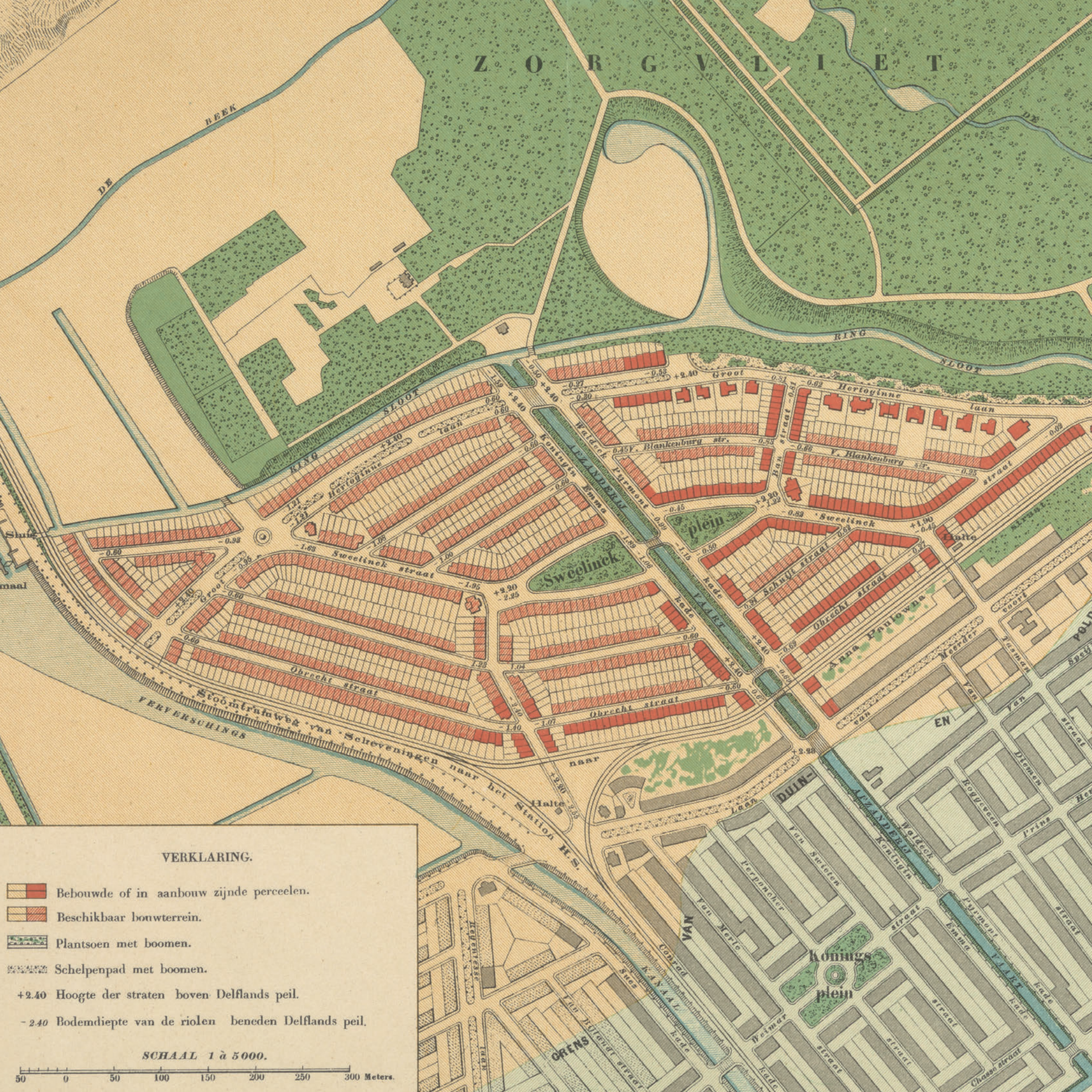
Zeeheldenkwartier, photo by the Dutch Military Flight Service from 1925.
Collection HGA 0.87667.

3.9
Conclusion

As point out, the cityscape of Laissez-Faire addresses the socio-economic stratification of society in the period following the state reforms around 1850, the emergence of a new political culture, and the rapid population growth of The Hague - these developments had a clear impact on the spatial organization of the city and on the quality of housing. Three types of new districts or residential neighborhoods emerged: the elegant residential parks around the Scheveningse Bosjes, the middle-class neighborhoods such as the Zeeheldenkwartier and the Archipelbuurt, and working-class neighborhoods with squalid inner-courtyard slums, such as Schilderswijk or Scheveningen.

The role of land development companies in shaping socio-spatial inequalities within urban planning processes was facilitated by the city's rapid expansion, prevailing financing methods, and the municipality's reluctance to impose quality standards or city plans or expensive urban amenities like in Amsterdam or Rotterdam.

Differences in housing quality—and consequently processes of segregation—were amplified by land development companies as a means of attracting homebuyers. This mode of neighborhood development and housing production for an anonymous market, conducted through Public Limited Liability Companies, produced an urban landscape characterized by laissez-faire patterns: residential parks in lush surroundings, fashionable middle-class quarters organized around rond-points, and unhygienic working-class neighborhoods with slums and epidemics, as described by physician Schick. This process of building residential districts and neighborhoods persisted until the Housing Act of 1901. But before the Housing Act came into effect, important spatial and qualitative changes had already taken place at the fin de siècle.


ZORGVLIET
DE BEEK
RING SLOOT
Groot Hertoginne laan
Hertoginne laan
Waldeck Pyrmont
Koningin Emma
IJZANDERIJ
V. Blankenburg str.
Ban straat
Sweelinck straat
Sweelinck
Sweelinck plein
Halte
Schuit straat
Utrecht straat
Anna Paulowna
Weerder
Van Hasman
Van Diemen straat
Roggeveen
Prins
Van Sweelen
Van Merle
Van Pallandt straat
Conrad
Suez
KANAAL
Weimar straat
Koningin straat
Emma
VAART
kade
Chasse straat
koonings plein
Van Speijk
Van Speijk straat
Van Speijk laan
Van Speijk kade
Van Speijk plein
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4
CITYSCAPE OF FIN DE SIÈCLE
1890–1905

„überall Schema, keine Eigenart“
Josef Stübben, *Der Städtebau* (1890)

Left, fragementy of Map of Duinoord, N.V. Haagsche Bouwgrond-Maatschappij
Duinoord of Scheurleer by J. Wind from 1894 or 1895.
Collection HGA kl.1119.

4.1
Introduction

The contrast of the cityscape in the fin de siècle and the previous cityscape could not be greater. The cityscape of the fin de siècle would produce picturesque neighborhoods, looking like villages, with a diversity of buildings within the framework of main roads on which ran the first cars and electric trams. A feast of new materials and diversity in architecture, colors and shapes, hygienic and attractive streets and squares, street lighting and shop windows with lanterns in the shopping streets; all these made the new residential areas very popular. Most turrets on houses in The Hague date to the fin de siècle, in which individuality was proudly celebrated. The neutral village in lush greenery, with real village character, was given a new layer of greater image quality with the erection of new housing estates.

On the one hand, there remained a belief in Dutch neo-Renaissance—promoted by architect Cuypers, civil servant De Stuers, and entrepreneur Scheurleer—while on the other, The Hague's architects now pursued an entirely independent course, embracing a markedly different architecture inspired by developments in the European metropolises. Government and municipal buildings continued to adhere to the conservative Dutch neo-Renaissance style; even the Peace Palace was still designed in that tradition. New amenities—such as shops and fashionable warehouses, the resort of Scheveningen Bad, and new residential neighborhoods—were imbued with a blend of architectural styles; Art Nouveau, Wiener Secession, Jugendstil, and later the Um 1800 Bewegung all made an impact.

Architects in The Hague often developed a distinctive local idiom based on these influences, typically incorporating exotic allusions to the past, employing entirely new materials, or drawing inspiration from the then-colony of the Dutch East Indies. Individual expression, political changes, diversity in architecture, hygiene in the city by using affordable technics, completely new amenities, and a new approach of the new city architect I.A. Lindo and his department changed the image of the cityscape. New neighborhoods were laid out primarily within the grid network of the main thoroughfares, thereby further enhancing the village-like character of the city.

The cityscape of the fin de siècle was made possible by advancing industrialization, and profound social and political changes. A new political movement, the Liberal Union (1885-1921), introduced fresh values into the Netherlands and, more locally, into The Hague. The political climate changed, and prosperity increased for a large part of the inhabitants, in sharp contrast to the poverty that was still prevalent in the working-class neighborhoods such as Schilderswijk, Kortenbos, and Scheveningen. But with the new neighborhoods, the change from the old city to a city of services, and the development of Scheveningen Bad, a new cityscape appeared in The Hague between roughly 1890 and the First World War.

The cityscape of the fin de siècle is the most complex and the most elusive of all cityscapes, but had with a huge influence on The Hague. The mindset of this period did not consist of a fixed body of thought; rather it is an undercurrent. It has no definite form or discourse. The cityscape of the fin de siècle acquired its own character that distinguished itself sharply from the period before 1890 and after the First World War. The Hague distinguished itself from other cities of this period and thus acquired a distinct individuality.

During the fin de siècle, the experience of the individual became important in the fields of urban planning and housing. When designing urban spaces, it was preferable to look through the eye of the users of the space, instead of applying an abstract grid with rond-points. Homes built in series were each given their own expression or at least their own front door. In the fin de siècle, it mattered what residential areas and homes looked like.

This chapter examines the aestheticization, historicization, and individualization of architecture and the urban landscape. During this period, the municipality nearly doubled in size, and construction activity was intense throughout the city. The conflict—or rather the transition—unfolded between those who adhered to traditional values, the free market, and land development companies, and those who, for various reasons, believed in a new sense of quality and identity. Some embraced this freedom and these new values, envisioned as part of a just society for all, and were already dreaming of collectivity or a shared past.

For Goekoop and Scheurleer, the question arose whether it was more profitable to support these new ideals, as articulated by Lindo and Van Liefland, or whether their allegiance lay with the new ideas of the Liberal Union, which, among other outcomes, led to the Housing Act of 1901 and a heightened emphasis on quality. Toward the end of this period, urban growth stagnated, and the threat of the First World War loomed. At the same time, a trend toward increasingly politicized urban planning emerged. In this context, the aldermen of the Liberal Union invited Berlage to design the first truly comprehensive expansion plan for the entire municipality.

This plan can be understood as the outcome of the earlier conflict — or transition — described above. The architectural richness of Scheveningen Bad has consistently remained an exemplar of cosmopolitan European architecture.

4.2
A New Experience of Time and Space

Societal Changes

The society changed rapidly at the end of the nineteenth century. A number of legislative changes accelerated the arrival of this cityscape of the fin de siècle. For example, The Netherlands had received its first Octrooiwet (Patent Act) in 1817, but this law was abolished in 1869, as it was considered too restrictive. In 1883, 140 countries reached an agreement on patents, trademarks, and designs in the Paris Union. An inventor had the right to apply for a patent within 12 months. It would take until 1910 before a National Patent Act was passed in the Netherlands. So, there was no clear legislation on patents during this period, which gave a lot of freedom to developments in construction and materials. The Liberal Union also abolished the patent tax system (Patentrecht) in 1884. That was a professional tax, a precursor to corporate tax, that gave someone the license to carry out a business or profession.

After the constitutional revision of 1887, the census suffrage that had been in place from 1849 was transformed into universal suffrage. All men who owned or rented a house with a rental value above a certain minimum were now allowed to vote. As a result, the Liberale Unie (Liberal Union) became the main party in The Hague. Interests shifted in the municipal council and this was reflected in the city's amenities, which were being improved at a rapid pace. The Liberal Union took the initiative for the first Expansion Plan by Berlage from 1908. On national level the Liberal Union created, among others, the Housing Act of 1901.

People also looked at the world from a whole new and perspective. The fin de siècle was accompanied by a change in the experience of time and space. Albert Einstein's 1905 special theory of relativity was not the only step forward in science. In this period, with new mobility and infrastructure works, the introduction of the telegraph and telephone, the experience of time and space became different. Space itself became smaller because people could reach another city faster than ever before with the new travel options that developed during the second half of the nineteenth century, such as train, steam tram and electric tram, and the first cars.

Key Figures in the Development of the Urban Image in The Hague

An important key figure in the development of the new urban image in The Hague was city architect Isaac Anne Lindo (1848-1941). He introduced various amenities and quality during the layout of new residential neighborhoods. Architect Bernhard van Liefland (1857-1919) brought new architecture, construction techniques, and political engagement as a city council member. They were supported by The Hague's two major bankers, land and real estate owners and developers, Adriaan Eliza Herman Goekoop (1859-1914) and Daniël François Scheurleer (1855-1927). All four were well informed about developments in the major European metropolises, their new urban planning and architecture. They found common ground in the large-scale expansion of new residential neighborhoods in The Hague and the seaside resort of Scheveningen.

The ideas of German theorist and urban planner of Cologne Herman Josef Stübben (1890), in which traffic circulation played an important role and the diversity of buildings inside the network of main roads

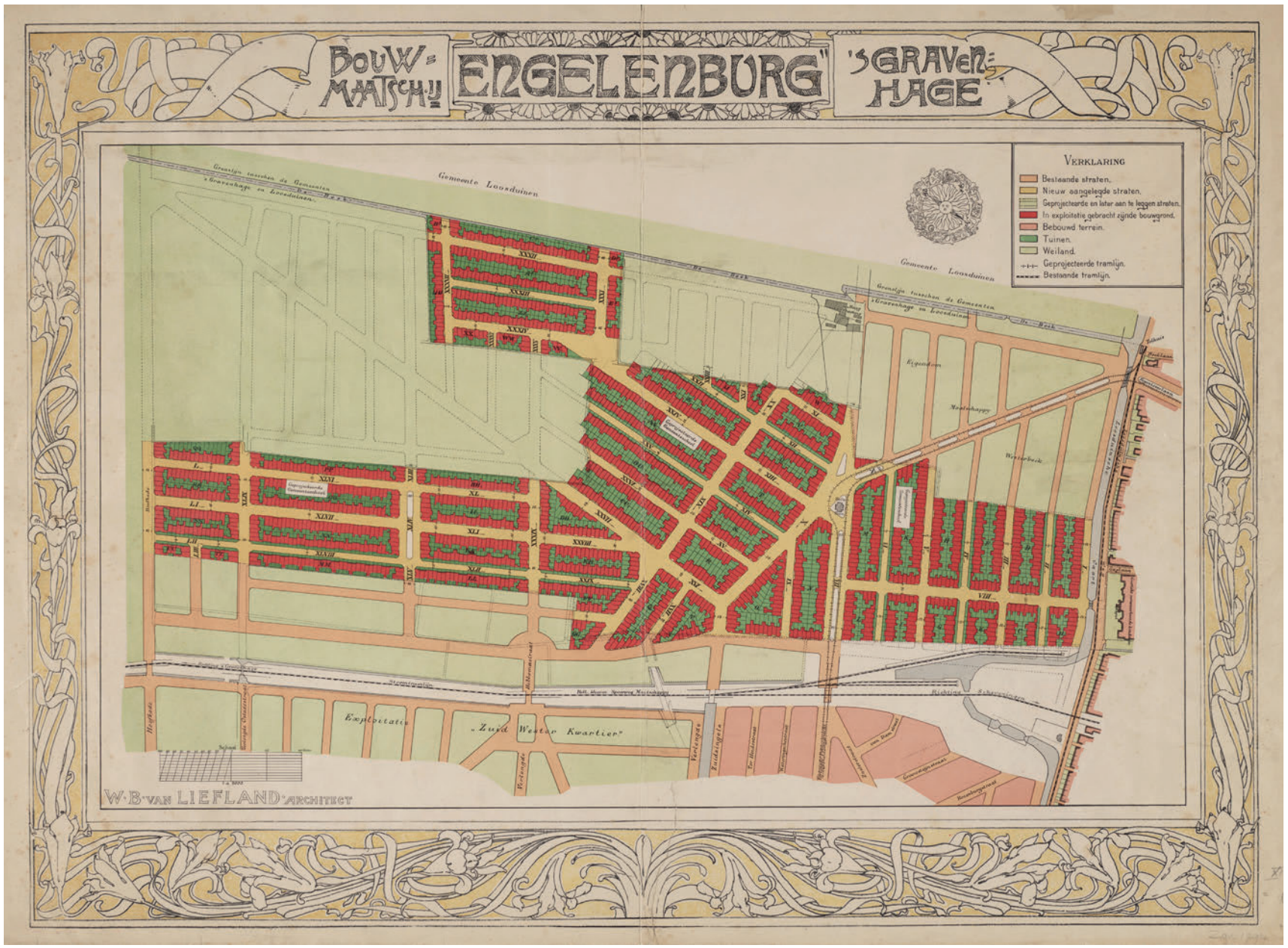
arose naturally due to all the small initiatives, was music to the ears of the progressive liberal Lindo and architects such as Van Liefland. It seems that a kind of unwritten compromise has been reached between conservatives with their monumental city approach and liberals with a preference of freedom, where one could make their own architectural choices in residential areas and private homes. This was expressed in Stübben's words 'überall Schema, keine Eigenart'. Another important influence was the Viennese psychologist and urban planner Camillo Sitte (1843-1903), he placed the human experience at the center of urban planning. Especially the experience of urban spaces, for example in the picturesque medieval Italian cities with a diversity in buildings and enclosed urban spaces.

Other important players in The Hague were the aldermen of the Liberal Union, such as Jacob Simons (1845-1921), Cornelis Lely (1854-1929), and Jurriaan Jurriaan Kok (1861-1919), administrators who also played an important role in the creation of the Housing Act (1901/2) and the Berlage expansion plan (1908) and its implementation. They considered quality, diversity, and individuality important factors in the cityscape.

The Seaside Resort as an Example of Fashionable Architecture in New Residential Areas

The seaside resort in Scheveningen was the most iconic urban ensemble of The Hague. European-oriented architects such as Van Liefland and the firm Mutters (which worked on the ship carpentry for the Titanic) gained name and fame during the substantial expansion in the seaside resort from 1893 to 1904 under the visionary leadership of the entrepreneur Bernhard Goldbeck (1844-1921) of the Maatschappij Zeebad Scheveningen (Sea-Bath Association Scheveningen, MZS). The masterplan that Van Liefland made in 1902 for the seaside resort was a novelty. The hotels, the Scheveningen Pier, the promenade along the beach, the circus theater and other buildings were meticulously mapped out and all available building plots were clearly visible. Just before the great Second Peace Conference in 1907, this was an attractive urban ensemble to invest in. The painter William Sommer produced two enormous panoramas of Van Liefland's plan for the management of the Exploitatie Maatschappij Scheveningen (Exploitation Association Scheveningen, EMS), the successor of the MZS. The seaside resort would prove invaluable, a catalyst in the development of the new cityscape of the fin de siècle. It attracted many wealthy new citizens who settled in the residential parks nearby.

The city center also experienced extensive development. Everywhere, old facades were demolished and replaced by huge glass fronts supported by ornately curved wood and cast iron. The Hague turned into a real service city with ministries, offices, and luxury department



Expansion Plan of Transvaalkwartier commissioned by the land development company Engelenburg.
Plan by the architect Van Liefland and the city architect Lindo from 1897.
Collection HGA z.gr.1794.

stores and shops with open glass facades. In streets such as Piet Heinstraat, Hoogstraat, Wagenstraat, and Spuistraat many beautiful shops appeared with fin de siècle facades.

The Residential Areas

The cityscape of the fin de siècle also found its way into the new residential areas. The historical consciousness created with neo-Renaissance architecture was not forgotten either. Neighborhoods such as Duinoord, by Lindo and Scheurleer, and Statenkwartier, by Lindo and Goekoop, with their beautiful avenues and squares with richly decorated houses formed iconic urban ensembles in The Hague. Other examples are the following neighborhoods:

- Regentessekwartier (Regentesselaan);
- Duinoord and Groot Hertoginnelaan;
- Transvaalkwartier (Paul Krugerlaan, Schalkburgerstraat);
- Statenkwartier (Statenlaan, Stadhouderslaan, Eisenhouwerlaan, Willem de Zwijgerlaan, Frederik Hendriklaan);
- Valkenboskwartier (Valkenboslaan);
- Schilderswijk Zuidwest (Vailliantlaan, Van der Vennestraat, Ruijsdaelstraat, Wouwermanstraat, Zusterstraat);
- Bezuidenhout (Juliana van Stolberglaan, Louise de Colignystraat, Stuyvesantstraat);
- Benoordenhout (Johannes Bildersraat);
- Belgisch Park (Amsterdamsestraat, Middelburgsestraat);
- Renbaankwartier (Renbaanstraat).

Between 1890 and 1910, turrets of all shapes and sizes appeared everywhere on residential houses and retail shops; The Hague became a real 'turret city'. Internationally oriented clients and owners of land development companies, such as Goedkoop and Scheurleer, made this urban development possible. Goekoop and Scheurleer also supported cultural life and saw that amenities of high quality were necessary to interest new residents in buying a house in one of their new neighborhoods. These fin de siècle neighborhoods consisted of a system of continuous closed urban spaces with a wide variety of small-scale buildings of three to four floors. There were no closed urban blocks, but open corners for daylight and ventilation, and no homes in courtyards. The individual houses on main roads and squares, which were more expensive, were given an individual character. Houses were usually built by construction companies in series of two to ten units, each with their own identity.

Characteristics of the New Urban Designs

This cityscape of fin de siècle has clear characteristics. In this new experience of modern time and space, various aspects played an important role. These aspects became characteristics for the urban ensembles by Lindo, Van Liefland, Scheurleer, and Goekoop, among others:

- Mobility was facilitated by traffic circulation with a continuous system of main streets, roads, and rails;
- Hygiene was supported through utilities, as the provision of light and air in houses in open urban blocks;
- Diversity in buildings was ensured due to different angles between streets;
- More expensive homes on main streets and squares were built with an individual character;
- Closed urban space was created by curves, dead-end streets, and barriers at the ends of residential streets;
- Greenery in urban spaces was promoted by creating green areas in the middle of main streets with a double row of trees and a walking path in between, and by front gardens in residential streets.

Beginning and End of the Cityscape of the Fin de Siècle

The temporal boundaries of this cityscape are difficult to define with precision. The start of the architect Lindo's tenure as director of the municipal Public Works Department in 1890, together with a shift in the responsibilities, mark a clear starting point. Its endpoint, however, is more elusive. Fin de siècle—literally "end of the century" in French—aptly characterizes the period, with the years between 1890 and 1900 representing the climax of this period.

Following the enactment of the new Housing Act in 1901 and the introduction of the zoning plan, the design and layout of new neighborhoods by land development companies (of Scheurleer and Goekoop) largely ceased; but the many vacant plots within the recently developed districts were gradually built upon.

In 1908, Berlage's expansion plan was introduced, though it was only after the First World War that it was extensively implemented in a series of subplans, including new neighborhoods and urban cut-throughs. After 1910, on the eve of the war, construction activity slowed markedly.

The design of the Peace Palace in neo-Renaissance style may serve as a symbolic endpoint. The competition for its design was held in 1905, and in August 1913 the building was formally inaugurated by the Queen. This is also the year in which civil servant Piet Bakker Schut presented a stark report to The Hague's municipal council on the deplorable housing conditions in Scheveningen and the slums of the historic city center, followed by the historic council resolution of 6 July 1914, which would decisively shape the urban cityscape in the interbellum.

Chapter 5, on the cityscape of the early modern architecture, will address in greater depth the content and execution of Berlage's expansion plan and its implications for the interwar period. As construction came almost entirely to a halt during the First World War, 1914 is—albeit somewhat arbitrarily—taken endpoint of the fin de siècle.

Aestheticization, Historicization, Individualization, and Universal Suffrage

The Liberal Union, one of the most important political movements in this period, played an important role and dominated the national House of Representatives and The Hague municipal council. During the government led by Prime Minister Nicolaas Gerard Pierson (1891-94), the tax system was radically reformed in 1892/3, from a system based on paying taxes on goods to a system that was based on taxes on wealth and taxes on income from business and work. Also, as previously mentioned, patent tax and patent law came to an end. As a result, economic development was stimulated considerably, and industrialization kicked into higher gear, with major consequences for the building culture. The change in the tax system gave the state and the municipalities more financial opportunities. While the national treasury had been in a deplorable state in 1840, this was no longer the case around 1900, because the tax office received far more taxes after the reforms. This put an end to the animosity between the various provinces and reduced political and social divisions (Smit, 2002).

The Municipal Works Department grew into an important institute that shaped the layout of the infrastructure, together with major investments in residential areas by people such as Goekoop and Scheurleer. Furthermore, Lindo was the right man in the right place. He had the political tide with him because the progressive and social Liberal Union wanted to get rid of the previous laissez-faire policy. After the reorganization of the Department of Municipal Works in 1890 and the arrival of Lindo as its director, the layout of urban ensembles was professionally handled by land development companies, architects, and engineers.

Lindo was a versatile engineer with experience in the field of waterworks, trams, roads, and street plans. In Arnhem he had shown that he had an eye for urban beauty and was aware of new ideas in the field of urban planning and hygiene. From 1891 onwards, architects of municipal works such as Adam Schadee (1862-1937) built schools, police and fire stations, bathhouses, washhouses, slaughterhouses, and buildings for utilities such as the gas factory and the electricity works on a large scale. Other architects, such as Van Liefland, brought the new architectural styles and tastes from London, Paris, and Vienna to The Hague and Scheveningen Bad. The East Indies also attracted the attention of architects, residents and shopkeepers and beautiful oriental-style tiles, onion-shaped towers, and horseshoe arches appeared everywhere on houses and at shops. In 1905, civil engineer Pieter Bakker Schut (1877-1952) was hired by Lindo to take implement the electrification and layout of the tram network. As early as 1907, Bakker Schut was promoted to Ingenieur-Afdeelingschef (engineer-head of department).

Bourgeois culture broadened with the attention to history, individualization, and aestheticization (Bank & Buuren, 2000). In The Hague, the internationally oriented architect Hendrik Petrus Berlage (1856-1934) and the journalist Johan Gram (1833-1914) had been fulminating against the monotony of the neighborhoods for some time, as discussed previously (Gram, 1893, 1906). This was echoed in the literary movement of De Tachtigers (ca. 1880-94) and the painters of De Haagse School (The Hague School), which proclaimed a new form of art, inspired by impressionism and naturalism.

The artistic and intellectual milieu of The Hague was concentrated around several institutions and persons of prestige and influence, many of whom were directly involved in the layout of neighborhoods and the design of buildings. A lot of preliminary work had already been done by artists of The Hague School from 1847 onwards in the Pulchri Studio, especially under the chairmanship of the painter Mesdag. The Geschiedkundige Vereniging Die Haghe (Historical Society Die Haghe), which was founded in 1890, united The Hague's cultural elite of bankers, entrepreneurs, administrators, journalists, architects, and civil servants. Honorary members included Gram, Baron Snouckaert, Scheurleer, Goekoop, De Stuers, Israëls, and Mesdag. On the board were Goekoop and Gram. Van Liefland, Molenaar, Mutters, Van Nieukerken, and Simons were members in 1898. The architect Wesstra was also a member; bankers Penn and De Sonnaville were honorary members. These individuals brough together power, money, land, influence, and vision. The main donors of the society were the Grand Duchess of Saxony, Princess Sophie of the Netherlands, and Queen Regent Emma. Article 1 of the association's statutes stated as its aim: "to get to know the history of The Hague from the sources".

A year later, another important association was founded: De Haagse Kunstkring (The Hague Art Circle). Initially, the art circle was a movement around Jan Toorop (1858-1928), Johan Thorn Prikker (1868-1932), who owned an arts and crafts shop on Kneuterdijk, and Henry van der Velde (1863-1957). These artists brought Art Nouveau, Jugendstil, Wiener Secession and other new art styles to The Hague. Jan Toorop organized the first retrospective of Van Gogh's works in 1892. In 1923 Kurt Schwitters and Theo van Doesburg held the first Dada meeting in the Netherlands at the Haagse Kunstkring. The differences between various groups within the art circle grew larger over the years and the movement gradually politicized itself, led by members such as Berlage and the architect Jan Wils. Other architect members were Cuypers, Brandes, De Bazel, Wijdeveld, Van der Kloot Meyburg, Wegenrif, Broese van Groenou, De Clercq, Gratama, Stuyt, Jurriaan Kok, and Bakker Schut. In these organizations, all the main players who contributed to the aestheticization, historicization, and individualization of the city came together. The cityscape of the fin de siècle was self-evident to them; the previous period seemed completely forgotten.

Changes to the City Center and New Residential Areas

City Formation and Suburbanization

After 1870, the bourgeois and workers' neighborhoods described above started the process of phenomena that would later be referred to as "suburbanization" and "city formation". City formation, a term Gram

already used, is a complex process. As described earlier, the old, dark residential city with its smelly canals turned into an illuminated service city with government departments, restaurants, beautiful fashion stores, bazaars, illuminated shops, and pleasant walking areas where the canals had been filled in. The sweet-smelling blossoms of linden trees hid the scent of the canals in the summer.

Around 1870, the population within the canals from the seventeenth century reached a maximum of more than 60,000, about 65% of the total population at the time; after this, the population in the city center decreased. In 1900 the city center had 55,000 inhabitants; by 1910 this number had dropped to 52,000; about 13% of the population had moved away from the old center (Bakker Schut, 1939; Stokvis, 1987).

The city changed from a place where people lived and worked—which often still took place in one building—to a city where shops, fashion stores, offices, and government departments dominated. The fact that between 1890 and 1910 the national administration and the government departments were considerably expanded contributed to this. Furthermore, rising rents and land prices drove people away from downtown to the periphery. Stokvis (1987) argues that the municipality even promoted this exodus from the center with its ideas about renovations. For example, on the spot where one of the oldest parts of The Hague was located, the old buildings were demolished and the Haagse Passage shopping gallery was opened in 1885, a development that was exemplary for this period (Knibbeler, 1986). The stench of the canals that functioned as open sewers also played an important role in the departure of the wealthy citizens from the city center, despite the fragrant trees in the summer.

The old-town bourgeoisie who could afford it preferred the new neighborhoods, without smelly canals and with the luxury of housing with drinking water and sewers. The city center of The Hague transformed into two zones: on the one hand the service industry in the most beautiful places and on the other hand the slums, where the population remained who could not afford to move to the new neighborhoods. Here, decay and poverty were rife (Gram 1893).

Approximately Doubled in Size, and Functional Zoning of the City

The achievements of industrialization also played a role in these changes in the city (Lintsen et al., 1992-94, 2005). The new residential areas and the service city came closer together because of the steam trams, which we are all laid out between 1879 and 1887, and because of the finer network of horse trams and later electric trams. Furthermore, the bicycle came into general use by the public. Connections to other cities by steam tram and railways also became shorter.

During the fin de siècle, The Hague transformed from a small industrial city into a city increasingly divided into functional zones such as residential areas, industrial zones along the water and the railway tracks, and the service sector in the center. This process had already begun around 1870 with the development of the first new neighborhoods, as described in chapter 4. A wholly new relationship emerged between travel time (e.g., commutes to work), travel costs,

Changes in The Hague

	1886	1911
Number of inhabitants	138,696	274,263
Municipality area	2.754 hectare	4.171 hectare
Municipal budget	fl. 2,950,000	fl. 10,759,000
Pavement area	1,109,000m2	3,400,000m2
Municipal schools	30	82
Number of pupils	9,900	22,700
Non municipal schools	47	66
Number of pupils	7,500	15,400

Source: *De Ingenieur*, Lindo (1911: 70-75).

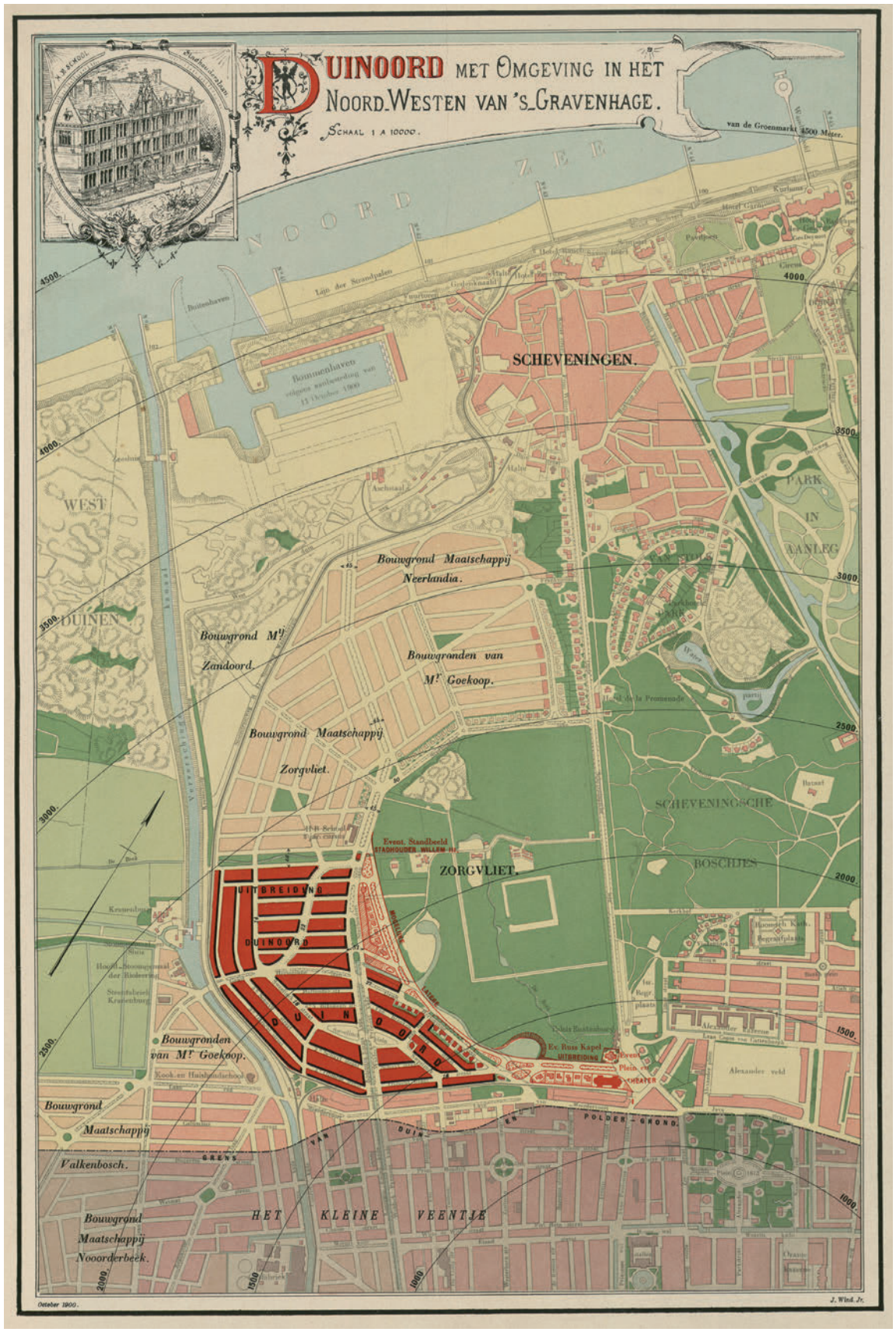
modes of transport, and land prices. Between 1886 and 1911, the city doubled in size and population, the municipal budget tripled, and the number of students in schools doubled. In the journal *De Ingenieur* (The Engineer) Lindo (1911: 70-75) compared data for 1886 and 1911:

Several eyewitnesses noted this transformation in the city and described it in visual language (Gram, 1893, 1906; Brunt, 1977). As a little girl, Nini Brunt (1977) had lived in the old city center at Gortstraat 19, a narrow side street of Spuistraat, where her father had a bookshop. Together with her parents, sister, and maid, they lived in a house that has now been demolished. Brunt described the crowded city, the shops, the poor and rich streets, and the exodus to the new neighborhoods, which was accompanied by an increase in status. She moved with her family to Heemskerckstraat in the new Zeeheldenkwartier, then a barren and stony neighborhood. The house and shop on Gortstraat were turned into a warehouse after the family left; later it was demolished and replaced by a luxury department store.

About the changes in the city, Gram wrote that: “Think of those thousand valuables, redundancies, and jewels, caressed and weary by a brilliant illumination, twinkling and radiant, luring and delighting you. Imagine the eager and admiring gazes of those countless, gently advancing guests, who have no eyes enough to take in all those glories. A sea of light, all radiant against a bright background” (1906: 162).

In an earlier publication, Gram notes that: “‘The ‘CITY’ of The Hague is Groenmarkt with the adjacent Hoog-, Veene- and Spuistraten. There is the heart of the flaneurs’ world, there are the large department stores for fashion and elegant items. Especially Spuistraat has made surprisingly large himself up in recent years. Mirror glass, shiny copper, and giant displays lure the passer-by. Lampe’s cloak palace surpasses the sparkling mirror glasses of its competitors in space, richness, and size of display. And especially in the evening, hundreds of gas and electric lights increase the value of competition. Spuistraat then resembles a ballroom ... with a very mixed audience. A later invention, the second-hand stores, a kind of bazaar, are brought together by anyone who wants to put their household goods, antiques, or works of art up for sale. The largest of this kind is Maison Drouot in Lange Houtstraat” (1893: 26).

The new fashion stores and shops were designed according to the



Plan Duinoord and Statenkwartier from 1900. Various sub-plans of land development companies van Scheurleer and Goedkoop have been brought together in one urban development plan for the northwest of The Hague by L. Wind jr.
Collection HGA gr. 1112.

latest fashion in leading European cities. Between 1890 and 1910, The Hague city center became a European-oriented city with beautiful suburbs outside that were easily accessible by tram and bicycle.

The Engineers of the Liberal Union and the Expansion Plan, 1908

With a broad section of the bourgeoisie at the helm, the political spectrum also changed. The Liberal Union (1885-1921) became the most important and largest party in the Netherlands and in The Hague. The Liberal Union was a federation of local electoral associations that stood for broadening the right to vote. Between 1890 and 1918 the Liberal Union was part of four coalition governments. Many administrators and civil servants from this period in The Hague were members of this party or sympathized with it. In The Hague, Jacob Simons, Cornelis Lely, and Jurriaan Jurriaan Kok were aldermen for the Liberal Union. Lindo was also a progressive-liberal and according to his diary he voted for Jurriaan Kok. Lely, Jurriaan Kok, and Lindo belonged to a generation of engineers who consciously wanted to shape society according to their own ideas (Lintsen, 2005; Baneke, 2008).

The Liberal Union was an alternative to the anarchist-tinged Social Democratic League (SDB) founded in 1881 and the Social Democratic Workers' Party (SDAP), which split off from it in 1894 and developed into a more reformist parliamentary party. The Liberal Union fought for the freedom of the individual, but at the same time aimed to protect the weak. Its tenets included a limited role for the government, taxation according to income, good social insurance laws, universal suffrage for men and women, improvement of the position of women, introduction of a people's army, public education and (from 1908) a system of proportional representation. Together with the Free Liberals, the Liberal Union formed the Pierson government (1897-1901). Because of new laws such as the Housing Act, the Compulsory Education Act, and the Accidents Act, the Pierson cabinet was called 'the cabinet of social justice'.

For the more progressive liberals and social democrats, these developments were still too slow, mainly because, according to them, real social justice was not possible without universal suffrage. Three aldermen of the Liberal Union in The Hague were given a major influence on what The Hague would look like and how the housing law should be applied: Simons, Lely and Jurriaan Kok.

Jacob Simons (1845-1921) was alderman of finance (1908-1913). This Jewish businessman, friend, colleague, and client of the architect Van Liefland played an important role in the development of a financing system for affordable housing. Simons and Van Liefland knew each other from the city council and from land development companies in which they both participated (Creveld, 1999). The sharing of assignments between Lindo, Van Liefland, and Simons in the development of Bezuidenhout and Transvaalkwartier suggests that Lindo also had good relations with Van Liefland and Simons.

As director of a land development company, Simons was involved in the development of Bezuidenhout, between Laan van NOI, Bezuidenhoutseweg, Schenkwetering and Eerste van den Boschstraat, where Utrechtsebaan is located today. Van Liefland made urban expansion plans for Bezuidenhout in 1889, 1893 and 1896. The client for this was the Haagse Bouwgrondmaatschappij (The Hague land development company) of Simons and Van Liefland (Van Creveld, 1999). Lindo designed the expansion plan, which was approved by the council on March 16, 1897. As a municipal counselor from 1895, Simons proposed plans for a Volksbad (People's Pool), Volkspaarbank (People's Savings Bank), Volksbibliotheek (People's Library), Bewaarschool (Kindergarten) and Volksapotheek (People's Farmacy) in the working-class neighborhoods of The Hague. The Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen (Association for the Public Good) carried out these ambitions (Van Creveld, 1999). On December 23, 1914, Simons became the first director and co-founder of the Gemeentelijke Credietbank (Municipal Credit Bank), where he served from 1914 to 1921, and director of the Vereniging van Nederlandse Gemeenten (Association of Dutch Municipalities, VNG). This bank focused specifically on municipal finances and the financing of affordable homes that had to be built according to the Housing Law. On 24 January 1922, the bank changed its name to Bank voor Nederlandsche Gemeenten (Bank for Dutch Municipalities) (BNG, 2009).

Dr. ir. Cornelis Lely (1854-1929) was alderman for Public Works and Property and Visschershaven (1908-1913), and, as such, Lindo's immediate superior. Lely was a civil engineer, minister, governor, and politician. At the age of 36 he was appointed Minister for Water Management, Trade, and Industry in the cabinet of Prime Minister Pieter van Tienhoven (1891-1894) and in 1891 designed the plan for the closure of the Zuiderzee. From 1894 to 1897 he was a member of the House of Representatives and then Minister for Water Management, Trade and Industry in Nicolaas Pierson's cabinet from 1897 to 1901. From 1908 to 1913 he became alderman of The Hague—the period in which Berlage's expansion plan was created. With administrators such as Lely and later Willem Drees (1886-1988), the boundary between local government in The Hague and government policy became diffuse.

Ir. Jurriaan Jurriaan Kok (1861-1919) was a member of The Hague municipal council (1908-1913) and alderman for Public Works and Property (1913-1919). He was a structural engineer, architect, artist, and politician. After studying architecture in Delft, he worked for the architectural firm of D.P. van Ameijden van Duym in The Hague. There, he regularly designed ceramics for the Haagsche Plateelbakkerij Rozenburg (The Hague Crockery Factory Rozenburg). In 1893 he was appointed artistic advisor to the pottery and then became its director until his aldermanship in 1913. The company closed in 1916 (Brentjes, 2007). Jurriaan Kok made several technical inventions that made it possible to produce thin-walled eggshell porcelain. Many tile panels on facades in The Hague and in porches of Art Nouveau buildings were made by Rozenburg. Many Asian motifs were incorporated, just as on vases. Jurriaan Kok probably made many of the designs himself and was inspired by his good friend Jan Toorop. He was involved in

the Bouwgrond Maatschappij Zandoord (land development company Zandoord) which developed Geuzenkwartier in Scheveningen.

The Liberal Union aldermen and councilors such as Jurriaan Kok, together with SDAP councilors, brought Berlage to The Hague to produce the first consistent expansion plan in 1908, based on the new Housing Act (1901/2). Simons and Lely were both aldermen (1908-13) when Berlage proposed his plan in 1908. This first expansion plan highlighted the two major problems that were an obstacle to the implementation of the Housing Act: private land ownership and lack of funding. To solve these, Lely introduced the leasehold system and Simons made financial provisions. However, it was not until after the First World War that the expansion plan was implemented, in a modified form.

The Fin de Siècle Architects of The Hague

In addition to aldermen, urban planners, and clients, architects also played an important role in the aestheticization and development of the cityscape. Most of the architects working in The Hague came from outside The Hague and were broadly oriented towards the developments that were going on in Europe. These architects were initially trained in the Dutch neo-Renaissance, but embraced Art Nouveau and Wiener Secession between 1885 and 1905, after which they effortlessly switched to the historicizing Um 1800 Bewegung between 1905 and 1914.

The most iconic architects were Willem Bernardus van Liefland (1857-1919), Herman Wesstra jr. (1843-1911), Lodewijk (Louis) Antonius Hermanus de Wolf (1871-1923), Johannes Petrus Josephus Lorrie (1861-1944), Nicolaas Molenaar (1850-1930), Johannes Mutters (1858-1930), Jan Willem Bosboom (1860-1928), Lodewijk Simons (1869-1936), Jan Olthuis (1851-1921), Zacharius Hoek (1863-1943) and Johan Wouters (1866-1932).

Most architects in The Hague were not trained in Delft but in the Department of Architecture at the Academie van Beeldende Kunsten en Technische Wetenschappen (Academy of Visual Arts and Technical Sciences). Some also studied in cities such as Antwerp (Mutters) or Vienna (De Wolf) to get acquainted with fashionable urban architecture. The views and work of Van Liefland, De Wolf, and Lorrie went far beyond an emphasis on aesthetics.

Because of his organizational and constructive genius, Van Liefland was the most successful and influential architect. As a councilor between 1898 and 1911 he was intensively involved in the renovation of the old city center and the poor neighborhoods. Together with Lindo, he wanted to preserve the closed character and the picturesqueness of these neighborhoods. De Wolf was Van Liefland's artistical friend and collaborator who spread Viennese ideas; Lorrie was the best student architect of The Hague Academy, who became a contractor and carried out the most beautiful works designed by De Wolf and Mutters (Verbrugge, 1981). All three were Roman Catholics, did not come from The Hague's elite, and use all architectural styles interchangeably, such as neo-Gothic, neo-Renaissance, Art Nouveau, Wiener Secession and Um 1800 Bewegung. Only De Wolf worked exclusively in Catholic circles and had mainly Catholic clients. Van Liefland and Mutters also designed street plans; Van Liefland in Transvaalkwartier, Bezuidenhout, Prinsenvinkenpark, Schebeningen Bad, and Mutters in Wassenaar and Rijswijk (Blijstra, 1967; Verbrugge, 1981; Niemeijer & Scheffer, 1996).

There was no set movement, organization, initiator, or policy. These men often worked in shifting collaborations, using inspirations, fashions, and novelties from other European cities that gave shape and color to their architecture. Most local architects sensed the mindset of the time and the new urban culture that trickled down from Paris, Vienna, London, and Berlin—cities that these architects visited and read about in the newspapers and, for example, Gram's (1893, 1906) colorful accounts. This was a new architecture that did not look back and rejected the specific styles as a source of inspiration. This architecture appeared simultaneously in all European cities and used all available new materials and production techniques, thus reaping the benefits of industrialization (Schlögel, 2008).

The Entrepreneurs Scheurleer and Goekoop and the Need for Quality

As previously argued, investors and owners of important land development companies such as Scheurleer and Goekoop were not unsympathetic to the ideas of De Stuer and Lindo, although Lindo did not adhere to De Stuer's rigid views about Dutch neo-Renaissance. They felt that the city with its beautiful neighborhoods and buildings could forget the period of "factory-based production of houses", as Scheurleer argued during a council debate in 1891. Both entrepreneurs were passionate about the culture and history (Bank & Buuren, 2000).

After 1890, The Hague's more prestigious neighborhoods, such as Duinoord, Statenkwartier, and Regentessekwartier, were developed by these two entrepreneurs in collaboration with Lindo and his municipal department. Neither entrepreneur originated from the world of construction firms or craftsmen; rather, they operated within an extensive cultural network.

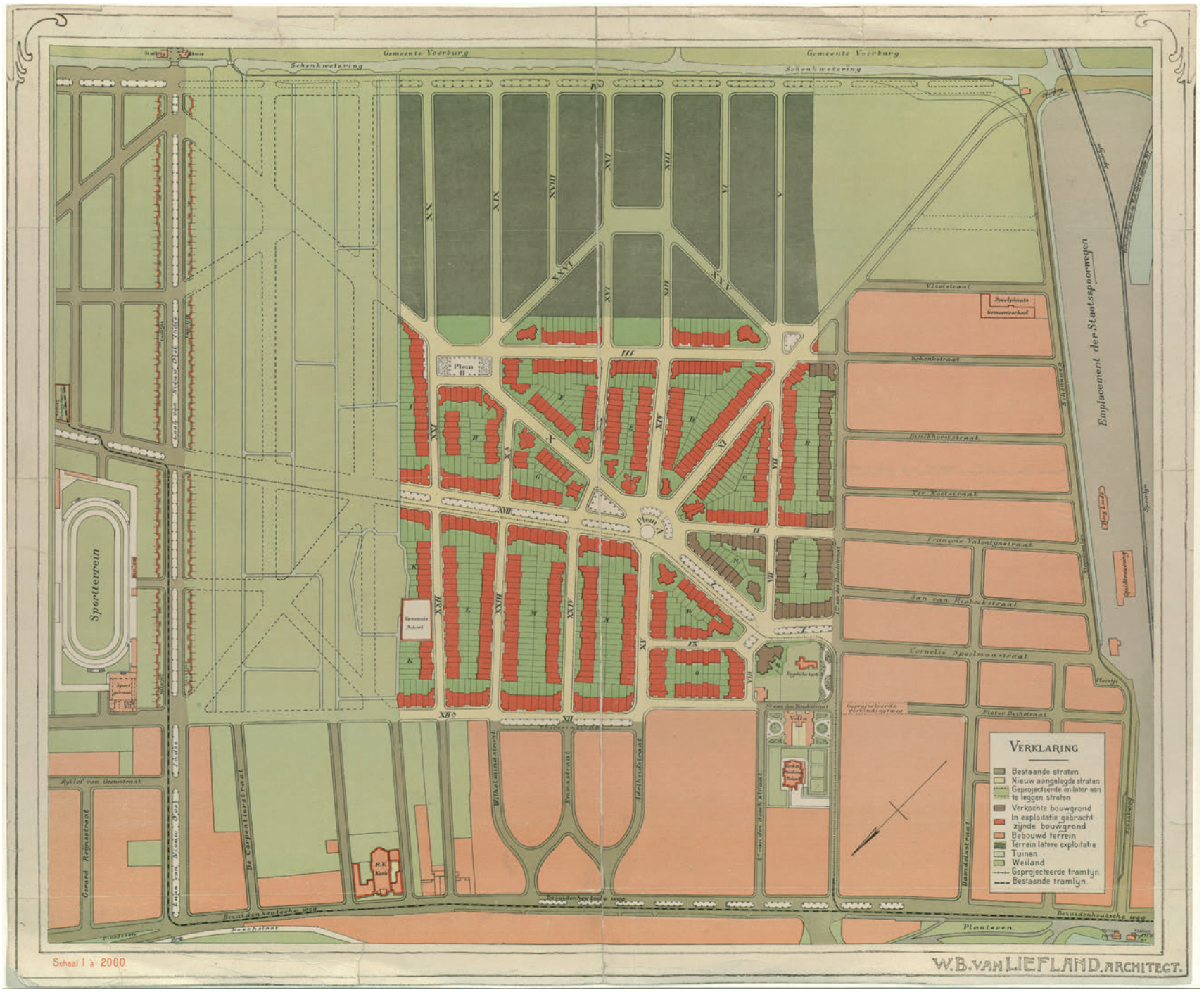
The Hague land trader and entrepreneur Adriaan Goekoop obtained his PhD in Leiden in 1888 on the subject "the state as a landowner". His father Cornelis already traded in land and real estate and had bought large pieces of land from the estate of William II, west of the city, at the land auction. He was involved in the development of the neighborhood around Koningsplein and of Regentessekwartier, part of which was already carried out in his time. He and his father also bought a large piece of dune land between Scheveningen and The Hague from the Royal family. In a letter of May 1889 from the Secretary-Treasurer of the Grand Duchess to Goekoop, he stated that: "Her Royal Highness knows you as someone who likes to advocate and exercise both the general city interest and a well-understood charity" (Goekoop, 1953: 16). While the Grand Duchess lived, there was no question of selling Sorghvliet. After she died in 1897, there were still 360 hectares left of the Royal domain, including her beloved Sorghvliet, between Beeklaan, Laan van Meerdervoort and the Drainage Canal. Goekoop bought the part where

Statenkwartier and Geuzenkwartier would later be developed, and the Zorgvliet neighborhood and residential park would be built (Goekoop, 1888; Hille, 1915; Bank & Buuren, 2000; Stal & Mulder, 2002).

Furthermore, Adriaan Goekoop was of great importance for archaeological research in the Netherlands and abroad. He stimulated and subsidized research by the German archaeologist Wilhelm Dörpfeld on Ithaca and at Forum Hadriani, in modern Voorburg, but also did his own research in Greece and published about it. In The Hague he supported historical research and was on the board of the historical societies Die Haghe and Arentsburgh. He also sponsored institutions such as the Gymnasium Haganum grammar school (near the neighborhoods built by Scheurleer and Goekoop), other schools, and hospitals. He also contributed generously to the Hague Academy of International Law. His wife was the well-known feminist and writer Lady Cecilia de Jong van Beek en Donk, who had gained fame with her book *Hilda van Suylenburg*, in which society in The Hague and the position of women were described in detail (Bank & Buuren, 2000). Through his wife, Goekoop found a connection to the nobility. Cecilia's sister Wilhelmina Elisabeth was married to the well-known Catholic composer and publicist Alphons Diepenbrock, who drew the inspiration for his compositions from German and French Romanticism and was a member of the literary circle Tachtigers. Cecilia also was good friends with Countess Bertha von Suttner, the Austrian-born pacifist and writer who had urged the Tsar to hold the first Peace Conference (1899) in The Hague. Goekoop sold the land for the construction of the Peace Palace for a low price. Perhaps not coincidentally, this land was located on the spot where Lindo had drawn the center of The Hague in 1895 and where a steam tram station was located. Scheurleer lived opposite the Peace Palace; his colleague Goekoop a stone's throw away in the Catshuis.

The Hague banker and entrepreneur Scheurleer, who had learned banking in the cultural city of Dresden, was also an enthusiastic musicologist and music historian. Scheurleer built up an impressive collection of Western and non-Western musical instruments and sheet music from around 1100. He published about the songs and musical traditions of the Netherlands. The Scheurleer collection is now spread over various museums and institutes. For his work he received an honorary doctorate from Leiden University. He bought the excavated Dekersduintjes for the development of Duinoord I and II from Goekoop. All the streets and the square in his Duinoord neighborhood were named after important Dutch composers of the past.

That Goekoop and Scheurleer were sensitive to culture and history was also evident from the neighborhoods they developed with their land development companies, which had major consequences for the cityscape. Impressive squares and important streets were preferably built in splendid Dutch neo-Renaissance architecture. The most beautiful urban ensembles of the cityscape of the fin de siècle appeared in the neighborhoods built by Scheurleer and Goekoop, such as Duinoord with Sweelinckplein, Statenkwartier with Statenplein and Statenlaan, and Regentessekwartier with Regentesseplein and Regentesselaan. These showed the typical image of enclosed urban spaces and a varied architecture, emphasizing the importance daylight (wide streets, front gardens) and sky (open corners, urban blocks, wide streets). The important avenues and squares of The Hague were a reminder of one common past. A competition for facade design in Scheurleer's Duinoord was one of the many strategies to put this architecture in the foreground. The winner was the Sri Wedari building from 1892 on Sweelinckplein designed by architect Klaas Molenaar.



Expansion Plan of Bezuidenhout commissioned a land development company.
Plan by the architect Van Liefland from 1905.
Collection HGA gr.1676.

4.3
Lindo's New Department and Influence of the Metropolis

The Reorganized and Modernized Public Works Department

The demand for quality buildings in the city led, in 1890, to the appointment of a strong-minded architect-director for the Public Works Department, with a demonstrable vision: Isaac Anne Lindo. At the same time, the Public Works Department was reorganized and granted a broader mandate. Lindo had already held this post in Arnhem and had laid out several new neighborhoods there that resemble Van Stolkpark: Burgermeesterkwartier, where the streets were all given a curved course and the buildings showed a wide variety of architecture. Under Lindo, the service would grow into a tightly managed and professional organization. He was an internationally oriented military engineer with a broad view of the problem and had worked on waterworks for seven years as a lieutenant of engineers in Japan. He was also a moderate liberal, atheist, and great nature lover. Via San Francisco and other American cities under construction, he travelled back to the Netherlands. He spoke and wrote English, German, Dutch, and French. He was active in The Hague's cultural circles; Martinus Nijhoff, the renowned Dutch publisher of books and newspapers such as Het Vaderland (The Fatherland), was his uncle. Another uncle, P.M. Lindo, was a Delft-based inventor, manufacturer, and producer of cement stone and concrete products at the Nederlandse Cementsteenfabriek (Dutch Cement Stone Factory) (Maarschalkerweerd, 1998; Neve, 2000). Lindo would remain director of the Public Works Department until his retirement in 1918, and the city and the service went through extensive development.

In 1888, new instructions were issued to the architect-director of Public Works Department, which replaced the old municipal instructions of June 5, 1877. The architect-director Reinders was now directly answerable to the municipal executive, and to the Raadscommissie voor de Plaatselijke Werken en Eigendommen (Commission of Local Works and Properties).

Article 15 of the instruction stated that the architect-director had to issue an annual report of the innovations, improvements, and embellishments that had been carried out. The mandate of the service now became to supervise the construction of streets by private land development companies, the maintenance and adaptation of old streets and the construction of public works such as sewers, utilities, bridges, canals, ports (the seaport Scheveningen and inner port Laakhaven), and the new electrified tram network—in short, everything to do with traffic circulation and urban facilities. The new service was given considerably more powers, but presumably Lindo also took these powers to himself.

In the initial period, negotiations between land development companies and the municipality were the most important task, aiming to achieve balanced and well-coordinated street plans. Neighborhoods thus became an integral part in the networks of electricity, gas, sewers, water, thoroughfares and tram lines. The balancing act between the Public Works Department, land development companies, Commission of Local Works and Properties, and municipal executive remained essential in all projects during this period. Lindo made good use of the time pressure on entrepreneurs who had taken out expensive loans from banks and had to limit their interest loss. Lindo used the disapproval of street plans and the threat to not connect streets to utilities as a means of pressure to make the entrepreneurs more lenient regarding planning changes.

Lindo was succeeded in Arnhem by his right-hand man Ir. Jan Willem Cornelis Tellegen (1859-1921), a civil engineer who in 1901 became director of Bouw- en Woningtoezicht (Building and Housing Supervision) in Amsterdam and was mayor of Amsterdam from 1915 to 1921. Lindo corresponded regularly with Van Tellegen about many matters, including family matters, showing that they knew each other well (Lindo, 1910-1919).

The German-Austrian Urban Planning Debate and Lindo's Position

Information about Lindo's views on aesthetics and urban planning traditions can be deduced from the plans he and his department produced. In his publications and diaries, he makes no mention of these subjects and confines himself to dry lists of results, although the diaries from the period 1890 to 1910 were burned. Lindo's 1895 expansion plan shows a beautiful interpretation for Statenkwartier with curved avenues. Discussions in the council and correspondence with the council also show Lindo's ideas. Lindo spoke several languages and was evidently aware of what was going on in urban planning in German-, French-, and English-speaking areas.

The core of the problem of modern urbanism according to Sitte (1889) and Berlage (1892) was the reversal of the relationship between buildings and open spaces. In urban planning in metropolises such as developed in Europe (London, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Saint Petersburg) and in North America, boulevards and monumental buildings became isolated in the city (Castex et al., 1980; Olsen, 1986; Schorske, 1989; Hall, 1988, 1998; Van der Woud, 1991).

According to Sitte, the connection between urban space and buildings manifested itself best in squares. In his preface, Sitte stated that it therefore seemed advisable to him to try to examine a large amount of beautiful old square designs in order to find the causes of the impression they made, because those causes, if properly understood, could produce a set of rules. Their application should then make it possible to achieve similar impressive effects. For any square, Sitte argued, the degree of seclusion depended on the dimensions of the square and the height of the buildings surrounding it. With a width of 30 meters, a building height between 15 and 30 meters fit best. According to Sitte, individual buildings were only allowed to dominate

a square in exceptional cases, such as, for example, churches that had been the focus of city life since the beginning of urban development. According to Sitte, monumental buildings should be part of the square 'wall' and not stand solitary in the space.

Sitte believed that the behavior of man as a social and artistic being could be influenced by the cityscape. A city had to meet psychological needs and city plans had to create a coherent cityscape by paying special attention to the relationships between streets, squares, and buildings with the aim of creating a closed cityscape. Every city has its own 'character', according to Sitte, which must be recognized and used. In the past, the open space, the squares and the streets had formed one contiguous whole. This brought about a feeling of urbanity and security among the viewers of the city. Squares and streets had been around for centuries, although the buildings changed every few years within that ancient framework of the streets and squares. That gave the historic city its picturesque image and sense of continuity. In his view, contemporary squares were scaleless plains, where buildings drowned in space. Sitte's theory was more than an aesthetic theory for urban interpretation. Aspects such as terrain knowledge, the morphology and history of the landscape, analysis of population development, the economy, and traffic had to be included.

Lindo's director of Building and Housing Supervision, A.J.M. Stoffels, argued in a 1913 joint publication of directors and officials Van Gelder, Jurriaan Kok, Lely, Lindo, and Van Zuylen van Nyevelt that the Public Works Department deliberately wanted to break the existing rigid grid with its long sight lines, and wanted to influence the city's image by having the roads intersect at different angles, he stated: "These circumstances have had a major influence on the architectural development of the buildings. It stimulated study and thus gave rise to great diversity and improvement compared with the phenomenon that also occurs in The Hague, that numerous houses of the same type were built in uniformity, in long rows" (Van Gelder et al., 1913: 152-153).

These views developed against the background of a debate between German and Austrian urban planners about the 'fait primitive' of urban planning. One side considered 'the experience of urban spaces' especially important; the other advocated for 'the rational organization' of urban spaces. Thus, the debate was about the starting points for the layout of streets: should a rational structure (traffic circulation) or the experience of the city dwellers be used as a starting point?

The leading advocate of the first camp was the Viennese urban planner Camillo Sitte, while the second camp was led by his fellow Viennese Otto Wagner (1841-1918) and the eminent Berlin urban planner Hermann-Joseph Stübben (1845-1936). The American cultural historian Schorske (1989) contrasted these two traditions of urban planning and presented them as irreconcilable contradictions. According to Schorske, Sitte focused on the past and on tradition; therefor, he wanted to correct the city's shortcomings. Wagner focused on the future; he saw usefulness as a principle for the city and the buildings and in this way wanted to save the impoverished population. Sitte (1889) quoted a report from the *Deutsche Bauzeitung* of 1874 that summarized that idea he opposed:

1. The design of urban layout essentially consists of identifying the main characteristics of all means of transport—streets, horse trams, steam trams, canals—which must be dealt with systematically and therefore extensively.
2. The street pattern should first include only the main routes, using existing roads as much as possible; secondary routes are prescribed because they are determined by local conditions. Streets of lower classifications should be addressed according to future needs or left to the private sector.
3. Grouping different parts of the city boils down to choosing a suitable location and other characteristic features and is only a matter of sanitary regulations that apply to businesses if there is no other option (Sitte, 1889: 128).

Sitte did not agree with this minimalist urban planning practice mentioned in the *Bauzeitung*, expressed by Stübben's urban planning principle, 'überall Schema, keine Eigenart'. Stübben's work was the culmination of the work of another founder of urban planning, Richard Baumeister: the design of the city as a grid, triangular or radial scheme. Baumeister described this in his book *Stadt-Erweiterungen in technischer, baupolizeilicher und wirtschaftlicher Beziehung* (1876).

However, there was more going on. Sitte did not believe in evolution as it was assumed in the history of styles. The art historian Reiterer (2003) shows a different picture in her study than Schorske. She argues that Sitte did not meet the criteria of modernism with its emancipatory goals and belief in progress. Sitte mainly rejected, implicitly, the 'mechanical' history of style with its presupposed improvement in the distant future. Sitte did not use an 'general theory', just as Darwin never used the term 'evolution' to explain his ideas. On the visual aspect, Sitte noted that: "From an artistic point of view, only what can be seen, so one street, one square at a time, is important." Sitte trained as a physician. While new towns boasted wide boulevards, within the urban blocks, a network of small courtyards emerged, lacking fresh air and sunshine, he felt. Therefore, Sitte rightly thematized the relationship between buildings and open space. Both Lindo in Duinoord and Berlage later developed this theme.

Sitte was not opposed to modern urban planning; in his opinion many problems were solved by regulating the street pattern. At the same time, this created new problems. He argued: "Modern systems, yes! A strict systematic approach to everything and not a hair different from the template once it is imposed, until the genius has been tortured to death and all the lively feeling has been stitched into systematics—that is the hallmark of our time" (Sitte, 1889: 99). Sitte proposed a reconciliation between how people experienced the city, the beautiful squares and main streets, and the practical aspects of the city. In Sitte's vision, the artist first had to design a system of beautiful main streets and squares, and only then did the residential areas that had been abandoned to the free market follow.

According to Sitte, in old cities there were originally only the continuous street facades, the closed urban space. According to him, modern urban planning aimed for the opposite, for disconnection; the

creation of separate blocks: housing block, square block, garden block and a solitary monumental building in an empty space, measuring one block. In short, city design was simply filling in a road grid. According to Sitte, this system created inappropriate trends. Mathematically, such designs strived for the ideal of filling a maximum amount of building lines along the street, while Sitte thought visual aspects and spatial perception should be central to urban planning, just as in the Baroque.

For Lindo, the fait primitive lay in experience of the urban spaces, although he depended on land development companies. His strategy was for his department to outline the expansion plans with main streets and thoroughfares, and to produce various interpretations of these together with the various land development companies. Lindo paid a lot of attention to the system of main streets. His department also dealt with the residential streets. Before 1890, residential streets were left to land development companies, which had to meet several previously described basic requirements. Lindo devised a profile for each type of street in order to promote their articulation in the urban space.

In the publication of the municipality of The Hague by Van Gelder et al. (1913), the approach was clarified. The city access roads (>30m) and the main streets (22-27m) took into account traffic circulation and tramway routes. Residential streets had to be wider than 10 meters, but because Lindo usually added front gardens, residential streets became wider. Facilities such as schools and churches were usually not included in the street plans, but in the plan for Transvaalkwartier, Van Liefland reserved space for three schools in advance, a novelty.

The Village Character and the Lanen (Green Avenues)

The cityscape of a village in lush greenery was not forgotten either. That theme would even be deliberately used by the nature lover Lindo. The village character of The Hague was enhanced by the road profiles of main streets and access roads, with trees and front gardens determining the image.

The system of main streets consisted partly of the existing old streets parallel to the beach walls that were extended. In between came a system of main streets: perpendicular, to create a separation between different neighborhoods, and diagonal with curves, to serve as access to the neighborhoods. All these main streets were designed with a corresponding street profile. For the streets between these main streets, the municipality laid down the direction and width of the street, the height of the facades, the chamfering of corners, and the construction of utilities such as sewers in council decisions, in deeds of transfer of the land and in building regulations (Gemeente Den Haag, 1948).

The land development companies paid for the construction of the streets and the associated costs such as raising, paving, sewerage, drainage, and street lighting. The land for the public roads was then transferred to the municipality free of charge. Sometimes this also happened when entrepreneurs themselves did not have a direct interest in it, as Goekoop did with the widening of Laan van Meerdervoort between the Drainage Canal and Beeklaan around 1893 (City Council meeting 1893, Annex 226:54-55).

The distinguished streets with the most beautiful houses were specifically designed with a central strip for pedestrians with a double row of linden trees and a path paved with seashells (Van Gelder et al.,1913). As was also done in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on the Lange Voorhout and Het Plein. This design was also used for the streets built on the filled-in canals in the city center. During the interbellum, the municipality cleared most of these trees and walking paths for the benefit of increasing car traffic.

There were no shops or facilities along these main streets and access roads. At Duinoord, shops would not be allowed along the main streets; on other thoroughfares from this period there were none. Whether that was determined by Lindo or by the land development company that wanted to raise the status of the neighborhood remains unclear. Shopping streets often arose in a natural way such as at Reinkenstraat (Duinoord), Frederik Hendriklaan (Statenkwartier) and Weimarstraat (Regentessekwartier and Valkenboskwartier). In this way, the focus of all activities was placed within the neighborhoods, not along the distinguished and functional main streets.

At intersections of main streets there were no height accents or monumental buildings. The main streets between the neighborhoods were usually straight, but the main streets in the neighborhoods were laid diagonally in the orthogonal structure and were given curves so that the neighborhoods had a private character. There were no long sight lines from inside the neighborhoods, nor could the horizon be seen. The main streets formed a spacious ring road around the old town that was thus spared from through traffic.

Wide, beautiful access roads to the city were also considered of the utmost importance as entrances to the Royal city. The discussion around the construction of Laan van Nieuw Oost-Indië (Laan van NOI) in 1898 shows this. In 1893, the land development company Haagsche Maatschappij van Onroerende Goederen (The Hague Real Estate Association) asked permission for the construction of part of Laan van NOI (City Council meeting 1893, Annex 227:55). In April 1898, a conflict arose between the association and the city council over the width of the street (City Council meeting 1893, Annex 246:76-78). The company proposed a width of 14 meters, but the municipality thought that was too narrow for a main access road and not only for traffic reasons: “the wealth [of the city] requires larger dimensions for that part.” A stalemate ensued. Part of Laan van NOI was already 30 meters wide. In a compromise, the company proposed to make the remaining part of the avenue 23.5 meters wide: two lanes of 6 meters with a central strip of 7.5 meters and 2 meters of sidewalk on each side. The front gardens of the houses became 3.25 meters deep so that in total the requested 30 meters would be present between the facades. The rows of trees, which were apparently already present, could then remain. In the background there was another conflict between the company and the municipality over the street plan that the association for Schilderswijk near Jan van Gojenstraat and Van Ostadestraat. The municipality thus made a compromise in favor of a beautiful access road and to the

Newly completed homes in 1915 in the Anna van Buerenstraat, Bezuidenhout-West.
Photo by P.D. Alta. Collection HGA 6.05819.

Newly completed homes in 1913 in the Paulus Buijsstraat, Statenkwartier.
Photo by M. Hamer. Collection HGA 6.01272.

Newly completed homes in 1913 Delftselaanlaan.
Photo was taken before 1904. Collection HGA 0.22799.

detriment of street width in a workers' quarter such as Schilderswijk.

Light, Airy, and Secluded Residential Streets

Lindo's plans also included front gardens for more air and light. From 1892 onwards, the building code set the standard that houses could not have facades higher than the street width (Gemeente Den Haag, 1948). Before 1892, facades were not allowed to exceed 1.5 times the width of the street, although the council decisions after 1876 almost always included the condition 1:1, as described before. This was counted as the cornice or half height of the top facade. For residential streets, 12 meters between the facades was common, but nature lover Lindo introduced front gardens and therefore the streets had to be 16 meters wide. The carriageway was 5 meters wide, flanked on each side by 2-meter-wide sidewalks, followed by 3.5-meter-wide front gardens on either side, resulting in a total width of 16 meters. Lindo argued that this design would improve air circulation in the streets. At the beginning and end of the residential streets, there were no gardens so that the streets were narrower here, an entrance, while in the middle they were wider because of the front gardens. Residential streets thus not only received more daylight and air, but also a sense of intimacy and seclusion. This change was a good thing for the municipality, because now it was no longer necessary to build and maintain 12 meters of street but only 9 meters of public pavement. The councilors, who had no interests in the land development company in Transvaalkwartier, were therefore in favor (City Council meeting of March 15, 1898 and April 13, 1898). The old rule regarding the rounding of corners with a radius of 3 meters was also changed during Lindo's tenure. In Regentessekwartier no chamfering of corners was yet required, but in later plans such as for Transvaalkwartier, these were prescribed. If no corners were indicated on the drawings for the buildings, they had to be chamfered equilaterally with at least 2.75 meter on the building lines, or rounded with a radius of 2 meters at angles smaller than 60 degrees (Gemeente Den Haag, 1948; City Council meeting of March 20, 1893, 17 April 1893 and 5/8 January 1894). The village character was emphasized by the front gardens in neighborhoods for the middle classes, in residential streets. The feeling of community that played a role in the courtyards created by Van Liefland was thus also maintained in Lindo's urban planning for residential streets. This theme would be further developed and perfected during the interbellum. In the council decisions, these new urban standards were explicitly laid down as a condition for granting permits to the land development company. The companies stimulated the quality of the buildings by organizing facade competitions, such as at Duinoord (land development company of Scheurleer) and Bezuidenhout (land development company of Van Liefland). As previously discussed, land development companies sometimes also included provisions in the contracts with construction companies to maintain high standards of living in the neighborhood, which would guarantee the sale value of the land. Sometimes the selling party of the land to the land development companies made demands, as the Grand Duchess did with Duinoord. The municipality also tried to include provisions on quality in land contracts about the layout and appearance of the neighborhood and its buildings, according to Van Gelder et al. (1913).

Streets with front gardens are, for example: Tweede Schuytstraat, Nicolaistraat, Danckertstraat (Duinoord), Vivienstraat, Ten Hovestraat, Van Hoornbeekstraat, Frankenslag, Adriaan Pauwstraat, Antonie Duyckstraat, Van Beverningkstraat etc. (Statenkwartier), Willem de Zwijgerlaan (Geuzen- and Statenkwartier), Copernicusstraat, Galileïstraat, Fultonstraat, Stephensonstraat, Thomas Schwenckestraat, and Hendrik van Deventerstraat (Regentessekwartier and Valkenboskwartier).

Individualization of the House

For the cityscape of the fin de siècle, the far-reaching individualization of the typology of the distinguished house is characteristic. This manifested itself in the articulation of the building mass and entrance, the arrangement of the interior spaces, the new relationship between public and private, and the materials and colors. Ultimately, this individualization would lead to the Housing Act of 1901, in which the government contributed to the objective of a private home (owned or rented) for each family. According to Bakker Schut (1939) and the municipality (Gemeente Den Haag, 1948), three periods can be identified in housing construction in The Hague, which are clearly visible in the typology of the houses:

1. Before 1892: uniform row housing (laissez-faire);
2. The period of individualization of housing between 1892 and 1916 (fin de siècle);
3. The period of collectivization of housing from 1916 to 1933 (interbellum).

Lindo's enclosed urban spaces are inextricably linked to the typical housing of the fin de siècle. From 1892, houses could only be built on the street because the *Stedelijk Keur* from 1841 was finally withdrawn. No slums could be built in the courtyards anymore. For years, the hygienists had fought against the deprivation in the courtyards. This meant that from now on every house had to have a front door leading direct to open air and the street.

This led to a fast development in housing types. Initially only two types emerged: the 'upstairs' and the 'lower house with back'. During the interbellum, residential apartment buildings appeared with two ground floor apartments and four (sometimes six) apartments on the higher floors. However, as photographs show, there were earlier examples of this new type of apartment buildings. From a typological perspective, Bakker Schut (1939) argued that the duplex apartments of upper-lower apartments (one house with an upper and down unit) evolved step by step into the larger residential apartment buildings with a staircase outside, characteristic of the interbellum. In both cases, the buildings predominantly consisted of three stories. The upper-lower apartment

houses often had a flat roof with a facade protruding out above the roof, with the upper roof masonry terminated by battlements or elevations at the building walls. The ground floor apartment had one story and usually a rear extension with two or more floors. If there were two or more upstairs apartments, there was an external staircase within the building volume.

In Amsterdam and Rotterdam staircases were usually closed, but in The Hague this was forbidden due to fire regulations and the new regulations of 1892. Each house had its own toilet, a separate kitchen and two or three bedrooms. Later, during the interbellum, a washroom was added. In the beginning, these houses were built next to each other by construction companies, such as in Duinoord, Transvaalkwartier and the western part of Schilderswijk, in Regentessekwartier and Valkenboskwartier.

After the First World War, the layout of the houses changed. The individual character of the houses disappeared, and individual houses merged into a complete urban block. The urban blocks were divided into residential apartment buildings of six to eight apartments, with two downstairs apartments with a front door right on the street. A covered external staircase led to the first floor, where the front doors of the other apartments were located.

In 1920 further provisions were enacted to prevent building behind existing houses. In 1931 the Housing Act was revised and building lines on all sides were established. Residential buildings were given a depth of ten meters to ensure daylight and ventilation inside. In addition to this typological innovation, new materials were used (Bakker Schut, 1939; Gemeente Den Haag, 1948).

On the distinguished squares and streets, more expensive houses were built. The architecture of these houses often referred to the fashion of the time, Art Nouveau and/or Wiener Secession. The builders emphasized the individuality of the houses, even if they were built in a row by one architect or construction company. All kinds of turrets appeared above the entrances and on the roofs.

Revolution in the Development of Techniques and Building Materials

Possibilities for individualization and aestheticization were given a strong boost by the revolution in techniques and building materials. Until 1890, burned and sanded clay bricks (in red, yellow, and pink tones) with white bands, keystones, and lots of white plaster dominated the cityscape. After that, new materials quickly found their way into architecture and the appearance of facades changed drastically, although the old materials were still widely used. New techniques were the applications of bright red extruded bricks (with hard, smooth, or sharp edges, or perforations), sandstone bricks in various shades and playful shapes, glazed stones in white, yellow, blue, red, and brown, natural stone, ceramics, reinforced concrete, cast iron, and large glass surfaces (Gans, 1960, 1966; Blijstra, 1967, 1975; Verbrugge, 1981; Lintsen et al., 1992-1994; Lintsen, 2005; Stenvert & Tussenbroek, 2007).

The Hague's variant of this architecture had bright colors and strongly articulated building masses. Exotic motifs were often included in the architecture, especially inspired by the East Indies (Verbrugge, 1981). The combination of brick and sand-limestone was also common. Cast iron bridges, columns, lampposts, and fences appeared all over the city, and especially stained glass with cast iron supports for shop windows. Many storefronts in The Hague showed sumptuously carved frames made of tropical hardwood, tile panels, and ceramics in all kinds of shapes, especially in a typical green-blue color. With this wide variety of materials, emphasizing the individuality of the client became much easier for the ambitious architect.

In the seaside resort at Scheveningen there was plenty of experimentation with reinforced concrete, cast iron, and all other new materials. At Scheveningen Pier, Van Liefland designed a complex supporting structure of cast iron and concrete, built by the Belgian constructor Emile Wyhofski in the period 1900-1901. Van Liefland's Palace Hotel from 1903-1904 was probably the first building with a full concrete skeleton in The Hague and the first in the Netherlands to incorporate a parking garage under the building. Circus Schumann, the current Circustheater by Van Liefland and De Wolf was given an impressive roof in 1903, consisting of a shell of concrete with iron to absorb the tensile stresses.

The rising prices for bricks, which required expensive fuel, and the rising wages for masons were the reasons for the municipality to investigate in reinforced concrete as a building material for housing construction. Bakker Schut (1939) described an experiment with eight double houses on Westduinweg and Tarbotstraat, each built of concrete, with a different design and construction method. After the trial, the municipality decided in 1921 to build 42 houses in granulated concrete. When tendering for homes in Duindorp, the contractors were also allowed to pay a price for execution in slag concrete, but the price for brick and labor had now fallen, so that they opted for traditional construction (Bakker Schut, 19139). In the case of korrelbeton (granulated concrete), rubble granules were processed into concrete with cement, while in the case of slakkenbeton (slag concrete), blast furnace embers were used as aggregates.

Due to material scarcity in the First World War, natural stone buildings were hardly made anymore in this period. To still look like natural stone, masonry slates and keystones were sometimes plastered. After the war, a completely.

The Shops and Department Stores of the Fin de Siècle

Nowhere was the need to distinguish oneself as great as for stores. As argued, between 1870 and the First World War, the city center of The Hague gradually changed from a packed residential city to a chic service city with department stores and offices with their own image. Department stores were given spectacular open facades with huge glass surfaces with a cast iron support. The enormous display windows and lighting merged – in the shoppers' experience – the interior of the shops and the exterior of the shopping street into a single whole.

At the Haagse Passage shopping gallery from 1885, the windows and shop windows had still been of modest dimensions. Between 1898 and 1908 an acceleration took place in store development, in which many innovations were introduced. The first example built was the Toonzaal van IJzergieterij Beekman (ironmonger Beekman's showroom) from 1898 by architect Bosboom at Denneweg 56. This showroom was followed by Toonzaal voor een Fietsenhandelaar (showroom for a bicycle store) from 1902 by architect Hoek at Noordeinde 12-14, and Winkelmagazijn De Duif (Departmant store The Pigeon) from 1905 by architect Molenbroek at Venestraat 17.

After these modest experiments with cast iron and glass, three shop warehouses followed. Typologically, this building consisted of a cast iron construction, an imposing glass roof (if possible) and galleries around a large open empty space, with open facades and large glass fronts so that the merchandise could be viewed in daylight. Fashion store Schröder from 1906 by the architect De Wolf and contractor architect Lorrie at Groenmarkt 25 and 26 was very similar to the Herzmansky Company department store from 1897-1898 on Mariahilfer Straße in Vienna. The interior recalled the works of Hofmann and Mackintosh from the same period and must have been very impressive (Verbrugge 1981: 99). De Wolf had studied in Vienna and sat in the lecture hall with Mackintosh listening to the lectures of Otto Wagner (Verbrugge, 1981). Grand Bazar de la Paix was built in 1906 by the architect Dorser at Spuistraat 45-47. This was the first real bazar of The Hague, where all kinds of specialist shops were united in one building, just like in the first bazar in Paris. In 1907 another part was built, doubling the surface area to 5,200 m2. After building a cut-through at Grote Marktstraat, the bazar was extended to this new shopping street. Hollandia department store was built in 1908 by the architect Meyneken at Prinsegracht 42. Café Hollandaise, designed by De Wolf at Groenmarkt 29 in 1906, had a beautiful billiard room with a curved skylight, like at the Postsparkasse in Vienna. Unfortunately, this was demolished. All these large department stores were inspired by the Vienna Secession. However, in The Hague, the facade was much more open than in Vienna.

The Pander warehouse, on Weversplaats, on the corner of Vlamingstraat and Wagenstraat, also had one of the most impressive shop windows of the period, with huge glass surfaces. According to Gram (1906: 86), there was a kind of competition going on between entrepreneurs. Pander's competitor Peek & Kloppenburg then considerably widened the facade of its own building opposite and adapted it to the new era. Pander had to go along and annexed one building after another to merge into its store. Gram even suggested renaming the Vlamingstraat Panderstraat. At the new Pander store, Gram also noticed an architectural change of significance: "Because of its austere simplicity and awe-inspiring dimensions, this facade with its huge shining windows makes a bigger impression than could have been achieved with all kinds of decorations and a variety of colors" (Gram, 1906: 88). The Pander warehouse with its huge glass surfaces and sandstone walls was an abstract building, almost completely devoid of unnecessary details or historical references. The transparency between the street and the shop window was at its maximum, so that they seemed to merge into each other.

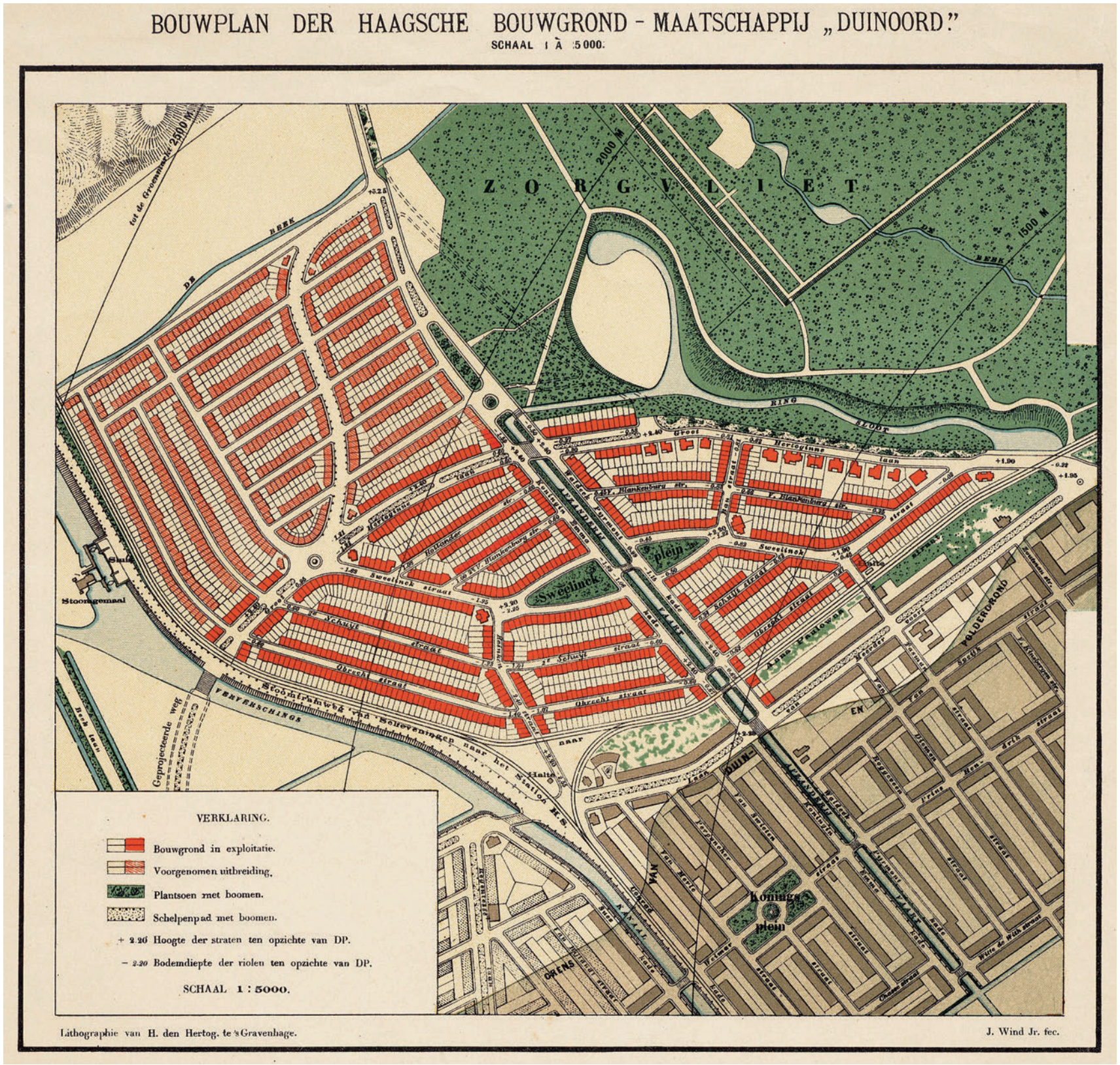
Gram argued about the transformations: "As far as the decoration and the facade of the warehouses are concerned, a man from The Hague, who had not seen his beloved Hoog-, Spui- or Veenestraat in 25 years, would be amazed if he suddenly found that sought-after strolling spot again. Back then, there was a single shop here and there, which made large display or was allowed to rejoice in an ornate facade; now these busy streets literally offer an incomparable sample of all kinds of tasteful storefronts, in all kinds of styles and fantasies, of coquettish displays behind high, shining windows; in short of the most remarkable attempts to attract the attention of the public" (Gram, 1906: 84).

The first Art Nouveau building in The Hague was designed in 1895 by Mutters for the bakery and tearoom Firma Lensvelt Nicola at Venestraat 29; a very richly and exuberantly decorated building, characteristic of all Mutters' work. This was immediately followed by Lorrie's house from 1896 at Smidswater 26. The architect-contractor Lorrie executed the left part, in which he lived, in neo-Gothic style, and the right part in Art Nouveau. The left part was meant to convince conservative customers of his craftsmanship, while the right part was meant to get visionary customers on board, for whom Lorrie would work.

From 1905 to 1914 a countermovement started in which natural stone and historical references again played an important role: the Um 1800 Bewegung. This urban architecture was inspired by examples in Louis XVI style in American cities such as New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, including the first sky scrapers. Paul Mebes' book Um 1800: Architektur und Handwerk im letzten Jahrhundert ihrer traditionellen Entwicklung (1908) played an important role in this historicizing architectural style. Especially in the department stores near the cut-through at Hofweg and Buitenhof, buildings appeared in the style of the Um 1800 Bewegung. This architectural style, with a lot of massive natural stone surfaces, was not often applied to retail stores or government buildings, but rather to offices, banks and insurance buildings (Regt, 1986; Rosenberg et al., 1988). Important buildings in The Hague in this style are the Bank building from 1909 by the architect Dorsser at Prins Hendrikplein 14; the headquarters of the Order of Freemasons from 1909-1910 by the architect De Zwart at Fluwelen Burgwal 22; the cinema in Kettingstraat from 1912 by the architects Simons and Van Braningen; the Voss department store from 1908-1920 by the architects Jacot and Zinsmeister on the corner of Hofweg and Spuistraat; Maison de Bonneterie fashion store from 1913 by Jacot, Zinsmeister, Crouwel, and La Croix; the Haagsche Commissiebank from 1914 by the architect Bode on Prins Hendrikstraat; Meddens department store from 1914 by Berlage on Hofweg, and the Stokvis office from 1915-1916 by the architect Limburg at Herengracht 9.

different wind would blow in The Hague and the cityscape of the fin de siècle was dismissed as an outgrowth of the odious individualism that had destroyed society.

Mutters, Van Liefland, De Wolf, and Simons also switched to this Um 1800 architecture: Van Liefland's own house from 1907 at Bezuidenhoutseweg 3 was built in an excessive French mannerism. Villa Beek-Hage from 1912 at Carnegielaan 5 was built in classic style in Zorgvliet residential park.



Map of Duinoord, N.V. Haagsche Bouwgrond-Maatschappij Duinoord of Scheurleer by J. Wind from 1910, first sketch from 1891. with the division of the city in a peat and sand side. Collection HGA kl.1119.

4.4
Duinoord, Statenkwartier, and Residential Park Zorgvliet

"Duinoord, however, is a glorious exception to this. In this well-designed neighborhood, the skillful hand and developed spirit of a master builder is visible. There, as if suddenly being in an American city, one street after another has risen, without a hint of common deliberation; no, an artist's eye first took a serious look at the site and then examined how it could be built on most picturesquely" (Gram, 1906: 4).

Old-Fashioned Grid Plan with Rond-Points

For The Hague opinion maker Gram, the layout of the Duinoord street plan and neighborhood between 1891 and 1895 was a turning point after the tasteless rows of houses and defective street plans of previous years. Princess Sophie, Grand Duchess of Saxe-Weimar, had stipulated to Scheurleer, when Goekoop sold the dune landscape, that it should become an exclusive residential area, an immaculate neighborhood, to be built for returnees from Indonesia and wealthy citizens. When selling plots, Scheurleer therefore set conditions for the quality of the buildings: no speculation, no small houses in exploitation courtyards, and no factories. Under Lindo's influence, the street plan designed in 1891 changed from a rigid grid plan with rond-points to a picturesque and romantic urban plan in 1894 that incorporated the latest urban planning insights from Vienna; a residential area where Dutch neo-Renaissance architecture would determine the image (Blijstra, 1969).

On March 24, 1891, Scheurleer submitted a presumably self-drawn and very schematic plan to the municipality. In an explanation to the council, Scheurleer argued: "It seems that for a city such as The Hague, whose population consists mainly of private individuals, rentiers, pensioners, etc., and will most likely continue to, it is of great importance to ensure that no other cities have similar attractiveness by their embellishments" (municipal council acts 1891, Annex 135, March 25, 1891: 47-48). The plan resembled a chic version of Archipelbuurt and Zeeheldenkwartier. The plan consisted of single houses (no apartment blocks) and several rond-points with monumental lanterns. Factories and unwanted establishments were also banned in this neighborhood. In his letter to the council, Scheurleer announced that a skilled architect would supervise the facade drawings. Scheurleer therefore organized a Concours van Gevelontwerpen (competition of facade design) in 1891 to which architects and building contractors could submit. Through competition and reward, it was hoped to inspire the builders and architects to create high-quality architecture in the new neighborhood. The jury consisted of the architects P.J.H. Cuypers, Prof. E.H. Gugel (1832-1905) and C. Muysken. The composition of the jury made it clear immediately that participants had to make proposals in Dutch neo-Renaissance style if they wanted to win. Professor Eugen Gugel (1832-1905) from Munich taught at the Polytechnic School in Delft from 1864-1903, lived in The Hague, and had a great influence on neo-Renaissance architecture.

On March 31, 1891, a new map was published with map A and B (HGA gr. 1103, gr. 1104, gr. 1105) on which streets and squares were precisely drawn. A detailed building plan on a 1:2000 scale with all plots and houses was added (HGA gr. 1105). On May 2, 1891, a detailed building plan was published in *Bouwkundig Weekblad* (*Construction Weekly*) no. 18 on which individual houses, streets, and squares were precisely drawn (HGA kl.1117). The squares resembled the rond-points at Prins Hendrikplein and Bankaplein. Four single or double houses formed the walls of the square; in between was a rotunda with greenery in the middle and a monument such as a statue or fountain surrounded by a sea of flowers. It was an old-fashioned grid plan with rond-points in the tradition of city architects Van der Waeyen Pieterszen and Reinders.

In a written report of 7 July 1891, Lindo expressed his objections to this plan; he supported it, but with modifications (Blijstra, 1969). Lindo called it a monotonous, symmetrical plan with lots of greenery, mansions, and detached villas. The grid was too tight grid with streets facing the horizon. There were no real squares, but only the two small rond-points and at Koningin Emmakade. He found the traffic connections with the surroundings poor, the squares monotonous, and some streets too long. He especially disagreed with the arbitrary course of the main access roads that enclosed the neighborhood without leading anywhere. Lindo argued in his report: "The guiding idea in making main roads has not been to make main roads that are needed in the future; the plan bears the entire characteristic of being designed within the boundaries of the available building site. By constructing the Boulevard, it will also remain limited within the boundaries in the future. The Boulevard does not enclose an important part of the city; it is not a thoroughfare for large volumes of traffic, as on other main roads, but owes its origin to the fortuitous circumstances that no multiple building site could be disposed of. It encloses an isolated city neighborhood; isolated also because of insufficient connections with Laan van Meerdervoort" (Blijstra 1969: 48, 49).

Lindo's Intervention

Lindo put his finger on the sore spot. The idea of designing urban neighborhoods as villages was not initially a conscious choice, but arose from the way of urban planning by land development companies that only made plans for their own land that was often bordered by the network of steam powered tram routes and canals. The rest of the surrounding area was not involved in the planning. When Scheurleer wrote to the council in October 1891, he added a new map D, on a scale of 1:1000. Based on this map (HGA gr. 1106), approval was granted by the municipal council on November 3, 1891, subject to conditions.

After negotiations, Haagsche Bouwgrond Maatschappij Duinoord (The Hague land development company Duinoord) submitted a new plan. Scheurleer had founded this company in 1892 especially for this

Above, Sweelinckplein, Duinoord. Photo by A. van Dijck from 1895.
Collection HGA 0.07875.

Left, Duinoord, Sweelinckplein, Sri Wedari. Photo from 1900.
Collection HGA 0.68702.

Below, Duinoord, Sweelinckstraat. Photo by A. van Dijck from 1895.
Collection HGA 0.68732.

Below, Duinoord, Sweelinckplein. Photo by A. van Dijck from 1895.
Collection HGA 0.68717.

project. The plan was messy, with a monumental axis perpendicular to Koningin Emmakade. The undetailed map of this plan was dated January 19, 1892 at scale 1:1000 (HGA gr. 1107). The enclosed cityscape was introduced and the connections with the surroundings were improved, but it was certainly not yet optimal. In an explanation of the board of the company, chairman J. van der Vegt and secretary W.R. de Greve argued at the council meetings of January 19 and February 29, 1892 that there was a beauty to it, namely that the streets were better oriented to the wind than in the previous plan and that there was more chance of a good exploitation of the site

In the deed of transfer of the land for the streets to the municipality, several provisions were included. Using sand sourced from the dunes and canal of the Grand Duchess had to remain unobstructed and free of charge. No courtyards or facilities could be built within 50 meters from Sorghvliet, the domain of the Grand Duchess. The houses along the boulevard Groot Hertoginnelaan had to be built in pairs with a gap of about ten meters between them, and three entrances had to be made to the Sorghvliet estate of the Grand Duchess.

Eventually, a revised plan of the Duinoord Company was made, in which Sweelinckplein got its beautiful almond shape. In 1894 the council approved an improved version of this plan for Duinoord (Freijser et al., 1991: 41). The Duinoord plan, with the changes by Lindo (collection HGA 1118), was approved on March 21, 1892 by the municipal council. In the period that followed, it was worked out step by step (HGA kl.1111, kl.1121, kl.1122).

On a lithograph from 1895 by W.J. van Hoogstraten on a scale of 1:12.500, land development company Duinoord drew the correct plan (HGA z.gr. 0513). The other side of Groot Hertoginnelaan with the curved Valeriusstraat was now also drawn. Scheurleer had bought the land for this from his colleague Goekoop. The Groot Hertoginnelaan now described a large curve that started at Laan van Meerdervoort and connected to Valkenbosplein: a Lindo traffic square on which seven streets met. Stadhouderslaan was also drawn, a long, curved boulevard that connected the new neighborhoods and Scheveningen with the old city. All roads now connected, and the plan got its intimate and private cityscape with the curved streets: a picturesque neighborhood that pleases the eye.

The Media

Reactions in media to the plans for Duinoord were positive. According to *Bouwkundig Weekblad* of 1896, it showed that an attractive city neighborhood could certainly be combined with a profitable business. Boring straight streets were exchanged for attractive cityscapes, good access roads, and resting points for the eye. Under the building regulations described earlier, there was also a ban on retail establishments on the main streets on “and all unwanted establishments throughout the building plan”.

The German urban planner Joseph Stübben spoke highly of Duinoord in a lecture on The Hague in 1889. He described the difference in urban development on the peat soil parts of The Hague, where the fields and channels determined the street grid, and the sandy soils sections where new urban planning possibilities unfolded, such as at Duinoord and the villa parks between Scheveningen and The Hague. He also mentioned the difference between the clients on the sand and on the peat. But Stübben’s attention was mainly attracted by Duinoord:

“In the polders, the canals and drainage ditches form almost exclusively the determining factor in the formation of the road network; higher demands regarding aesthetics, traffic flow, and health have hardly been considered. Only a few diagonals have been rigidly inserted into the elongated rectangular block layout. Towards the dunes, in recent years The Hague land development company Duinoord has developed a new urban district, which embodies a clear, conscious striving for a better and more aesthetically pleasing layout” (‘Die Stadsterweiterung von Haag in Holland und Brügge in Belgien’, in: *Deutsche Bauzeitung* XXXII, no. 6, Berlin, January 19, 1898).

Lindo’s efforts were not mentioned by Stübben. He noticed that Duinoord had no closed urban blocks but open corners everywhere, just like in Transvaalkwartier by Van Liefland en Lindo. So, there were no strangely shaped corner houses like in Berlin and poorly zoned and airless courtyards were thus avoided. Stübben also liked the competition for facade designs in Duinoord. He described the winners of the competition and the architecture. By excluding residential barracks and rear buildings, “all of this creates an impression of comfortable living space.”

Stübben turned out to be well informed about The Hague, presumably through the land development company of Scheurleer, since he praised chairmans of the land development company Kuempol and Wind. He had probably visited the city at the invitation of the land development company. Perhaps Stübben was misinformed by the company because the municipality had in fact built and financed Scheveningse Bosjes and the new lake, while the ring of residential parks around it was built by private individuals. On the other side of The Hague, neighborhoods such as Schilderswijk and Transvaalkwartier had not received such a park at municipal expense.

Sri Wedari and the Facade Design Competition in Duindorp

In December 1896, The Hague land development company Duinoord published the book *Het Concours van Gevelontwerpen* (*The Competition of Facade Designs*) in which the results of the competition held in September 1891 were presented. There were two categories of participants: architects and building contractors. The first prize for the architects was 2000 Dutch guilders, the second prize 1000 guilders. With a design for a block of houses (consisting of at least two plots), the building contractors could compete for prizes of 1500 and 500 guilders. The competition would not take place until at least 25 participants in either category had registered. Moreover, the assessment would not take place until the construction works were completed. In neither category was the set number of 25 participants achieved. But when in 1896 35 participants were registered in total, the

Weimarstraat, Regentessekwartier. Photo before 1908. Collection HGA 0.81130.

Anna Paulownaplein. Photo before 1900. Collection HGA 5.15013.

Regentesselaan. Photo before 1900. Collection HGA 5.15884.

Three Ansichten by Phototechnisches Institut Dr. Trenkler & Co, Leipzig, The Hague. The photos were taken by several unknown local photographers.

jury considered this number sufficient to continue the competition. Not all constructions were completed by then.

Among the architects, the jury unanimously praised residential building Sri Wedari ('heavenly garden' in Malay) by the Roman Catholic Frisian architect Nicolaas Molenaar (1850-1930), a former employee of Cuypers, and government architect Van Lokhorst, who owned an architectural practice in The Hague. Molenaar's building was designed in fairytale Dutch neo-Renaissance with a touch of Gothic and Indonesian mysticism. Sri Wedari has facades with fashionable bright red extruded bricks (with hard, smooth, sharp edges, and with perforations), while an extremely lively and imaginative architecture was created using numerous ornamental parts in natural stone with Eastern and Dutch Renaissance motifs. The foundation stone for the three buildings was laid on 26 July 1893 (De Regt, 1986; Rosenberg et al., 1988). For a long time, the fairytale Sri Wedari served as a guest house for returnees from the East Indies. Nowadays, they are separate apartments. The building was built on the corner of Banstraat no. 27 and Sweelinckplein no. 2 and 3. The second prize went to G. Brouwer for a house at Sweelinckplein 71. Among the building contractors, the first and second prizes went to J.W. Bakker for Villa Bellevue, a double villa at Groot Hertoginnelaan 26-28 (now demolished), and three contiguous mansions at Eerste Sweelinckstraat 28-30 by the architect K. Stoffels, the builder of the Mennonite church on Paleisstraat.

In addition to the architects mentioned here, the architects H. Wesstra, J.H. Eshuys, J.A. Amiabel and J.H. Wouters worked on the beautiful and homogeneous image of Duinoord. These impressive buildings completed the urban ensemble of Duinoord, the cityscape as imagined by the jury and Scheurleer.

Molenaar built a succesful architectural practice in The Hague around the time of the competition, building five neo-Gothic churches, of which Onze Lieve Vrouwe Onbevlekt Ontvangen (Our Lady of Immaculate Conception) from 1891-1892 on Elandstraat is the best known. In the urban ensembles of Statenkwartier, Molenaar's houses were located on important streets and squares: Statenplein and Statenlaan, further on in Duinoord and on Laan van Meerdervoort. Molenaar also built ca. eighty houses in The Hague. With houses in a richly detailed Dutch neo-Renaissance, Molenaar gave the enclosed urban spaces of Lindo their typical The Hague atmosphere, as can still be seen at Sweelinckplein, Statenplein, and Statenlaan.

Statenkwartier, 1895-1899

The success of Duinoord was an important incentive to continue the chosen path. In the *Ontwerp voor eene Uitbreiding van het Noord-Westelijk Gedeelte van 's Gravenhage* (*Design for an Extension of the North-Western Part of 's Gravenhage*) (collection HGA gr. 1378) from 1895, Lindo went a step further and drew numerous streets with a curved course in the dunes between Duinoord and Scheveningen (municipal council meeting of July 30, 1895).

On June 6, 1895, Goekoop bought 73 hectares of dune land west of the Scheveningen road at a land auction for 240,000 guildets from Grand Duchess Sophie of Saxe-Weimar (Goekoop, 1953; Gans, 1994: 9-15). Goekoop named his Bouwgrond Maatschappij Zorgvliet (land development company Zorgvliet) and founded several other land development companies for the land between the current Statenlaan, Eisenhowerlaan, and Scheveningseweg and a triangular piece of land between Laan van Meerdervoort, Groot Hertoginnelaan, and Suezkade along the canal. In short, Goekoop determined the size of the neighborhoods for The Hague within the network of canals, tram tracks, and main roads. A plot of dune land between Groot Hertoginnelaan and Stadhoudersplein (now President Kennedylaan) was sold on July 15, 1895 to Goekoop's colleague Scheurleer who wanted to build Duinoord II there. In 1895, Goekoop also sold 15 hectares of land to Bouwgrond Maatschappij Zandoord, in which Jurriaan Kok was involved. Here Geuzenwijk arose between Van Boetzelaerlaan with the tramway, Westduinweg and the canal. Goekoop developed a street plan for the other parts of the land himself.

On August 29, 1899, the municipal council adopted the street plan of Statenkwartier within the boundaries of Van Boetzelaerlaan, where the old steam tram line is located, Kennedylaan (formerly Statenplein), Stadhouderslaan, Eisenhowerlaan, and Scheveningseweg. The Hague Land Development Company Duinoord published an attractive plan for these developments in 1900 (HGA gr. 1112 & gr. 2067). The main access road to the port, the distinguished Statenlaan, was no less than 45 meters wide, with a beautiful street profile with rows of trees and walking zones. Frederik Hendriklaan and Aert van der Goesstraat became 22 metres wide, and Willem de Zwijgerlaan and Prins Mauritslaan 27 metres wide. Frankenslag was 20 meters wide. Furthermore, the rules for street width, building height, and chamfering of urban blocks on the corners from the Police Ordinance applied. Streets with a curved course are virtually non-existent here, but almost all of them have a bend that creates a confined urban space. Apparently, this was an affordable compromise between Lindo and the land development companies of Goekoop.

Residential Park Zorgvliet, 1910, and Other Residential Parks

Connecting to Duinoord and Statenkwartier was residential park Zorgvliet. Apparently, the municipal land company worked closely with Goekoop to increase the grandeur of the city in the development of the chic residential park Zorgvliet and villa park Wittebrug (Gemeente Den Haag, 1902; 1912; 1916).

The success of The Hague's residential parks and Duinoord had not gone unnoticed in Wassenaar, Rijswijk, and Voorburg either. After 1900, architects from The Hague played an important role in the development of residential parks in neighboring municipalities. Where old noble estates once lay, several beautiful residential parks with villas and avenues with a curved course were laid out (Niemeijer & Scheffer, 1996). In Rijswijk, Mutters designed an expansion plan with streets with a curved course that was approved in 1906. The neighborhood is

located on both sides of Rijswijkseweg and continues to the Trekvliet and the Vliet canals.

The architect Wouters, director of several land development companies and alderman of the municipality of Wassenaar, transformed several estates and forests owned by Prince Hendrik in the period 1838-1846 into one large villa park for the new wealthy bourgeoisie. This included the neighborhoods Groot Haesebroek and Oud Wassenaar. Especially the spacious villa park De Kieviet in the dune forests in the western part of Groot Haesebroek, designed by Mutters in the period 1911-1914, offered a beautiful view with its avenues with curved course. There was a wide variety of villa types, designed by Mutters and fellow architects from The Hague such as Buys, Brandes, Wouda, and Van der Wall. De land development companies Bouwgrond Maatschappijen De Kieviet and Wildrust, in which Mutters was also involved, imposed strict welfare requirements in the contracts with the buyer of building plots and provided all utilities. Their aim was to create a villa park of exceptional quality (Niemeijer & Scheffer, 1996). Wouters' companion in the architectural firm Hoek & Wouters was, together with Van Boven and Verschoor, working on Tuinstadwijk, Houtrust, and Segbroek (nowadays: Vogelwijk The Hague). The architects also built so-called 'decoys': iconic and representative villas in order to encourage buyers to settle here, for example Villa Beukenoord from 1916-1917 by Mutters, at Duinweg 4 in Wassenaar, a villa in English cottage style. This expression of individualism in the sometimes opulent architecture of the residential parks was widely imitated and would never disappear from the cityscape of The Hague.

At Goekoop's invitation, the German urban planner Karl Friedrich Henrici (1842-1927) designed the street plan for Zorgvliet residential park. The plan was further developed by the company that had already transformed large parts of Wassenaar into a residential park, the office of Hoek and Wouters (Stal & Mulder, 2002). This plan was preceded by a tug-of-war about the soil. After deliberation in 1901, the municipality offered the Grand Duchess's family 2.5 million guilders for the 88 hectares of Sorghvliet and 141 hectares of Zegbroekpolder, but the Grand Duke asked for 4.5 million. In a secret council meeting, this asking price was rejected. Goekoop also wanted to buy the land, but the Grand Duke again offered the land for sale to the municipality for 4.5 million guilders, but this was refused. On February 20, 1903 Goekoop purchased the estates including Sorghvliet, Buitenrust, and Rustenburg (Goekoop 1953: 17, 18). A total of 90 ha was developed in Maatschappij Het Park Zorgvliet and Houtrust. After that, Goekoop also bought Segbroekpolder for 5.25 million guilders. For himself, Goekoop bought the Catshuis with the surrounding gardens from his land development company.

De Stuers denounced the fact that the municipality had let such an important heritage site slip out of its hands (Goekoop, 1953). In the background, the municipality planned to build a new palace for Queen Wilhelmina on these estates and to convert Noordeinde Palace into the new town hall. The surrounding park landscape with its slopes and beautiful water features would adorn the city. In 1908, the municipality was again given the opportunity to acquire the remaining part of Sorghvliet, but this was now a considerably smaller part.

In the meantime, Goekoop had transferred the former Buitenrust estate to the Carnergie Foundation for a low price for the construction of the Peace Palace. Berlage's expansion plan (1908) already considered its purchase by the municipality. However, the council also rejected the purchase of the remaining parts of Sorghvliet for financial reasons.

After 1910, Henrici eventually made a design for the land development company Maatschappij Het Park Zorgvliet and Hoek and Wouters took care of the elaboration of the design. Thanks to the extensive discussions about nature conservation and the efforts of Goekoop, a particularly beautiful villa park was created (HGA gr. 1393). The course of the Haagse Beek stream was considered in the urban design. It consisted of avenues with a curved course and the canal and stream were transformed into water features. For the construction of the southern part of the neighborhood, the water north of Groot Hertoginnelaan with a branch between the current Alexander Gogelweg and Andries Bickerweg was an important structural element. The strip of land between this water and Groot Hertoginnelaan was not built on, so the unobstructed view of the Duinoord villas was maintained. The modified street plan from 1913 showed two rings from which the avenues disappeared like sunrays into the green, connecting to the city (Stal & Mulder, 2002).

The Zorgvliet residential park closed the ring of residential parks that are situated like villages around the Scheveningse Bosjes, the green continuum between The Hague and Scheveningen. The first generation of residential parks consisted of Willemspark (1860); the second generation was made up of Van Stolkpark (1872), Belgisch Park (1883), Prinsenvinkenpark (1888), and Villa park Wittebrug (1889); and the third generation consisted of villa park Zorgvliet (1910) and the residential parks in neighboring municipalities Wassenaar, Rijswijk, and Voorburg. The urban ensemble of The Hague on the sandy soil was completed with these chic picturesque residential parks.

4.5
Scheveningen Bad

Transformation of the Coastline

All urban development in and around Scheveningen Bad at the close of the nineteenth century was dominated by the Sea-Bath Association Scheveningen (MZS), particularly the construction of the Scheveningen boulevard and the large hotels and tourist facilities located along it. The old seaside resort is immortalized in the Panorama painted by the painter and banker Mesdag, which was opened in 1881. It shows an ensemble of radiant white buildings in yellow dunes with buildings such as Pavilion von Wied (1826-27), the municipal bathhouse (1826) on the site of the later Kurhaus, Hotel Garni (1860) and the many smaller hotels, sea villas, restaurants, and dance halls in the area. The map by Smulder and associates from 1870 (HGA gr. 0325) gives a detailed description of the buildings. Lobatto's map from 1891 (HGA gr. 0352) shows the result of twenty years of solid construction on the seaside resort. And that was just the beginning (Crefcoeur, 2010). Between 1898 and 1904 the fishing port was built. The maps by Van Hoogstraten from 1895 (HGA z.gr. 0513) and Smulders and associates from 1899 (HGA z.gr. 0048) show how the seaside resort and harbor had changed.

Commissioned by MZS, Van Liefland created coherence between sea, beach, mobility, entertainment, sea villas, guesthouses, and hotels with the construction of the iconic promenade. Van Liefland's master plan, which he drew in 1902, was depicted by the painter A.C. Sommers with two enormous paintings in which the grandeur, but above all the investment opportunities were made visible.

The Pedestrian Promenade

Before 1895, all hotels were located on their own foundation plateau in the dunes, so people had to walk through the dunes to the sea. The dune landscape was transformed between 1894 and 1900 into a seaside resort with a pedestrian promenade (or boulevard) and an extensive range of shops and restaurants for a wide audience. Not only hotel guests but also day visitors were served from now on. One of the largest and most costly projects of the city was the construction of the fishing port, the seawall and the beach wall. The city government came to this decision after storms had destroyed the fleet of fishing boats moored on the beach and seawater had penetrated the village. The beach wall was built in parts between 1894 and 1896 from basalt blocks and granite bands, until a closed solid wall was created. The dunes between the beach and the hotels were removed. The space between the hotels and the beach wall was filled with dune sand, upon which the promenade was constructed. This created the first pedestrian zone, flanked by slightly elevated hotel terraces, shops, and a variety of tourist amenities. In this way, multiple functional zones emerged at different levels, running parallel to the sea, each with its own status and distinct clientele. Step by step, the transformation from an exclusive spa town to a fashionable seaside resort for the general public took place between ca. 1883 and 1910, with the construction of the previously described steam tram between the railway station and the beach an important condition for this development.

Sea-Bath Association Scheveningen & Exploitation Association Scheveningen

In 1883 the MZS. was founded by Louis Guillaume Coblijn and M.A. Reiss of the company Reiss & Co from Frankfurt, while both gentlemen lived in Paris. Later, Sonnaville and Uyttenhooven were added. The MZS leased the bathhouse and site from the municipality for 75 years and decided to build a new building here: the Kurhaus. A few years later in 1902, the Exploitation Association Scheveningen (EMS) was founded, which soon acquired a majority stake in the MZS. From that period onwards, the EMS operated almost all important hotels in Scheveningen and would become the most important client of the genius Van Liefland, who experimented with cast iron and concrete.

Internationally oriented businessmen such as L.G. Coblijn, who lived in Paris, M.A. Reiss of the company Reiss & Co from Frankfurt—who lived in Paris—and De Sonnaville wanted to give the seaside resort of Scheveningen a fashionable appearance, just like the successful seaside resorts along the French and English coast. Now that the steam tram had connected the seaside resort with the rail network, which now extended further and further into Europe, the beach had also become an attraction for the increasingly wealthy bourgeoisie and day trippers from other Dutch cities in the summer months, the exclusivity of the spa slowly disappeared.

For the residents of the city, it was a wonderful Sunday outing to walk with their children to the beach and drink lemonade in one of the establishments on the way to the beach such as Buitenlust pavilion, Klein Zorgvliet pavilion, or De Bataaf. The train and steam tram and later electric tram made the world smaller, which worked in favor of the seaside resort of Scheveningen. The newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad* of October 3, 1890 reported that the Rhine Steam Tram from The Hague to Scheveningen had transported no less than 169,366 people to the beach because of the beautiful weather in September. That was 30,000 more than the month before. Buiter (2005) mentions that 30,000 people visited the beach on a single sunny day. During the Whitsun weekend in 1901, the traditional opening of the bathing season, about 40,000 people visited the beach. In 1913 about 4 million people used the tram to go the beach.

Especially after the First Hague Peace Conference, the number of visitors increased sharply. Comparing 1893 with 1863, Gram described the transition of The Hague from a provincial-looking city to a city with European allure where the new urban middle class could find its entertainment: "Between the Scheveningen of 30 years ago and the 'sea bath' of the present time is as great a distinction as between an unsuspecting country girl, fresh and plump as a peony, and a ripe beauty, coquettish with her graces, for whom no refinement of fashion is a secret" (Gram 1893: 276-7).

The MZS and its successor the EMS would become by far the most

The masterplan by Van Liefland, painting by A.C. Sommer from 1902.
Collection Muzee Scheveningen.

powerful and profitable companies in The Hague with a great influence on the city and especially Scheveningen, as the previously discussed discussion about the discharge of the sewer also showed.

Van Liefland's Master Plan

The image of Scheveningen Bad was mainly determined for the MZS by Van Liefland and associates, who created an internationally inspired seaside resort architecture. From 1890, Van Liefland had already made attempts to give the formless and directionless space between the hotels around Gevers Deynootplein more closedness with a cast iron gallery containing pavilions with different floors. Gevers Deynootplein was thus placed in a horseshoe shape, with a new square wall. Unfortunately, this plan was never executed (HGA gr. B 1390; see Freijser et al., 1991: 33).

In 1891, Van Liefland was hired to design the pavilions for the Scheveningen International Sports Exhibition on the site where the Circus Theater would later be built. He introduced the specific seaside resort style that could also be found in places such as Brighton, Biarritz, Blanckenberge, and Deauville, with a different kind of architecture than the Kurhaus. The structure with its two expressive towers evoked memories of wooden oil drilling towers (collection HGA 1.00170), the promenade garden resembled an Ottoman mosque (HGA 1.00158), and the wooden Norwegian hunting lodge (HGA 1.00191, 1.00159). Verbrugge (1981: 158, 159) described the architecture as:

"A style, if one can speak of a style, that is characterized by a frantic pursuit of a surprising, exotic, and fantastic design. In addition, the strange phenomenon of the pier could not be left out in any seaside resort from around the turn of the century. In this, most fin-de-siècle seaside resorts show a striking similarity with each other, so that the fashionable, well-travelled man or woman-of-the-world, who called himself 'tourist', could immediately feel at home. And it is not surprising that in the Netherlands Scheveningen, the seaside resort near The Hague, had to be given this character."

The Hague's media praised the design with its enormous variety (*De Opmerker*, 1892: 245), butthe Amsterdam-oriented architectural society Architectura et Amicitia (Architecture and Friendship) was scathing about the new seaside resort style (HGA 1.00183, 1.00171, 1.00189, 1.00170, 1.00192, 1.00158, 1.00190, 1.00157, 1.00159, 1.00156).

Pavilion of Fine Arts, Crafts, Ancient Art, and Inventions

On August 5, 1893, the municipality was requested by Van Liefland, Coblijn, Edward van Hoboken van Oudelande, and Wijnbrandus Joannus Paulus Travaglino to make available a site for the construction of "a Pavilion of Fine Arts, Crafts, Ancient Art and Inventions, and to connect to it recreation rooms for parties, competitions, temporary exhibitions, drama; and other displays, children's games, etc., and a garden surrounded by a colonnade with restaurants and shops" (acts of the municipal council, 1893, Annex 393: 95, 96). This ambitious plan should be located between Rotterdamsestraat, Neptunesstraat, Nieuwe Parklaan, and the rear of the buildings on Gevers Deynootweg. The intention was to organize exhibitions of French, German, and Dutch artists. They also wanted to bring Union des Arts Décoratifs from Paris to Scheveningen for an annual exhibition. As an argument for acquiring the land for a favorable land interest rate, it was stated that this, "because of its location, represents little value, while the surrounding building sites, as a result of the aforementioned exploitation, will increase in value" (acts of the municipal council, 1893, Annex 393: 95). However, the ambitious plans did not happen.

In 1895 Van Liefland was commissioned to design a building along Laan van NOI for the exhibition of 'new and old art and inventions', combined with a garden, restaurants, and shops. This was favorably received (*De Opmerker,* 1895). It is still a kind of small shopping center.

Pavilion Kurhaus Bar

In 1897 the Norwich firm Boulton & Paul designed the Kurhaus bar on the dunes next to the Kurhaus and the sea villas. This pavilion-like building in wood was assembled in Norwich in a prefabricated cast iron and wood kit; presumably this type of pavilion was built in several places in Europe along the beach or in parks. The pavilion had elegant sections and towers, with spacious shaded verandas all around (HGA 0.20943, 0.20951, 0.21378, 1.91029, 0.20693). During the construction of the Palace Hotel from 1903-1904, the pavilion was moved to Gevers Deynootplein. First it housed restaurants, later a cabaret. In 1918 it was converted into an American bar. During the Second World War, the building was demolished.

The Orange Gallery

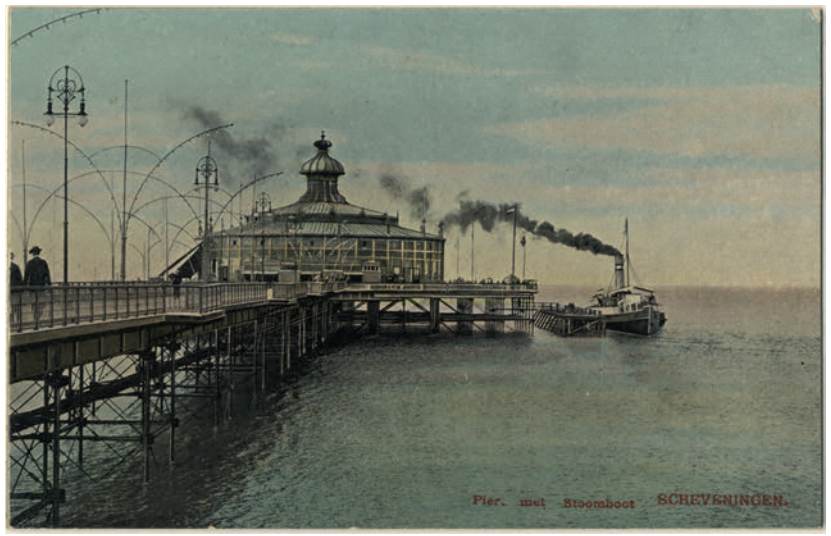
The Orange Gallery was designed by Van Liefland and built from 1899, with a wall of light natural stone with large ornate arches behind which shops, catering establishments, numerous facilities, and a Bierhalle at the Wandelhoofd (Scheveningen Pier) were housed. This gallery connected several hotel plateaus and sea villas into a coherent whole. By wide, impressive stairs, visitors could descend from the hotel plateaus to the pedestrian promenade. The latter was now given an intimate and demarcated space between the gallery and the beach wall and was set up as a walking zone with terraces for the public. Above it lay the hotel plateaus with the terraces that belonged to the hotels, under the promenade was the beach wall, the beach and the sea. The profile and zoning of the pedestrian promenade parallel to the sea was now complete. With the arrival of the car, the pedestrian promenade that was designed for strolling, lingering, and consuming also became accessible to car traffic, slowly changing its character until eventually the car was banned there as well. In the years that followed, more and more additions and separate terraces were made in front of the gallery, so that the width of the boulevard slowly diminished by these simple constructions.

Palace Hotel, boulevard and beach. Photo before 1905. Collection HGA 6.00170.

Grand Hotel Grani and boulevard. Photo before 1907. Collection HGA 6.00921.

Scheveningen pier and boulevard. Photo before 1908. Collection HGA 6.01087.

Grand Hotel Grani and beach. Photo before 1907. Collection HGA 0.79453.



Scheveningen pier and boulevard. Photo before 1905. Collection HGA 5.16675.

Palace Hotel, boulevard and beach. Photo before 1905. Collection HGA 0.79459.

Ansichten by Phototechnisches Institut Dr. Trenkler & Co, Leipzig, The Hague. The photos were taken by several unknown photographers.

Scheveningen Pier

With the Wandelhoofd Koning Wilhelmina (the first Scheveningen Pier), designed by Van Liefland, in the axis of the Kurhaus, which was built between 1900 and 1901 and demolished in 1943, the promenade and beach were divided into two halves. It was possible to walk from the Kurhaus hotel plateau over the pedestrian promenade to the pier. The commission for the pier was initially given by the MZS to the Brussels engineer Wyhowski, who had also constructed the pier in Blanckenberge. Van Liefland was later involved in further developing the preliminary design together with engineer Reufel of NV Pletterij Enthoven (Verbrugge, 1981:155-186). The pier consisted of a light construction of cast iron on a frame of concrete beams on the seabed. The superstructure was made of cast iron, glass, and wood with a wooden walking deck. At the beginning of the pier were two oriental-looking towers with onion domes, with huge agaves and palms in pots next to them. At the end of the pier was a rotunda of glass and cast iron with an oriental-looking dome with a restaurant, where musical performances were held. From the rotunda, with its huge windows all around, there were great views over the sea. The whole was illuminated at night with arches on the pier. The pier was divided lengthwise by a glass screen, so that one side was intended for walking to the end and the other side for walking back. Benches were placed against the screen. Van Liefland's architectural style in this period was inspired by Wiener Secession and Art Nouveau, although neither was explicitly manifested. The pier was above all an elegant building in which the construction was emphatically present due to its open structure.

Circus Schuman

To entertain visitors, the Circus Schumann, or Circus Cascade, was built in 1903 on Gevers Deynootplein in the fashionable Wiener Secession architecture. Presumably Van Liefland received help from De Wolf for the pre-construction. Van Liefland experimented with concrete and steel to build the light roof of the circus. The front building also had two turrets with a huge entrance gate in between, flanked by two wings.

The Palace Hotel

The Palace Hotel (1903-4), designed by Van Liefland, was probably the first building with a full concrete skeleton in The Hague. Concrete floors and beams were supported by slender columns of columns measuring 32 x 32 cm, with a grid size of 6.5 x 7 meters. In addition to the first concrete skeleton, The Hague also got its first parking garage, located under the Palace Hotel (*Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 23 July 1904). The circus and the hotel were inspired by examples from the Vienna Secession and Art Nouveau. The Palace Hotel was demolished in 1979.

Cars on the Boulevard

In the hands of Van Liefland, De Wolf, and Mutters (who usually designed interiors), Scheveningen turned into a truly fashionable European seaside resort, where experiments were carried out with structural innovations such as reinforced concrete and programmatic innovations such as a gallery with shops and restaurants. It can rightly be said that Scheveningen is one of the places where modern life first took shape.

The Hague writer Ferdinand Bordewijk, who lived in Van Stolkpark in one of Wesstra's villas, within walking distance of the boulevard, also liked to come to the seaside resort to dine and listen to music. Remembering the time of the pedestrian promenade, he was one of the first to be annoyed by the cars on the boulevard, as shown in his novel *Knorrende beesten. De roman van een parkeerseizoen* (*Grunting animals. Novel about the parking season*) from 1931. Still, he mostly enjoyed the frivolous life on the promenade and pier. He wrote: "Traffic on the parade was teeming, his tone was civilized. The big rumor came from the pier. The pier thrust an arm and a fist far into the sea. There, too, it was teeming, in a simpler celebration. The pier had vaulted itself with a foliage corridor of pink light. The large café at the end recreated its bourgeois silhouette in pink lines of light and rearranged itself into an awkward phantasmagoria. The water reflected the water reflected the pink in stretched swell. A maritime cannonade gave the percussion of the military chapel. There was shouting, singing, trotting."

Nowadays, this iconic urban ensemble of Scheveningen Bad by developer MZS and architect Van Liefland has almost completely disappeared; only postcards and stories recall one of the most glorious periods of The Hague, in which the worldly middle class and well-to-do bourgeoisie spent their warm summers at the beach and modern life took shape.

4.6
Politicization of Urban Planning and Housing

The Housing Act of 1901

After the introduction of the Housing Act of 1901, conflicts between proponents and opponents sometimes escalated considerably. For example, in the working class neighborhood Schilderwijk and Transvaalkwartier. With the Housing Act, decent housing was finally being addressed. In 1901, the Housing Act was passed in the House of Representatives and came into force a year later. In a rush, on February 18, 1900, the Bouwgrond Maatschappij Hoefkade (land development company Hoefkade), owned by Snoek and city councilor Penn, submitted a street plan that could be considered an all-time low for housing and urban planning (Kleinegris & Leferink, 1985). Snoek and Penn were also partners in Bouwgrond Maatschappij Zuidwesterkwartier (land development company Zuiderkwartier), which gave part of Schilderswijk its poor architecture. For the 1900 plan, Snoek and Penn had bought land that lay between Hoefkade and Vredenburghweg south of Transvaalkwartier.

The plan consisted of three streets, each 2,200 meters long, two of which were 12 meters wide and one 16 meters wide. These were the longest and cheapest residential streets ever devised in The Hague. After negotiations with Lindo, the street was widened from 16 meters to 27 meters, so there was more room for trams. In exchange for widening the street, Snoek and Penn demanded a large piece of municipal land and the right to build the streets and sewers under their own management. The lots were very small, so that there was hardly any space left in the courtyards. This was a considerable deterioration even compared to the old slums in working-class neighborhoods. On the initiative of the municipal executive, the plan was improved with a few parks at intersections, but this street plan remained by far the worst plan ever proposed in The Hague.

In the council there was much discussion about this plan; its opponents questioned whether the municipality should agree to this type of plan. The majority of the council felt that this street plan was no longer acceptable. A motion not to have to decide on this plan was passed by 20 to 14 in the council. The plan had to wait for the introduction of the housing law and the expansion plan that Lindo and his department were working on.

On the *Plan van Uitbreiding van de Gemeente 's-Gravenhage* (*Plan for the Expansion of the Municipality of The Hague*) of June 18, 1903, the plan was still drawn but with diagonals added by Lindo, which intersected the long streets and broke the building mass into countless pieces.

With the introduction of the Housing Act, the relationship between government and entrepreneurs was better delineated with building legislation and procedural rules. The occupation of bad homes was made impossible, and the construction of good homes was promoted. Later, functional zoning was also included in the law. The Housing Act was submitted by Pierson's Government (1897-1901) in 1899 by H. Goemans Borgesius, N.G. Pierson and P.W.A. Cor van der Linden. In this cabinet, Lely was Minister of Water Management, Trade, and Industry.

The following guiding rules were implemented with the Housing Law:

1. The municipality was obliged to draw up a building ordinance with regulations with which new buildings, in particular homes, would have to comply.
2. It was forbidden to build something new or to renovate or expand an existing building without planning permission. The building permit would be granted by the municipal executive. Homeowners could be required to make certain improvements.
3. The municipality was authorized to declare a house uninhabitable.
4. The municipality's power to expropriate housing and to proceed with slum clearance was enlarged.
5. Any municipality larger than 10,000 residents was obliged to create plans for new expansions and regulations for building in existing built environments and review them every ten years.

From 1902 onwards, no new street plans of this kind were approved by the council and there was a temporary end to the private urban development in The Hague with land development companies.

The first Gemeentelijke Bouw- en Woonverordening (Municipal Building and Housing Ordinance) was written in Amsterdam by Jan Willem Cornelis Tellegen (1859-1921), a civil engineer who became director of Bouw- en Woningtoezicht (Building and Housing Supervision) in 1901 and later mayor of Amsterdam from 1915 to 1921. He was a strong supporter of the Housing Act and public housing ideals. As point out, Tellegen was also a former colleague of Lindo's from Arnhem and according to Lindo's diaries they were good friends. In 1905, the Amsterdam Building Ordinance was instituted. In the years that followed, other large municipalities followed. The Hague's Building and Housing Ordinance was developed at about the same time as the Amsterdam Building and Housing Ordinance; it came into force on 1 July 1906.

Bakker Schut had started working for the municipality of The Hague in January 1905. It is not certain whether, after his promotion to engineer-head in 1907, he would be intensively involved in the application of The Hague Building and Housing Ordinance within the Public Works Department. Bakker Schut was probably mostly working on the city's infrastructure and tramways.

In addition to the Public Works Department, there was a separate Building and Housing Supervision department, employing structural engineers and architects and led by A.J.M. Stoffels and inspector W. de Vrind. Bakker Schut was a civil engineer, not an architect. In 1907 Bakker Schut is not mentioned on the list of employees of the Department of Building and Housing Supervision.

In this period, troubles between Lindo and Berlage started about an expansion plan for The Hague by Berlage. Bakker Schut was put forward by the city council as a mediator. His Rapport betreffende verbetering

der volkshuisvesting (Report on the Improvement of Public Housing) which he published few years later, in 1914, must have impressed the city administrators. In 1915 he was appointed deputy director at the Public Works Department (Bakker Schut, 1914).

Large-scale expansion plans and zoning plans resulted in urban sketches for neighborhoods made by Lindo's Public Works Department. This was reorganized into the new Dienst Stadsontwikkeling en Volkshuisvesting (Urban Development and Housing Department) (Bakker Schut, 1939; Gemeente Den Haag, 1948). In these sketches, the building contours were laid down in accordance with the new regulations. The city was mainly viewed from a public housing perspective. From a hygienic point of view, outdoor space was used for daylight and ventilation. In order to save costs, only buildings up to four stories were built, so that an expensive elevator was not necessary. This resulted in the so-called 'brown pancake city' described as a flat city of four-story buildings that extends to Loosduinen.

Between Two Expansion Plans for The Hague, 1903 and 1908

In 1903, Lindo and his department produced the first Plan for the Expansion of the Municipality of The Hague, where all private initiatives were structured and merged into one whole. This expansion plan had caused great difficulty for Lindo. In his diaries he mentioned an important reason for this: many of the municipal councilors were themselves landowners, structural engineers, building contractors, or architects, and were or wanted to be involved in the new developments that formed the basis for the expansion plan (Maarschalkerweerd, 1998).

The Hague's journalists had also noticed this dual role of the council members: according to an article of 1901 16 of the 38 council members were financially involved in land development companies and together they owned 10% of the total capital (Stokvis, 1987). The council was nevertheless disappointed in Lindo's expansion plan. It consisted only of main roads and inland ports, nothing more. There were no residential neighborhoods, schools, factories, and offices on it. Lindo did not comply with certain regulations in the Housing Law, some council members found. Not all streets, squares and canals were drawn, and the scale was 1:10,000 instead of the prescribed scale of 1:2,500.

Lindo's argument for limiting the expansion plan to the main infrastructure was 'that the municipality generally has very little interest in one or the other method of subdivision into blocks between the main roads'. Lindo was of the opinion that zoning designations would lack any legal basis if the municipality did not also own the land. Thus, Lindo put his finger on a sore spot: land politics. If the municipality did not own the building land, then only the option of negotiation remained. According to Lindo, the law intended for the initiative to remain with private individuals and for municipalities to take a wait-and-see attitude, at most offering help to private individuals (Klerk, 2008). The aldermen agreed with this liberal position. There was also a lot of criticism of Lindo's expansion plan in the press, especially regarding the lack of zoning decisions. Journalist Oeil de Boeuf wrote in the newspaper *Het Vaderland* (April 1903): 'Aimlessly lie the squares, where streets are crooked. Nowhere is there room for a building that dominates: a church, a school, a house, or anything else.'

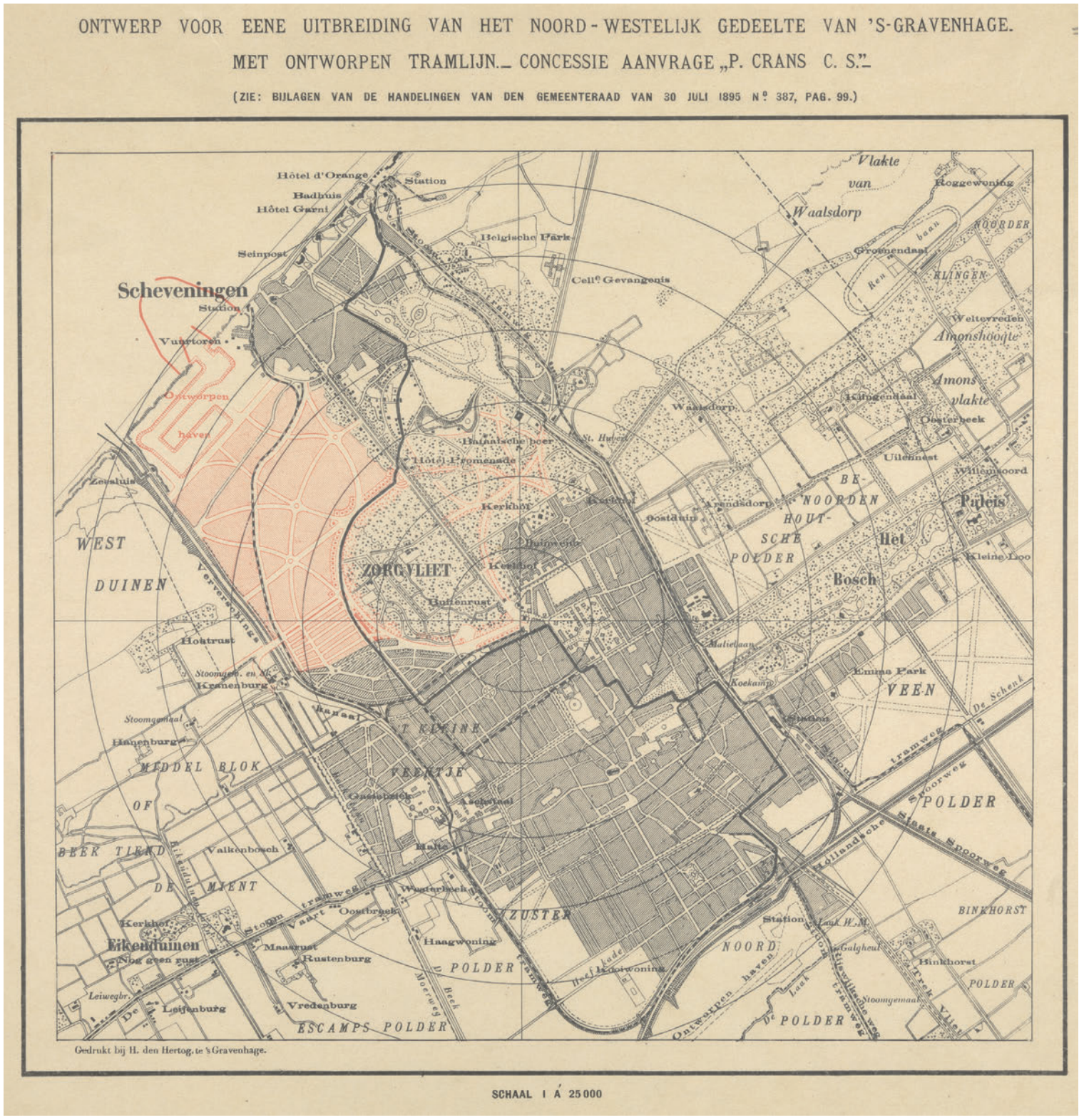
With his defense of his plan, Lindo touched on a question that had already played out in Amsterdam and in German cities: how detailed should an expansion plan be? This issue transcended the disagreement between the opponents of government intervention, who did not want detailed plans, and the proponents, who wanted to lay down more details. In the German cities the tendency was for less detailed plans, such as Stübben created for Berlin. Tellegen, Lindo's friend, also thought that the government should be cautious, because the future was uncertain and plans designed according to one model were not always tailored to future conditions. Tellegen supported Lindo in his view of describing only the main points. He was also a strong proponent of involving good architects in public housing, who would fill the empty spaces in these abstract street patterns with modern housing, as happened in Duinoord.

Lindo was to blame for the failure of The Hague's expansion plans by councilors. But it was the aldermen themselves who had limited the assignment to a pattern of main roads such as Mauritskwartier and Regentessekwartier (Boekraad & Aerts, 1991; Freijser & Teunissen, 2008). In addition, they publicly delayed a decision on Lindo's expansion plan. Lindo made another, more detailed alternative, but nothing was done with it.

Jurriaan Kok referred to objections to the plan voied by the Afdeeling 's-Gravenhage van de Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Bouwkunst (The Hague Branch of the Society for the Promotion of Architecture, BNA) and the Verfraaiingcommissie (Aesthetic Committee). In addition, he found it suspicious that none of the land development companies had voiced disagreement with Lindo's plan. Jurriaan Kok pointed out that the opposite had happened when discussing the Amsterdam expansion plan. After the debacle with the land development companies, the competing interests in the council and the failure of Lindo's expansion plan of 1903, the bourgeoisie called for change.

Council member Jurriaan Kok, who was educated as architect in Delft, was particularly furious about the state of affairs in The Hague. The proposal of the municipal council of The Hague was to appoint two experts in addition to Lindo to jointly design one new expansion plan, which was bound by the same restrictions and conditions as Lindo's plan. But Jurriaan Kok wanted a new plan that indicated exact zonings: where the new Schouwburg (theater) was to be located, the cemetery, the garbage dump, open and closed urban blocks, and working-class neighborhoods.

He praised Berlage's new plan for Amsterdam-Zuid from 1904, in which Sitte's principles had been applied and on which an artist had worked. It included closed urban spaces and curved and bending streets. In The Hague, the discussion in Amsterdam was closely monitored. Newspapers, councilors, and private individuals were now calling for an artist with a vision, and the city council gave in to these



Plan van Uitbreiding Noord-Westelijk gedeelte van 's Gravenhage
(plan of the expansion of the north-west part of the municipality of The Hague)
by the city architect Lindo from 1895.
Collection HGA gr.1378.

critics. However, Berlage's composition of a picturesque and closed cityscape in the first proposal for Amsterdam-Zuid was not received in the media at the time (Van Rossem, 1988; De Klerk, 2008). For example, the publicist J.H.W. Leliman criticized the plan in a series of articles in the journal *De Bouwwereld* (*The World of Construction*). According to Leliman, there was a lack of outlines, logical structure, and monumentality. Berlage's plan reminded him of 'a medieval part of the city', because it adopted Sitte's theories. Leliman found the plan with its many curved streets rather contrived. Leliman also found the idea of taking monumental squares as the starting point for a city plan unrealistic, because it was not clear who would guarantee the construction of department stores, concert halls, and bathhouses. And why take the medieval city as an example, while the monumental seventeenth century city had so much more to offer, as every Amsterdammer can see every day in the picturesque canal belt? In 1914 Berlage presented a monumental plan for Amsterdam-Zuid with straight, narrow streets and elongated urban blocks, intersected by several wide main axes and with a skyscraper in a striking place. Between 1917 and 1925 this neighborhood was built.

The urgency for an urban planning approach that took into account traffic and transport was high in The Hague. As early as 1906, Gram compared the new movements through the city, the new means of traffic, and the new speeds with 1881: "Twenty-five years ago, bicycles, railcars, automobiles, and other modern vehicles were not in vogue. Now all this is so general that police regulations are in force, which put a stop to the ferocious driving of these flying machines. ... put an end to all that mad and dangerous driving and decreed that no greater speed may be reached than that with which a horse in front of a carriage moves at a moderate trot" (Gram, 1906: 176).

Gram questioned whether there were enough police officers to enforce the ordinance, especially given the countless cyclists. Bicycles came to play an important role in this period, as the bicycle was produced on a large scale at the end of the nineteenth century and became more useable due to the introduction of the bike chain in 1866. Especially in France and England the bicycle was popular. Because the suburbs of The Hague were relatively close to the city, the use of bicycles was an obvious means of transport. Trams also became increasingly important as a necessary connection between the dispersed neighborhoods and the city, and the electrification of the tram network (Buiter, 2005).

On the general map of 1906 representing the designed tram network by Van Liefland and Janse Johzn, large straight boulevards through the old town were avoided (HGA z.gr. 0834), just as with Van Liefland's earlier proposals for cut-throughs from 1898. It must not have been a coincidence that Lindo's commission for a plan for cut-throughs in the old city ended up being executed by fellow believer Van Liefland. A number of proposals for cut-throughs were drawn with a subtly curved course to ensure the picturesque nature of the city; for example, the cut-throughs from Stationsweg behind the Nieuwe Kerk (New Church) along Voldergracht to Buitenhof and perpendicular to it from Grote Markt to Spui. The urgency was high, as Gram showed, and the solution was clear with Lindo and Van Liefland.

In April 1907, the council decided that Berlage and Lindo should draw up a new expansion plan for The Hague. The council thought that a team of Lindo as urban planner and Berlage as architect and urban planner, would be able to create a good result. However, nothing came of this collaboration. A year later, in 1908, the time had come; the new Expansion Plan for The Hague was ready. However, the plan immediately proved impracticable because the municipality did not own the building land.

According to Dirk Egbert Wentink, architect and Inspector of Public Health in Utrecht and editor of the *Tijdschrift voor Volkshuisvesting* (*Journal of Housing*), the implementation of building and housing regulations was hindered by political wrangling over the implementation of the Housing Act (Wentink, 1915). Four important problems were cited as the reason why an expansion plan for The Hague, such as the one Berlage as proposed in 1908, was considered impracticable.

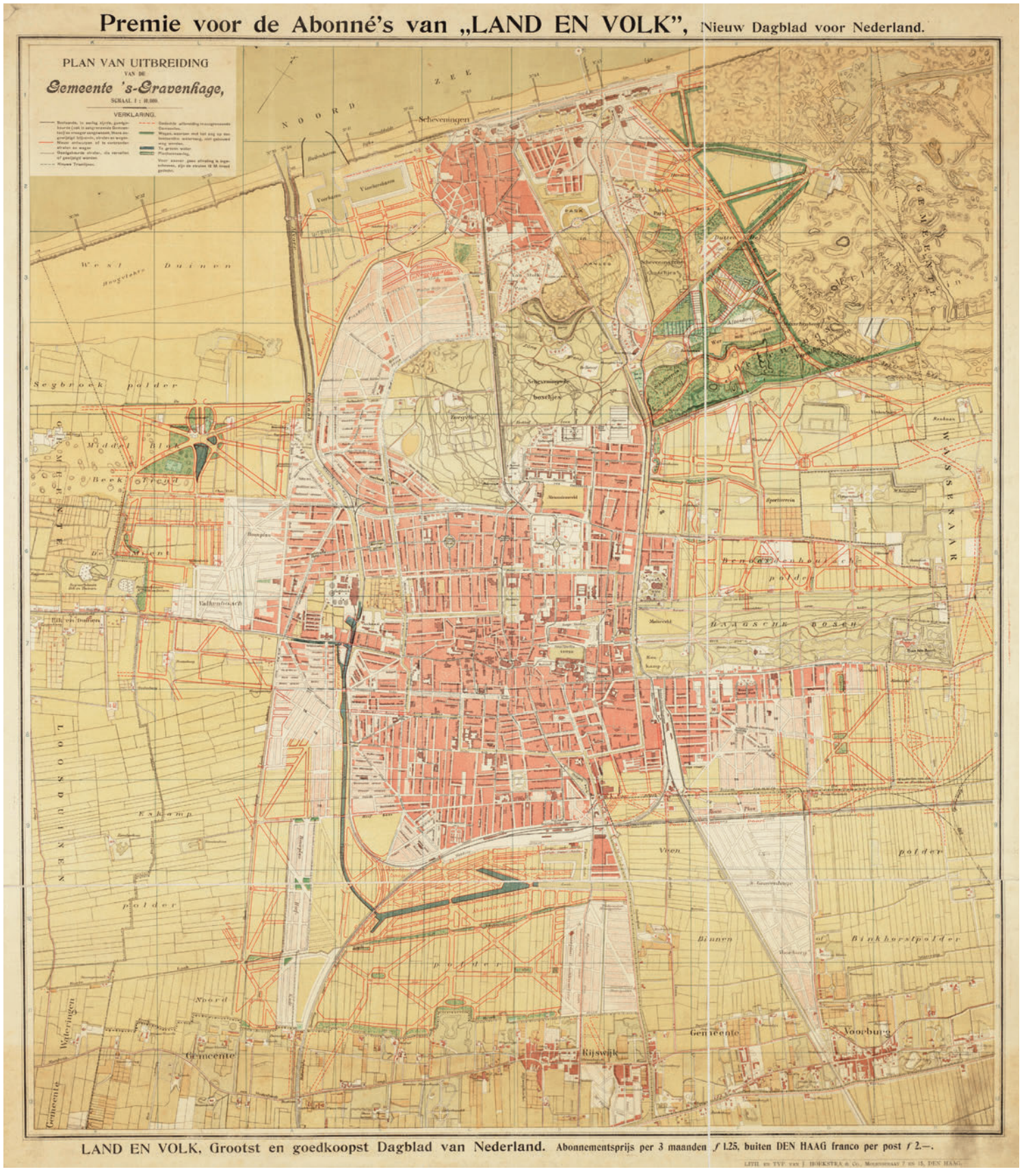
- Funding for housing was lacking—this would be solved between 1914 and 1920 by government funding;
- Affordable land was lacking—this would be solved by introducing leasehold;
- There was discussion about who was going to build houses for workers—municipalities or housing associations, if the intervention of the national government was unwelcome;
- Raw materials and labor had become unaffordable during the First World War. Large municipalities therefore purchased central equipment from 1918 to 1921 with the Centrale Bouwmaterialen Voorziening (Central Building Materials supply, CVB) and The Hague founded a municipal construction company in 1921, the Haagse Bouwmaatschappij (The Hague Building Association, Habo) that built municipal houses.

Between 1908 and 1913, Lely and Simons, now aldermen in The Hague, implemented the leasehold system and the financing of the housing law houses with community money and emergency housing was built. After the First World War, housing became a matter for the national government, within the spatial framework that Berlage had created. From now on, the city of The Hague was seen by everyone as one organic and coherent phenomenon.

The Expansion Plan by Berlage and Traffic Breakthroughs in the Old City, 1908

New Mobility

The new mobility using cars, electric trams, and bicycles demanded new urban spaces, as Gram (1906) noted. The supporters of the picturesque cityscape described by Sitte, such as Lindo and Van Liefland, and the supporters of straight streets and orthogonal street plans came into conflict when it came to cut-throughs through the old city to improve traffic circularity. Lindo and Van Liefland must have



Plan van Uitbreiding Gemeente 's Gravenhage (plan of the expansion of the municipality of The Hague) by the city architect Lindo from 1903. Collection HGA z.gr. 0526.

felt victorious when it turned out that a bend at Grote Marktstraat made the picturesque nature of the city stand out better. For Berlage and Lely, it must have been a setback that the straight boulevard from Berlage's 1908 expansion plan was ruined by Lindo, who could not find a solution in the negotiations with landowners. New to Berlage's plan from 1908 were cut-throughs through the old city center. Lindo had always managed to postpone this, but Berlage came up with straight boulevards through the city center that resembled to the earlier proposal by Halbertsma. Grote Marktstraat also mainly followed an orthogonal road pattern (Halbertsma, 1891).

Of great influence on Berlage was the work of Albert Erich Brinckmann (1881-1958) and his book *Platz und Monument als künstlerisches Formproblem* (*Place and Monument as Artistic Form Problem*, 1908), a study of urban space from the Middle Ages to the late eighteenth century. Brinckmann dismissed Sitte as an eclectic, a supporter of historical style mania and a romantic who, based on inaccurate observations, longed for the Middle Ages, for the picturesque and irregularly shaped cityscapes that are all too reminiscent of theatrical effect. Brinckmann argued that urban planning should pick up the thread of the formal urbanism of the late French Baroque. He saw historicism as an annoying interruption. According to Brinckmann, cities are about straight lines and straight angles, wide straight streets and regular architectural squares. This monumental design of the space, according to Brinckmann, formed the backbone of the city. These ideas appealed to Berlage and can also be found in his expansion plan. But the picture Brinckmann painted of Sitte's ideas was misleading, as their representation was mainly based on observation. Nowhere did Sitte express a preference for the Middle Ages; in fact, he saw many possibilities for the city in Baroque urban planning. According to Van der Woud (1991), Brinckmann's criticism of Sitte resembled intellectual patricide. Brinckmann's books were in fact an extension of Sitte's work.

Berlage was also initially charmed by Sitte's ideas. In the 1909 explanation of his 1908 expansion plan, Berlage developed (following Sitte) concepts such as 'intimacy' and 'broadness' (Berlage, 1909). According to Berlage, this intimacy exerted a great charm, which was pleasant, comprehensible, and understandable. This wide range did not expressly aim for beauty, but also did not exclude beauty, as the Renaissance and Baroque showed, according to Berlage. He argued that:

"It is precisely this mode of urbanism that proves what I pointed out, that also broadness combined with regularity of plan evokes great beauty; if care is taken to ensure that the primary demand of closedness of the cityscape is met. It could even be argued that if broadness is a requirement, the geometric plan is also preferable. Besides, experience shows that the narrow, arbitrarily curved street, and the small arbitrarily lined square, have the appeal of the picturesque, but also the easiest way to comply with the closedness of the cityscape. Freedom and restraint belong together in a certain sense, they complement each other. The wide street, on the other hand, requires a certain geometric course, with a deliberate closure. One cannot bear the arbitrary or the sloppy, while the closedness in such a case is also easy to satisfy. Instead of classical and romantic, I mentioned the distinction between monumental and picturesque; concepts that are certainly less scientific but perhaps more popular. In that case, then, the monumental would be the characteristic of linear style, the picturesque the character of the irregular, the accidental" (Berlage, 1909: 9, 10).

Three Radical Cut-Throughs by Berlage

Grote Marktstraat. The most radical cut-through was at Grote Marktstraat. Prinsegracht was extended through the old town to Kalvermarkt and from there on to the Station Staatsspoor (current Central Station). This cut-through would not begin until 1920 and the project would take decades. The station was also moved so that the axis no longer ended up at the station but ended in twist of the street (Stable 2005c; Stable & Van Veen 2005). Berlage drew a straight boulevard in 1908, while Van Liefland had drawn a curved course on his tram line plan of 1906. Lindo would take over the execution until his retirement in 1918 and managed to negotiate a curved course with the landowners. To explain why the cut-through was not straight, he stated that some owners did not want to sell their land (Van Veen, 2005; Stal & Van Veen 2005; Stal, 2005a).

Hofweg. Several additional cut-throughs were proposed to create more space for trams and to strengthen The Hague's central function. A series of major cut-throughs connected Holland Spoor Station with Willemspark, thereby cutting through the old city. These included the cut-through from Huygenspark to Spui, the cut-through at what is now Hofweg and Buitenhof, the cut-through at the Prison Gate linking the Buitenhof with the Vijverberg and Lange Voorhout, and the earlier cut-through along what is now Parkstraat to Willemspark. In his expansion plans of 1895 and 1903, Lindo did not suggest these enormous boulevards and cut-throughs, but only made minor adjustments to the old town, such as the widening of Grote Halstraat in 1905 that connected Dagelijkse Groenmarkt with the church square. Lindo directed traffic in and around the city by using diagonals and left the city closed, accessible mainly by bicycle.

Alderman Lely was more in favor of large straight boulevards with wide views; not everyone was charmed by closed urban spaces and curved streets. After a visit to Vienna's Ringstraße in 1913, Lely wanted to widen Spui into a Viennese-style boulevard. By cut-throughs and widening streets, he wanted to make the center as accessible as possible. Lindo wondered whether Lely's traffic forecasts were correct and whether cutting through the old town was a fruitful solution. After all, Lindo was building a ring road around the center using the orthogonal grid with diagonals. Lely's proposal for the Spui was therefore unrealistic for Lindo: "Ridiculously wide roads, where cars must be able to drive through the city at a speed of 60 kph" (Maarschalkerweerd, 1998). According to Lindo, the traffic for such a boulevard had yet to be invented, and he did not expect such an increase in 1913. Lindo attributed Lely's ambition to vanity and in his diary, he proposed to change the name of Spui to 'Megalomania Street' (Maarschalkerweerd, 1998).

In a modified form, a cut-through was eventually made via Spui, where

Zeeheldenkwartier
Source: The Hague municipal map
in 72 parts from 1985.
Collection HGA z.gr.0041-8.

Archipelbuurt.
Source: The Hague municipal map
in 72 parts from 1985.
Collection HGA z.gr.0041-2.

the canal was removed, Hofweg (where a cut-through was made), Buitenhof, Gevangenpoort (another cut-through), Kneuterdijk and Parkstraat. The widening of Zieken took place in 1913. A breakthrough from Spui to the Buitenhof was also carried out in 1913 and Hofweg was laid out. The cut-through from the Buitenhof to Kneuterdijk was under consideration for a long time and plans were made by various parties. A complication was that this was the location of the Prison Gate, a monument from the late Middle Ages. In a sketch design for this cut-through, Van Liefland did not draw a straight line but deliberately applied a curve around the Prison Gate with the aim of creating a picturesque effect, as he explained in an address to the city council on January 30, 1906. However, this plan received criticism (Verbrugge, 1981). In 1906, Van Liefland made a drawing comparing his proposal with that of the municipality and one by De Stuers, mainly showing the sight lines (HGA z.gr. 1140). Due to his actions, the Prison Gate was preserved. The cut-through from Buitenhof to Kneuterdijk near Prison Gate only took place in 1923, when the buildings next to the gate were demolished and a wide section of tram track could be built. The Prison Gate now became an anomaly in the city, but it had not demolished during the cut-through mania.

Torenstraat. The third cut-through in 1923-24 was also perpendicular to the beach wall, with Jan Hendrikstraat, Torenstraat and Vondelstraat connecting to the new important Prinsegracht and Grote Marktstraat and Laan van Meerdervoort, as decided by the municipal council on January 12, 1912. The cut-through at Grote Marktstraat was thus connected to this third cut-through so that trams and car traffic opened up and connected the old city and the new neighborhoods.

By the 1930s, the inner city had been made accessible for car traffic, electric trams, and cyclists. The previous layout of the filled-in canals, with rows of trees and walking paths in the middle, was replaced by wider lanes for car traffic. Neighborhoods such as Kortenbos, Rivierenbuurt, and Spuikwartier, which were cut off from the city by busy roads, quickly became impoverished. What Lindo had said about Megalomania Street now turned out to be an unmanageable reality.

Urban Planning in the Political Arena

The city council's adoption of Berlage's 1908 plan took forever: it was not until 1911 that the city council approved this plan. The province South-Holland did not agree until 1914 because of the military barracks planned by Berlage. The relations between Lindo and Berlage had completely broken down by that time (Maarschalkerweerd, 1998). Following Lindo's diaries, Maarschalkerweerd suggested that Berlage discussed the plans confidentially with the aldermen of Public Works Lely (1908-13) and Jurriaan Kok (1913-19), and civil servant Bakker Schut before they went to Lindo and the Public Works Department. The diaries of Lindo from the period 1910-1919 show continuous tension between him and the aldermen. Lindo was ambitious and a good organizer, but politics was not his forte. In 1890, the council still consisted of gentry (nobility and lawyers) whose views had not changed for fifty years, Lindo argued. In the twentieth century, a completely different situation had arisen, in which urban development had become the subject of political debate. This politicization of urban planning was a source of annoyance for Lindo, but also a new reality (Maarschalkerweerd, 1998).

According to Lindo, Lely and Jurriaan Kok were frequently guilty of nepotism in tenders, deliveries, expropriations, free of cost disclosure of private properties, and valuations. Unflatteringly Lindo spoke of 'Jurriaan Donkey' alias the 'être Jurriaan Kok' in his diaries. According to Lindo, both aldermen did not know the relevant documents well enough and therefore often spouted nonsense in council and committee meetings. Jurriaan Kok was, as Lindo said in March 1912, constantly: "... blaring on about the greatness of The Hague: the more taxes are paid, the more men will come to live there, and such pyramidal enormities" (Maarschalkerweerd, 1998). Jurriaan Kok had indeed earned a fortune between 1895-97 as co-founder of the land development company Bouwgrond Maatschappij Zandoord (Boekraad & Aerts, 1991), just as alderman Simons and councilor Van Liefland were involved in land development companies.

The Liberal Union aldermen did not take responsibility for the mistakes made in the first expansion plan, even though these were the result of their own politics (Maarschalkerweerd, 1998). With the change in the electoral system and the arrival of the SDAP, a difficult time began for Lindo. In the long run, this led to an almost unworkable situation with the two most important Liberal Union aldermen of Public Works, Lely and Jurriaan Kok. Both, according to Lindo, were awfully loud, but pursued nothing but voter favors (Maarschalkerweerd, 1998). The conflict between Lindo and Berlage and the aldermen shifted from the question whether or not to create a detailed expansion plan to a wider political issue: the contradiction between the liberals, who stood for personal freedom, and the social democrats who promoted collective interests. The social liberal Lindo, who, according to his diary, voted for Jurriaan Kok, wrote in his diary about his right-hand man Bakker Schut, a social democrat: "In that head there is too much socialism and one-sided interest" (Maarschalkerweerd, 1998). Just as Berlage, Bakker Schut was an important social democrat and SDAP icon.

For Lindo, urban planning should not be focused only on the appearance of buildings. It was the citizens who brought the diversity of architecture to the city, creating a picturesque image. In Lindo's eyes, housing belonged to private individuals who could shape their own world and individuality. Social democrats such as Bakker Schut and Berlage regarded urban planning and architectural expression as governmental responsibilities, intended to curb the excessive individualism characteristic of the *fin de siècle*. Progressive liberals such as Lely, Jurriaan Kok, and Simons also supported collective responsibility; these aldermen introduced the leasehold system and devised a way of financing housing law homes, although they did not embrace the collectivized architecture of the social democrats.

Politicization in urban planning was not limited to the conflict between Berlage and Lindo. In Lindo's diary in 1912 there is a passage about a report that he gave to Lely. Lindo said that the mayor H.A. van Karnebeek, a conservative liberal who took office in 1911, had told him not to speak to Goekoop anymore, because he had not yet finished his

Center, Jewish quarter.
Source: The Hague municipal map in 72 parts from 1985.
Collection HGA z.gr.0041-29.

Center.
Source: The Hague municipal map in 72 parts from 1985.
Collection HGA z.gr.0041-23.

plans for Zorgvliet. Goekoop had specially hired the famous German city builder Karl Friedrich Henrici, a follower of Sitte (collection HGA gr. 1393). Lely disapproved of the fact that Lindo was hindered in his work by the mayor (diary 1912, no. 4: 7-8). This pressure from the mayor on the one hand and the alderman on the other was constant; a few pages later Lindo called Van Karnebeek's predecessors, mayor E.C. baron Sweerts de Landas Wyborgh, of the confessional Anti-Revolutionary Party ARP, a 'vile person' (diary 1912, no.4: 19). The conflict between the Liberal Union aldermen and Lindo can therefore also be interpreted as a conflict between the liberal aldermen and conservative mayors, between reformist liberals and conservative liberals, who preferred not to damage the good relations with the powerful Goekoop, who had enriched the city with several beautiful neighborhoods such as residential park Zorgvliet.

The call for beauty and amenities resulted in a village-like character in the design of new neighborhoods. These districts, laid out by land development companies, were organized as small villages within a network of broad arterial roads served by electric trams. They featured attractive neighborhoods with a great diversity and quality of buildings, materials, turrets, and amenities such as shops located at the neighborhood's center. Along the main thoroughfares—designed as green boulevards with relatively low-rise buildings—stood distinguished private residences.

After Lindo's retirement in 1918, his Public Works Department was reorganized and a year later the Dienst der Stadsontwikkeling en Volkshuisvesting (Department of Urban Development and Housing) was separated from it. In 1919 Van Liefland, the most iconic architect of this period, passed away. The era of engineer Lindo and architect Van Liefland was over. In 1918 the First World War ended, although in fact from 1905 onwards little had been built. The Hague was now facing a major housing shortage. It was time for change.

Appalling Housing Conditions in the Slums of The Hague and Scheveningen

The Liberal Union and the Housing Situation

The Liberal Union was committed to individual freedoms, but kept an eye on the need for protecting the poor. The hygienists, Liberal Union politicians such as Droogleever Fortuyn and Jurriaan Kok, were important in this. Their role would eventually be taken over by the social democrats after the First World War. In addition to housing associations that wanted to build homes, the municipality itself now also took the initiative. In 1911 it was decided to build the first 65 municipal houses for the poorest fishing families in Scheveningen at Kolenwagenslag, which were completed in 1913. This was followed by a second series of 81 houses that were completed in 1916. These first simple houses heralded the cityscape that followed, that of the Early Modern Movement. It was a reaction to the miserable housing situation in The Hague's slums and in the village of Scheveningen. Politician had been dissatisfied about this for years and eventually this would lead to a historic council decision on July 6, 1914.

In 1894, on the initiative of the Vereeniging voor Handel, Nijverheid en Gemeentebelangen (Association for Trade, Industry, and Municipal Interests), an investigation was started into the condition of cheap housing by the young lawyer and progressive liberal P. Droogleever Fortuyn. In the interbellum, he became alderman in The Hague and then mayor of Rotterdam. His report from 1898 was shocking. Bakker Schut (1938, p. 138) quoted from the report on Scheveningen:

"As has already been noted, the courtyard houses are built very close to each other; the land between the streets has been used everywhere, with the exception of a few large yards, and one can hardly find one's way in the maze of gates ... Some courtyards have one or more continuous private toilets, but most use the barrel system. That each family can dispose of its own waste is rare ... In some courtyards, the barrels are regularly emptied twice a week by the municipality, but often the care of this is left to the residents. Cleaning must also be done by the residents themselves. Very disgraceful situations were often found; barrels that had not been emptied or cleaned in weeks; the excrement is then taken somewhere or the inhabitants go to the dunes to do their business ... The houses are generally very low and often built of half-brick walls ... The sewer system is almost without exception in a disgraceful condition or there is nothing that resembles a sewer ... The pavement can only be called sufficient in exceptional cases and is sometimes completely missing ... The general condition of the courtyards is bad, almost without exceptions."

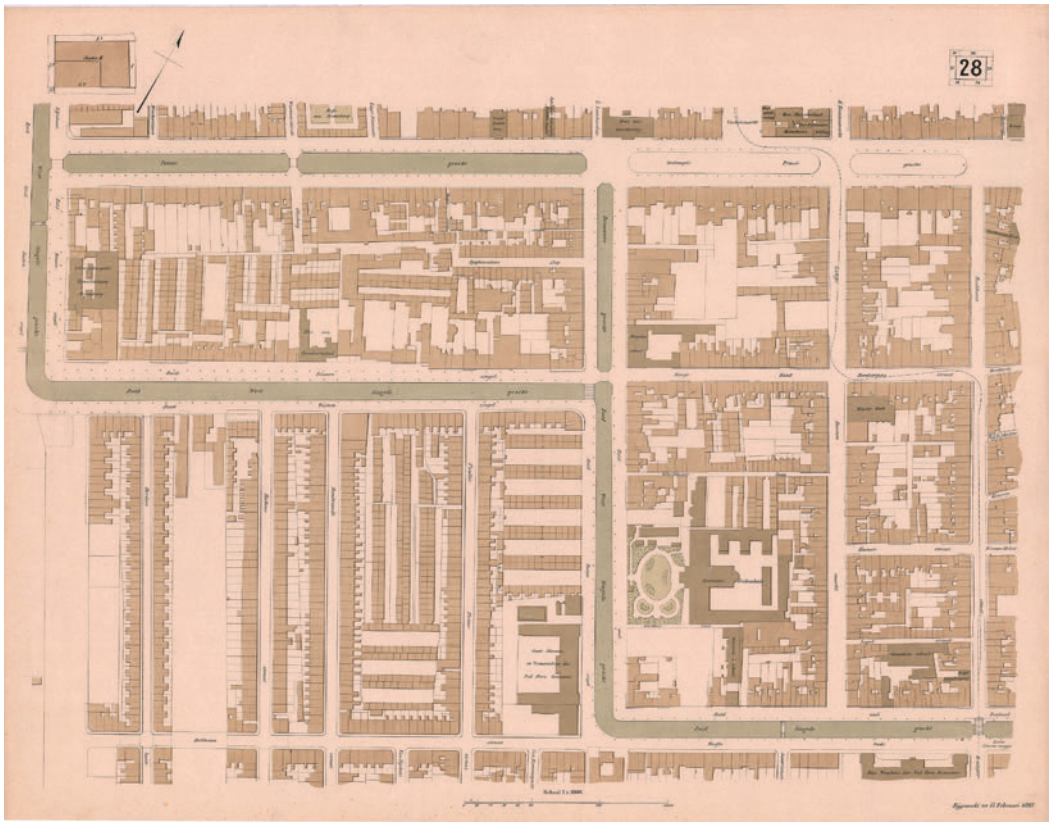
The Survey of 1904 and 1906

After this research by Droogleever Fortuyn and after the Housing Act came into force, a full survey was held in The Hague between 1904 and 1906 by the Gezondheidscommissie (Health Committee). Of the 3,093 homes examined, 2,199 courtyard homes were located on corridors, behind gates, or in slums. And 340 homes were occupied by the owner himself. Only 894 homes were located directly on a street or alley. Almost all of them were single-family homes, of which 1,727 had only one room, 1,023 two rooms and 343 three rooms. The houses were overcrowded. The smallest houses measured 5.69 m2 without an attic or 5 m2 with an attic. The height of the rooms was lower than 2.5 m2 in 19% of the cases and 2.25 m2 and lower in 5%. Toilets were often shared. Only 1,129 homes had their own connection to running water, often shared with several homes. With regard to the quality of the homes examined, 733 were assessed as 'very good', 1,255 as 'good', 915 as 'fair' and 113 as 'insufficient' and 28 as 'poor'. Bakker Schut (1938) found this assessment too optimistic and subjective; standards were apparently very low, according to him. As for rents, 562 homes (20%) cost less than 1 guilder per week, 1,835 homes (67%) between 1 and 2 guilders and 333 homes more than 2. According to Bakker Schut (1938), these were exceptionally low rents for the time.

Poverty as the Cause of the Miserable Housing Situation

The population of Scheveningen formed an almost closed community,

Schilderswijk.
Source: The Hague municipal map in 72 parts from 1985.
Collection HGA z.gr.0041-34.



Center and Schilderswijk.
Source: The Hague municipal map in 72 parts from 1985.
Collection HGA z.gr.0041-28.

which did not mix with the city population (Bakker Schut, 1920). The dialect, the religion, the traditional costume and especially the dependence on only one economy, herring fishing from May to September, gave the village its own character and closed nature. The fishing industry was an extensive industry with shipping companies, fishmongers, herring picklers, goat smokers, shrimp peelers, shipbuilders, basket makers, coopers, net manufacturers, ice cream manufacturers, and transport companies. The wages in this industry were exceedingly low, below those of an unskilled laborer.

According to Bakker Schut (1938), the population lived in continuous poverty and was on the edge of pauperism. Women and girls often went out to work to supplement the meager wages of the men and boys. People mainly married among themselves, so that in the end only a limited number of surnames occurred and most families were interrelated. The people of Scheveningen often had large families and often lived with several households in one-room houses. It was mainly the dilapidation of buildings and lack of maintenance that made homes so bad, according to Bakker Schut. Poverty was the main cause of the poor housing situation; people could not afford better housing. Tearing down slums was therefore not an option.

After the introduction of the Housing Act, there was a long discussion about who should build social housing: the municipality or the housing associations. Finally, in 1911 the municipality decided to build the first 65 municipal houses in the Kolenwagenslag, which were completed in 1913 (Bakker Schut, 1920). However, this turned out to be insufficient. In order to stimulate the local economy and to provide work for the poorest part of the population, plans were made by Lindo's department to build ports in Scheveningen and Laakhavens to stimulate employment. The inner port Laakhavens was opened in 1902; the first seaport in Scheveningen in 1904.

4.7 Conclusion

The Historic Council Decision of July 6, 1914. In 1914, Bakker Schut was commissioned by the municipality to draw up a Report on the Improvement of Public Housing. This memorandum was intended to provide insight into the current housing situation in The Hague and also to provide a plan to improve it. The report was discussed in the city council, leading to tempers running high (Gemeentewerken van 's-Gravenhage, 1914; Bakker Schut, 1920; 1939).

A shortage of housing had arisen due to the many declarations of uninhabitability of homes. Before 1914, 674 houses in The Hague had been declared uninhabitable, of which 140 in Scheveningen. In 1938 there were 1,352 declarations of uninhabitability, 697 of which in Scheveningen (Bakker Schut, 1939: 172). There was also a lack of affordable (working-class) housing, even though this was now regulated in the Housing Act. However, private individuals mostly built for the better-off. The cut-throughs in the city also came at the expense of affordable housing. In the city center, 334 homes that had been demolished. The cut-through in Scheveningen (Jurriaan Kokstraat) involved 187 homes that had to be demolished. Preparations were also made at Pronkstraat and Weststraat for the demolition of 308 homes.

Initially, the mayor and aldermen did not want to follow Bakker Schut's recommendations for improving public housing. Councilor H.J. Romeijn, of the Local Works and Property Committee, made a proposal that was accepted by everyone at the historic council meeting of July 6, 1914. This established the main policy for public housing in The Hague for the coming period. In concrete terms, this meant according the municipal notes (Bakker Schut, 1939: 36):

"A. That the mayor and aldermen be invited to provide for the most immediate necessities by submitting to the council, with all possible dispatch:

I. a. plan for the erection, by the municipality, of dwellings at Kolenwagenslag;

b. if need be, a revised plan for the erection, by the municipality, of dwellings on the far side of the Drainage Canal (Verversingskanaal), which, in so far as concerns the laying out of streets, was approved by resolution of the council of October 7, 1912;

c. a plan for the erection, by the municipality, of dwellings in the vicinity of Trekweg.

II. Proposals for the obtaining of advances from the state for the execution of the plans referred to under I, and, should it be required, for contributions toward the annuities thereby incurred.

B. That the mayor and aldermen be invited to promote the further erection of workmen's dwellings, and to that end forthwith to enter into and to pursue negotiations with bodies admitted to and active in the cause of housing reform, and likewise to prepare plans for construction by the municipality.

C. That the mayor and aldermen be invited to submit a proposal for

Scheveningen village.
Source: The Hague municipal map in 72 parts from 1985.
Collection HGA z.gr.0041-14.

Scheveningen village.
Source: The Hague municipal map in 72 parts from 1985.
Collection HGA z.gr.0041-42.

the obtaining of an advance from the state, in order to enable the municipality to acquire, for the purpose of clearance or improvement, such dwellings as may be deemed suitable thereto in the interest of housing reform, together with contributions toward the annuities thereby incurred.

D. That the mayor and aldermen be invited to submit to the council proposals for the execution of plans for the expropriation of parcels and the erection of dwellings at Gedempte Gracht and Pronkstraat and environs.

E. That the mayor and aldermen be invited to promote the provision of shelter for the homeless.

F. That the mayor and aldermen be invited to submit to the council proposals:

I. for the establishment of a housing exchange;

II. for the institution of comprehensive housing statistics;

III. for the creation of a Department of Public Housing."

The conservative mayor had particular difficulty with too much expansion of municipal involvement in urban development and municipal housing; he saw this as a task for housing associations. However, his Liberal Union alderman for Public Works Jurriaan Kok supported the council proposals, which led to the Romeijn motion being adopted. After the council decision of July 6, 1914, a Public Housing Service was established and capable architects were recruited. But the First World War broke out on July 28 1914, which created a stream of refugees coming to the Netherlands. Materials could no longer be imported and construction prices rose, so that housing construction came to a virtual standstill and the housing shortage increased sharply. As a result, declarations of uninhabitability were suspended in 1914 and only resumed in 1920.

In September 1914, Willem Greve (1880-1956) was hired as an architect to design the aforementioned municipal houses and to organize the Public Housing Service. The architects Geert Albers (1888-1952)—who worked for the service from 1916 to 1921—and Antoon Pet (1885-1945)—who worked there from 1919 to 1930—were also recruited for this purpose. The first projects Kolenwagenslag I and Zeezwaluwhof were designed by Adam Schadée (1832-1937) in collaboration with Johannes Jacobus Gort (1875-1950) (Bakker Schut, 1939: 74). In addition to the municipality, housing associations also hired architects (Bakker Schut, 1939: 116).

On July 1, 1918, the Dienst der Stadsontwikkeling en Volkshuisvesting (Department of Urban Development and Public Housing, DSenV) was established with Bakker Schut as director. The Dienst voor de Volkshuisvesting (Public Housing Service) was transformed into the Woningdienst (Housing Service) and was a section within the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing.

EXERCITIE-VELD VOOR BEREDEN TROEPEN
EXERCITIE-VELD V. ONBEREDEN TROEPEN
KAZERNE TERREIN
HOUTRUST
SPORTTERREIN
AFD. STAL. O.R.
Stadhouderspleen
SPORTTERREIN
SCHEVENINGSCHE BOSCHJES
Scheveningsche weg
MUZEUM
ZORGVLIET
Kerkhoflaan
Prins Vinkeoord
Rieuwerp
Petit St Hubert
Kraenenburg
Hanenburg
Chocoladefabriek
Laan van Meerdervoort
Gr. Hertogin-nelaan
VREDESPALEIS
Alexanderveld HUIS
Oostduin
Arendsdorp
TRAMREMISE
Pleein 1813
VALKENBOSCH
Kinder speelplaats
Gasfabriek
Elandstraat
Zoo. Bol
Malieveld
EIK EN DUINEN
Rustenburg
ASCHSTAAL
Koekamp
Spuistraat
Heerengracht
speel plaats
Zuid Singel
Laak
LOOSDUINEN
SPORT TERREIN
Kanaalstraat
Eendenkooi
Beek
Hoofkade
Stat. H.I.J.S.M.
CENTRAALSTATION
Gasfabriek
AFD. STAL. O.R.
Laak haven
Abattoir
TERREIN TE BESTEMMEN VOOR GOEDEREN EMPLACEMENT
Korte Laak
Stoomgemaal
WATERINGEN
Broeksloot
RIJSWIJK

5
CITYSCAPE OF EARLY MODERN ARCHITECTURE 1916–1934

“Building cities means creating space with the volume of houses”
(“Städte bauen heisst: mit dem Hausmaterial Raum gestalten!”
Albert Erich Brinckmann, *Platz und Monument: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Ästhetik der Stadtbaukunst in neuerer Zeit*, 1908: 170

“But wouldn’t there be a reason for them, in contrast to the individualistic cityscape that has become unbearable, which is, after all, the expression of the class hostile to them, to accept with enthusiasm the calm appearance of the collective cityscape for that very reason?”
Hendrik Petrus Berlage, *Over normalisatie in de uitvoering van den woningbouw*, 1918: 398

Left, fragement of the map of the expansion plan by H.P. Berlage from 1908.
Collection HGA z.gr.0535.

5.1
Introduction

After World War I, severe housing shortages emerged, and the city once again grew explosively. Social Democrats and confessional parties dominated local politics, women gained the right to vote, and the welfare state continued to develop.

The Hague experienced significant growth during the interbellum, particularly from 1916 to 1928, resulting in an influx of new residents. In 1914, The Hague had a population of 301,847, which increased to 344,624 in 1918 and 504,262 in 1940. Thus, over the span of 36 years, the city gained 200,000 inhabitants.

From 1917 to 1927, there was a notable increase in the construction of affordable houses by new housing associations. The peak years for construction were 1921 (approximately 620 homes), 1922 (approximately 600 homes), 1924 (almost 700 homes), and 1925 (1,000 homes), with 1923 being an outlier with only 100 homes built. Another outlier year was 1935, when around 500 homes were constructed (Bakker Schut, 1939: 114). The construction of affodable houses by the municipal also reached its peak between 1917 and 1927, with approximately 800 homes built per year in the peak years of 1921, 1922, 1923, and 1924 (Bakker Schut, 1939: 59).

The Gemeentelijk Grondbedrijf (Municipal Land Company) experienced significant growth due to various expansions. According to Freijser and Teunissen (2008: 85), the proceeds from ground leases quadrupled during this period. Additionally, the number of homes owned by the municipality and associations in the new suburbs increased significantly. The housing associations in The Hague had appropriate names that reflected a new spirit of collectivism, such as Algemeene Coöperatieve Woningvereeniging (General Housing Cooperation), Verbetering zij ons Streven (Our Goal Is Improvement), Volksbelang (People's Interest), Luctor et Emergo (Latin, I Struggle and Rise), Die Haghe, Patrimonium, De Goede Woning (The Good House), Nutswoningen (Houses for General Interest), Beter Wonen (Living Better), Openbaar Belang (Public Interest), Ons Belang, and Onze Hulp is in den Naam der Heeren (Our Aid Is Given in the Name of God) (Bakker Schut, 1939: 232).

Early modern architecture introduced new hygienic housing, with H.P. Berlage as its greatest proponent. The village character and lush greenery along the main roads was preserved. However, the urban areas and their architecture underwent significant changes in this period. The extravagant, vibrant architecture of the late nineteenth century, which focused heavily on individuality, was replaced by large residential neighborhoods made of stone and brick, residential houses no longer had turrets. In these neighborhoods, it was difficult to distinguish individual apartments from the overall structure of urban blocks. Individuality disappeared from dwellings, and carefully designed residential neighborhoods were built in which brick-built urban blocks and urban space were elegantly combined to create healthy homes with light and ventilation. Inner-courtyard spaces within blocks and double blocks became places for children and parents to meet. On the one hand, sober brick rationalism in the spirit of Berlage took shape; on the other, the characteristic architecture of the Nieuwe Haagse School (New The Hague School) emerged. Important examples include Papaverhof by Jan Wils and Marlot by Co Brandes. The "brown pancake city" was developed with neighborhoods such as Laakkwartier, Heesterbuurt, Vruchtenbuurt, and Bloemenbuurt. After 1930, however, The Hague slipped into an urban-planning hibernation.

5.2
The Educational Hand of the SDAP

Reformers of the Liberal Union before World War I

"Space" in Urban Planning in The Hague

Furthermore, the connection between "Hausmaterial" (buildings) and "Raum" (urban spaces such as streets and gardens) is characteristic, since this created a hygienic and compact living environment. In The Hague, this connection is referred to as "Schoone Eenheid" ("Beautiful Unity"). The cityscape of the early modern architecture of collectivization, consisting of urban blocks of affordable houses built in brick, in monumental neighborhoods with high population densities. This system was developed between 1916 and 1928 and based on the ideals of equality and commonality cherished by the Sociaal Democratische Arbeiders Partij (Social Democratic Workers' Party, SDAP). The concept, known as Gesamtkunst (total art), as described by Berlage, resulted in the integration of monumental urban spaces, intimate residential squares, green spaces, and affordable houses in The Hague's neighborhoods. "Beautiful Unity" was not only concerned with formalistic aspects, but also aimed to achieve hygienic urban planning by ensuring sufficient fresh air and daylight in homes. Building profiles (section of buildings and urban spaces) were carefully recorded and improved over the years.

Between 1916 and 1922, The Hague became known for its double urban blocks with intimate residential squares. Those intimate residential squares already existed in, for example, Surinamestraat, but consistently designed double urban blocks were a novelty. This was a response directed by the SDAP to the severe housing shortages caused by the First World War (Bakker Schut, 1939).

Lely, Simons, Jurriaan Kok

As noted earlier, the Liberal Union had already taken an important step in urban expansion and housing construction, ultimately resulting in the Housing Act (1901-1902). This marked the first major breakthrough in urban housing. Berlage's expansion plan of 1908 can be regarded as a second significant step, yet its implementation failed to materialize due to a lack of available land and financial resources. As a result, Berlage's ambitions served primarily as a source of inspiration, actual implementation followed only later.

Liberal Union aldermen Lely (introduction of the leasehold system), Simons (establishment of the Municipal Credit Bank in 1914 and the Bank for Dutch Municipalities in 1922), and Jurriaan Kok (Berlage's expansion plan of 1908 and the historic council resolution of July 6, 1914) played a crucial role in realizing urban expansion and housing construction during the interbellum.

Advances and loans made it possible to acquire land, which was subsequently leased, and to finance the construction of housing under the Housing Act. Lely emphasized that substantial financial resources were indispensable if the Housing Act was ever to be effectively implemented. In this way, the foundations were laid for the land and housing policies of the SDAP, which would be carried out during the interbellum.

The Gradual Transition of the Cityscape of the Fin de Siècle to Early Modern Architecture

As emphasized in the preceding chapter, the transformation of the cityscape from the Fin de Siècle to Early Modern Architecture should be understood less as a clearly demarcated rupture, but rather as a gradual transition. In the years immediately preceding the First World War, relatively little construction activity took place, yet it was precisely during this period that the most decisive institutional and regulatory frameworks were devised, laying the foundations for subsequent urban development.

These included the Housing Act of 1901, The Hague's first Building and Housing Ordinance of 1906, Berlage's expansion plan of 1908, the introduction of the leasehold system, and the financing regulations of 1914, alongside the municipal council resolution of July 1914, which may be regarded as a milestone in The Hague's planning history. In 1913, Berlage himself also relocated to The Hague, further embedding his influence in the city's urban discourse.

Although a few early ensembles in Early Modern Architecture were already realized, such as Kolenwagenslag and Zeezwaluwhof in Scheveningen, these remained isolated experiments within the broader urban fabric. It was only after the First World War that housing production was systematically scaled up, propelled by the initiatives of SDAP aldermen, Berlage's advisory role, and the leadership of Piet Bakker Schut, the influential director of the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing.

The subsequent economic crisis of the 1930s once again brought construction to a prolonged standstill. Within this historical trajectory, it is essential in the present chapter to re-examine Berlage's expansion plan. Whereas the previous chapter focused primarily on the conflicts and political tensions surrounding the plan, the analysis here will focus on its substantive content and its significance for the evolution of urban planning in The Hague.

Social Democratic Hegemony in the Interbellum

The Rise of the Welfare State

On December 12, 1917, the municipal secretary of The Hague announced the introduction of universal suffrage for men and the right for women to run as candidates. In the 1918 House of Representatives elections, all men were granted the right to vote, and the proportional representation system was implemented, replacing the constituency system.

This resulted in a significant victory for the confessional General Union of Roman Catholic Parties (RK) and the Social Democratic Workers' Party (SDAP). The SDAP supported Article 23 of the constitution, which granted freedom to confession-based education, in exchange for support for women's suffrage by the confessionals. The Liberal Union and Free Liberals suffered major losses, creating a landslide in the political landscape. In the 1919 local elections, women still had the right to stand for election and were allowed to be elected, later that year they also received the right to vote and in 1922 they were also allowed to vote in the national elections.

In The Hague in 1919, the SDAP emerged as the major winner, leading to the rise of socialist aldermen in cities like Amsterdam (Wibaut, Monne de Miranda), Rotterdam (Heijkoop), and The Hague (Drees, Vrijenhoek). Young politicians like Willem Drees (1886-1988) and Kornelis ter Laan (1871-1963) emerged in The Hague. Ter Laan served as a municipal councilor in The Hague from 1905 to 1914 and was also a member of the House of Representatives from 1901 to 1914. Drees was a member of the Hague city council from 1913 to 1941 and held positions as alderman and party leader of The Hague SDAP from 1919 to 1933. After 1933, he entered national politics.

The SDAP and the confessionals prioritized political control and influence over society, leading to a strong focus on public housing and urban planning. This marked the end of fifty years of free enterprise and laissez-faire urban development. The devastation and disorder caused by the First World War, as well as the severe housing shortage, likely played a role in this shift. Consequently, a turbulent period commenced for public housing and urban planning in the Netherlands.

Reflection Government of the Municipality

After 1919, a government of mayor and aldermen that reflected those political movements was in place in The Hague; this remained the case, in varying composition, until 1939. The most important party was SDAP, along with the confessional RK, Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP), and the Christian Historical Union (CHU), and the liberals, which consisted of the League of Free Liberals, Liberal Union, Liberal Democratic League, and Freedom League. After the 1919 elections, the SDAP held 14 seats, the confessional parties 16, and the liberals 9, down from 26 previously. In the 1923 elections, the SDAP came in at 13 seats, the confessional parties at 19, and the liberals at 8. In the 1927 elections, very little changed, with the SDAP gaining 14 seats, the confessional parties 18, and the liberals 9. This resulted in two alderman posts for the SDAP, two for the confessional parties, and one for the Liberals.

For the SDAP, the most important criterion for participating in a municipality board was introduction of the leasehold. The large-scale implementation of the Housing Act was entrusted to Bakker Schut. After the election victory in 1919, the SDAP's hegemony was complete, and Bakker Schut focus exclusively on implementing the Housing Act.

New Department of Urban Development and Public Housing

During the interbellum, the SDAP held significant power. Several individuals within the party played crucial roles, including engineer Piet Bakker Schut (1877-1952), who took over from Lindo in 1919 and became the director of the newly established Dienst der Stadsontwikkeling en Volkshuisvesting (Department of Urban Development and Public Housing). Another important figure was Dr. Hendrik Enno van Gelder (1876-1960), who served as a party ideologue, lawyer, cultural official, museum reformer, and archivist. Dr. Hendrik Petrus Berlage (1856-1934), an iconic architect, acted as a special advisor to the municipality executives of The Hague. Dr. Willem Drees (1886-1988) served as an alderman for social affairs and later for public works. Finally, alderman Machiel Vrijenhoek (1884-1947), an architect specializing in housing, became municipal councilor in 1919.

According to the SDAP members, the municipal government had to take up a strong leading role (Buschman & Sman, 1994). This responsibility was given to Bakker Schut, who acted as a central figure in coordinating various aspects of city planning. Drees, through his sensitivity, managed to maintain the coalition of SDAP, Liberal Union, and confessionals in the city council and executive of The Hague between 1919 and 1933, ensuring the continuation of the land policy. In the last two years leading up to 1933, Drees was alderman for public works.

When he became an alderman in 1923, Vrijenhoek first became alderman for municipal companies (Gemeentebedrijven) for a few months. From October 1923 to September 1933, he was alderman for Urban Development and Public Housing (Stadsontwikkeling & Volkshuisvesting) and was responsible for the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing (Dienst der Stadsontwikkeling en Volkshuisvesting) led by Bakker Schut, and for the Department of Building and Public Housing Supervision (Dienst Bouw- en Woningtoezicht) led by G.A. Meijer. From 1935 to October 1942, he was again alderman for Urban Development and Public Housing.

Vrijenhoek was well acquainted with The Hague and current developments there. He received his education at the Academy of Visual Arts, department of Architecture, in Rotterdam from 1902-1905 and at the Academy of Visual Arts, department of Architecture, in The Hague from 1902 to 1904. Vrijenhoek worked in 1902-1905 for architect Eduard Frederik Ehnle, from 1906-1912 for Willem Cornelis Fletterman and Dolf Broese van Groenou, and in 1918-1922 for Dolf Broese van Groenou en Samuel de Clercq, whose office was located at Nassau Dillenburgstraat 19 and from 1919 in Cultura, Wassenaarseweg 20. He attended numerous international conferences on public housing and urban planning, where he gained insights into the latest advancements in the field.

The Hague Architects, Sober Rationalism, and the Nieuwe Haagse School (New The Hague School)

Alongside Berlage, several The Hague-based architects played a significant role: Jan Wils (1891-1972), Co Brandes (1884-1955), and Dirk Roosenburg (1887-1962), as well as the municipal architects Greve, Albers, and Pet, and the architects appointed by the housing associations (Bakker Schut, 1939; Freijser & Teunissen, 2008).

The goal of the SDAP was to improve the living conditions of the urban population living in slums and courtyards in The Hague and Scheveningen. It aimed to provide them with better housing, promote a sense of community, and strengthen the bond between individuals. This was particularly important due to the housing shortages caused by the migration flow from Belgium during the First World War.

The SDAP believed that the individualism and laissez-faire character of bourgeois society were responsible for the problems in the city during the nineteenth century. The SDAP's main policies included a land policy with leasehold, which allowed the municipality to carry out its ambitious housing projects, and a system to finance and secure housing for low-income individuals. The initial groundwork for these policies had previously been laid by Liberal Union aldermen Lely and Simons.

Land, Capital, and Labour: SDAP Politics in The Hague

As mentioned, there were significant problems during the First World War. These included: (a) a lack of affordable land for building; (b) a lack of funding for housing law houses; (c) a shortage of raw materials and workers, making housing unaffordable; (d) uncertainty regarding who would build affordable houses: the municipality or housing associations.

In 1915, these problems were discussed in a publication called *De bouwverordening en het woningvraagstuk* (*The Building Ordinance and the Housing Issue*) (by Dirk Egbert Wentink (1867-1940), an architect and inspector of public health. This book was a collection of articles from the period 1911-1912 and 1914 that had appeared in the monthly magazine *De Gemeenteraad* (*The Municipal Counci*l) (Wentink, 1915).

Wentink argued that the Building Ordinance (in The Hague from 1906) was hindering the improvement of public housing. He believed that the requirements for land use should include the placement of buildings in a logical correlation to the public road and in relation to each other, as well as regulations on the height of buildings. According to Wentink, the provisions in the Housing Act that should have been included and elaborated in the Building and Housing Ordinance were as follows:

1. Governments should be allowed to provide subsidies to recognized housing associations and construction companies that worked towards the development of proper public housing.
2. Municipalities should be required to create a Building and Housing Ordinance that contained regulations for new buildings, particularly residential homes. These regulations stated that: "No construction, renovation, or expansion could take place without a municipal building permit; homeowners were obligated to perform certain maintenance tasks; if a building was poorly maintained, the municipality had the authority to declare it uninhabitable. In cases where the owner neglected their responsibilities, the municipality could even expropriate the property or clear it; municipalities were mandated to create expansion and zoning plans, and these plans had to be reviewed every ten years; municipalities with a population of over 10,000 or a growth rate of 20% in the last five years were required to expand." (Wentink,1915).

The issue of land availability had to be addressed and the use of land had to be resolved. Lindo had also made this argument, but had been ignored. One problem lay at the core of the matter: the interests of land development companies that could freely speculate and drive up land prices in beautiful neighborhoods. It was generally believed that the land policy needed to be regulated by the government, but nothing had as yet been done.

In these publications, Wentink outlined the problems that the SDAP faced and implicitly formulated the party's program during the interbellum, which included municipal land purchase, construction of affordable municipal and housing association houses, and the leasing of land of the municipality to housing associations and entrepeneurs. A revolving fund would finance urban development.

Leasehold as a Rule

The main principle of the land policy was that leasehold was the standard, and land could only be sold in special circumstances. Land that had been purchased by the municipality was reissued on a leasehold basis after houses were built to housing associations and entrepreneurs. Leaseholders were required to pay an annual ground rent to the municipality, and after 75 years, the land would revert to the municipality. This leasehold system allowed the municipality to generate income, which could be used to help finance housing and other facilities. This was made possible through the establishment of a revolving fund for affordable housing. With the establishment of the Municipal Credit Bank for The Hague in 1914 and the Bank for Dutch Municipalities (BNG) in 1922, municipalities were provided with access to loans. These credit facilities enabled the financing of land and public housing under the Housing Act (BNG, 2009).

The Hague had very few opportunities to expand because it was surrounded by neighboring municipalities. However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the municipal boundaries were significantly expanded (Everts et al., 1918). On December 31, 1900, 252 hectares of Rijswijk were added to The Hague. On December 31, 1902, 666 hectares of Loosduinen were also added, followed by another 508 hectares of Wassenaar and Voorburg on July 16, 1907. In total, The Hague grew 4,171 hectares in size. In 1923, Loosduinen was annexed entirely, providing The Hague with a large amount of land for its ambitious plans. Additionally, the municipality of The Hague purchased a significant amount of land in neighboring municipalities through a private law arrangement, although it required cooperation between various parties to make use of it. In 1909, the Municipal Land Company (Gemeentelijk Grondbedrijf) was established. A map from 1913, included as an appendix to this book, shows the plots of land that the municipality of The Hague had already purchased in Loosduinen and Voorburg, in addition to the available plots within its own municipality. This shows that the land company, led by Lely and Lindo, acquired a substantial amount of land in neighboring municipalities (Van Gelder et al., 1913).

In addition to a lack of money, land, raw materials, and workers, there was also tension in The Hague between Lindo and Berlage. Lindo, who was Berlage's opponent and predecessor, was given authority by the municipality to examine Berlage's expansion plan. Lindo criticized Berlage for not considering the existing landscape and believed that the new link roads made to the old city by major cut-throughs would ruin it. Lindo presented three options to the council and provided an explanation for each. Ultimately, the council chose option two, which required a more comprehensive plan. Only the main roads and squares needed to be determined in advance, as argued by Sitte in 1889. The details for buildings within the areas surrounded by the main roads would be arranged by the landowners, and the municipality had the freedom to approve or reject any deviations. In terms of the aesthetic quality of the buildings, Lindo supported Berlage's proposal to establish an Aesthetic Committee. It was decided that the plan would be submitted to the municipal council in parts, along with comments from Lindo.

To buy out land owned by private individuals, a significant amount of money was required. This was particularly challenging because, during the second half of the nineteenth century, the council did not want to infringe upon the rights of private landowners. As a result, the plan was heavily debated between Lindo's supporters and those who believed in a more detailed planning approach, such as Jurriaan Kok, his predecessor Lely, and SDAP member Ter Laan (Boekraad & Aerts, 1991). The debate on the expansion plan primarily focused on these two extreme positions. There was also a third position, proposed by the Liberal Union, which supported the Housing Act and the creation of a detailed plan, although its vision was not as extensive as the SDAP's. Due to a lack of funds and available land, the council postponed the issue and passed a motion stating that it did not want to establish fixed rules. The strategy was to let the experts work on concrete plans first and then decide what to do with them at a later stage (Boekraad & Aerts, 1991: 69). With this decision, the municipal council withdrew from the discussion, giving the municipal executive more freedom to act. However, the council's actions were seen as a delaying tactic to avoid fulfilling the obligations of the Housing Act. Nevertheless, without sufficient land and funds, it was challenging to come up with a comprehensive city plan.

Centralization of Power

The SDAP took control after winning the 1919 local election. Bakker Schut, the new director of the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing, implemented the SDAP public housing program with several full-time architects. During the interbellum, power and authority were concentrated in the person of Bakker Schut. Starting in 1910, the work of architects had been limited by the Aesthetic Committee, which was tightly controlled by Bakker Schut during this time. Material traders were cut off from the central purchase of building materials by the Centrale Bouwmaterialen Voorziening (Central Building Materials Supply CBV) created in 1918. Contractors were marginalized by the municipal contractor Haagsche Bouwmaatschappij (The Hague Construction Company, Habo), created in 1921. Urban planners from outside were excluded by the municipal management because all work had to adhere to sketches that already defined the building outlines, known as the Marlot method. There were many protests, but opponents were silenced by arguing that many housing units needed to be built, and contractors' prices made it impossible to do so (Bakker Schut, 1921; Van der Leeuw-Roord et al., 1981). All the SDAP's new ideas about collectivity and equality found their way into early modern architecture.

The Hague Art Circle and New The Hague School Architecture

It was not solely the political and administrative power of the SDAP that emerged after the First World War; a significant shift in cultural authority also took place. This cultural realignment influenced urban planning and housing policy in The Hague, as social-democratic values increasingly shaped the design of new neighborhoods, the provision of public amenities, and the promotion of collective housing initiatives. Architects, municipal planners, and housing associations operated within this transformed political and cultural landscape, which emphasized both social functionality and aesthetic restraint, reflecting the broader ambitions of the emerging welfare-oriented city.

The Hague Art Circle

The Hague Art Circle, transformed by Berlage and Wils, became a willing body that propagated the ideas of SDAP. In the Art Circle the architect Jan Wils played an important role as the secretary of the Department of Architecture and Applied Arts in organizing exhibitions between 1918 and 1923. He was able to organize various special activities through his contacts with De Sphinx (the Leiden Art Association) and the art movement De Stijl. Celebrities such as architects B. Taut, E. Mendelsohn, and El Lissitsky, mathematician M.H.J. Schoenmaekers, J. Hoffman, J.J.P. Oud, M. Eisler, and F. Schumacher (a member of the Deutsche Werkbund) were invited. The permanent members, including Berlage, Huszár, Zwart, Van Doesburg, and Wils, also often held exhibitions and lectures. Thus, The Hague Art Circle and Berlage introduced the innovations of German architecture and urban planning to The Hague.

The Hague Art Circle included not only architects and artists, but also policymakers such as Jurriaan Kok, Bakker Schut, and engineer Henk Suyver, who was the first real urban planner of The Hague and deputy director of the Urban Development and Public Housing Department. The The Hague architect Co Brandes was also involved in the club and in 1918 he founded a magazine called Levende Kunst (Living Art). When Wils became the editor of this magazine, he came into conflict with Van Doesburg, and as a result, he was only indirectly involved in the De Stijl movement.

New The Hague School Architecture

In 1923, the Amsterdam architecture critic C.J. Blaauw first used the

term The Hague School Architecture, also called New The Hague School (Freijser & Teunissen, 2008). It was called "new" because the term The Hague School had already been using for a painting style in the nineteenth century. New The Hague School differed in its architecture from the simple affordable association houses and the architecture of the Delft School architect Alexander Kropholler, for example, which was Bakker Schut's favorite, and from the rationalism of previous The Hague municipal architects. However, the architects of these styles shared similar objectives: they aimed to use architecture to bring about societal change (Freijser, 1985; Freijser & Teunissen, 2008) and to express collectivity in architecture. The simplicity of the brick they used and the attention they gave to detail brought a sense of unity to this architecture. Additionally, there were many similarities and mutual influences between New The Hague School, influenced by Frank Lloyd Wright and the De Stijl movement as seen by Wils and Brandes, and the houses influenced by Kropholler, which Bakker Schut found appealing.

The architecture of American architect Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959), who was a contemporary of Berlage, played an important role in New The Hague School. The architects in The Hague became acquainted with Lloyd Wright through Berlage. In 1911-12, he traveled to America and returned with many examples of new architecture. Wils and Roosenburg worked at Berlage's office during the First World War. While Berlage had previously been impressed by Louis Sullivan's projects, his employees were more fascinated by Lloyd Wright. In 1913, Berlage published a booklet titled *American Travel Memories.* Berlage called Lloyd Wright "the most talented architect", but whether he agreed with the new architecture that Lloyd Wright designed was still uncertain. Eventually, the design for the new Municipal Museum in The Hague was inspired by Lloyd Wright's compositions. Its design was characterized by the interplay of horizontal planes and vertical rhythms, similar to the De Stijl movement and the interlocking cubes seen in Brandes' works.

The compositions were often asymmetrical. There were no figurative elements or decorations like in Amsterdam, and the architecture was abstract, austere, and simple. The main materials used were brick and gravel concrete for the horizontal building elements. Also characteristic were masonry surfaces in cubist volumes. Chimneys, eaves, canopies, lintels, and water sills were used as horizontal and vertical accents. The expressiveness of the building volumes reflected the spatial organization of the buildings, in contrast to the architecture of the affordable association houses in the urban blocks, where individual houses could not be seen in the facade. Inspired by Lloyd Wright, the transition between inside and outside was emphasized with masonry terraces, garden walls, and pergolas. In New The Hague School, the details were proportionate to the whole, and the whole was integrated into the larger space outside the building, expressing a Gesamtkunstwerk.

Wils, Branders, and Roosenburg

Three architects, Wils, Brandes, and Roosenburg, played important roles. All three were au fait with international advancements in architecture and urban planning.

Roosenburg traveled to Germany and Italy from 1909 to 1910. He studied at the Technical College in Delft from 1905 to 1911 under Grandpré Molière, where he was taught by Evers and Klinkhamer in classical aesthetics and the Beaux-Arts tradition. His design for the house of Miss H. Luyt on Kerkhoflaan, built in 1918, is one of the earliest and most beautiful examples of Lloyd Wright houses in The Hague.

In 1923, Wils, along with J.J.P. Oud, W.M. Dudok, and Mart Stam, was sent to the International Architecture Exhibition in the Bauhaus in Weimar. According to architectural historian Van Bergeijk (1986, 1995, 2002, 2003, 2007), Wils was considered the best representative of modern Dutch architecture. Despite disagreements and conflicts, Van Doesburg recognized Wils in 1920 as a pioneer of cubist architecture and the use of industrial techniques and products. Already before the First World War, Wils visited Germany, specifically Berlin, to stay updated on developments.

Brandes returned to The Hague from Germany in 1909. He had received his training as an architectural draftsman at the Lotz Architectural Institute, an arts and crafts and drawing school in The Hague. He became a member of The Hague Art Circle and lived with his friend Willem Verschoor, whom he had met at the Lotz Institute. The school was founded by architect Moritz Lotz, who was the superintendent at the Public Works Department in The Hague. In 1911 and 1912, Brandes and Verschoor went on study trips to Berlin, possibly after attending an exhibition on modern German architecture at the Art Circle in 1910. Brandes then gained practical experience working with Van der Steur, who was involved in the construction of the Peace Palace, among other projects. From 1912 to 1915, Brandes worked at the architectural agency of Hoek and Wouters, where he held the position of chef-de-bureau. However, due to the war, the partnership dissolved. In 1915, Brandes established himself as an independent architect in Wassenaar, but he remained associated with Wouters until 1918. Brandes' notable works include the beautiful residential park Marlot (1920-25), the Dalton Lyceum (1934) and the surrounding houses, as well as many other houses. He was the most prolific architect during the interbellum. Bakker Schut apparently saw in Brandes a practical architect who could effectively combine new aesthetics with the concept of serial housing.

New The Hague School also included architects such as Bernhard Bijvoet, Jan Duiker, Jan Greve, Jo Limburg, Hendrik Wouda, Frans Lourijsen, Henk Wegerif, Cor van Eesteren, and Jan Buijs. Urban planners from the municipality, such as Suyver, and municipal architects Greve, Alberts, and Pet, shaped many monumental neighborhoods. Marlot, built using an urban plan by Suyver and house designs by Brandes, and Papaverhof designed by Wils are the most iconic urban ensembles from the interbellum in The Hague.

The Rapid Development of Public Housing and Urban Planning

Following the retirement of Lindo, the former Public Works Department was thoroughly reorganized and on July 1, 1918, three distinct entities were created: the Public Works Department (Dienst der Gemeentewerken), the Municipal Parks Department (Dienst der Gemeenteplantsoenen), and the newly established Department of Urban Development and Public Housing (Dienst der Stadsontwikkeling en Volkshuisvesting, DSenV). The impetus for this institutional reconfiguration lay with alderman Jurriaan Kok, whose vision underscored the growing importance of urban facilities and housing development in the rapidly expanding city. DSenV assumed responsibility for these domains and incorporated within its structure such crucial subdivisions as the Housing Service (Woningdienst) and the Municipal Land Agency (Gemeentelijk Grondbedrijf). In 1919, Pieter Bakker Schut was appointed as director of DSenV, soon to be joined by urban planner Henk E. Suyver and urban planner and inspector Van Boven. Suyver quickly distinguished himself, rising to the position of deputy director and, in 1939 ultimately succeeding Bakker Schut at the helm of the department.

Even before this administrative transformation, a team of municipal architects had been assembled to give form to the city's housing ambitions. In 1914, Willem Greve Jr. had entered the service of the Public Works Department, followed two years later in 1916 by Geert Albers, and in 1918 by Antoon Pet. With their appointment, the municipal design office reached its full strength, enabling it to take charge of the design of all municipal housing projects. Within this structure, Greve assumed leadership as head of the newly created Housing Service in 1918, while Albers and Pet contributed as project architects, thus collectively shaping the architectural identity of municipal housing in the interwar period.

Previously, matters such as material supply and contracting had not been regulated by the government, but now they became municipal services created in order to implement the affordable housing projects. The municipality took the lead in initiating many changes due to political and social pressures. This was largely influenced by the housing shortage following the First World War. Public housing and urban planning became the responsibility of the municipality. The developments in The Hague were also influenced by cyclical changes, such as the war, and the evolution of ideas about the public housing and urban planning profession.

Central Building Materials Supply (CBV) and The Hague Construction Company (Habo)

After the failure of several tenders and seeing building contractors raising their prices, perhaps even making mutual price agreements, the municipal council decided on March 18, 1918, to establish the Central Building Materials Supply (CBV). This involved the participation of the municipalities of Amsterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht, the national Department of Water Management, and the Association of Dutch Municipalities (VNG), led by former alderman Simons from The Hague. From 1918 to 1921, the centralized purchase of materials had a positive impact on price developments in the construction industry. Bakker Schut successfully defended this body against numerous criticisms from entrepreneurs, the liberal camp, and even the timber union (Bakker Schut, 1939).

The timber union declined to work together with the CBV, so the CBV was expanded with its own sawmill, planning mill, and carpentry factory. Eventually, construction prices would decrease to the point where the CBV was no longer necessary. However, for the moment, the union of contractors and the price agreements they likely had made were disrupted (Bakker Schut, 1921).

After the monopoly on material procurement was broken, social democrats such as Drees, Van Deth, Vrijenhoek, and Bakker Schut also took control of construction by private entrepreneurs. In 1920, Bakker Schut proposed the establishment of a municipal construction company. There was opposition from various groups, but on July 15, 1921, The Hague Construction Company (Habo) was founded (Van der Leeuw-Roord et al., 1981). This company, owned by the municipality, mainly built affordable housing. The building land was purchased and leased out. CBV and Habo played an important role in the implementation of high volumes of housing in The Hague.

Subsidy System for Affordable Houses

During the economic boom following the First World War, obtaining long-term loans for housing was expensive. As a result, private housing development was slow, and the government had to provide support and materials for the construction of housing law houses. In 1920, an economic crisis occurred which caused construction costs to decrease significantly, while wages remained the same. This led to the government reducing the rent contribution for tenants and eventually stopping it altogether in 1923. By the end of 1920, the government implemented a subsidy system outside of the Housing Act in order to encourage private initiatives. Financing according to the Housing Act was no longer provided after this change.

According to Bakker Schut (1939), the government's change in attitude had significant consequences for The Hague. Several requested improvements for a total of five thousand homes, such as in Duindorp, Laak, Spoorwijk, and Rustenburg, were ultimately not approved. The municipal administration and the ministry extensively discussed the situation that had arisen. In 1922, the Minister stated that the government had concluded that it was not possible to continue providing funds for housing without causing a general disruption of the state finances. Initially, granting subsidies for housing construction by municipalities was excluded, but later municipalities were also allowed to apply for subsidies.

According to Bakker Schut, between 1922 and 1925 a new subsidy system was implemented to determine the best way to stimulate housing production, resulting in the construction of more homes. Although the old system had been abolished in 1922, it continued to be

used until 1925 due to pending applications.

From 1925 to 1940, the housing market was mostly controlled by private building contractors, while construction had already begun after 1930 (Bakker Schut 1939; Nycolaas 1974: 38-39; Smit 1981: 120-124). Bakker Schut also mentioned that sporadic re-application of the Housing Act took place in 1926 and subsequent years (Bakker Schut 1939: 39).

Netherlands Institute for Housing and Urban Planning

The developments in the field of public housing and urban planning were stimulated by various individuals, including SDAP member Dirk Hudig (1872-1934). These developments eventually led to the establishment of the Nederlands Instituut voor Volkshuisvesting (Dutch Housing Institute, NIV) in 1918. This organization, which initially focused on public housing, expanded to include urban planning in 1921 and was later transformed into the Nederlandsch Instituut voor Volkshuisvesting en Stedebouw (Dutch Housing and Urban Planning Institute, NIVOS) in 1923. Its mouthpiece was the *Tijdschrift voor Volkshuisvesting* (*Journal of Housing*) from 1920-23 and the *Tijdschrift voor Volkshuisvesting en Stedebouw* (*Journal of Housing and Urban Planning*) from 1923. The Rotterdam architect and professor in Delft, M.J. Grandpré Molière, who gained recognition for his work on the garden village of Vreewijk in Rotterdam South, became the director of the institute. From this organization, the Nederlands Instituut voor Ruimtelijke Ordening en Volkshuisvesting (Dutch Institute for Spatial Planning and Housing, NIROV) developed (Baneke 2008; Steenhuis 2009).

Hudig and others advocated for social science research as the basis for designing expansion plans. They also highlighted many foreign examples of regional and provincial plans and encouraged learning from them. The concept of regional planning from Anglo-Saxon countries gained significant attention at the International Urban Building Convention held in Amsterdam in 1924. Bakker Schut was a member of the editorial board of the Journal of Housing and regularly published in it. Bakker Schut also contributed to the convention in Amsterdam with the publication *Das Bedürfnis an Bezirkerweiterungsplänen in den Niederlanden* (*The Need for Neighborhood Expansion Plans in the Netherlands*) (Bakker Schut, 1924).

From the beginning, public housing providers such as Bakker Schut in The Hague and Keppler, the director of the Amsterdam Housing Service, knew each other from their studies in Delft and the student association Sociaal-Technische Vereeniging van Democratische Ingenieurs en Architecten (Social-Technical Association of Democratic Engineers and Architects, STV), founded in 1904. In 1924, the name changed to Sociaal-Technische Kring van Democratische Ingenieurs en Architecten (Social-Technical Circle of Democratic Engineers and Architects, STK). Its aim was to promote public prosperity, the growth of the state system in a democratic sense, and to advocate for the social interests of engineers. When it was converted into the Sociaal-Technische Kring (Socio-Technical Circle) in 1924, the association took on a more private character. In 1935, the STK was dissolved (IISH Archive: Archive of the Social-Technical Association of Democratic Engineers and Architects).

The Aesthetic Committee: An Instrument of Power in The Hague

The Early Emergence of Quality Frameworks

To curb the uninhibited individualism in fin de siècle housing architecture, a centralized vision and policy were needed, according to the SDAP. The cultural policy pursued by individuals like Bakker Schut and Van Gelder on behalf of the SDAP can be best understood by looking at the role and authority of The Hague's Aesthetic Committee, which in these years was a policy instrument to realize the political ideals of collectivism in architecture. The committee was responsible for implementing the SDAP's political ideals through the evaluation of building plans.

On the advice of Berlage and supported by Lindo, a municipal Aesthetic Committee (Schoonheidscommissie, after 1936 named Welstandscommissie) was set up on July 17, 1910. It consisted of four members. De Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Bouwkunst (Society for the Promotion of Architecture), later transformed into the architect's organization BNA, and the board of directors of the Academie van Beeldende Kunst (Academy of Visual Arts) both delegated one member. The remaining two members were appointed by the municipal executive. From 1910 to 1921, the city council only assessed building plans on municipal land, which amounted to a great deal of work. However, after 1921, all building plans were subject to evaluation by the committee. Furthermore, the committee also started evaluating the new expansion plans at a later stage. It was customary for architects to present their building plans to the Aesthetic Committee in sketch form. Only after the committee's approval, the plans were submitted to the city council for further approval.

The annual reports of the Aesthetic Committee did not mention the architects who had produced the plans, nor the content of the plans. The committee's standards were not explicitly written down, but they were implied. However, the annual reports did give some understanding of the standards that the committee members used to evaluate the plans. The selection of committee members itself was a decision that reflected the desired image for The Hague.

Initially, the committee members closely followed the ideals of the SDAP party in The Hague. However, the architects appointed by the BNA, who were part of the committee, became increasingly disloyal to the local political leaders in The Hague. The committee members started to avoid political control more and more. The committee's aesthetic advice also seemed to hinder the construction of serial housing, which required a certain level of cost-effectiveness. Eventually, all the powers of the Aesthetic Committee were transferred back to the Dienst der Stadsontwikkeling en Volkshuisvesting (Department of

Urban Development and Public Housing) led by Bakker Schut, which was the main center of cultural politics in The Hague during the interbellum.

Wils about Caring for the Cityscape, 1918

In 1918, the architect Wils published an article titled "De zorg voor het stadsbeeld" ("Care for the Cityscape") in which he argued to give an unlimited power for the aesthetics. According to Wils, in the past, it was common for regulations to ensure the preservation of a beautiful cityscape, as "a thing of beauty is a joy forever". However, he argued that it was now possible to provide cities with good roads, excellent sewerage, street lighting, and even more comfort, but the aesthetic aspect of the cityscape was not being considered (Wils, 1918: 213).

Wils was not concerned with the work of the Aesthetic Committee and regulatory greed that imposed 'quality' on the city through a top-down policy. Wils believed that the innate sense of quality must be developed through education. Wils also believed that quality should become a part of life, a way of being and thinking. Wils thought that the press and other media should also pay more attention to this. "Is it not sad that the public is now fixated on all sorts of questions of dubious importance with a lifespan of a moment, and that they do not notice the ugly house in which they live, a house which does not meet any of the reasonable requirements?" (Wils, 1918: 214).

Regarding the Aesthetic Committee, Wils stated that: "For several years, we have been aware of the existence of Aesthetic Committees in our country. It is unfortunate to observe that these committees have not lived up to our expectations in most cases. This can be attributed to either insufficient instructions or the incompetence of the committee members. Instead of being a driving force for the development of urban beauty, they have had an obstructing effect. The effective functioning of an Aesthetic Committee primarily relies on having unlimited authority. Additionally, the members should be modern artists who are unbiased and have a keen eye for the architectural value of the designs being assessed" (Wils, 1918: 215).

Wils was frustrated that architects were not being held to high standards. Anyone was allowed to submit a design for any building, if it met basic technical requirements. Wils believed that if only competent individuals, specifically construction artists, were allowed to design and construct buildings, this would eliminate the need for committees and building inspections. Wils compared this to the situation in Germany, where architects were held to higher standards.

SDAP Politics in Book Form: Workers' Housing in the Netherlands

The book *Arbeiderswoningen in Nederland - Vijftig met rijkssteun, onder leiding van architecten uitgevoerde plannen, met de financieele gegevens* (*Workers' Housing in the Netherlands - Fifty Plans Carried out with Government Support, under the Supervision of Architects, with Financial Data*) (Berlage et al., 1921), published in 1921, demonstrated that public housing was not only a concern for public housing administrators and urban planners, but also for architects. This book, written for architects, provided guidance on how to construct affordable housing with government support. The drawings in the book were all to scale at 1:200, and each plan included information such as the year of construction, the number of homes, the foundation costs, and the weekly rent per home.

The book offered a compilation of examples of collectivization in architecture. It did not provide a complete overview of the achievements in public housing, because not all architects who were asked to contribute made their plans available for inclusion. In the preface, Berlage stated that the book did not only showcase good examples, but also included poorly designed plans that were built with government support. These poorly designed plans were mostly individual homes in garden cities or garden neighborhoods. The plans described in the book from The Hague represent the first generation of Housing Law houses, which were constructed by the municipality and housing associations.

Berlage further argued: "The artistic workers' house, as a separate house in the garden city and garden neighborhood, as a housing block in the city itself, has already found its realization. And that is undoubtedly of such importance that for those who will later write about the development history of contemporary architecture, the workers' house will prove to be the most important element in this" (Berlage et al., 1921: IX).

Architect Willem Kromhout (1864-1940) advocated for a closed cityscape in his contribution to the book. Kromhout argues that the open nature of the city leads to the loss of the enclosed cityscape and the charming, picturesque intimacy found in old towns and villages. Kromhout criticized contemporaries who transformed old storefronts into the fashionable styles of Art Nouveau and Wiener Secession, drastically altering the appearance of the city. "The emergence of a town or village always gave the sensation of picturesque intimacy. ... Old towns and villages are therefore natural monuments of special value, the houses, trees, churches and town halls; everything has grown together into an inviting, inviting, warm, cozy whole and rarely can one escape the heart-felt wish when walking through the charming streets, squares and canals, oh, if this remains untouched for a long time! Such a wish does not arise without reason, for here and there we see rude interventions by the village carpenter or contractor, who, according to a dubious city proposal, erects a fashionable storefront there, where formerly a serious, simple building, unpretentious, all-round beauty offered its modest share. The study of the causation of the old intimacy of the town and village architecture, as well as of the town and village agglomerate, had not yet begun; now, after years of foolish innovations, much has improved, which will eventually also find its repercussions in the not yet started villages and small towns" (Kromhout in Berlage et al., 1921: XIV).

Kromhout was annoyed by the indecisiveness of the municipal government that resulted in the closure of the old city (Zeeheldenkwartier, Archipelbuurt) and the subsequent enormous

cut-throughs in the old city, which meant to address the accessibility issues that had arisen. “Especially of the great cities, for rough was the way they made their way through the old circle. .... The Hague saw its indecisive perimeter enrichment with the Zeeheldenkwartier and Archipelbuurt. What a pity of unbridled cut-throughs everywhere! Gone was once the beautiful, enclosed nature of cities, … Streets without end, which showed no tendency to curve, planless combinations hatched at the former city offices, without any understanding of urban composition” (Kromhout in Berlage et al., 1921: XV). This remark was strange because, despite being the co-author of the book, Berlage himself had drawn straight cut-throughs, while Lindo (Grote Markt) and Van Liefland (Gevangenpoort sketches) made efforts to incorporate curved routes. It is possible that Berlage and Wils did not inform their colleague Kromhout adequately about the situation in The Hague.

5.3
About Space and Building Mass in The Hague: H.P. Berlage and A.E. Brinckmann

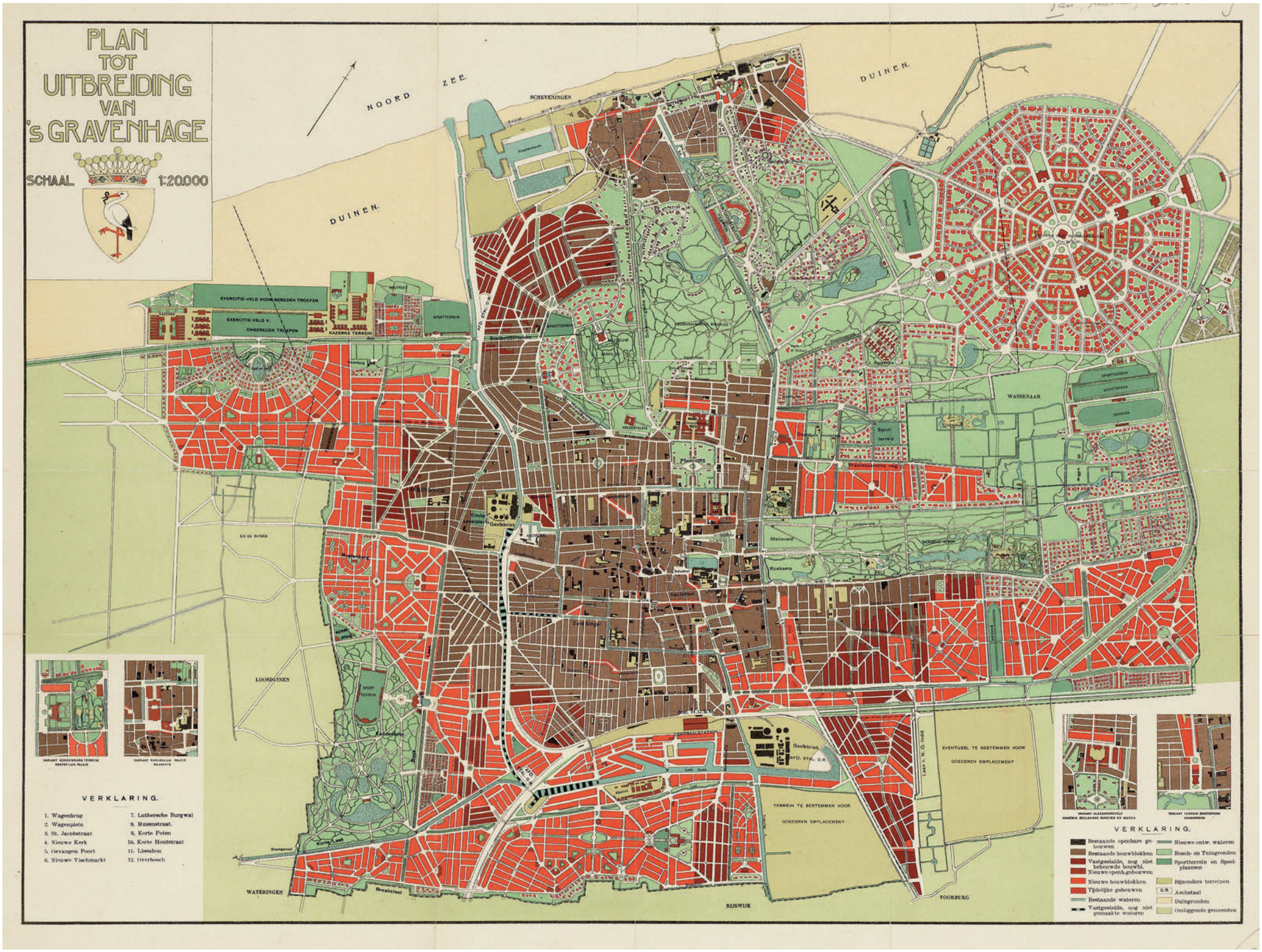
“Städte bauen heisst: mit dem Hausmaterial Raum gestalten!” (Brinckmann, 1908: 170)

Berlage opened his 1909 commentary on the *Plan tot Uitbreiding van ‘s-Gravenhage* (*Plan for the Expansion of The Hague*) with the above quotation from the German art and architectural historian Albert E. Brinckmann (1881-1958). The most significant insight introduced by the idealist Berlage in this plan was that the city henceforth had to be regarded as a single spatial entity. Within this whole, all urban functions and buildings were to be organically interconnected. Following German-speaking theorists, Berlage conceived of the city as a Gesamtkunstwerk—a collective urban image. The influence of Brinckmann on Berlage’s ideas during a crucial phase in urban development, both during and after the First World War, has so far remained largely overlooked.

Berlage is positioned by architectural historians and contemporaries as a transitional figure between the nineteenth century neo styles and the early modern architecture of the interbellum. An architect balancing between idealism and realism, he evolved from an eclectic designer into a rationalist. Ultimately, he rejected the functionalism of the Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne (CIAM), founded in 1928, because he perceived in it a lack of emotional value. Although social change was reflected in Berlage’s writings, it was not always evident in his built work. Some colleagues from the interbellum therefore believed that he did not truly understand the new architecture. Later critics also identified a discrepancy between Berlage’s publications and his plans for The Hague (Blijstra, 1971).

Berlage’s social democratic convictions and his interest in nineteenth century German philosophers had little influence on his plans. According to Blijstra, Berlage functioned on the one hand as a “servant of capitalism,” yet simultaneously showed an interest in workers’ housing—although in The Hague there are few concrete examples of this interest. The “salon socialist” Berlage left this task to his The Hague colleagues, working under the strict direction of Bakker Schut, director of the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing.

Nevertheless, Berlage’s significance was undeniable: he introduced numerous international ideas to the city and thereby influenced an entire generation of The Hague architects. He transmitted knowledge about Lloyd Wright as well as German and Austrian urbanism and architecture. Several of his publications later proved highly influential, including ‘Over baksteenbouw’ (On Brick Construction) (Berlage, 1911), ‘Stedenbouw’ (Urban Planning) (Berlage, 1914) en ‘Over normalisatie in de uitvoering van den woningbouw’ (On Standardization in the Execution of Housing Construction) (Berlage, 1918).



The map of the expansion plan by H.P. Berlage from 1908.
Collection HGA z.gr.0535.

Design as a Dialectical Process

Reflecting on his innovative approach to urban expansion, Berlage stated: “But wouldn’t there be a reason for them, in contrast to the individualistic cityscape that has become unbearable, which is, after all, the expression of the class hostile to them, to accept with enthusiasm the calm appearance of the collective cityscape for that very reason?” (Berlage, 1918: 398).

Berlage was profoundly influenced by the nineteenth century German architect and theorist Gottfried Semper (1803-1879), working within the framework of stylistic history as formulated by the philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831). Hegel conceived of reality as a historical-dialectical process: the subjective spirit of the individual develops through an objective spirit into an absolute spirit, in which art, religion, and philosophy merge into an organic whole. This notion was widely shared in Berlage’s time. For instance, the Berlin architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841) — Semper’s teacher — was inspired by August Wilhelm Schlegel’s idea that the Greek and Gothic architectural styles represented each other’s opposites (Watkin, 1986). From this opposition, Schinkel sought to reconcile both into an improved synthesis.

Unlike music, literature, or the visual arts, which can be experienced independently, architecture forms part of everyday life. Consequently, architecture and urban design acquired a special and didactic meaning. To understand Berlage’s ideas on architecture and urbanism—ideas that later materialized in The Hague’s residential neighborhoods and housing complexes—one must return to the nineteenth century. Berlage saw himself as a spatial artist seeking to create a *Gesamtkunstwerk*. He aimed to continue, elaborate, and give form to the work of Lindo. Unlike Lindo, Berlage enjoyed a favorable political climate, which in the interbellum led to a mature urban development characterized by coherence between urban space and architecture. Still, concepts such as “picturesque” and “monumental” had already played a role in Berlage’s thinking from around 1895 onward (Bergeijk, 2003).

The *Plan for the Expansion of The Hague* of 1908 embodied all these ideas, both visually and conceptually. Berlage applied Hegel’s dialectical method, striving for a synthesis between the romantic-picturesque landscape with its existing buildings (the thesis) and the monumental residential quarters inspired by the late Baroque (the antithesis); between the scale of the entire city (thesis) and that of the individual neighborhood (antithese); between buildings (thesis) and urban spaces (antithese) such as streets and squares. The building and street profiles formed the central structuring element. Past (thesis, in brown on his expansion plan) and present (antithesis, in red) merged in a vision of the future (synthesis). Within this framework, various modes of transportation—tram, automobile, bicycle, and pedestrian—were accommodated, and public amenities were integrated into the expansion plans.

The City as Both Product and Producer of Civilization

In 1909, the The Hague branch of the Society for the Promotion of Architecture requested that Berlage write an explanatory commentary on his Plan for the Expansion of The Hague from the previous year. The relationship between buildings and urban spaces—the “Beautiful Unity”—would become a defining principle of urban planning in The Hague. Beyond aesthetics, the aim of a hygienic city layout was an important motivation behind this (Oorschot, 2022).

As discussed above, urban design for Berlage was an artistic endeavor: a Gesamtkunstwerk (total art) in which all elements merged into a new sense of community. The Viennese urban theorist Camillo Sitte derived the idea of *Gesamtkunst* from the composer Richard Wagner. Sitte’s textbook *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen* (*Urban Planning According to its Artistic Principles*) (1889) was among the most influential manuals on urban design at the end of the nineteenth century, as discussed in chapter 4.2.2. Berlage likely also read professional journals such as *Der Städtebau* (*City Building*) (1904-1919), edited by Theodor Goecke, which presented similar ideas. This periodical served as an important forum for the discussion and exchange of new ideas in urban planning. Sitte regarded the city not only as a product of civilization but also as a phenomenon that itself produced civilization. For both Sitte and Berlage, the city was a single work of art in which the culture of society was concentrated—encompassing science, art, morality, commerce, politics, and economy.

Sitte began his preface by observing that much had been achieved in the field of urban planning: major technical accomplishments had been realized in the areas of traffic and public health. Yet, artistically, modern urban design was a failure, as it had produced virtually nothing of value. In Sitte’s view, modern planning focused on isolated monumental buildings and on fragmented street plans or residential developments by private entrepreneurs, but not on the spaces between them: “Opposite the magnificent new monumental buildings stand the most awkwardly shaped squares and parceling patterns in their immediate surroundings” (Sitte, 1889: 9).

In a lecture published in *Bouwkundig Weekblad* (*Construction Weekly*), which he had previously delivered in Rotterdam, The Hague, and Amsterdam, Berlage expressed his enthusiasm for Sitte’s book (Berlage, 1892). The ideal city, for him, was to be seen and experienced as a single spatial work of art. In the view of both Sitte and Berlage, city planning should give equal importance to utilitarian concerns and to the lived experience of urban spaces and architecture. Berlage had already argued several years earlier: “We therefore have, as the origin of all art, impressions—and these impressions are of a subjective nature” (Berlage, 1893).

In The Hague, the desire for an expansion plan designed by a renowned urban planner had existed earlier. Earlier expansion plans, such as those by Lindo, had been created only on paper and none had been executed. In 1909, however, the city council explicitly wished to avoid German influence and sought a city of a distinctly Dutch type. Three Dutch candidates were considered, two of whom declined. Berlage remained as the sole candidate (Berlage, 1907).

The Guiding Idea Behind Berlage's Expansion Plan

In his explanatory notes, Berlage wrote: "The aesthetic issue, of such great importance—but above all a social one, such as urban planning—, acquires its particular value only when it is viewed in its historical context and elucidated in its causal development" (Berlage, 1909: 1). With his expansion plan, Berlage sought to unite the idyllic, picturesque conditions of nature, landscape, and existing buildings with new, classically monumental, residential quarters. The existing built environment and landscape were carefully studied and mapped. In the plan, existing buildings (the picturesque) were indicated in dark brown, new buildings (the monumental) in red, while the surrounding landscape was rendered in detail. Thus, the map visually displayed the temporal progression from old to new, giving tangible form to the aforementioned synthesis.

To grasp the true beauty of cities, Berlage believed, one must study their history. Classical urbanism, originating in Greece, was based on a pre-established plan and favored a regular layout with straight streets. This approach was later adopted by the Romans. For Hegel, such urbanism represented a symbolic form. Romantic urbanism, by contrast, was, in Hegel's view, predominantly Christian and Germanic, and was based on organic growth. Villages, founded for economic reasons, gradually evolved into cities without a preconceived plan. Greek cities thus had a classical character, while medieval cities, according to Berlage, following Hegel, exhibited a romantic one.

In his commentary, Berlage cited Hermann Muthesius, who in 1907 had been one of the founders of the Deutscher Werkbund, an association of modern architects and designers. Muthesius also maintained that Western culture had known two golden ages: classical antiquity and the Gothic Middle Ages in northern Europe. In 1904, Muthesius brought to the continent the English architecture and urban design influenced by the utopian thinker William Morris. He was among the leading architects who, following the English example, founded the first German garden city, Hellerau near Dresden, in 1909. His student, the socialist urban planner Martin Wagner, would later develop large-scale garden city projects around Berlin between 1924 and 1932.

According to Berlage, Greek and northern European architectural forms were characterized by distinct yet opposing spiritual worldviews. He translated this opposition into his own conceptual pair: "monumental" versus "picturesque". The monumental and the picturesque, he argued, existed in a dialectical relationship that produced beauty. The monumental, being stylized, represented a higher order of beauty. Therefore, Berlage considered the choice between these two tendencies not particularly difficult (Berlage, 1909: 14).

Regarding the guiding principle of the expansion plan, Berlage argued that it "leads to the principle of regularity, that is, not to a painfully maintained symmetry, but to a regularity according to which the cities of antiquity—but above all those of the Baroque period—developed. At the same time, advantage was taken as much as possible of all conditions that, especially in a city such as The Hague, appear in such great variety. By preserving such "obstacles", a certain monotony is naturally avoided, which in the execution of a completely regular plan would easily be inevitable. The result of such development was the emergence of a system of regular plan sections, which had to be connected to one another in a natural—that is, in the intended sense, accidental—manner. ... Since the street plan of old The Hague in general presents a system of streets intersecting at right angles, it was self-evident to apply this same principle in the new part of the city" (Berlage, 1909: 24).

However, from a traffic engineering perspective, the city also had to be made accessible—perhaps also to legitimize the monumental Baroque urban patterns, such as the spatial fork structure and axial compositions in relation to the surrounding buildings, that Berlage envisioned for the residential districts. He further argued: "Nevertheless, it soon became evident that the radial or diagonal street, as a consequence of the demands of traffic, could not be dispensed with, so that at a single glance at the plan one notices the principal peculiarity resulting from the application of the diagonal streets. It seems to me, moreover, that this peculiarity generally represents an enrichment of the cityscape" (Berlage, 1909: 24).

Berlage sought a Hegelian synthesis. Yet here he no longer spoke of the Greek classics and the Gothic Middle Ages, but rather of the spirit of the classical and the romantic spirit. How exactly Berlage made the transition from Gothic to Romantic thought remains unclear. He stated: "Thus, while the plans of the classical cities could serve as a model for regular layouts, those of the Middle Ages provided ideas for resolving accidental transitions. In this way, the spirit of the plan could be preserved in a classical sense, while natural circumstances would provide the picturesque element, and hence a beauty of a romantic kind. In this way, the material bequeathed to us by the old cities could be used not for imitation but as a source of inspiration in its full scope, ensuring that excesses in either direction—classical or romantic—would be avoided" (Berlage, 1909).

The essence of The Hague's expansion plan lay in its composition of fragments of monumental Baroque design, connected in a romantic and sometimes incidental manner through the existing landscape and built environment. In his explanatory notes, Berlage referred to *Platz und Monument: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Ästhetik der Stadtbaukunst in neuerer Zeit* (*Square and Monument: Studies on the History and Aesthetics of Urban Architecture in Recent Times*) (1908) by Brinckmann and to eighteenth century French urban design.

In Berlage's view, it was difficult to achieve in modern cities a beauty equivalent to that found in historic and French cities, particularly because he believed that architecture in the Netherlands had declined under the influence of individualism. He argued: "And this difficulty is certainly not lessened for urban design in the Netherlands, since proportions in this country are generally small in scale. For broad, straight streets, in order to create space in the sense mentioned above, also demand corresponding means—that is, a monumental architecture, both in character and in dimension. Yet the development of monumental architecture has never been of great significance in this country, while moreover the dimensions of the houses, especially those in The Hague, border on the diminutive. This often results in

a disproportion between the width of the street and the height of the houses, particularly in the newer districts, where the houses are naturally smaller than those nearer to the city center, while the width of the streets tends to assume dimensions which are in no way consistent with the existing situation, nor with the traffic that may one day be expected" (Berlage, 1909: 25).

For, as Berlage asserted, "if urban design means creating space with the volume of houses", it follows that with the inadequacy of that material the resulting space will likewise be unsatisfactory. This was especially true of The Hague, whose urban fabric was characterized by a peculiarly small scale of developments. In 1913, Berlage moved to The Hague, where he would live and work until his death in 1934, serving as an advisor to the Hague branch of the SDAP.

Fostering a Sense of Community through Public Space

The relationship between urban space and the built environment, and the sense of collectivity and intimacy among residents was, in Berlage's view, best expressed in the design of double urban housing blocks. The residential courtyard at the center served as the quintessential place where residents could meet and children could play. Double housing blocks were first realized, it seems, in 1863 in Akroyd Park in Halifax. This English model village, built by textile manufacturer Edward Akroyd, did not yet consist of fully enclosed blocks but rather several detached dwellings surrounding a square, with additional free-standing houses around it.

The double block with a communal garden became a favored theme among social democrats in the Netherlands and beyond. The Karl-Marx-Hof in "Red Vienna" from the 1930s is the most famous example; a sense of community was actively encouraged through the design of public space. Early examples can also be found in The Hague, such as the inner courtyard of the workers' housing complex designed by architect J.E. van der Pek and built around 1905 near the Schalk Burgerplein in the Transvaalkwartier, commissioned by the Bouwonderneming (Building Company) Buiten-Haag. According to a local newspaper, this was probably the first communal garden explicitly designed as such: "Usually, the space between the rear facades of the housing blocks is assigned as gardens to the occupants of the ground-floor dwellings, depriving those on the upper floors of any such enjoyment. To change this situation, the houses have been designed in such a way that all residents can easily reach the garden" (*Haagsche Courant,* June 10, 1905).

In Berlage's expansion plan for The Hague, early indications of the double block already appeared. They are also visible in his Plan for Amsterdam South (1915), though they were absent in an earlier schetch from 1904. Berlage's double housing blocks set an influential precedent: they also appeared in the 1912 design for the Spaarndammerbuurt in Amsterdam by J.M. van der Mey. Here, in 1919, architects K.P.C. de Bazel and H. Walenkamp designed two remarkable double blocks, with Zaandammerplein and Zaanhof serving as binding spatial elements between the buildings. Likewise, Coöperatiehof, designed by architect P.L. Kramer between 1926 and 1928 in Amsterdam's Nieuwe Pijp, reflected the same typology. In Rotterdam South, within P. Verhagen's urban plan for Bloemenhof, the Patrimonium's Hof—designed by architect A.K. Kruithof Azn. in 1915-16—still stands as an early and elegant example of this form.

These ensembles resembled those in The Hague: modest yet solid brickwork and pitched roofs in varying directions. Many such ensembles were demolished during urban renewal after the Second World War. Some examples of double housing blocks with intimate courtyards can still be found in The Hague, such as those at Windasstraat, Zeezwaluwhof, Gagelplein, Weigeliaplein, Moerbeiplein, Vlierboomplein, and Schaapherdersstraat.

With the double urban block, green spaces, and a variety of squares and streets, standardized Housing Act dwellings which provided fresh air and sufficient daylight entered into a new spatial relationship with one another and with the city. The disadvantage of the double urban block, however, was the amount of space it required, which made it difficult to achieve the desired number of houses. The residential density was too low. This was likely the reason why this typology was only sporadically applied in the design of new neighborhoods — after all, an entire city composed of double urban housing blocks would have been financially unfeasible.

The Influence of Brinckmann on Urban Planning and Architecture

Alongside Berlage, Brinckmann played a significant role in the dissemination of contemporary European ideas on modern, hygienic urban planning in the Netherlands. Brinckmann earned his doctorate in 1907 under the renowned architectural historian Heinrich Wölfflin with the dissertation *Die praktische Bedeutung der Ornamentstiche für die deutsche Frührenaissance* (*The Practical Significance of Ornamental Engravings for the German Early Renaissance*). Following his contemporaries, Brinckmann argued for a renewed appreciation of Baroque art, architecture, and urbanism. Central to his thinking was the concept of space as a fundamental element in both architecture and urban design. According to Brinckmann, the misfortune of nineteenth century architecture lay in the fact that architects had lost their sensitivity to spatial experience and spatial effect, which also led to a decline in confidence in expressive form (*Algemeen Dagblad*, June 5, 1912).

At the Conference on Town Planning, organized by the Royal Institute of British Architects to discuss the British Town Planning Act in October 1910, several Dutch representatives were in attendance. Brinckmann was among the speakers; his lecture addressed classical and Gothic architecture and urbanism, as well as the French Baroque. He argued that these traditions could serve as the foundation for a modern urban form in which buildings and spaces were conceived in coherent spatial relationship. Among the Dutch delegates were J.H.W. Leliman (representing the BNA), The Hague architect A.H. Wegeriff (on behalf of Architectura et Amicitia), Lindo (representing the municipality of

Molenwijk, Trekweg and Stortstraat. Photo by the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing, E.M. van Ojen from 1930. Collection HGA.

Molenwijk, Trekweg and Stuwstraat. Photo by the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing, J.G. Happel from 1923. Collection HGA 5.01455.

Spoorwijk, Beetsstraat. Photo by the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing, E.M. van Ojen from 1925. Collection HGA 0.36474.

Laakkwartier, Laakweg and Molenslootstraat. Photo by the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing, J.G. Happel from 1918. Collection HGA 0.48749.

The Hague), and the Haarlem architect J.B. van Loghem (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, October 12, 1910).

The Urban Block and Berlage's Plan for Amsterdam South

From 1914 onward, Berlage worked on his master plan for Amsterdam South, which was formally approved in 1917. In 1916, he published an explanatory memorandum on the plan (Berlage, 1916). Compared to his earlier expansion plan for The Hague, several differences immediately stand out. The interaction with the existing landscape and the older, more picturesque buildings is far less prominent. Existing patterns of ditches and built structures were largely erased. In contrast, the late Baroque monumental structure—of the kind described by Brinckmann in his writings—became much more dominant in the plan's composition.

Rather than a collection of separate residential neighborhoods organized around Baroque urban motifs, this was a large-scale, integrated plan that aligned with existing arterial roads and watercourses. The Amsterdam South expansion plan shows clear affinities with later schemes, such as the plan for Laakkwartier in The Hague (ca. 1920), in which monumental axes play a central role. The plan exhibits a pronounced differentiation in building types and a hierarchical street structure.

In Amsterdam South, as in his earlier work, Berlage upheld the principle he had formulated: "Housing production has become mass production, even for the well-to-do middle classes; the construction of a single dwelling for a particular family has become the exception" (Berlage, 1916). The urban block was adopted as the fundamental unit of design to promote architectural unity. Moreover, a rectilinear, monumental street grid with broad main avenues was introduced, eliminating all incidental irregularities. The urban design thus became a composition of building blocks and differentiated public spaces—arterial roads, residential streets, and communal squares. Berlage explained: "This type of construction naturally leads to block building, because the same type of dwelling must be repeated. Indeed, block construction has already emerged wherever housing has been produced for the benefit of public welfare. How unbearable, on the other hand, would the impression have become if each of these identical houses had been given a different facade. Yet there was a time when blocks of similar houses were built, each adorned with its own individual facade ornament" (Berlage, 1916).

Brinckmann in The Hague, 1917–1919

In 1917, Brinckmann was appointed cultural attaché at the German Embassy, a position he held in The Hague until 1919. The East Frisian Brinckmann was born on the German Wadden Sea island of Norderney, near the Dutch border (*Het Vaderland*, November 4, 1917). It is likely that Brinckmann had some proficiency in Dutch, as contemporary newspaper reports indicate that his work primarily involved reporting on the press and media (*Het Vaderland*, June 24, 1919).

In addition, he delivered lectures with lantern slides throughout the Netherlands. These lectures covered classical and Gothic architecture, French Baroque, the balance between buildings and spatiality, as well as new urban planning and housing development challenges, including the associated land policies. In response to the book *Bouwkunst in de stad en op het land* (*Architecture in the City and in the Countryside*) (1917) by Herman van der Kloot Meijburg, who resided in Voorburg near The Hague and juxtaposed good and bad examples of architecture, Brinckmann wrote in a local newspaper that new neighborhoods in The Hague and other Dutch cities had also produced commendable work. He argued, among other points: "We do not raise the pinnacle from the depths, but merely seek anew, also in architecture, an expression for a differently oriented sense of community, which must reject the recent past as a death mask" (*Het Vaderland*, November 4, 1917).

On February 26, 1918, Brinckmann delivered a lecture at the Delft University of Technology to the Civil and Architectural Students' Society Praktische Studie on historical urbanism as a model for modern city planning. After an introduction with historical examples, he concluded that lessons from the past had largely been forgotten. Modern urban architecture primarily sought to meet economic requirements, with broad traffic avenues and narrow residential streets. However, using recent examples, he demonstrated that architectural, social, and economic demands could indeed be integrated in urban planning. The newspaper report concluded: "It is not necessary to conduct an in-depth study of ancient architectural styles; they do not need to build beautiful cities, but economically and socially healthy cities" (*De Nieuwe Courant*, February 27, 1918).

Brinckmann's lecture for the Society for the Promotion of Architecture in Amsterdam on June 4, 1918 similarly addressed contemporary topics, introduced through historical examples. He discussed issues such as land policy, the housing shortage, electric tram connections between neighborhoods, hygienic workers' housing, urban block design (65 meters deep and 120 meters long, with 30% of the lot built upon for hygienic urban planning), and residential streets designed to achieve the highest possible urban density.

With this type of urban block, Brinckmann aimed to prevent inner courtyards from being filled up with unhygienic backhouses and slums. He also advocated allocating the open space in the center of the urban block to gardens and playgrounds. Brinckmann illustrated historical examples of such solutions from London, Paris, Frankfurt, Berlin, Essen, and the English garden cities designed by his close friends the urban planner Raymond Unwin and Ebenezer Howard (*Het Vaderland*, June 5, 1918).

Nearly a year later, on March 27, 1919, Brinckmann delivered a private lecture in Utrecht on the theme "space in art". The choice of Utrecht was deliberate: since 1914, J.P. Fockema Andreae had served as mayor there, having previously worked in the city as municipal secretary, focusing on public works and housing. According to Brinckmann, every space is a "body": it is perceived from within and ends where the

Duindorp, Zeezwaluwhof. Photo by the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing, J.G. Happel from 1922.
Collection HGA 0.49884.

Duindorp, Pluvierhof. Photo by the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing, J.G. Happel from 1920.
Collection HGA 0.57158.

Duindorp, Pluvierstraat. Photo by the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing, E.M. van Ojen from 1926.
Collection HGA 6.03953.

Duindorp, Markensestraat. Photo by the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing, J.G. Happel from 1925.
Collection HGA 6.03748.

planes of its boundaries are located. From an external perspective, perception begins exactly with these planes. Thus, there is a correlation between the spatial body and the plastic body, with the plastic body always preceding the spatial. In the history of architecture, Brinckmann argued, there is a continuous interplay between these two approaches. The clear spatial blocks of Romanesque architecture were followed by the fragmented spatiality of Gothic architecture. In the transition from Renaissance to Baroque, spatial treatment reached its highest refinement and elevation. In contrast, he contended, nineteenth century architecture destroyed space and replaced it with tradable objects (*De Nieuwe Courant*, March 28, 1919).

In early May 1919, Brinckmann returned to Germany. According to the press, his lectures had earned him a measure of recognition (*Het Vaderland*, May 3, 1919). *De Tijd* also reported his departure from The Hague and, like *Het Vaderland*, announced a new lecture for Delft students in the coming fall (*De Tijd*, May 5, 1919). Following this lecture on October 27, 1919, *Het Vaderland* commented: "Professor Brinckmann is a born orator, and his simple, clear exposition, his striking observations—often seasoned with a witticism—apparently captivated the numerous audiences. A long applause finally thanked the speaker" (*Het Vaderland*, October 29, 1919).

Brinckmann's Impressions of The Hague Architecture

In 1919, Brinckmann reflected on the urban planning and architecture of The Hague in a two-part article in newspaper *Het Vaderland* (July 24-25, 1919). In his writings, he expressed pointed criticism of the city's cut-throughs in the historic urban fabric and the distribution of its abundant greenery. In his view, the cut-throughs lacked monumentality and the green spaces were unevenly distributed, favoring wealthier social classes.

In the first installment, Brinckmann described the connection from Willemspark, through Binnenhof, to Spui, with several cut-throughs at Parkstraat, the Gevangenpoort, and Hofweg, a major axis that traverses the city from northwest to southeast. He also referenced earlier remarks by Lindo regarding a boulevard plan that would divide The Hague into two halves. According to Brinckmann, this was a rare cut-through between cityscapes in the Netherlands. He considered "the entire layout of The Hague" as "not architectural" and advocated for the creation of a kind of Kneuterdijk Square, allowing a direct view of Binnenhof from Parkstraat. In this scheme, Parkstraat would continue in a straight line via the Gevangenpoort to Buitenhof. In the second part of his article, he argued that The Hague lacked the ordering axes that provide structure to other cities. While traces of such axes existed, no consistent architectural concept was implemented. He pointed to cut-throughs at Parkstraat, Veenkade (Prinsestraat), and Prinsegracht (Grote Marktstraat) as examples, none of which culminated in monumental straight axes. Brinckmann saw this lack of spatial organization as a typically Dutch characteristic, stemming from the fact that the true Dutch art form was painting, rather than architecture or sculpture. Accordingly, he described The Hague's street system as a "confusion of streets" and "highly picturesque". Brinckmann also delivered a sharp critique of the city's new urban expansions. He wrote: "The new part of the city in the west and Bezuidenhoutkwartier in the north are characterized by the same barrenness and artistic impotence as so many new districts in Dutch cities: always the same floor plans and poor builder and architect work, tedious, draughty, and dusty."

Nonetheless, he counted The Hague among the most beautiful and attractive cities in the world. Its beauty, in his view, lay in its trees and gardens. Even in locations where no other city would plant a tree, The Hague had one. He highlighted the impressive chestnut tree in front of Noordeinde Palace, the chestnut grove at the Vijverberg, and the city's avenues, partly designed by Lindo, as deserving of international recognition. Walking along these avenues, he compared, was akin to entering a Gothic Hall. The city was also dotted with remarkable private gardens, the finest, according to Brinckmann, surrounding the Peace Palace, made possible in part through the work of the German urban planner Henrici. "Through the gardens, light, color, and freshness enter the cityscape", he wrote admiringly.

What Brinckmann found entirely lacking, however, were gardens designed as playgrounds for children in the southern districts, such as Schilderswijk. He singled out Oranjeplein, where on hot summer days hundreds of children played on dusty fields with no recreational facilities. As a solution, he proposed purchasing private gardens near Huygenspark and converting them into public playgrounds. He forcefully highlighted the unequal distribution of The Hague's lush greenery, stating: "The boy without a playground grows into the man who will pursue the extremes of communism." He concluded that The Hague still faced a crucial task to truly become a "city of gardens".

Notably, Berlage was entirely absent from both of Brinckmann's newspaper articles.

Brinckmann: Spread the People!

On April 9, 1920, Jan Wils discussed Brinckmann's new book, *Baukunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in den Romanischen Ländern* (*Architecture of the 17th and 18th Centuries in the Romance-speaking Countries*), in Het Vaderland in a positive light. He emphasized that Brinckmann's principal contribution to architecture lay in his treatment of spatial relationships, rather than the limited enclosure of facades. However, Wils made no mention of the relationship between Berlage and Brinckmann. Whether contacts existed in The Hague between the Social Democrat Berlage and Brinckmann, who later turned toward National Socialism, remains uncertain, and it is equally unclear whether they ever met in person.

It is noteworthy that in Brinckmann's 1920 publication, Stadtbaukunst. Geschichtliche Querschnitte und Neuzeitliche Ziele (Urban Design: Historical Overviews and Modern Goals), he devoted attention to many cities but did not mention any Dutch cities, leaving Berlage's plans unaddressed. Only Berlage's 1918 article, "Over normalisatie in de uitvoering van den woningbouw" ("On Normalization in the Implementation of Housing Construction"), was cited in the bibliography. To what extent Brinckmann's and Berlage's political and

Oud-Scheveningen, Schipperstraat. Photo by the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing, Stokvis from 1940.
Collection HGA 0.63843.

Vischershaven, Datheenstraat. Photo by the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing from 1940.
Collection HGA 0.16564.

Westduinweg, inside the urban block Bokkingstraat-Scholstraat, Semipermanente woningen. Photo by the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing, J.G. Happel from 1918.
Collection HGA 6.08786.

Westduinweg, Scholstraat. Photo by the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing from 1918.
Collection HGA 6.07014.

architectural views were in conflict remained unclear in newspapers and architectural commentary. It is possible that many urban planners and architects drew inspiration from Brinckmann's work on double building blocks. He certainly discussed these ideas in his lectures, and his books, available to all in Delft, included illustrative examples.

In Brinckmann's view, the modern city, "the Stadt der Gegenwart", was connected to the old city via rail links, unlike the situation in the Netherlands, where suburbs were often appended directly to the historic core. By contrast, German and English garden cities were larger in scale and thus difficult to compare with the smaller Dutch garden suburbs that emerged in small increments. The dispersal of the population was one of the fundamental principles of Brinckmann's urban planning (Brinckmann, 1920: 122). However, this principle was difficult to implement within the municipal divisions and limited space of Dutch towns and villages. It is also conceivable that this idea found little favor among Social Democrats such as Berlage, who believed that the city itself generated culture.

Brinckmann introduced modern European urban planning to the Netherlands. In 1918, Berlage was 62 years old, while the energetic speaker and author Brinckmann was only 47. In May 1919, Brinckmann left The Hague to become a professor in Rostock. He faded from view in the Netherlands, but from that point onward, The Hague came to be regarded as a single spatial artwork, a harmonious unity of form and space, embodying a "Beautiful Unity".

5.4
Brick, Building Blocks, and Standardization of Construction Production

Architecture as the Mother of the Arts

Influenced by idealistic contemporaries such as Frank van der Goes—one of the twelve founders of the SDAP—and the poet Albert Verwey, Berlage elaborated his reflections on architecture and urban planning into an increasingly coherent theoretical edifice. Many of his writings appeared in *De Beweging* (*The Movement*), Verwey's cultural monthly published between 1905 and 1919, of which Berlage himself joined the editorial board in 1908.

In these essays, Berlage assimilated the design principles of various nineteenth century architects as well as those of the Deutsche Werkbund, forging together a vision of an Early Modern Architecture. Within this intellectual framework, elements of idealism and realism were interwoven, as Berlage drew inspiration from a broad constellation of thinkers, among them Schopenhauer, Viollet-le-Duc, Ruskin, Semper, Muthesius, Brinckmann, Schumacher, Klopfer, and Behrendt.

For Berlage, architecture was the mother of the arts, precisely because the entirety of human life unfolds within space and form. As he explained: "Architecture is the art of pure composition; it creates its works in accordance with the concepts of space, and thereby of light, shadow, and color; of mass, and thereby of proportion, form, and equilibrium. And does not our entire life take place within spaces? Moreover, only architecture is capable of expressing the highest and noblest sentiments of humanity, indeed its entire history; so that the form of beauty, from the humblest dwelling to the most ideal building of association, must acquire the greatest significance for humankind, precisely because it encompasses the totality of the visual arts" (Berlage, 1909: 22).

This conceptual grounding also provided the lens through which Berlage interpreted the history of architecture. He discerned within the succession of styles two periods of particular significance, in which the pure constructive principles of building had been elevated to the dignity of true architecture. He characterized this achievement as the attainment of the sublime: "Classical and medieval architecture reach the sublime, whereas the Renaissance remained confined to the beautiful. And I would emphasize that it was precisely the pure constructive principle, the logical organism in the architecture of the Greeks and the medieval builders, that produced a sublime art of building, while the Renaissance, having abandoned this principle, could approach only the beautiful" (Berlage, 1914: 7).

From this perspective, form emerged not from fancies or imitation but from the dynamic forces inherent in construction itself. Such reasoning culminated in a constructive ethos that sought a rational, utilitarian style—an authentically modern architecture. In sharp contrast, the

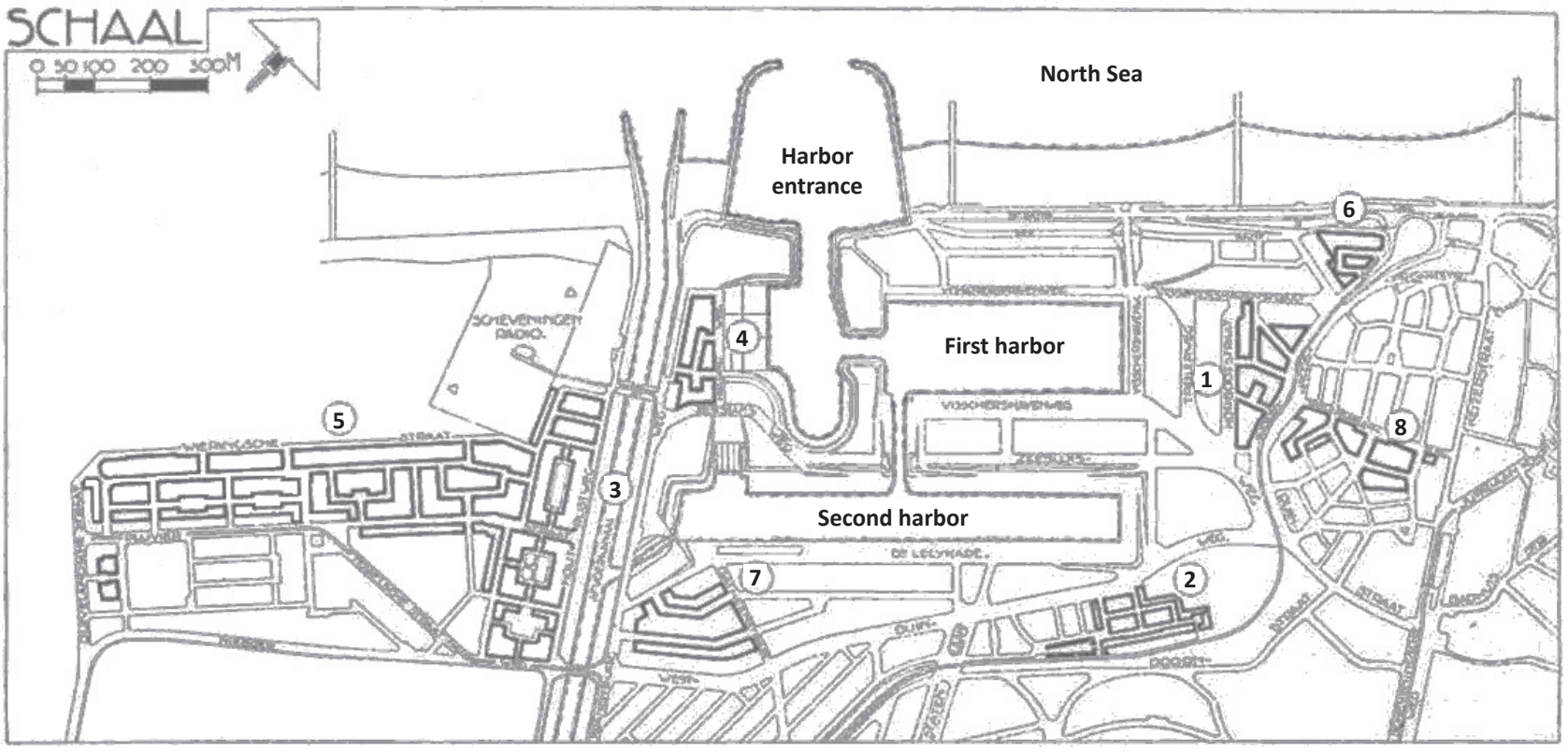
Magneetstraat Zeekant. Photo by the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing from 1938. Collection HGA 0.77718.

Kolenwagenslag I, Hoogaarstraat met zicht op Reepstraat. Photo by the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing, A. Frequin from 1913. Collection HGA 0.29412.

The residential areas and neighborhoods around the Scheveningen harbor:

1. Residential area Kolenwagenslag,
2. Residential area Westduinweg
3. Residential area Drainkanaal-West (first part of Duindorp)
4. Residential area Afvoerkanaal-Oost
5. Residential area Duindorp
6. Residential area Magneetstraat/Vuurbaak
7. Residential area Visschershaven
8. Residential area Oud-Scheveningen

Source: Bakker schut 1938 en 1939.



nineteenth century revival styles, with their ornamental excesses, individualism and derivative borrowings from the past, represented for Berlage a hollow and regressive practice, one he rejected with uncompromising clarity.

At the core of this vision lay a conviction that architecture was more than a technical craft: it was, in Berlage's words, the "petrified spirituality" of a society, the material crystallization of its cultural condition. In the tradition of Semper, and in close intellectual affinity with Pugin, Ruskin, and Morris, he interpreted the industrialized production of building materials, often imported from distant regions, as a decisive cause of architecture's decline. True architecture, he argued, must embody the authentic expression of a people's cultural identity, rather than capitulate to the expediencies of industrial pragmatism. In this spirit, Berlage exalted the use of characteristic Dutch brick, regarding it at once as a constructive principle and as a cultural signifier (Berlage, 1905/6: 205).

In the early decades of the twentieth century, Berlage further refined these ideas in dialogue with architects associated with the Deutsche Werkbund, for whom the reconciliation of artistic form and modern production was a central ambition.

Criticism of the "Bimmelbammel Style"

"In the past, there were no styles," argued the German architect Hermann Muthesius, one of the founders of modern architecture, during a lecture in Berlin in 1900, according Berlage (1914). In his view, architecture had to express the function of the building and the intrinsic possibilities of the materials used. In 1904, the German Ministry of Trade commissioned Muthesius to renovate the national arts and crafts schools in Germany. This eventually led to the establishment of the Deutsche Werkbund in 1907, an association of artists, architects, and entrepreneurs. They wanted to revise and give new meaning to the relationship between industrialization, which made it possible to reproduce products endlessly, and design. The architect Berlage and his circle borrowed many of the ideas from the Deutsche Werkbund.

"All copy becomes ridiculous in the last instance", stated Oscar Wilde. With this quote, Berlage began his reflection *Over Moderne Architectuur* (*On Modern Architecture*) (1914: 1), in which he offered harsh criticism of his nineteenth century predecessors. According to Berlage, architecture in the nineteenth century was in a particularly bad state. In the eyes of Berlage, art began where imitation ended. For Berlage, architecture was also the mirror of society. The diversity of the architectural styles of the nineteenth century with its references had become detached from the inner life of this society.

But in essence it was society itself that was of concern to Berlage. In the article "Verhouding van de bouwkunst tot de maatschappij" ("Relationship of Architecture to Society") from 1916 he argued: "The architectural style that leaves its mark on an entire era is the measure of value of its culture" (Berlage, 1916: 5). It was not the true artist who prevailed, the artist who expressed the spirit of the times, but the individualist. The cause of this was society, which Berlage thought was in confusion. According to Berlage, the result was unbridled individualism in architecture, in which artists imitated examples from antiquity without understanding their essence.

A few years earlier, in the article "Over architectuur", Berlage had already argued that: "This is the fundamental cause of the great dourness of all those nineteenth century buildings; of that which makes an artist furious when, after having enjoyed old architecture, he comes to the modern imitation. He then goes from life to death, because all those period buildings stare at him like dolls from a wax play, not like living beings" (Berlage, 1909: 29). The architecture of neo-styles from the nineteenth century was the expression of an individualistic society. According to Berlage, there was nothing uglier than a building in "bimmelbammel style", like the historical styles of the nineteenth century, as he described it in the book *Beschouwingen over Bouwkunst en Hare Ontwikkeling* (*Reflections on Architecture and its Development*) (Berlage, 1911: 110).

For society, the lack of general architecture also meant a lack of style in that society itself. For Berlage, a style meant order (Berlage, 1916: 11). That order once existed in the time of the Classics and the Gothic era. Hence, there was no morally superior architecture like a Greek temple or Gothic cathedral. But with the Renaissance, individualism appeared in architecture, which eventually led to the degeneration of nineteenth century architectural styles (Berlage, 1916: 6).

Berlage wondered whether it was not precisely the Greek and Gothic styles that can be deduced most from the construction, and are therefore the purest styl (Berlage, 1912: 28).

During the Renaissance, art lost its social significance and splintered into different disciplines due to that individualism. This was also the cause of architecture becoming detached from other art forms. Thus, Berlage argued, "the era of the rule of the personal artist was ushered in, the artlessness of the nineteenth century. It became an epoch of regression in this sense because all receding epochs are subjective, all advancing are objective. With the Renaissance, architecture also begins to lose its power as art, because the arts also become mutually exclusive; architecture, painting, and sculpture each go their own way, which comes at the expense of architecture. But that also had a formal cause" (Berlage, 1916: 7).

According to Berlage, art lacked sublimity. Berlage borrowed the concept of sublimity from the German archaeologist and art theorist J.J. Winckelmann, who considered Greek architecture of the classics superior because this style was derived from constructive principles. The concept of sublimity was central to Berlage's reflections. He says about this: "The great difference in the expression of beauty between a general and a particular art is that the former approaches the sublime, that which goes beyond the ordinary, while the latter does not go beyond beauty. And now only the sublime is able to really move us, because it is not man but humanity who has put its soul into these sublime works of art. The inspiration she created was a general and therefore of greater intensity than a personal one. There is sublimity in a Greek temple, as well as in a Gothic cathedral, for both symbolize the

sublime of the spirit above the ground" (Berlage, 1916: 12).

With modern architecture based on utilitarian and constructive principles, Berlage wanted to create a sublime architecture again. In his view, this can only be done with a typical Dutch material: brick. According to Berlage, this material, modest in nature but rich in expressive possibilities, offered the opportunity to unite both constructive honesty and cultural individuality.

Paul Klopfer: Back to Brick Construction

Following Gottfried Semper (1803-1879), Berlage argued in the article "On architecture" in 1909 that material determines the form of construction. Where materials are limited by what the land yields, the artistic expression of these materials is also limited. However, industrialization and development of means of transport made it possible to apply new materials and import them from afar. He argued: "And since architecture is bound up with utilitarian questions, the building materials must also have a great influence; not on the actual style, for this, as of a spiritual nature, governs the material, but on the form of the buildings" (Berlage, 1909: 63).

These utility questions are related to Berlage's view of nature, which he calls the archetype. Nature had to obey its own laws, simply because nature cannot help but represent itself. Berlage mentioned the French architect Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879, who rejected all forms that could not be deduced from the lines of force in the construction. Following his contemporaries, Berlage also adhered to the principle that visible construction materials has best been maintained in the styles that are the purest: those of the Greek classics and the Gothic Middle Ages (Berlage, 1911: 107).

In Berlage's 1911 book *Reflections on Architecture and its Development*, a collection of articles based on lectures, the article "Brick Construction" (p. 105-121) is of particular importance. "Back to brick construction", Berlage quoted the architect Paul Klopfer, a member of the Deutsche Werkbund, by which both mean that buildings should be built in bricks. Berlage also referred to the work of some leading architects in Berlin who revalued brick construction in an aesthetic sense. Berlage quoted Klopfer: "The brick itself, which as an individual is a nothingness, as a mass, a power, is the model for the equal social image to which it has to give color and form. Every profile, every formal peculiarity, every expression of obstinacy is destroyed in the tone of the masses, of the whole. Large surfaces, large lines, large profiles, powerful colors; herein lies the task of rough brick construction. Herein lies his pre-eminently modern being! … Doesn't it speak collectively? Does this not mean that the individual must submit to the whole? Does not brick building, with such a conception, symbolize the democratic idea that is growing, the idea that leads materially and therefore also spiritually to generalization?" (Berlage, 1911: 117).

The "einheitliche Blockfront" as a Spatial Element in Urban Planning

Berlage also referred to the work of Fritz Schumacher, architect and member of the Deutsche Werkbund, as a leading advocate of brick construction. Schumacher argued that buildings should speak primarily through their mass; the task of modern architecture was not in decoration, but in order and composition. It was mainly the large, uninterrupted wall surfaces that had to be expressed. In his view, brick was ideally suited to this approach, because as a flat material it possesses an unparalleled richness of color tones, which no other building material equals (Berlage, 1911, pp. 114–115).

Schumacher advocated a functional material hierarchy: brick for the large wall surfaces, natural stone for structurally more heavily loaded parts such as edges, corners and supports. Following both Klopfer and Schumacher, Berlage endorsed this approach and argued: "One can even argue that it is precisely modern architecture that possesses in brick a material that is best suited to its mode of expression .... Professor Schumacher says the following about this: 'It is the essence of the contemporary conception of architecture, instead of striving for this kind of style architecture, for the style of objectivity, which tries to develop its charms by the purely business-like solution of the eternal problem, as practical as possible, in the way in which one divides and groups, not how one decorates'." (Berlage, 1911: 119).

The concept of building block and brick construction was brought together by Walter Curt Behrendt in his book *Die einheitliche Blockfront als Raumelement im Städtebau: ein Beitrag zur Stadtbaukunst der Gegenwart* (*The Uniform Block Front as a Spatial Element in Urban Planning: A Contribution to Contemporary Urban Design*) (1911), which stated: "Not the individual house, but the rhythmic sequence of houses within a block, the architectonic uniform block front, forms the spatial element for contemporary urban architecture" (Behrend, 1911: 82). Berlage referred to this in his article 'Stedenbouw' ('Urban Design') (1914: 245).

In June 1912, an "exhibition of brick" was held in the building of the BNA by the Dutch Association of Brick Manufacturers. It was argued that "this exhibition is very interesting not only for the professional, but also for the layman. After all, it was not so long ago that many Dutch architects used materials other than brick by way of preference. Cuypers and Berlage were the ones who changed this" (Het Centrum, vol. 29, no. 8493). This exhibition was associated with a competition which was intended to make it clear that a house could also be built for a relatively small price of brick. As an example, a concrete-cast house in Santpoort was mentioned that cost no more than ƒ 2,000 and therefore the challenge was to make a rural house of brick, no more expensive than f 2,200. There were more than 120 entries. The architect Willem Verschoor received the first prize, Jan Wils the second prize, and the third prize was awarded to A.J. Rinsberg, all young architects from The Hague.

The Principle of Causality, Higher Spiritual Movement, and Society

Berlage explained his preference for constructive principles with typical Dutch brick in an article in the book *Over Moderne Architectuur* (*On Modern Architecture*) from 1914. Berlage argued that the construction of buildings with locally available materials was based on the principle of causality. He called this "the idea of God" and linked it to a higher spiritual movement (Berlage, 1914:11). He based this idea of causality on ideas of Schopenhauer, who called it the constant theme of architecture: of support and load. The principle states that there is no load without sufficient support, and no support without an appropriate burden. In statics, this was translated into a law in which the action of a force brings an equal reaction. The basic form for Berlage, the pure organism, was the constructive principle that transcends decorative detail. Columns and architraves were the purest expression of this theme, or according to Berlage, the keynote of architecture (Berlage, 1914:14).

Following Schumacher, Berlage spoke of the spiritualization of matter and the mass grouping of matter as the external appearance and consequence of the enclosure of space. That is why spatial art exists. According to the principle of causality, the external appearance of a building was therefore not a cause, according to Berlage, but a consequence of the harmonious composition that is given to the various spaces. Therefore, an architectural composition had to be made from the inside out. It was not the outside architecture, the appearance, that was the starting point, but the inner spatial arrangement that was expressed in the facade (Berlage, 1914:15).

Following Semper, Berlage argued about this relationship a few years later in the article "Relationship of Architecture to Society" from 1916: "Becoming what it is by nature the art of the community, the art of the people, for the people. In the course of this development, it will get rid of all that is superfluous, all that is temporary, and then, by virtue of a purely constructive principle, will achieve a general beauty. … And that beauty, like all great architecture, will again be of noble simplicity, and therefore already exalted, because the beautiful is exalted by simplicity. But this sublimity will not be fully revealed until the social idea, the ideal of universal human unity, has been realized" (Berlage, 1916:14).

Berlage thus saw in the sublime simplicity of constructive purity a bridge to a future community art, in which beauty and social unity coincided. In 1922, a retrospective exhibition of young architects on Schumacher's work was organized in the The Hague Art Circle. Schumacher himself gave a lecture there on June 9, 1922, about the urban planning problems in German cities.

The 1918 Congress on Standardization in Housing Construction

After the First World War, the Netherlands faced a housing crisis. Many new homes had to be built, but production was virtually at a standstill. In 1918, the STV published the study *Noodwoningen. Een overzicht* (*Temporary Housing. An Overview*) by Bakker Schut. At the Congress for Public Housing in the same year, Van der Waerden—director of Building and Housing Supervision of Amsterdam—gave preliminary advice to normalize housing construction. However, this met with great resistance from architects and workers. In the article "On Normalization in the Implementation of Housing Construction" in 1918, Berlage defended Bakker Schut and Van der Waerden. He also advocated for a new modern view of housing construction and argued:

"Necessity has overtaken us. And whether we want to use that word or not, housing production must become mass production; which means that construction must be done as quickly and, moreover, as cheaply as possible. But this should not mean that only minimal demands are made for the single object of this mass production. No and again no!" (Berlage, 1918: 388).

According to Berlage, the fastest and cheapest method of production of homes had to be sought, and therefore the manufacture of one or more of the same types of houses. The architects at the congress were against this, because they feared for an end to their personal freedom as designers and artists, resulting in a uniform aesthetic architecture. Workers also resisted and demonstrated at the congress. Berlage repeated them:

"The dreaded monotony of endless rows of the same houses and cottages is actually an attack on their personality, on their freedom, on their human beings; by this kind of habitation, one first becomes the herd animal, treated as a slave, dependent. … And now the proposed habitation, in one revolutionary publication even very drastically characterized as meaning 'one uniform, one food, one hutch', means storage in a kind of cellular prison" (Berlage, 1918: 389).

What particularly stung workers was that they felt they were already on the right track, building entire urban blocks with an aesthetically surprising result by different architects, while they themselves also had an input in the layout of the houses. Harsh words were spoken at the congress by architects and workers, such as "uniformity is the death of all life", "when everything becomes normal, one gets abnormal people", "the houses will become a kind of clothing store, an application of the Taylor system to the habitation", "The system is the absolute misunderstanding of the spirit that lives in the working class: it is the system of poor relief applied to public housing", "Normalization yes, as far as it is possible, but not like that. The system is killing art, because where is the end? Furniture, paintings, etc., are also the same", "The bourgeoisie would not occupy such dwellings", "There has not been a new form of architecture, a new building order, because then he [Van der Waerden] would have been consistent. Only an emergency solution has been offered. Everything that reminds us of the war must go as soon as possible! We have to stick to the type we have; later in a quieter time the ideas of Van der Waerden may come. It is all civil service" (Berlage, 1918: 390).

Berlage argued that the urban block, consisting of rows of houses or multi-level apartments blocks, represents a historically evolved form rooted in both social and economic necessity. Socially, it responds to the need for separate dwellings for diverse households; economically,

this typology reduces construction costs per dwelling and thereby helps keep rents within reach. The gradual increase in land values from low in rural areas to high in urban centers further reinforces this tendency. For this reason, Berlage maintained, architecture ought to be directed toward the collective urban block as a rational and meaningful ordering principle, rather than toward the individual house as an artistic object.

About the building block, Berlage argued that: “Modern urban planning strives to individualize the cityscape, not that of the single house. Not this, but the rhythmic sequence of the houses, the block front forms the spatial element for contemporary urban architecture. Only, we lack a general building culture, because we have no community culture; hence, the art form of the various building blocks built so far has also become a revelation of the wide variety of art forms practiced by the architects involved. But something for the better has happened. Architecture itself has generally grown as art since the last century; its practitioners, and there are many of them, have again become artists, so that, although the art form of the various urban blocks may be different, they have each in itself already become the revelation of a very conscious and charming sense of beauty” (Berlage, 1918: 396).

The normalization of housing construction is therefore related to the cityscape according to Berlage. He further argued that: “But wouldn’t there not be a reason for them, in contrast to the individualistic cityscape that has become unbearable, which is after all the expression of the class hostile to them, to accept with enthusiasm the so calm appearance of the collective cityscape?” (Berlage, 1918: 398).

A System of Measurement for Dwellings and Urban Blocks

For Berlage, aesthetics held a central place, and the intrinsic properties of the material itself determined the architectural form. The dimensions of the brick functioned as the primary ordering principle. Yet, since bricks do not always have exact dimensions, their manufacture came to rely on standardized formats with permissible tolerances. The most prevalent Dutch brick size was the Waal format, measuring 21 cm in length, 10 cm in depth, and 5 cm in height. To this was added the mortar joint—both bed and head joints—of approximately 1 cm, the thickness of which could be slightly adjusted to absorb the irregularities of the brick. In this way, the masonry surface was articulated as a modular system composed of brick units, expressed in headers, together with the joints.

Temporary and semi-permanent housing, as well as family dwellings, were typically laid in stretcher bond, with a wall thickness of a half brick or with cavity walls. In contrast, the more substantial residential blocks were constructed in English bond, with wall thickness of one brick, underscoring the hierarchical relation between material module, structural logic, and architectural form.

The facade grid consisted of the total masonry surface, which corresponded to both the structural grid (*stramienmaten*) and the floor height. From the facade surface and grid, the number of brick heads and layers was calculated backwards. The dimensions of the bricks and layers, determined by the chosen brick, must be carefully integrated into these principal measurements. The facade grid was leading in this. Within this system, wall openings for shopfronts, door and window frames were positioned. In the Netherlands, window and door frames are often built into the brick wall, with the masonry in direct contact with the wooden frame. This practice requires precise alignment between the dimensions of the brick and the layers.

In the design phase, the exact dimensions of the brick were usually not yet specified. In such cases, a standard size is generally assumed. The contractor subsequently placed the order, and the bricks were fired in batches. During tendering or constructing, considerations of cost or availability could lead to the selection of a different brick. In such instances, the modular brick system had to be adjusted, although in many cases the new brick could still be integrated within the overarching façade grid system.

Did Berlage propose a proportional system? According to De Heer (Polano, 1988), Berlage created a proportional system based on 11 half bricks with stretcher bonds (121 cm) and 16 layers with bed joints (100 cm) (Polano, 1988). This produced a measuring system organized by a grid of 121 x 121 cm in the horizontal plane (floor plan) and 121 x 100 cm in the vertical plane (facade). Bakker Schut (1939: 62-68) demonstrated that in The Hague the Berlage modular grid was not applied in municipal or housing association projects. Other considerations prevailed, most notably the minimum spatial requirements prescribed by building regulations. In municipal housing, the grid dimensions for family dwellings varied between 440 cm, 584 cm, 500 cm, and 565 cm; for duplex apartments the dimensions were 1,177 cm, 900 cm, 1,716 cm, 1,100 cm, 524 cm, and 660 cm respectively; for multi-story apartment buildings the grid measured 1,120 cm.

Comparable deviations from Berlage’s grid were also observed in housing association projects. Here, too, the grid was not determined by the modular dimension of the brick headers but rather by the required usable living space within the dwelling. Moreover, windows were not always placed symmetrically within rooms, resulting in wall surfaces on either side of the openings differing in proportion. In such cases, the articulation of the facade itself proved to be the guiding principle.

This divergence reveals a fundamental tension between Berlage’s rationalist conception of architecture—premised on order, modularity, and the expressive logic of material—and the pragmatic demands of affordable housing. Whereas Berlage sought to establish a universal system grounded in the intrinsic measure of the brick, municipal authorities and housing associations prioritized spatial efficiency, regulatory compliance, and economic feasibility. The result was a shift in emphasis: from the abstract pursuit of proportional harmony to the practical accommodation of living requirements, in which the facade composition often provided the dominant framework of design. Thus, in the design of brick architecture, usable floor area and facade width proved to be the decisive parameters.

Conclusion: The Cityscape of Early Modern Architecture

The ideas of Berlage and later Dudok are of great importance for early modern architecture and urban planning.

In summary, they saw the city as a whole; promoted the idea of spatial art in architecture and the city; designed spaces from the inside out; proposed unifying the picturesque landscape and a new, ordered urban layout; baroque residential areas in The Hague; saw building blocks as the basis for urban development in which individual houses blend into the whole; used the architecturally uniform block front; promoted efficient structural and utilitarian architecture, brick construction, and cohesion between urban blocks and urban spaces; and stimulated differentiation in urban spaces between residential streets and squares and thoroughfares.

These elements formed the foundation of the cityscape of Early Modern Architecture during the interbellum, with its emphasis on collectivity. Ranging from modest brick-built municipal housing to the refined architecture of New The Hague School, this architecture became characteristic of The Hague's interbellum architecture and urban space, culminating in the double urban block in brick architecture.

5.5 Working-class Neighborhoods: Duindorp, Trekweg, and Spoorwijk

Municipal Houses and Neighborhoods

"Not the individual house, but the rhythmic arrangement of houses within a block, the architecturally uniform block front, forms the spatial element for contemporary urban design" (Behrendt, 1911: 82).

"And yet … studies such as those by Curt Behrendt on the architecturally uniform block front as a spatial element in urban construction are nothing but the result of the recently heightened awareness that personal fancy, especially fancy without any tradition and usually of a sober speculative nature, must be limited" (Berlage, 1914: 245).

Double urban blocks with intimate living squares remain among the most sought-after residential areas in The Hague. From 1913 to 1939, the municipality took the initiative to construct housing for people who could not afford a home under the Housing Act. These housing projects display significant urban planning and architectural qualities that seamlessly align with the idealistic program of social democratic housing advocates: double urban blocks that strongly emphasized architecturally uniform block front—the "einheitlich Baublockfront"—and living squares that gave residents a sense of being part of a community. These municipal urban blocks also set the tone for numerous projects by housing associations and private individuals with similar plans.

The impetus for the municipality of The Hague to construct housing was the dismal living conditions of fishermen in Scheveningen and the influx of many unskilled rural inhabitants with low incomes who were seeking a better future in the city and exerting pressure on housing facilities; through the demolition of houses for traffic cut-throughs; stagnating construction production; and numerous declarations of uninhabitability (Bakker Schut, 1939). These problems became urgent around the time of the First World War. The new municipal housing was built near Scheveningen Harbor and in Laak district along Trekweg (Molenwijk, Spoorwijk, Laakweg).

For local politicians from the SDAP and the RK, the housing shortage was a focal point. The impoverished fishermen, referred to as the "original population of Scheveningen" by the liberal council member Eltjo van Beresteyn, even received individual rent support and assistance from the municipality to maintain the Scheveningen community in new neighborhoods around the harbor and redevelopment areas in the old village. The municipality also seized the opportunity to educate residents of these neighborhoods aesthetically through the establishment of model homes, leading them toward modernity (Faassen, 2020).

All these municipal houses were primarily designed and executed by architects Willem Greve Jr., Geert Albers, and later Antoon Pet. These

architects also worked on their own projects in addition to their work for the municipality. For example, Pet designed the elegant facades in New The Hague School style on Goeverneurlaan in Laak district, as well as the preliminary plans for Vondelstraat in Zeeheldenkwartier and around Lorentzplein in Spoorwijk. Albers worked on housing construction projects for Housing Association Die Haghe. Greve was the inventor of aggregate concrete, which enabled numerous construction projects during the interbellum and post-war reconstruction. Greve was in charge, as head architect of the Housing Service, and Albers and Pet were the two architects who were actively involved in the projects. Additionally, there was a team of draftsmen and building experts who handled the practical implementation.

Four Phases of Development

Roughly speaking, the construction of municipal council houses in The Hague can be divided into four periods. On behalf of the municipality, Bakker Schut prepared the *Rapport betreffende verbetering der volkshuisvesting* (*Report on the Improvement of Public Housing*) in 1914.

This document provided insight into the condition of housing in The Hague and offered a plan to improve the housing situation. Due to the numerous declarations of uninhabitability as regulated by the Housing Act, a shortage of affordable workers' housing had arisen (Bakker Schut, 1929). The report was discussed in the municipal council on July 6, 1914. Councilor H.J. Romeijn of the Comité voor Plaatselijke Wet en Eigendommen (Committee for Local Law and Property) presented a comprehensive proposal accepted by his fellow councilors (Bakker Schut, 1939: 35, 36; municipal council meeting of July 6, 1914). The mayor struggled with a significant expansion of municipal involvement in housing construction; he viewed this as a task for housing associations, like in Rotterdam. However, his alderman for Public Works, Jurriaan Kok, supported the council's proposals. This established the main outline of The Hague's public housing for the interbellum.

1. In 1914, within the Public Works Department, the Department of Public Housing was established, under the direction of Isaac Anne Lindo (1848-1941). Architect Adam Schadée worked on Kolenwagenslag I and II, located outside Scheveningen village on the western side behind the tram line, while Johannes Jacobus Gort Jr. worked on the first phase of Duindorp along the Afvoerkanaal-West (Western Drainage Canal), starting with the urban block Zeezwaluwhof. Schadée had been appointed to the Public Works Department in 1891 and continued to work there as the head of the construction department until his retirement in 1927. Gort was involved as an architect in numerous projects from 1909 to 1916. For the design and execution of municipal housing, Greve Jr. was engaged as an architect in September 1914. The outbreak of the First World War caused these plans to be put on hold for the time being. Materials could no longer be imported and construction prices became uncontrollable, especially immediately after the First World War, when everyone needed building materials. The halt in housing production and the influx of refugees led to an even greater housing shortage and put further pressure on local politics.
2. In addition to Greve, in 1916 the municipality hired housing architect Albers, who would work on a multitude of projects until 1921, including residential neighborhoods in Duindorp along the Afvoerkanaal-West with the urban blocks Meeuwenhof and Pluvierhof. He also worked on the semipermanent or temporary residential neighborhoods along Westduinweg (and Scholstraat, Schelvisstraat, and Bokkingstraat) between Scheveningen and Duindorp (with Greve); Afvoerkanaal-Oost in the harbor (Boei- and Steigerstraat, the island of Vloek, and the later Norfolk site); in Laak district along Laakweg at two locations (Tak van Poortvlietstraat and Molenslootstraat). Additionally, there was a large urban expansion with, due to its height, the mostly urban residential area Trekweg (later called Molenwijk and Noordpolderbuurt) (Berlage et al., 1921).
3. In 1918 Greve became the head of the Housing Service and was joined by Pet as the municipal architect. Subsequently, from 1919 to 1930, Greve and Pet oversaw the expansion of the residential neighborhoods Spoorwijk and the second phase of Duindorp between Wieringsestraat and Pluvierstraat. In 1917, 564 municipal houses were completed, followed by over 816 in 1918, 495 in 1919, 664 in 1920, 841 in 1921, 999 in 1922, 732 in 1923, and only 299 municipal houses in 1924. The peak years for municipal housing were from 1921 to 1923. After that period, the numbers declined, and no Housing Act homes were completed in 1929 and 1930. The cause of this decline was the liberalization of construction production after 1920. An instruction issued on June 1, 1921, changed the financing system, and support for the Housing Act sector and rent regulation were discontinued. The government stopped granting construction loans, and the operating contributions were gradually reduced between 1921 and 1923. To make the operation cost-effective, rents had to be increased. A subsequent ministerial instruction of November 1, 1922 about financing housing projects, was seen by Bakker Schut as a turning point that had a significant impact on housing, especially in Spoorwijk and Duindorp. The municipality still provided some loans, but by 1926, virtually no Housing Act or municipal houses were being built. Pet was forced to manage the available resources very effectively. He strongly advanced the normalization, rationalization, and standardization of floor plans and building components in housing construction (Oorschot, 2025). For financial reasons, flat roofs were chosen for the last parts of Spoorwijk and Duindorp, allowing for more living space at a lower cost. Normalization and standardization in municipal housing were further pursued due to lower construction budgets and lower rents for the target group. As far as affordable housing is concerned, the various housing associations, administrators, and architects, each with their own opinion or policy, did not achieve the degree of standardization as for municipal housing.
4. The period after 1930 saw a slight revival in the residential neighborhoods of Visschershaven (now Menninckstraat,

Koppelstokstraat, and surroundings) and Old Scheveningen, where ornamentation was cautiously reintroduced. However, the stock market crash of 1929 led to a recession in the Netherlands, and The Hague was swept along in this economic crisis, resulting in significant unemployment. During this period, Greve designed residential neighborhoods and houses on his own for a time. The architecture began to align more closely with New The Hague School architecture and took on a different character. Between 1931 and 1934, municipal houses were still being built, but none were constructed in 1935 and 1936.

Municipal Houses, Central Housing Management, and Rent Support

Part of the housing shortage was the result of the redevelopment of Old Scheveningen and parts of the city center for traffic cut-throughs, as well as declarations of uninhabitability. However, tenant movement to other homes did not occur because the fishing families had insufficient income. The weekly rent for single-room homes in the slums of Old Scheveningen was f 2.50 in 1931. The cheapest municipal house was f 3.50; the average was f 5. Association homes were thus intended for better-off workers. Housing inspectors from the municipality assisted fishing families in securing municipal housing with a rent support of f 1 from the municipality and the state to facilitate tenant movement to the redevelopment areas of Scheveningen.

Municipal and association homes were located in separate neighborhoods, and municipal houses were simpler and smaller (Bakker Schut, 1938). For the management of municipal houses, a kind of sub-manager was introduced at Kolenwagenslag in 1913, but this did not function effectively. Starting in 1914, the new Housing Service took over management, and from April 1, 1922, a new foundation, Centraal Woningbeheer (Central Housing Management), was established. The board of the foundation included, among others, the alderman and Bakker Schut, and residents were also represented (Hubregtse, 1920).

Municipal Neighborhoods near the Beach and Inner Harbors

For civil servant Bakker Schut, it was crystal clear where municipal housing should be built: first, in Scheveningen to benefit the impoverished fishing population; then in areas where the municipality already owned the land and/or where the soil could support construction without expensive foundations—thus, on sand. Finally, housing was needed most where the sea harbor and inner harbors were located, where unskilled workers could quickly find jobs. As the municipality stated:

"The fastest development of the city has taken place in the western direction. And there, behind the high dune ridge that stretches along the North Sea, on the foothills of those dunes and in the dune landscape, which tends to be the most sought after for construction, both from a sanitary point of view and for financial reasons, it is expected that a significant portion of the city's expansion will occur in the coming decades" (Gemeente Den Haag, 1927: 18).

Soil Conditions as a Determinant of Building Mass and Architectural Typologies

Perhaps it was a combination of several different circumstances that so many municipal houses were built in Scheveningen: the presence of slums where the fishing community lived, the large redevelopment project of the village, the land that was largely already owned by the municipality, and the savings on expensive foundation costs due to good subsoil. If the ground was too soft due to peaty soils, a costly sand layer had to be laid. This was the case, for example, at Trekweg, Laakweg, and Spoorwijk. At Laakweg and Afvoerkanaal-Oost, the land was originally intended for industry, but now residential neighborhoods with semipermanent municipal houses were being constructed. Only in the neighborhood of Trekweg was a costly pile foundation used, which allowed for a larger building mass with three stories and a substantial attic space for bedrooms. Spoorwijk was located directly on a sand layer, resulting in a limited building mass of one to two stories. All semipermanent homes were located on a sand layer and had a very light building mass of one story with an attic, while Tabotstraat and surrounding areas had two stories with a flat roof. In Scheveningen, houses were built on dune sand with foundations directly on the sand, allowing for a greater building mass of three stories, with or without attic space.

The First Experiment: Kolenwagenslag and Zeezwaluwhof

Kolenwagenslag and Zeezwaluwhof were the first urban housing blocks executed in austere brick rationalism, designed according to the principles of Berlage and the Deutsche Werkbund. The first municipal houses were built on Reepstraat and Hoogaarstraat in Scheveningen, extending from Kolenwagenslag. Four building strips consisting of 65 duplex homes and a duplex shop with attic space for sleeping areas were constructed, designed by Schadée. On January 11, 1912, Kolenwagenslag I was assigned by the municipality to a contractor, but national financial support had not yet been secured. When that support finally arrived, the municipal council decided at a meeting on June 6, 1914, to also proceed with Kolenwagenslag II, which included six residential strips with 81 duplex homes and shops. This construction project was put out for tender on February 14, 1915. Both projects were executed simultaneously thereafter.

It is not entirely clear who the architect of Kolenwagenslag was. Although Schadée made initial the construction drawings, suggesting that he approved them, it is unlikely that he personally worked on the plan as the number of projects he had in progress was considerable. It is possible that Gort was the project architect while Schadée served as the manager. Generally, the Public Works Department did not focus much on housing. Furthermore, Schadée and Gort were not specifically

housing designers. However, the municipal houses at the Gas Factory (1905-07), the entrance to the site of the Public Slaughterhouse from 1908, and the row of simpler municipal houses at the rear of the Gas Factory are beautiful homes in Dutch neo-Renaissance style, featuring turrets, colored brick bands, and natural stone sills and window ledges (Havelaar & Teunissen, 2016: 80-87, 99-109).

Kolenwagenslag I and II were, in contrast, modest brick residential buildings with only sporadic elegant details. The facades featured occasional masonry ornaments, natural stone integrated into the brickwork, and complex roof shapes with dormers made of wood, indicating that Schadée and Gort had different backgrounds than housing designers who had to work with minimal budgets. These houses are somewhat comparable to, for example, Schadée's annex to the bank on Nieuwe Havendwarsstraat from 1910. By the end of 1915, the houses at Kolenwagenslag I and II had been completed. From 1919 to 1921, Kolenwagenslag III was constructed; these duplex homes were designed by Greve and Albers and formed an architectural unity with I and II.

In the design of 172 Housing Act homes along Afvoerkanaal-West (later called Zeezwaluwhof) by Gort, the double urban block was applied for the first time. Zeezwaluwhof was put out to tender on November 11, 1915, and it is likely that there were issues with the contractor or that it was split into two parts, leading to a second tender on December 22, 1916. It is possible that Greve was also involved in this project. The designs for Trekweg were created by Greve and Albers between 1915 and 1916 (Berlage et al., 1921: 52-57). By this time, construction costs had skyrocketed, resulting in Zeezwaluwhof remaining on hold for an extended period. Similar developments with double urban blocks were also occurring in Spaarndammerbuurt, Transvaalbuurt, and Amsterdam South in Amsterdam, as well as in Bloemenhof and Spangen in Rotterdam (Berlage et al., 1921: 1-3, 19-21, 25-27, 46-48, 52-57).

Temporary Homes on Westduinweg, 1916–22

The deplorable living conditions of the fishermen in Scheveningen prompted the construction of temporary housing along Westduinweg in 1916. On February 10, 1916, the Public Works Department was commissioned to create plans. Greve, from the Department of Public Housing had the design ready by February 22. The health committee was consulted, and on April 3, the municipal council decided to proceed with the construction. Subsequently, the Provincial States approved it on May 1, and on May 6, the order was placed for the construction of seven rows of 74 temporary houses. The homes were completed by early August, and by the end of August 1916, residents had moved in.

The architecture marked a break from the earlier work of Schadée and Gort, which featured beautiful brickwork occasionally adorned with an ornament, turret, or accented with natural stone. These temporary houses were utilitarian in every aspect and focused on health. Despite their simplicity, the construction costs of 8.39 guilders per square meter were still higher than those of Kolenwagenslag I and II. According to the Housing Act, the houses could be used for five years, and they were demolished in 1922. Nevertheless, these homes were a luxury compared to the moldy shanties of Old Scheveningen, which lacked toilets and fresh water, with muddy tracks used as streets. Each unit included a living room of 15 square meters and two or three bedrooms, meaning children no longer had to sleep in their parents' bed. There was also a kitchen and toilet in the house, along with gas and water supply. A novelty was that the exterior wall featured a cavity.

However, elsewhere, concerns were raised about this form of construction. For example, D.E. Wentink, an inspector from Utrecht, had issues with barracks and temporary housing being built throughout the Netherlands: "In particular, I would like to emphasize that mass construction of standardized housing will only lead to satisfactory results when placed in the hands of competent architects" (STV, 1918: 11). The architecture of these temporary houses can be described as minimal. Schadée and Gort would likely have shaken their heads in disapproval as they walked past Greve's drawing board. There was an emotional discussion in the professional community regarding the quality versus quantity of housing (Berlage, 1918).

Residential Neighborhoods with Semipermanent Homes on Laakweg, 1917-20

In the next project, Greve and Albers also had to manage the available materials and resources very efficiently to keep the homes affordable. Preference was now given to "lightweight construction homes", semipermanent family homes with a lifespan of between 30 and 40 years. After a council decision on March 26, 1917, Greve and Albers were tasked with designing and constructing a total of 553 semipermanent homes in five construction phases at two locations along Laakweg. These were put out to tender between April 17, 1917, and March 8, 1918. Additionally, on May 25, 1917, 150 semipermanent homes were tendered along Westduinweg and surrounding areas, which were built in one construction phase. By this time, construction costs had risen to prices ranging from f 11.93 per square meter per home at the beginning to f 16.11 later on, and in Scheveningen f 12.68.

The semipermanent homes came in two types of family row homes: the standard type (Type E) and corner houses (Type F). These homes featured a cavity wall, stone partition walls, a kitchen, a toilet, and electricity, gas, and water supply. The houses were completed between December 1917 and late summer 1918. Following this success, an additional 132 semipermanent homes were constructed along Afvoerkanaal-East on the island Vloek and the later Norfolk site. These were put out to tender on January 8, 1920, when the construction costs had risen to f 20.09 per square meter. Ultimately, the quality of the semipermanent homes was so good that their lifespan was estimated at 50 years. It wasn't until the 1970s and 1980s that they were all demolished. The architecture reflected intimate workers' neighborhoods, with a strong focus on public spaces within the courtyards.

Part of the semipermanent homes along Laakweg was Laakhof, a

double urban block with an intimate residential square at its heart. Like all urban blocks, it featured a pleasing architectural mass with nice articulation and fine grain, creating variation. With the direction of the roof's variety was introduced. Natural stone was not used, and there were no masonry details. Nonetheless, the neighborhoods were very popular among residents.

The First Part of Duindorp, 1918-21

With the first construction phases along Trekweg and Laakweg underway, the construction phases in Duindorp Afvoerkanaal-West II, III, and IV were put out to tender on July 12, 1918, March 13, 1919, and November 17, 1920, respectively. This involved the double urban blocks of Meeuwenhof, Pluvierhof, and the building strips Grutto- and Zeearendstraat, consisting of duplex homes. The construction costs reached a peak, with f 21.32 and f 23.03 per square meter per house for the double urban blocks and f 20.95 for the building strips. This entire first section of Duindorp was significantly less urban than the Trekweg plan. The low double urban blocks had a somewhat village-like quality but were still not as rural as the semipermanent family homes or Spoorwijk. Regarding these types of workers' housing, Berlage argued, "through this process, the artistic workers' house, as a separate dwelling in a garden city and garden district, as a housing block in the city itself, already found its realization" (Berlage et al., 1921: IX).

The first construction phase of Zeezwaluwhof designed by architect Gort had a somewhat frivolous character with protruding facades and an elevated roof space that broke up the building mass slightly. There was a gently curved street wall in the courtyard, and tower-like structures were present in the inner corners. Meeuwenhof and Pluvierhof were simple in design, with no refinements in the brickwork as seen in Zeezwaluwhof. Construction phase IV between Houtrustweg, Zeezwaluwstraat, Gruttostraat, and Zeearendstraat consisted of two open urban blocks. Whether the tender dates later mentioned by Bakker Schut are accurate is questionable (Bakker Schut, 1939: 230). A vertical aerial photo montage from 1919 of Scheveningen shows that by that time, Kolenwagenslag I and II had already been built, and the temporary homes and the semipermanent homes along Westduinweg were also present (collection HGA 7.30028).

Construction had also begun on the semi-permanent homes at Afvoerkanaal-Oost (the island of Vloek). Likewise, Afvoerkanaal-West (Meeuwenhof and Pluvierhof), along with the two open urban blocks and the building strips along Zeezwaluwstraat, had already been built, but the area where Gort's Zeezwaluwhof would later be constructed was still a barren, sandy expanse.

It is unclear to what extent Greve and Albers adjusted Gort's plans to make them affordable. The three double urban blocks had the same structure, material choices, and types of housing. The outer ring consisted of two stories with a roof space, while the inner ring had one story with a roof space. The gates were the same, and the corner turrets of the inner ring were also similar; the semipermanent homes along Westduinweg and Laakweg featured these corner towers as well. Ornamentation had nearly disappeared, and natural stone was no longer visible. Special details such as windowsills, balcony niches, and porch recesses were executed in brickwork. The roof shape was simple, with the roof space usually parallel to the facade. In a few cases, the roof space was perpendicular to the facade, allowing for larger homes. At Zeezwaluwhof, the facades slightly protruded to break up the length of the facade wall. The fourth construction phase of Afvoerkanaal-West at Zeearendstraat was put out to tender on November 17, 1920. Photos from the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing are attributed to Gort by The Hague Municipal Archive (collection HGA 855020 & 855019). However, Gort left the Department of Public Works in 1916. It is possible that this pertains to an earlier design that was only executed years later. These homes also look different from the three double urban blocks designed by Greve and Albers. In Gort's case, it involved several building strips featuring quite a few special characteristics, masonry ornaments, and varying roof directions. The architecture is particularly different in the mostly detached corner houses. Only Zeezwaluwhof has been preserved; the rest was demolished during the Second World War and the twenty-one's century.

Three Municipal Neighborhoods: Trekweg, Spoorwijk, and Duindorp

Large-scale expansion took place in three municipal neighborhoods: Trekweg (1916-22), Spoorwijk (1920-30), and Duindorp (1922-31). Trekweg neighborhood was located between Trekweg, Stuwstraat, Noordpolderkade, Ketelstraat, and Laakkade. This neighborhood was later renamed Molenwijk and subsequently Noordpolderbuurt. In Duindorp neighborhood, the municipal houses were situated between Pluvierstraat and Wieringsestraat. Spoorwijk was located between Hildebrandstraat, along the railway, Schimmelweg, Jonathanstraat, and Van Koetsveldstraat.

Greve and Albers were intensively involved in the large-scale development along Trekweg. A sand layer had already been laid between 1915 and 1921, and streets and drains were installed. A neighborhood consisting of 1,750 municipal houses was built in eight construction phases. The construction phases were put out to tender between March 30, 1916, and August 17, 1922. The initial construction phases had a disorganized urban design. Although Berlage's plan was followed, it led to fragmentation of urban blocks and spaces. Due to the many angular shifts, creating good homes became impossible. The later construction phases consisted of six double urban blocks. Three were along Trekweg and three along Noordpolderkade, with the neighborhood access road Stuwstraat in between. The outside edges of the double building blocks were duplex or upstairs apartments in three storeys with a large roof hood and substantial attic space, inside there were upstairs apartments in two storeys with a roof hood with attic space. The intimate courtyards were accessible through gates or narrow passages.

Here, too, construction costs had risen explosively, ranging from f

9.46 for the first construction phase to f 23.56 for the seventh phase. Subsequently, construction prices dropped again: the last construction phase came to f 16.86. All residential buildings received an expensive pile foundation. Single-family homes were not built in this area. The neighborhood took on an urban character due to the robust construction with a wide variety of duplex homes and the careful articulation of the building mass and urban spaces. Whether Albers was involved in all construction phases is unclear. He left the Housing Service in 1921. Antoon Pet, who had been working for the service since 1919, may have influenced the design process by opting for a more rational urban structure, improving the quality of the homes and making them more affordable. Because the construction phases of these three neighborhoods ran partly in parallel, they are thematically described here rather than chronologically.

The Housing Types that Determined the Character of the Neighborhoods

The character of the three municipal neighborhoods is partly the result of the housing types that were implemented. The municipality designed and built three main types of homes in various variants: single-family homes (in variants such as temporary, semipermanent, designed for the elderly, and standard); duplex homes (in Dutch bovenbenedenwoning, literally “upstairs-downstairs home”), meaning two houses on top of each other each, each with its own front door on the street (available in numerous variants, with two or three stories); and apartments in a residential building with an open staircase and front doors on the different floors, usually with three homes on top of each other. These usually had three stories and a total of six homes per residential building. This type of apartment buildings had gradually evolved from duplex homes. No buildings were constructed taller than three stories; some had a substantial attic space. Bakker Schut calculated that a total of 2,118 single-family homes, 2,507 ground-level duplex homes, 2,459 upper-level duplex homes, and 1,194 apartments were built (Bakker Schut, 1939: 61).

Single-family homes were more expensive than the other two types. This is due not only to construction costs but also to the number of homes per street length, and the related costs for street and utility infrastructure. Temporary homes were only placed along Westduinweg for five years. Semipermanent single-family homes, with one story and attic space, were located along Westduinweg, Laakweg, and Afvoerkanaal-Oost, on land originally designated for industry that had already been prepared for construction. These homes were also temporary, with a lifespan of about 35 years, later extended to 50 years. There were also single-family homes with one or two stories and attic space in Spoorwijk and Old Scheveningen, derived from the design for semipermanent homes. Homes for the elderly were built at Vissershof (an expansion of Westduinweg) and Wanthof (an expansion of Old Scheveningen).

Trekweg had apartments with three storeys with roof roofs along the edges of the neighborhood and the acces road Stuwstraat district access road in the middle. Within the double urban blocks and along the building strips, there were duplex homes with attic spaces. Spoorwijk appeared much less urban than Trekweg, mainly consisting of duplex homes with attic space, along with a number of single-family homes with one story and a roof space. A popular variant at Trekweg was three homes on two ground-floor units, while in Spoorwijk, two homes were placed on one ground floor unit. Apartment buildings were not present in Trekweg and Spoorwijk.

Duindorp had a completely different character. In the second phase of Duindorp, all three types of housing were constructed. The buildings here featured flat roofs. Along the edges were buildings with apartment units in three stories, while inside were double urban blocks with duplex homes and single-family houses.

The apartment buildings were the result of rationalization and standardization, allowing homes to remain affordable. The transition from duplex homes to apartment buildings occurred gradually. The duplex homes at Trekweg often had complex layouts of intertwined residences, such as two on one, or three on two, etc. This posed a technical challenge in execution. Through the standardization of floor plans, the structure became more uniform, leading to the development of the apartment building, possibly influenced by Pet.

Bakker Schut preferred an attic space, but the usual choice for a flat roof was driven by the desire to further reduce costs. The complex duplex homes with substantial attic spaces and great variety at Trekweg evolved into the uniform apartment buildings in apartment structures with flat roofs in Duindorp and Zeekant at Vuurbaak. This represented the truly early modern architecture of that period. The frivolities of Schadée and Gort, with their occasional beautiful masonry details, completely disappeared.

In the last municipal houses in Visschershaven, from the fourth period (around 1933), Greve returned to the design of duplex homes with substantial attic spaces. However, these homes appear to have a more rational design and do not exhibit the level of variety that characterized the houses along Trekweg at that time. The continuous concrete bands, the roof edges, and the well-designed gable facades also reference New The Hague School, with its clean lines (Teunissen & Freijser, 2008). In Old Scheveningen (now Kolenwagenslag, Schipperstraat, and surrounding areas), Greve allowed himself to use elegant gabled roofs on the apartment buildings and single-family homes. The gable facades were decorated with horizontal and vertical lines in the facade enhanced by bands and windows, making the composition lively. The craftsmanship of housing architect Greve is evident here, showing how to create a beautiful residential ensemble with a minimal budget.

Not only were the houses themselves efficient and hygienic, but they also used advanced in construction techniques such as cavity walls, radio connections, and overhanging roof edges to keep the brickwork and frames dry. There was also attention given to a modern, efficient, and especially hygienic design for housewives. Municipal homes were furnished as model homes in Spoorwijk and the second part of Duindorp by interior architect J.C. Lecointre to convince residents of modern living (Faassen, 2020).

The “einheitlich Baublockfront” in The Hague

Aside from the differences discussed above, the municipal housing neighborhoods exhibited a striking coherence and similarity in architecture. Individualization of modest brick houses was avoided, and the uniform block front was the rule. In various places, Bakker Schut and his Department of Urban Development and Public Housing referred to the concept of the uniform block front, or “uniform” character, as Bakker Schut termed it.

In 1927, it was stated: “The neighborhood [Duindorp, LO] has a strong “uniform” character, as the building plans have been produced without distinction at the same office. The aim here is to achieve a well-coordinated architectural whole without falling into monotony. The first part of the neighborhood, built during the war years near the Afvoerkanaal, features three quiet courtyards around which the single-family homes are grouped, providing a place for many fishermen’s families from Scheveningen who were displaced from demolished slum housing. The further section of the neighborhood, built in recent years, contrasts with the red-tiled roofs of the first section, featuring flat-roofed urban blocks, mainly consisting of apartment units. The center of the neighborhood is formed by Tesselsche Plein, which is envisioned as being surrounded by, partially already under construction, retail buildings” (Gemeente Den Haag, 1927: 19).

Also at Trekweg uniform design principles were applied: “Between Rijswijkscheweg and Trekvliet lies a nearly completed urban district, of which the eastern section houses eighteen hundred municipal homes. Here we find somewhat higher buildings than in Spoorwijk: three “living stories” stacked on top of each other along the main streets, and between them are duplex homes. The uniform treatment is also present here, which we have pointed out earlier” (Gemeente Den Haag, 1927: 28).

In the description of the architecture of Duindorp and Spoorwijk, both designed by Greve and Pet, the architecture was explicitly named, emphasizing that the “street facade” was treated as a unity:

“Here, as in Duindorp, we are struck by the calm and restrained nature of the architecture, the absence of superfluous decorations. There is no individual character to each house; the street facade has been treated as a unity. This simple workers’ neighborhood makes a much more civilized impression than many “respectable” residential areas with their clanging chaos of turrets, bay windows, balconies, pinnacles, flying buttresses, gable ends, and so on, not to mention the haphazard mix of colors from various materials! Additionally, three schools in this neighborhood leave a pleasant impression. A square-shaped widening of Alberdingk Thijmstraat, planted with trees and surrounded by retail buildings, forms the center of Spoorwijk. This building, developed by private individuals, was constructed according to plans provided by the municipality” (Gemeente Den Haag, 1927: 27).

It is unclear whether these texts were written by Bakker Schut himself or by Greve or Pet. In 1939, Bakker Schut reiterated: “The construction of large complexes has made it possible to achieve satisfactory results in urban planning in Trekweg, Spoorwijk, and Duindorp. In construction of this magnitude, the house becomes completely subordinate to the street facade, and it becomes possible, indeed advisable on a large scale, to realize the “einheitliche Baublockfront”. Thus, the opportunity is created to merge the building blocks into a harmonious whole” (Bakker Schut, 1939: 73-74).

Nowhere does Bakker Schut mention the source from which he derived this term, nor does he refer to Behrendt’s book *Die Einheitliche Blockfront* from 1911. He also does not address A.E. Brinckmann’s *Platz und Monument* from 1908, which also discussed this topic. Additionally, he does not mention the textual appendix to Berlage’s expansion plan for The Hague. However, the frivolous and individualistic architecture of the fin de siècle had definitively given way to modern brick architecture with its idealistic program.

Urban Space and Collective Amenities

The front of the house always faced the street, while the back was adjacent to other backyards or a rear path. In the case of duplex homes, each residence had a front door directly on the street. At the rear, there were kitchens, utility rooms, backyards, or shallow balconies for drying laundry. An access at the rear had become necessary for bicycle storage. Residents could also agree among themselves to close off the rear access to keep unwanted visitors away. It was sometimes widened to serve as a gathering place.

Dividers between the gardens and toward the street or rear access were usually simple wooden fences, low walls, or evergreen hedges. The courtyards were not fenced in. To encourage residents to take care of the gardens, the Vereeniging van Huurders van Gemeentewoningen (Association of Tenants of Municipal Housing) organized an annual garden competition. Play facilities, including a sandbox for children, often appeared in the backyards and residential squares. However, due to pollution and complaints from residents, these were often replaced with green spaces or paved areas. Only the larger sand play areas in the public courtyards of Meeuwenhof and Pluvierhof were retained. The residences for the elderly at Vissershof and Wanthof featured a special courtyard, with a wide walkway directly against the rear façade, and a green courtyard in the center. This promoted physical and social activities such as gardening among the inhabitants. There were also amenities such as bathhouses, reading rooms, laundries, and other facilities for communal use within the neighborhoods. Urban amenities were integrated into the new residential areas and neighborhoods. Berlage had already made a start in this direction with his expansion plan, and in subsequent detailed plans, this was further developed.

Conclusion: Brick Rationalism of The Hague

The architecture in this period was characterized by the use of simple materials, usually limited to brick. The emphasis on individuality in homes, which was so common during the fin de siècle with various types of bricks, colors, and turrets, disappeared. Later, flat roofs became prominent, and the architecture took on the appearance

Laakkwartier, Goeverneurlaan. Photo Department of Urban Development and Public Housing E.M. van Ojen from 1935. Collection HGA 0.22019.

Scheveningen, Jurriaan Kokstraat. Photo Department of Urban Development and Public Housing from 1930. Collection HGA 6.04381.

Vruchtenbuurt, Thorbeckelaan. Photo by Jos Pe from 1938. Collection HGA 871301.

Zeeheldenkwartier, Vondelstraat. Photo Department of Urban Development and Public Housing from 1930. Collection HGA 0.74415.

of early modern brick architecture, as seen in Duindorp or Zeekant. In later projects from the 1930s, such as Visschershaven and Old Scheveningen, even compositions in New The Hague School style became popular. In the individual neighborhoods, there was a continuous pursuit of coherence in architecture and urban space, as well as among the successive construction phases. The neighborhood character with urban blocks dominated the character of the houses, but the homes also provided a distinct identity to the neighborhood. Municipal architects sought to achieve a balance in the residential areas. With double urban blocks with intimate courtyards and the unified efforts were made to give those seeking housing the feeling that they were part of the emerging welfare state.

5.6
Garden Neighborhoods Marlot and Papaverhof

Garden Neighborhoods

Parallel to the development of Berlage's rationalism and the work of municipal architects, followers of Berlage were influenced by Frank Lloyd Wright and the De Stijl movement, giving rise to the New The Hague School architecture (Freijser & Teunissen, 2008). Jan Wils, designer of Papaverhof, and Co Brandes, who designed Marlot, are the most notable architects of this movement. This architectural development, in turn, influenced the work of municipal architects Greve and Pet.

The garden suburbs of The Hague are stonier in character and visually different from the "greener" garden suburbs elsewhere in Europe from the same period, as well as from The Hague's residential parks. This difference can be attributed to Berlage's vision for the city. Berlage did not agree with the Anglo-Saxon and German concept of a garden city that emphasized abundant greenery. In The Hague, the focus was on creating monumental garden neighborhoods that seamlessly integrated with the existing city, rather than building garden cities far outside the city. Berlage painted an inaccurate picture of the garden city in his 1909 expansion plan; in fact, the concept of the garden city aimed to capitalize on the benefits of both urban and rural areas while minimizing their drawbacks. However, Berlage expressed a rather negative view of the garden city, without providing specific reasons or thoroughly exploring the concept. He did not specifically mention individuals like Howard, Unwin, and Parker or initiatives such as Letchworth Garden City (1903) or Hampstead Garden Suburb (1906), idealistic new towns located outside of London in the English landscape (Berlage, 1914).

Berlage pointed out that: "Not long ago I heard someone whose whole life of thought revolves around popular prosperity proclaim that all cities must disappear. That person was one of those socially tiring people, for whom there is no other than social interference" (Berlage, 1909: 2).

Berlage did not support the idea of abolishing cities altogether. He believed, like Schumacher, that cities were responsible for creating great works of art. He believed that art and power were interconnected, and where there was a lack of art, there would also be a lack of power, and vice versa. Despite Berlage's dislike for the Garden City Movement of Howard, Unwin, and Parker, several garden neighborhoods with wide parkways were lay out around The Hague and other municipalities during the interbellum. These garden neighborhoods were always located within cycling and tram distance of the city. The best-known are Marlot, Meer en Bosch, the Voordes in Rijswijk, Vreugd en Rust (Joy and Peace) in Voorburg and Vogelwijk. Originally, Vogelwijk was called Houtrust and Segbroek, and it was developed on the estates that Goekoop had purchased from the Grand Duke in 1903. In 1917, the Coöperatieve Woningbouwvereniging

Marlot, Hofzichtlaan, Photo Department of Urban Development and Public Housing from 1925. Collection HGA 0.47626.

Marlot, Residential building, Photo Department of Urban Development from 1949. Collection HGA 0.52581.

Papaverhof. Photo from 1930.
Collection HGA 6.00056.

Papaverhof. Photo by Militaire Luchtvaart Afdeling Soesterberg MLAS from 1925. Collection HGA album z.gr. 5 (70-10-26) 15853.

(Cooperative Housing Association) Tuinstadwijk Houtrust was founded by individuals such as the entrepeneurs Van Boven, Hoek, and the architect Verschoor.

Characteristic of these residential neighborhoods are the symmetrical structures and monumental layout in the greenery. This is different from the garden neighborhoods and residential parks of the previous generation, designed by Zocher (such as Agnetapark in Delft, the never-executed proposal for Willemspark, and Van Stolkpark in The Hague), Coppieter (Belgisch Park), and Mutters (Wassenaar and Rijswijk), as well as contemporaries like Henrici's villa park Zorgvliet, which was partly developed at the same time as the monumental garden neighborhoods.

Residential Park Marlot

The Residential Park Marlot (1920-25) was laid out on an old noble estate adjacent to the former country estate of Reigersbergen. Together with Haagse Bos, this forms a wooded zone on the dune ridge. Adriaan van der Velde built a farm here in 1600; in 1640, the estate passed into the hands of David van Marlot. The neoclassical manor house was only built in the nineteenth century, when the forest was transformed into a small English landscape park. The municipality bought the 91-hectare estate in 1917 for one million guilders, of which 36.5 hectares were leased for the plots of a chic residential park. Initially, a garden neighborhood like Vogelwijk was envisioned, but afterwards, the buildings were found to be too messy, too fragmented, too diverse, and marred by too many garden fences and the backs of villas. Marlot should form more of an aesthetic whole, a Gesamtkunstwerk.

In 1920, urban planners H.E. Suyver and W. Schürmann from the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing designed an urban plan that involved separating the park and the manor house of the Marlot estate from the newly developed residential park with villas. This separation was achieved by a spacious meadow and a large pond. Two squares were created perpendicular to this pond, forming the heart of the neighborhood: Bloklandenplein, featuring a Roman Catholic church, and Zuidwerfplein. The alignment of these squares created a grand entrance to the garden neighborhood. In the center of these squares, there was a lawn with trees.

The architects Brandes, Verschoor, and Hellendoorn designed the mansion-like villas even before there were any buyers. The number of candidates for Brandes' house designs exceeded that of the other two designers to such an extent that in 1925 it was decided to have Brandes design the remainder of the villa park. The villas were built in different shapes: solitary, semi-detached, connected to each other in various ways. Each house had a front and back garden and a spacious private entrance. All the buildings were made of dark red brick with steep roofs. The houses had beautiful and elegant exteriors with large roof overhangs. Furthermore, Brandes designed the apartment building Parkflat, which resembled a spacious manor house, complete with gates and a courtyard. Its symmetrical structure, tower, and mirrored ponds created an atmosphere reminiscent of an English country house rather than an apartment complex. Here as well, dark red brick and steep roofs were prominent. The courtyard featured a sunken area with garages for cars. The roofs of the garages were covered with vegetation. The residents of these flats were mainly rentiers who did not have any domestic staff. Evidently, the collectivist ideal of the commune applied only to the workers' quarters.

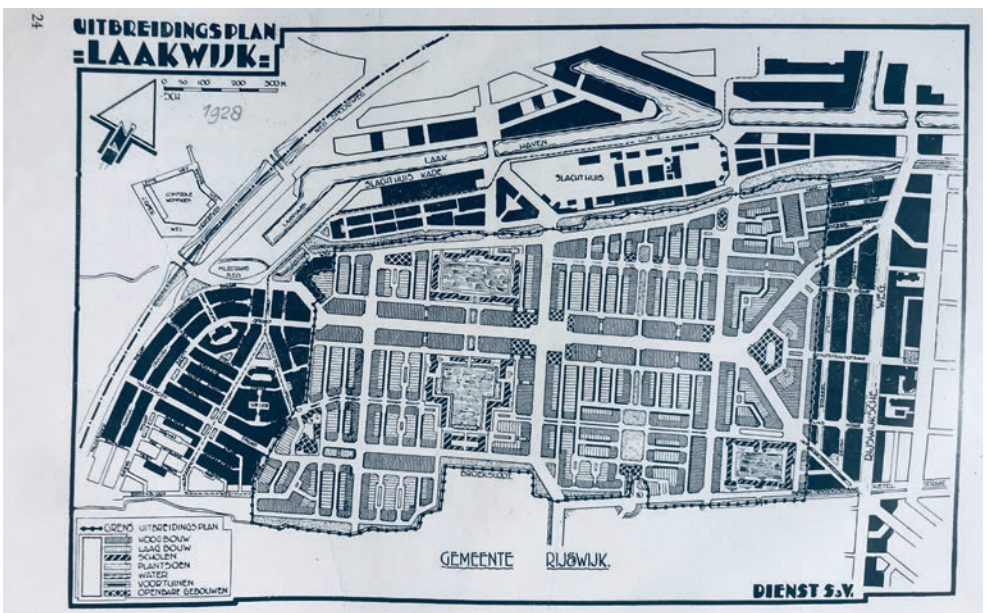
During the war, a large part of the original design was destroyed, including the centrally located restaurant. Residential Park Marlot became the most beautiful and successful example of *Gesamtkunst* in The Hague, in which the interplay of housing and urban planning took center stage and was brought together as a whole; it was an exemplary project of New The Hague School design (Bakker Schut, 1921; Brandes, 1930).

Residential Park Papaverhof

In Residential Park Daal en Berg, Jan Wils achieved a striking result through special typology, morphology, and material experiments with Papaverhof (1921). There was a departure from the brick tradition, but perhaps the most significant aspect was the extensive development of the double block theme. However, Wils was not the first architect to work on Daal en Berg. On November 14, 1917, notable individuals from The Hague founded the Coöperatieve Woningvereeniging (Cooperative Housing Association) Tuinstadswijk Daal en Berg to construct a neighborhood with approximately a thousand middle-class houses between The Hague and Loosduinen. The chairman was member of parliament and The Hague councilor (1927-39) Van Beresteyn of the Liberal Democratic Union, while Berlage acted as commissioner. Initially, the board also wanted to organize a design competition, but Berlage prevented this because he felt that a competition did not guarantee quality. He advised the association to find a young architect who "understands the spirit of modernity" to stimulate the further development of modern architecture. Then, together with H. Fels, he compiled a list "of some names of architects, who, in their opinion, possess the ability to qualify for architectural leadership". This list included Granpré Molière, Verhagen, De Roos, Overeynder, Roosenburg, Van der Meijburg, and Noordlander.

The association commissioned Granpré Molière and Verhagen, who in July 1918 presented a plan that did not possess the Berlage-style monumentality or "monumental townhouse building" with urban blocks, but rather resembled Vreewijk in Rotterdam. In 1921, Granpré Molière would argue: "A garden city building, which would not be sufficiently rooted in the whole complex of relationships and aspirations that determine society, would eventually have to fail, and thus arouse reactions on the other side. There is even more reason for this because all the current garden village construction leaves certain aspects unsatisfied. There is, not least in Holland, a desire for unity and society in grand style, which seeks expression in a heroic monumental urban design. This aspiration is quite contrary to the ideas known to us and seeks to establish a connection with quite different values. Initially, it adheres more to the existing schemes of the three- and four-story and seeks to connect with what constitutes the greatness of our time:

The map of the expansion plan of Laakkwartier.
Not dated but probably from 1920.
Collection HGA kl. 1781a.



The map of the expansion plan of Laakkwartier. Created before 1920. Source: Booklett *'s-Gravenhage als Woonstad* , 1927

mechanical production" (Granpré Molière, 1949).

There was disappointment among the municipal council, and Bakker Schut criticized this design: "The architects have completely deviated from the expansion plan that was provisionally adopted by the municipality for the city quarter in which the proposed land is located. Even the main roads, which were designated as fixed, have not been retained, and the road to the hospital should be followed as projected in the expansion plan. Moreover, the streets are too narrow, and Bakker Schut found it uneconomical that the diagonal street, which is naturally suited for the better houses, was not considered. Instead, only gardens and the end facades of the houses that have their main facades on the cross streets were proposed" (Bergeijk, 2007: 46, 47).

Whether Bakker Schut was justified in his criticism remains to be seen; however, symmetry and monumentality were missing from the plan for the current Goudenregenplein by Granpré Molière, and Verhagen. The low housing density on these plots, only 1,000 (of which 654 single-family homes and 446 duplex apartments), were also problematic because it would be more expensive to finance, limiting the public housing ambitions of Bakker Schut and the SDAP. In addition, the municipal council wanted all new housing estates to be given the same character as the already completed neighborhoods east of the canal. On July 2, 1919, Van Beresteyn decided to abandon the plan by Granpré Molière and Verhagen altogether. The site was divided among several architects and was built up with a much higher density.

For the most representative and monumental part of Daal en Berg, the council looked for a new architect from The Hague. Jan Wils, a Voorburg architect, was ultimately chosen. As a member of De Stijl and an admirer of Lloyd Wright, Wils was considered one of the most modern architects in the Netherlands. Two years prior, he had published a series of articles in the architectural magazine *De Opmerker,* focusing on the garden city concept. On October 22, 1921, Wils unveiled Papaverhof, an ingenious variation of the double urban block that had previously been constructed in Molenwijk and Duindorp.

The houses could not cost too much, so Wils was tasked with maintaining a lot of greenery to give the complex a garden city feel. To achieve this, he arranged the houses in rings around a sunken park measuring 70 x 100 meters. The complex consisted of 128 middle-class homes, with 60 apartments and 68 single-family homes. To keep costs low, Wils constructed the 68 single-family homes as compactly as possible, positioned around the park. These houses were built closely together but interconnected in a way that allowed access from both sides, fully utilizing the surrounding greenery. He derived this concept from the 1918 booklet *Vom sparsamen Bauen* (*On Frugal Construction*) by Peter Behrens and Heinrich de Fries, which aimed to save money and prevent monotony without sacrificing individualism. Lloyd Wright's Lexington Terraces in Chicago served as an inspiration, according to the booklet *Cooperatieve woningbouw-vereeniging tuinstadwijk "Daal en Berg" te 's-Gravenhage en haar eerste bouwplan* (*Cooperative Housing Association "Daal en Berg" in The Hague and its First Building Plan*) (Daal en Berg, n.d.; Wils, 1922; Franso & Freijser, 1989; Bergeijk, 2007).

5.7
Bourgeois Laakkwartier

The Reconciliation of Picturesqueness and Monumentality

The monumentality and intimacy of the urban spaces envisioned by Brinckmann and Berlage in the expansion of new neighborhoods—through brick rationalism and the refined architecture of the New The Hague School—ultimately materialized in one of The Hague's most beautiful residential neighborhoods: Laakkwartier. Most new neighborhoods of The Hague were like self-contained villages within the extensive network of roads, waterways, and tramways. However, this concept started facing challenges with the increasing presence of cars. The *Uitbreidingsplan voor Laakkwartier* (*Expansion Plan for Laakkwartier*) by the municipality of 1922 aimed to address this issue by transforming the main street, Goeverneurlaan, into a significant axis that would provide coherence to the neighborhood, like the expansion plan for Amsterdam South. As a result, Laakkwartier ceased to be just a village within the infrastructure network and became an integral part of it. It is interesting to explore the ideas of Wils and Berlage regarding this transformation.

In 1919, Jan Wils delivered a lecture titled "Het vrijstaand monument in het moderne stadsbeeld" ("The Freestanding Monument in the Modern Cityscape") for The Hague Art Circle. In this lecture, he discussed a new theory focusing on two concepts, "picturesqueness" and "monumentality", which Berlage had already used in his explanation of his expansion plan in 1909. Wils also described a visit he made with Berlage to Brussels and Leuven.

"For a few weeks I had the pleasure of walking with Dr. Berlage through the streets of Brussels and Leuven. Both cities will be known to most of you, so that you can follow me there in your mind. In Brussels, in the vicinity of Parc-Leopold, we were hit again, for the umpteenth time, by the grand design, the pure construction, the management of the situation, the ability to take advantage of and bring in new factors, which already creates a, I don't say 'monumental' yet, but still a cityscape, which impresses us by greatness of effect. And shortly afterwards we were in Leuven, went on the canal along the Dijle, along Begijnehofje. This neighborhood of Leuven has not suffered anything from the fire. It is difficult to say how we were moved by the sight of those little houses, plastered white with their red roofs, a tree every time, as all that stood with its foot in the water, quiet and forgotten, as if no man ever came there again. If we had not known, it would have become clear to us that we, the Dutch, felt more strongly about the picturesqueness than by the monumentality. It is not a result of reasoning but was cool and calm to observe reality. The Dutchman feels nothing of monumentality; on the other hand, he sees everything in color. The Dutch architect is more painter than master builder, the Dutch nature is more attuned to picturesqueness than to monumentality. Our cities, with their whole construction and in their entire construction, are there to prove that it has always been so. Does it still make sense, like this evening, to talk about "monumentality" and

“monuments”?” (Wils, 1919).

In the lecture, Wils returned to the concept of “reconciliation” (synthesis) in the expansion plan, which aimed to balance “picturesqueness” (thesis) and “monumentality” (antithesis).

The municipality’s first expansion plan for Laakkwartier (1922) included many private residential squares and gates. However, in the modified version of 1927, these features were reduced. Instead, Laakkwartier was given a design that emphasized monumentality, with the grand thoroughfare Goeverneurlaan serving car traffic and tramways. The residential buildings were designed by Pet, who executed them in the refined New The Hague School style.

Increase in Traffic

The reason for the requirement to reconcile the two was the significant increase in traffic, which had already resulted in a completely different street plan in other countries. The old villages and towns in Holland gradually adapted to the new situation, which was unavoidable. However, Wils argued that the cityscape should also meet aesthetic standards. People believed that having “decorated squares” or “show-off streets” was sufficient to enhance the city, but Wils believed that more was needed. It was about creating and organizing the entire street system, while understanding the construction of the building masses.

The neighborhoods described above had a common characteristic: they were all like islands surrounded by main roads. These main roads did not have any significant shops or public buildings, but they were filled with trees and greenery, giving The Hague a typical village-like appearance. The neighborhoods themselves were accessed through grand streets that led to a central square within the neighborhood. These central squares were where the public buildings, shops, and facilities were located. These neighborhoods often had unique architectural features, such as a fan or fork shape, with the buildings following this pattern. The residential streets and squares were wider than usual and had gates or narrow entrances. Most of them had a central area with lawns, shrubs, and trees. Only single-family houses were found on these residential streets and residential squares.

Wils argued that the concept of “monumentality” was rooted in the belief that there should be a unity between action and thought, which led to the rejection of individualism. According to Wils, a monument only held significance if it was integrated into the entire city and primarily served to guide traffic. Wils associated standalone buildings with negative individualistic tendencies:

“Only when the monument cooperates in its place to increase the balance between the mobility of traffic and the tranquility of the structure, does its presence have a purpose, a purpose which we can call the aesthetic necessity. The creation of a monument does not mean (separately from other considerations) to be a palliative against the spaciousness of the street or square, a medicine for our fear of space, but the monument is then there precisely to increase that spaciousness to a monumentality. This planning, which governed the ground plan of the city, the same planning that was reflected in the construction, will have to determine the place of the monument in the cityscape. From the beginning to the end, the city planner takes the floor here” (Wils, 1919).

Wils quoted from Bruno Taut’s *Die Stadtkrone* (*The City Crown*) to emphasize the connection between this new type of monument and urban life: “The new monument is in the new city, the new city of which our heads are filled and our hands are turned to ... A deep desire drives us all: we want cities again, in which, according to Aristotle, we can live not only safely and healthily, but also happily. This desire is so deeply rooted that we look ahead and regard what lies behind us as finished” (Wils, 1919).

Conclusion: The Monumental Axis of Goeverneurlaan Featuring New The Hague School Architecture

The relationship between “picturesqueness” and “monumentality”, originally established by Berlage in the expansion plan of 1900, was renewed by Wils, with the focus shifting to the movement of traffic in relation to the monuments in the cityscape. In Laakkwartier, the main street for traffic was in the middle of the neighborhood.

5.8
Criticism of the Policy of the SDAP

Debate About the Expansion Plan for The Hague West, 1922–1926

Shift in Perspective

With the impending annexation of Loosduinen in 1923, The Hague had a vast area for development, but the problems only worsened. Berlage was asked to modify his expansion plan towards Loosduinen, but the mayor and aldermen rejected this revision in 1921.

Under the leadership of Bakker Schut, urban planning and public housing became more professionalized as an engineering science, and the lofty ideals of *Gesamtkunst* took a backseat. The Department of Urban Development and Public Housing used scientific methods to calculate population demographics, traffic patterns, and the required number of facilities like schools and sports fields.

The planning process shifted its focus from the subjective opinion of one artist-urban planner to research, argumentation, and careful consideration. The municipality decided to initiate a competition for the expansion of Loosduinen towards the west. This competition marked the start of a prolonged conflict in which the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing and Berlage eventually came to feel neglected. Critics of this competition raised concerns about the impact it would have on the cityscape of collectivization architecture.

Finally, a few years later, this tug-of-war resulted in the expansion plan for today's neighborhoods of Bohemia, Meer en Bos, Waldeck, and part of Vruchtenbuurt. This area is located between the village of Loosduinen and the coast. In the center of this new expansion neighborhood is De Savornin Lohmanplein, which runs parallel to the coast along Laan van Meerdervoort. From there, the parkways Thorbeckelaan and Groen van Prinstererlaan extend to the south, and De Savornin Lohmanlaan extends to the coast. Parkways were wide roads for both vehicles and pedestrians, lined with trees and lawns, leading to single houses and villas. This allowed for a connection between the greenery of the parks and the traffic zones.

The Competition for the Expansion Plan for The Hague West, 1922

The competition, created by the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing in July 1921, had only a few functional requirements and components. It did not include any principles or an analysis of the city's expansion needs. There was no mention of the concept of "the city as a work of art" or Gesamtkunst. The jury was led by Berlage and included Bakker Schut, Broese van Groenou (the former boss of alderman Vrijenhoek), J. Lely (son of former alderman and minister C. Lely and director of the Public Works Department), P. Westbroek (director of the Municipal Greenery Service), and Suyver (vice director of the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing).

According Boekraad & Aert (1991: 74) the jury thus consisted entirely of people who had not been able to make a proposal for the expansion plan for The Hague West. None of the 33 participants were awarded a prize, which was expected given the jury's incompetence (according Boekraad & Aerts). Even with some changes, the jury still couldn't choose a winner. In 1922, two participants, H. Russcher and A. Pet, only received a second prize. Russcher's entry included several themes used in the old plan by the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing. It proposed a cozy garden city-like expansion, where the residents of The Hague would each have their own designated area (Smit, 1981: 134). Pet, municipal architect of The Hague from 1919 to 1951, who had worked for Bakker Schut, had his plan improved and modified in 1926 by the Department. After some minor adjustments, it was adopted in 1927 as the expansion plan for The Hague West.

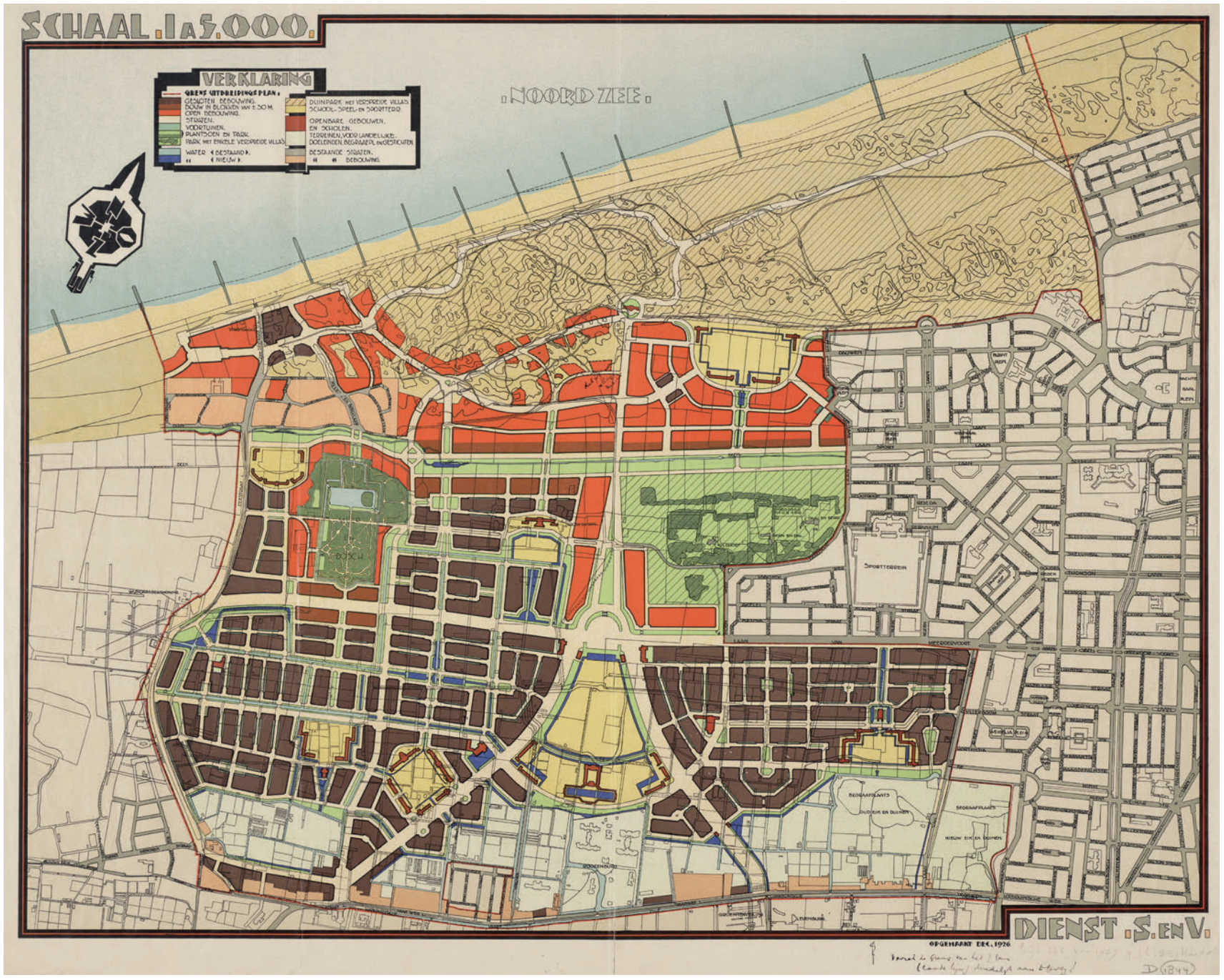
The architect Mart Stam, 22 years old at the time, also submitted a plan that was dismissed. His proposal focused solely on mass housing and was reminiscent of the expansion plan on the left bank of the Maas in Rotterdam South Vreewijk of 1921. The garden village Vreewijk was created by the office of Granpré Molière, Verhagen, and Kok, where Stam worked between 1919 and 1922.

Stam's plan was remarkable because it extended the grid pattern that The Hague seemed to be stuck in and then curved it towards the sea. The long roads (such as Laan van Meerdervoort) that ran parallel to the dune ridges were given a slight curvature and connected to the beach. This plan represented a departure from the common urban planning style influenced by Berlage (Smit, 1981: 135).

There was a significant amount of criticism in the trade press about this competition. The criticism mainly centered around Bakker Schut's authoritarian attitude, as well as the competition procedure and the outcome. In terms of politics, there was criticism of the SDAP and its centralist cultural policy. During the festive award ceremony, alderman Droogleever Fortuyn took it a step further and argued that the failure to award the first prize was not due to the participants' shortcomings, but rather the nature of the task itself. Only the municipal architect was aware of all the requirements that a large neighborhood like this had to fulfill; only Bakker Schut knew the secret formula for success in The Hague.

The International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 and its Impact on The Hague

The International Town Planning Congress held in Amsterdam in 1924 marked a milestone in Dutch urban planning. The congress was organized by Hudig and the international Association for Garden Cities and Urban Planning. Berlage, the Dutch vice president, was associated with the congress, as well as the Institute for Housing and Urban Planning from the Technische Hogeschool at Delft. During the congress, Anglo-Saxon ideas about regional planning were introduced, and discussions were held on the concept of satellite cities and public transport systems for the city.



The map of the expansion plan The Hague Southwest by Dudok from 1926.
Collection HGA z.gr.1844.

During the opening, urban planner Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928) expressed the following profound words: “The responsibility for the governance of a great city is a strong incentive. But another more powerful incentive is to bring the people of the city back to nature. Whoever achieves this will build something that goes beyond the civilization of the twentieth century” (Smit, 1981: 134).

The Netherlands was represented by Berlage, Granpré Molière, and many civil servants, including Bakker Schut. The issue was that many municipalities had expanded their boundaries, resulting in significant sacrifices of natural landscapes, including in The Hague. This idea caused great concern among most conference attendees. The goal was for the garden city to become a clearly defined unit within the landscape, and a Regional Plan aimed to limit the city’s boundaries. To preserve nature, a suggestion was made to establish a clear separation between the city and the surrounding land, reminiscent of the medieval concept of dividing urban and rural areas, as well as culture and nature.

It was argued that, influenced by Berlage, the people of The Hague did not want to expand beyond the garden neighborhoods near the city. The concept of a garden city further away from the main city was never discussed. Unlike English garden cities, the Dutch version would never be a self-sufficient economic unit but would always rely on the main city. The question is whether this criticism was justified. Berlage was also limited by municipal boundaries; in any case, the land often did not belong to the municipality.

The lecture by Henri Vincent Hubbard (1875-1947), professor of landscape architecture at Harvard University, provided new insights. He discussed the concept of parks, park systems, and relaxation, which encompassed various leisure areas such as nature reserves, regional parks, city parks, sports grounds, neighborhood playgrounds, and parkways. Hubbard proposed the creation of parks along existing rivers or water features, utilizing their natural gradient to bring greenery into the heart of the city.

The Expansion Plan for The Hague West, 1926

All this time, the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing worked stubbornly on drawing up plans for the major expansion in The Hague West, despite criticism, protesting council members, and offended architects. In December 1926 the result was finally published: the expansion plan for The Hague West. The Berlagian character of this plan was striking (collection HGA z.gr. 1844). Smit (1981) argued that the plan was the result of the ideas that were discussed at the International Urban Planning Congress in Amsterdam in 1924. The new extension had a significant fork structure that split from De Savornin Lohmanplein into the curved Thorbeckelaan and Groen van Prinstererlaan. This structure was like the proposal for Laakkwartier in his expansion plan.

Kromhout was appointed as the supervisor for the central area. The buildings were schematically indicated as closed urban blocks with a depth of 30 meters and open buildings along the dunes. The transition area between the buildings and the surrounding landscape was clearly marked. Although this plan was also rejected by the council, it was mostly implemented: residential areas in New The Hage School architecture were built northeast of Groen van Prinstererlaan and De Savornin Lohmanlaan. The remaining parts were only carried out after the Second World War (Boekraad & Aerts, 1991: 74). The expansion plan for The Hague West was never fully completed. A large portion of it was developed and implemented using a different urban design between the 1950s and 1980s, resulting in neighborhoods like Bohemia II and Waldeck. However, the fork structure and wide green parkways still exist. The clear distinction between the city and the countryside is also evident with the presence of Kijkduinsestraat and Ockenburghstraat, which extend from Lozerlaan. In this way, the garden city movement preserved the old village atmosphere with its lush greenery and gave it new meaning in the suburbs of The Hague.

Aesthetic Committee versus the Production Ambitions of Bakker Schut

Criticism of the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing, along with its subordinate, the Aesthetic Committee, became increasingly harsh. Some people believed that individualism was resurfacing, while others felt artistic freedom was being restricted. The conservative-liberals were annoyed and interfered with the SDAP land policy. In a review in the *Bouwkundig Weekblad* (*Construction Weekly*) in 1924, editor-in-chief J.P.M. Mieras noted that aesthetic control had caused resentment and resistance. Bakker Schut, on the other hand, saw this as a necessary measure in order to achieve the SDAP’s goal of providing affordable housing for everyone.

Freijser and Teunissen (2008) argue that the Aesthetic Committee was primarily feared because of its elusive power and the implicit standards it used. An architect had to discuss his plan with the three members, the chairman, and the secretary, and was presented with the image the city council desired. In extreme cases, plans were rejected, and the architect had to start over. Under pressure from the private client, who typically adhered strictly to the schedule to minimize interest on loans, the plans were then altered. The committee’s objections to any plans were communicated orally, not in writing. Reports published by the committee never mentioned specific projects, architects, or explicit welfare standards, but weekly meetings were held. Freijser and Teunissen (2008) referred to an unwritten “code” that was present in the assessors’ minds. There was also behind-the-scenes politics going on.

Even Berlage, who in 1908 still recommended the establishment of an Aesthetic Committee, ended up being only a moderately devoted supporter of the committee to which he had to submit his plans. This was especially true now that the committee had become ineffective as a political implementing body. The Aesthetic Committee was, moreover, strongly disliked by entrepreneurs. Freijser and Teunissen (2008) quote from the Bouwkundige Vereeniging Onderneming en Vrijheid (Architectural Association Enterprise and Freedom), the

association of contractors and real estate developers, from 1933, which discussed a commission that would expand the tasks of the BNA and enforce a specific architectural style. The Aesthetic Committee and the SDAP land policy, which involved leasehold, were criticized as being too “Bolshevik” in council discussions. One wonders if the Aesthetic Committee was always subservient to SDAP cultural politics. In the early days, this was certainly the case, but over time, resistance within the committee grew. The cityscape of collective, early modern architecture faced increasing challenges.

The position of the most powerful man, Bakker Schut, was noteworthy. He maintained a balance between supporters and opponents of the commission. On one hand, he needed the committee to further his ambitions. On the other hand, he believed that the committee should not have excessive powers that would hinder housing production. Bakker Schut therefore prevented the Aesthetic Committee from interfering with zoning plans.

As early as 1921, the Aesthetic Committee had advised the aldermen to draw up general building plans for the new city neighborhoods. In 1922, the committee reiterated its recommendation. However, this advice was not followed and although the committee returned to it several times between 1926 and 1928, it fell on deaf ears. The Aesthetic Committee pointed out that the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing went along too easily with the wishes of building contractors.

Bakker Schut prioritized high housing production over Beautiful Unity, the ideal which had been established a few years earlier. The aldermen of the SDAP also agreed with this. However, important matters such as the building map, building height plan, and zoning plan were not presented to the committee for evaluation. The committee believed that these factors were crucial and should not be left to individual preferences. As a result, building in the city and its overall appearance were left to the desires of the public, according to the committee.

There was no longer any doubt about the possibility for efficient and harmonious cooperation between architects and urban planners, as was the case a few years before with Molenwijk, Duindorp, Spoorwijk, and Marlot. The expansion plan, in general, which specified the types and densities of the buildings within the general building map, was developed before the architects started their work. Empty lots were only leased to entrepreneurs and housing associations.

The CIAM versus The Hague Brown Pancake City

In 1928, the Aesthetic Committee held 54 meetings throughout the year (HGA BNR 579-01, inv: P4504.0). The committee’s yearly report mentioned that it provided general advice to the municipal executive regarding the city’s appearance.

The committee’s activities involved evaluating each building based on its individual merits and considering the impact on the environment. Sometimes tall structures were desirable, while at other times they disrupted the cityscape.

The committee expressed support for the director of Building and Housing Supervision’s report on residential house roofing, recommending that open buildings and structures with no more than two floors should have sloping roofs. The issue of high-rise buildings was also discussed. We might ask whether the members of the Aesthetic Committee were united, as not all architects supported the municipality’s new policy of using gabled roofs: Bakker Schut returned to using pitched roofs.

In 1928, the first congress of the Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne (CIAM) took place in La Sarraz, Switzerland. Mart Stam, Gerrit Rietveld, and 72-year-old Berlage were in attendance. This new urban planning movement was related to the significant societal changes happening at the time. The conference attendees were clear that they would focus on new materials, new constructions, and new production methods in order to efficiently shape housing in the new city. Using roof tiles with pitched roofs was definitely not one of their priorities.

Berlage delivered a lecture in La Sarraz discussing the role of government and the contradiction in modern architecture. He was disappointed that the workers did not support the much-needed normalization and rationalization of housing, but instead preferred the ideal of beauty found in the fantastic romantic expressionism of the Amsterdam School. Berlage attempted to bridge the gap between traditional urban design, which focused on beauty and cultural values, and functional urban planning, which was based on scientific management.

The congress’ *Declaration of La Sarraz* in 1928 included a statement on urban planning and regional planning, stating that urban planning involved organizing all aspects of collective life in the city and on the land. Aesthetic considerations should not determine urban planning, but rather functional conclusions. Berlage signed this declaration, although construction production of houses in The Hague had nearly halted at the time. The building profiles designed during the interbellum, regulated by local legislation, could be considered functional, as they prioritized daylight and fresh air.

In early 1930, a heated discussion arose about Bakker Schut’s public housing and urban planning. Criticism was directed towards the cityscape of The Hague, particularly its recent expansion plans in the west near Loosduinen. The *Bouwkundig Weekblad Architectura* (*Construction Weekly Architectura*), in a special issue of February 8, 1930, pointed out the shortcomings of these plans. The city was known for its vastness, natural beauty, and tradition as a residential city. However, these three characteristics were not reflected in the new plans. This was mainly because of a false, two-dimensional sense of grandeur. Although the plans indicated three-dimensionality in various expansion plans, nothing came of it. The result was emptiness, poorly maintained outlines, and unpleasant views of taller buildings, apartments, and roofs randomly placed behind them. The highly praised open buildings of The Hague were transformed by their own builders into groups of ordinary terraced houses with gaps in between. The examples in this weekly publication made it clear that the criticism was widely shared (Freijser & Teunissen, 2008).

According to *Bouwkundig Weekblad Architectura*, the criticism initially seemed to affect the Aesthetic Committee, which did not control individualism of architects. However, in the end, the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing was found to be responsible for the problem. The focus was on one-sided buildings, particularly three-story apartment blocks with dark, poorly lit external stairs. To build higher, it was required to have an elevator, which was too expensive for a Housing Act house. *Bouwkundig Weekblad Architectur* advocated for building with higher density and utilizing more height, which would also promote urban development.

The annexed land in Loosduinen was mostly filled with three- and four-story buildings, resulting in too much uniformity. The natural beauty in the wider The Hague area disappeared because the buildings were spread out over a large area with low density. For instance, the beautiful English park that used to be in the current Benoordenhout, as well as the gardens of the country estates between Loosduinen and The Hague, were all destroyed. A significant amount of ancient architectural beauty also disappeared. Building in a concentrated manner would allow for more space for nature and landscape. *Bouwkundig Weekblad Architectura* insisted on using building silhouettes (sections of an urban plan). Stark words of warning appeared at the end of the special issue:

"Finally, we reiterate the danger that threatens the cityscape if housing becomes a mere commercial object. In terms of construction and layout, this has already led, subject to favorable exceptions, to the public acceptance of the minimum requirements of Building Supervision as a maximum of achievable solidity and soundness. In terms of cityscape, the general acceptance of the extreme welfare minimum as a standard of achievable results is gradually following. This decline must not proceed any further, and serious means must be devised to reverse the imminent danger of degradation of our finest cities into a city of ugly character; a decline which unfortunately is already taking place in the newest parts of the city" (*Bouwkundig Weekblad Architectura*, February 8, 1930, cited in Freijser & Teunissen 2008).

The publication received many reactions. The new suburbs of The Hague were described as extremely boring and uninteresting expansions that lacked natural beauty and heritage. They were neither urban nor rural, but rather a mix of both. The construction was done by companies that prioritized meeting the requirements of the Aesthetic Committee, resulting in minimal effort and creativity. The development of Vogelwijk after 1917 was particularly disorganized and chaotic. The influence of the building contractor was also evident.

Many people regretted the demolition of the beautiful English landscape park in Benoordenhout to make way for a boring expansion neighborhood. In particular, the system in which the facades were designed and assessed by the Aesthetic Committee without considering the floor plan was criticized. Brinckmann's quote, which Berlage used to explain the 1909 expansion plan, "Städte bauen heisst mit dem Hausmaterial Raum gestalten", was now regretted by many. The builders made significant cost-cutting measures on the floor plan. The municipal executive, which was responsible for the situation that led to the desolate suburbs and disastrous cityscapes, also faced criticism.

The criticism from the BNA and its chairman Mieras, in *Bouwkundig Weekblad Architectura*, was also a contributing factor to the problem. Some members of the Aesthetic Committee were appointed from their own circle, primarily architects who focused mainly on assessing architecture and did not prioritize urban cohesion. It is possible that the BNA should have appointed urban planners as members instead. Bakker Schut and the SDAP had focused too much on public housing and housing production, neglecting urban cohesion.

Newspaper *Haagsche Courant* expressed similar criticism of the expansion neighborhoods. "It is also in line with the criticism that we ourselves have repeatedly made of our urban expansion for years: residential streets that are too narrow; too shallow urban blocks; the lack of a large number of safe playgrounds; monotonous straight streets; tasteless rows of the same type of house; ugly and misapplied flat roofs or mendacious false hoods; ugly side facades and views; disproportion between buildings and terrain width; mindless repetition to the end on the one hand and rattling lack of unity on the other" (Haagsche Courant, February 17, 1930, cited in Freijser & Teunissen 2008).

The End of Public Housing Planning by the SDAP 1933

Changes in the Expansion Plan The Hague West

After the stock market crash of 1929, a worldwide crisis began, resulting in company bankruptcies and unemployment. The national elections for the House of Representatives on April 26, 1933 were won by confessional political parties (RKSP, ARP) and social-democratic (SDAP) parties. However, the SDAP was excluded from the Colijn II cabinet with ARP and RKSP, supplemented by the confessional CHU and two liberal parties: VDB and De Vrijheidsbond. The government opted for a harsh austerity policy. As a result, Drees gave up his position as alderman of The Hague in September 1933 but remained councilor, as well member of the House of Representatives. Due to a conflict with the RKSP, the cabinet fell in July 1935.

Debate continued in The Hague about the future of *Uitbreidingsplan 's Gravenhage-West* (*Expansion Plan The Hague West*) after all the failed plans and criticisms. In 1923, a vast green area from Kijkduin and Loosduinen to Wateringen and Rijswijk was annexed. Berlage and Bakker Schut had already made plans for this, but it was felt that the plan had to be adjusted in view of the changed social circumstances.

In August 1931, the municipality of The Hague established the Commissie inzake de Ontwikkeling en den Opbouw van 's Gravenhage (Commission on the Development and Development of The Hague), sometimes called the "Berlage Committee". This committee had the task of informing the municipal executive as thoroughly as possible, and a report was produced called *De ontwikkeling en de opbouw van 's-Gravenhage* (*The Development and Construction of The Hague*). The report was prompted by the changing social circumstances

and the crisis in which the country found itself. The committee was composed of Vrijenhoek (chairman), Bakker Schut, and seven experts; representatives from the BNA, the Dutch Institute of Architects NIVA, the department of Roman Catholic artists' Onderneming en Vrijheid (Enterprise and Freedom), and the Association of house and land owners Het Bezit (The Property) were also involved. During council meetings on June 26 and July 10, 1933, contradictions arose regarding the development and construction of The Hague.

In addition, on January 13, 1933, a new provision of the Building and Housing Ordinance was adopted by the council, related to this debate. From now on, buildings were not only assessed based on their intrinsic value, but also in conjunction with the urban environment (Freijser & Teunissen, 2008: 87).

This provision read: "The construction must be carried out in such a way that, in the opinion of the mayor and aldermen, regarding the external appearance, the requirements of prosperity to be set by them are met. When assessing an application for planning permission, the plan of the building will be assessed not only in isolation, but also in relation to the buildings and the environment. (In addition, in connection with the destination and its classification.) The requirements to be determined by the mayor and aldermen may relate, among other things, to the nature and color of the materials to be used, the colors to be applied, the height of the gutter and roof molding, the roof slope, the ridge height and the placement and height of door and window openings, insofar as a good connection with the buildings makes it necessary to pay attention to this. Where an extension plan designates land, of which the buildings are to be regarded from the point of view of prosperity, account shall be taken of the foreseeable other development of the land in question when assessing the application for the construction of a part" (HGA BNR 579-01, inv.nr: P4504.0).

Discord in the Committee

The Committee on the Development and Construction of The Hague was internally divided on the recommendations. The aldermen Drees and Vrijenhoek mostly followed the minority position. Vrijenhoek and Bakker Schut disregarded the majority opinion of the other members.

However, most of the committee members, including the BNA, received support from critical council members such as Feber, Hartmann, and Van Beresteyn. Particularly, Van Beresteyn, a member of the liberal Vrijheidsbond (Freedom Union) and the Architectural Association Enterprise and Freedom, opposed the SDAP land policy and the leasehold system, and demanded an end to the land and public housing policy. This demand was especially significant as Drees, who was popular, was about to step down as alderman, creating new opportunities.

The Department of Urban Development and Public Housing, along with its land company, typically followed the SDAP land policy of aldermen Drees and Vrijenhoek. The Aesthetic Committee did not discuss zoning plans. Urban planning was a function of public housing. Critics accused the SDAP of prioritizing commercial and land trading activities over urban development. As a result, Berlage's ambitious urban planning ideals were wasted.

Thus, the criticism during the council meetings on June 26 and July 10, 1933 can be summarized as follows:

- There was a lack of an overall comprehensive expansion plan that includes objectives and outlines for undeveloped areas. SDAP urban planning only involves partial expansion or street plans, with too much focus on the appearance of buildings. This plan was not submitted to the Provincial Executive for review. Additionally, there was no consideration for the city's economy and its activities.
- There was no authoritative urban planner independent from the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing and its omnipotent Municipal Land Agency. Currently, everything was controlled by Bakker Schut, and his decisions were questionable.
- The Aesthetic Committee is too biased, with architects primarily from The Hague. It was also considered inappropriate for the Aesthetic Committee to impose an architect and building facade on the client.

The critics were not a homogeneous group. One of them, Louis Jean Marie Feber (1885-1964), a structural engineer from the Roman Catholic People's Party (Roomsch-Katholieke Staatspartij, RKSP), who had always supported the SDAP policy, had a very different agenda than the arch-conservative Van Beresteyn. In general, their desires were as follows: (a) the creation of a complete general expansion plan that designated all unnamed land, taking into account not only the city's appearance but also its economy and activity; (b) the appointment of an authoritative urban planner with a permanent position, who could independently develop an expansion plan without interference from the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing and the land company; (c) the establishment of an Aesthetic Committee consisting of architects who preferably did not come from The Hague, as well as people with knowledge of economic activity. This committee would not predetermine the city's appearance, and clients would not be forced to choose a specific architect based on the committee's decision.

The Departure of Drees, the Death of Berlage and the Arrival of Dudok

In September 1933, Drees was nominated as a candidate for the House of Representatives for his party. He resigned from his position as alderman. The SDAP wanted to nominate the female doctor Agnes de Vries-Bruins as successor, but the confessional parties RKSP and ARP did not support this nomination. A vote took place on September 12, 1933, and Feber received the most votes. From 1933 to 1942, Feber served as alderman of Public Works with the land company, a position previously held by Drees. After the Second World War, he served as alderman from 1945 to 1955 and played a role in the city's reconstruction. This vote angered alderman Vrijenhoek so much that he resigned from his position. Eventually, the close coalition between

the SDAP and the RKSP fell apart. Between 1933 and 1935, there was even a municipal college without the SDAP.

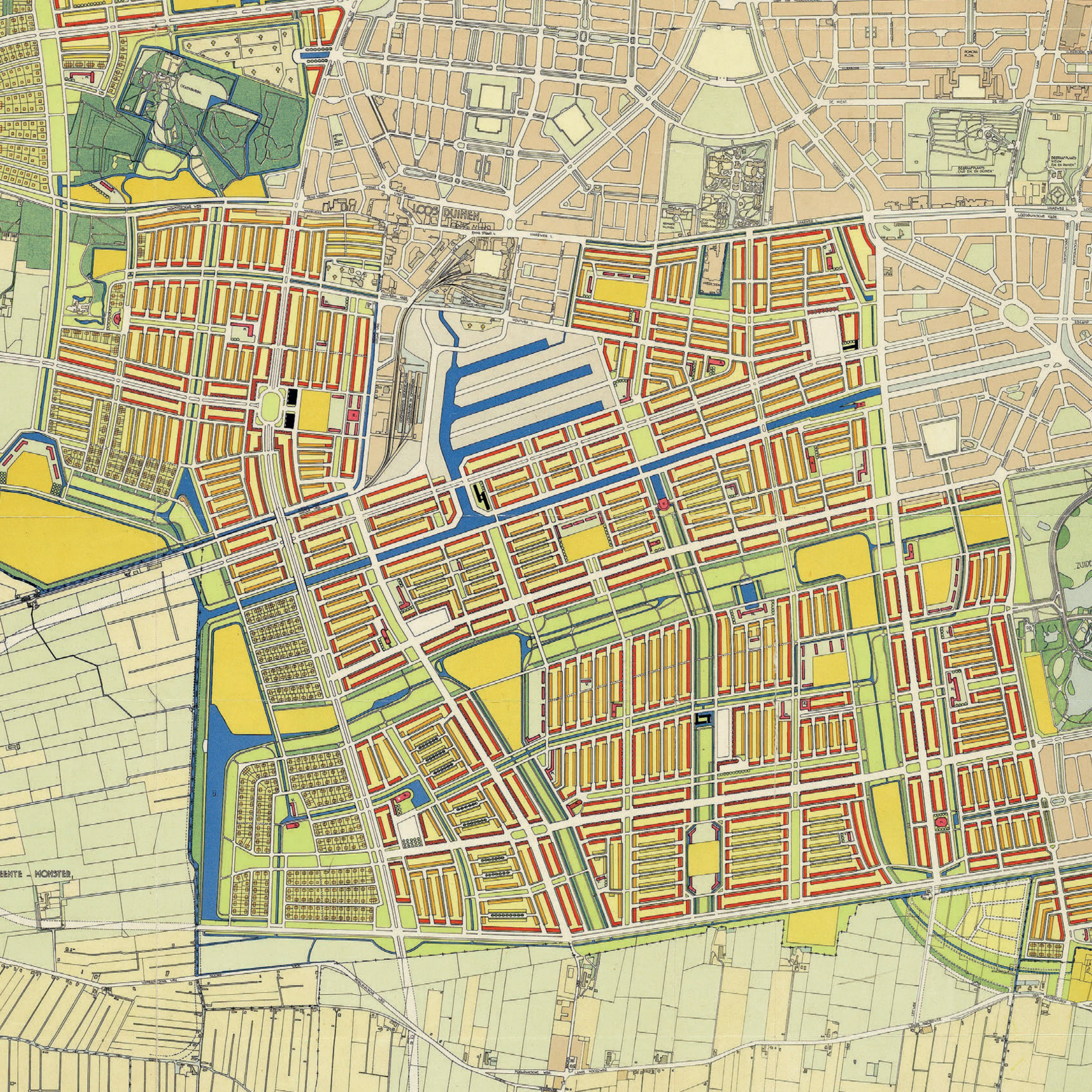
Vrijenhoek said: “In this way, we are paving the way for the land and housing policies of Mr. Van Beresteyn and Mr. Feber. This election was a victory for the land and housing entrepeneurs; it was a response to the events of 1929 and 1931” (Brinkman, 1989: 194). The question is whether Brinkman’s claim is accurate. After all, under alderman Feber, there had never been as much construction on leasehold land as after the war. Feber had been a long-time supporter of the SDAP’s policy of allocating funds for municipal housing.

In 1935, Vrijenhoek returned as alderman, alongside Feber. Berlage, who had been the icon of urban planning and public housing in The Hague for many years, died on August 12, 1934. Ultimately, the architect Willem Dudok became the new independent urban planner. In 1935, he presented the *Ontwerp-uitbreidingsplan ’s-Gravenhage Escamppolder Maepolder Ockenburg* (*Draft Expansion Plan The Hague Escamppolder Maepolder Ockenburg*) under the new alderman Feber. This plan was only partially implemented and underwent significant revisions after the war.

In 1934 and 1935, there was a brief increase in construction, but after that, the production of new homes dropped to zero per year, and it remained that way for years to come (Bakker Schut, 1939: 59, 115). There was a long break in building in The Hague that lasted until 1950.

5.9 Conclusion

During this time, the cityscape was characterized by collectivization and early modern architecture. The city had its own unique character, with three-story residential brick buildings featuring porticos and usually flat roofs. These buildings were sometimes arranged in double blocks in monumental residential neighborhoods. The wide green zones between these neighborhoods, such as Thorbeckelaan and Laan van Meerdervoort, were reminiscent of the municipality’s old “village in lush greenery” reputation.


LOOS DUINEN
HAARWEG L.
DE MENT
POMONA PLEIN
ZUIDE
EENTE - MONSTER

6
CITYSCAPE OF INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE AND ALLURE 1935–1965

“what it used to be and what, we hope, it will soon become again:
a city of international significance and allure”
mayor Salomon de Monchy, acts of the municipal council of December 3, 1945: 12

Left, a fragment of the expansion plan
“Ontwerp-Uitbreidingsplan ‘s Gravenhage Escamppolder Maepolder Ockenburg”
by the architect Dudok from 1935.
Collection HGA z.gr.1848.

6.1
Introduction

After the war administrators such as mayor De Monchy and former alderman Vrijenhoek wanted to continue as they had done before the war. They likely tasked Dudok with creating a reconstruction plan in late 1944 (Van der Sluijs, 1989: 12-13). This plan focused on restoring the parts of The Hague that were devastated during the war, as well as proposing changes to the existing city area and creating new expansion areas. De Monchy, Vrijenhoek, and possibly other trusted members of the bourgeoisie were involved in the commissioning process. Dr. Z.Y. van der Meer, a civil servant who would later become a member of the national Board of Commissioners for Reconstruction, was also likely involved (Van der Sluijs, 1989). After the war, the reconstruction of The Hague was discussed in the newly installed municipal council on December 3, 1945. The authoritarian attitude of De Monchy, Vrijenhoek en Dudok was met with much criticism from the city.

As pointed out, during the crisis years and the war, The Hague was in a state of hibernation with regard to construction. This situation could not continue, however, given the fast population growth of the city. In 1930, The Hague had 432,680 inhabitants; in 1942, there were already 520,875. A steep decline followed during the war, so that by 1945 the city only had 450,949 inhabitants. Due to the construction of the Atlantikwall, parts of the city along the coast were evacuated, and Bezuidenhout suffered from bombing. The war damage resulted in the loss of many beautiful neighborhoods and thousands of homes. Consequently, The Hague suffered from serious problems, most importantly a housing shortage and a weak economy, which made the city vulnerable in the long term (Valentijn, et al., 2002: 12).

After the war, the population grew at an explosive rate. In 1947, it had 523,703 inhabitants, in 1950, 558,849, and in 1959, a peak of 606,826 inhabitants was reached. After that, the population size declined. As a result of this population growth, a turbulent period of new building took place between 1950 and 1960 in The Hague Southwest and, after 1960, in Mariahoeve. Despite escalating conflicts, a cityscape of international significance and allure was realized there, especially in Mariahoeve. It became an iconic urban ensemble where everything fell into place. The need to do something radical was great at this time, because it had been calculated that the Netherlands might have 20 million inhabitants by the year 2000 and The Hague would have to absorb a part of that population. The expansion took place against the background of the conflict between Dudok, as the right-hand man of the city council, and Roosenburg, as foreman of architects and corporations in The Hague, focused on the question what The Hague should look like in the future.

Dudok and Bakker Schut worked together on the urban structural plan for The Hague, but in 1946 five young ambitious architects from Dirk Roosenburg's architectural office, among others, presented a counterplan: Het Plan 2000 on an exhibition (Hornstra et al., 1949). It was a radical and impracticable student plan that incorporated all the novelties of urban planning and therefore seemed very useful for The Hague.

If Dudok's ideas were the thesis, then Het Plan 2000 was the antithesis, and Mariahoeve is the synthesis of mature urban planning and architecture. Here, Finally, the ideas of Dudok and the CIAM-ideas, introduced by the architects of the Plan 2000, came together in a new relationship.

6.2
The Green Village Character of The Hague, 1933

Involving Citizens and Architects in the Planning Process, December 3, 1945

Councillor Mrs Bouma-van Strieland (PvdA) argued, in the Commissie van advies in zake de Stedebouwkundige Ontwikkeling van 's-Gravenhage (Advisory Committee on the Urban Development of The Hague) of December 3, 1945, about the importance of the reconstruction plan: "If there is one thing now, after this war, that we can all agree on, it is that family life will have to be renewed and deepened. In my opinion, we can attribute the general depravity of our youth, the decline in morals, to a large extent to the disintegration of families, to the fact that it is not possible, or only to a limited extent, to have a regular family life in a closed family, in a home of their own, in which the family can live as intimately as possible." (City council meeting of December 3, 1945).

It was revealed during the council debate that the municipal executive had already decided to commission Dudok to draw up a general construction plan shortly after the war, when the council had not yet been installed. It also became evident that it was not the municipality that had invited Dudok, but rather that Dudok had invited De Monchy and Vrijenhoek to discuss the reconstruction of The Hague. Further investigations revealed that the municipal executive had commissioned Dudok to design a General Reconstruction Plan for The Hague, and on July 17, 1945, an advisory body had been established by the municipal executive to provide guidance to Dudok. This advisory committee included representatives from the state, the municipality, and various groups such as the small businesses and industry.

Council members voiced their criticism of the tight-knit character of the advisory committee on urban planning and called for more openness and citizen, colleague, and council involvement. Councilor Bouma argued that it was necessary to expand the advisory committee to include women, as they are ultimately the first to be involved in the design of homes that would be built. She also advocated involving housing corporations in an advisory committee, as the nine corporations in The Hague housed a total of 150,000 people. Furthermore, according to Bouma, it was desirable for council members to be included in this advisory committee, so that there would be more contact between the advisory committee and the council.

Other council members also suggested changing the members of the advisory committee (also known as the "urban planning committee"). The objection raised by councilor Van Praag was: "Is it really desirable that not only the plans for urban expansion, but also for the improvement of the city, the solution of various old problems, by which the whole of The Hague, which has been so violated, is being rebuilt, should be placed in the hands of a single architect who works together with the mayor and aldermen?" (City council meeting of December 3, 1945).

Van Praag argued in favor of involving the architectural community of The Hague. These architects were also not represented in the advisory committee, even though they had to carry out the plan for the most part. Representatives from the architects' organization in The Hague should be involved in the development of the plans.

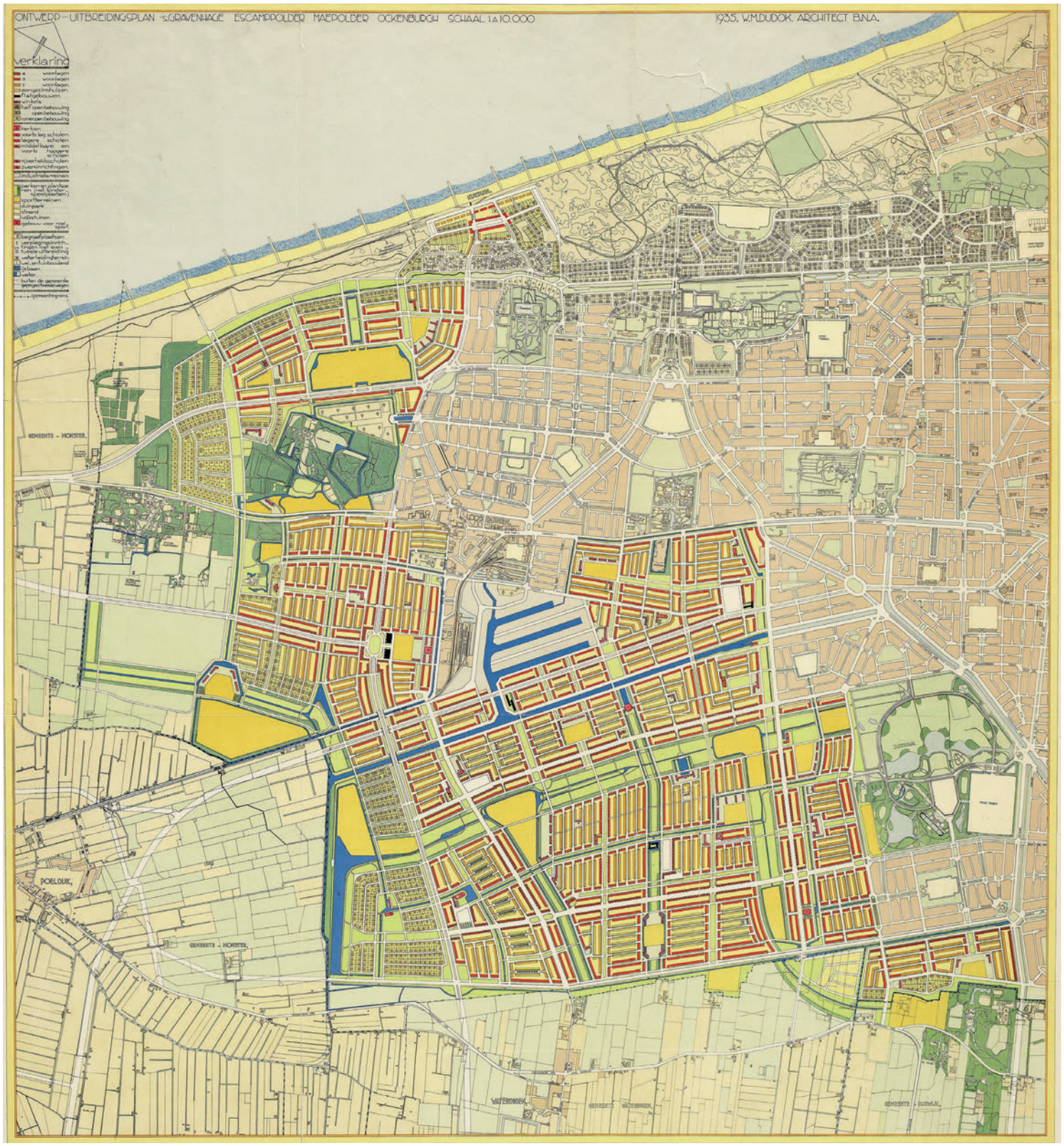
The mayor, however, did not think it was necessary to expand the committee. De Monchy gave the assignment to Dudok and wanted to keep the advisory committee as small as possible, with broad powers for Dudok and the committee, without involving The Hague's architects, housing corporations, and inhabitants. The directors of the Department of Municipal Works and Department of Reconstruction were represented in the committee. De Monchy argued: "On the other hand, I would like to give the committee a very broad authority with regard to the various questions, and this includes not only the construction of the destroyed neighborhoods and the expansion of the city, but also internally: the improvements that must be made in the city, the reconstruction of The Hague as necessary to regain its former status as a city of international significance and allure in the coming decades. We hope that The Hague will soon become once again the city of international significance and allure."

The international significance and allure that De Monchy spoke of could only be realized with Dudok as a figurehead, but there was little support among the council and the architectural community in The Hague. De Monchy emphasized that Dudok was an architect of international stature and that he knew The Hague well. De Monchy and the municipal executive would have preferred one architect to be on the advisory committee to exchange ideas with Dudok about the plans, but it was eventually decided to set up a separate committee of five architects. However, the mayor immediately indicated that: "We did not want to commit ourselves to associating with the architects as consultants."

In consultation with The Hague's chapter of the BNA, five architects were proposed, called The Council of Five, who were assumed to carry out the reconstruction plans for a large part. This council consisted of Kees Abspoel, Julius Luthmann, Dirk Roosenburg, Romke de Vries, and Henk Wegerif. The last architect supported the ideas of De Monchy, Vrijenhoek, Van Gelder, and Dudok. However, Dudok generally ignored this advisory group of authoritative architects from The Hague.

During the debates in the city council on December 3, 1945, the mayor gave the impression that the architectural community of The Hague had resigned itself to this situation. In this way, the mayor, aldermen, the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing, and Dudok were diametrically opposed to the council, citizens, housing corporations, and the architectural community in The Hague.

Frits van der Sluijs, at this time still young urban planner who would later become director of the Department of Urban Development, outlined the relations between the Department and the architects in The Hague at the time of the conflict. He explained that the architects in The Hague were unpleasantly surprised by the assignment. They had hoped to finally be able to work on their own city. The pioneers of the The Hague chapter of the BNA had little appreciation for



The expansion plan “Ontwerp-Uitbreidingsplan ‘s Gravenhage Escamppolder Maepolder Ockenburg” by the architect Dudok from 1935. Collection HGA z.gr.1848.

the Department. Likewise, the department seemed to have little appreciation for the architects. The Department generally passed them by, except when it had specific commissions to hand out. For example, the department, which also included the municipal land company, issued land on long leases with the condition that the buildings would be based on a sketch design provided by the department. Architect Co Brandes, who was from The Hague, provided by far the lion's share of these designs. However, his close collaboration with the large number of self-builders in The Hague, and the fact that he only provided drawings required by the Inspectorate of Building and Public Housing, made him little appreciated by his colleagues (Van der Sluijs, 1989: 13). Many other architects from The Hague were deliberately excluded by Bakker Schut.

Vrijenhoek was installed on May 6, 1945 as alderman for Urban Development, Public Works, and Reconstruction. He would remain in this position until he had to resign on November 19, 1945 because of a ruling by the Honor Council of the SDAP, which considered his actions during the war reprehensible. His post was taken over by alderman Feber. In 1947, De Monchy resigned as mayor and was succeeded by Willem Visser of the Christian Historical Union (CHU), who had to resign in 1949. De Monchy, the administrator who had backed Dudok, could no longer support him. It was time for a reckoning. The conflict deepened, and Dudok and Bakker Schut found themselves alone.

Two ideas about cityscapes came into sharp contrast after the war: the ideas of De Monchy and Dudok about the continuation of the past and the character of the city; they were supporters of the idea of a "Schoone Stad" (beautiful city), and the new insights according to CIAM and the architects of Het Plan 2000. Dudok was supported by Piet Bakker Schut, while his son Frits Bakker Schut, succeeded him in 1949, sided with Het Plan 2000.

During a debate at the Kurhaus in 1949, Dudok's urban structural plan was presented, while just before that Het Plan 2000 had been published in book form with a foreword by Cornelis van Eesteren (1897-1988), the chairman of CIAM and professor of urban planning in Delft from 1948 to 1957, and urban planner of Amsterdam. Dudok's work was praised in the council, but the structural plan was not accepted by the municipality council.

The Supposed Contrast Between Modernists and Traditionalists of the Interbellum

Given the housing shortage and war damage, it was not surprising that after the war, the debate on this subject became emotionally charged. Reconstruction was high on the agenda. The discussion between Dudok and Roosenburg was not only about stylistic differences (brick or concrete, brown or white), as is often posited in architectural books, or about personal issues. In the discussions, it became clear that completely new insights had emerged in the field of urban planning, as required to meet the presumed explosive population growth. Reconstruction was an urgent issue and a great opportunity to realize old ideals or to test new ideas (Freijser et al., 1991: 113).

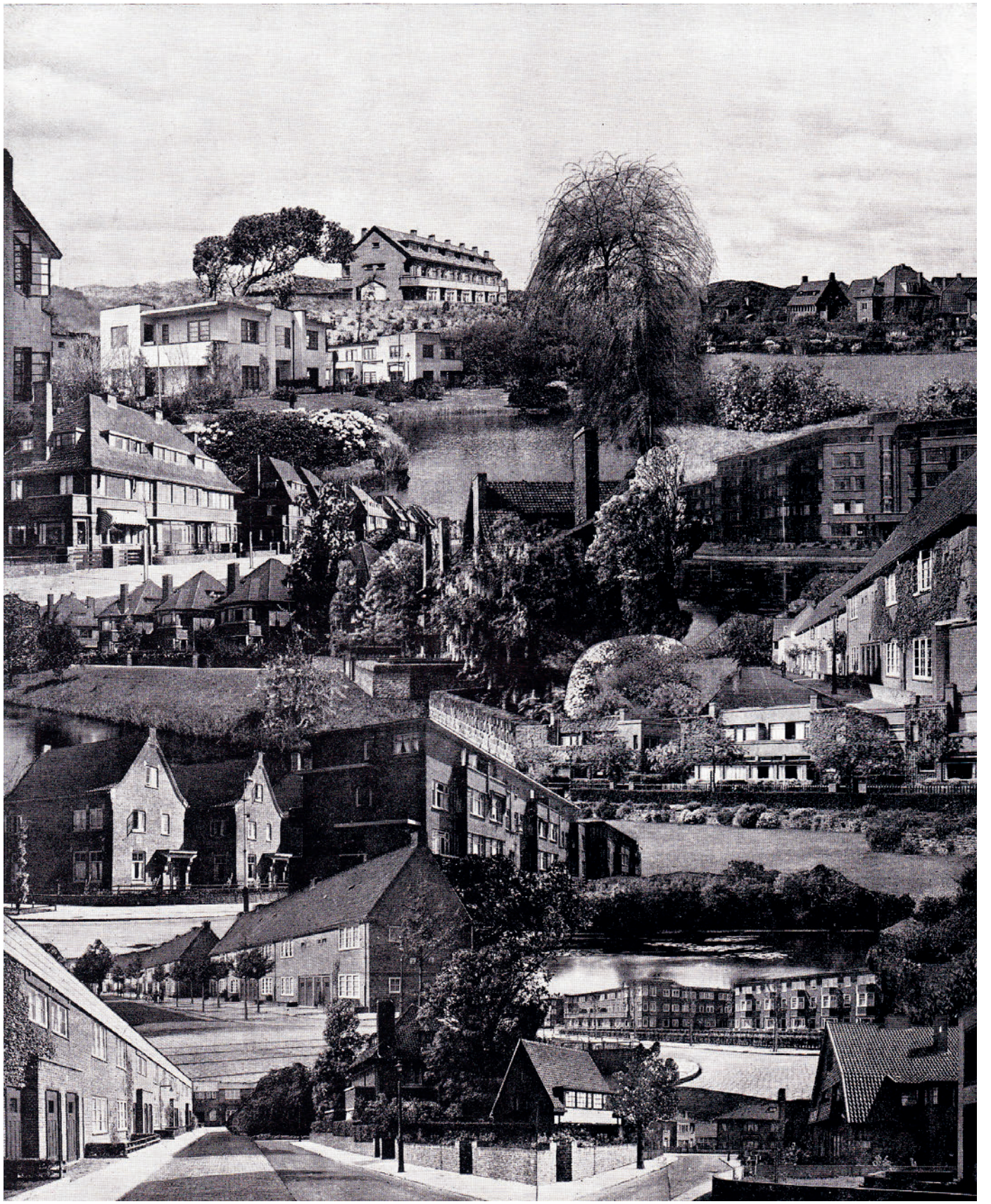
Architects in The Hague have long debated the distinction between the "brown" or "brick modernists" and the "white modernists". Dudok biographer Van Bergeijk spoke of a cliché that had been portrayed by, among others, Van den Broek and Le Corbusier: "The orthodox modernists stumbled over the freedoms that Dudok allowed himself. The form would have been elevated above the function. The technology of building would not be sufficiently public. ... But the view of Dudok as a late romantic is more than ever a cliché, which was only used to obscure his significance and his architectural qualities" (Van Bergeijk, 1995: 7). The terms "traditionalists" and "modernists" were often used because they were used for these movements at the time. However, both views on cityscapes had unmistakably emancipatory intentions and can both be seen as variants of modern architecture and urban planning (Van der Woud, 1997).

This comparison contrasted the modern movement of the interbellum with the modern post-war architects. However, this contradiction is flawed, as evidenced by documented reconstruction projects in The Hague that utilized a substantial amount of brown or yellow brick (Valentijn et al., 2002). One tradition evolved from the other, and Dudok, despite being labeled as a supporter of traditionalism due to the conflict in The Hague, served as an intermediary figure. The controversy was more about the differences in the cityscape: the spatial motives, the buildings, and the urban spaces. Dudok aimed to maintain control over the final image, while the CIAM, Het Plan 2000, and Cornelis van Eesteren believed the final image should emerge from a process.

This chapter is about the conflict about the urban future of The Hague, but before we go deeper into it, we must go back to 1933 when a sharp final image of The Hague was presented with the green village character of The Hague.

The Unique Character of The Hague

On July 10, 1933, following a proposal by the municipal executive, the council decided that the draft expansion plan for the southwestern part of the city should be assigned to a competent urban planner. However, the very elderly Berlage renounced his advisory role. The BNA put forward the Hilversum architect Willem Marinus Dudok (1884-1974) as new city architect for The Hague. A year later, in 1934, The Hague also got a new mayor; the conservative liberal Salomon Jean René de Monchy (1880-1961). At this time, Hendrik van Gelder, a friend of Berlage and party ideologist of the SDAP, addressed the question of the "individual character" of The Hague (Van Deventer & Van Gelder, et al., 1934). Wils, who wrote the architectural parts of Van Gelder's books, argued about the character of The Hague: "The Hague was and still is partly a great garden city. ... The Hague can still be called 'the Green City of the West'. In many streets and even in entire neighborhoods, trees and greenery dominate the cityscape and give it a soothing, restful atmosphere" (Van Deventer & Van Gelder, et al., 1934: 53). In addition to its green character, Van Gelder also described another quality: "There is a second characteristic, which determines the typical city character of The Hague. It's the predominantly low buildings" (Van



Two collages with the desired cityscape for the reconstruction by the Department of Reconstruction and Urban Development from survey that preceded Dudok's structural plan. The residential areas and the working areas near the port are strictly separated.

Source:
Enige grondslagen voor de stedebouwkundige ontwikkeling van 's-Gravenhage (*Some foundations for the urban development of The Hague*) from 1948.

Deventer & Van Gelder, et al., 1934: 54).

In this work, Wils advised on future developments and expansions: "It was undoubtedly an obvious and attractive idea to implement the method of low buildings in the expansion, with the beautiful cityscapes of the city center in mind and based on the tradition that gave The Hague the nickname of 'the largest village in Europe'. Park-like wide roads and, above all, that abundant stock of tall trees and beautiful dune parks almost forced the use of low houses. Nature had to be the dominant element in the new city" (Van Deventer & Van Gelder, et al., 1934: 56). Furthermore, according to Wils: "Characteristic of The Hague are the many villa parks and garden city neighborhoods" (Van Deventer & Van Gelder, et al., 1934: 58). Especially Marlot by the architect Brandes and the garden city Houtrust (now Vogelwijk) by Verschoor were seen as examples for the new development, but the highlight for Wils was the villa park Zorgvliet, designed by the German urban planner Henrici. Despite the ideas that De Monchy, Vrijenhoek, Wils, and Dudok held about The Hague's green village character, The Hague's building sector was in hibernation, as hardly any construction was taking place.

Dudok as City Architect

Machiel Vrijenhoek, architect and alderman of the SDAP, highlighted the contrasts between. The Hague and Amsterdam. However, Dudok's exact position also played a crucial role. The choice for Dudok as city architect was influenced by his views on urban development. It seems that Berlage's advisory role was no longer desired.

"The Hague doesn't have metropolitan allure. Monumentality will not be achieved at all, or only sparingly: The Amsterdam School, closely related to the leadership of the BNA, is not the compass by which to set the course here. The Hague has its own personal character, and when Dudok is seen as the man who will turn that around, I must warn that will end in failure! It is in that light that my recommendation of Dudok by the BNA must be viewed. And then the great question remains, which still needs to be answered: can anyone arrange for the future expansion of the city, which is a continuation of the historical development of our city? ... Berlage's position was a completely different one! That was the position of a consultant, and here we are explicitly dealing with the position of a designer. ... It was also clearly stated in the Construction Report: we must get rid of the advisory role. We need to have a responsible designer" (Vrijenhoek, cited in Freijser & Teunissen, 2008: 76).

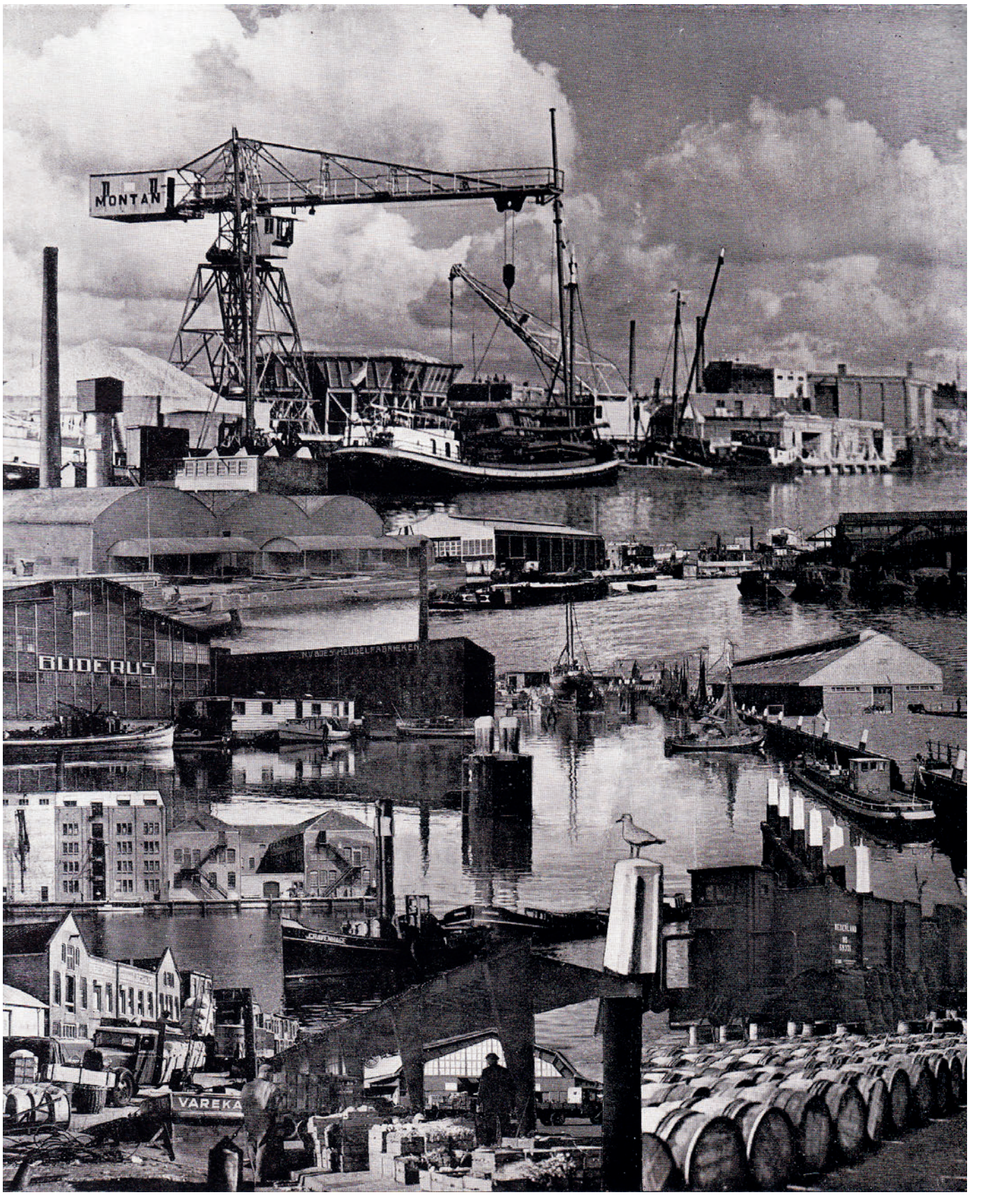
Relations between the old master builder Berlage, Dudok, and his friends Wils and Oud were good. Wils worked at Berlage's office, while Oud and Dudok carried out various projects together. Dudok even intended to establish an agency with Wils after World War I. Presumably at Berlage's insistence, Oud studied for several months with Theodor Fischer in Munich, one of the most experienced urban planners in Germany who, according to Van Bergeijk, emphasized achieving an aesthetically pleasing cityscape. "One of the rules Fischer worked on was "die Steigerung des Charakterischen" ["the intensification of character"], which focused on highlighting the unique elements of a city or neighborhood. It would also become one of the guiding principles of Dudok, who always tried to start from the character of the specific city" (Van Bergeijk, 1995: 17).

As the great museum reformer, Van Gelder had been committed to the cultural elevation ideal of the SDAP for years. In his view, museums had to be brought out of isolation and made accessible to everyone. The influence of Schumacher on Dudok's thinking was also considerable, especially regarding the positive effect of the "Charakter der anonymen großstädtischen Massenbauten" ("character of anonymous, large-scale urban buildings"). Following Schumacher's example, Dudok wanted his schools to spread culture among the masses of the population (Van Bergeijk, 1995: 28). Dudok was seen as a supporter of the new housing culture as propagated in Germany and Anglo-Saxon countries, in which a strong anti-urban attitude was present (Van Bergeijk, 1995: 102). That fits in with the ideas about the character of The Hague. In summary, the city was seen as one organic whole, a cohesion in the neighborhoods of houses with neighborhood facilities that brought culture to its residents. This matched the ideas about "neighborhood units" by the conservative Clarence Perry (1929; 1939) published a few years earlier in America. Schools and churches were seen as the beating heart of every neighborhood.

An Organic Whole and Local Character

Analogous to the human body, for Dudok the city is an organic whole in which there is a logical connection between the parts. This whole must be developed harmoniously and in a controllable manner. Bad spots should be removed and filled in with healthy ones. Above all, care must be taken to ensure that the city does not grow haphazardly, destroying the surrounding landscape. This is the task of the urban planner, who must first and foremost act as a technician but also ensure that his expansion plans create a beautiful city. The starting point to achieve this beauty was the unique character of each city, which can be discovered through an analysis of its historical growth (Van Bergeijk, 1995: 68). This shows the influence of Patrick Geddes (1915), the founder of the "regional survey", and of Fischer. The essence was that the urban planner should first understand the spirit of the city, its historical essence. According to Van Bergeijk (1995: 81), this was the local character that Dudok sought.

Dudok wanted to further develop the characteristics of The Hague that had been developing from the seventeenth century, particularly emphasizing the open connection of the city with the surrounding land to create a green continuum. During the Golden Age, The Hague had always been an open village with stone roads leading to pleasure gardens in the area. The city did not have sharp boundaries of fortifications or city walls. The transition was made smoother by the wide green strips between the neighborhoods and by reinforcing the natural orthogonal structure. This, combined with the low-rise buildings, helped to create a typical village appearance. Dudok wanted to maintain and enhance the open, green village character of The Hague, not sharply demarcate the city from its surroundings, and reinforce the long lines with through



Two collages with the desired cityscape for the reconstruction by the Department of Reconstruction and Urban Development from survey that preceded Dudok's structural plan. The residential areas and the working areas near the port are strictly separated.

Source:
Enige grondslagen voor de stedebouwkundige ontwikkeling van 's-Gravenhage (*Some foundations for the urban development of The Hague*) from 1948.

roads extending beyond the city. Furthermore, Dudok adopted the urban planning method of Lindo and Berlage: neighborhoods were laid out in between a web of motorways (parkways) and tram rails. Neighborhoods were turned inwards with their own enclosed squares (like the neighborhood unit of Perry). Like Berlage, Dudok wanted to open up the old city further by means of cut-throughs.

Dudok opposed the style architecture fashion and the copying of historical styles and orders. He defended modernism with its objectivity and functionalist principles and its space art, in which a composition of masses, planes, and spaces in between gave beauty to the buildings, interiors, and urban space. Although urban planning had to take utilitarian requirements as its starting point, it had to rise above the question of utility and make possible a "characterization of the ideal meaning of the building" (Van Bergeijk, 1995: 16).

In Dudok's eyes, the characteristic feature of a city was the connection with history. The traditionalism in Dudok's work was not concerned with imitating historical styles but stemmed from the view that architecture is a spatial art that embodies traditional and universal values. Architecture had to possess eternal value and be able to express an idealistic meaning (Van Bergeijk, 1995: 121).

Dudok was considered the right man in the right place in The Hague; everyone believed that only he could enhance the village and green character of The Hague.

Expansion Plan Escamppolder Maepolder Ockenburg 1935

In Dudok's 1935 *Ontwerp-uitbreidingplan 's-Gravenhage Escamppolder Maepolder Ockenburg* (*Draft Expansion Plan for Escamppolder, Maepolder, and Ockenburg, The Hague*) the idea of perimeter urban blocks and monumentality was abandoned, and the concept of a green continuum was emphasized. In a memorandum from 1936, Dudok further explained the plan:

"The Hague is first and foremost a residential city: a city that owes its origin and development mainly to its beautiful location. Forest, sea, dunes, and hinterland: in the Middle Ages, a beautiful Dutch landscape made the counts of the country choose this place as their place of residence. This regal example has been followed by many thousands over the centuries. ... In the further development of the city, every effort will have to be made to highlight the advantages of its location, or at least to preserve them" (Dudok, 1936: 3).

For Dudok, the forest and dune landscape were preeminent areas for relaxation, recovery, and enlightenment for the urban population. According to Dudok, the expansion of the city did not require the loss of natural beauty. He believed that the main characteristics of The Hague were the street grid pattern that followed the geomorphology of the landscape. This grid pattern was the most obvious choice for a motorway network. The residential, recreational, and working areas were to be separated by residential streets within the pattern of the traffic routes. Facilities such as sports and relaxation areas, as well as greenery, were placed within the residential areas. The open urban blocks should be relatively long, more than 300 meters, to save on expensive road surfaces. The design of the building profile and block direction ensured an optimal supply fresh air and sunlight to the houses. Dudok proposed four floors along main traffic roads, three floors along green lanes, and two floors in residential streets. High-rise buildings of 10 to 15 storeys were also planned at suitable points in the neighborhood. For Dudok, the open urban block was the basic scale of architectural unity.

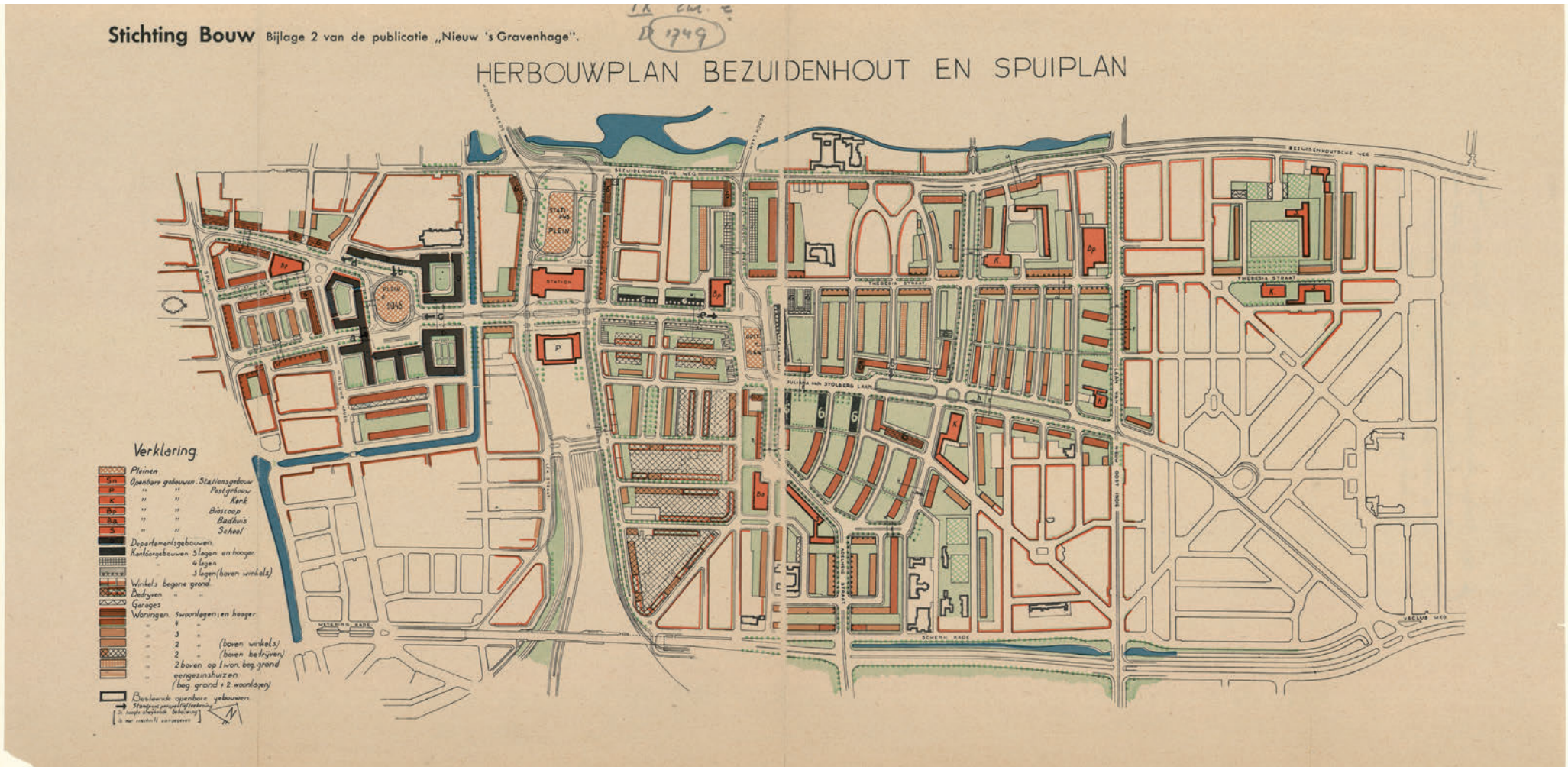
Dudok specifically mentioned the book *De Hedendaagse Stedebouw* (*Modern City Planning*) (1912) by the mayor of Utrecht, Dr. Fockema Andreae, and reflection on the beauty of cities and their monuments from the past. In his explanation of the green continuum, Dudok argued that: "I thought that I would achieve the greatest effect and the greatest possible freedom to adapt to changing needs by uniting the useful and with beautiful greenery in one system. This system should organically permeate the plan, reaching residents everywhere and vice versa, drawing them from all points."

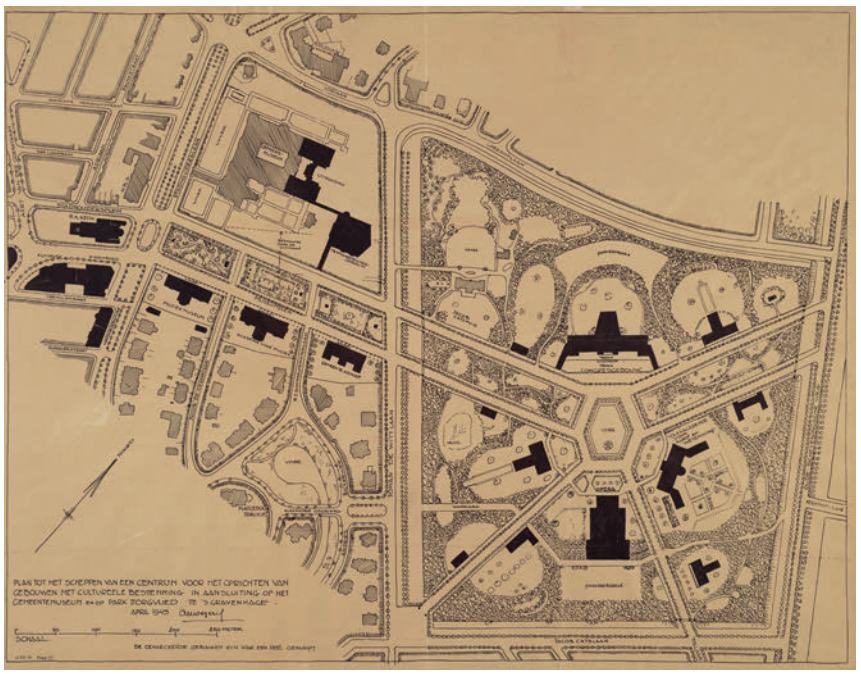
Systematic Permeation of the Stone City by Green Recreational Areas

In post-war lectures, Dudok emphasized the importance of incorporating green recreational areas into urban planning. He referred to the systematic permeation of the stone city by green spaces as a modern element of contemporary urban planning. Dudok believed that the need for sunshine, greenery, and relaxation near urban homes was an essential aspect of modern living (Dudok, 1950; 1951; Van der Leeuw-Roord et al., 1981). On his seventieth birthday, Dudok reiterated this message, stating that: "the systematic use of recreational strips that penetrate the city like veins is a characteristic feature of modern urban planning." (Leeuw-Roord, Rijven, & Smit, 1981).

A few years later, in 1943, in *Beschouwingen op aanleiding van het werk van de Studiegroep voor post-oorlogsschen Woningbouw* (*Reflections on the Work of the Study Group for Post-War Housing*) Dudok spoke about the relationship between open green areas and open urban blocks: "I have never been a particular advocate of urban building strips, and I do see some advantage for the residents in the greater intimacy of a back garden. However, my heart goes out to openness and to great, beneficial orderliness in the development of greenery, in which greenery within the open urban block can certainly play a role. I no longer accept the perimeter urban block, with its oppressiveness by its corners, in our time. But apparently, there is still a difference of opinion about this in our small country. It is not inconceivable that such differences will be able to live side by side and build a good expansion plan together into a satisfactory whole. In my city plan for The Hague, for example, I offered a well-considered opportunity to do so" (Dudok, cited in Van Bergeijk, 1995: 115).

The connection with history emphasized by Dudok was a theme that had faded away since the fall of Cuypers and De Stuers with the new ideals of modernization in the interbellum, but it took shape again in The Hague with Dudok, Vrijenhoek, Van Gelder, Wils, and De Monchy. Perhaps the economic crisis made them dream of better times.





Reconstruction plan Bezuidenhout and Spuiplan (Center) by the Department of Reconstruction and Urban Development and Dudok from 1946. Collection HGA kl.1749.

Cultural Center Plan near Zorgvliet by the architect Wegerif from 1945. Collection HGA z.gr.1345.

6.3
The Conflict over the Future of The Hague, Dudok's Urban Structural Plan

The Fuse in the Powder Keg, the Exhibition The Hague Builds (1946-47)

Den Haag Bouwt Op

The smoldering conflict came to an explosion with the exhibition where Dudok's reconstruction plans were presented to the public: Den Haag Bouwt Op (The Hague Builds). This exhibition at the Munipical Museum, which included lectures and debates, took place from December 24, 1946 to January 26, 1947. In the catalogue, the organizers sketched an optimistic and fresh picture of what had to be done in the battered city (Knuttel et al., 1946). The exhibition organization committee included all the important people from the architecture and urban development in The Hague: Bakker Schut, Dudok, and Suyver, and the architects Buys and Roosenburg. Prominent in the exhibition were two of Dudok's plans: the Sportlaan-Stadhoudersplein-Zorgvliet Plan and the Bezuidenhout Plan, which included a new government center (Dudok, 1946).

The young, ambitious architects of Het Plan 2000 from The Hague were also members of the organization committee. Het Plan 2000 was the most drastic, innovative, and disruptive growth strategy in The Hague's history. However, this plan could not simply be disregarded as a strange utopia; it presented many completely new ideas and insights that proved to be very valuable in the reconstruction process. For Dudok, Vrijenhoek, and De Monchy, this was an unpleasant situation.

The five young architects of Het Plan 2000 - J.J. Hornstra, J.G.E. Luyt, J.N. Munnik, H.C.P. Nuyten, and P. Verhave - were no strangers to each other. From 1940 to 1962, Roosenburg ran a studio on Kerkhoflaan with Verhave (a businessman and negotiator), Luyt (the designer), and De Iongh. Luyt had studied at the ETH in Zurich and introduced new ideas, while Roosenburg was the experienced master who secured the projects, and Verhave ensured their realization. The architectural office LIAG would later emerge from this studio (Hornstra et al., 1949; Van Hoogstraten, 2006).

Tension at the Exhibition

The excitement at the exhibition was palpable. The chairman of the committee, Dr. G. Knuttel, tried to reconcile the divergent points of view in the introduction to the catalogue. He defended Dudok and argued that, in addition to the usual functional requirements, society also benefited from a beautiful appearance. For him, the cityscape, the city, and the buildings separately were still works of art brought together in a harmonious whole.

It is striking that the debate was reduced to a difference of opinion about "the beautiful", and thus presented as a subjective experience, while Het Plan 2000 presented a whole series of new urban planning insights.

Knuttel cleverly used the terms "traditionalism" and "modernism", which do not overlap, presenting the debate as a contrast between beautiful traditional architecture versus modern utilitarian architecture. For the chairman, architecture had, first and foremost, a social function, and it had to meet the most practical primary needs. Following Berlage and later Dudok, he emphasized: "We architects want to serve." A non-committal statement, as, after all, the CIAM also wanted to serve. What architect does not want to serve? Implicitly, the chairman meant that the CIAM architects did not want to serve in the kingdom of Bakker Schut and Dudok. It was easy to ignore the fact that many architects had wanted to serve during the interbellum but had been were excluded from building production.

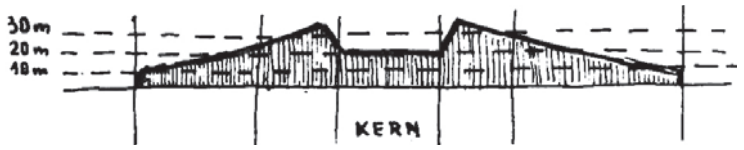
In the catalogue, Knuttel also pointed out another problem that now revealed itself, namely coherence between buildings as a condition for a beautiful city. In the exhibition catalogue, Dudok also warned against the fragmentation of the city into separate buildings, which is understandable because many of the building plans on display were very beautiful (e.g., by Romke de Vries) but inward-looking. Dudok argued: "But a collection of beautiful flowers does not make a beautiful bouquet: one must understand the art of flower arranging." Thus, Dudok's bouquet metaphor illustrated Berlage's ideas about *Gesamtkuns*t. He also stated that The Hague was facing an entirely new problem: nowhere else had the city been able to demonstrate on such a large scale that it was up to this enormous task: to build a beautiful city.

Dudok repeated his vision, "I would like to emphasize once again that a good and beautiful city no longer arises by chance from good and beautiful buildings, but that it makes certain autonomous demands which we can only meet through very harmonious cooperation. Life is short; the house outlasts man, but the city outlasts the house. The city plan encompasses the constituent buildings and spaces in terms of both time and form" (Knuttel et al., 1946: 13).

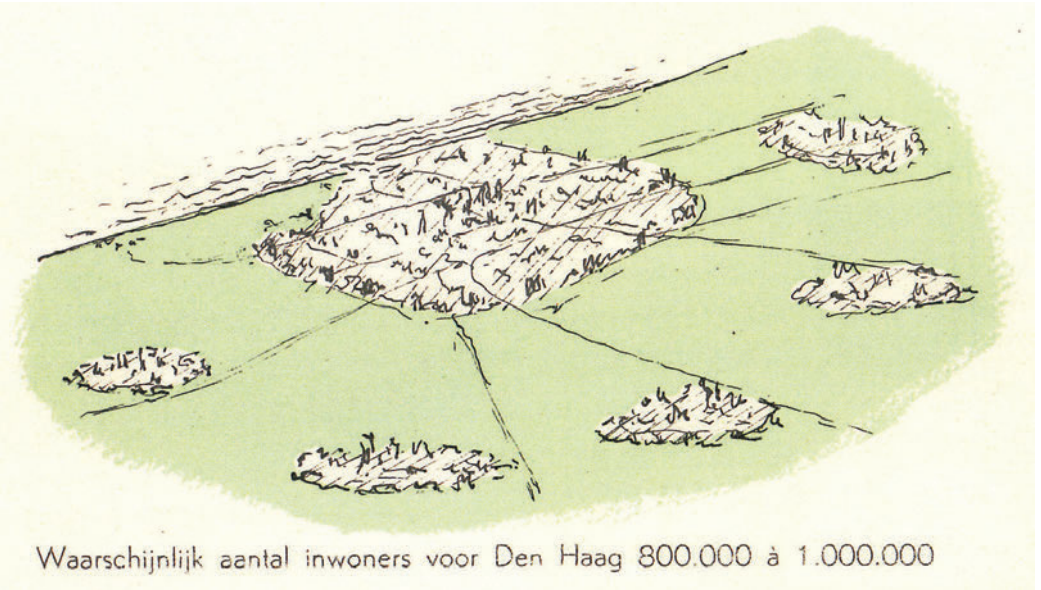
Dudok's Final Plan versus the Dynamics of Urban Growth

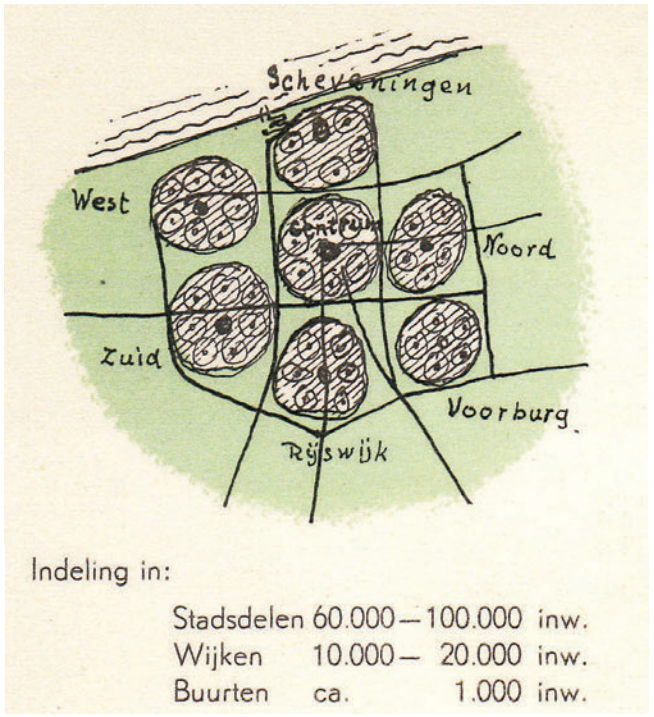
One of the fallacies was, after all, that the architects of Het Plan 2000 were not against the plans of Dudok either. They only felt that this was the task of the architects who elaborated on the neighborhoods, not of the urban planners. Architects from The Hague felt that Dudok, as an urban planner, was working on an architect's final plan for The Hague and that he wanted to control the entire cityscape. They believed detailed descriptions of materials and imposed shapes went too far.

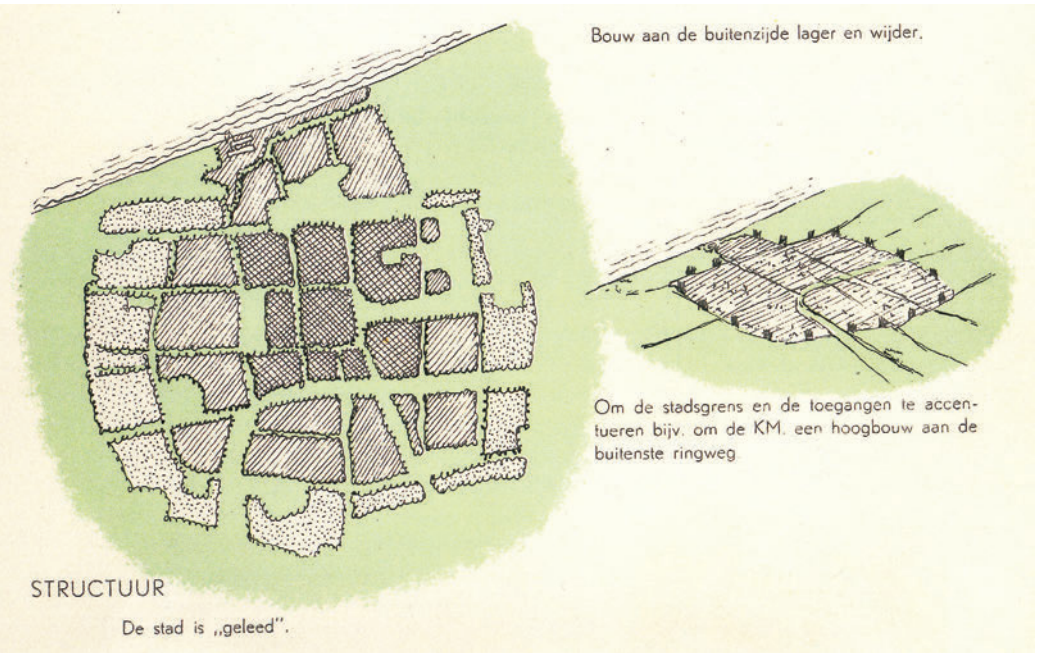
Dudok's beautiful city still reflected ideas from the interbellum and did not address the problems of the time, it was argued. They argued that Dudok did not understand the desirable concept of neighborhoods or the neighborhood unit that the municipality had in mind for the city's structural plan. The new city required a different vision. The beautiful city, which presented an all-encompassing image, would not solve the

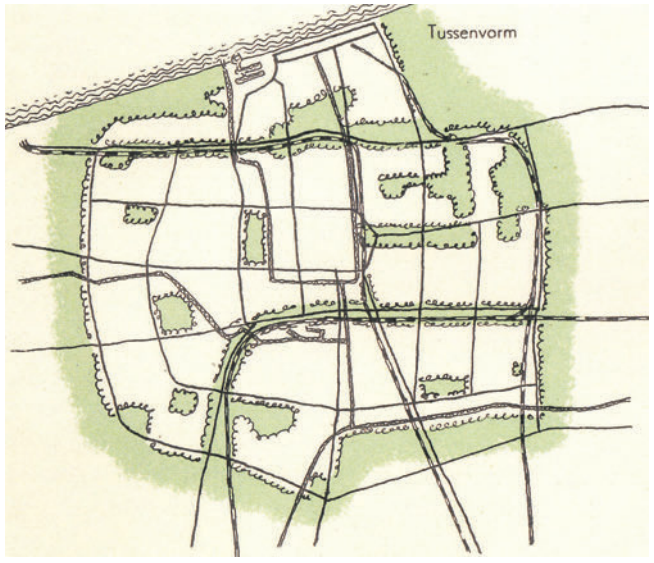


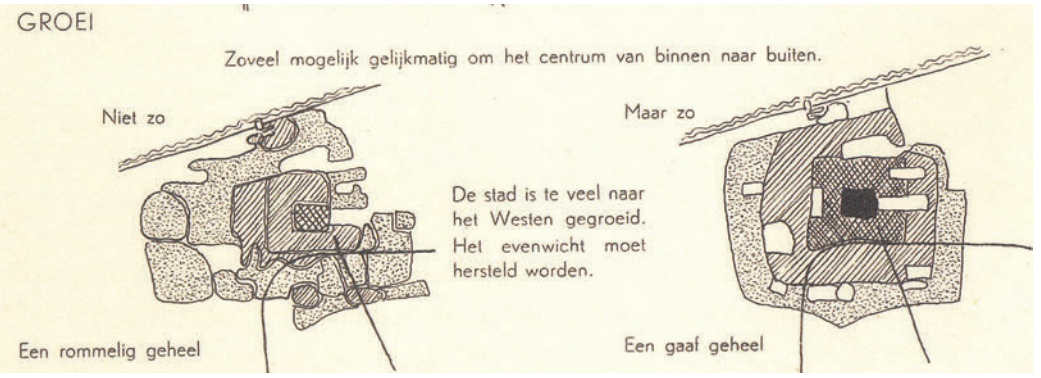
Drawings of the Het Plan 2000
by the five The Hague architects from 1946
presented on the exhibition and later as book.
Collection Delft University Library.











city's problems; a radical and grand vision based on research and the dynamics of the city was needed—a phased plan with an open-ended image that would only reveal itself in the future. It was an ambitious goal.

The contrasts between Dudok's beautiful city and CIAM's articulated and divided city, with the neighborhood units and the ring road, became painfully clear at the exhibition. The gulf between the two cityscapes was deep. On August 22, 1947, Dudok presented the city council with the final draft urban structural plan. Dudok opted for an orthogonal road structure that was considered appropriate for the nature of The Hague, in contrast to Het Plan 2000, which had opted for ring road access.

The City as a Volcano: Het Plan 2000

Growth Strategy for The Hague

Why did a utopian student plan, which even Van Eesteren considered unfeasible, have such a great influence on the development of The Hague? It was not just the plan itself, but rather the modern ideas of urban planning and architecture that were described in it, as well as the preservation of the historic center of the city. The plan focused on the gradual development of the city over time, with neighborhoods being laid out individually, each with its own design. This growth strategy ultimately shaped the cityscape of The Hague.

The cross-section of the city was particularly striking and resembled that of a volcano. In the middle was the historic center and its monuments, representing the crater. Around this was an inner ring road with high-rise buildings outside it. This configuration helped relieve traffic pressure in the old city. The buildings within the ring road were limited to a maximum building height of 20 meters, while the buildings on the outside could be higher, reaching 30 meters. The new residential areas were built on the volcanic slopes, becoming gradually lower towards the outskirts of the city. Towers on the outskirts of the city bordering the countryside marked the borders of the city. Thus, the most important innovations were:

- No comprehensive image in the planning in general.
- No overall plan, but rather a growth strategy that architects fill in with contemporary architecture.
- The planning is done on different scales: urban structural plan, neighborhood plan, and detailed plan.
- The urban structural plan covers the already built-up area, whereas previously it only applied to areas outside the built-up area.

The focus was on the existing city. A ring road was built around the city center to direct traffic along the edges of the center instead of through it, aiming to protect the historic city center. There was no separation between the disciplines of urban planning, architecture, and public housing. The various disciplines were based on scientific evidence. Another crucial point was the monumentalization of the city center. This meant that all buildings within the inner ring road were given monumental and listed status, while everything outside this ring could be replaced by modern buildings.

The MARS Group

After Het Plan 2000 was presented at the 1946 exhibition, a detailed explanation immediately followed in the journal *Bouw* (*Building*; vol. 2:8, February 1947, 22: 58-67). In 1949, Het Plan 2000 was published in book form with beautiful drawings and typography. Van Eesteren, wrote the foreword, he pointed out that the clear structure and harmonious form were particularly convincing.

Van Eesteren noted that the concepts of growth strategy and division of labor between urban planners and architects had originated in London during the war period, when the MARS Group (Modern Architectural Research Group) had conducted studies on the urban structure of the city. The MARS Group, a think tank for modernism from 1933 to 1957, consisted of architects and critics such as Maxwell Fry and Morton Shand. The MARS Group advocated for "period planning". Through this growth strategy, the architects of Het Plan 2000 aimed to revitalize The Hague while also establishing a clear division of responsibilities between urban planners and architects. The entire process was divided into three stages: the urban structural plan (which included building types, main traffic networks, and green areas), the neighborhood plans (which defined key buildings, main roads within each neighborhood, and building heights and densities), and the detailed plans, which would be created by future architects in accordance with the prevailing architectural trends. No specific visual representation was predetermined for these plans.

In Dudok's plan, traffic raced right through the city center, over Voorhout, through Willemspark, or the cut-through at Grote Marktstraat. "Today's expansion plans were by no means as ingenious as Het Plan 2000," Van Eesteren remarked, and the problems in the city were considerable. The Housing Act stipulated that municipalities had to draw up urban structural plans for areas that were not yet built up, but there was no innovation within the built-up area. Nevertheless, a rejuvenation process had to be initiated there as well, according to Van Eesteren. He went on: "Het Plan 2000 arose from the conviction shared by many, including the designers, that one must aim for a shared and well-considered vision in order to perceive the form and essence of the cityscape as a whole and its various components."

The Neighborhood Unit and an Organically Constructed Well-organized City

This shows that the ideas about Gesamtkunst had not been completely abandoned. Another old idea also resurfaced: the young architects emphasized in The Plan 2000 the importance of the cityscape. "The human eye and mind require variety, accents, and clarity. The disregard of these requirements has led to our desolate and confusing masses of houses. One of the main points of our research was, therefore, to create an articulated city that forms a harmoniously clear whole."

The Neighborhood Unit (De Wijkgedachte)

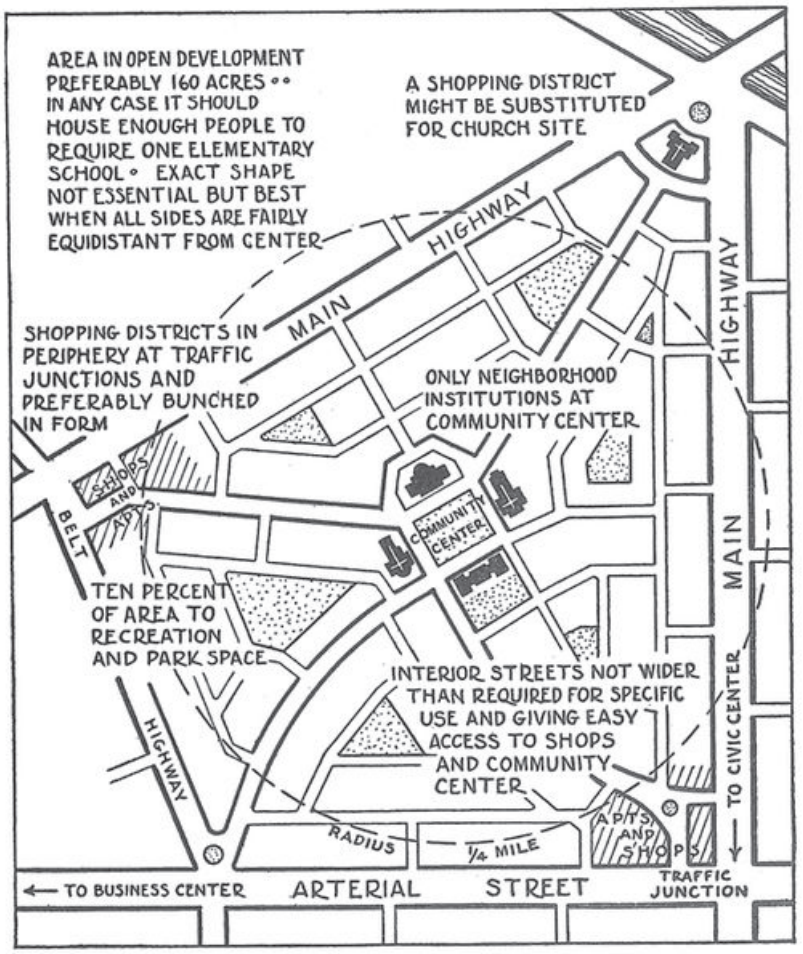
The neighborhood concept originated in Anglo-Saxon urban planning. It emerged as a response to the alienation and uprooting of residents in the extensive slums and backstreets of modern cities. By designing urban extensions and new residential areas as small-scale, village-like units in which social cohesion played a central role, planners sought to counter these problems. Spatial planning was therefore explicitly linked to a cultural program.

This line of thought can be traced back to figures such as John Ruskin, who emphasized the relationship between social processes, space, and historicity. Ferdinand Tönnies (1887) articulated the distinction between community (Gemeinschaft, village) and society (Gesellschaft, city). In reaction to the conditions of the old city, life in the countryside was idealized, combined with the economic opportunities of the city. City and countryside were connected through railways and S-Bahn systems. Ebenezer Howard (1850–1928) gave concrete form to these ideas through his concept of the Garden City. In 1899 he founded the Garden City Association, while the urban design was further developed by Raymond Unwin. The old city was redefined as a clean service-oriented city, while residential life shifted to green suburban environments. This process is commonly described as city formation and suburbanization. Anglo-Saxon planning ideas were introduced to Germany by Hermann Muthesius (1861–1927), who later became a co-founder of the Deutscher Werkbund in 1907.

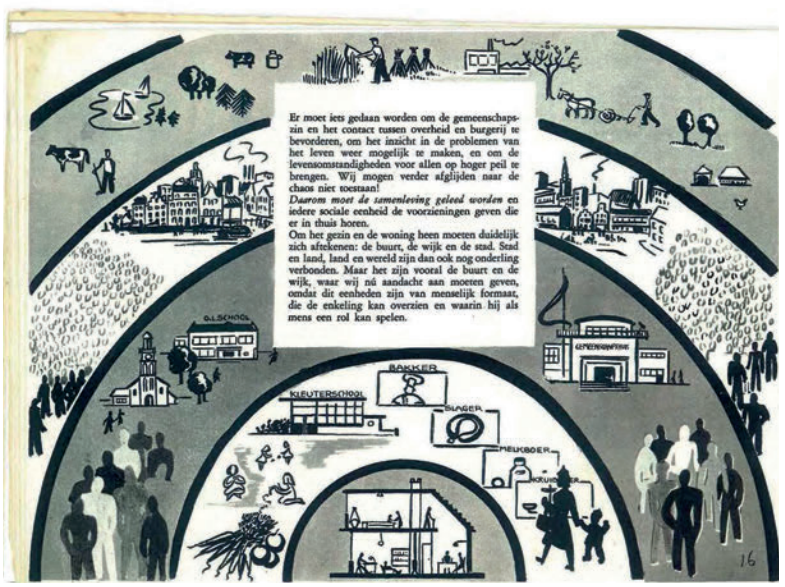
American planner Clarence Perry (1872–1944) further elaborated these ideas in the concept of the Neighborhood Unit (1929), later developed in Housing for the Mechanic Age (1939). Perry drew on the work of Howard and Unwin, as well as on Patrick Geddes's ideas on the Region City. Central to the neighborhood concept was the strong linkage between social relationships and the spatial structure of the district. Neighborhoods were designed so that children could walk safely from home to school. Schools and other community facilities were located at the center, housing surrounded them, and shops were placed along the edges on arterial roads. Through traffic was excluded from the neighborhood, which instead formed part of a larger network of main roads (Osborn 1945; Mumford 1961; Hall 1988).

Howard's Garden City accommodated approximately 30,000 to 32,000 inhabitants and was subdivided into neighborhoods of around 5,000 residents. Perry calculated a low-cost suburban development at 6,125 inhabitants, an industrial Neighborhood Unit at 8,800 inhabitants, and an Apartment-House Unit at approximately 10,000 inhabitants. In all cases, the size of the neighborhood was determined primarily by the capacity of educational facilities. On the European continent, however, a different scale was applied. In Otto Wagner's early twentieth-century expansion plan for Vienna, a "neighborhood" comprised between 100,000 and 150,000 inhabitants and functioned primarily as an administrative rather than a socially cohesive unit.

Architects and planners such as Berlage, Dudok, and later Van der Sluijs acknowledged the neighborhood as a spatial unit, but rejected the assumption that it could automatically be equated with a social unit, as advocated by the Bos and Van Gelder Committee following Perry's ideas.



A diagram of Clarence Perry's neighbourhood unit, illustrating the spatiality of the core principles of the concept, from the *New York Regional Survey*, Vol 7. 1929.



Right, a page from the booklet *Wij en de wijkgedachte* (*We and the neighborhood unit*) by W.F. Geyl from 1949 explains the idea of De Wijkgedachte in The Netherlands to the Dutch audience.

However, the task set by the architects from Het Plan 2000 from The Hague went much further than Dudok's plans. "Above all, it must be an urban structural plan for the whole," according to the architects of Het Plan 2000, and not just for the areas affected by war damage. The architects stated: "Only when beauty and practicality unite into a harmonious living whole, the ideal is achieved." The problem of the city, according to the group, was: "To create an organically constructed orderly city in which all elements of city life can come into their own. The possibility of this must be created in the plan."

The solutions that were proposed in Het Plan 2000 were the neighborhood unit (De Wijkgedachte), as well as a concentric growth, open buildings for light and air, separation of traffic types, lots of greenery for recreation, and one clear city center. The means that would provide a basis for good urban development were a urban planning survey, an urban structural plan for the entire city (existing and new areas), followed by elaboration in phased neighborhood-scale and detailed plans and a gradual renovation of old city neighborhoods.

A Protected City Center

The center within the planned ring road was considerably smaller than the historic center within the canals in Het Plan 2000. There were mainly mixed-use buildings intended for government, culture, entertainment, and some residential buildings. It was a city center primarily focused on providing services. The plan was to eventually replace all buildings outside the ring road that had no cultural or historical significance with new constructions. The average age of the houses was estimated to be around 100 years. For the architects, this fact justified intervening in the existing city structure through expropriation, demolition (referred to as remediation), and new construction. Remediation was usually associated with cleaning up the worst slums. However, the young architects also aimed to improve undesirable situations in the existing street plan and buildings. According to them, it was a question of principle. Too often, reconstruction and expansion plans assumed that the existing situation could remain unchanged. This approach would lead to negative impacts on the newly built parts, making improvement impossible for at least a hundred years.

The idea of the volcano-like layout of The Hague held a dominant role in urban development until 1980. This was due to a combination of factors, including the city's international reputation, its growing allure, and the ambitious plans for expansion. The administrators as well as the citizens were lured by the idea of turning The Hague into a truly global city. However, they failed to consider the detrimental impact this plan would have on the residents and the historic old town. This lack of foresight is understandable, considering the local administrators' belief that the Netherlands would have a population of 20 million by the year 2000.

Council of Five: Open Letter to the City Council, January 18, 1947

In an open letter of January 18, 1947 to the municipal executive and council of The Hague, the architects of the Council of Five appointed by the municipality, vented their frustrations about the difficult collaboration with Dudok, according to an article in *Bouw* (Vol. 2:3, February 22, 1947: 17-18).

The opening speech of De Monchy's at exhibition and Dudok's lecture were both rather polemical, which prompted the five architects to inform the city council about the ongoing situation with Dudok. The Council of Five wrote that, for opportunistic reasons, Dudok had not been commissioned by the municipality to involve the entire city in the plan. The council considered it a serious omission on the part of the municipality that no development plan had been made for the entire city, but only for parts of it. This had been emphasized by architects long before the war, even by aldermen Feber, who was now in charge. The municipality had also failed to clarify the issues, and it was thanks to Dudok's personal competence as an architect and urban planner that the urban development plans were of much better quality than those produced between 1918 and 1940. The architects also believed that it was crucial to start thinking about developments for the next fifty years. The municipality should clearly indicate the basic needs it demanded of a structural plan. For example, no decisions had been made regarding issues such as the location of crossroads, the new cultural center, and the neighborhood unit.

Regarding Dudok's plan for Bezuidenhout, the working group, Council of Five, noted that the construction of the underground station restored the connection between Bezuidenhoutkwartier and the city center, but that car traffic was now routed through the city. The new station, the new Regeeringsplein, and the city were all located on a single line along the route. Traffic was forced through Grote Marktstraat between the Bijenkorf and Peek & Cloppenburg department stores. Grote Marktstraat, a busy shopping street with large department stores, should not be used as a thoroughfare. The second connection, from Regeeringsplein via Amsterdam Veerkade, would never become significant if Heilige Geesthofje, a seventeenth century charitable foundation, remained at the end of it, so Regeeringsplein was not meant to be a link on a main thoroughfare.

The Council of Five also criticized the location where Dudok envisioned the new cultural center, along Stadhouderskade. They argued it was unrealistic to expect the city to be lively in the evening, as the city center mostly consisted of offices and therefore there were not many people around in the evening. The plan for Sportlaan-Stadhoudersplein-Zorgvliet lacked an obvious access road that connected the city council on Javastraat and the international center, housing the Peace Palace, the seaside resort of Scheveningen, and Regeeringsplein.

The architects, according to the open letter, also missed the idea of the neighborhood unit in Dudok's plans, which they found essential for the future development of the city: "Had this idea been taken as a

Study "Buildings to be remediated" as part of the expansion plan *Structuurplan Groot 's-Gravenhage* by the Department of Reconstruction and Urban Development and Dudok from 1947.
Collection HGA z.gr.0551-1.

basis, the current buildings of social and cultural significance would not have received the random distribution that can now be observed in the plans."

Voices For and Against the Dudok Plan, January 18, 1947

Dudok also had supporters. J.H. Albarda wrote in the magazine Vrij Nederland (Free Netherlands) that Dudok understood the character of The Hague in his plans. The journal Bouw also listed the arguments of the proponents and opponents and quoted Albarda:

"In this quiet, clean city, there are no fantastic solutions. The designer is too realistic for that, by the way. This large, characterful village (this is too often misunderstood) does not like the grandeur of huge tower houses or the harshness of densely and highly built-up neighborhoods. Here, new parts should also provide openness with lots of greenery. As a Royal residence and seat of government, the city should give a prominent place to government buildings. Important traffic objects should not occupy a conspicuous place in this quiet city. The old core must be spared and preserved" (*Bouw*, Vol. 2:3, January 18, 1947: 19-20).

Albarda also wondered whether the much-discussed neighborhood idea could be seen as "typically The Hague". He suggested that community life would be more appropriate in Rotterdam or Amsterdam. Finally, Albarda warned that the traffic problem should not be neglected, but neither should it be the starting point for urban planning. First and foremost, a city should be used to live, work, and relax.

The urban planner W.F. Geyl, who provided the municipality with preliminary advice on the preparations for Dudok's structural plan, was less positive: "First of all, however, it must be stated that it is an architect's plan, which has little to do with urban planning. ... And more importantly, how can an imposed unity of style that goes against the spirit of the times be real? Unity of style is only possible with unity of lifestyle. ... What right does one have, for the sake of aesthetics, to prescribe one style and exclude others? ... Every urban planner reflects their time. Dudok thinks that his own reflects the future tense: in fact, his attitude is aristocratic, to avoid the tainted word "dictatorial". ... We are entering the yet undefined borderline between what the democratic majority can and cannot demand of the minority" (*Bouw*, Vol. 2:3, January 18, 1947: 19-20).

This criticism was harsh and direct, and stood up for the architects from The Hague, but, as Geyl continued, the objections of a planning nature were much more serious. There was no trace of the neighborhood idea desired by the municipality. Articulation in the city was lacking. Thoroughfares intersected neighborhoods and the government center. The cultural center built outside the center was disastrous for the city, while art and culture belong in the city center, according to Geyl. There was no need to repeat the stupidity of the Municipal Museum, which was built in a suburb. Geyl called Het Plan 2000 an urban development plan that The Hague could use in the future. This plan considered the dynamics of the city and its social life and seized the opportunity that was now offered to make a start on a social urban reconstruction of The Hague.

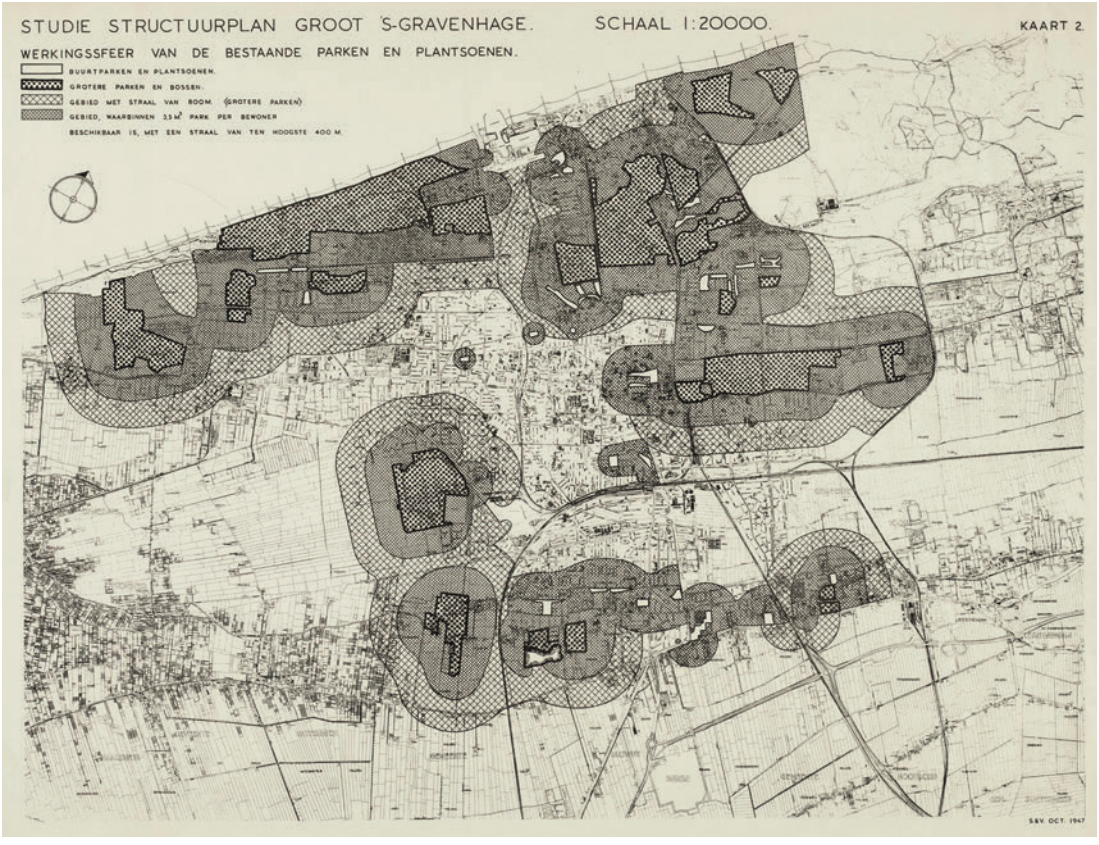
The series of lectures that followed in January 1947 as part of the exhibition widened the gap even further. As early as 11 January, engineer A. Bos, director of the Department of Housing in Rotterdam, gave a lecture entitle "Neighbourhood Concept and Urban Development". On 17 January, Dudok spoke about his two plans for the reconstruction of The Hague. And on 24 January, a lecture was given by The Hague architects Verhave, Luyt, and Hornstra about Het Plan 2000, and everything that was wrong with Dudok's plans.

The exhibition, the preliminary recommendations on the urban structural plan and letters and articles submitted to journals brought Dudok and Roosenburg, two veterans of The Hague architecture from the interbellum, into even more conflict with each other. In the years that followed, the struggle developed in journals and local newspapers to its climax in the Kurhaus in January 1949.

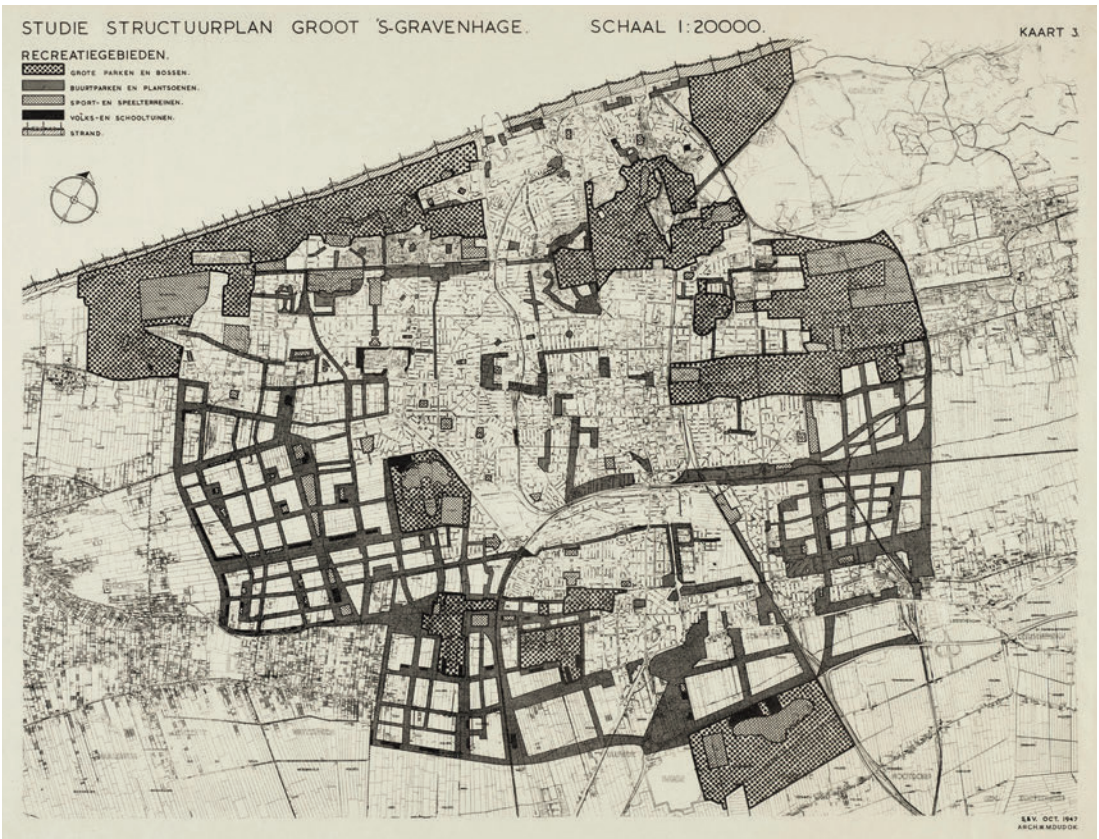
Crisis at the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing; Creation of the Department for Reconstruction and Urban Development

The issues regarding the reconstruction of The Hague after the Second World War were exacerbated by the fact that the Department of Urban Development and Public Housing in The Hague was in crisis and had become rudderless. In 1942, Bakker Schut, the major public housing provider of the interbellum, had been succeeded by his deputy Henk Suyver. Van der Sluijs remarked that incidents during a purge around Suyver due to the war must have been to blame for the poor relations within the Department (Van der Sluijs, 1989). In 1945, even before the liberation, the retired Bakker Schut was hastily recalled to take over leadership of the new municipal Department of Reconstruction, which was established on 16 June and existed until 1949 (Van Huik, 1991). This department had three main tasks: urban development, land management, and public housing. Suyver's position was reduced to urban development, while engineer A. Lodder managed the land company, and engineer J.P. van der Ploeg managed public housing. In 1946, Lodder and Van der Ploeg were appointed deputy directors, but relations within the department were still poor (Van der Sluijs, 1989). After some time, relations between Dudok and Suyver also deteriorated, and contacts were made only through employees. The cooperation between the department and Dudok, on the other hand, was excellent, according to Van der Sluijs (1989).

Nevertheless, the municipal council regularly received letters from Dudok with advice, followed by counter-advice from Suyver. These circumstances led to a thorough reorganization of the Department of Reconstruction and Urban Development after the departure of Bakker Schut in 1949 and a further reduction in the position of director Suyver. The Department was now split into three departments: the Dienst voor de Wederopbouw en Stadsontwikkeling (Department



Study "Area of existing parks and public gardens", map 2 as part of the expansion plan *Structuurplan Groot 's-Gravenhage* by the the Department of Reconstruction and Urban Development and Dudok from 1947.
Collection HGA z.gr.0551-2.



Dudok emphasized the importance of incorporating green recreational areas into urban planning.
He referred to the systematic permeation of the stone city by green spaces as a modern element of contemporary urban planning. Dudok believed that the need for sunshine, greenery, and relaxation near urban homes was an essential aspect of modern living.

Map 2 (above) shows the existing parks and public gardens and map 3 (below) shows Dudok's new plans in which the green zones are introduced with the residential areas in between.

Study "Recreation centres", map 3 as part of the expansion plan *Structuurplan Groot 's-Gravenhage* by the Department of Reconstruction and Urban Development and Dudok from 1947.
Collection HGA z.gr.0551-3.

for Reconstruction and Urban Development), the Gemeentelijk Grondbedrijf (Municipal Land Company), and the Gemeentelijke Woningdienst (Department of Municipal Housing).

The director of the National Planning Office, engineer Dr. Frits Bakker Schut (1903-1966), son of P. Bakker Schut, was put in charge of the Department for Reconstruction and Urban Development. Additionally, he was appointed supervisor of the other two departments and Chief Director. F. Bakker Schut was an outspoken supporter of the CIAM and soon found himself in direct opposition to Dudok. Van der Sluijs remarked about him own role: "My position remained that of liaison, now between Dudok and Bakker Schut. It soon turned out to be that of a buffer as well, because the newly appointed man also had his own views" (Van der Sluijs, 1989: 16). According to Van der Sluijs, it was mainly the conflicts with F. Bakker Schut that led Dudok to return the assignment to the municipality of The Hague on July 1, 1951.

Aesthetic Committee, Supervisors and Committee Heart of The Hague

No More Aesthetic Criteria, the Supervisor as the Hand of the Alderman

After the war, the pre-war quality regulation was declared in force again until a new framework would be introduced. This framework was renewed annually. Three members were reappointed: H. Hoekstra, Roosenburg, and J.W. Janzen. The *Regeling inzake de toepassing van de welstandsbepaling der bouw- en woonverordening voor 's-Gravenhage* (*Regulation regarding the application of the quality determination of the building and housing regulations for The Hague*) from 1937 was eventually used until the revision in 1954. This regulation, consisting of only three pages, did not set out any criteria for assessment; it merely described procedures. In a letter dated March 17, 1954, from mayor Schokking to the Aesthetic Committee regarding the abolition of the old regulation, it was stated that regulation no. 6 from 1937 was no longer applicable. At that time, the three architects Hoekstra, Roosenburg, and Janzen were still members of the Aesthetic Committee. These three had been reappointed members several times from the introduction of the Aesthetic Committee in 1936 to 1954. Van Emden had also returned to the committee after the war (HGA BNR 828-01 inv.nr. 10030). Step by step, a municipal supervisor or overseer was placed between the Aesthetic Committee and the architects. A letter dated June 5, 1950 form the Municipality Archive says: "The Chief Director informs that a provisional (emergency) measure has been taken for certain reconstruction plans; an supervisor has been appointed for this purpose." The Council of Five's consultations with other architects about the new building quality regulations came to nothing, because other architects opposed these regulations, they stated in the letter. "The chief director argues that the work of any Aesthetic Committee is not satisfactory, because such a committee, whatever it may be, does negative work. The work of supervisors is positive; they actively consult." Supervisor would play an important role in the reconstruction plans in the 1950s, until the council put an end to this in 1960 (HGA BNR 828-01 inv.nr.10030).

Committee Heart of The Hague

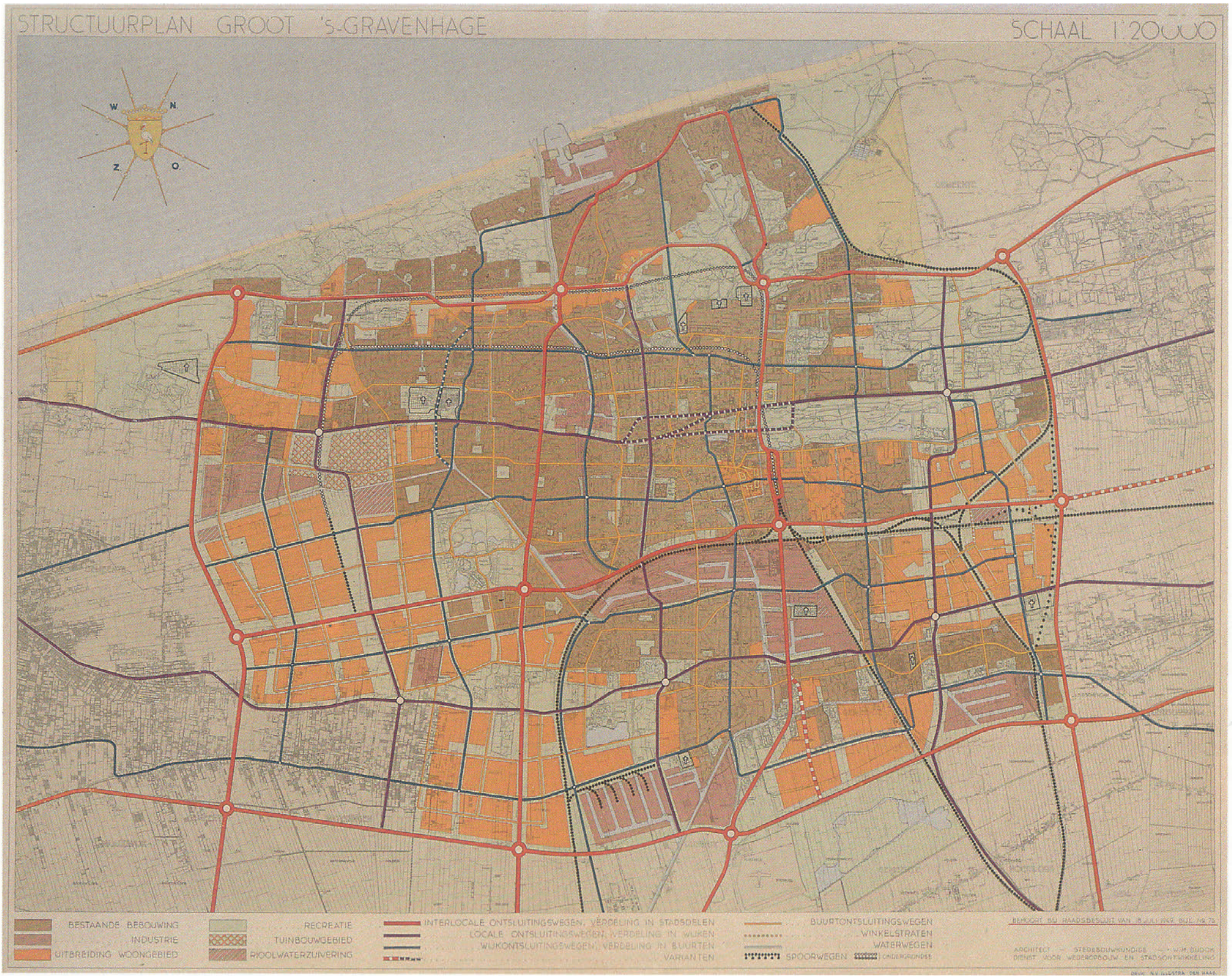
Citizens who had been pushed aside by the city executive and wanted to emphasize the distinguished character of the royal city organized themselves into the Committee Heart of The Hague between 1947 and 1953. After all they could not count on the Aesthetic Committee. The urban planners were not of much use either, and only the young architects of Het Plan 2000 offered resistance and perspective (HGA BNR 656-01, inv.nr. 1-6). The committee stated that: "In December 1946, a committee was formed here in the city with the aim of maintaining the special character of the heart of The Hague, particularly around the Hofvijver, which possesses a charm like few other city centers. The committee also sought to accentuate this charm whenever necessary."

According to the committee, the heart (city center) of The Hague must retain its typical, stylish character, reminiscent of The Hague's old center of government. The committee believed that The Hague gave off a neglected impression and wanted to rectify past mistakes, such as the tram track that awkwardly passed through the gate of the Binnenhof.

This committee consisted of several prominent figures from the cultural world in The Hague, primarily influential citizens rather than city administrators or architects. Among these notable inhabitants of The Hague were Professor Dr. J.G. van Gelder and Dr. J. Kalf, who would become involved in the debate regarding the city's future between Dudok and Roosenburg. It made sense for the committee, with Van Gelder, to support the ideas of Dudok, De Monchy, and Vrijenhoek, and work towards restoring the old values of the interbellum.

According to the committee, the root of all the problems was the increase in traffic, which was increasingly ruining the unique character of the heart of The Hague. Dudok, who in 1949 had drawn three variants for east-west connections (major traffic routes) through the heart of The Hague, came into conflict with the committee. The committee offered a negative assessment of the urban structural plan. In one of the variants, it was proposed to widen Kazernestraat up to Parkstraat for the benefit of traffic. The committee asked the mayor and aldermen to refrain from doing so. The committee proposed placing the major road further to the north, in the extension of Benoordenhoutseweg, along Nieuwe Uitleg. However, the committee's request was rejected on financial grounds.

Nevertheless, the municipality did not seem insensitive to the arguments of the committee, as reported in the annual report: "In the meantime, the Dudok plan, as far as the cut-through is concerned, seems to have been shelved for the time being, and people are now more inclined to a main route via Javastraat or Mauritskade." (HGA BNR 656-01, inv.nr.1). Instead of Lange Voorhout, Willemspark was now ruined. The committee complained about the traffic interventions around the Binnenhof in several letters to Suyver and to the city council.



The expansion plan “Structuurplan Groot ‘s-Gravenhage” by the Department of Reconstruction and Urban Development and Dudok from 1947 and presented in 1949. Collection HGA z.gr. 0549.

In an undated draft letter, presumably dated October 12, to the municipal executive, the committee expressed its great concern about the idea of situating the government center on the site of the deer park or in the Haagse Bos, as proposed by government architect Friedhoff and architect Luyt. “The committee strongly opposed any encroachment on The Hague’s green city entrance.” The proponents of this plan argued that “the deer park would be a strange sentimental “relic”, a forgotten and lost corner”.

In another undated letter to the members of the city council, the committee wrote that “the plans of the architects Friedhoff and Luyt for a new government center would greatly harm the interests of The Hague because the Bos—which also includes Malieveld and Koekamp—would be affected.” The committee indicated that it received a great deal of support for the objections, and as a result, the plan did not go ahead.

Was this because of the invisible powerful hand of the committee or were these views shared by public opinion? It has been established that the committee had a clear image of The Hague as a representative city, and its members consisted of the city’s notables. Perhaps Queen Wilhelmina and then young Queen Juliana were personally informed about the state of the city by the director of the Queen’s Cabinet, Mrs. Tellegen, who was a member of the Committee Heart of The Hague.

The Hague’s Pillarization Variant of the Neighborhood Unit

PvdA Party Ideologist Van Gelder and Roman Catholic Alderman Feber

The debate was not only a personal conflict between two architects of significance, or a generation gap, or caused by a disorganized Department of Reconstruction and Urban Development, the Aesthetic Committee acting like a secret service, the indecisiveness of SDAP ideologue Van Gelder, the exclusion of anyone many relevant actors in the reconstruction, or a difference between new and old urban planning insights. The conflict had many layers of complexity and acquired its own dynamic. To outsiders, this appeared as an intricate web of interests, sensitivities, and nitpicking. In the end, the conflict centered on the interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon neighborhood unit. The architects and urban planners found themselves standing together in opposition to Van Gelder, who aimed to enforce the sectarian division of the neighborhood unit.

The Labour Party (PvdA) and the Catholic People’s Party (KVP) were both part of the municipal coalition in The Hague at this time. Politically, the period between 1945 and 1960 was a stable time for the city, with labour and the confessionals jointly governing. The size of the parties PvdA and the three confessional parties KVP, ARP, and CHU remained virtually unchanged during this time. In 1946, the communist CPN had seven seats, but by 1958 only one. On the other hand, the liberal VVD grew from four seats in 1946 to eleven in 1958. Throughout this period, however, the PvdA remained the largest party, with fourteen seats in 1946 and 1949, sixteen in 1953, and fifteen in the council in 1958. Given the challenges of post-war reconstruction, it was important to have a municipal executive as broad as possible.

One of the aldermen responsible for reconstruction and urban development was engineer L.J.M. Feber (1885-1964) of the KVP. He had been an alderman before the war and continued in that role from 1945 to 1955. Feber was known for his skill and energy, being a practical building engineer. According to Van der Sluijs (1989), he was someone who never read his documents before council meetings. The social-democratic and confessional city administrators were confident that with Feber, the urban reconstruction and expension were in good hands. This Dutch variant of the neighborhood unit could, therefore, count on a large majority in the council.

According to Aardoom (2007), the neighborhood unit was explicitly mentioned in council documents from The Hague for the first time during the discussion of the budget on March 16 and 17, 1948. Het Plan 2000, however, followed Clarence Perry’s idea of the neighborhood unit (1929, 1939) and proposed neighborhoods with a population between 10,000 and 20,000 people, further divided into smaller neighborhoods with around 1,000 inhabitants. Perry envisioned the neighborhood unit as a low-traffic village with social amenities located at its center, housing a population of 6,000 to 10,000 individuals. Access roads would run around the neighborhood, connecting different villages and neighborhoods.

The city thus became a string of neighborhoods or villages.
Perry thought the neighborhood unit would put a stop to social fragmentation and anonymous mass housing. The neighborhood unit would bring security and stimulate a rich community life. A person should be able to live in the same neighborhood unit all their life.
The principles that Perry offered found a willing ear among many administrators in the battered post-war Netherlands, which believed in social engineering.

The Bos Committee

In the Netherlands, the concept of the neighborhood unit was adopted, elaborated, and distributed by the Bos Committee. Engineer A. Bos was director of Department of Housing in Rotterdam. The Bos Committee consisted of ten people from the healthcare, education, and religious sectors. W. van Tijen was the only architect in this group. During the war, the committee focused on the needs of the city's residents. This resulted in the publication *De Stad der Toekomst—de Toekomst der Stad* (*City of the Future—Future of the City*) (Bos, 1946). The core idea of the neighborhood unit, as expressed by the Bos Committee in its book, was that the isolation of the city dweller would decrease, and a sense of community would be promoted. In reaction to the existing chaotic city, which led to alienation and isolation among its inhabitants, the committee advocated for a new urban organizing principle: the neighborhood unit.

In a lecture on January 11, 1947, at the exhibition The Hague Builds, Bos explained the city’s problems and proposed solutions. The Bos Committee recommended 30,000 inhabitants per neighborhood, as a concession to the various pillars, as discussed below, so that each

denomination could maintain its own church community in its own neighborhood. In The Hague, the administrators, under the influence of Van Gelder, were also keen to implement this. In this way, pillarization was integrated into the neighborhood unit, and the new large neighborhoods in The Hague were prepared in a blueprint.

Between 1942 and 1945, the theory of the neighborhood unit was also studied by the Studiegroep Woningarchitectuur (Housing Architecture Study Group) of the BNA in preparation for its post-war task. To ensure broad support, the group invited architects from various schools of thought to contribute ideas. W. van Tijen was the chairman, and P. Verhagen, J.F. Berghoef, S.J. van Embden, B. Merkelbach, and D. Postel were also members of this group (Van Bergeijk, 1995: 113).

Another vision that emerged after the war was that of the architects of the Group 32. In their book *Bouwen van Woning tot Stad* (*Building from House to City*) (1946), architects like Piet Zanstra engaged in a discussion that challenged the ideas put forth by Van Eesteren in his General Expansion Plan for Amsterdam of 1935. They saw the city as the primary focus, with its plan and form shaping the neighborhood, urban block, and individual house, which influenced the neighborhood's scale and architecture. According to Van Bergeijk (1995: 115), Group 32 sought the integration of a well-defined neighborhood plan within the larger whole. Zanstra later undertook significant projects in The Hague, designing high-quality post-war neighborhoods such as Mariahoeve, Duttendal, and Leyenburg.

One Neighborhood Church for Each Denomination

In The Hague, the spiritual values of the population were at the core of the neighborhood study conducted by Dudok for the city's structural plan (Gemeente Den Haag, 1948). This meant that there had to be one church per denomination in each neighborhood. The size of each neighborhood was adjusted to the size of the different denominations that coexisted in the neighborhood. In addition to the social-democratic pillar, there were the Protestant, Roman Catholic, liberal, and humanist pillars. An ideal neighborhood would have around 20,000 inhabitants, 10,000 fewer than the Bos Committee envisioned for the neighborhood. Bos argued that the large number of inhabitants in the neighborhood was necessary to ensure that each cultural pillar could maintain its own social and cultural life and facilities within the neighborhood (Bos, 1946: 339). Additionally, spiritual life was strengthened by locating facilities near the church: the neighborhood unit brought about the decentralization of cultural facilities to the neighborhoods, resulting in a more intimate involvement in residents' personal lives. Thus, the neighborhood became the social unit through which society was reconstructed.

The ideas of the Bos Committee were further elaborated for the situation in The Hague by the Speciale commissie voor het wijkenvraagstuk (Special Committee for the Neighborhood Question), chaired by Van Gelder. The special committee conducted research in 1946-47 and reported to the municipality. Van Gelder's old ideas about the character of The Hague became evident in his work and interpretation of the neighborhood unit. P. Bakker Schut with his scientific methods and urban survey was pushed aside. After his retirement in 1941, Van Gelder wrote the book The Hague 1935-1945 (1946), which greatly impressed the municipal council. In the book, he argued that the buildings in The Hague were too low, but many residents perceived it as "garden city-like and pleasant; the single-family house looks like a Dutch ideal!" Van Gelder believed that, in addition to post-war reconstruction, renewal was also needed in the social and cultural sectors. While referring to the ideas of the Bos Committee, he went beyond its recommendations. Although attempts were made to make the Special Committee as broad as possible, most of the members were invited based on Van Gelder's recommendation (Aardoom, 2007). There was a strong emphasis on cultural aspects, and it was noticeable how much attention was given to the representation of various factions in the committee.

In a confidential letter of January 18, 1946, presumably addressed to De Monchy, Van Gelder proposed to the members of the committee that they publish their reports in subcommittees. In this letter, Van Gelder was not very complimentary about the former alderman, party colleague, and architect Machiel Vrijenhoek. Van Gelder stated: "someone like Vrijenhoek is not the most suitable. I never suspected him of having a broader perspective beyond his immediate surroundings". This is an oversimplified assessment of an administrator who contributed greatly to The Hague during the interbellum.

Initially, the municipality asked Van Gelder to contribute ideas about the interpretation of the neighborhood unit, but at the first meeting of the committee on March 27, 1946, Van Gelder was made chairman, and Vrijenhoek became committee member for urban planning issues. It was striking that such an important committee dealing with spatial planning had hardly any experts in that field. Religious leaders and representatives of the various pillars determined the urban planning policy. The report concluded with many recommendations to the municipality. The most important recommendation was that one community center had to be established in the center of the neighborhood to coordinate all cultural activities. Each neighborhood thus should have a kind of village center, where different religious communities would come together or exist side by side.

Reactions in the Newspapers

On March 26, 1949, a supplement appeared in the *Haagsche Courant* (*The Hague Paper*) under the motto "The "Neighborhood Unit" shows you the way to improving your living environment!" In a personal contribution, the PvdA Minister of Post-War Reconstruction and Housing, Dr. Mr. J. in 't Veld, wrote that "the question has no longer been looked at solely from the technical side, but from the sociological side and has been put in a much broader perspective ... it is no longer just a question of the big city, but it becomes a matter of preserving democracy and Western civilization" (Aardoom, 2007: 132).

On July 5, 1949, the liberal *Nieuwe Courant* (*New Paper*) published a critical article about the report of the Special Committee under the subheading "Proposals are unfeasible because little or no account is taken of what exists. Superficial reflections to complex

issues". According to the author, the committee's reasoning was too simplistically in making a direct connection between the rise of the "asphalt proletariat" in the metropolises and the outbreak of the Second World War. The author also accused the committee of having an overly elitist view of art.

In *Het Vaderland* (*The Fatherland*) of October 21, 1952, engineer Prof. Dr. Van Beusekom published a positive article entitled: "Neighborhood versus mass-based thinking. One Reformed and one Catholic church in every neighborhood. Sociological research necessary." Van Beusekom argued that big cities no longer needed majestic church buildings. Instead, each neighborhood unit should have an ecclesiastical center with about 600 seats and its own neighborhood church council, where representatives of various faiths should be found, as well as nurses, social workers, youth leaders, and where activities should take place for the elderly, housewives, children, and teenagers.

Neighborhood Unit Not for City Expansion

In the meeting of the Special Committee on May 8, 1946, committee members Van Staveren and Buys argued that the neighborhood problem was primarily a matter of urban planning. They believed that with proper urban design, the neighborhood concept would develop automatically. Committee member physician Dr. D.G.G. Van Ringelestein agreed with this perspective, but he had received a warning from Bakker Schut that the committee should not involve itself in urban planning, as there were other committees for that purpose. The report of the Special Committee was presented to the municipal executive in December 1947. This report served as the foundation for The Hague's structural plan. It went beyond the findings of the Bos Committee, emphasizing the cultural and educational significance of the neighborhood unit, with the community center and services for various pillars at its core.

Dudok, P. Bakker Schut, F. Bakker Schut, and the architects of Het Plan 2000 were all convinced of the ideals of the neighborhood unit (Gemeente Den Haag, 1948). However, they were unpleasantly surprised by Van Gelder's far-reaching ideals of elevation and support for pillarization. These became the guideline for Dudok's urban structural plan. F. Bakker Schut, who had just been appointed chief director of the Department of Reconstruction and Urban Development, reiterated in the Haagsche Courant of March 26, 1949 the position of his father P. Bakker Schut and Dudok: "From an urban planning point of view, the possibility of the neighborhood unit is certainly present, but primarily the city community, secondarily the neighborhood community". In doing so, he subtly evoked Berlage's explanation of his plan of 1909 and the discussion about the city, which should be more than merely a collection of garden city neighborhoods. F. Bakker Schut also argued that community centers should only be built when the need arose.

Eventually, between 1950 and 1960, all urban planning principles about the neighborhood unit and the studies of the Bos committee, were set aside, and large neighborhoods with a population of 35,000 to 40,000 inhabitants and inadequate facilities were created in The Hague Southwest. As a result, The Hague Southwest did not acquire a clear personality, as the promised facilities failed to materialize. Once again, The Hague had added another incomplete cityscape to its repertoire.

Structuurplan voor Groot 's-Gravenhage, 1949

During a congress on January 22, 1949 in the Kurhaus, Dudok presented his *Studie Structuurplan voor Groot 's-Gravenhage* (*Study for the Structural Plan for Greater The Hague*) (Gemeente Den Haag, 1948; 1949), which caused much controversy. Around that time, Het Plan 2000 was also published in book form, which added fuel to the fire (Hornstra et al., 1949). At the congress, all the critics of Dudok's work spoke, including the architects of Het Plan 2000, the urban planner W.F. Geyl, and the architect Van den Broek.

Dudok defended his urban structural plan, but the composition of the city council and the city itself had changed. Dudok's plan was called typical of The Hague because the roads followed the geomorphology of the landscape: the orthogonal road network ran parallel and perpendicular to the old beach embankments. Furthermore, the city was given a sharp border, but remained open to the surrounding land and had a clear rectangular shape. The wide green strips between the new neighborhoods were reminders of the leafy greenery for which The Hague was so famous. Dudok defended his plans against criticisms, and the debate focused on the following points:

- The final image that Dudok sketched, which determined the architecture;
- The realization of the neighborhood unit desired by the municipality;
- The location of the cultural center outside the city center;
- The placement of public buildings in the city;
- The lack of facilities in neighborhoods;
- The presence of main roads through the city center.

Dudok considered the cohesion between buildings important and continued to emphasize it. However, According to the architects of Het Plan 2000, Dudok's ideas were influenced by his aesthetic preferences and did not adequately consider articulation within the neighborhood unit.

Dudok on the Neighborhood Unit

Dudok believed that the neighborhood unit had been misused and neglected by Van Gelder and his committee's pillarization agenda. However, critics argued that Dudok's aesthetic plan focused more on spatial effects and images and ignored the social composition of the city. While Dudok did mention the social organization as an explanation, it was not the primary focus in his approach. In his preliminary advice on the plan, Geyl further pointed out: "According to him [Dudok], the location of the most important buildings in the neighborhoods would have been determined more by expected

architectural effects than by social considerations" (Gemeente Den Haag, 1949).

The neighborhood unit, according to Perry and Bos, had intentionally been avoided to shape pillarization. Dudok reiterated his previous reservations, which he had expressed two years earlier in the journal Bouw, about the optimistic assumptions that a sense of community would be created in the neighborhood unit: "The expectations of a greater sense of community in the future have turned out to be largely illusory" (Gemeente Den Haag, 1949: 40). Dudok doubted whether "our people" felt the need for a unifying neighborhood life. And indeed, there were doubts about this within The Hague. While some like Van Gelder still believed in the idea of community and the associated concept of equality, Dudok predicted the erosion of that ideal and the emergence of societal individualism: the old specter of individualism against which Berlage and the SDAP had once fought.

Dudok warned: "Be careful not to stick too much to the geographical pattern when incorporating the neighborhood unit into an urban structural plan; pay particular attention to the social structure of the population. There should be no division into different cultural centers based on religious beliefs or social population structure within neighborhoods, as some critics of the plan would like. In my opinion, this would be disastrous. Instead, seek contact with what is growing in the field of neighborhood life and identify the practical needs for dividing the neighborhood and its belongings. If the municipality decides to implement the neighborhood unit in the urban structural plan, it is desirable that the architect responsible for the Dudok plan within a given neighborhood familiarize himself with the social structure and all associated factors before dividing the neighborhood on paper" (Gemeente Den Haag, 1949: 10).

Dudok subtly pointed out that the existing neighborhood associations were not consulted or involved in the layout of a new neighborhood. The neighborhood unit was a top-down policy in the Dutch variant, which mainly contributed to the pillarization that Van Gelder and others proposed.

The Historic Center

The status of the center also played an important role. In The Hague, also Dudok's plan, this was spread over a large area. Professor Van den Broek also pointed out that every city has its own character and that in The Hague, it is not always one of joy and openness, as many would like to see. According to Van den Broek, the impression one gets of a city is determined by the concepts of center, inner city, and city, which are not always clearly distinguished by the designer of the plan. In his view, the actual city center would only cover an area of one-third in length and one-third in width of the area that Dudok refers to as the center. According to Van den Broek, the plan would gain in character if the city center was not too large, and if the pedestrian would be "king" in the center. By this, he meant that smaller center, within the inner ring road proposed by Het Plan 2000.

Of course, the historic center of The Hague played an important role. Van der Sluijs says: "A plan that thinks it can turn almost the entire city upside down in leaps and bounds in half a century and develops a traffic system which indeed makes such subversive admissions in the central city necessary proves that the compilers do not understand the essence of the city and are devoid of that which is first and foremost required for an urban planner: realism. ... But even worse is that valuable old city elements, which form the architectural significance of this city, are totally out of place, completely crushed by the scale of these new traffic squares with a building that absolutely disharmonizes with the atmosphere of this beautiful Dutch city" (Van der Sluijs, 1989: 67).

Van den Broek irritated Dudok with his criticism of the urban structural plan. This, in turn, provoked a statement by Dudok who believed that in Het Plan 2000, all the old city elements were crushed by the scale of the busy roads for traffic and the size of the new buildings. However, the tide had turned in favor of the possibilities that new tools and techniques provided to urban planning, as demonstrated by Het Plan 2000 and the ideas of the CIAM. The era of the "beautiful city" envisioned by Berlage and Dudok was over. Even though similar ideas resurfaced in projects like Mariahoeve, they were approached in a completely new way.

The Departure of Dudok and Continuity

In the council meeting of July 18 and 19, 1949, Dudok's urban structural plan was discussed. The plan was described as magnificent, but it had to be flexible. The plan was never adopted by the council, but was seen as a guideline (Valentijn et al., 2002: 14). Dudok was outraged by the Utrechtsebaan, Leidsebaan, and Rotterdamsebaan proposed in Het Plan 2000, which was supported by Rijkswaterstaat (Directorate-General for Public Works and Water Management). The implementation of these roads was being prepared. After Dudok's friend Oud received the commission for the Congress Building from F. Bakker Schut of the Department of Post War Reconstruction and Urban Development, a commission that had been promised to Dudok, he returned the assignment for the urban structural plan to the municipality of The Hague on 1 July 1951. He retired in 1954, disappointed with the political atmosphere in The Hague.

One of the biggest myths was that when Dudok left The Hague disappointed, the ideas that dominated during the interbellum also came to an end. Van Bergeijk says: "Unlike in Hilversum, where he [Dudok] had been able to work in a permanent position for years, in The Hague and other cities his authority was constantly questioned. His plans became links in a negotiation process and disappeared into the closet after a while" (Van Bergeijk, 1995: 124).

In fact, the opposite seems to be true. The essence and structure of the plans — with a green network through the city — would form the pattern within which the post-war reconstruction was shaped in The Hague for years to come. The connection between urban design and architecture would also remain a theme in The Hague, called Schoone Eenheid ("beautiful unity"). The Roosenburg Group, ironically enough, would see this as an important starting point, and in Mariahoeve,

this group played an important role, just as green strips appeared in the later expansions around Loosduinen. Dudok and Bakker Schut's tenacity brought the controversy to a head, creating the image of a hard transition in The Hague in 1950.

6.4
Den Haag Southwest, an "In-Between" Place with a One-sided Housing Program

Rapid Growth, 1950-1960

The years 1950 to 1961 saw a peak in the number of homes built in The Hague. During and shortly after the war, construction had been at a virtual standstill. In 1949, 1,446 homes were completed, but by 1950, that number had already risen to 3,109 homes. Between 1950 and 1961, between 3,000 and 4,000 homes were completed annually. In 1961, 2,640 homes were built. After that, housing production declined sharply, falling to about 1,000 homes per year, with highs in 1966 and 1976 with 2,289 and 2,280 homes, and lows in 1972 and 1973 with only 695 and 846 homes (Van der Sluijs, 1989: 56). After 1960, the population of The Hague rapidly declined because of the process of suburbanization and city formation, and almost all old neighborhoods had fewer inhabitants, with a new rise only starting around the year 2000.

The growing number of houses in Southwest was important for the entire city. In 1945, The Hague had 450,949 inhabitants, which grew to 558,849 inhabitants by 1950, and reached its historical peak in 1959 with 606,825 inhabitants. Eventually, neighborhoods were built in the following parts of Southwest, with approximately 50 homes per hectare:

- Moerwijk: 35,000 inhabitants (urban design by Berlage and Dudok).
- Morgenstond: 35,000 inhabitants (urban design by Dudok).
- Berestein and Vrederust-Bouwlust: 40,000 inhabitants (urban design by Van den Broek).

In total, houses for 110,000 inhabitants were built in a short period of time, mainly in four-story affordable houses owned by housing associations. After the departure of Feber in 1955 and Bakker Schut in 1961, production came to a standstill. It is unclear whether their departure was one of the causes for this, or whether the social and economic situation also played a role, or perhaps The Hague had exhausted all its building land. All these factors probably played a role.

The decision to build The Hague Southwest, currently a part of De Escamp neighborhood, using crane tracks and prefab building systems was made by the triumvirate of alderman Feber (1945-1955), General Director of the Department of Reconstruction and Urban Development F. Bakker Schut (1949-1961), and real estate developer and contractor Zwolsman (Bakker Schut, 1950, 1955; Van der Sluijs, 1989; Provoost, 1991).

The Hague Southwest, Melis Stokelaan.
Photo by Department of Urban Development from 1957.
Collection HGA 0.45014.

The Hague Southwest, Morgenstond Maartensdijklaan.
Photo bu Department of Urban Development from 1954.
Collection HGA 0.47043.

The Hague Southwest, Leyenburg Veenendaalkade.
Photo by the Department of Urban Development from 1953.
Collection HGA 202148, picture removed from the archive.

The Hague Southwest, Moerwijk Van Maerlantlaan.
Photo by the Department of Urban Development from 1949.
Collection HGA 0.72874.

The Green Framework and Neighborhoods Within It

The structure of Southwest follows the long lines of the existing polder and road structures that run parallel to the geomorphological structure of the landscape. Some examples of these long lines are Meppelweg, Hengelolaan, and Erasmusweg. In between these long lines, there are shorter cross-connections such as Dedemsvaartweg, Lozerlaan, and Leyweg.

The differences in urban development in The Hague Southwest are mainly due to the neighborhoods being laid out in different periods. Step by step, the closed perimeter urban block, designed by Berlage for Moerwijk, was transformed into the open urban block composed of four linear buildings around a courtyard, designed by Dudok in Moerwijk and Morgenstond, and the repeating urban ensemble set in a green landscape by Van der Broek in Berestein and Vrederust-Bouwlust. The height of the buildings in these neighborhoods is generally four stories, as the use of expensive lifts was not allowed in affordable housing provided by housing associations. However, an elevator was mandatory for buildings above four stories, as specified by Bakker Schut in 1955. A height of four stories was maintained to ensure sufficient housing density and the development of proper urban amenities. The architectural style of Dudok's neighborhoods is characterized by mainly vertical articulation in the facades, with roofs covering the urban strips. On the other hand, the repeating urban ensembles designed by Van der Broek predominantly have horizontal articulations in the facade, with more freedom in the facade compositions and flat roofs. The landscape of Southwest is defined by its green continuum, giving the area a park-like appearance. In addition to concrete, a relatively large amount of brick was used in the buildings (Oerlemans, 1990; Valentijn et al., 2002).

The Neighborhood Unit?

Due to the vastness of The Hague Southwest and the relatively low residential density, not much came of creation of public amenities in the end. Few of the high-minded ambitions of Van Gelder and the Special Committee were fulfilled. The lamentations of the urban planners about the interference of Van Gelder and his group apparently made sense after all. In the end, a community center, one of the main recommendations of the committee, was never built in Morgenstond, and facilities were limited to the most essential schools and churches (Aardoom, 2007: 145). Historian and local resident Aardoom argued:

"The interviews give the impression that life in Morgenstond was experienced very positively by most residents in the first ten years. This corresponds to the writer's own memories of living in this neighborhood and to previously obtained impressions from conversations with residents. The neighborhood unit as such was hardly known, but people praised decency and the sense of community, made use of the schools and shops in the neighborhood, and had many contacts in the immediate vicinity. Morgenstond was perceived as spacious and green, and the small houses, which are now considered to be small compared to current standards, were usually a big improvement compared to the previous living situation. Finally, the activities in the community gardens are positively etched in everyone's memory" (Aardoom, 2007: 145).

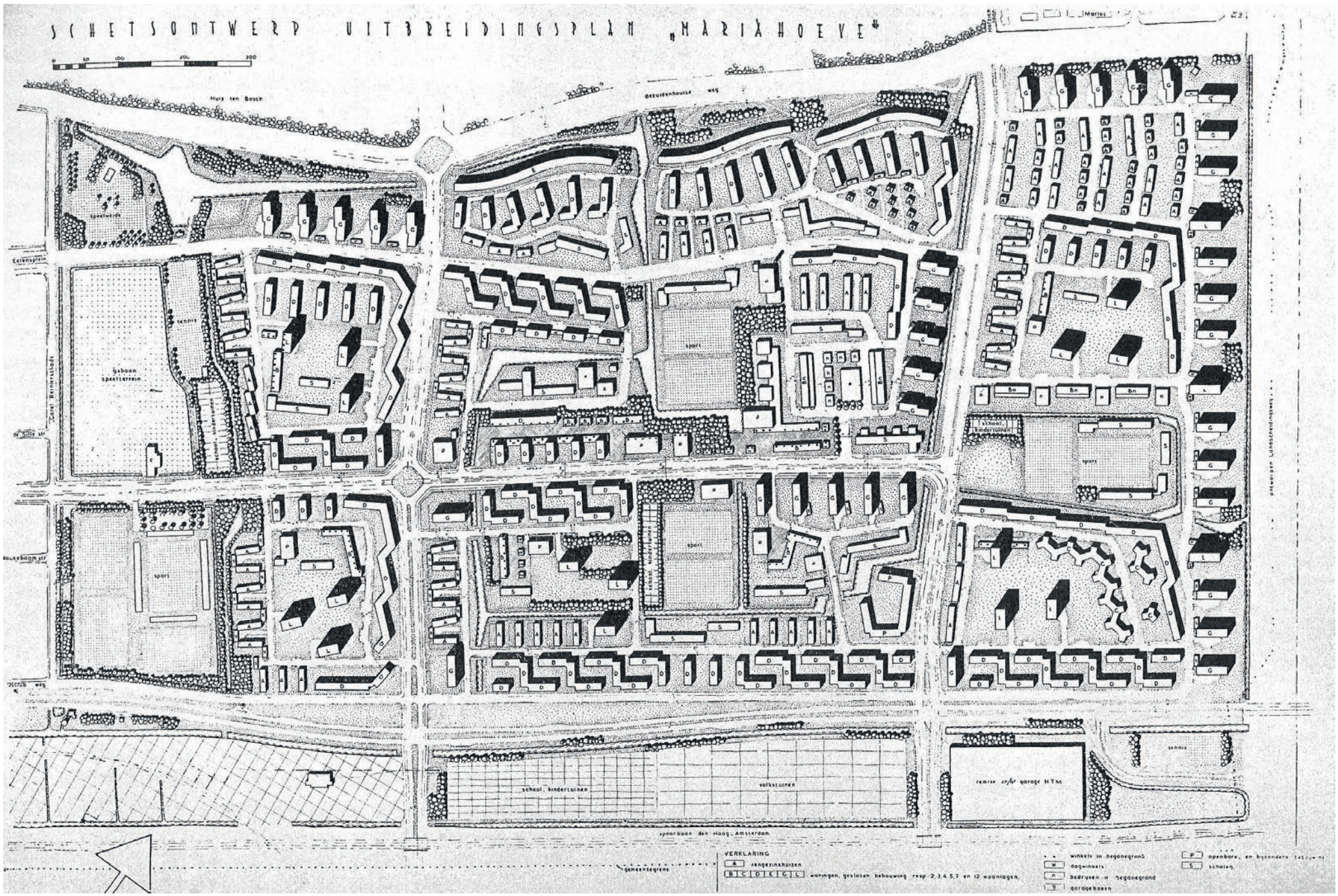
In 1955, behavioral scientists such as the sociologist J.A.A. van Doorn distanced themselves from the neighborhood unit (Tromp, 2007). Tromp points out that the neighborhood unit originated in a Christian, conservative community mentality. Clarence Perry was a well-known conservative in the United States. The neighborhood was by no means a self-evident framework, and the expectations about community life at the neighborhood level were unrealistic and mainly testified to an anti-urban mentality. According to Tromp, people's identities are based on various factors such as family, friendship, age, profession, household composition, sports, culture, and religion, rather than just the place in which they live. Dudok had also observed this in the discussions about the neighborhood unit.

Frits Bakker Schut about Southwest: A One-Sided Housing Program

Bakker Schut criticized the one-sided composition of the housing program in The Hague Southwest, with only apartments in four-story tenement apartment buildings: "The judgement is left to the future, to the generations that will come after us. It is the heavy responsibility of the urban planner that he forces future generations to live in a certain way without knowing the way of life of these future generations. Many questions may arise here. Shouldn't we build higher? On the other hand, shouldn't we build more single-family houses? Is the flag-waving along the rear facades [drying laundry] in full view acceptable? Won't the gray concrete facades of the system building eventually become dirty and inhumane? Aren't neighborhoods of this size becoming too monotonous? Will the distances from home to employment not become too great if we continue to build in a southwesterly direction?" (Bakker Schut, 1955: 41). He concluded that every country and every period got the homes it was willing to pay for, and that the Dutch, both individually and at government level, were not willing to dig deep into their pockets for urban planning and housing. In his eyes, the single-family home was the most attractive; the houses produced now were not optimal from a social point of view. The municipality failed to build in different heights and densities; taller buildings were not intermixed with family homes. Bakker Schut believed lessons should be learned from the mistakes in The Hague Southwest and that a mix of homes should be built in all categories and of all building types, such as ground-level single-family houses, residential four-story apartments, and taller buildings with an elevator. The provincial executive was also scathing in its assessment of the approach in Southwest, according to F. Bakker Schut.

Fop Ottenhof about Southwest: an "In-Between" Place

The architect Fop Ottenhof, head of the Department of Municipal Housing, who had worked with Wils on many residential buildings in



Sketch design for the Mariahoeve Expansion Plan by Van der Sluijs from 1957 after the original design by Van der Sluijs from 1953 and 1954.
Source: publication *Den Haag Snel Groeiende Stad* (*The Hague Fast Growing City*) from 1957.

these neighborhoods, offered a different explanation for the failure of The Hague Southwest. In an unpublished manuscript for an article in Bouw in 1957, he wrote: “It is not the excessive uniformity of urban blocks, building heights, lack of window variety or colors, or the use of bricks or tiled rooftops. The cause lies in the planimetric part of the urban development plan” (Ottenhof, 1957: 9). After years of working on the new neighborhoods, he argued: “A layout like Moerwijk-Morgenstond-Bouwlust with over 100,000 inhabitants cannot be a village. The deliberate attempt was not to create a garden village” (Ottenhof, 1957: 11). In Ottenhof’s perspective, it was neither a neighborhood nor a city but rather “an in-between thing, which we, as laymen or experts, do not fully understand, and which lies between a village and a city. It has the greenery of a village but the buildings of a city. ... This has created a half-baked thing that we will all have to adapt to. ... Personally, I believe that there will always be an unsatisfactory feeling of emptiness, baldness, and lack of direction” (Ottenhof, 1957: 11). According to Ottenhof, the amenities were insufficient: “These three parts of the city, with a population of over 100,000, correspond to a housing apparatus comparable to cities like Maastricht, Nijmegen, Hilversum, Leiden, Arnhem, or Enschede. Imagine these cities, with street surfaces three or four times the current size, and then remove essential features such as town halls, post offices, cinemas, theaters, club rooms, secondary schools, art installations like statues or fountains, companies big or small, leaving only three cafes, one with outside seating, one Catholic church, and a few auxiliary and emergency churches” (Ottenhof, 1957: 11). A collection of houses is not yet a city, and there was a lack of atmosphere and urbanity, he argued. In Ottenhof’s eyes, Southwest was an “in-between” place.

6.5
The Turn to Le Corbusier and Scandinavia

National Architecture in the City Center

National architecture, that is, buildings commissioned by the national government and related organizations, is explicitly mentioned here because it is related to the architecture of Duttendel and Mariahoeve. Chief government architect Gijsbertus Friedhoff (1892-1970) left his mark on the architectural image of The Hague during his tenure from 1946 to 1958. During Friedhoff’s tenure, national architecture in the Netherlands possessed a distinctive character that extended to other works, such as the schools designed by Sjoerd Schamhart and Rutger Bleeker in The Hague, as well as the housing projects by architects Zanstra and Ottenhof. This architectural style was a post-war evolution of the Delft School, influenced by modern Scandinavian and American examples, as well as the works of Le Corbusier. This brought the Delft School Architecture and CIAM closer together.

This can be seen in the numerous office buildings, inner-city projects, and new neighborhoods such as Mariahoeve, Duttendel, and Waldeck that were built after Southwest. Friedhoff, a traditional architect who had previously worked for former government architect Daniël Knuttel, designed the city hall of Enschede, which was constructed between 1930 and 1933 and bears a strong resemblance to Stockholm City Hall designed by Ragnar Östberg. Friedhoff was evidently well acquainted with The Hague architect Luyt, who had co-written Het Plan 2000, with whom he devised a plan to construct government department buildings on Malieveld.

The Hague saw the addition of several monumental buildings in this style, including the Department of Transport, Public Works and Water Management (the former KLM headquarters) by architects Roosenburg, Verhave, and Luyt (1936-1949), the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries by Friedhoff (1951), the Department of Defense at Kalvermarkt 28 by Friedhoff (1961-1963), the main post office at Kerkplein by Friedhoff (1955-1967), the Rijkswaterstaat building at Koningskade 4 by Kuiper, Gouwetor, De Ranitz, and Bleeker (1954-1970), the head office of the ANWB (National Motorists’ Association) at Wassenaarseweg 220 by Berghoef and Klarenbeek (1958-1962), the AEGON insurance company office at Churchillplein 1 by Van der Steur (1955-1961), the Bataafsche Import Maatschappij BIM office at Wassenaarseweg 80 by J.P. Oud (1938-1946), the BPM office at Carel van Bylandtlaan 23 by Roosenburg, Verhave, and Luyt (1950-1954), and the Central Laboratory of the PTT (Dutch Post) in Leidschendam (1950-1955) by S. J. van Embden. These buildings featured diverse architectural styles, incorporating elements such as ornaments, brickwork, and béton brut.

Duttendel and Waldeck

The influence of Le Corbusier and Scandinavian architecture on

Mariahoeve Het Kleine Loo met Pax Christikerk.
Photo by Department of Urban Development from 1970.
Collection HGA 0.37449.

Mariahoeve Roggekamp.
Photo by Department of Urban Development from 1961.
Collection HGA 202279.

Mariahoeve Isabellaland.
Photo by Jan Stegeman from 1965.
Collection HGA 5.22215.

Mariahoeve Hongarenburg.
Photo by Dienst voor de Stadsontwikkeling from 1968.
Collection HGA 5.04199.

national architecture was also visible in the new neighborhoods built after The Hague Southwest, such as Duttendel, Waldeck, and Mariahoeve (Interview with Rutger Bleeker, architect supervisor for Mariahoeve, by Niek van Vught, Marloes Groot and Leo Oorschot, February 16, 2011). These neighborhoods were considerably smaller than Southwest, but were given clear peripheries that marked the borders of the neighborhood, as well as a variety of housing types with different building heights. The neighborhood unit ideal was still closely adhered to. Bakker Schut argued: "The design of the new neighborhoods is consistently based on a clear formation of neighborhoods and residential areas, which are recognizable to the residents by their appearance and facilities. In the latest plans (Mariahoeve and Waldeck), the neighborhood shopping center is exclusively for pedestrians, while unloading, loading, and parking takes place at the rear of the shops" (Bakker Schut, 1955: 12).

On February 25, 1952, the council adopted the Duttendel expansion plan, which was an elaboration of the draft zoning plan from 1951 by Van der Sluijs. The area is located in the corner between Pompstationweg and Van Alkemadelaan (Valentijn et al., 2002: 138-140). After a legal dispute with residents, street construction could only begin in 1954. The supervisor for Duttendel was Luyt, and the houses were built by The Hague real estate developer and contractor B. Meijer, based on designs by Amsterdam architect Zanstra. Most of the buildings were constructed in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

The Waldeck neighborhood was built between 1961 and 1967, following the 1956 expansion plan by Van der Sluijs and the Department of Reconstruction and Urban Development. Like Mariahoeve, the strict allotment of the building plots was abandoned, allowing for freer placement of urban blocks and buildings in relation to each other. The plan incorporated the long lines of the geomorphologic structure of the landscape, as well as the irregular shape of the available terrain, like Dudok's approach in Moerwijk. The wide Beethovenplantsoen divided the neighborhood into two parts with a relatively independent status. In the 1970s, this green area was further extended in Nieuw Waldeck. The most significant buildings in the neighborhood include The Great Wall of China by Ottenhof and Wils, a long, high, curved wall that creates a sharp border for the city. The Roman Catholic Pastoor van Ars church by Aldo van Eyck, was constructed in 1966 amidst greenery, directly next to the neighborhood. Waldeck was not as upscale as Duttendel, but together with Mariahoeve, it still held a certain status among the people of The Hague (Valentijn et al., 2002).

Mariahoeve

Visit to Scandinavia

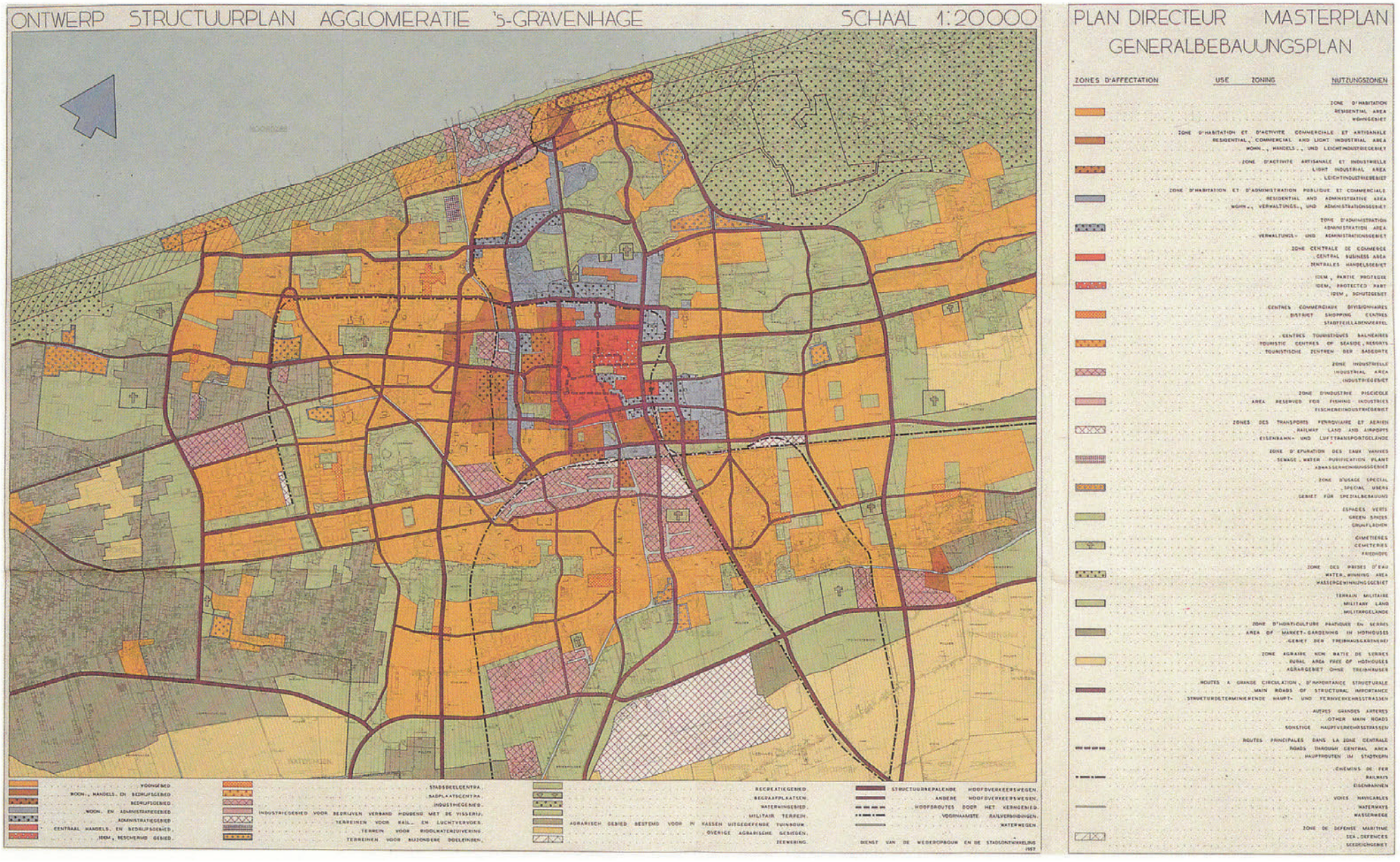
Mariahoeve, which avoided the mistakes made in Southwest, became a model project for the municipality of The Hague from the sixties, although it had been designed years before. It was considered the most iconic urban ensemble, comparable to the much smaller Hansaviertel (1957-61) in Berlin, which was also built during this time, and shown at the exhibition Interbau 57. Van der Sluijs' friend Van den Broek also realized a residential tower in Hansaviertel. While many international European architects built in Berlin, the buildings in The Hague were mainly constructed by Dutch architects, who shaped the distinct image of Hague modernism. It was here that Zanstra designed and Meijer built the most iconic buildings (Valentijn et al., 2002).

In the autumn of 1953, Bakker Schut, Van der Sluijs, Ottenhof, and other officials of the municipality of The Hague traveled to Denmark and Sweden to study new developments in housing and urban planning. Immediately after the war, social democrats in Scandinavia worked hard to build up the welfare state with affordable houses. Cities such as Stockholm and Copenhagen were guides for many developments (Hall, 1998: 842-887). An illustrated report was made of this trip and presented to the municipal executive as an example of the direction The Hague should take (Gemeente Den Haag, 1953). Van der Sluijs concluded that the Scandinavian trip had a major influence on the planning around Mariahoeve: "It is true that the chosen plan only showed directly copied building forms on a few occasions, but the influence of that journey is clearly visible: jumps in building strips, which in themselves do not have to be parallel to the street" (Van der Sluijs, 1989: 94-95).

Ottenhof studied different types of housing in Scandinavia. With this knowledge, he formulated a program of requirements for housing in Mariahoeve (Ottenhof, 1953). This introduced many new housing types in The Hague, including high-rise buildings with an elevator and two stairwells, split-level homes with raised living rooms, and star-shaped flats with three apartments around a staircase. Above all, houses of several types were built to stimulate a diversity of residents in a natural way. The urban planners deliberately wanted to introduce variation in home types, purposely placing workers' housing next to more expensive homes. Mariahoeve was therefore not only an urban planning experiment but also a public housing trial, mixing residents with different socio-economic backgrounds (Gemeente Den Haag, 1953).

After the trip, the Department of Reconstruction and Urban Development organized a competition for urban planners in 1953 (Van der Sluijs, 1989). The urban planners in The Hague, who were working on the layout of Moerwijk, Morgenstond, Bouwlust, Berestein, and Vrederust, knew exactly what could go wrong when using CIAM principles of separating functions, the The Hague pillarization neighborhood unit proposed by Bos and Van Gelder, and the uniform type of buildings and homogeneous socio-economic structure of the residents in the neighborhoods. Already, the media offered persistent criticism of this.

From the six designs submitted by young urban planners from the department, Bakker Schut selected the plan created by the 34-year-old urban planner Van der Sluijs. Van der Sluijs demonstrated the best understanding of how to adapt Scandinavian ideas to the situation in The Hague. The design stood out for its diverse range of building heights, variation in housing types, less rigid placement of buildings



The expansion plan from the booklet The Hague Fast Growing City *Ontwerp Structuurplan Agglomeratie 's-Gravenhage*.
Map by the Department of Reconstruction and Urban Development and Van der Sluijs from 1957.
Source: publication *Den Haag Snel Groeiende Stad* (*The Hague Fast Growing City*) from 1957 and collection HGA z.gr. 0568.

within the grid, and the inclusion of many unique architectural features that gave the plan a lively and romantic shape. Van der Sluijs purposefully incorporated these architectural features by following the natural ditch patterns in the landscape. This more flexible approach to design, which deviated from CIAM principles, resulted in a significant amount of pleasant and open space in each neighborhood. The plan included a total of 6,800 homes, consisting of affordable housing provided by housing associations, subsidized private houses, and houses in the private sector. It was anticipated that approximately 26,000 people would eventually reside in Mariahoeve. Although this number was considerably lower than the recommendations put forth by the Bos Committee and Van Gelder's Special Committee, the project maintained a focus on providing quality housing options for residents. Under the supervision of Feber until 1955, and later Bakker Schut until 1961, a team of Van der Sluijs as architect, the head of the Department of Public Housing Ottenhof, and architect and supervising engineer R.D. Bleeker (1920-1960) collaborated on the development of Mariahoeve.

One of the first principles in the program of requirements for Mariahoeve was that it was not a "final plan", as urban development plans have a natural tendency to change. With the new cityscape, the urban planners were also looking for a visual language that gave the neighborhood a distinctive character: "This study, carried out by the Department of Reconstruction and Urban Development of the municipality of The Hague, arose from the wish of this municipality to give each new neighborhood in The Hague a clearly expressive character of its own" (Ottenhof, 1953). The plan for Mariahoeve was adopted by the city council in the summer of 1956 and approved by the provincial executive in January 1957. Once it approved by the Crown in 1958, it became irrevocable.

The Hague's Character

As mentioned, if Dudok was the thesis and Het Plan 2000 was the antithesis, then Mariahoeve is the synthesis. Everything had changed radically since 1933, but the general debate remained focused on the question of the character of The Hague. The cityscape of The Hague, to which administrators and residents were so attached, was given shape again with Mariahoeve.

But there was more; after the endless conflicts and personal feuds, people wanted peace, trust, cooperation, and unity in the community of The Hague, which was focused on post-war reconstruction. The amiable Van der Sluijs was the right person in the right place. He had been working for the Department of Reconstruction and Urban Development since 1946, witnessing and enduring the quarrels and questionable advice of the Bos and Van Gelder committees while working on numerous expansion plans in Southwest. According to Bleeker and policy officer Ruud Ridderhof, who worked directly with Van der Sluijs, he was a pleasant person to work with: communicative and with a sense of nuance. There were never any problems in Mariahoeve, and cooperation was constructive (Interview with Rutger Bleeker, architect supervisor for Mariahoeve, by Niek van Vught, Marloes Groot and Leo Oorschot, February 16, 2011)

A Playful Urban Design with a Diverse Housing Program

Influences from Scandinavia included clear neighborhood boundaries, clear neighborhood centers, the intentional placement of residential areas, a mix of housing forms (in building typologies and housing categories) at the neighborhood level, and variations in building heights. Further characteristics inspired by Scandinavia are the free composition of building volumes in green areas and the high quality of the layout of spaces. High-rise buildings were designed around green areas, thereby emphasizing the connection between architecture and landscape. The design of Mariahoeve was particularly influenced by the Kortedala neighborhood in Gothenburg, designed by Sven Brolids and Jan Wallinders in 1951. The influence of the campus in Aarhus, which preceded Mariahoeve by a few years, is also visible. Both Kortedala and the Aarhus campus utilized large areas in coniferous forests, incorporating the existing hills into their designs. The buildings were positioned in accordance with the contour lines of the site, resulting in irregular positioning and curves in the building masses. The design was not based on a rigid grid, but rather on the natural topography of the land.

Mariahoeve was divided into clearly separated residential areas. Each residential area had a green central area, with three tall buildings of twelve floors, with sunny green areas in between. There were also a few local shops, schools or public buildings, and closed, linear, four-story urban blocks along the northwest and northeast edges of the residential areas. On the south side, there were single-family homes. This design was repeated five times, but with slight variations each time, as emphasized by Van der Sluijs, and unlike Van den Broek's design in Southwest). Due to poor drainage, a lot of open water needed to be present in the neighborhood. This was incorporated into the plan in a playful way, with bends and angles like the blocks.

The edges of the neighborhood consisted of linear urban blocks. In the original design, the long linear blocks along Bezuidenhoutseweg were executed with a slight curve by architect Zanstra and builder Meijer. Van der Sluijs was happy with this alteration. The star-shaped flats, inspired by those in Gröndal (Stockholm), which were initially planned to be built and imported directly from Scandinavia, were not constructed due to high costs. Instead, linear urban blocks were used.

Mariahoeve was a public housing experiment, inspired by public housing in Sweden. Feber, Bakker Schut, and Ottenhof believed that all income groups should be able to live in Mariahoeve, which is why they wanted to mix different social classes in one neighborhood. According to Van der Sluijs (1989), Bakker Schut was immensely annoyed by the large social and spatial difference in class in The Hague. The daughter of a craftsman could not marry the son of an uneducated person, a schoolmaster who became a headmaster had to move to a better neighborhood. At that time, Mariahoeve was the last major available building site in The Hague, and the municipality had been allocated a highly mixed building quota by the government. Therefore, affordable housing by housing associations and private sector housing were all given a place in Mariahoeve. Well-to-do people and workers met in the shopping center, at the schools, and at the sports fields. In 1951,

the mix at the neighborhood level was set at 24% affluent class, 40% middle class, and 36% working class. The low number of workers' houses in Mariahoeve was due to the fact The Hague Southwest consisted almost entirely of workers' houses. The well-to-do lived in the low-rise buildings, the middle class and the workers in the apartments. This was criticized; after all, some thought that the middle class and workers should also be able to live in low-rise houses (Gemeente Den Haag, 1953; Ottenhof, 1953; Van der Sluijs, 1989) (Interview with Rutger Bleeker, architect supervisor for Mariahoeve, by Niek van Vught, Marloes Groot and Leo Oorschot, February 16, 2011)

The Shopping Center in Mariahoeve

The shopping center in Mariahoeve was located on both sides of the central access road, Het Kleine Loo, just as in Morgenstond on Leyweg. As a result, the type of shops here was different than in shopping centers in the middle of a residential area, as had been customary up to now. The tram also ran to Mariahoeve, so the entire neighborhood was accessible by public transport.

Van der Sluijs described the private deals that aldermen of the KVP made with the entrepreneur Zwolsman (who supported the KVP financially) about the shopping center. "Yet another completely different "client" was R. Zwolsman. At a certain point, when municipalities themselves had to borrow money for housing on the market but could not do so at the interest rate allowed by the government, he had managed to help The Hague with a considerable amount of money. This was officially done at the permitted percentage, but the difference with the real percentage was capitalized in a lump sum from the loan to the lender. In exchange for this service, Zwolsman was given the right to build the neighborhood shopping center" (Van der Sluijs 1989: 98).

Reports from the USA highlighted the remarkable growth of the retail sector at this time, with the introduction of self-service shops, supermarkets, discounters, and large pedestrian-oriented shopping malls. To explore these developments, a group consisting of representatives from department store chains, banks, public officials, Zwolsman employees, the Rotterdam architect Groosman, and Van der Sluijs organized a visit to the USA that lasted several weeks. During the excursion, the group visited Dayton, Ohio, where they learned about the latest retail practices and explored new shopping malls. Inspired by this experience, Zwolsman suggested transforming the Mariahoeve shopping center into a more elaborate and prominent facility, positioning it as the central hub for the entire neighborhood.

A conflict between Zwolsman and the leader of the department store representatives, A. Dreesman (owner of the warehouses V&D), led to a completely different development. Zwolsman wanted to ask shops for rents based on turnover, following the American model. However, Dreesman was not willing to agree to this under any circumstance. As a result, the department stores moved across the municipal border to Leidschendam, where they were provided with land and space to construct the Leidschenhage shopping center. The center opened in 1973, just a short distance away from Mariahoeve. Zwolsman's claim on Mariahoeve stalled negotiations with the municipality regarding the shopping center, preventing other developers from proceeding with its construction. Consequently, shops began to thrive in various locations throughout Mariahoeve. These shops only disappeared when, after extensive negotiations, the shopping center was eventually built. Following the near collapse of the Zwolsman empire, construction company B. Meijer, in collaboration with architects Lucas and Niemeijer, constructed the current shopping center between 1968 and 1969 (Van der Sluijs, 1989).

Criticism of Mariahoeve

The reactions to Van der Sluijs' plan for Mariahoeve were varied. Of course, the Dutch polder landscape did not have the gentle undulations of the Ice Age landscape near Aarhus and Gothenburg. As a result, the curves and angular twists of the blocks appeared somewhat unnatural. The tight grid of the original allotment would have been more "natural".

The Provincial Advisory Committee for expansion plans was very positive. However, a number of architects in The Hague was shocked by Mariahoeve and wondered whether they should take action. At a meeting with his old teacher Dudok, he expressed his horror to Van der Sluijs about his plan: "How can anyone put such a thing on paper! And it's taken seriously too!" (Van der Sluijs, 1989: 95). Mayor Schokking also expressed surprise during a presentation at a meeting of the municipal executive, since more than 7% of the homes were single-family homes, in contradiction to the municipal guidelines. However, Van der Sluijs responded by stating that 35% of large families already lived in flats of seven or more stories (Van der Sluijs 1989: 95).

The residents of the nearby affluent neighborhood of Marlot were outraged by this new plan. During an information session, emotions ran high and the atmosphere was tense. The inhabitants were unhappy with the encroachment of the lower socio-economic classes into their area and believed Marlot's cherished seclusion would be disturbed. Sarcastically, Van der Sluijs pointed out that two of the most vocal protesters were directors of large insurance companies in The Hague that were eager to include the entire edge along Bezuidenhoutseweg in their investment portfolio, i.e., the curved linear urban blocks by Zanstra.

The established circle of urban planners was not happy with this new development either, according to Van der Sluijs. Their ideals were shown in the new concept for Pendrecht in Rotterdam South, a pure CIAM plan with neighborhood units laid out in the right way. There, set building patterns were repeated several times, offering a mix of single-family houses and apartments of three to four stories, as Van den Broek had done in Bouwlust and Vrederust in The Hague Southwest.

Another important principle of the neighborhood unit had also been violated in Mariahoeve. The access road from Mariahoeve crossed the neighborhood and divided the center in two. This access road should have been located on the outskirts of the neighborhood, according to the guidelines of the articulated city and according to the traffic-safe neighborhood unit as Perry saw it. The much-praised tree structure in the road plan was missing (Alexander, 1965).

6.6
The Invisible Hand of the Aldermen

The Roof Tile Affair and the Conflict about The Hague's Architectural Politics

The relationships between the municipal executive, the city council, the aesthetics committee, supervisors, and citizens became crystal clear during the municipal council meeting of December 12, 1960, as documented by The Hague Municipal Archives. A major conflict took, as described by Bleeker, highlighting the ridiculous situation and shedding light on the relationships during the post-war reconstruction (Interview with Rutger Bleeker, architect supervisor for Mariahoeve, by Niek van Vught, Marloes Groot and Leo Oorschot, February 16, 2011) (HGA BNR 0828-01, inv.nr.: 10030).

The "roof tile affair" in Mariahoeve took place between 1959 and 1960. It was caused by a plan of the energetic inventor and occasional architect Van der Toorn, whose views were directly opposed to those of supervisor Bleeker and the architectural establishment in The Hague. This conflict started over the use of roof tiles for a few rows of houses in Mariahoeve and ended in the rejection of the crystal-clear architectural policy of Catholic aldermen trained in Delft.

The conflict started when, Van der Toorn aimed to construct highly industrialized houses in Mariahoeve and disrupt the traditional construction industry. However, despite employing advanced production techniques, the houses in the picture appeared to be traditional low-rise buildings made of red bricks with a tiled gable roof. This disappointed the post-war architects. Although a gable roof was included in the urban plan, architects Bleeker and Van der Sluijs were not satisfied with it. The supervisor was also displeased. Nonetheless, when the PTT inventor proposed using concrete tiles instead of ceramic ones, the supervisor firmly rejected the idea (Gemeente Den Haag, 1960).

The expansion plan for Mariahoeve described a specific section of the development as two-story family houses with either a gable or top floor. The gable roof or mono-pitch roof was required to have an incline angle ranging from 30 to 40 degrees. Similar plans had been made before, but the municipality executive deviated from the regulations and allowed for flat or mono-pithc roofs instead. They argued that this option was more financially and technically feasible than a house with a gable roof.

Supervisor Bleeker also believed that this was appropriate in terms of architectural quality, since it created cohesion with other buildings. After all, Article 94 of the Building and Housing Ordinance (known as the Aesthetic Article) stated that the building plan would be evaluated in relation to the surrounding buildings and the built environment. Additionally, according to Article 3 of the Quality Regulations, the supervisor had to ensure that all objects fit into the cityscape and aligned with the intentions of the urban development plan. Supervisor Bleeker's opinion on the flat roof was shared by urban planner Van der Sluijs and the director of the Department of Municipal Housing, Van der Vlist. Only flat roofs or roofs with a very slight incline were considered, while tiled gable roofs were deemed too expensive, according to Bleeker's letter to Van der Toorn of February 12, 1959.

According to Van der Toorn, a flat roof was not cheaper at all, and the three layers of bitumen paper presented a fire hazard and did not last as long as tiled roofs. A house with a gable roof, on the other hand, offered more space and was therefore relatively cheaper per square meters than a house with a flat roof—unless the supervisor made that impossible by requiring the roof to be lowered to the point where the attic space became unusable. Van der Toorn also cited the criticism in the media against the uniformity of buildings in The Hague: "There are already so many complaints about the uniformity of the new city neighborhoods. We are very surprised that the supervisor wants to be the promoter of such uniformity," according to Van der Toorn in a letter to the Aesthetic Council on February 27, 1959.

In the end, the municipal executive ruled in favor of Van der Toorn. Contrary to the wishes of the Aesthetic Committee and the supervisor Bleeker, concrete tiles would also be used instead of ceramic tiles. Supervisor Bleeker, who was after all only an adviser to the municipal executive, then resigned from his position. A few months later, however, he was reappointed.

The Hague Architectural Politics

In 1960, this controversy was a compelling argument for several council members to definitively end the system of the Aesthetics Committee, which was managed by the Aesthetic Council (De Raad van de Welstand), and supervisors. The Aesthetic Council assessed the spatial and aesthetic aspects of buildings and granted approval (municipality council discussion of December 12, 1960). It had the power to enact rulings in the event of a conflict between supervisors and the builders and architects.

The number of members varied, but usually fifteen members sat on this committee: the eight supervisors, three members of the Aesthetics Committee, and one representative of the business community. There was an independent chairman with an advisory role; in 1959 this was J.H. Hehewerth, and there were two members who were officials of the municipality with advisory roles. In the 1970s, the media portrayed the council as a secret service that lacked relevant powers and was mainly deployed when decisions had already been made, such as on projects like The Hague police station, The Hague Central Station, Westeinde Hospital, and apartment blocks in Kortenbos. According to alderman Van Lissa Nessel, a Delft engineer like Feber, it was difficult to find architects who wanted to sit on the Aesthetics Committee. Therefore, it was necessary to include the supervisors. In the event of a dispute between the architect and supervisor, the supervisor was lowed to speak, but not to participate in the deliberations.

The role of the supervisor, who were architects appointed by the municipality, was to maintain aesthetic control of the projects and ensure the quality of the building plans within the context of urban and

public housing. Supervisors each worked on a specific neighborhood. Romke de Vries oversaw Waldeck from 1959 to 1970, Ottenhof worked on Meer en Bos, Luyt was responsible for Duttendel, and Luthmann oversaw the development of the City Hall/Police Station at Alexanderveld from 1953 to 1957 (Valentijn et al., 2002).

This system, which was controlled by architects from The Hague, was a stronghold that councilors and the business community could not control. Instead of Dudok, an invisible, elusive force made up of committees and supervisors was in control, tightly directing the cityscape under the close supervision of the mayor and the aldermen Feber and his successor engineer R.C.A.F.J. van Lissa Nessel of the Catholic National Party (KNP). However, this time the disagreement did not take place in public but rather in private, with direct conversations taking place between the coordinating architects and the aldermen, who once again had commissions to grant.

With the roof tile affair, it became clear what was really going on in the assessment of building plans and where the power lay. Council members questioned how a "judicial council of architects", i.e., the Aesthetic Committee, could have members who were also part of the executive bodies, such as supervisors and members of the Aesthetic Council. This, according to council members, denied citizens and businesses legal protection. Alderman for Urban Development and Housing Van Lissa Nessel argued that while there may be objections to the aesthetics committee or the Aesthetic Committee, without them the city could be vulnerable to all sorts of strange ideas without any means to address them, which could potentially harm the city's reputation. Inspired by the business community, several council members saw this affair as an opportunity to end the centralist cultural policy in The Hague. For ten years, a closed stronghold of architects and civil servants had dominated The Hague's aesthetics, giving the new neighborhoods a strongly Scandinavian appearance, with a policy only vaguely formulated in the Regeling van het Welstandstoezicht in de gemeente 's-Gravenhage (Regulation of Aesthetics Supervision in the municipality of The Hague; regulation 1953/16).

It is striking that a small number of people had such great influence on the cityscape: the aldermen Feber and Van Lissa Nessel, both Catholics; the chief government architect Friedhoff from the Delft School; de Roosenburg group; project developer, contractor, and financier Zwolsman, a Catholic since 1946 and sponsor of the KVP, with ex-Prime Minister Beel (KVP) as commissioner in his construction company, and F. Bakker Schut as director.

Architects who worked as (semi) civil servants, such as Friedhoff (chief government architect), Ottenhof (head of Department of Housing), Bleeker (supervisor), C. Pet (architect for the municipality), and Luthmann, built an endless number of buildings in The Hague, while the other half of the architects struggled to make ends meet. Ottenhof alone constructed several buildings, such as Beresteinlaan 267-467 (1964) and 469-557 (1960-62), the Chinese Wall (1960-63), Hengelolaan 1172-1266 (1960-62) with Jan Wils from 1960-63, housing complexes Meppelweg 1180-1484, Beresteinlaan 1-35, Hoogveen 1-387 (1957-58), and Leyweg, Burgemeester Jansenstraat 1-36 (1956), Loevesteinlaan 361-467, Melis Stokelaan, and Denekampstraat 5-103 (1952-53), among others. Bleeker commented in an interview: "There was much more government influence on the buildings back then than there is now" (Interview with Rutger Bleeker, architect supervisor for Mariahoeve, by Niek van Vught, Marloes Groot and Leo Oorschot, February 16, 2011).

No vision document or architectural quality plan was created in advance. The appearance of buildings resulted from dialogues between the architects and the supervisor. Architects were given the freedom to come up with proposals, which were then discussed with Bleeker and Van der Sluijs. For example, Van der Sluijs and Ottenhof, along with Bleeker as supervisor, proposed an urban development plan for Mariahoeve, which included a comprehensive public housing program. These discussions occurred both individually and in a broader context. Van der Sluijs focused solely on urban planning and was not concerned with materials and houses. Bleeker, on the other hand, was responsible for materials, details, and facades, while Ottenhof handled the floor plans. Bleeker was not involved in urban planning and housing. The architects' relative freedom eventually led to heterogeneity in the appearance of Mariahoeve.

In an interview in February 16, 2011, Bleeker commented on this by stating: "The cohesion we now see in Mariahoeve has more to do with our current sense of unity rather than an actual homogeneity. Mariahoeve desired to be modern, but this ambition was hindered by the municipality, who insisted on traditional materials. The municipality influenced the decision-making process by providing advice, setting conditions, and ultimately making the final call. Alderman Feber and the supervisor [Bleeker] were adamant about using brick in modern architecture."

6.7
Conclusion

The cityscape of international significance and allure aimed to adhere to the intrinsic character of The Hague, especially as it had been in the pre-war period. However, gradually these ideals fell into oblivion and the post-war reconstruction ideals degenerated into a well-oiled construction machine. Especially in Southwest, all ideals seemed to have been forgotten. Mariahoeve was an attempt to restore the cityscape and apply the neighborhood unit in a purer way. Together with the Aesthetic Council, aldermen controlled the image that people wanted to see in the new neighborhoods.

In 1957, with a conference and publication Den Haag, Snel Groeiende Stad (The Hague, a Rapidly Growing City) marked a turning point in the post-war reconstruction of The Hague. After a period of indecision among the Department of Reconstruction and Urban Development and the municipality, between 1945 and 1950, and the noisy discussions between Dudok and the architects from The Hague, the period 1950-60 was a tightly directed construction process with a clear visual policy, although the latter was deliberately kept out of the media and excluded from official reports.

On January 1, 1955, Van der Sluijs was appointed Director of Urban Development; in 1956 he became Deputy Chief Director of the Department of Reconstruction and Urban Development under Bakker Schut. Feber's was succeeded as alderman in 1955 by Van Lissa Nessel. However, this appointment did not lead to any significant improvements. This time, a contractor friend named Lonnée was given preferential treatment and allowed to build the entire development of Kijkduin. Van der Sluijs (1989: 128) states that there were close ties of friendship between the engineers from the Dutch East Indies, such as Feber, Van Lissa Nessel, and Lonnée. As a result, a conflict arose between the officials and the alderman, which led to Van Lissa Nessel not returning to the municipal executive and the council.

After the departure of F. Bakker Schut in 1961, construction production in The Hague immediately fell sharply. All empty locations in the municipality had been built up, and the attempts to renovate the existing city, such as in Scheveningen, seemed to have yielded insufficient profits for construction companies. As a result, the workers' and middle-class areas in the city deteriorated even further.

Between 1962 and 1970, new aldermen took office who did not come from the construction industry. They were, first, the lawyer and former goalkeeper at ADO The Hague football club Jeroen Dankelman, followed by teacher Gerard Wolter Hylkema. They had different perspectives on the city than Feber or Van Lissa Nessel. Van der Sluijs succeeded Bakker Schut and served as Director of the Department of Urban Development from 1962 to 1983 (Van der Sluijs, 1989; Provoost, 1991). Van der Sluijs was close friends with architect and urban planner Van der Broek, and together they worked on the development of the last neighborhoods in The Hague Southwest and the boulevard in Scheveningen. The great days of reconstruction were over. The focus was once again on the old city and its rigorous demolition for renewal.

's-gravenhage

ten grave dragen ?

gaan we door met

7
CITYSCAPE OF A LIVABLE CITY
1970–1979

“First of all, the question of whether the introduction of a building and residential building that contrasts strongly with the environment fitted in with the new policy, which after all wanted to maintain what could be maintained”
alderman W.H.A Nuij, 1973: 13

“The objectives memorandum contained two main points, namely that the new residential buildings had to be affordable for the majority of the residents of the Schilderswijk and had to be in line with the existing environment”
alderman W.H.A Nuij, 1973: 20

Left, the cover page of a publication from 1974 with a critical analysis of the quality of life in The Hague by The Hague architects’ working group Dooievaar.
Source: private archive Hans van Beek.

7.1
Introduction

On September 17, 1974, alderman W.H.A. Nuij of urban development anchored the first pile at no less than four iconic urban ensembles from this time in The Hague. The alderman even proclaimed this festive day as the "Haagse Bouwdag" (The Hague Day of Building). However, "the festivities were, as would soon become apparent, in inverse proportion in quality to the urban and architectural results", as architect Reiner Bullhorst argued (Van Boven et al., 1997: 28).

For the first project, along the boulevard next to the Kurhaus, one of the largest fin-de-siècle monuments was demolished, the Grand Hotel designed by Van Liefland. A badly designed public housing project replaced it, with which the German architects Storch and Ehlers cut off the boulevard, beach, and sea from the city for good. The real estate developer also took care of the Kurhaus. The second urban ensemble were two government departments on the Turfmarkt. The third project was Babylon, a shopping and office center next to the Central Station by the architects Lucas and Ellerman, which the alderman praised for the interior of bronze, mirrored glass, wood, and brown tiles by an interior architect Janos Bartok from Paris. The fourth project was one of the first super urban blocks in The Hague, De 444 in Schilderswijk, by the architects Van Randen and Van Schagen, which started the initiative "Bouwen voor Buurt". This building-for-the-neighborhood may be translated as "building only for the inhabitants of the neighborhood".

The municipality faced a difficult choice. In 1960, The Hague had 606,110 inhabitants; by 1970, the population had decreased to 555,613, and the exodus accelerated further, with only 456,376 residents remaining by 1980, a 25% decline in population. Many affluent residents were opting to leave the city. Trust in politics among the people of The Hague hit an all-time low. The old ruling parties, in collaboration with housing associations, construction companies, and entrepreneurs like Zwolsman, were perceived by citizens as having severely damaged the city. For many residents, the demolition of the Kurhaus served as evidence that the municipality executive was squandering the city to benefit profit-driven developers.

Notably, the founding of significant movements like Vrienden van Den Haag (Friends of The Hague) in 1973, in which prominent individuals united to protest against demolition, highlighted the growing opposition to the city's urban renewal direction. Protests of architects against the demolition projects and the decreasing quality of life was voiced in action groups like Dooievaar. Local newspapers, such as *Haagsche Courant*, played a pivotal role, with journalists depicting and narrating the city's decline through images and words. The debate in Den Haag op z'n Smalst (The Hague at its narrowest), and especially the photos in the publication of the same name, show a sad picture of the demolished city (Postmaa & Versteeg, 1979).

The cityscape of the livable city found its shape, color, and place with the construction of large urban ensembles during the first wave of urban renewal. In this period of urban renewal, residents were involved in the restructuring of their residential areas and the construction of mainly new homes. Liveability mainly referred to the fact that citizens in the city were involved in the design of their own living environment.

Residential complexes with significant building flows (bouwstromen) were incorporated into the city's existing urban building mass morphology but, at the same time, the original structure of the city was erased. Several urban ensembles were built, such as De 444 and Gortmolen in Schilderswijk, Schippersbuurt in Laakhavens, Het Vierkant and ZHB-Hoven in Kortenbos, as well as in various places where monumental military buildings were once located and had been demolished: De 222 and Couperusduin. These urban ensembles aimed to improve the quality of life for residents through building-for-the-neighborhood initiatives with affordable apartments, incorporating cars and parking. This created the first super urban blocks built in this period of urban renewal.

An essential element in making The Hague was the contrast in visions. On the one hand, there was CIAM's city divided in function-based zones: homes, work, and recreation connected by thoroughfares and ring roads. People lived in the new neighborhoods such as Southwest, Mariahoeve, and Loosduinen, while work and recreation took place in the old city center where historical buildings and morphological structures were in the process of being replaced. The Department of Urban Development under director Van der Sluijs continued to work on a new city center for The Hague (De Nieuwe Hout, Bezuidenhout C) and suburbanization (cul-de-sac neighborhoods around Loosduinen) with the seven-part *Gemeentelijke Ontwerp Structuurplan* (*Municipal Design Structural Plan*) of 1970, which was never accepted by the council.

On the other hand, the idea of building-for-the-neighborhood appeared, with super urban blocks which aimed at urban renewal. In this vision, the old city center and nineteenth century neighborhoods were demolished in favor of participating residents. Alderman Nuij worked aimed with his renovation policy to restore the morphology of the city and build for the neighborhood, thus creating the Livable City.

This chapter describes this contradictory situation and the resulting conflicts in The Hague about the involvement of citizens in urban renewal, as well as the arrival of super urban blocks during urban renewal. The first paragraphs outline the backgrounds and motives of alderman Nuij and others, followed by an discussion about the forming of the city or transformation of the old center. Subsequently, a brief discussion is given regarding the growing focus on historical buildings and a summary is provided of an emotional debate, The Hague at its narrowest, about the past and future of the cityscape of The Hague.

7.2
Confusion Everywhere

The Concept of the Super Urban Block

The term “super urban block” or “super block” refers to large-scale residential complexes that were constructed in a single building campaign and integrated into the urban fabric. Such complexes typically arose following the demolition of existing structures, such as houses, hotels, offices, or military barracks. This form of large-scale intervention falls under the broader category of urban renewal, which, from the 1960s onward, left a profound mark on spatial development in many European cities. The Hague, however, lagged somewhat behind other cities in this regard.

Super blocks can assume a variety of morphological configurations. They may take the form of a traditional closed perimeter block or consist of more open patterns, such as E- or S-shaped structures, or variants recognizable primarily from an aerial perspective. A defining characteristic is that the new construction generally aligns with existing building lines, thereby embedding itself within the urban structure. Where such building lines are absent - as in the case of Couperusduin - the super block nevertheless conforms to the broader urban morphology. In other cases, the super block functions as a completion of an existing block, taking the form of a single rectangular residential building.

The building mass itself exhibits a degree of variability. It may be realized as a compact and homogeneous whole, or as a more articulated composition that responds to the scale and rhythm of its surroundings. In some instances, specific massing or façade patterns are repeated, reinforcing the unity of the complex. Parking facilities for residents are usually located underground or in interior courtyards, while commercial or community services are only rarely incorporated into the structure.

Three principal motives underpinned the emergence of this form of urban intervention:

- Economic efficiency: large-scale building campaigns reduced construction costs, making it possible to combine social housing with underground parking facilities.
- Integration with urban infrastructure: new construction could be directly connected to existing infrastructure such as streets, sewers, and utility networks, resulting in cost savings and practical advantages.
- Revaluation of urban morphology: beginning in the 1970s, a renewed appreciation emerged for the traditional spatial structure of the European city, in which building lines, block shapes, and street hierarchies once again became guiding principles for new development.

The super block is distinct from both the traditional perimeter urban block and the modernist gallery flat. The nineteenth century perimeter block was characterized by its relatively small scale, a high degree of mixed use (with shops and workshops at ground level), and strong integration into the life of the street. By contrast, the super block generally occupies a far larger area, with a primary emphasis on housing and parking facilities, and only limited support for amenities that sustain everyday urban life.

The gallery flat, which was widely applied in the Netherlands after 1965, also differs fundamentally from the superblock. While the gallery flat is a freestanding object within an open layout scheme—disconnected from existing building lines and typically embedded in green spaces—the super block seeks deliberate alignment with the established urban morphology. It may therefore be regarded as a hybrid typology: modern in its scale and construction methods, yet traditional in its anchoring within the urban fabric.

Super blocks are most often located within nineteenth century residential environments and, in some cases, in pre-war peripheral districts, such as Couperusduin and several complexes in Scheveningen. Over time, variants of the super block also appeared in green urban settings such as Bezuidenhout-West and Houtwijk. Even here, however, differences emerge: Bezuidenhout-West was constructed on the remnants of the nineteenth century city, while Houtwijk represented a more experimental approach. By contrast, most green urban residential districts were developed on former horticultural lands around Loosduinen, organized according to a different traffic system and morphology, as exemplified by Nieuw Waldeck.

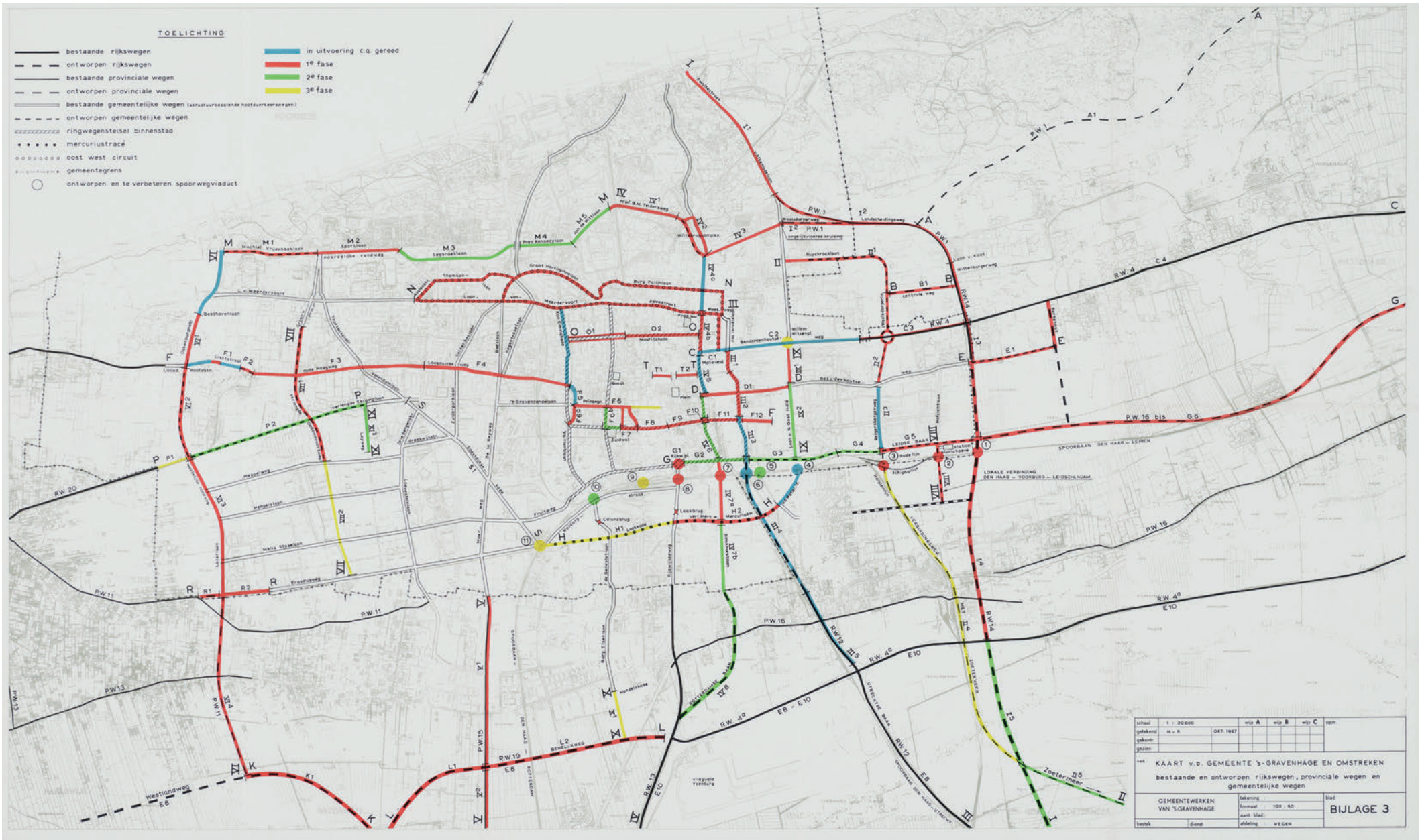
The super block thus represents a distinct phase in the history of urban development, in which economies of scale made possible by industrialized housing construction were combined with a renewed appreciation for the historic urban form. In comparison with both the traditional perimeter block and the modernist gallery flat, the super block occupies an intermediate position: on the one hand, harnessing the scale and efficiency of post-war building programs, while on the other maintaining continuity with the established urban pattern.

The Turn of 1970-1974

Major Changes in Local Politics

The dichotomy in the city was partly due to the delay in decision-making by administrators and the significant influence of project developers such as Zwolsman in municipal government. There was also a generational conflict that unfolded during these years.

Willem Nuij, who had previously worked as a director at the Dutch Post, was labour politician serving as alderman for urban development from 1970 to 1976. He was described as an authoritarian and powerful figure, earning the nickname “the little general”. Nuij held this position despite his lack of expertise in urban planning and architecture, allowing various projects to proceed, perhaps influenced by the circumstances. The new generation of social democrats viewed Nuij as



The map of the municipality of The Hague and surroundings with existing (black) and new designed national, provincial, and municipal highways and roads (all in color). Published in 1967 by Gemeentewerken 's Gravenhage (municipality works The Hague). Collection personal archive Hans van Beek

part of the "old guard", while veteran party members, urban planners, and architects saw him as someone who did not grasp the principles of the CIAM that had been vigorously pursued in the sixties under former aldermen like G.W. Hylkema (PvdA, Labour Party: 1962-70) and Jeroen Dankelman (VVD, Liberal Party: 1962-70).

The same applied to Toon van Hagen (Labour) who was alderman for Housing and Neighborhood Contacts in 1974-78. During the period 1970-74, Van Hagen held the position of chairman of the local labour party, retaining significant influence on public housing policy, which focused on demolition and new construction. He played a crucial role at the union for the building sector, served as chairman of the Algemene Woningbouwvereniging (General Housing Association), and was a board member of the Social Fund for the Construction Industry. There were claims that Van Hagen had ties with building contractors. Residents and politicians referred to him as "Teun the Destroyer", reflecting his reputation for aggressive urban renewal initiatives.

While Nuij aligned his approach with CIAM ideas with demolishing the old neighborhoods and building new flats for new inhabitants, he also promoted building-for-the-neighborhood and the restoration of the city's morphology. Nuij demonstrated concern for marginalized residents, including people who were too poor to move and new immigrants, who lived in partially boarded-up and demolished nineteenth century neighborhoods.

After the criticism in newspapers and of churches of the aggressive urban renewal with demolishing old neighborhoods under Van Hagen, Nuij was able to reassure the Council of The Hague. "A note that will receive no attention is the remediation note from 1956 discovered by Mr. IJmkers. It will reassure him that only a few officials remembered that such a thing existed. Eventually, a copy was discovered in the archive. Quietly left there. Apparently, the note left no trace" (Council proceedings of November 14, 1973 on the municipal budget of 1974: 957).

This is quite remarkable considering the extensive urban renewal efforts that had already significantly impacted the old city, leading to the boarding up or demolition of many buildings and the creation of large sandpits in the center. Despite the ceremonial event where Nuij symbolically struck the first pile for Kortenbos, he also played a pivotal role in shifting the mindset about the city and demonstrating care for the quality of life.

The unstable situation in the city was partially a result of significant societal changes that were reflected in both national and local elections. The local elections of 1970 did not immediately mark the end of decades of collegiate governance and coalitions among the traditional ruling parties. After this election, the municipal executive consisted of three aldermen from the Labour (PvdA), two from the Liberal VVD, and two from Christian Democrats (CDA). New parties, such as D66 and Kabouters (the Gnomes), also entered the council. This meant that there were many inexperienced councilors, against a backdrop of a large civil service that continued its established path, with an alderman backing their actions even though lacking full understanding of the details.

In 1970, the political landscape in The Hague underwent significant changes, influenced by national developments like the general depillarization of society, the radicalization of youth in the sixties, resistance to the public housing policies of the cabinet led by Piet de Jong (which, under Minister of Housing and Spatial Planning Wim Schut, would considerably raise rent costs), and the clear stance taken by the PvdA Nieuw Links (Labour, New Left faction). Interestingly, De Jong himself purchased one of the most beautiful apartments in the newly built housing complex Couperusduin.

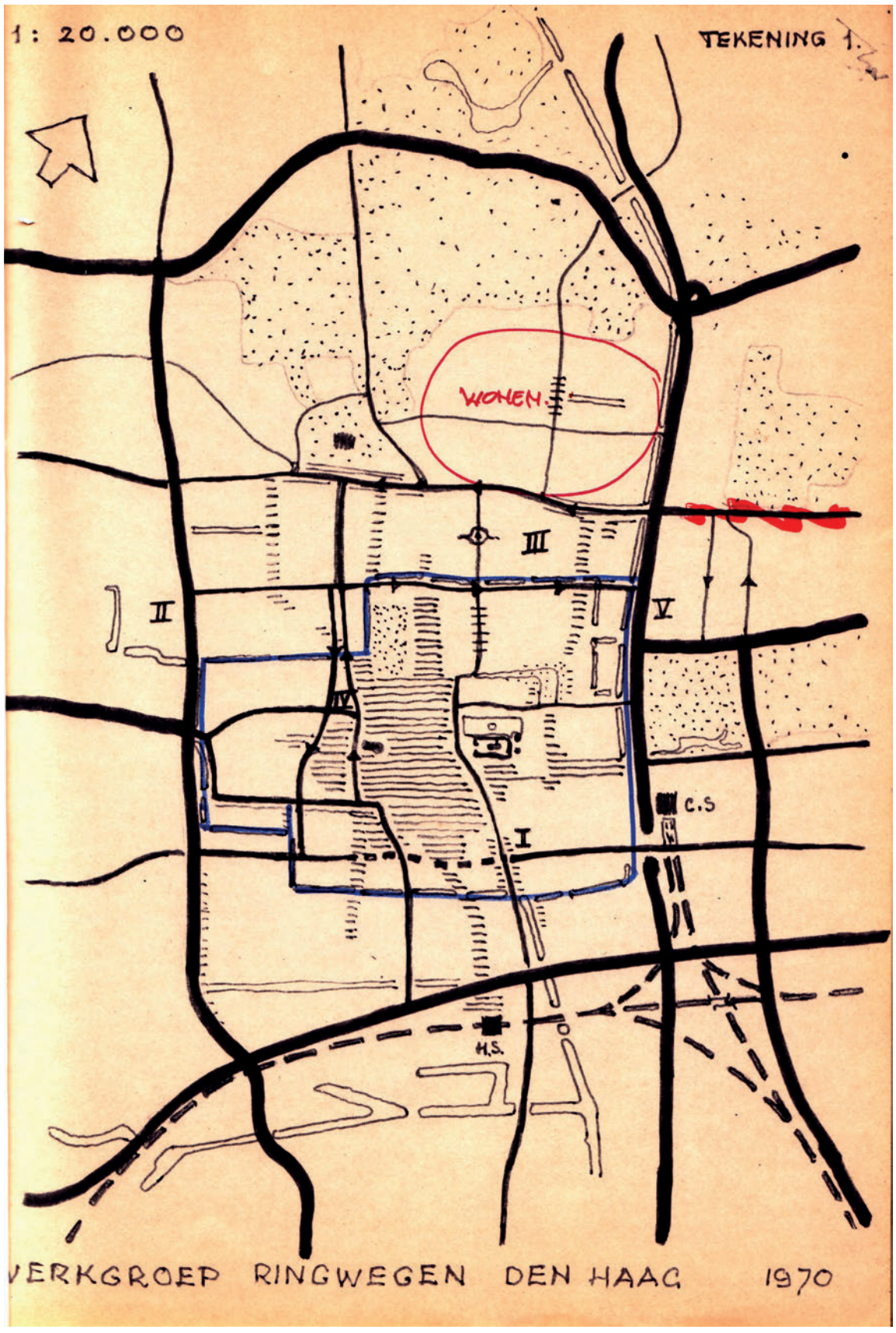
The societal dichotomies were also evident within the local governing parties, where many young local politicians of the "generation '74" expressed discontent with the old guard and its regent-like governance style. Conflicts emerged within The Hague parties between the older and younger generations, particularly after a decline in 1974 of these governing parties and when the old guard sought to maintain the status quo. A significant source of contention for many citizens during this period was the unbridled demolition fervor displayed by both project developers and the municipality.

The Planned Demolition of the Kurhaus as a Catalyst for Protest

In 1973, Zwolsman's bulldozers arrived at the Kurhaus, the final bastion of the fin de siècle era. This sparked a fierce conflict with residents and marked a pivotal moment in the city's collective mindset. Alongside hippies and rebellious architects, the entire populace became embroiled in the demolition issue, expressing outrage (Rosenberg et al., 1988: 314-321). The city was undergoing a significant shift in perception. Prior to this, in 1968, the main building in the Zoo designed by Wesstra had been demolished, as well as the glass palace by Van Liefland in 1969—buildings that many citizens fondly remembered. Still, these demolitions had raised no protest. In 1964, the monumental building of Education, Arts, and Sciences by Gugel had burned down. Notably, this was not the first time a building owned by Zwolsman had burned down after being denied a demolition permit; earlier multiple fin de siècle buildings in Scheveningen owned by Zwolsman had been destroyed in fires. The Kurhaus stood as the last grand fin de siècle monument in The Hague and its planned demolition symbolized the end of an era. The entire population now turned against the politics that allowed figures like Zwolsman to operate unchecked and exert influence over the city.

The National Plots (Rijkskavels) and the Inner Ring Road and the Role of the Central Government

An uncertain factor for the city of The Hague was the unpredictability the national government and its consequences for the city. In 1965, the government and the municipality of The Hague entered an agreement through which the state acquired over 100,000 m2 of land divided in six lots for approximately 140 million euros (Zwinkels, 1982). Initially, only one lot, Lot 2, was available for immediate use. The remaining lots consisted of existing city areas with predominantly nineteenth century, sometimes seventeenth century, buildings.



Voorlopig Rapport Ringwegen BNA (Preliminary Report on Ring Roads BNA) from 1970 by the Werkgroep Ringwegen (Working Group Ring Roads) of the BNA from 1970.
Collection personal archive Hans van Beek.

The municipality prepared the six plots for development and arranged the necessary infrastructure, and the government committed to purchasing these plots. The national plots were strategically located within the city, near access roads, the inner ring road, and the Central Station. During the development of these plots, extensive demolition occurred in Bezuidenhout-West and Rivierenbuurt. In 1975, the Palace of Justice, a modern building designed by deputy government architect F. Sevenhuijsen was constructed on Lot 2.

Since the adoption of the Bezuidenhout-C Reconstruction Plan (behind the Central Station) from 1951 the council faced a steady stream of objections from residents, shopkeepers, organizations, and companies (Van der Sluijs, 1989) regarding the ambitious projects of the municipality. One noteworthy group was the Coöperatieve vereniging tot behartiging der belangen (Cooperative Association for the Promotion of Interests), known as the ABC (in Dutch: Afbraak Bezuidenhout-C), actively involved in opposing the demolitions in Bezuidenhout-C. The ABC criticized the municipality and proposed numerous amendments. The core criticism revolved around the municipality's plan to execute a drastic urban transformation without involving proper procedures. Originally, the reconstruction plan was designed to swiftly address war-related damage. However, only ten percent of the area had suffered damage, which had been already repaired by 1962. Despite this, the city continued to adhere to the ideals of urban development outlined in the reconstruction plan, resulting in expropriation and demolitions. The objections raised against the plan were not given due consideration by the city council.

The Ministry of Transport, Public Works, and Water Management aimed to build Utrechtsebaan, which was finalized in 1976. The municipality of The Hague imposed a condition that the intersection with Prins Bernhardviaduct be included in the project. The viaduct was deemed an essential component of the urban planning strategy and, according to the authorities, was indispensable for significant improvements in urban planning, particularly concerning traffic. The anticipated benefits of the viaduct were seen as non-measurable in economic terms. Originally, the crossroad was planned to be at ground level to accommodate sunken tracks, but the Dutch Railways (NS) decided against this approach. The municipal council and executive saw no compelling reason to challenge the proposed policies.

Despite objections raised, which were largely dismissed as unfounded, barring minor details, the council unanimously endorsed the construction of the viaduct as a vital segment of the inner ring road. The urban landscape had already undergone significant demolition, and reconstruction was seen as commencing with the viaduct's construction. Construction on the viaduct began in 1974 and it was fully completed in 1979. However, public trust in local politics had reached an all-time low during this period.

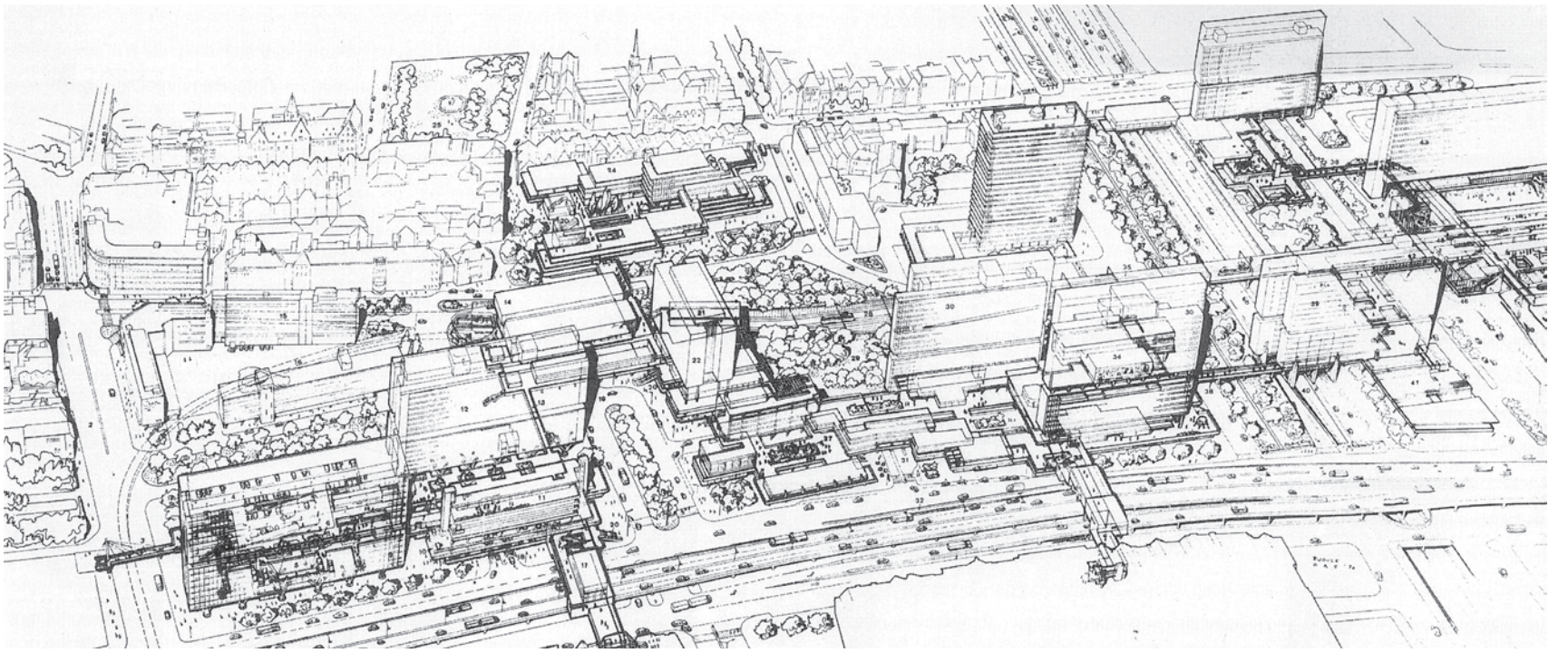
The Decentralization Policy of the Government and the Further Decline of the City

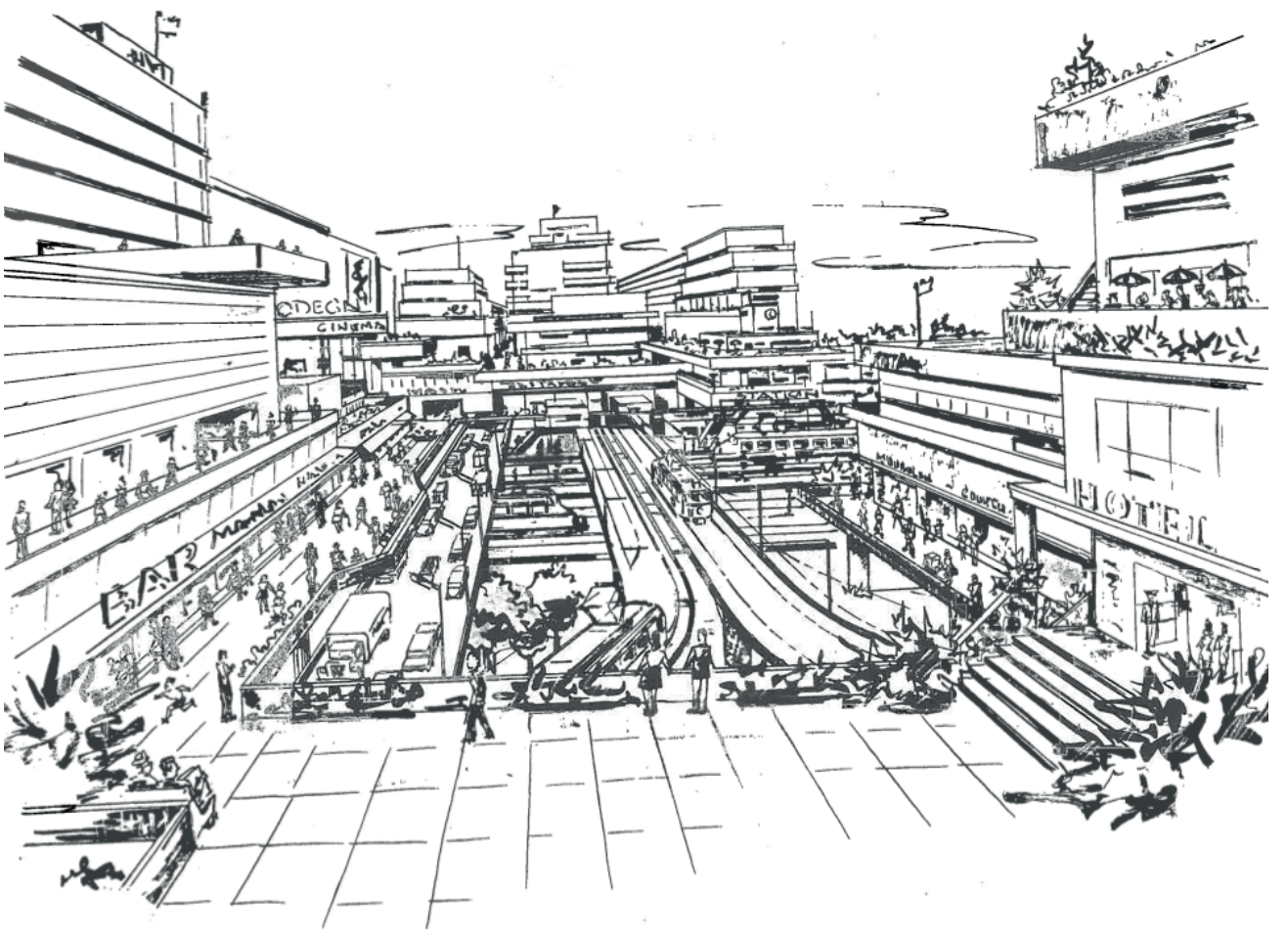
The national government, during the confessional-liberal cabinet led by Barend Biesheuvel (1971-72), played a significant role in the exodus of residents from The Hague and the city's rapid decline. This was particularly evident in the disastrous *Spreidingsbeleid van Rijksdiensten* (*decentralization policy of government agencies*) initiated in 1972, in which government agencies were moved to other parts of the Netherlands. However, this policy had already been set in motion by earlier cabinets and was implemented from the 1960s through the 1980s. Its purpose was to reduce the size of the expanding government sector in The Hague, thereby creating more space in the local housing market, while simultaneously stimulating employment in other regions of the Netherlands. In the postwar period, The Hague had become a civil servant city with a highly one-sided economic structure. Many well paid civil servants left the city, while mostly elderly inhabitants remained.

As part of the reconstruction plan agreed upon in 1965, plots were allocated in The Hague for constructing government offices. Following the demolition of sections of Bezuidenhout, Spuikwartier, and Rivierenbuurt, minister Bé Udink (Christian Party, CHU) for Infrastructure and Water Management implemented the distribution policy.

The consequence of this policy was that The Hague was left with vast expanses of cleared land surrounded by derelict buildings, resulting in severe financial implications for the city. The displacement of government offices affected approximately 16,000 civil servants, equivalent to 50,000 to 60,000 inhabitants, or about 10% of the households in The Hague, leading to a significant population decrease. In 1960, The Hague had 605,000 residents, but by 1972, the population had decreased to 510,000 (Gemeente Den Haag, 1973). After the challenges described in previous chapters and the first urban renewal initiatives based on demolition, The Hague was now further impacted by the state's actions.

At a congress on June 7, 1973, Mrs. Chr. de Ruijter-de Zeeuw (Labour Party), a veteran member of the provincial executive for 24 years, shared a thought-provoking statement. She emphasized that only those with financial resources and mobility could escape the city, leaving behind the elderly, individuals below the poverty threshold, the disabled, and those facing challenges in relocation. De Ruijter-De Zeeuw questioned the appeal of suburban living, specifying that proximity to a vibrant city has a particular allure. She argued that addressing these societal issues necessitated the creation of regional strategies (De Ruijter-De Zeeuw, 1973). De Ruijter-De Zeeuw highlighted the ongoing developments in spatial planning, expressing concern that municipalities, provinces, and the national government lacked a cohesive national spatial policy, leading to fragmented and haphazard approaches. In her view, the traditional division among municipal, provincial, and central government roles caused a lack of coherence, resulting in internal erosion impacting the overall quality of the environment. The oil crisis further exacerbated existing challenges, stalling new construction projects, and compelling individuals to focus on renovating and refurbishing older buildings instead. De Ruijter-De Zeeuw cautioned against excessive focus on theoretical discussions and deliberations, emphasizing the importance of robust spatial policies and meaningful local governance practice to address these urban issues effectively.





City formation with
De Nieuwe Haagse Hout
between the Kalvermarkt and the
Schedeldoekshaven from 1970 by
the Hague architects J.A. Lucas
and H.E. Nieuwmeijer.
Copyright by ELF architecten.

Den Uyl's Cabinet and Cultural Change at the Government Buildings Agency

In 1972 and 1973, housing production in The Hague reached an unprecedented low. The impact of the oil crisis likely contributed to this decline, as higher energy prices resulted in increased construction costs. In 1972, only around fifty houses were completed, and in 1973, just over a hundred houses were finished. Alderman Nuij took measures to alleviate some of the effects of this downturn by establishing municipal housing grants. Meanwhile, the national government provided subsidies for expropriation and demolition to facilitate urban development projects, highlighting the ongoing fragmentation and unclear situation, with its serious repercussions for the city.

Nuij presented his argument to the council on November 14, 1973, stating: "One of the urgent questions we faced when the council and the executive board took office in their current composition three years ago was: to what extent should demolishing be carried out? In 1970, we purposefully made a U-turn: we moved away from clear-cutting. This decision was strongly justified: due to the housing shortage necessitating a different approach, to avoid unnecessary disruptions to the familiar environment, and to avoid creating holes without a clear strategy for filling them." Nuij further explained that to implement this change in politics, immediate action was required. Houses designated for demolition needed to be restored so they could be used. Likewise, the open spaces left in the city following the demolition of the depreciated and monumental Frederikskazerne and Alexanderkazerne had to be redeveloped. It was on these open sites that the first super urban blocks, such as Couperusduin and De 222 housing complexes, were constructed.

In May 1973, Joop Den Uyl's cabinet was inaugurated, governing the Netherlands until December 19, 1977. This coalition included the Labour Party (PvdA), Christian Democrats (KVP, ARP), and progressive (PPR, D66) parties, with the labour holding a dominant position with 43 seats. The Social Liberal (D66) Hans Gruijters served as Minister for Housing, while the State Secretaries for Housing and Spatial Planning were Jan Schaefer and Marcel van Dam, both from PvdA. According to Askon Eden (in a interview with the author), a young urban planner who joined the office of the Chief Government Architect in 1976, a cultural shift was observed in the government. Jo Vegter, a representative of the Delft School of Architecture, had held the position of Chief Government Architect from 1958 to 1971. The department's annual reports from 1972 still reflected a construction-oriented atmosphere. From 1971 to 1974, Frank Sevenhuijsen served as the Acting Chief Government Architect, until Wim Quist took over the role in 1974, continuing in the position until 1979.

The annual report of the Chief Government Architect and the Rijksvastgoeddienst RGD (Central Government Real Estate Agency) of 1973 shows a noticeable shift towards an emphasis on spatial planning and urban renewal. A reorganization occurred in this year, establishing a management board to assist the Director-General of the ministery. This reorganization aimed to provide clearer direction for spatial planning and urban renewal policies. The Chief Government Architect, alongside the Director-General, became a part of this management board, signaling a concerted effort to align and strengthen efforts in these strategic areas.

This change also brought with it a notable shift towards reevaluating the use of scattered offices in The Hague and reconsidering their potential reintegration into residential spaces. The RGD annual report highlighted this shift, stating:

"Causing permanent vacancy in large numbers of buildings in inner cities would therefore be contrary to the policy insights as set out in the aforementioned documents. However, this does not mean that the creation of concentrated establishments would in all cases have undesirable consequences. On the contrary, if, for example, the buildings that become vacant because of such a concentration consist wholly or partly of former dwellings, this may create the opportunity to strengthen the residential function of a city center by adding those buildings back to the housing stock. In other cases, the emptying of old and dilapidated buildings can offer the opportunity to erect buildings that are more economically appropriate in a neighborhood, or to improve the socio-cultural climate locally" (RGD annual report, 1973: 8).

In 1975, State Secretary Van Dam released the *Nota Huisvesting Alleenstaanden en Tweepersoonshuishoudens* (*Memorandum on Housing for Single- and Two-Person Households*). The plan aimed to address the housing shortage and revitalize inner cities by constructing 40,000 small homes between 1976 and 1980. This strategic initiative signaled a departure from the traditional focus on accommodating traditional family units in public housing policy. It was a significant political shift, particularly challenging for confessional parties. The approach involved dividing large vacant buildings, shops, and empty offices into smaller units to cater to the housing needs of single- and two-person households. This approach led to the introduction of so-called "Van Dam units" in various Dutch cities, marking a strategic intervention to meet the evolving housing needs of the population.

Following this period, official consultations took place between the municipality of The Hague and the RGD regarding the construction sites for government department and the consolidation of widely dispersed ministries into residential buildings within the city. According to Eden, the Ministry of Social Affairs, for example, was previously dispersed across various buildings in Zeestraat, including an apartment complex. Eventually, all these buildings were repurposed into small apartments or Van Dam units. The New Hague School building on the intersection of Zeestraat and Javastraat, as well as structures on Kazernestraat, were among those restored to their former residential purposes. After discussions between Minister Gruijters and the office of the Government Architect, Lot 6, located between Ammunitiehaven, Nieuwe Haven, and Zwarteweg, was returned to The Hague. This move aimed to reinstate the residential function in the center of Rivierenbuurt in accordance with the municipal sketch plan Center-Southeast of 1975.

Subsequently, several Centraal Wonen-cohousing projects and HAT or Van Dam units were constructed across the Netherlands in the

Aerial view of the new The Hague center with the Turfmarkt and side road with the Prins Bernhard Viaduct as part of the ring road.
Photo by Delta-Phot from 1980. Collection HGA 820217.

years that followed. Centraal Wonen (Central Living) or cohousing is an alternative form of housing in which a group of residents use multiple, communal facilities in different homes. This can be, for example, a central meeting space, a laundry room, a workshop and/or a communal garden. A HAT unit, formerly known as the Van Dam unit, is a living space created with HAT subsidy for households of one or two people. HAT is the abbreviation for Housing Singles and Two-Person Households.

The New Dutch Cul-de-Sac Suburbs and Exodus from the Old Town

The inability of urban planners and public housing providers to work together was heavily blamed on civil servants. The municipality sought a solution by outsourcing the problems. In the 1970s, all zoning and urban development plans for residential neighborhoods were outsourced to architectural offices and consultancies. In doing so, administrators created an extremely complex culture of consultation that only exacerbated the problems.

The municipal Departments of Housing and Urban Devlopment (later Urban Renewal) were allowed to participate in discussions and provide input. The housing associations had by now become real estate developers and urban designers, and had their own architects and contractors carry out the plans. The liberal councilor Ressenaaris insisted on this in The Hague. A diverse range of inputs into urban planning was thus obtained, although it did not mean less work for the municipality, according to Ressenaaris (Van der Sluijs, 1989).

This last remark was a harsh criticism of the municipality's own Department of Urban Development and Housing and a remarkable position for a liberal, since they normally aim to reduce the amount of government interference. Incidentally, the council itself had created an uncontrollable monster with a complicated consultation structure in which process-oriented sociologists, planners, and public housing providers played important roles. Each urban design had to be discussed or consulted with thirty departments and agencies inside and outside the municipality. This created even more work for lawyers than for designers, it was found. New construction got bogged down in endless processes in which no single department was in control, and the physical appearance of buildings was ignored.

Loosduinen: Nieuw Waldeck, Houtwijk, and Kraayenstein

The horticultural land around the ancient village of Loosduinen was repurposed under protest as building land for cul-de-sac neighborhoods. The picturesque village was largely demolished to build a new center near the oldest building, the church. The construction of suburbs, which had stagnated since the 1960s, could thus be resumed.

A ring of cul-de-sac neighborhoods arose around Loosduinen (Van Hezik, 1981; Van der Sluijs, 1989), such as Nieuw Waldeck (after 1972), Houtwijk (1973-80), Kraayenstein (1973-75), and De Nieuwe Hout (1978). Houtwijk was developed by urban planners R.P. Voskuil and K.Y. Neef from the Department of Urban Devlopment itself. Kraayenstein was contracted out to Rein Fledderus, who had worked for the studio Fledderus & Van Gent until 1970. The Nieuwe Hout residential area (Bezuidenhout-West), enclosed between railway tracks, the new Utrechtsebaan, Prins Bernhard viaduct, and Schenk viaduct, was also part of this series of neighborhoods and was completed in 1978. The office Group 5 architects and urban planners with the architects Bram van Hengel and Wladimir Rumyantsev designed the plan and the houses. These were mainly neighborhoods with medium-sized single-family homes with a pitched roof, and residential apartment blocks. These were located on so-called woonerven, a term for quiet neighborhoods with low-speed limits, decorated by flower boxes. Kraayenstein was the first to be developed with luxury rental homes by real estate developer ABP. Nieuw Waldeck got off the ground thanks to a subsidy from State Secretary Jan Schaefer of the Ministry of Housing and Spatial Planning between 1973 and 1977, on the condition that only social housing would be built, in very high density. Residents of the neighboring Waldeck protested against this but could not prevent it. In Houtwijk, only more expensive owner-occupied homes were built.

Exodus from Old Neighborhoods

With the construction of these new suburbs, the mass exodus of residents from the old city accelerated. Fragmented and incoherent visions came to the fore in the contrast between public housing providers and urban planners, two separate disciplines with little regard for each other's problems. In particular, the political idea of 'the flow of residents from one to another house' went wrong. According to this idea, residents of inadequate housing in the inner city and nineteenth century neighborhoods moved to new homes in green suburbs, so that the old neighborhoods could be demolished and make way for the service city. Public housing theories were based on transformation of the old city into a place to work and suburbanization.

At the council meeting of November 14, 1973, Nuij stated that the issue of housing prices was much more complicated. All the homes we take out of use are low-cost units. All renovated homes become more expensive. All new construction is costly as well. The trend, therefore, is a sharp increase in average rents. But retirees and the unemployed are falling behind in terms of income. As a result, the average payment capacity of the remaining population in the older neighborhoods is declining. In the council, questions had already been asked about the demolition policy by council members Buijtendijk (Labour party) and IJmkers (Dutch Communist Party, CPN).

The solution to this problem was seen in be building houses in large series. Building in open lots in existing neighborhoods was not considered a viable solution by the council. They believed that by constructing many homes simultaneously, the construction costs and therefore the rent could be reduced. However, building in large quantities was only possible in large expansion areas such as Nieuw Waldeck, Houtwijk, and Kraayenstein. Unfortunately, these social housing units were not affordable for those who were left behind. Complete urban renewal, including the demolition of all existing

Schilderswijk, aerial view before the urban renewal, with left the Hoefkade, by J. Rijkenberg from 1970. Collection HGA 0.87422.

buildings, offered space for super blocks with affordable housing, as seen in Schilderswijk and Schipperskwartier.

Yet, as provincial deputy De Ruijter-De Zeeuw had already argued, this did not work. Only the wealthy residents left for the new neighborhoods to move into subsidized housing or owner-occupied homes in the suburbs. In the old neighborhoods that were about to be demolished, the less affluent residents were left behind: the elderly, students, and immigrants. Thus, the population became more segregated by economic class.

According to Nuij, there was a housing stock imbalance with too many medium-sized homes, leading to a monoculture in the new neighborhoods. To address this issue, small and extra-large houses were also constructed in areas like Nieuw Waldeck and Houtwijk to achieve a better population distribution. Nuij argued that monocultures are undesirable everywhere, reflecting the sentiments of the time, during a council meeting on November 14, 1973.

However, these efforts were limited in impact due to the low construction output. Additionally, the few remaining new suburbs and neighborhoods in The Hague were also developed by external parties, as the municipality outsourced them. Meanwhile, the old workers' and bourgeois quarters deteriorated, fell into disrepair, and experienced rapid impoverishment.

Building-for-the-Neighborhood: Nuij's Rehabilitation Policy

Demolition of Old Neighborhoods and Construction of New Houses

During the Den Uyl cabinet (1973-1977), urban renewal was tackled using creating small units for one or two persons (so-called HAT units or Van Dam units), the introduction of rent individual allowance and the subsidy scheme for the demolition of old residential areas for urban renewal (Interim Saldoregeling Stadsvernieuwing, ISR). This scheme covered the difference between costs and revenues in the designated urban renewal (ISR) areas. Between 1970 and 1977 the decentralized system of planning was in place, through which housing construction was controlled. However, the development of the plan was left to municipalities, which negotiated contingents and contributions with the ministry. From 1977 to 1985, the Coordination Committee for the Distribution of State Support for Housing became active and worked with the ISR in designated ISR-areas and associated ISR-schemes. Fourteen ISR municipalities were designated, including The Hague. From 1984 onwards, the subsidy was further decentralized, and municipalities applied for subsidies based on a multi-year program.

With the Urban and Village Renewal Act from 1984, the Urban Renewal Fund was introduced. In The Hague, the ISR areas were the residential areas and neighborhoods: Kortenbos, Schilderswijk, Rivierenbuurt, Bezuidenhout-West and old parts of Scheveningen. With the urban renewal, the number of residents in the residential areas and the density of housing were reduced and green areas, parking spaces and parking garages were added under residential buildings.

On one hand, due to the high construction costs within the urban area, the municipality was compelled to build houses in large quantities at the same time within the existing infrastructure. Thus, urban planning focused on integrating new developments with the existing city morphology. Super urban blocks were considered a suitable solution and were constructed after extensive clearance in the old workers' and bourgeois quarters. Initially, these blocks were built on sites where army barracks had previously stood, such as Couperusduin and De 222 in Archipel neighborhood.

One of the earliest super urban blocks, also known as residential complexes, was De 444 in Schilderswijk. The creation of De 444 complex was the result of a conflict between residents and the city council regarding the city's landscape. In 1968, the Hollandse Beton Groep (HBG) along with Group 5 architects and urban planners presented the controversial CIAM plan *Van Grijs naar Groen* (*From Gray to Green*). This plan proposed the demolition of a significant portion of Schilderswijk around Oranjeplein to make way for new apartment buildings, flats. The old houses had been expropriated from slumlords, and tenants were forced to vacate. Alderman Nuij intervened to halt this development and expedited the creation of an alternative plan. This alternative approach led to the construction of the super blocks of De 444, where residents were provided the opportunity to return to new housing units.

He commissioned architects Age van Randen and Henk van Schagen to design this alternative plan within the existing neighborhood morphology. De 444 residential urban blocks, marking the beginning of building-for-the-neighborhood in The Hague's Schilderswijk. The design appeared remarkably fresh and sleek, in contrast to the later messy seventies' architecture. The construction commenced in 1973 and was finalized in 1976. According to Bram Harkes (personal communication by mail, January 2011), this project became an important model for urban renewal at the Department of Housing and Urban Renewal. Harkes served as the head of sociological research at the Department from 1975 to 1980 and as chairman of the Urban Renewal Project Organization (POS) from 1981 to 1986.

Nuij's Rehabilitation Policy

The concept of building-for-the-neighborhood in The Hague came into being and evolved further with Nuij's rehabilitation policy. Through this policy, Nuij aimed to transform the city into a residential haven with a pleasant livable and living environment. In 1973, he articulated his vision for the city through this rehabilitation policy, which emphasized the importance of retaining residents in their current locations and renovating or replacing existing buildings. Building-for-the-neighborhood provided residents with the opportunity to return to their familiar living environment (Nuij, 1973). The goal was to establish historical continuity in both the city's physical layout and its population, emphasizing building-for-the-neighborhood and building-in-the-neighborhood to enhance the identity and character of these neighborhoods. Within the framework of historical continuity, young

Schilderswijk Doedijnsstraat before urban renewal.
Photo by M. de Ruiter van Beelen from 1968.
Collectie HGA 0.17361.

Schilderswijk Rijswijksestraat before urban renewal.
Photo by M. de Ruiter van Beelen from 1968.
Collectie HGA 0.61483.

Schilderswijk Hoefkade-Koningstraat before urban renewal.
Photo by Dienst voor de Stadsontwikkeling from 1967.
Collectie HGA 6.09558.

Schilderswijk Cuypstraat before urban renewal.
Photo by Dienst voor de Stadsontwikkeling from 1979.
Collectie HGA 0.16445.

urban planners and architects found an opportunity to bring to life their ideas and shape the desired cityscape in line with professional standards.

Starting from 1975, comprehensive plans were created for numerous old neighborhoods, mainly focusing on the morphology of these areas. While the process oversight was entrusted to project managers with a background in sociology, the planning and design aspects were led by urban planners such as Jacques Koolen and Gerard van Evert for Schilderwijk, Hylke Tromp for Rivierenbuurt, Jan Romke de Vries for the Center-South and Center-West, and Bureau Bokelman and De Lange for Molenwijk. Urban morphology was established as the guiding principle for urban development, marking a departure from the previous approach of constructing residential blocks within open spaces as seen in projects like *From Gray to Green* and the flats in Kortenbos. This shift exemplified changing urban design principles.

Nuij emphasized in a lecture at the University of Technology of Eindhoven (published by the municipality The Hague) that it is important to avoid unnecessary demolition, enhance what can be improved, refrain from displacing individuals to future redevelopment areas, and collaborate to find mutually agreeable solutions (Nuij, 1973). Drawing from discussions with the Actiegroep Betaalbare Huren (Action Group Affordable Rents), Nuij emphasized the importance of historical continuity by stating that residents should not be displaced to make room for homes they could not afford. He stressed that people should not be relocated to new redevelopment areas, and residents must be engaged from the outset in the revitalization of their neighborhoods. These principles underscore Nuij's commitment to inclusive, community-driven urban renewal.

In his lecture, Nuij highlighted the demographic changes in Schilderswijk. Between 1960 and 1972, there was a nationwide trend of a decrease in the number of residents per household. Urban renewal efforts also led to a decline in the population density per neighborhood. In the case of Schilderswijk, the number of houses decreased from 15,754 to 14,614 due to expropriation and demolition, representing a 7% reduction. However, the number of inhabitants dropped by 21.6%. Nuij speculated that part of this decline could be attributed to the fact that large, impoverished families resided in the demolished homes. The reclaimed space from demolished houses did not always contribute positively to the neighborhood's quality of life. Instead of creating playgrounds or green areas, the newly available space was often converted into parking lots, a decision made by the residents themselves. Nuij lamented this transformation, stating, "here, too, the tin [cars] has taken away public space from people" (Nuij, 1973: 5).

Nuij observed that Schilderswijk lacked a distinct identity, with little cohesion and a diverse mix of ethnic groups residing alongside each other. The neighborhood experienced significant migration, with residents frequently moving in and out. The composition and perspectives of neighborhood committees and councils were constantly changing. As early as 1973, Nuij expressed skepticism about public participation, noting a prevailing sense of self-interest.

The negative perception of the neighborhood had detrimental consequences. Nuij indicated that the stigma associated with living in Schilderswijk, with the inhabitants seen as anti-social, could impact residents' opportunities, whether in job applications or seeking housing elsewhere. This perception deeply affected the residents of Schilderswijk and sometimes fueled their frustrations. The flow of the original residents with a low income from the old neighborhoods and relocation in the new cul-de-sac neighborhoods had come to a hopeless standstill during the urban renewal process. The large, new social housing units proved to be unaffordable for many low-income families. Immigrants from Mediterranean countries, often with large families, sought the comfort and security of their own ethnic community and access to affordable shops, and therefore preferred existing inexpensive housing. Upon their immigration, as they were not immediately eligible for social housing, they turned to the rental market in Schilderswijk.

A group of seventeen inner-city religious leaders expressed their concerns about the well-being of the residents of Schilderswijk. Nuij quoted a letter he received from these pastors, praising the modern initiative led by him and his team. The pastors acknowledged the efforts to construct homes for residents in a style that harmonized with the neighborhood and at affordable rates. They commended the public participation process, noting its international interest. The pastors expressed their admiration for Nuij's unwavering dedication to this innovative approach, which swiftly reinstated the trust of many Schilderswijk residents.

The residents of Schilderswijk did not often participate in politics. In the 1970 council elections, 53% of residents abstained from voting. The neighborhood was also marked by unrest, as boarded-up demolished buildings were set on fire, and the fire brigade attempting to extinguish the fires faced hostility from angry residents. In 1971, the new progressive city council took a significant step by allocating 7 million euros to rehabilitate old houses and make them habitable again. Owner-occupied homes originally slated for demolition were renovated instead. Among the initial renovation projects were 't Fort and Van Ostadehofje, originally designed by Van Liefland. Through these renovations, existing residents and the neighborhood's spatial structure were acknowledged for the first time, marking a shift towards spatial and historical continuity. Though meetings with residents were reportedly raucous and disorganized, the outcomes were positive. The Dutch neo-Renaissance architecture of 't Fort was altered with modern insulation and stucco, while Van Ostadehofje was restored to its original charm. Preserving heritage and repurposing the old charity almshouses proved to be a cost-effective means of providing housing.

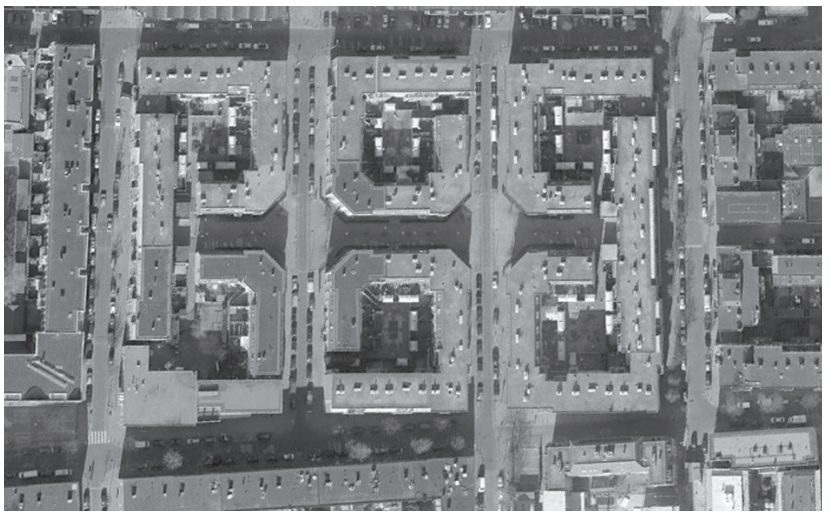
Contextualism in Architecture

Nuij was consistently wary of new buildings that starkly contrasted with their surroundings. He believed that new buildings should harmonize with the existing atmosphere of the neighborhood and the living environment. However, another significant issue arose concerning the construction of new residential complexes, according to Nuij. He

Super urban blocks Couperusduin, Archipelbuurt.

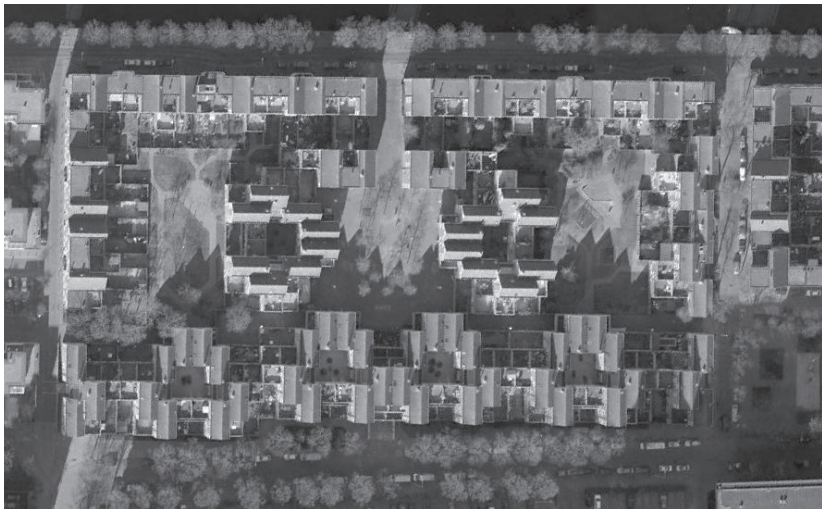
Super urban blocks De 444, Schilderswijk.

Super urban blocks De 222, Archipelbuurt.



Super urban blocks Het Klaverblad, Schilderswijk.

Super urban blocks Schipperskwartier, Laakkwartier.



Super urban blocks ZHB-hoven, Kortenbos.

Source: Aerial photos from various sources and edited by author, no further use allowed.

emphasized the importance of considering the relationship between the built environment and the individuals for whom it was constructed. “First of all, the question of whether the introduction of a form of building and living those contrasts strongly with the environment was in line with the new policy, which wanted to maintain what could be maintained” (Nuij, 1973: 13).

Three Example Projects

Nuij presented three plans as examples of his rehabilitation policy: De 444 residential complexes, the Teniersstraat project, and the redevelopment of Jacob van Campenplein. De 444 was particularly significant for Nuij, as it showcased that it was possible to combine the preservation of urban morphology and providing affordable rents. The main goals outlined in the objectives were to ensure that the new construction remained affordable for the majority of Schilderswijk residents and blended harmoniously with the existing surroundings.

Another project reflecting Nuij’s policy was the Teniersstraat housing improvement initiative. On July 24, 1972, the municipal council designated 3.5 hectares in Schilderswijk as a test site for neighborhood and housing enhancements. This area was roughly bounded by Hobbemastraat, Rubensstraat, Mierisstraat, Jan van Goyenstraat, and Dijckstraat, with Teniersstraat running through the middle. Despite efforts, the outcomes of this initiative were deemed disappointing according to the inhabitants, with reasons for this disappointment remaining unclear (*NRC,* 09-03-1974). Landlords were promised an annual increase in rent of 6%. This meant that tenants had to accept higher rents while landlords did not see an increase in their income. Nuij had to admit that demolition and resulting construction of new houses would be a feasible outcome (*De Waarheid*, 12-4-74). Following Nuij’s departure in 1976, alderman J.W.M. Hardon and the relevant housing associations proceeded to immediately demolish the renovated houses. Subsequently, some urban renewal projects, namely Het Klaverblad and Teniersplantsoen were established in this area.

Another project highlighted by Nuij was the design of Jacob van Campenplein. However, that project had already been underway for several years, and Nuij’s involvement in it was virtually nonexistent.

The treatment of historical heritage by housing associations and aldermen was not always positive, showcasing a deep-seated aversion toward nineteenth century neighborhoods. In some cases, the preference for demolishing renovated houses over preserving them indicated a lack of regard for historical preservation, with monetary motives seemingly outweighing other considerations for the housing associations involved.

Alderman Nuij’s rehabilitation policy for the city extended beyond the concept of building-*for*-the-neighborhood to encompass building-on-the-neighborhood, emphasizing integration with the existing urban fabric and houses. Nuij believed that strengthening the neighborhood’s identity could address numerous issues without resorting to mass relocation, large-scale demolitions, and new constructions.

This neighborhood unit approach (connection of urban lay out or urban renewal with social program for the inhabitants), common in post-war suburbs, was introduced in the existing city during Nuij’s tenure as alderman. However, his policy was short-lived. By 1974, the old coalition involving Labour, Liberal Party, and confessional parties was reinstated, leading to the return of Toon van Hagen, known as “Teun the Destroyer” as alderman. This shift allowed large construction companies like Bredero Beton to resume their activities unimpeded. In 1976, Nuij resigned due to health reasons. Conflicts within the city, within his own Labour Party, with his staff, and with the state over proposed policies and distribution strategies may have contributed to his departure.

Urban Renewals and Super Urban Blocks in the Seventies

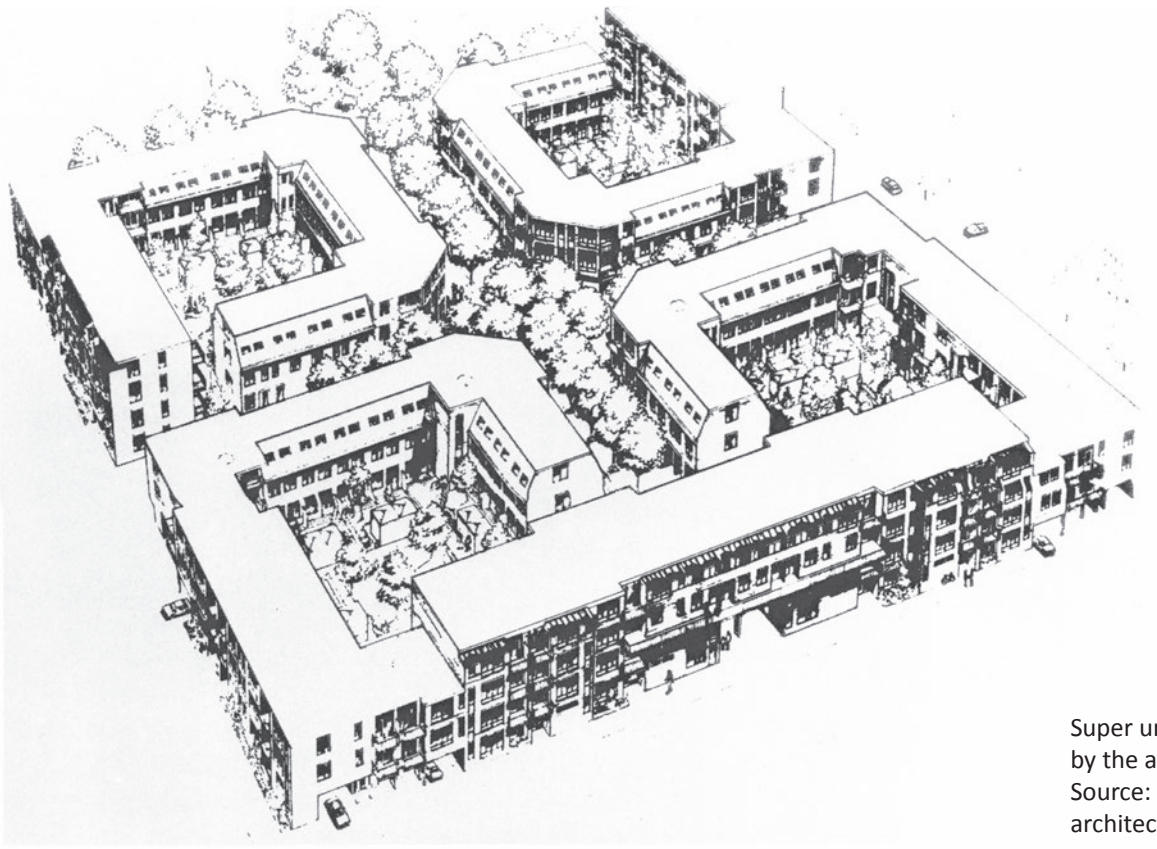
Urban Renewal in Couperusduin

The most evocative urban ensemble of the 1970s is Couperusduin (Architectuur Platform Den Haag, 1987; Baeten et al., 1984; Van Dijk et al., 1996). On the edge of the nineteenth century Archipel neighborhood stood the Alexander barracks, which were demolished in 1970. The neighborhood had been neglected after the war, but many young families wanted to live in its distinguished mansions. Just as the residential function of the neighborhood was improving and this neighborhood was flourishing, the Association of Dutch Municipalities (VNG) proposed to build two large office buildings on the vacant site. To do so, it demolished the barracks. There were protests from the neighborhood, as residents preferred to see homes rather than offices. Eventually, due to organizational and financial reasons, the plans for the offices were abandoned.

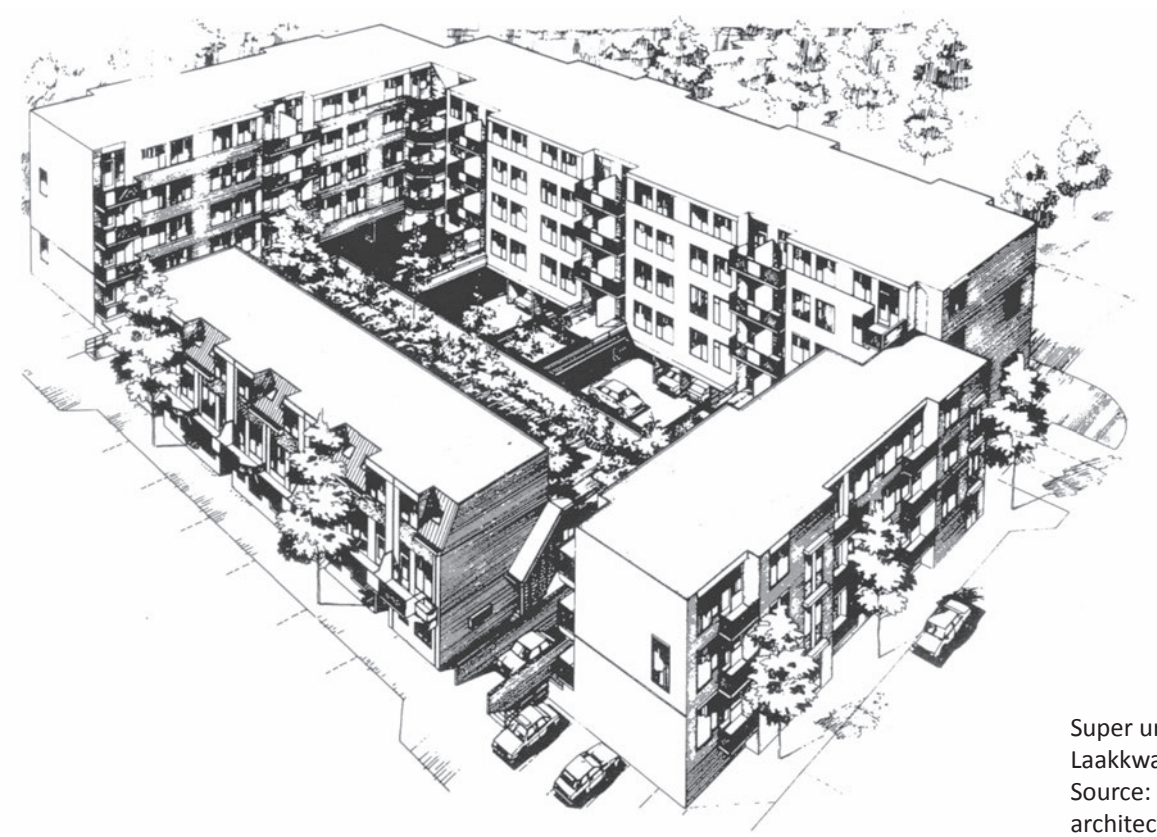
Nuij and the architects Sjoerd Schamhart and Hans van Beek engaged with residents and interested parties. Within a few months, they developed a housing design. Almost everyone was enthusiastic about the plan, and after a year, the government labeled the complex as research project in the program Predicaat Experimentele Woningbouw (Predicate Experimental Housing) experimental) between 1968-1980. The houses were intended for young civil servants working in the nearby city hall. They would not be affordable housing of housing associations but premium owner-occupied homes, with Premie-A-koopwoningen, the premium to depending on the buyer’s income. Despite not being affordable houses, the budget for the houses was limited. The client, the Pension Fund for the Metal Industry, did not want family row houses like those in Zoetermeer or Nieuw Waldeck.

The main form of the buildings was simple, featuring corridor access with partly external stairs and galleries, with all the apartments located along a long central corridor. However, this linear structure was integrated into the urban fabric like a ribbon. The urban spaces between the buildings connect to the Jewish cemetery and Van Karnebeekstraat, creating a continuum and urban cohesion.

The first part was built in 1972; the second part was completed in 1982. Couperusduin featured a completely different design compared to previous sparse urban renewal designs with standard floor plans.



Super urban blocks Het Klaverblad, Schilderswijk
by the architect Van WIjngaarden.
Source: *Het veranderend stadsbeeld van Den Haag* (1990)
architect A. van Wijngaarden. No further use allowed.



Super urban blocks Schipperskwartier,
Laakkwartier by the architect Van WIjngaarden.
Source: *Het veranderend stadsbeeld van Den Haag* (1990)
architect A. van Wijngaarden. No further use allowed.

Like the nineteenth century city, the aim was to achieve a density of 200 dwellings per hectare. On the site of 1.4 hectares, 289 homes were built, some of them eight storeys high, yet the overall impression is not one of massiveness due to the articulation and variation in shapes of the building.

The design of the corridor apartments served as the basis for the complex, providing it with compactness and high density. The houses were given a relatively small facade area compared to the floor plan. The linear building body was arranged in a meandering manner to interact with the urban space around it. In some places, the central corridor was positioned on the facade to introduce variation in experience. The meandering residential building integrated with existing urban spaces through its open side, while Karnebeekstraat and the Jewish cemetery penetrated deep into the building complex. Towards the top, the block became less deep, creating terraces for the houses.

The architects' disdain for ring roads and cars influenced their decision to make the entrance accessible only to pedestrians. Cars could enter the basement parking through a side entrance, keeping them out of sight. On the roof of the parking and in the gardens between the building bodies, the dune landscape was restored. All the retaining walls in the gardens and the pavement in the project were made of bricks salvaged from the old barracks that had been demolished. The sand was excavated further to create a flat foundation at a depth of approximately 1.5 meters. On top of that, a concrete base was constructed, a platform founded on steel resting on the sand. This eliminated the need for an expensive pile construction. The paving for the parking was laid directly on the sand at the bottom. The houses were constructed on the platform. The excavated sand was returned to the parking's roof to reconstruct the original dune landscape with its typical vegetation. The architects chose a convenient grid size of 5.4 meters to accommodate two cars between the columns below the roof.

Couperusduin was designed with diversity, fine-grained articulations, and variety reminiscent of the old neighborhoods, incorporating features such as balconies, bay windows, and recessed and protruding building masses. This variation also stemmed from the interchange of two primary types of home: the corridor type and the gallery type. Additionally, there were apartments accessible from the gallery or central corridor via a staircase, essentially representing an intermediate form between gallery and portico construction. As a result of this hybrid approach, a corridor or gallery was not necessary on every floor, leading to implications for both the facades and floor plans. Various configurations of 1-, 2-, 3-, 4-, and 5-room apartments were derived from these two main types, showcasing the diversity achieved through creative apartment layouts.

The architects' pursuit of high density was met with approval from the client. An agreement was reached with the municipality stipulating that the land could be acquired for the price equivalent to 70 homes per hectare, a housing density typical of areas like Zoetermeer. Ultimately, they achieved a density surpassing that of De Pijp, a well-known Amsterdam neighborhood. The additional proceeds because of the density of flats allowed for substantial investment in the diversity of the homes and the design of outdoor spaces. In selecting materials, the architects drew inspiration from Archipel neighborhood. They sought authentic materials native to The Hague, opting for the red to pale pink bricks and the abundant white stuccos characteristic of eclectic architecture in the area. They preferred light-colored materials and were particularly inspired by the soft yellow stone they had encountered during a recent visit to London. This stone, reminiscent of the material used in the construction of the Frederick barracks, had also been favored by King Willem II and used in the houses along Nassaulaan, among other locations.

In a stroke of ingenuity, the distinctive qualities of this urban location, the genius loci, were embraced both in architecture and urban planning. This building was uniquely suited to its specific location, and its design and placement epitomized a commitment to building for and with the neighborhood. Sjoerd Schamhart succinctly captured these ideas in his presentation at the Architecture Platform The Hague, encapsulated in the evocative title *One's 'OWN' Place* (*De 'EIGEN' Plek*). This title emphasized the focus on creating a sense of ownership and belonging within the neighborhood, highlighting the project's dedication to enhancing the local community. As Schamhart explained:

"One's 'OWN' place. The continuous changes of our environment are a given. On this basis, the building assignments that are set will have to consider the past and present and will help determine the future. It should not be forgotten that construction is done by and for people, for individuals in a society, who, in addition to other rights, also have a right to their 'own' place. Attention to this 'own' place, both as a home but also as a learning and working place, has always been important to me. And this not only for the individual who has a right to their own place, but also for the institution, the company, the service, which must be given the right place both in the city and beyond. For me, the possibilities but also the limitations of the construction site are starting points, to which I try to respond with contemporary means. In this way, there is a connection with the local characteristics, so that my work was said to be extremely "The Hague". The works carried out are very diverse. I think making the program and/or improving the program is the start" (Exhibition Architectenplatform Den Haag in municipal museum The Hgaue 1986-87, Schamhart).

Urban Renewal Blocks in Schilderswijk

The first plan for the redevelopment of Schilderswijk, in 1968, titled *From Gray to Green*, proposed the complete removal of old structures and buildings to make way for new residential buildings amidst open green spaces. This radical transformation sparked significant controversy and lengthy debates. The proposal ignited a sharp conflict between CIAM supporters, who favored modernist urban renewal concepts, and the residents of Schilderswijk, many of whom lacked the financial means to relocate to the new suburbs. Large portions of the old Schilderswijk had already been expropriated and demolished, leading to the creation of extensive grassy plains. In the end, the municipality withdrew the plan, and Nuij decided to draw up a

Schilderswijk, before the urban renewal with nineteenth century morphology.
Source: *Het veranderend stadsbeeld van Den Haag* (1990).

Schilderswijk, after the urban renewal with super urban blocks. Source: *Het veranderend stadsbeeld van Den Haag* (1990).

structural sketch. The first Structural Sketch of the Schilderswijk was published in 1974, but residents and residents' organizations did not agree with it. In 1975, the newly appointed councilors Duivesteijn and Ten Velde, together with the architect Chris Jagtman, published the draft memorandum on *Stadsvernieuwing in Den Haag* (*Urban Renewal in The Hague*), which attempted to change course. This effort would only succeed after 1980 when Duivesteijn became an alderman, since negotiations took a large amount of time. Finally, in 1979, the city council accepted the *Voorstel Structuurschets Schilderswijk* (*Proposal for a Structural Sketch*) for Schilderswijk, in which residents had participated in various working groups and project teams.

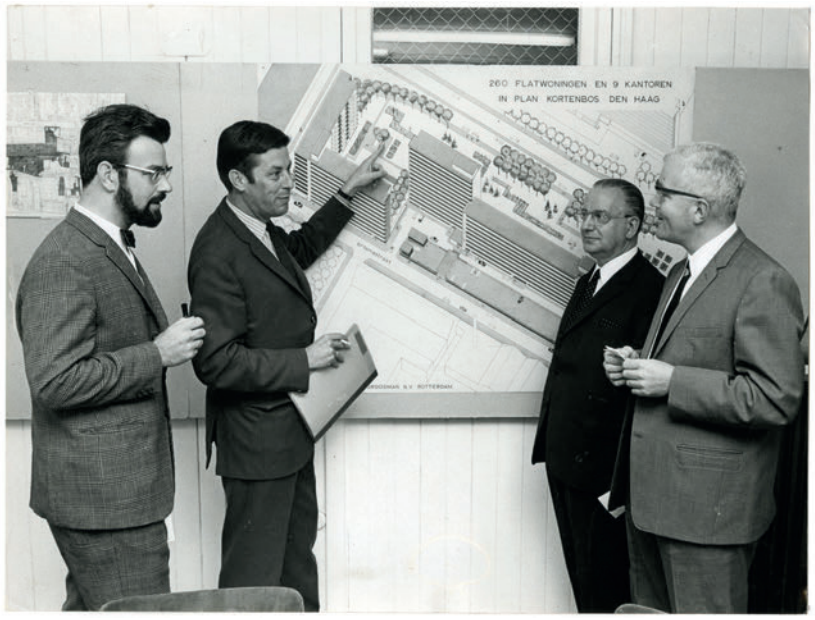
The rehabilitation policy proposed by Nuij's building-for-the-neighborhood led to the creation of the first super urban blocks with large-scale, affordable rental housing, developed by housing associations. These developments followed the existing urban morphology and building lines of the mainly nineteenth century neighborhoods. However, the old urban structures, including narrow street and ditch patterns and some buildings, disappeared completely. Although not all new ensembles took the shape of the existing historic urban blocks, they did fit within the street plan. Nonetheless, within the building lines, old narrow streets disappeared. In fact, these blocks could have been built anywhere in the Netherlands and completely disregarded the existing city and its original structures. The super urban blocks had a different scale than the original buildings and were often grouped around new neighborhood parks, such as Teniersplantsoen, Hannemanplantsoen, Jacob van Campenplein, Plantsoen De Mussen, and Plantsoen Falckstraat.

1. De 444 (1973). The first major plan was De 444 from 1973, located between Van Ostadestraat and Hoofskade on either side of Jacob Catsstraat (including Van Ostadehofje). The architects were Age van Randen and Henk van Schagen. The plan involved 484 new homes (*Trouw*, December 4, 1976). The design discussion centered on whether Van Ostadehofje should be demolished and whether cars should be placed in underground parking garages or parked outside. Initially, it was intended to renovate Van Ostadehofje, but the Jacob Catsstraat Steering Committee did not see the point of preserving this heritage. The huge residential complex De 444 was under construction in 1974 and completed in 1976. The architecture of this complex was still strongly reminiscent of the modernist CIAM aesthetic, characterized by its austerity and flat roofs. In addition to De 444, architect Leo de Jonge started in 1976 with plans for what he called Plan Gortmolen II for the Christelijke Woningbouwvereniging Den Haag (Christian Housing Association The Hague). The building plan was located between Jacob Catsstraat and Hoofstkadelaan, adjacent to Van Ostadehofje and the old buildings on Hoofskade. In May 1977, there was still conflict about the demolition of Van Ostadehofje. The residents did not want it demolished and felt they were not heard, while the Steering Committee strongly urged its demolition.

2. Urban renewal Gortmolen (1973). The second major plan by Leo de Jonge for Schilderswijk was the Gortmolen Plan—not to be confused with the plan named Gortmolen II, which was located elsewhere. After a fire, some plots became available on Groenwegje. Between Groenwegje, Koningstraat, Spinozastraat, Oranjeplein, and Fagelstraat, three urban blocks and a building strip with 600 homes were built. In 1973, De Jonge started working on this plan for the housing association Patrimonium, in collaboration with the Oranjeplein Schilderswijk B.O.S. residents' organization. On November 25, 1975, mayor Schols drove the first pile. In October 1976, the first test homes were put into use in the presence of Nuij. The first part included 156 porch houses of three to four storeys. Plan Gortmolen and Plan De 444 ran parallel and were the major projects of alderman Nuij in Schilderswijk. In 1976, the first houses in this plan were inhabited (*Haagsche Courant*, November 26, 1975, 4; October 30, 1976, 7).

3. Urban renewal Ostadehofjes (1976). The third major plan in Schilderswijk involved 204 dwellings, bordered by Hooftskade, Jacob Catsstraat, Doedijnstraat, and Hooftskadelaan. The construction team for this project, formed in 1976, included the Jacob Catsstraat steering committee, the residents' organization Schilderswijk, the Christian Housing Association Patrimonium, and the municipal Department of Housing. The intention was to reserve these houses for Schilderswijk residents. In the middle was the historic Hofje van Ostade by the well-known architect Van Liefland. The new buildings had two or three storeys with roofs. A novelty in the Schilderswijk was that roof caps would be used again, as urban renewal usually featured flat roofs. Furthermore, the houses were divided into groups and built around courtyards. On May 25, 1977, the council committee considered the demolition of Ostadehofjes (*Trouw*, April 12, 1976; May 24, 1977). The Oranjeplein-Schilderswijk residents' organization felt that, from a financial point of view, it was best to demolish everything. The neighborhood organizations were also in favor of demolition. An important argument was that after the completion of Plan Gortmolen, the construction flow could be extended in one go. According to the residents' organizations, the plan had been drawn up with sufficient citizen participation. However, the actual residents did not think so at all and felt ignored by the residents' organization. The committee representing the interests of the residents of the historic Van Ostade houses considered them a unique piece of coherent urban planning and architecture. The committee believed that the structural condition was not very bad and that the Van Ostade houses could be integrated well into new plans. Despite this, the steering committee and construction team decided to demolish the houses. They feared that this "group of young people" of the committee would unnecessarily increase the costs of the plan and consequently the housing costs for the people of Schilderswijk.

4. Urban renewal Falckstraat, Van Ravensteinstraat and Oranjeplein (1981-82). Building plans from the 1981-82 phase that were developed during the tenure of alderman Hardon and built after 1981 included Plan Falckstraat by housing association Verbetering Zij Ons Streef (We Aim for Improvement) and architect Leo de Jonge, with approximately 220 homes built between 1981 and



On 30 September 1969, the alderman Hylkema, informs a large group of residents, From left to right the architects of the architectural firm Groosman H.J. van Engelenburg and J.A. Koopmans, alderman Hylkema and Mr. C. Bakker of the Stichting Bedrijfspensioenfonds voor de Bouwnijverheid, which has 260 homes and 9 offices built between the Sirtemastraat and the Twentstraat.
Collection HGA 1.17884.

Kortenbos Gedempte Sloot, the demolition of the historic city centre for urban renewal with apartment buildings of the Sirtema flats.
Photo by J.Ph. Bronkhorst from 1970.
Collection HGA 001901728.

Kortenbos Gedempte Sloot, the demolition of the historic city centre for urban renewal with apartment buildings of the Sirtema flats. Photo by P.G. Kempff from 1978.
Collection HGA 0.20447.

Kortenbos Gedempte Sloot, the demolition of the historic city centre for urban renewal with apartment buildings of the Sirtema flats. Photo by P.G. Kempff from 1978.
Collection HGA 0.20449.

1983 around the Falckstraat neighborhood park. The urban blocks and strips are located between Hoefkade, Koninginnestraat, Parallelweg, and Naaldwijksestraat. Plan Van Ravensteinstraat, with approximately 220 homes built from 1981 around the Hannemanplantsoen neighborhood park, consists of five urban blocks around the park. All these urban blocks are not completely closed. The blocks are located between Van Ravesteinstraat, Jacob Jordaensstraat, Abraham Bloemaertstraat, Doedijnsstraat, and Van Ostadestraat. Plan Oranjeplein was started in 1976 but was put on hold for a long time. Phase 1 was a cluster of facilities and homes, which for the first time were combined with shops, located between Koningstraat, Oranjeplein, Fagelstraat, and Tullinghstraat. The first pile was driven by the brand-new alderman Adri Duivesteijn on September 11, 1981. This urban plan included 350 affordable houses owned by housing associations, a cultural center, the Oranjeplein sports hall, two primary schools, a children's center, and a parking garage with 120 covered spaces. The urban plan was designed by J. Kuipers, with several architects working on other buildings within the plan. Various architects contributed to this project, including Leo de Jonge for the houses and shops, Bureau Van den Broek and Bakema for the cultural center, sports hall, and parking garage, Bureau Mehrtens and Van Velthoven for the Protestant Christian school, and Bureau Van der Lek for the children's center and community center De Mussen (Rodermond, 1981: 10).

5. Urban renewal Rijswijksestraat and Het Klaverblad (1983-85). Building plans from the 1983-1985 phase, during the tenure of aldermen Duivesteijn, included Plan Rijswijksestraat. This was located near community center De Mussen and around the new park with buildings on Hoefkade, designed by architect Leo de Jonge for Patrimonium, which he started in 1981. Plan Rembrandtstraat, later called Het Klaverblad, was located between Van Dijkstraat, Jan van Gojenstraat, Van Ostadestraat, and Van Mierisstraat. The architect was Andries van Wijngaarden and construction started in 1984. Plan Falckstraat phase 2 was located along Hoefkade and a nursing home on Parallelweg. Plan Oranjeplein phase 2 consisted of urban blocks along Hoefkade (Rodermond, 1981: 10).

ZHB-hoven, Kortenbos

Urban renewal in Kortenbos started badly. Residents disappaered and old buildings were demolished. Because no company wanted to settle in the half-demolished city center of The Hague, it was decided to build gallery-access apartment buildings of nine to fourteen storeys in Kortenbos. In 1965, a plan was made for Kortenbos (Van der Sluijs, 1989). The Rotterdam architect Groosman Partners was proposed by Van der Sluijs to alderman Hylkema as the architect for the residential buildings, following CIAM tradition. Despite loud protests from the last residents of Kortenbos, the remediation and construction of the flats were continued, and they were completed in 1969. The Vredenbest courtyard, which was also on the demolition list, was squatted by a protest movement. The squatters received significant support and were revered as heroes by residents. However, as part of Nuij's rehabilitation policy, a different course was taken. After the municipality bought the land of the Zuid-Hollandse Bierbrouwerij (South Holland Beer Brewery, ZHB), following long negotiations, alderman Van Hagen, as chairman of the Algemene Woonvereniging AWV (General Housing Association), decided to build homes there. Van Hagen presented this plan to himself in his capacity as a board member of the Sociaal Fonds voor de Bouwnijverheid (Social Fund for the Building Industry) for approval of the financing. It was approved.

A key priority for the city, especially for alderman Nuij, was that the facades along the seventeenth century canal had to be restored with urban blocks. The major mistakes of the CIAM past, such as the Groosman free standing apartment buildings and Westeinde Hospital, had to be hidden from view, so that the city's morphology could be restored, as alderman Nuij aimed to do until his departure in 1976. After Nuij's departure, the project was put on hold. Preparations for the inner ring road were still underway, but no final decision had been made yet. With the change of alderman, there was renewed hope among proponents that the CIAM plans would proceed. Nevertheless, more apartment buildings of nine to fourteen storeys were built along Sirtemastraat by architect Groosman Partners from 1976 to 1979.

Across the street the Rotterdam architects Henk Klunder and Berend Sybesma designed the ambitious plan for ZHB-hoven in 1975. State Secretary Jan Schaefer personally opened ZHB-hoven in Kortenbos, an experiment in public housing and urban planning located on the site of the former Zuid-Hollandse Bierbrouwerij. On April 28, 1977, Schaefer drove the first pile for the initial 177 homes. Eventually, ZHB-hoven's first and second phases consisted of 250 homes with a parking containing 168 spaces, completed in 1981. The third phase, consisting of 85 homes, was completed in 1984. ZHB-hoven is an iconic urban ensemble, featuring green squares and playful streets (Van der Sluijs, 1989; Kleinegris, 1991; Berg, personal communication, September 23, 2010).

The new residents of Kortenbos were invited by the ZHB construction team to participate. At that time, the construction team consisted of representatives from the municipality, residents of the Westeinde-Kortenbos neighborhood council, and the AWV (*Trouw*, February 17, 1976). By the end of 1976, the last old houses had been demolished, and the brewery torn down. A newspaper headlined: "The homes to be built on the ZHB-site in Kortenbos must be as cheap as possible, without this being at the expense of quality" (*Trouw*, May 29, 1976). According to the ZHB construction team, the plan should have a real "inner-city character" with a density of 80-100 homes per hectare. The development must clearly take into account the canal and the surrounding old buildings. The dimensions of the streets, alleys, and other spaces must match that of the city center.

The residents of Gedempte Sloot courtyard were to move directly into the new buildings. The construction team explicitly stated that residential buildings would not have gallery access to the dwellings. Additionally, "car streets" were not desirable; instead, they should become "play streets". Cars would be placed in the parking garage

Kortenbos Sirtemastraat the ZHB Hoven housing project.
Photo by Department of Urban Development from 1979.
Collection HGA 0.64519.

Kortenbos Sirtemastraat the ZHB Hoven housing project.
Photo by P.G. Kempff from 1980.
Collection HGA 0.52155.

Kortenbos neighborhood seen from the roof of the Westeinde Hospital.
Photo by Department of Urban Development from 1980.
Collection HGA 0.86425.

Kortenbos neighborhood seen from the roof of the Westeinde Hospital.
Photo by Department of Urban Development from 1980.
Collection HGA 0.86423.

underneath the houses.

Discussions within the construction team and with the contractor Intervam - who was part of the design team - were endless. Apparently, the structural sketch, the step before the zoning plan, of this urban renewal area was delayed. The neighborhood council called for a conversation with alderman Hardon, fearing that the plans would be rejected by the provincial deputy if there was no structural sketch (*Trouw*, October 16, 1976).

ZHB-hoven is mainly characterized by the merging of two different architectural conceptions into a single plan: on one hand structuralism, with a refined interweaving of public and private spaces as the architect Henk Klunder envisioned it, and on the other hand contextualism and the restoration of the morphology of The Hague's buildings, including the restoration of the city's borders along the canals. The buildings maintained the building mass of the old structures, aiming to break with Groosman's CIAM style. The inner-city construction had to be done in high densities, but each house needed to have the quality of a single-family home and include a roof terrace of at least 25m². Additionally, these plans aimed to connect to the existing street pattern with its canals and perpendicular streets.

At that time ZHB-hoven was designed, the ideas of the Dutch structuralists had been further developed, and housing blocks were utilized. These urban blocks were connected in such a way that the structure could, in principle, grow equally in all directions, like a crystal. A cluster at ZHB-hoven consisted of four three-room houses with a very spacious terrace (parking deck) and four apartments. This principle had already been developed by the same designers in a competition in The Hague: Motto 1975. At ZHB-hoven, the average rent eventually became 325 guilders.

The first part of ZHB-hoven was carried out according to the original design, but the second part had to reduce the number of characteristic elements such as corner windows, bay windows, sloping roofs, terraces, and housing differentiation. A tower on the corner of Bij De Westermolens and Noordwal also fell into disrepair in the design due to budget cuts.

The guiding principle at ZHB-hoven was that hierarchy was eliminated. Each cluster of dwellings was equivalent to the others. The collective living culture was expressed in the three courtyards around which the clusters were linked. Each cluster had a courtyard or patio shared by eight dwellings. The lessons of the architects Aldo Van Eyck and Herman Hertzberg were primarily followed, according to Cor Berg, who had just joined Klunder's office as a young designer (personal communication, September 23, 2010). This small-scale, refined structure of ZHB-hoven was intended to give residents intimacy and a human scale, unlike Groosman's Sirtema residential buildings, which had very large dimensions. Compaction was particularly important. In this way, the very expensive parking facility could be paid for, and the residents could be offered numerous extras such as spacious patios. The clear crystal structure was modified on the canal side to create a real urban edge and restore the morphology of the city on site. Cor Berg especially remembered the battle between Klunder and the municipality over this urban building mass on the edge of the old city along the old canal. For Klunder, this was a reversion to hierarchical urban spaces, a point that structuralists disagreed with. The crux of the conflict lay in deciding between a monumental entrance or surrounding peripheral buildings. As reported by the *Haagsche Courant* on November 28, 1974:

"The conflict between the hospital board and the municipal authorities centered on the vision for the future hospital buildings. While the hospital board insisted on maintaining proud visibility for the future hospital buildings, particularly advocating for few structures apart from a monumental entrance on the Lijnbaan side, alderman Nuij and his team disagreed. On the municipal side, there was a belief in the necessity of constructing a four- to six-storey building at the corner of Westeinde and Lijnbaan to maintain the image of the city center."

Westeinde Hospital

However, for the municipality, the peripheral buildings along canals had to be restored, a hard point for alderman Nuij. Exemplary of the consequences of Nuij's rehabilitation policy was the quarrel between the municipality and Westeinde Hospital regarding the urban integration of the new building. According to Nuij, the urban wall along the canals had to be repaired to hide the CIAM mistakes from view, particularly the urban blocks on Sirtemastraat and Westeinde Hospital. Architect Wiegerinck designed the concrete hospital building with fourteen storeys; between 1975 and 1979 it was built near Lijnbaan and Westeinde. A modern hospital had to be a high-rise building on a large substructure of several floors (Van der Sluijs, 1989: 159). Initially, if the high-rise building did not obstruct the view over Loosduinsekade towards the tower of St. James' church (Sint-Jacobskerk), there was not much objection. These ideas were laid down in the Lijnbaan Zoning Plan, drawn up in 1968. However, the management of the hospital and the architect had other ideas. They wanted an unobstructed view of the building from all sides. All cooperation with the municipality was opposed by the management and the architect. About the hospital's attitude, Van der Sluijs notes that:

"However, the building director and the architect systematically refused to adhere to the old building line of Westeinde for the substructure. They were equally adamant about the Prinsegracht side, where the hospital owned several monumental buildings between Blekerslaan and Warmoezenierstraat. Despite their intention to demolish these buildings for unspecified new construction, both the municipality and the Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg (National Monument Conservation Agency) refused the demolition permits. Consequently, several rapidly deteriorating monumental buildings remained on site for years. Additionally, a proposal for a drastic widening of Warmoezenierstraat as a service entrance to the new hospital was rejected by the Department of Urban Development. Moreover, a large hole in the wall of Prinsegracht, situated right next to Hofje van Nieuwkoop, was deemed unacceptable. … Another significant point of contention revolved around a vacant site on Lijnbaan, situated in front of the new hospital at the corner of Lijnbaan and Westeinde. The

Schilderswijk Gortmolen, Fagelstraat.
Photo by P.G. Kempff from 1975.
Collection HGA 0.22088.

Schilderswijk Gortmolen, Fagelstraat.
Photo by K.P.h. Bronkhorst from 1976.
Collection HGA 0.18924.

Schilderswijk
Vaillantlaan before urban renewal.
Photo by Dienst voor de
Stadsontwikkeling from 1986.
Collection HGA 0.70935.

hospital sought ownership of this site for potential future expansion, a desire contested by the municipality. However, what troubled the municipality the most were the actions of the hospital management. While they championed the hospital's interests, they showed little regard for the historical environment in which they intended to build" (Van der Sluijs, 1989: 159).

In the end, the zoning plan received only partial approval from the provincial executive, with only the planning map being granted legal force. The issue of building height was contested up to the Supreme Court. In 1971, the Court ruled in favor of allowing the building to rise in height. Nuij remarked: "We are no longer competent to judge this." Despite the Supreme Court's decision, the conflict between the municipality and the hospital remained unresolved. Even as late as 1984, a perimeter of deteriorating eighteenth century monuments surrounded the Westeinde Hospital, with the phrase "Den Haag is een kouwe kakstad" ("The Hague is a cold, arrogant city") painted on the dilapidated walls.

After the resounding success of ZHB-hoven, architect Sybesma from Klunder's office was tasked with revitalizing the urban periphery. Between 1982 and 1985, the peripheral development around Kortenbos was finalized with the completion of Het Vierkant Kortenbos, featuring housing and a community center. Additionally, in 1984, a phase 3 extension of ZHB-hoven was undertaken. Groosman's high-rise CIAM buildings were now seamlessly integrated behind the lower buildings designed by Klunder, creating a spacious courtyard in the heart of the city. Over time, even Westeinde Hospital became almost seamlessly incorporated into the urban fabric by new building around. Regrettably, some dilapidated monuments had to be demolished. Nonetheless, Nuij's project was successfully realized, resulting in the restoration of the urban walls along the city canal in this part of the city.

Stagnation of The Hague's Urban Renewal

Conflicts were inevitable due to a multi-faceted policy that pursued conflicting objectives. In 1974, The Hague saw the return of its traditional representative body consisting of Labour, Liberals, and Christian Democrats (PvdA, VVD, and CDA), after a period in which new, inexperienced parties had been part of the municipal council. However, a fundamental change had occurred with the election of numerous young councilors, known as "the generation of '74". In the Labour, individuals such as Michiel Hardon (1944), engineer Gerard van Otterloo (1950), Joop ten Velden (1945), and Adri Duivesteijn (1950) emerged. J. Verduyn Lunel joined the council representing the progressive PPR. Other parties also experienced transformations, with new council members bringing fresh perspectives and innovative ideas. Notable additions included Mrs. H.G. Otter te Kolsté (Labour) and Rob W. Heus (Liberal).

Several council members had backgrounds in urban planning or architecture, leading to an informed understanding of developments in the field and the city. Nuij retired from politics in 1976 due to heart problems. A division within the Labour faction arose in 1976 regarding the succession of Nuij as alderman for urban development, with disputes between Hardon and Ten Velden. Ultimately, Hardon was elected, but he faced criticism from party colleagues Duivesteijn and Ten Velden for the perceived shortcomings in urban renewal efforts. While many discussions and proposed solutions emerged, the policy remained hesitant, despite Hardon's efforts to address issues.

Following the 1978 elections, Duivesteijn, Ten Velden, and Van Otterloo were re-elected as councilors. Hardon resumed his role as alderman, accompanied by party colleague and veteran Piet Vink as alderman for Housing and Neighborhood Contacts. The alderman for Finance was M.W.M. Vos-van Gortel (VVD), who prioritized municipal budget savings.

Between 1970 and 1980, there was a significant shift in mentality from the urban planning ideas of CIAM, which focused on transforming the old city and suburbanization with the Municipal Development Plan of 1970, to a new focus on the qualities of the existing city and building-for-the-neighborhood. Ambitious journalists, councilors, architects, and urban planners continuously criticized aldermen for policies related to demolition, redevelopment, the construction of a ring road, and the relocation of residents, as such policies were perceived to be unsuccessful. In 1980, Hardon resigned as alderman, feeling let down and disillusioned by his own party. The proposed urban renewal efforts had not yielded the expected results, the anticipated inflow of residents had not materialized, and the municipality consistently saved money due to substantial budget cuts by alderman Vos. As a result, the old city continued to deteriorate, while the council and municipal services clandestinely pursued remediation projects and the building of an inner ring road without clear plans or vision for the city's future.

Tensions between the young council members and the municipal executive reached a breaking point. Councilors Duivesteijn and Ten Velden (1980) published their views on city planning. Ten Velden had studied at the Rotterdam Academy in Rotterdam from 1967-73 alongside architects from Dooievaar. After his studies, he worked at the Provincial Planning Service South-Holland). Their criticisms focused on three issues.

1. The primary dispute revolved around the financing of urban renewal projects. Duivesteijn and Ten Velden argued that The Hague possessed sufficient funds to address urban renewal initiatives. During Vos' term as alderman from 1974 to 1981, The Hague consistently generated annual surpluses ranging from 20 to 50 million guilders. Vos' policy prioritized saving and cutting costs to stimulate economic growth and enhance the living environment, leading to significant debate within the municipality. The focus on savings ultimately had detrimental consequences for The Hague, as Duivesteijn and Ten Velden argued. When The Hague, alongside other major cities, requested additional financial support from the government due to rising public transport expenses, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Utrecht received compensation, but The Hague did not. This left the city's public transport provider HTM struggling, while Rotterdam and Amsterdam were able to proceed with their

The Turfmarkt with historic buildings, seen form the Spui.
Photo by Department of Urban Development from 1986.
Collection HGA 0.70536.

The Turfmarkt after the municipality demolished the Rivierenbuurt and existing homes.Photo by Department of Urban Development from 1970.
Collection HGA 5.03126.

The Turfmarkt after the municipality demolished the Rivierenbuurt and existing homes. Photo by P.G. Kempff from 1975.
Collection HGA 0.86331.

The Turfmarkt between the newly built Tranistorium and Zwarte Madonna .
Photo by Department of Urban Development from 1986.
Collection HGA 0.70529.

subway expansion plans. HTM was predominantly municipally owned, with only 5% privately owned, which further exacerbated the city's financial challenges. The lack of financial support and limited progress on urban renewal initiatives created frustration within the council. The consequences of this financial situation lingered, with local politics heavily influenced by the city's frugal fiscal approach. According to Van Beuzekom, then director of finance, this was "the trauma of The Hague". "In the council there was the sensation that we were being punished for our own frugality," said Labour councilor J. Bakker in *NRC Handelsblad* (Meeus, 1992). Newspapers published statements such as: "Now we have another twenty million left over this year," while the city was deteriorating, and urban renewal had stalled.

2. A second point of contention was the discussion around the issue of the flow of residents. The 1975 *Draft Memorandum on Urban Renewal*, initiated by Ten Velden and Duivesteijn, opposed the policy that was common among public housing providers at the time: the relocation of the impoverished population to the suburbs, allowing new residents and businesses to inhabit the city. Another Labour alderman, Vink, who had extensive experience in public housing, mentioned in an interview that the "direct flow of residents" from rundown neighborhoods to new areas was problematic, as point out (Gemeente Den Haag, 1980). The draft memorandum also highlighted that urban renewal involved more than just enhancing housing and spatial structures. "Urban renewal is also, and above all, about improving the living conditions of people in neighborhoods and living environments, where individuals are disadvantaged not only in terms of physical housing but also socially and culturally" (Kleinegris, 1991: 197). On November 8, 1976, the *Memorandum on Urban Renewal in The Hague* was approved by the council, and in June 1977, the *Memorandum on Urban Renewal in The Hague – First Follow-up* was released. These memorandums indicated that urban renewal was carried out for the benefit of the residents: building-for-the-neighborhood.

3. A third point of contention was the Municipal Development Plan of 1970, which proposed the construction of roads and viaducts through the city as part of the inner ring road, symbolizing the victory of the automobile and the transformation of the city (Duivesteijn & Ten Velden, 1980). Regarding the Prins Bernhard viaduct, Duivesteijn and Ten Velden submitted an initiative proposal. The decision-making that had been withheld from the municipality council by the executive was thus returned to the council. The discussion in the media became more intense. The *Haagsche Courant* took an increasingly strong stand against the municipal executive's policy and supported the critics. Finally, on June 25, 1979, the city council agreed to a threefold proposal: to study the shortening of the viaduct, to appoint an external agency to investigate what urban planning and traffic improvements could be carried out, and to map out the financial consequences. Duivesteijn, Ten Velden, and action group Dooievaar used photo montages to make municipal policy visible to the population, rather than abstract scientific reports, unclear notes, and urban structural plans that nobody understood. Dooievaar had awakened the population by visualizing the urban circulation plan and the Municipal Development Plan of 1970. People suddenly saw six-lane highways with viaducts going through their neighborhoods. Perhaps that was the reason why the memorandums and structural visions of the municipality were so sparsely illustrated. Duivesteijn and Ten Velden said: "The Working Group Dooievaar has played a leading role in this protest. Because this working group visualized the beautiful sentences of the development plan by means of photomontages and drawings, many residents of The Hague woke up" (Duivesteijn & Ten Velden, 1980: 33). Dooievaar and the new council members received support from the young Delft professor Carel Weeber and from journalists from the *Haagsche Courant* in their fight against the Prins Bernhard viaduct. Increasingly, the battle for the city was waged in the media.

The Prince Bernhardviaduct, the side road of the Utrechtsebaan. Photo by Department of Urban Development from 1975. Collection HGA 5.04892.

The Nieuwe Havenstraat later renamed Turfmarkt with left the Transitorium. Photo by Department of Urban Development from 1983. Collection HGA 0.50500.

Schedelsdoekhaven before the construction of the Prince Bernhardviaduct. Photo by Department of Urban Development from 1973. Collection HGA 0.62241.

Schedeldoekshaven with De Zwarte Madonna by the architect Carel Weeber. Photo by Department of Urban Development from 1984. Collection HGA 0.62246.

7.3
Transformation of the Old City Center

De Nieuwe Haagse Hout and Bezuidenhout C

The transformation of the old inner city with homes and a mix of other functions to a center of work and recreation took place on the fields on both sides of the Central Station, with areas Nieuwe Haagse Hout and Bezuidenhout C. Ideas about this came mainly from the government. Already many plans were made I the past, for example by Dudok. Over the years, the various government departments had been moved to a variety of neighborhoods in The Hague due to the gradual expanse of the national administration. Between 1970 and 1980, the number of civil servants increased by 27% to 37,000. The Rijksgebouwendienst, RDG (Government Buildings Agency) kept buying more buildings to accommodate these civil servants. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was spread over 23 buildings in the city, the Ministries of Social Affairs and Economic Affairs over 20 buildings, and the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries occupied 12 buildings. However, the government wanted to cluster the ministries, and in 1968 a committee led by minister Schut was installed to solve this problem. The idea was mooted of a "green government center by the sea". The far-sighted Schut did not want a sterile, dead office neighborhood, but integration of the center of government with the city. Functions should not be rigidly separated, as the CIAM advocated. The visionless municipality reacted lukewarmly to Schut's plans; nothing came of it. In the end, the government went its own way (Gemeente Den Haag, 1973; Bruggeman, 1983).

The new city took shape in a wide zone from Spui to Utrechtsebaan with the new, iconic urban ensembles of De Nieuwe Haagse Hout and Bezuidenhout C. The planning area was located between Utrechtsebaan, which was under construction at the time, and the Prins Bernhard Viaduct, Spui, and Bezuidenhoutseweg, with the new Central Station as its center. Bezuidenhout C was on one side of the train tracks and De Nieuwe Hout on the other. Many parts of these plans could be traced back to the publication *Den Haag Snelgroeiende Stad* from 1957 and the *Structuurplan Agglomeratie 's-Gravenhage* (*Structural Plan for the Agglomeration of The Hague*) of 1958 and the related *Verkeerscirculatieplan* (*Traffic Circulation Plan*) of 1968, in which the city was skillfully opened up by ring roads and almost all nineteenth century buildings were to be demolished. These plans came together in the voluminous *Gemeentelijk Ontwerp Structuurplan* (*Municipal Design Structural Plan*) of 1970.

The plan for *De Nieuwe Haagse Hout* was also published in 1970; no plan was ever made for Bezuidenhout C, but both were embedded within this larger urban structural plan. The "blue monster" was never presented to the council, but, perhaps also due to the lack of an alternative, the Department of Urban Development continued to work on the sub-plans, such as the *Verkennende Nota Langzaam Verkeer* (*Exploratory Memorandum on Slow Traffic*) of 1972 and the Ontwerpnota inzake *Verkeers- en Vervoersstructuur Haagse Binnenstad* (*Draft Memorandum on the Traffic and Transport Structure of The Hague City Center*) of 1973. Perhaps the lack of a municipal vision, leading the planners to keep what they were doing under wraps, was part of the communication problems with the government and here building intention in The Hague.

Immediately after the appearance of the "blue monster" in September 1970, the *Voorlopig rapport van de Raad van Vijf—Ringwegen* (*Preliminary Report of the Council of Five—Ring Roads*) by the BNA was published. The architectural profession in The Hague was seriously concerned about the developments of the inner and outer ring road. In the report, the BNA concluded: "The Hague also possesses outside the inner city a number of elements and areas with a distinct character of their own, which are very valuable from the point of view of environmental quality and history (the canals, the green areas, Willemspark, the Archipel neighborhood). Renovation or modification of these neighborhoods will have to be carried out in a careful and gradual manner to prevent the impoverishment of the cityscape by 'bulldozer remediation'" (HGA BNR 0772-01; Dooievaar Archief Hans van Beek: Voorlopig rapport van de Raad van Vijf—Ringwegen).

The municipality brushed aside this report, but the civilized protests of the BNA working group, which included Sjoerd Schamhart and Hans van den Berg, were continued by young activist architects outside the BNA in the Dooievaar working group, neighborhood organizations such as De Groene Eland (The Green Moose, 1973), and the Haags Architecten Café (The Hague Architects' Café, 1977). After Nuij's departure, the old CIAM ideas about the inner city and traffic were fully continued in the *Nota Verkeersafwikkeling Binnenstad* (*memorandum Traffic Settlement Inner City*, 1977). After Zwolsman had sold his interests and lands, the municipality and the new owner, the Algemeen Burgerlijk Pensioenfonds (General Citizens' Pension Fund, ABP), set to work to shape the new city center according to CIAM principles with a service city. Gradually, the frustration with this grew, the tone became more vitriolic, and the protest louder, until the final turnaround in 1980.

De Nieuwe Haagse Hout designed by The Hague architects J.A. Lucas and H.E. Nieuwmeijer consisted of enormous solitary building masses, a wide avenue with trees for pedestrians, and the ring road for car traffic. Remnants of these structures are the Central Station and two departments (one on the spot of Amare is now demolished and the other transformed to Leiden University). The building typology and urban spaces did not fit in with the existing typology and morphology, so that De Nieuwe Haagse Hout was like an island in the city (Van der Sluijs, 1989; Provoost, 1991).

A series of iconic buildings appeared in this city of services. One of the first was the Central Station with a huge office building on top of it (1973/75, by architect Koen van der Gaast). Commissioned by the real estate developer MAB, the Babylon shopping center with offices and a cinema was built (1974/83, designed by Lucas and Niemeyer), a flagship project of Nuij, who was personally involved in the interior design executed by a Parisian interior architect Janos Bartok. The old buildings along Muzenstraat were demolished in 1975. The Government Buildings Agency also commissioned the State Archives

Schilderswijk De 444
Wellingtonstraat.
Photo by P.G.Kempff from 1975
Collection HGA 0.81310.

Schilderswijk De 444, Wellingtonstraat.
Photo by Dienst Stadsontwikkeling from 1976.
Collection HGA 0.81316.

Schilderswijk De 444, Wellingtonstraat.
Photo by Dienst Stadsontwikkeling from 1976.
Collection HGA 2.03973.

(1972/79, designed by Schamhart) on two national plots the Royal Conservatoire (1974/80, by Waterman) on national plot 2, the Palace of Justice (1975, by Sevenhuijsen) also on national plot 2, the Royal Library (1977/81, by Hagoort) on national plots 3 and 4, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1979/84, by Apon) on part of government plot 1. National plot 6 between the Prins Bernhard Viaduct and Uilebomen in Rivierenbuurt was eventually sold back to the municipality.

Furthermore, the government built the Ministries of the Interior and Justice (1974/78) and the Transitorium (ca. 1975), a general office building for all ministries, both designed by Lucas and Niemeyer. As a result of a court ruling on a plan for a tower of about 140 meters by the architect-engineer Nervi, these towers had to be lower than 70 meters. On the west side of the city, the Westeinde Hospital (1975/70, designed by Wiegerinck) and the flats of Kortenbos rose high above the old town.

Many of the plans on the east side of the city had been in preparation for years, but the process of expropriation and demolition was difficult. The government had acquired most of its national plot in Bezuidenhout C before an urban development plan had been drawn up. The legal basis for the approach to this plan was the *Wederopbouwplan Bezuidenhout C* (*Bezuidenhout C Reconstruction Plan*), adopted on February 26, 1962. An earlier plan from 1959 was rejected because it was too expensive to build the railway underground. It was also decided not to position the trams in front of the station. The reconstruction plan mainly focused on roads, and a building percentage and building index were established. Regarding the height and grouping of the buildings, clients and architects were given a free hand. The municipality had also not established any building lines.

The journalist Zwinkels (1982) painted a shocking picture of the planning between Spui and Utrechtsebaan, based on interviewed with those involved. Engineer J.M.A.P.D. Imkamp of Municipal Department for City Development used this picture to envision a Manhattan-like metropolitan city. Regarding the relationship between the municipality and the central government, Imkamp argued that political and administrative matters had been the main factors in the development of this part of The Hague, and that urban planners and architects played only a marginal role in this. Zwinkels and Imkamp concluded that Bezuidenhout C was an excellent opportunity for the Government Buildings Agency to create something in terms of urban planning and to take matters into its own hands.

Difficult Negotiations between the Government, the Municipality, Transport Companies

However, in addition, in those days, it was impossible to negotiate with the railways and regional transport companies, who laid down a diktat. The annual report of the Government Buildings Agency Rgd for 1974 reported the long and difficult process. “After lengthy consultations between the municipality of The Hague, the Dutch Railways, the Ministry of Housing (the Government Buildings Agency), the Ministry of Transport, Public Works and Water Management, and a number of regional transport companies, agreement has been reached on the location of a number of government buildings in the Reconstruction Plan Bezuidenhout C” (RGD annual report 1974: 52). This must have been a painful moment for the brand-new Chief Government Architect Wim Quist, who took office in 1974. Quist did manage to move the bus lane, which was originally planned as a spacious ramp through the area, to the periphery, so that the public space between the proposed government buildings would become car-free. This was probably the reason why three instead of two government buildings were built between Utrechtsebaan and the railway line. After Quist took office, there were regular consultations between the municipality and the Government Buildings Agency, led by Quist, with a municipal urban planner. Frank Sevenhuijsen, Deputy Government Architect between 1971-73 and later, said about the difficult relationship between the government and the municipality: “The Government Buildings Agency is a client whose objective is to realize several buildings. In this respect, it is no different from other clients, including private clients. ... Of course, you have to say that the responsibility for an urban plan lies with the municipality, no matter how you look at it. If the municipality is active and clear, a dialogue arises” (Zwinkels, 1982).

After research and consultation with urban planning office OD205 (first led by the architect Jacques Choisy, later by the architect Arie Hagoort), it was decided to place the bus lane parallel to the Prins Bernhard Viaduct. Chief Government Architect Quist coordinated the work carried out by architects Schamhart, Hagoort, Lucas, Niemeijer, and Apon, aiming to create a high-quality environment between the buildings. When this coordination did not yield the desired result, a team of artists was put to work to make the “ravines” between the high-rise buildings livable. This team proved unable to find a solution to the spatial problems.

After endless deliberation by the municipality and a major argument with Dooievaar, who was assisted by the architect Carel Weeber, the idea for an elevated tram track towards Scheveningen, known as Koekamplus, was abandoned in 1978. In the end, the municipality, together with The Hague architect Sjoerd Schamhart, drew up a memorandum of objectives for Bezuidenhout C. This memorandum contained many suggestions about the mixing of functions and pedestrian areas but hardly any urban planning guidance (Zwinkels, 1982-12). According to Sevenhuijsen, the setting of objectives of the municipality of The Hague and Schamhart came too late. The site was already divided into small sections by roads, railways, and tramways. In the end, the city council did not accept this memorandum. To get the buses off the raised platform, yet another partition was built on this limited site, a bus lane that bisected the national plots 1, 3, and 4.

In 1979, after almost all the government plots had been built up, government architect Quist asked Hagoort to draw up an environmental plan for Bezuidenhout C. In the end, nothing came of the plan to fill in the “ravines” between the buildings, and hundreds of civil servants squeezed through them to work every day.

Schilderswijk De Falckstraat.
Photo by Dienst voor de Stadsontwikkeling from 1985.
Collectie HGA 0.19114.

Schilderswijk De Falckstraat.
Photo by Dienst voor de Stadsontwikkeling from 1985.
Collectie HGA 0.28484.

Schilderswijk Slijpmolen.
Photo by Dienst voor de Stadsontwikkeling from 1985.
Collectie HGA 0.64738.

Schilderswijk De 444, Wellingtonstraat.
Photo by Dienst voor de Stadsontwikkeling from 1985.
Collectie HGA 0.81315.

The Inner Ring Road around the City Center

On the drizzly morning of September 27, 1975, part of the Prins Bernhard viaduct was quietly opened by some city administrators (Duivesteijn & Ten Velden, 1980). The opening was not exactly festive. The cornerstone of the CIAM was the access road to the city, Utrechtsebaan, which was completed in 1976 and connected directly to the inner ring road to distribute traffic in the city. The Prins Bernhard viaduct was the first part of the inner ring road to be extended through a seventeenth century part of the city. This part of the inner ring road had cost 25 million Dutch guilders; the parallel roads along it another 10 million.

This opening took place quietly mainly to avoid provoking the residents and businesses in the area. The city authorities opened the gigantic gray structure by walking over it. From the road surface, drivers must have seen the half-demolished and boarded-up nineteenth century neighborhoods: Bezuidenhout-West, Rivierenbuurt, and Schilderswijk with its seventeenth century courtyard. A four-lane ring road was still planned, which had to go through these areas, and the expropriations and demolitions were already in full swing. Even the liberal VVD had no problem with these expropriations of private companies and individuals. Large public parking garages were built in the old city (on Veerkade, Lutherse Burgwal, Laan, Markthof, and on the current Anna van Buerenstraat next to Central Station, where a large parking garage was built that has since been demolished) between old buildings in places where the inner ring road was planned to pass through. This was supposed to pass through Schilderswijk and then Kortenbos, via Zeeheldenkwartier, Willemspark, and Archipelbuurt. All these neighborhoods offered strong resistance. Finally, it would run through Mauritskwartier to reconnect with Utrechtsebaan.

Working group Dooievaar bombarded the media with images and photomontages of what the people of The Hague were in for. Newspapers regularly published cartoons about the ring road. The older administrators must have been nervous and uncomfortable with the idea that the population, the business community, and the young members of their own political parties were outraged. The grumbling among young urban planners within own Department of Urban Development also became increasingly louder. Van der Sluijs and the existing cadre of civil servants stuck to the CIAM insights, while many young civil servants advocated a completely different view.

Immediately after the start of construction of the Prins Bernhard viaduct in January 1974, the municipal executive of the political parties Labour (PvdA), Social Liberals (D66), and the alternative party Kabouters commissioned an investigation into the core problem of the viaduct to mitigate its effects of creating a separation between various neighborhoods in the city. It was assumed that a grade-separated intersection would be built at the Stille Veerkade and the Spui. The Department of Urban Development wondered whether that was desirable. The section between the Spui and the Nieuwe Haven could be dropped, so the intersection of the city would be less dramatic.

On April 1, 1974, three months after the start of construction, the *Nota Omdat...* (*Memorandum Because…*) by the Department of Urban Development recommended that the viaduct be narrowed and shortened. However, this came too late; according to the Department of Municipal Works, the concrete bridge sections had already been ordered. This advice was not translated into a council proposal by the municipal executive, so the council and the residents were deprived of important information about the transformation of their city. The construction of the viaduct was pushed through.

Carel Weeber, who supported Dooievaar and the young council members, stated in his analysis of the building consequences of the proposals of the Koekamplus study committee: “This viaduct can only be seen as a serious obstacle to the realization of an attractive environment: the excess reminds us of a period in which fast traffic in urban center areas was given too much importance” (Duivesteijn & Ten Velden, 1980).

The criticism shifted from politics to the service that dealt with the city. The seven-part memorandum on the Municipal Design Structural Plan of 1970 would be used as a guideline until 1980, according to civil servant Harkes (personal communication by mail, January 2011), and councilor, urban planner and later alderman Van Otterloo (in an interview on 9 October 2010 with the author), by those who believed in a tabula rasa before urban development could be done.

It was only after 1980 that the idea of the inner ring road was definitively abandoned by the administrators. What was supposed to be the center became a low point for the living environment in The Hague. For many in the city, the failure to create a livable city center was an inspiration to put quality of life high on the political agenda, even though in practice this was not easy. However, local politicians in The Hague were sometimes presented with a fait accompli by the national government, with major consequences, such as the policy of the decentralization of government offices described above.

Schilderswijk De 444.
Photo by Delta-Phot from 1981.
Collection HGA 820264.

7.4
The Rediscovery of the Livability and the City's Past

In the 1970s, The Hague changed from a functionalist city according to CIAM principles, created by specialist to a city that concerned the entire population and where livability and historicity gave new meaning to the city. From the *Municipal Design Structural Plan* (1970) to 'building-for-the-neighborhood'. Residents took a central role in neighborhood development, emphasizing building for the community. The many incidents between the municipality and citizens that accompanied the demolition of old buildings, and the displacement of population were particularly striking. New organizations such as the neighborhood association 'The Green Moose' in the neighborhood Zeeheldenkwartier, Architects' Working Group 'Dooievaar', citizens' organization 'Vrienden van Den Haag' (Friends of The Hague), Municipal Service for Monument Conservation, and the 'Haags Architecten Café' (The Hague Architects' Café, a local architect organization) made their voices heard in the media, contributing significantly to the shift in mindset towards urban development.

Neighborhood Association De Groene Eland

On May 6, 1971, residents were shocked by a loud noise as the municipality embarked on a large-scale operation to cut down thirty monumental Swedish whitebeam trees in Elandstraat. When residents opposed this action, it became evident that the trees were being removed to widen the road profile of Elandstraat for the construction of a ring road. Only a few shopkeepers had been informed about this, while the residents were kept in the dark by the municipality due to the anticipated protest. Zeeheldenkwartier had been denied a zoning plan by the municipality to retain freedom in the demolition and restructuring efforts for the inner ring road. The municipality believed that public involvement in planning would only cause concerns among residents. There was no mention of demolition of Zeeheldenkwartier in the numerous memorandums and development plans. These actions had severe repercussions, and the fight for the neighborhood's quality of life led to the formation of residents' association De Groene Eland (The Green Moose).

Various actions were initiated and signatures were collected for a petition that opposed the construction. Even the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Joseph Luns, who resided at Plein 1813, supported the alternative and added his signature. It became clear that the construction of the ring road would negatively impact the prestigious Willemspark. Within days, 25,000 signatures were gathered, alarming both the local and national press. As a result, the felling of the trees was temporarily postponed, and consultations with the residents were arranged.

Before these consultations, proactive measures were taken. Posters bearing the message that the trees in Elandstraat must be preserved were distributed throughout the neighborhood; one such poster featured a moose with tree branches forming antlers. The unity among residents in the action group De Groene Eland solidified, leading to the establishment of the residents' organization De Groene Eland, which is nowadays called residents' organization Zeeheldenkwartier and is still dedicated to enhancing the quality of life in Zeeheldenkwartier.

Despite collaborative efforts and actions, the discussions with the municipality did not result in the desired outcome, and the trees were eventually cut down. Consequently, Elandstraat became a part of the inner ring road, transforming from a picturesque nineteenth century street into a bustling highway. For years, freight traffic to the city center congested the area, much to the frustration of the residents.

Over the following years, residents faced escalating challenges. Following the sacrifice of Elandstraat to traffic, in 1973 there were plans to sacrifice Piet Heinstraat and Witte de Withstraat to alleviate the heavy traffic burden on Elandstraat. Sections of the neighborhood were demolished to make way for the large supermarket Konmar (currently Albert Heijn XL) on Elandstraat, exacerbating traffic chaos. De Groene Eland thrived and, starting in 1974, began publishing its own newspaper, *Elandkrant*. By the end of that year, it had secured its own building on Piet Heinstraat. The first issue of *Elandkrant* in 1974 reiterated the ideals of a livable city: "A significant number of houses in Zeeheldenkwartier require improvement, renewal, or even demolition; traffic infrastructure is inadequate at many points or threatens the neighborhood's quality of life; green spaces and recreational areas are lacking in Zeeheldenkwartier; disruptive businesses are establishing themselves in the neighborhood and shops are vanishing. In essence, living conditions and the residential atmosphere in much of Zeeheldenkwartier need enhancement." This newspaper had a circulation of 6,000 copies, was published every two months, and was financially supported by advertisements from many local businesses.

A significant victory was achieved by preventing the demolition of many houses to convert Piet Heinstraat and Witte de Withstraat into a major thoroughfare. An article in *Haagsche Courant* on May 31, 1974, highlighted that De Groene Eland had garnered support from across all political parties, drawing in both left-wing and right-wing factions through active lobbying efforts. The battles over various municipal projects were no longer confined to council chambers but were fought on the streets and in the media.

The most notable contrast between the municipality's vision for the city and how residents perceived it was exemplified by the proposed layout changes to Prins Hendrikplein. Initially, the municipality intended to dismantle this significant enclosed square, allowing tram line 3 to run directly through it. However, following strong protests from the neighborhood, this plan was abandoned, and the tram route was rerouted to encircle the center of Zeeheldenkwartier in a semicircle.

In 1974, De Groene Eland, in collaboration with Dooievaar, formulated a bicycle route plan for Piet Heinstraat and Witte de Withstraat. Other neighborhoods expressed interest in extending this cycle route via Weimarstraat to Thorbeckelaan. Additionally, residents advocated for

The Schipperskwartier (also called The Forgotten Village) in 1976 before and 1989 after the urban renewal.
Photo from 1976 by P.G. Kempff and 1989 by Delt-Phot.
Collection HGA 0.86780 and 820482

extending the route through Mauritskade, envisioning a safe cycling path connecting one side of the city to the other—an ambitious proposal championed by residents. However, the municipality initially showed reluctance towards the bicycle route plan. As the municipal elections approached, various party programs, as reported in *Haagsche Courant* on May 31, 1974, started to incorporate discussions about cycling. Ultimately, these efforts evolved into a pilot plan that was later expanded to cover other neighborhoods. This marked a historic triumph, as it thwarted the municipality's proposal to transform Piet Heinstraat and Witte de Withstraat into expressways. Instead, Piet Heinstraat and Witte de Withstraat were transformed into car-free streets designated for cyclists.

Another notable victory for residents was the transformation of Tweede Riemersstraat into one of the first residential areas or living street (in Dutch woonerf), a street where cars are just guests. This initiative stemmed from the research conducted by three Delft students three years earlier. While the plan was eventually approved by the council committee in late 1975, it was subsequently stalled by officials who insisted on conducting a survey among all residents first. Following prolonged back-and-forth, investigations, bureaucratic hurdles, and protests from residents, the residential area was finally established. On June 10, 1977, the area was officially inaugurated in a celebratory event by alderman Wallis de Vries (VVD).

What was once a bustling street with heavy traffic had now been transformed into a green and tranquil space, envisioned as a safe playground for children. However, the increased traffic was redirected to neighboring streets, and later observations revealed that children failed to gain the necessary skills to navigate traffic on the street, thus putting them at greater risk. It became apparent that a residential area did not necessarily provide real safety.

Architects' Working Group Dooievaar

On March 16, 1974, a solemn procession passed through the streets, carrying a bier with a deceased stork, symbolizing the burial of The Hague, as proclaimed by the four bearded pallbearers from the architects' working group Dooievaar, a name that literally means "Dead Stork". This stork had sadly met its demise after being struck by a car at the intersection of Denneweg and Lange Voorhout. The procession made its way to De Haagse Kunstkring (The Hague Art Circle) at Denneweg 64.

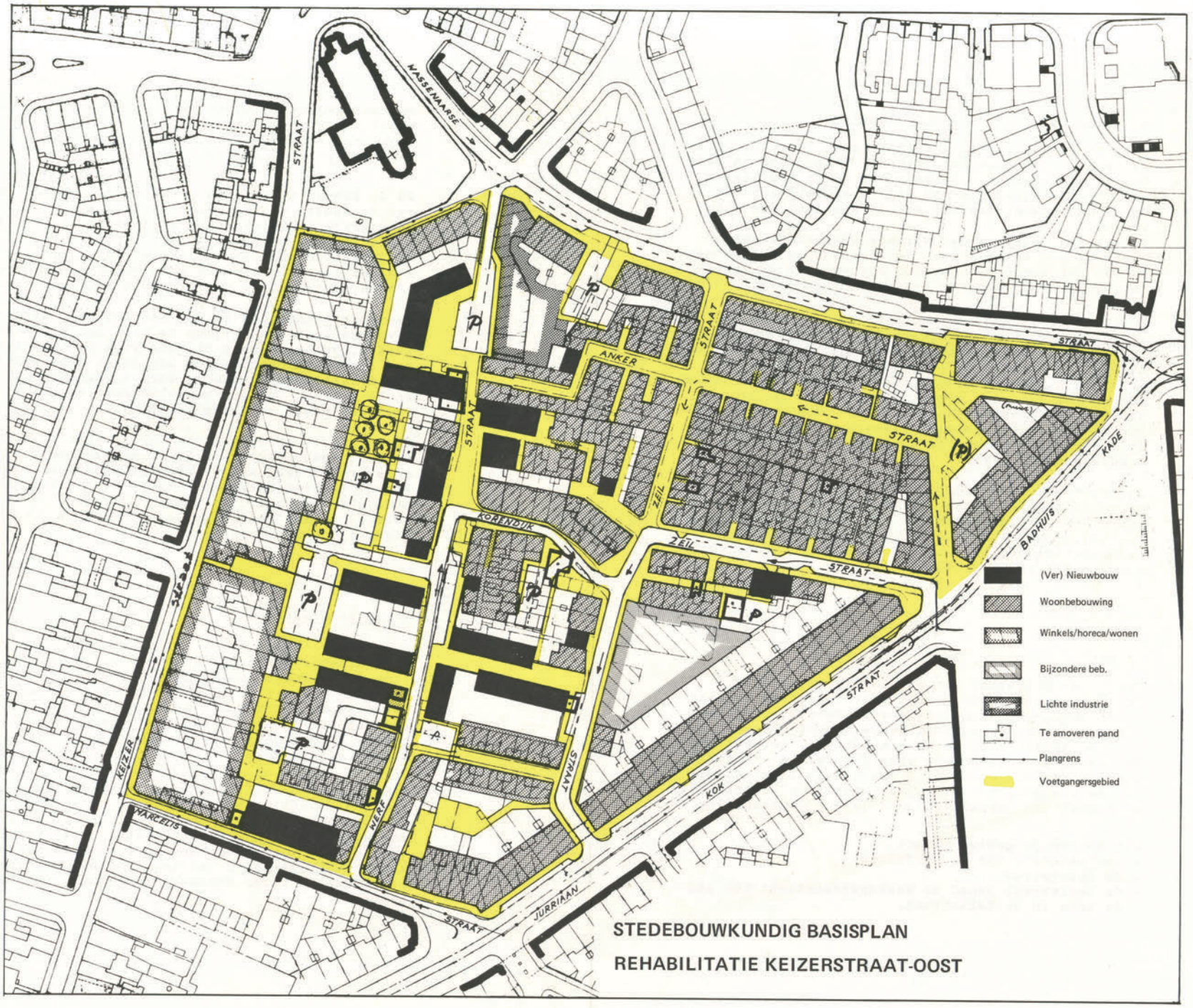
At the Art Circle, an exhibition was inaugurated showcasing the plans proposed by Dooievaar over the past years in collaboration with neighborhood associations to advocate for restricting cars from residential areas. The exhibition also featured photographs illustrating recent developments in The Hague which the working group deemed disastrous. The group was initially founded at the Academy of Architecture in Rotterdam during Carel Weeber's studies there from 1970-1972. It included members Hans van Beek, Leo Hamer, Jan Ledderhof, and Ary van der Stelt (Hans van Beek, personal communication, 10-12-2010; Peter Drijver, personal communication, 6-12-2010; Casper Postmaa, personal communication, 2-11-2010; Joop Bolster, personal communication, 12-01-2011; HGA BNR 0772-01; private Dooievaar archive by Hans van Beek).

The group's criticism primarily centered on the source of discontent — the *Municipal Design Development Plan* of 1970 and its CIAM-based concepts, particularly the implementation of ring roads cutting through the inner city. These initiatives were seen as detrimental to the urban and suburban living environments, with the separation of functions receiving the most criticism. The group believed that the excessive segregation of living, working, and recreational areas necessitated an overreliance on roads and automobiles. The development plan was disparagingly referred to as the "blue monster" or "Mausoleum for the CIAM" by the protesting architects.

Dooievaar aimed to diminish car usage and promote public transportation and cycling. Its vision encompassed an abundance of cycle paths, extensive greenery, and a car-free city center. In a press release directed at Art Circle and the BNA, Dooievaar clarified its mission: "The nature of Dooievaar's work: signaling current urban and traffic engineering phenomena and stressing the importance of involving a broader segment of the population in these matters."

In a meeting held on June 27, 1972, between Dooievaar and alderman Nuij (Labour), councilor Van Hagen (Labour), and the chair of the local labour party Mrs. Schilthuis, the following observations and conclusions were reached: "The *Municipal Design Structural Plan* (1970) will not be presented to the council due to its limited scope, attributing a disproportionate share of traffic to cars, and acknowledging that employment cannot sustain indefinite growth. Accordingly, the Department of Urban Development has been tasked with drafting a comprehensive policy document. This memorandum will not only address The Hague's area but also encompass the wider region's structure and other relevant aspects." (Hans van Beek, personal communication, 10-12-2010; private Dooievaar archive by Hans van Beek). The municipality had been negative experiences with public participation. It was observed: "The people who speak at hearings do not appear to represent the neighborhood. Every two weeks, residents expressed different and often highly specific wishes. Nuij expressed his intention to further discuss this matter in a broader committee to ensure that participation would be handled more effectively and professionally. The absence of zoning plans was also a critical point of discussion, as it effectively left many neighborhoods without proper legal frameworks. This gap allowed administrators to push through undesirable developments without sufficient scrutiny. In essence, Dooievaar emphasized that the population should not be treated as mere subjects but rather as partners in the decision-making process.

In a letter addressed to the city council of The Hague on October 24, 1973, Dooievaar revisited the three contentious memorandums aimed at finalizing the city's development: the *Municipal Design Structural Plan* (1970), the E*xploratory Memorandum on Slow Traffic* (1972), and the *Draft Memorandum on the Traffic and Transport Structure of The Hague City Center* (1973). The analysis conducted by Dooievaar highlighted the absence of a clear vision in the notes, emphasizing the



The Urban Plan for the Rehabilitation of Keizerstraat-Oost from 1973, in which building-for-the-neighborhood in Scheveningen was given meaning. The architect of the houses was Schippers of the architectural firm Centrum voor Sociale Woningbouw (CSW) from De Bilt, part of the Dutch Christian Institute for the Volkshuisvesting. Collection HGA gr.1442.

need for a preliminary statement of objectives from which a coherent vision could be formulated. In the 1973 draft memorandum, the focus was on the number of parking spaces to be created rather than the objectives of the inner city. Dooievaar proposed that 7,000 parking spaces were sufficient, contrasting with the municipality's proposal of 9,000 spaces. The freed-up space could then be repurposed for cyclists, pedestrians, and greenery. It was implied that the underlying vision was to maintain the status quo, but the municipality avoided explicitly communicating this to the public. The *Haagsche Courant* reiterated the core issue:

"What's it all about? To choose between a city composed of isolated residential islands encircled by highways, where everyone can drive their car but where a healthy social fabric no longer exists. Or opt for a city with a human-centered, adaptable structure that offers experiential value and a sense of belonging yet necessitates restricting car usage. In essence, it's a decision between having a city worth living in or facing its absence" (*Haagsche Courant*, September 20, 1974).

It is evident that there was a vision outlined in the memorandums with which Dooievaar and the Haagsche Courant disagreed, leading to the urban challenges the city faced. In the 1973 draft memorandum, policymakers emphasized narrowing the city focus to the inner city, aligning with Plan 2000. The document stated: "The center, particularly the inner city, serves as the central hub of urban life and significantly influences the city's character." This vision depicted a city with a volcano-shaped cross-section, featuring a relatively narrow historical core surrounding the Binnenhof, a four-lane inner ring road with grade-separated crossings, and the establishment of a new city developed over parts of the historic city and the nineteenth century neighborhoods. Moreover, the draft memorandum indicated: "The population has chosen to embrace car usage, with car ownership showing a sharp increase... When devising a plan for the city center, this population choice must be considered." This practice of civil servants presuming to speak on behalf of the public was emblematic of that era. Additionally, to impede administrative transparency, the municipality artificially inflated the reproduction costs for the draft memorandum, raising them to 30 Dutch guilders — although it consisted of just a few stencils and drawings.

On November 5, 1974, Dooievaar presented the alternative memorandum *Stad? …. Weg Stad* (*City? …. It's Gone*), emphasizing the detrimental impact of car traffic on the city's quality of life. In its foundational principles, Dooievaar explicitly posed the rhetorical question: should urban planning continue to prioritize cars, or should people reclaim the central focus? A key aspect addressed was the critical view of the functional segregation approach advocated by the CIAM. There were objections to the city's compartmentalization into residential (suburbs), commercial (downtown), and recreational areas, which necessitated constant car transportation between them.

Following Nuij's departure, the 1977 memorandum on *Verkeersafwikkeling Binnenstad* (*Traffic Settlement in the City Center*) once again proposed an inner ring road, disregarding the efforts and concerns raised by De Groene Eland, Dooievaar, and the residents' organizations. It seemingly ignored their existence and the issues they raised regarding the city's development.

Civil Society Organizations

As described in the introduction, the planned demolition of the Kurhaus in 1973 by Zwolsman shook up the population of The Hague, and people revolted to save the building from demolition. This time, it was just hippies or a few protesters, but a broad-based resistance in which the historical awareness of the citizens about the city played an important role.

Until now, mainly monuments, townscapes, and village views from before 1850 had been protected. In 1971, the Ministerie van Welzijn, Volksgezondheid en Cultuur (Ministry of Welfare, Public Health, and Culture) designated various parts of the center of The Hague as a nationally protected cityscape, such as the city center within the ring road and Willemspark. However, the demolition of the city continued, and in 1973 concerned residents of The Hague founded the association Vrienden van Den Haag (Friends of The Hague). The planned demolition of the Kurhaus by Zwolsman was the spark that ignited the powder keg. Citizens wanted to be involved in the development of the city and, above all, to preserve its heritage. The articles of the association described its objective as: "To promote the quality of life in The Hague while retaining its characteristic values."

The Friends provided frequent unsolicited advice to the city council, and through publications in newspapers and the association's magazine, they drew attention to the significance of heritage for the city. In 1974, the Stichting Monumentenfonds Den Haag en Omgeving (Foundation for the Monument Fund of The Hague and the Environment) was founded. The main purpose of this foundation was to advocate for the preservation or reconstruction of everything that contributes to the atmosphere in and around the city, the living environment of the inhabitants, and the enrichment of urban and landscape beauty. The foundation focused on preserving special and less profitable monuments.

In 1974, following a motion accepted by the council, the municipal executive established a Steering Committee on Monument Policy, led by G.C. Wallis de Vries, alderman for Public Works, Traffic, and Transport. For the municipal Dienst voor Schone Kunsten (Department of Fine Arts), L.J.F. Wijsenbeek and J.J.Th. Sillevis were members of the committee. The year 1975 was designated as the International Year of the Monument.

In 1976, the Ministry of Culture, Recreation, and Social Work announced a new funding scheme for the restoration of residential monuments as part of urban renewal plans. That same year, the municipal steering committee developed a memorandum titled *Zicht op Stadsgezicht en Monument — Nota over het Haagse Monumentenbeleid* (*View of Cityscape and Monument—Memorandum on The Hague's Monument Policy*). The memorandum recommended the establishment of a monument office at the municipal level. It delved deep into discussions and objectives for monument policy in

The Urban Plan for the Rehabilitation of Keizerstraat-Oost from 1973, in which building-for-the-neighborhood in Scheveningen was given meaning. The architect of the houses was Schippers of the architectural firm Centrum voor Sociale Woningbouw (CSW) from De Bilt, part of the Dutch Christian Institute for the Volkshuisvesting. The houses were fitted into the urban structure in two phases between 1975 and 1978.
Photo’s from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

The Hague. The introduction to the memorandum emphasized the importance of not only protected monuments and cityscapes, but also unprotected ones. In the discussions held in 1976 in the steering committee, various motives for preserving monuments in The Hague were considered. The key reasons included: citizens' familiarity with their own environment, neighborhood recognizability and city orientation—as many neighborhoods had distinct characteristics and identities—and the symbolic impact of buildings that contributed to the overall recognizability of the city. This marked an important step, as the historical significance of neighborhoods started to play a role, with differences between neighborhoods being identified not only by public housing categories but also based on their historical background. This meant that the monument policy conflicted with the public housing policy. While one advocated for preservation, the other favored demolition.

In January 1977, on the initiative of the Stichting Monumentenfonds Den Haag en Omgeving (Foundation Monument Fund The Hague and Surroundings), a group of influential figures in the city involved in the development of the city center and its monuments established the independent Stadsherstel Den Haag en Omgeving (City Restoration The Hague and Surroundings). With financial support from the monument fund, City Restoration took charge of the restoration of the city. The establishment of City Restoration, led by Molhuysen, enabled the creation of a professional organization dedicated to addressing the restoration of neglected monumental buildings in the city center, while increasing their potential for commercial use.

In October 1977, the Gemeentelijk Bureau Monumentenzorg (Municipal Office for the Preservation of Monuments) was established. As early as 1915, a first inventory of monuments in The Hague had been created. Initially, it was a list created by the government, called the Voorlopige lijst der Nederlandse monumenten van geschiedenis en kunst (Provisional List of Dutch Monuments of History and Art). These were exclusively buildings constructed before 1850. The Hague became one of the first municipalities with its own municipal ordinance and a municipal monument list of 235 buildings. By 1961, The Hague had a total of 740 monuments on the government's list, and by 1987, this number had risen to 760. Following the Second World War, a substantial amount of restoration work was undertaken, primarily focusing on churches and government buildings (Gemeente Den Haag, 1987). In 1980, the first The Hague Monument List was compiled. From 1984 onwards, monuments, particularly ensembles of urban planning and architecture that had significance in The Hague's history, were documented in various publications by The Hague Monumentenzorg (Monument Care), including the well-known VOM book series.

Inventorization, Categorization and Interpretation: Architectural Monuments

The The Hague information service also began to pay close attention to the historical significance of the city. The 1976 municipal publication appropriately titled *Den Haag Stad om te Blijven* (*The Hague City to Stay*), acknowledged the growing interest in historical significance, but highlighted the challenge of a diminishing city center area with historical monuments and the need for extensive remediation of monumental buildings (Gemeente Den Haag, 1976). It expressed a sense of irony in the situation, considering The Hague's age and history, stating: "It's crazy, with such an ancient city as The Hague. On one hand, there's a longing for the old, for the historical. An increased interest in everything that reflects a grand past. But beyond that historical core, the term "historic" isn't applied to the "old" neighborhoods. Instead, ideas of renovation, urban renewal, and rehabilitation come into play."

In addition to the interest in preserving historical monuments, there was also a growing appreciation for the everyday city life of the past. The photo book *Den Haag en Omstreken in 19de-eeuwse Foto's* (*The Hague and its Surroundings in Nineteenth-Century Photographs*) (Nieuwenhuijzen & Slechte, 1975) offered a different perspective of the cityscape compared to previous publications. Alongside images of monuments, the book featured numerous photographs of working-class neighborhoods, people in modest attire, and decaying seventeenth century houses, often captured by unknown photographers. The book concluded with a lengthy essay by C.H. Slechte, vividly describing the challenges and struggles of the nineteenth century city built on peat bogs. This publication provided a valuable glimpse into the everyday lives and living conditions of the past, offering a more comprehensive view of The Hague's history beyond its grand monuments.

The book *Den Haag—Over bouwen, breken en behouden* (*The Hague—About building, demolishing, and preserving*) presented a contrasting cityscape as well (Van der Mast & Rijven, 1976). Authored by Michiel van der Mast, who was employed at the Municipal Museum, the book raised the crucial question of whether achieving the right balance between construction, demolition, and preservation could ultimately enhance the quality of life in The Hague. This publication marked the first time such significant debates were addressed in a government-related work. Although not directly produced by the municipality itself, the Department of Urban Development, the municipal archives, and the Municipal Museum collaborated on this book in support of a passionate civil servant like Van der Mast. The book shed light on the city's evolving landscape and brought attention to the intricate interplay between building new, tearing down, and conserving historical elements for a sustainable urban environment.

The book *Bouwen op Haagse Gronden* (*Building on The Hague Grounds*), which detailed the history of municipal contractor HABO, provided a comprehensive overview of urban planning policy from the interbellum onwards, in relation to local politics. Drees, who had been involved with the establishment of HABO as an alderman, wrote the foreword (Van der Leeuw-Roord et al., 1981).

In 1988, the first comprehensive architectural guide of The Hague was published, the *Architectuurgids Den Haag 1800-1940* (*Architecture Guide The Hague 1800-1940*). The guide was compiled by employees of the newly established Gemeentelijk Bureau Monumentzorg (Municipal

Office for Monument Preservation), including H.P.R. Rosenberg, Christiaan Vailliant, and Dick Valentijn. Kees Stal from the municipal archives contributed data on architects and construction years. The monuments were described within their historical and spatial contexts, providing valuable insights into the architectural heritage of The Hague. This guide became a foundational reference work for numerous publications in the 1990s.

Stal commented in the book *Den Haag: Beelden van Toen & Nu* (*The Hague: Images of Then & Now*) from 1992 that: "All in all, the changes that the cityscape has undergone in the last hundred years have brought about nothing less than a visual revolution. High-speed traffic, large-scale modern technology, and urbanization have rapidly transformed what had been developed over centuries into what appeared to be a gradual, almost organic growth process: a revolution in a The Hague that seemed to lead a calm and static existence a hundred years ago" (Stal & Spaans, 1992).

The Hague's Protected Cityscapes

It wasn't until 1996 that eight neighborhoods in The Hague were designated as a National Protected Cityscape by the government. These neighborhoods were laid out between 1850 and 1940: Van Stolkpark, Statenkwartier, Duinoord, Archipelbuurt, Zorgvliet, Westbroekpark, Benoordenhout, and Marlot. The designation of these neighborhoods took place in 1993 based on an inventory conducted by the Municipal Bureau for Monument Care. The *Notitie Monumentenzorg 1995-2005: zicht op stadsgezicht en monument 3* (*Memorandum on the Preservation of Monuments 1995-2005: Focusing on Cityscape and Monument*) (Schmidt, 1996) introduced a new approach to preservation. This pioneering initiative positioned The Hague ahead of other cities in the Netherlands, as noted by Schmidt (1996). Lankamp, representing Municipal Bureau for Monument Care, argued that protecting a cityscape was not a choice but came with inherent obligations:

"The most significant obligation is ensuring that the zoning plan for the protected cityscape effectively safeguards the values outlined in the designation decision. Currently, the zoning plans for the eight neighborhoods are already conservative, with only minor adjustments needed. Furthermore, according to the Monuments Act, any demolition within a protected cityscape necessitates a permit. This requirement ensures that the impact of proposed demolition on the neighborhoods value is carefully assessed" (Schmidt, 1996).

Since then, neighborhoods have been distinguished by their unique characters based on historic buildings and urban spaces. Starting from the 1980s, terms like "cityscape" and "neighborhood character" became common in municipal documents and publications, whereas prior to 1970, these terms were seldom found. From 1988 onwards, the historical context of a neighborhood became the foundation for heritage descriptions (Rosenberg et al., 1988; Freijser et al., 1991; Van der Hoeve et al., 1992; Koopmans, 1994; Van Boven et al., 1997). The architectural historians of Municipal Bureau for Monument Care justified this as follows: "An architectural-historical and urban planning introduction precedes the section where the buildings are described neighborhood-by-neighborhood. Each neighborhood is provided with a brief history and characteristics introduction, followed by descriptions of individual buildings" (Rosenberg et al., 1988). This line was eventually implemented by the municipality in *Den Haag 2000 monumenten—Haags Monumenteninformatiesysteem* (*The Hague 2000 Monuments—The Hague Monument Information System*) (Gemeente Den Haag, 1999), the *Welstandsnota* (*Aesthetic Memorandum*) (Gemeente Den Haag, 2004) and the handy *Praktijk Pocket Welstand* (*Practical Aesthetics Guide*) (Gemeente Den Haag, 2004).

Between 1980 and 2005, there was a strong historical consciousness regarding urban ensembles, particularly neighborhoods. After 2010, reflections on the city shifted towards isolating heritage from its urban context and organizing it chronologically on a timeline.

The collective efforts of various neighborhood associations, architectural working groups, and enthusiasts of architecture and history played a pivotal role in pushing The Hague past a tipping point during these years. Consequently, this marked the end of an era characterized by extensive CIAM urban development projects and the construction of major ring roads, signaling a shift towards a more balanced and heritage-conscious urban development approach.

New Paths: National and International Influences

What was Wrong in the City?

Another theme is the complete disappearance of existing buildings and street patterns within the building lines, replaced by a new ensemble of urban blocks, strips, and corners around or near green spaces. In the 1975 Ontwerpnota Stadsvernieuwing in Den Haag (Draft Memorandum on Urban Renewal in The Hague), the councilors Duivesteijn, Ten Velden and architect Jagtman were crystal clear about their approach to urban renewal, as well as about what they saw as the appalling quality of the old neighborhoods:

- Long, straight, narrow streets with densely packed buildings.
- Green spaces are almost entirely lacking.
- Very few playgrounds for children.
- Courtyards filled with extensions and small businesses.
- Cars occupy almost the entire street, leaving narrow lanes and walkways for cyclists and pedestrians.
- Socio-cultural, medical, and educational facilities are underrepresented in working-class neighborhoods.
- In working-class neighborhoods, there are companies such as warehouses, junkyards, et cetera, which may add some liveliness but often cause nuisances and do not improve the quality of the living environment.

However, nationally and internationally there were important developments in architecture and urban design. These developments influenced architects, urban planners and councilors in The Hague.

An Exemplary Project for The Hague: Lillington Street, London

The changes that offered residents a perspective did not only come from politics but were made possible by developments within the professional disciplines of urban planning and architecture. In the early 1970s, The Hague architect Schamhart and alderman Nuij visited Lillington Gardens Estate of Street Housing in London, in the Pimlico neighborhood of Westminster. It was a newly completed residential ensemble between Vauxhall Bridge Road and Tachbrook Street. Lillington Gardens was a model project which the architects and Nuij used for Couperusduin (Hans van Beek, personal communication, 10-12-2010; Joop ten Velden, personal communication, 3-3-2011).

The project consisted of several buildings and half open urban blocks that enclosed green courtyards. It had a clear urban front on the street side and an interior with greenery. This urban ensemble brought together several qualities that would later become important in city building: diversity like that found in old cities, high housing density, variation in shapes, coherence of urban space with buildings, materials that support urbanity such as brick, and a variety of entrances and passages. The urban ensemble was integrated into the morphology of the urban landscape, but the buildings that once stood there were not preserved. There were no historical references in its austere brick architecture.

Hans van Beek, who worked on Couperusduin, cited Lillington as an example. Characteristics of Lillington can be found in projects such as Couperusduin, Markthof, and Oranjeplein, as well as in other super urban blocks. However, due to a lack of funding and legislation preventing the integration of social housing with other functions, these ideas were not always executed with the same level of richness. Lillington's concepts could also be observed in the layout of new residential neighborhoods. An example of this is seen in the development of De Nieuwe Hout (Bezuidenhout West), situated between Utrechtsebaan, the railway, Schenk viaduct, and Prince Bernhard viaduct. At a council meeting, a book with photos of Lillington Street it was reviewed (Joop ten Velden, personal communication, 3-3-2011; Gerard van Otterloo, personal communication, 9-11-2010).

One of Lillington's characteristics are the informal paths, corridors, and shortcuts. These can also be found at Couperusduin, ZHB-Hoven, Markthof, and Oranjeplein. This theme was also seen in the city center. The idea of a shopping arcade with refined urban spaces meandering between old buildings was also seen in Lillington Street, in addition to a study by Jane Jacobs (1961), which gained great popularity with the Provincial Planning Service. Entrepreneurs saw opportunities, and several shopping passages were built or reinstated in the old center. In addition to the monumental Haagse Passage from 1885, there was also the Vroom and Dreesman arcade between Spuistraat and Grote Markstraat. In the interbellum, this was still a new, modern arcade with lots of glass and crisp shop windows. Around 1974, Koninginnepassage was completed, connecting Hoogstraat with Paapstraat and Annastraat. There was also an arcade connecting Hoogstraat with Buitenhof, and Panderpassage on the corner of Vlamingstraat and Waagstraat near Weversplaats, built around 1972. The Markthofpassage connected Gedempte Gracht with Grote Marktstraat and was fully operational by 1972. The Pasadenapassage connected Waagstraat with Groenmarkt. Markthof also had an arcade meandering through the building, connecting streets. The Babylon shopping center next to the train station, built in the period 1974 and 1983 and designed by the architectural firm Lucas and Ellerman, was also given an arcade, but that was one of the last arcades built in The Hague.

Team X, Nationale Stichting Nieuwe Woonvormen and Stichting Architectenresearch

Architects from The Hague were part of the Dutch architectural community and built all over the Netherlands. There was also plenty of construction in The Hague by architects from elsewhere. Local developments therefore ran parallel to national ones, both were inspired by foreign developments.

Already in a manifesto presented at the CIAM Congress of Otterlo in 1959, Aldo van Eyck and the members of Team X had declared that CIAM was dead (Van Heuvel, 1992). Out of this movement developed the Structuralism in architecture. The starting points of the new ideas were: (a) high housing density (50 dwellings/ha instead of the average 25); (b) integration of living, working, and recreation; (c) priority for pedestrians and cyclists; (d) moving cars to the outskirts of the neighborhood; (e) paying close attention to the local characteristics of the environment.

John Habraken developed and promoted the 'open building' with the 'support-and-infill concept' in his book *De dragers en de mensen* (*The Carriers and the People*) (1961), as an alternative to mass housing in the Netherlands. The 'open building,' or 'support,' approach involves more participants in the design and construction process. Professional architects and contractors provide the open building structure, while residents complete and customize the interior within that structure. This concept allowed individual residents space for individuality and self-expression while making optimal use of production techniques to keep rents low. The Stichting Architectenresearch (Foundation for Architectural Research, SAR) was established in 1964 to further investigate and develop these ideas.

In 1968, the Nationale Stichting Nieuwe Woonvormen (National Foundation for New Forms of Housing) was founded. Government, architects, housing associations, consultants, and contractors united to demonstrate that a different way of building could be realized without significant rent increases. It criticized the large-scale flats that had been built. Another foundation that emerged during these years was the Stichting Experimentele Woonvormen (Foundation for Experimental Housing Forms), later reformed to the Stuurgroep Experimenten Volkshuisvesting (Steering Committee for Experiments in Public Housing, SEV).

Couperusduin reseidential appartments Burgemeenster Patijnlaan, designed by atelier PRO architekts Sjoerd Schamhart and Hans van Beek in the period 1974-1978. Source: atelier PRO architects, photo by Peter de Ruig.

At the end of 1971, the first experimental, subsidized project started in Berkel en Rodenrijs. The architects were W. Brinkman, J. Verhoeven, H. Klunder, and N. Witstok. A residential area of 535 social housing units was completed in 1972. ZHB-hoven in The Hague was an experiment that followed.

However, there were complex challenges, for example the way of financing and organizing by inhabitants, and the public housing machine turned out to be more difficult to manage. The ideas of support-and-infill faced obstacles from regulations and guidelines, hindering innovation. In the end, the Dutch variant of structuralism was criticized as new clumsiness by the Dutch writer and columnist Gerrit Komrij and architect Carel Weeber. Little came of structuralism and the support-and-infill-concept. The differences of opinion between architects were also considerable.

The Super Urban Blocks of The Hague's Urban Renewal

For aldermen, the super urban block was the solution to the housing shortage and affordability in an urban environment. These projects were important exemplary endeavors by aldermen, showcasing the quality of life and positioning The Hague as an attractive place to live. They served as effective political tools to garner support from voters, as everyone could see how neglected the old city was. The most striking early super urban blocks were:

- Residential urban blocks 'De 444' of the Schilderwijk, constructed between 1973-1976, designed by Age van Randen and Peter van Schagen.
- Residential compex Couperusduin, constructed between 1972-1975 in Archipelbuurt designed by Sjoerd Schamhart and Hans van Beek.
- Residential complex ZHB-Hoven, constructed between 1975-1981 in Kortenbos, designed by the Henk Klunder.
- Residential complex with offices and shops 'De Markthof' in Gedempte Gracht, constructed between 1975-1978), designed by Verhave, Luyt, and De Iongh.
- Residential complex with shops 'De 222' in Frederikstraat Archipelbuurt, constructed form 1976, designed by Group 5 Architects and Urban Planners (Edsard Luursema, Van de Linden, Bram van Hengel, and Dick Koersen).
- Schipperskwartier residential area in Laakhavens, constructed between 1980-1985, designed by Andries van Wijngaarden.
- De Nieuwe Hout residential area in Bezuidenhout-West, constructed from 1978, designed by Group 5 (Bram van Hengel and Wladimir Roemjantsev).

7.5
Debate on the Cityscape of The Hague

Who Was to Blame?

On November 20, 1979, a forum was held to including municipal councilors, aldermen, civil servants, real estate developers, contractors, architects, residents' organizations, and Stadsherstel regarding the state of The Hague after the war, which had left the city in ruins and caused a decline in population. Essentially, this debate centered around the cityscape of The Hague.

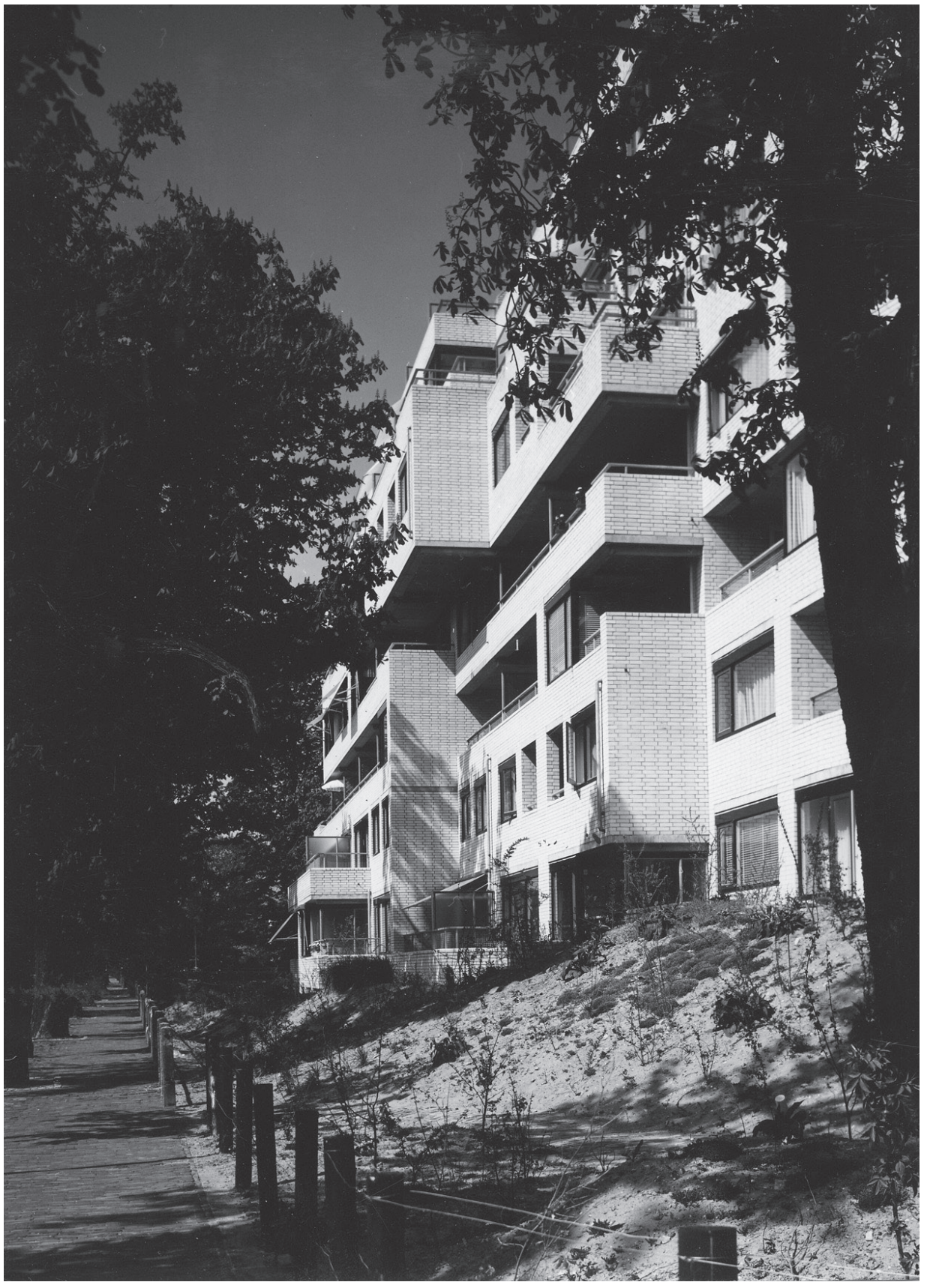
The catalyst for this discussion was the publication of the book *Den Haag op z'n smalst: Teloorgang van een hofstad* (*The Hague at its Narrowest: Loss of a Courtly City*), a compilation of articles that had appeared in Haagse Courant, featuring somber photos of the city's ruins (Postmaa & Versteeg, 1979). Among the contributors were Casper Postmaa and urban planner and Delft professor Niek de Boer.

Many speakers argued that action should have been taken earlier. This was the only point of agreement; otherwise, opinions diverged regarding the city and its future. The dire state of The Hague in 1979 was evident to all residents, with approximately 25% of its population lost between 1960 and 1979—much more than in Amsterdam or other cities. The city had become a landscape of ruins, marked by sandy plains and boarded-up houses. A common criticism was directed at the Department of Urban Development under the leadership of Van der Sluijs. This criticism was echoed by young urban planners within the department itself and was shared by young council members.

The Heritage and Exemption Policy of the Municipality

The first question posed to the forum immediately sparked a lively discussion: had too little attention been paid to heritage in recent years? Young councilors such as Verduyn Lunell (progressive party, PPR) thought so, but he was ignored and even ridiculed by councilors. Councilor Otter-te-Kolsté (Christian democrats) summed up the situation candidly: "I think the city is a mirror of the times. You can see all kinds of historical periods there that you can recognize. We felt small and poor after the war, and we all looked at America with glassy eyes. Everything there was big, new, and clean. We've tried to imitate that a bit here. Now we're stuck with images that don't seem to fit into our environment" (Postmaa & Versteeg, 1979, last chapter: Broad discussion).

There was also a much more important problem. In the post-war period, a huge population explosion was expected. So, houses had to be built with all available resources; construction became an efficient machine that had its own laws and logic. Building in the free polders of Southwest and Mariahoeve went smoothly. The clashes mainly revolved around building in the old town with its long heritage. Of course, the forum wondered why the process of destroying the city center in The Hague was going faster than in other cities, except



Couperusduin reseidential appartments Burgemeenster Patijnlaan, designed by atelier PRO architekts Sjoerd Schamhart and Hans van Beek in the period 1974-1978. Source: atelier PRO architects, photo by Peter de Ruig.

Rotterdam which had been damaged in the war.

Mr. Jonker of building and real estate development company Wilma Bouw pointed to the influence of the national government and the type of buildings that were built in The Hague: “Partly it is due to dilapidation, but for the rest, it lies largely in a loss of function of the buildings. Especially the large mansions, as we knew them at the time on Raamweg, Koninginnegracht, well, you name them. After the war, the phenomenon arose that those houses were no longer inhabited, for whatever reason. The houses were too big, or the people had disappeared and gradually you could see them turning into offices. At the time, the state owned several hundred of these houses. Then came the enormous development of the apparatus, the enlargement of the government departments, by thousands of people, and in five years, I believe, five thousand civil servants had been added. That didn’t work anymore in those mansions, so then you got a second loss of function. The mansions could no longer be maintained as offices and large-scale projects had to be carried out if the national government was to be able to serve with good accommodations. So, then, what will be their new function in such a city? That is extremely difficult, coming up with functions for old buildings” (Postmaa & Versteeg, 1979, last chapter: Broad discussion).

The debate was based on good intentions among all parties. Everyone acknowledged that a lot had gone wrong, not only in the relationship between the city and the national government, but also that a lack of appreciation for heritage was visible.

Councilor Rob Heus (liberal party, VVD) believed that the municipality should put its own house in order, especially regarding the municipality exemption policy. The ministries on Spui could never have been built if the municipality had not granted an exemption: “A project developer builds what he is allowed to build. And who decides what can be built? To a large extent, the municipal council” (Postmaa & Versteeg, 1979, last chapter: Broad discussion).

Who Determines the Cityscape?

The cityscape of The Hague after the war was shaped by prevailing social attitudes, where economic-functional requirements and the production of many homes were the main aims, while maintaining the character of The Hague was crucial. The question arose who specifically determined the cityscape. Was it project developers like Zwolsman, the national government, the municipal council, or did they all play a part?

Jonker of Wilma Bouw argued: “The cityscape is not determined by project developers, but by the city council, and I do not believe that the project developers have been able to create something undesirable. If they don’t get permission to build it, it won’t happen. That’s very clear” (Postmaa & Versteeg, 1979, last chapter: Broad discussion). Mr. Bol of builder-developer MAB also regretted the lack of communication with the municipality. He expressed a desire for a sounding board in the short term to refine plans together with administrators.

Mr. Molhuysen (Stadsherstel) argued that the interests of commerce had prevailed, resulting in significant damage. According to Molhuysen, after the war, society had moved in a direction where the interests of the people were no longer paramount. The consensus was that the municipality’s instruments were inadequate, and municipal guidance was lacking.

But was that really the case? Perhaps the municipality rode the waves of post-war renewal too much, without considering the consequences for the old parts of the city and the residents who lived there. Construction companies and developers were free to act as they pleased, thanks to the exemption policy and the absence of zoning plans, and this was not an accidental policy. No obstacles were put in the way of developers, and the council wholeheartedly supported these developments. It seems that guidance from the municipal government was deliberately lacking.

Councilor Verduyn Lunell (progressive party, PPR) regretted the course of events, as did the people of The Hague, because dissatisfaction and unease about these developments were widespread. Protests erupted everywhere, with neighborhood associations objecting to the new Central Station by the architect Koen van der Gaast, to Utrechtsebaan, and to the new government departments. But the city council remained deaf. Van der Sluijs argued: “It is extremely difficult to adjust certain decisions when thinking goes in a different direction. I call that the flywheel function” (Postmaa & Versteeg, 1979, last chapter: Broad discussion).

In short, a production machine had been set in motion that was rampaging blindly through the fields, and when it arrived at the old city, no one could control it. In fact, the situation was caused by close interplay of all those involved, with implicit rules and customs, leading to a tradition of dealing with the building process in which no attention was paid to the old city structures and buildings. For the architect Sjoerd Schamhart, this post-war development was a sign of the times: growth was paramount. Everyone went along with that: “because if I get an order for fifty million, I must design for fifty million, and then I can’t design for five million. Society is like that now, and you can’t expect the buildings that are created to be different from what society is” (Postmaa & Versteeg, 1979, last chapter: Broad discussion).

Although the call for a strong government with more power resounded throughout the debate, the matter was more complicated. It was architect Gerard Prins who pinpointed the issue. He argued that it was not about a strong authoritarian government but a communicative government, one that can organize all interests effectively. The government (city council and Department of Urban Development) should not seek to impose its will on the city with top-down policies without a unified vision, even if it acted with good intentions. Prins referred to Berlage’s development of Amsterdam South: “It was built by many “self-builders” who did so with great vigor and speed. They had a particular interest in making it beautiful. There was an alderman who wholeheartedly supported this. These “self-builders” in turn engaged the services of a few competent architects. Amsterdam was the Mecca of construction in the thirties, through a combination of housing associations, supported by the city council” (Postmaa & Versteeg, 1979,

last chapter: Broad discussion).

Apparently, most forum members were convinced of the top-down approach to urban problems, and there was a reluctance to communicate with the population. The final question for this theme was: to what extent is it to be welcomed that the population demands more say in the changes to be made to the cityscape? It was deemed that the future should be about adjustments, new and better plans, better management techniques, and better consultations. With the alderman and his Department of Urban Development in the control room, supported by the council and developers. The three main parties (councilors, builders-developers, and Department of Urban Development) pointed out to each other where things went wrong, but generally were satisfied with the cityscape that had been created in the post-war period. This cityscape was based on the "neighborhood idea" and ring roads to relieve the old city: an articulated and divided city according to the principles of the CIAM. The redevelopment in the city in 1950 to 1970 focused, in short, on city formation and suburbanization with the car as the means of transport for everyone.

Is the Compact City an Alternative?

The architect Gerard Prins stated in the discussion: "What needs to be done here is to bring back the city. There must be compact urban construction. We need to live in a real city again. This migration to the suburbs and new towns must be stopped. Just look at the traffic jams on the roads. Those poor people, the heart attacks and disasters that take place there in those traffic jams to get into the city in the morning and out again. You must imagine the damage that means" (Postmaa & Versteeg, 1979, last chapter: Broad discussion).

Many were talking about the concept of the compact city as an alternative. Prins paints a clear picture of the compact city, where high-density-urban living should take center stage, as advocated by Delft professor Niek de Boer. Prins was supported by councilor Otter-te-Kolsté (Christian democrats). In particular, the number of residents must increase considerably, an overall vision must be developed, densification must be carried out, and the large-scale faults in the city must be hidden by other buildings. Prins argued for the restoration and strengthening of the city center, the prevention of anti-urban behavior, and an end to the transformation of inner cities. Compact urban construction of buildings was his motto, in order to increase the number of residents. No more moving government departments to distant regions; the city should not be dismantled, but changed into a powerful inner city.

Councilor Geldersblom (social liberal D66) proposed making zoning plans to protect the city. There was even talk of emergency zoning plans. She also thought that the large pieces of empty land should finally be built on. But who was responsible for the path that city building would take? Professor and urban planner Niek de Boer was not the only one who became emotional when he looked back on the past period.

Councilor Adri Duivesteijn (Labour) and journalists from Haagsche Courant were also scathing about the Department of Urban Development led by Van der Sluijs:

"His vision has more than once been decisive for whether the architects' ideas were implemented. As head of the Department of Urban Development, he has been in charge for almost twenty years, and it extends its threads to all new developments in The Hague. A lot changed in those twenty years. Insights about high-rise and low-rise buildings, large or small-scale approaches, traffic management, demolition, and conservation are constantly changing. The men politically responsible for his actions, the aldermen, also changed over the years. Only Van der Sluijs stayed" (Postmaa & Versteeg, 1979, in the chapter 'We thought differently then. The power of civil servant Van der Sluijs').

Van der Sluijs is said to have left too personal a mark on the renewal of the city. At the age of 27, he had entered the Department of Urban Development, working with Dudok and Bakker Schut Sr. and Jr. In 1962, he succeeded F. Bakker Schut as director. This was a time of building large neighborhoods in Southwest and Mariahoeve, of quantity prevailing over quality, and of a strong municipal hand. However, times had changed since then, leading to the current debate.

Failed International Ambitions or Changing Times?

Van der Sluijs rejected the accusation that there was no vision. He argued that there was in fact a vision and guidance by the city: the anti-urban views were widely supported between 1950 and 1970, even by the Labour Party. The acute housing shortage led to the decision to construct large-scale postwar reconstruction neighborhoods and cul-de-sac suburbs on the urban periphery, as well as *groeikernen* (growth centers) further away from the city. The old city, by contrast, was to be demolished and renewed to better accommodate traffic through ring roads, parking garages, and the concentration of services in the city center. It was assumed that residents would move on to the newly built suburban districts.

However, Van der Sluijs admitted without much difficulty that he regretted certain projects: Prince Bernhard Viaduct, the gallery apartments of the residential building of ten stories on Westduinweg (the flats of Lindoduin), and the four residential towers along Lozerlaan. He also questioning the necessity of Hubertus Viaduct. However, alderman Hardon (Labour) and Van der Sluijs opposed any accusation against one person or municipal executive regarding the contemporary cityscape.

Hardon argued: "It was also the spirit of the times. These accusations have not been sufficiently contrasted with the developments that were going on at the time. Now plans have been realized, of which you say: how is this possible? But you must bear in mind that there were enormous pretensions to making The Hague, well, a global city, so to speak" (Postmaa & Versteeg, 1979, in the chapter 'We thought differently then. The power of civil servant Van der Sluijs').

The ideal of an international city, the dream of America and images of

Manhattan were prevalent in the postwar period. As the man of the first hour, Van der Sluijs added to the views of his alderman Hardon: "The mess we faced in '54. That was the challenge. In addition, we were assumed to have 21 million people. Everyone saw that storm coming their way. No one could have imagined that it would come. That meant a huge seismic shift in three years' time" (Postmaa & Versteeg, 1979, in the chapter 'We thought differently then. The power of civil servant Van der Sluijs').

Van der Sluijs continued to insist on this change of zeitgeist. In his eyes, it was not wrong at all to demolish older buildings in the 1950s. In hindsight, he realized that things should have been done differently, but still had his doubts about the small-scale approach that many contemporary architects advocated. He thought that nowadays ideas went too much in the other direction and people held on too tightly to the past: "At the moment, it is beginning to look as if nothing can be replaced." He attributed a large part of the current dissatisfaction with modern ugliness to the people who were responsible for this design. "Why doesn't the modern architect translate the zeitgeist?" Van der Sluijs wondered. He later remarked that modern architects also might have encountered the incomprehension of the public, who did not (yet) understand the changing zeitgeist.

Councilor Duivesteijn saw this differently. Rather, he saw a yawning gap between two generations, two images of time that collided. He argued about urban development department: "Our Department of Urban Development is clearly divided into a higher and a lower rank. In the higher rank, we find the more traditional thinkers who have put their creativity into plans for years, which we completely reject in 1979. In the lower rank, there are the committed young people who clearly have the protection of the city as their priority. The problem at the department is that the higher rank, Van der Sluijs and his associates, does not inspire the lower layer in any way. They have not grown with the times. They discuss new ideas but supporting them—that doesn't happen. The political apparatus must give more support to young people. The municipal executive should also listen to the lower ranks. There is a high turnover of staff in the department; many young people have already left, and many are about to do so. It's all the result of that generation gap" (Postmaa & Versteeg, 1979, in the chapter 'We thought differently then. The power of civil servant Van der Sluijs').

Councilor Heus expressed himself a little more harshly, but also argued for a policy that would not bear the stamp of one man. Officials from the Department of Urban Development had recently been given more leeway, which Heus applauded: "There is sufficient quality within the department." He also argued that "until about five years ago, too much old-style urban planning was carried out. People often lose sight of how people function in the city" (Postmaa & Versteeg, 1979, in the chapter 'We thought differently then. The power of civil servant Van der Sluijs').

Van der Sluijs, however, denied that there were any problems in his department: "I'm not a dictator. I've always felt that I've given people space. It's not a one-man business." Van der Sluijs was able to illustrate that the municipal executive was ultimately responsible for the much-discussed Prince Bernhard Viaduct. His department drew the monster, but was also the first to find out, even before the construction, what was wrong with it. The department laid this down in the *Memorandum Because*… However, the municipal executive ignored this, since it would lose face if the long-announced structure were suddenly scrapped. Philosophizing further about the problems of urban renewal, Van der Sluijs argued: "The pace at which new buildings are being built from the ground up is oppressive to us. It's an insane world. What are the forces behind that, I sometimes wonder?" (Postmaa & Versteeg, 1979, in the chapter 'We thought differently then. The power of civil servant Van der Sluijs').

Perhaps the construction apparatus indeed got out of hand, without sufficient control by the city. However, this building apparatus also provided beautiful apartments with kitchens, bathrooms, and children's rooms. The generation that built beautiful, fresh, and hygienic homes for 21 million people in the year 2000 was pitted against the generation that experienced the consequences of this and saw it in the ruined old city.

Couperusduin reseidential appartments Burgemeenster Patijnlaan, designed by atelier PRO architekts Sjoerd Schamhart and Hans van Beek in the period 1974-1978.

Source photo above: atelier PRO architects, photo by Hans van Beek.

Photo left by Dienst voor de Stadsontwikkeling from 1980. Collection HGA 0.14378

7.6
Conclusion

As noted in the introduction, on a sunny day, September 17, 1974, Alderman Nuij for Urban Development drove the first pile for no fewer than four defining urban ensembles from this period in The Hague. The alderman even declared this festive occasion “The Hague Construction Day.” The debate about the cityscape of The Hague showed that the confusion still persisted in 1979.

On the one hand, there was a strong call for a clear vision and for a livable city; on the other hand, demolition continued at full speed, only worsening the situation. In 1960, the city had 606,110 residents; by around 1970 the population had declined to 555,613, but then the exodus truly accelerated, and by 1980 only 456,376 residents remained. Twenty-five percent of the population had moved to New Towns such as Zoetermeer or to other cities with attractive suburban neighborhoods.

Change was urgently needed, but around 1980 the Netherlands entered a crisis triggered by the 1979 oil crisis. Inflation was high and unemployment was rising. Housing prices fell by 30 percent and mortgage interest rates were extremely high. Construction came to a halt again, and many companies in the construction sector went bankrupt. Stability only returned after the economic reforms introduced by the Lubbers government after 1982. In The Hague, the time was now ripe for change and for a new approach to urban planning and architecture.

de groot & v

8
CITYSCAPE OF NEW URBANISM: THE COMPACT CITY 1980–1984

Left, the Utrechtsebaan and The Hague New Center in the background. Photo from 1988 by J, Stegeman.
Collection HGA 5.11062.

8.1
Introduction

During the economic recession of 1981 to 1983, construction activity once again came to a halt. Yet it was precisely in those years that the concept of the Compact City was conceived. Rather than focusing on suburban cul-de-sac neighborhoods, attention shifted primarily to the existing urban fabric, emphasizing transformation and densification around public transport nodes. Between 1985 and 2010, the city of The Hague was extensively redeveloped and took on a completely different appearance with a largely different population. The Hague transformed from a declining administrative city into a globalized world city, with the concept of the Compact City playing an important role. Chapters 8, 9, and 10 describe the long and not always easy journey from a decaying city to an attractive global city.

In The Hague, there was no room for new development sites and neighborhoods. Instead of expanding outward as cities usually do, The Hague focused heavily on inward growth and urban transformations, employing the most suitable strategies for this, such as object-oriented or project-based urban planning or spot development. The Hague aldermen became highly adept at this, continually asking what the precise coherence between the various individual projects was, and how to maintain cohesion.

With the creation of the cityscape of New urbanism, The Hague would gain recognition in international architecture with great diversity and a lot of colorful postmodern architecture. From 1985 onwards, these ideas, which had already gained momentum in the '70s, took off in The Hague. Over the years, the city developed its own distinct character, justifying the term "The Hague New Urbanism". The most significant and defining urban ensembles are described step by step, along with the motivations of those involved in the rise, peak, and decline of the urban landscape of The Hague New Urbanism. Above all, this will show The Hague was perceived as a cultural phenomenon during its thirty-year renovation.

8.2
Structural Sketch Urban Areas

The Compact City was not a new urban planning or architectural concept, but a political idea that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, and which, in addition to promoting population growth in the city, crystallized into various forms of urbanization due to economic growth and social changes (De Klerk, 1983; Krop, 1984). It was a response to the exodus of residents from the city to suburbs since 1960. Wealthy citizens had already left or were in the process of leaving the city, large industries and harbor activities such as shipbuilding were leaving the city, and they left behind empty ports and industrial areas, including in The Hague.

The first ideas about the compact city in the Netherlands were described by the government in the *Structuurschets Stedelijke Gebieden* (*Structural Sketch Urban Areas*) (1983) with significant urban densification. Krop (1984) argued that the compact city was not a concrete solution but merely a starting point for architects and urban planners. This political concept was mainly supported in The Hague by the PvdA, with support from other parties.

Between approximately 1980 and 2010, the political idea of the compact city in The Hague took on a very specific form with a The Hague variant of New Urbanism in a globalizing context, creating an impressive cityscape. Nowadays, New Urbanism is associated with traditionalism (Ibelings, 1988; Ibelings & Van Rossem, 2009). However, New Urbanism does not exclude traditionalism, but encompasses many more types of architecture and urban planning. The Hague New Urbanism has always retained its postmodern and anarchistic roots and has never crystallized into a single rigid style. It is an architecture of variety and diversity, somewhat organized by type in neighborhoods. Thus, contextualism is an important concept, as stated in the 2004 *Welstandsnota* (*Memorandum Aesthetic Guidelines*).

The architect Carel Weeber had a significant influence on this type of architecture and urban planning, partly through his students from the Rotterdam Academy, such as the Dooievaar architects and council members of the '74 generation, like Ten Velden. Other politicians of the '74 generation, such as urban planner Gerard van Otterloo (1950-2019)—like Weeber, a student of the architect Jaap Bakema and influenced by Jane Jacobs—and Duivesteijn, were also strongly influenced by Weeber's activism in the 1970s and '80s. Weeber supported architects and council members in public actions in the '70s, such as protests against the Koekamplus. In the eighties, he became the supervisor for the zone between Spui and Central Station.

The necessity for The Hague to establish itself as a compact and attractive city with a livable urban environment had become significant, as at this time the number of residents was still dramatically decreasing, reaching its lowest point of 441,097 inhabitants in the year 2000. This put considerable pressure on the urban economy. In the new millennium, the population began to grow again.

With the compact city, traditionally separated functions such as housing, retail, and work were once again mixed in one building or urban ensemble, despite housing legislation making this difficult (Rodermond, 1981). There were also early forms of integrated area development, such as in the area De Laakhavens and De Resident, where the municipality took the initiative and collaborated with market parties to create plans on a larger scale. This development was comparable to Kop van Zuid in Rotterdam and the first Amsterdam islands in the IJsselmeer. In The Hague, an architect with international stature was usually invited as the chief architect/supervisor, so that local young architects were brought in to work under the guidance of master builders like Alvaro Siza, Ricardo Bofill, Aldo Rossi, Rob Krier, and Rem Koolhaas.

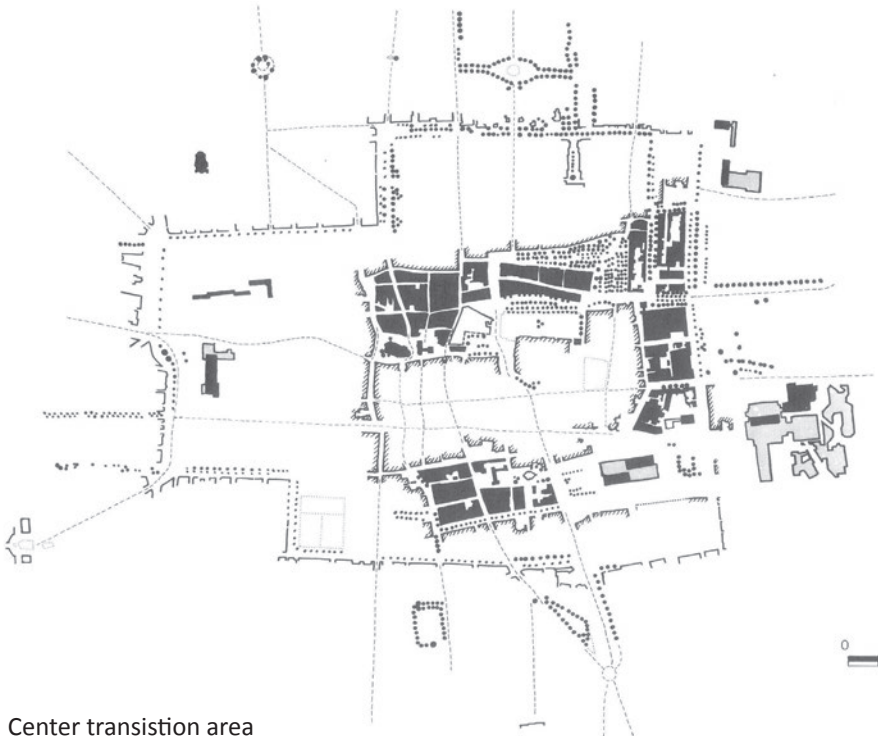
8.3
Renaissance of the City and Urban Life

Formal Objectivity in the New Center: Turfmarkt

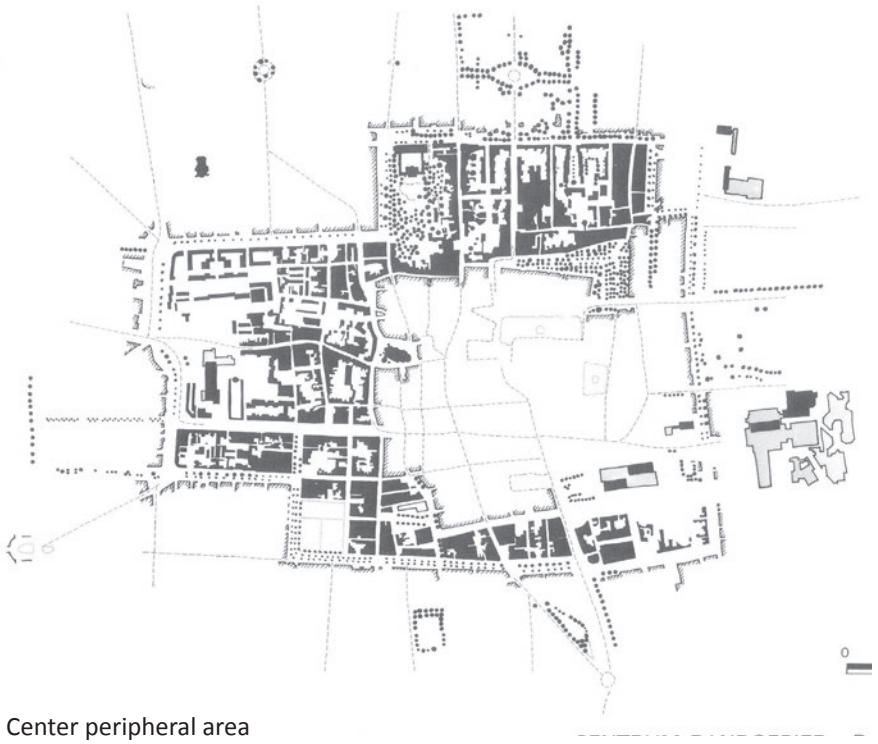
An important urban space highlighting the compact city in The Hague was the connection between The Hague Central Station and what would later become the cultural heart of The Hague, Spuiplein. This new connection was named after an old port area, Turfmarkt. The concept for this was laid down with the competition for Forumgebied (Forum Area). In early 1980, the municipality of The Hague commissioned three architects to study Forumgebied: Herman Hertzberger, Carel Weeber, and Wim Quist. Given the open aversion of Van der Sluijs towards Weeber (who was added to the competition at the insistence of PvdA councilors), it was decided that the jury would be the city council, and that all discussions would take place in public in the council chamber, a radical departure from previous practice (Zwinkels, 1980; Brouwers, 1982). As a response to CIAM ideas and monoculturalism, the city council decided that this area should have a multifunctional approach, with residential, office, and cultural spaces, following the concept of high-density urban living, that is, the compact city (Joop ten Velden, personal communication, 15-3-2011). In all three plans presented by the architects, the influence of urban morphology was evident. Closed urban spaces, defining the urban edges and building mass played a significant role; the buildings were not floating objects on a green field like Westeinde Hospital but became part of the urban morphology and development. The architects presented their plans to the city council on September 8, 1980.

Hertzberger's plan restored the refined street pattern with the existing urban blocks. The new construction thus naturally became integrated with the old buildings. During his presentation to the city council, he stated: "One must try to create a kind of space everywhere that belongs to the city. The urban blocks must therefore be designed in such a way that spaces are created which we are accustomed to in the city. These spaces should not be larger or smaller than what we are used to. This is also the characteristic of the plan." (Zwinkels, 1980). Hertzberger aimed to restore the original spatial quality of the city and to find a balance with the cut-throughs necessary for traffic: "First and foremost are the overall lines of the whole. Cut-throughs must be created. In principle, a street grid must be reintroduced." Central to Hertzberger's plan was the combination of a music center and library on Spui, opposite the Nieuwe Kerk (New Church), as he detailed in his presentation.

Quist argued that there was something uniquely The Hague about his plan, emphasizing that The Hague had a specific morphological and spatial quality that, for example, Amsterdam did not possess. He pointed out: "When I say "The Hague", it is important to consider what spatial qualities exist in The Hague, because an urban plan, in our opinion, primarily addresses the question of what urban spaces are necessary for this purpose. The Hague boasts quite a few spaces of great quality, such as Voorhout, Toernooiveld, Lange Voorhout,



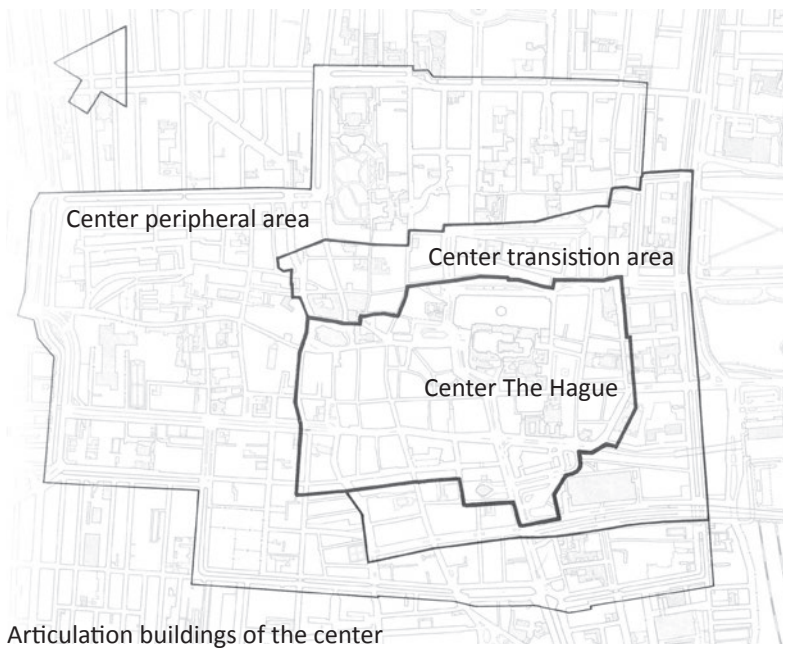
Center transistion area



Center peripheral area

The memorandum *De structuur van de Binnenstad—een Stedenbouwkundige Benadering van de Dwarswegproblematiek* (*The Structure of the City Center—an Urban Planning Approach to the Side Road Problem*), also known as *De Witte Nota* (*The White Report*) from 1980. With this study, the morphology of the buildings and available urban spaces of the city was inventoried and made a condition for the mobility plan with the ring road and through roads.
Source: municipality of The Hague.

Center The Hague



Articulation buildings of the center

Plein, the transition from Plein to the spaces of the Binnenhof, and then Buitenhof. You can really see an impressive series of urban spaces that are somehow connected to each other. They derive their quality from the scale, the form, the light in those spaces. If one were to speak more freely, they are images of spatial behavior in an existing fabric." (Zwinkels, 1980). Quist sought out the series of squares and extended them to Forumgebied, as a response to the spatial continuity that was such an asset in the center of The Hague.

Weeber's plan opted for an objective structure without expressing any opinions on architecture or building, providing no visual final plan for the area. "I have explicitly not looked at buildings as such. They are merely diagrams indicating how the blocks can contribute to the qualities of urban planning. It is therefore a design for urban public spaces and nothing more." (Zwinkels, 1980). With this, Weeber contradicted his own plan that he had produced for Forumgebied in 1977. He stated that in the intervening years, the focus had shifted from buildings to the design of urban spaces, with the task of architecture being to complement the intended quality of these spaces (Zwinkels 1980: 87). With his "formal objectivity", Weeber found his way back to the urban planning principles of Baumeister and Lindo. He argued in the article "Formele objectiviteit in stedebouw en architectuur als onderdeel van een rationele planning" ("Formal Objectivity in Urban Planning and Architecture as Part of Rational Planning"; Weeber, 1979) that the autonomous status of the urban fabric precedes architecture. Weeber's plan did not feature as many beautiful, enclosed spaces as those of Hertzberger and Quist, but by connecting Central Station with Nieuwe Kerk, and by creating a spacious square at Spui, The Hague gained an entirely new urban space, Spuiplein, with Turfmarkt as a connection. Notably, the music theater, which closed off Turfmarkt, created a sense of enclosure before opening up to Spuiplein. This architectural form indicated Weeber's apparent intention to manipulate urban space. Weeber's plan was clear in concept, unpretentious, and direct, and aimed to restore the morphology of the city center.

Weeber's plan was favored by the city council, particularly due to the extension of Turfmarkt, which terminated at Nieuwe Kerk, creating a pedestrian zone that connected all significant buildings. The Central Station and Nieuwe Kerk thus formed a defined urban space connected to Spui. The plan furthermore comprised large, enclosed urban blocks without architectural ornamentation. Weeber was given the opportunity to develop one of the closed urban blocks, resulting in De Zwarte Madonna (The Black Madonna), completed in 1985. He also designed a hotel on Spui, completed around the same time. The great quality of Weeber's plan was that it utilized the old orthogonal structure of The Hague, as advocated by Lindo and Dudok, and brought clear structure to the chaotic area of the plan.

Duivesteijn appointed Weeber as supervisor to realize the Labour ideal of high-density urban living in The Hague's New Center between Spui and Central Station, with the Turfmarkt serving as the main artery. Brouwers (1982) summarized alderman Duivesteijn's comments on the winning design with three keywords: "realistic", "feasible", and "clear". In Brouwers' view, financial constraints forced The Hague to switch to a Lego-like urban planning approach, a notion that seemed to assume the council was the sole builder of the city, akin to the era of Berlage (Brouwers, 1982: 2-3). Regarding the influence of Weeber, Duivesteijn said: "Initially, I emphasized housing as the main function of the city. This vision changed partly under the influence of Carel Weeber, the urban coordinator for Spuikwartier from 1982 onwards. I began to see more clearly that a city encompasses a combination of functions, of which housing is just one, alongside shops, offices, and cultural facilities. The composition of these functions should differ in the city center from that in typical residential neighborhoods. An excess of offices is out of place in a residential area, while in the city center, housing is just one element among others. Every slice, every part of the city, has its own character and requires its own careful approach. Customization instead of off-the-shelf solutions, that was my goal" (Duivesteijn, 1994: 39-40). Weeber's role was crucial in shaping the urban development to reflect a blend of residential, commercial, and cultural elements, ensuring a balanced and vibrant urban environment—a truly compact city.

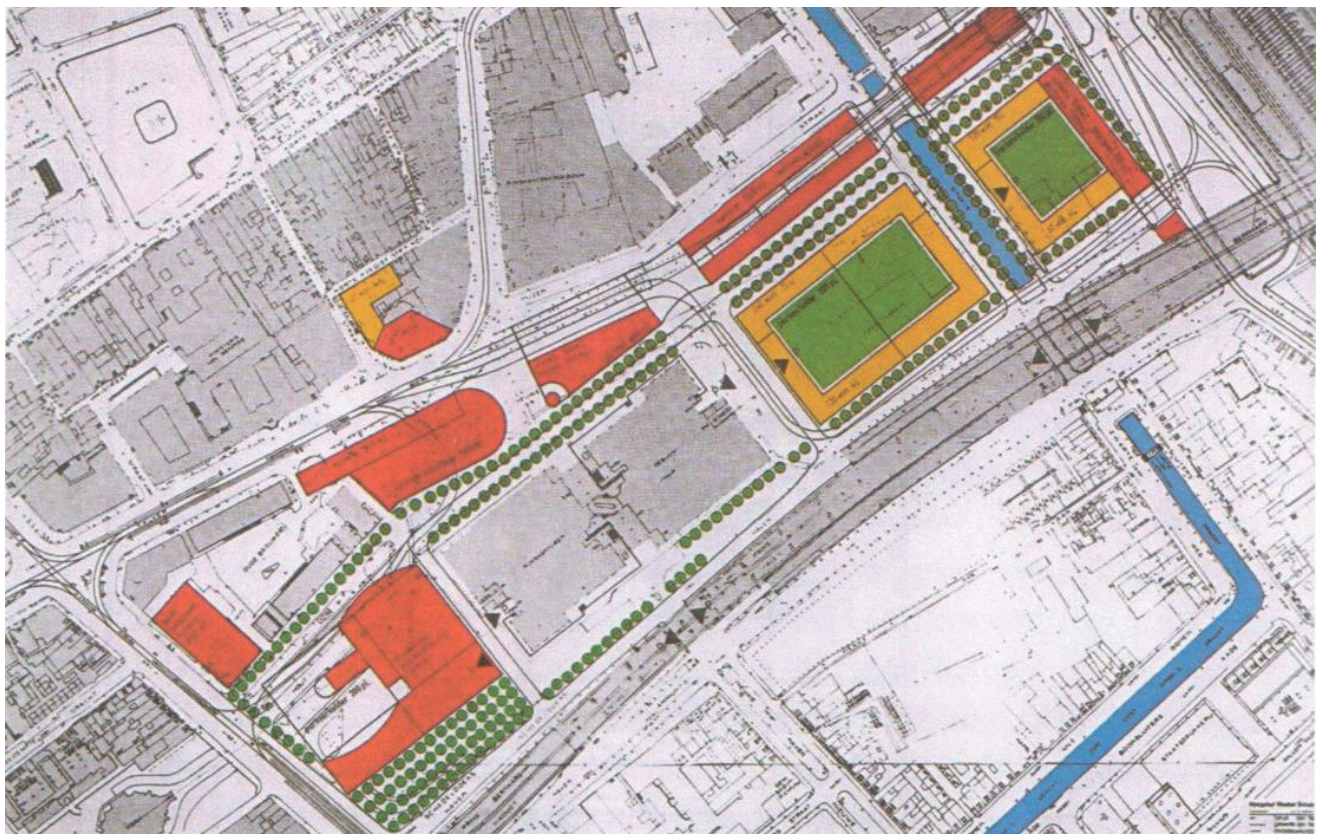
The City as a Cultural Phenomenon and International New Urbanism

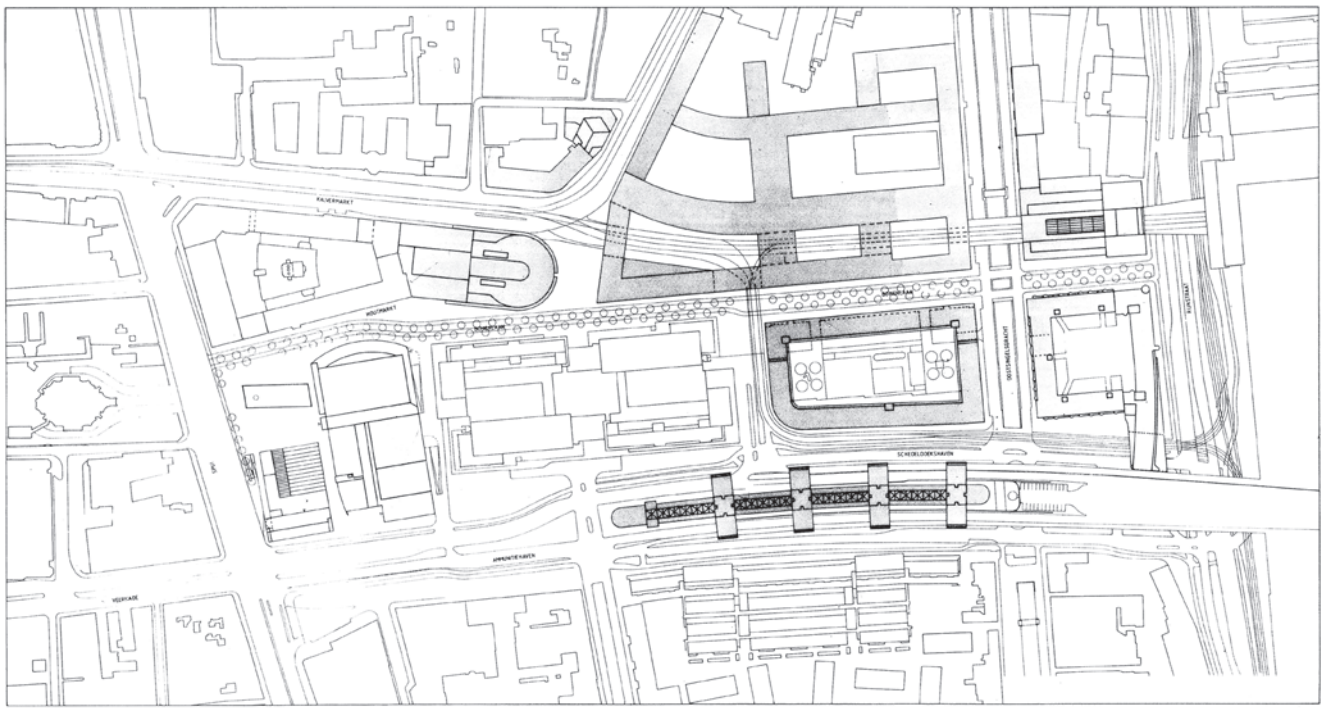
From 1980 onwards, The Hague embarked on a journey of transformation, evolving from a neglected administrative city to a vibrant and attractive urban center by 2010. The city not only rejuvenated its existing infrastructure but also embraced new postmodern architectural styles and urban spaces, culminating in a distinctive urban landscape characterized by The Hague's version of New Urbanism.

The idea of viewing the city as a cultural phenomenon had been developing for some time. For example, at the Venice Biennale in 1980, during the "First International Architecture Exhibition: The Presence of the Past", the director of the architecture section, Paolo Portoghesi, presented a street with facades filled with historical references to the public. Similarly, the International Bauhaus Exhibition Berlin (IBA), led by Josef Kleihues, showcased architecture rich in references to the past and with a focus on the morphology of the city. These events emphasized a certain pluralism, highlighting the city as a cultural phenomenon rather than merely a product of technocratic deliberation with protocols and decision-making procedures.

At the same time, books like *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* by Jane Jacobs (1961), *The Concise Townscape* by Gordon Cullen (1961), *Architecture Without Architects: A Short Introduction to Non-pedigreed Architecture* by Bernhard Rudolfsky (1964), *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* by Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown (1966), *L'architettura della città* by Aldo Rossi (1966), *Stadtraum* by Rob Krier (1975), *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* by Charles Jencks (1977), and *Collage City* by Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter (1978) were being read by The Hague architects and the city's urban planning department.

In the USA, these ideas also gained traction among a generation of





Culture Forum and the Formal Objectivity by the architect Carel Weeber.
The winning competition plan for Forum Area (current Spuiplein and Turfmarkt) from 1980 and the design from the period 1983-85.
Source: The Hague municipality. Collection author.

architects and urban planners who sought to improve the quality of cities. The first Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) was held in 1993 in Alexandria, Virginia. The aim was to enhance quality of life by creating a better urban environment. On its website, CNU states: "The Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) is the leading organization promoting walkable, mixed-use neighborhood development, sustainable communities, and healthier living conditions." In its charter, the organization argued, among other points, for the restoration of existing urban fabric, diversity in neighborhood functions and residents, designing neighborhoods for pedestrians as well as cars, ensuring that public spaces are accessible and meaningful for local communities, and integrating the design of public spaces with the architecture of buildings. It advocates for a return to clear morphologies and typologies: houses, blocks, streets, parks, neighborhoods, cities, regions, and environments.

In Europe, this movement gained significance with the establishment of the Council for European Urbanism (CEU) in 2003, along with various chapters such as the Council for European Urbanism Netherlands (CEU) with strong representation from The Hague in its leadership. CEU states on its website that it promotes traditional building practices. It emphasizes that urban planning and architecture play a crucial role in shaping a sustainable and social society and argues that the quality of life improves through a living environment that understandable for the inhabitants and through social cohesion within the city, village, or neighborhood. According to CEU, a prerequisite is compact cities with mixed functions, social cohesion, and recognizable public spaces that are connected to local tradition. In essence, architecture is figurative; a building is not an abstract reflection of a concept, function, construction, schema, or pattern. A building represents a house, a school, a church, or a factory. A building is a part of our collective memory. Furthermore, architecture is location-dependent; buildings should fit the context in which they are constructed. A standalone building should be interconnected with history and society.

Alderman Van Otterloo, who was a student of bakema and had studied in the USA, mentioned Jane Jacobs and the earlier Manuel Castells as bestsellers in interviews. Ten Velden and Van Otterloo mentioned Jane Jacobs, Gordon Cullen, Robert Venturi, and Bernhard Rudolfsky. In short, postmodern architecture, in its various forms, was a critique of the uniform and homogeneous modern architecture of the post-war reconstruction and the architecture of the '70s. The Hague would play an important role in the '80s in a movement that was later, in the 1990s, labeled New Urbanism, which brought about significant diversity.

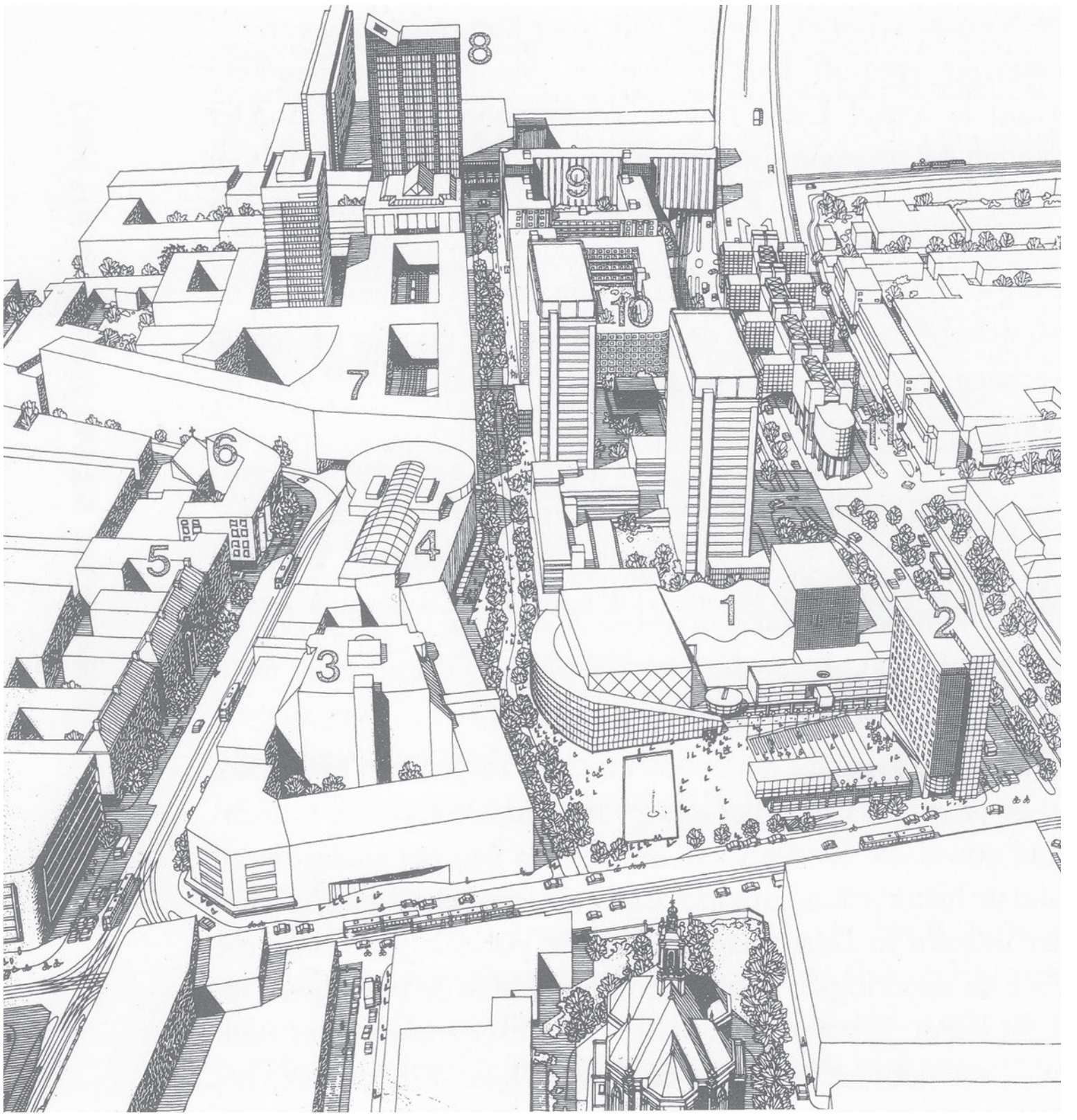
The years between 1980 and 1985 were crucial for The Hague. On one hand, the economic crisis further exacerbated the decline of the city center, but on the other hand, a new population appeared in the city: the YUP (Young Urban Professional). These were relatively wealthy young people who studied, worked, and lived in the old city alongside immigrants from Mediterranean countries and the Caribbean. These "yuppies" valued quality and despised the meager urban renewal efforts described by the columnist Gerrit Komrij. The phenomenon of the grand café made its debut in The Hague—sophisticated cafés where one could read a newspaper or book over a cappuccino during the day and dine in the evening, such as De Zwarte Ruiter at Grote Marktplein or Café Greve on Torenstraat, where new craft beer varieties were served. These were the quintessential gathering spots for yuppies, while the old, simple "brown" cafés lost their significance, and traditional restaurants led a dwindling existence in the city center.

The Music and Dance Theater on Spuiplein

Culture was not only central to the architecture and urban spaces, but also to the programming of the city, allocating locations in the city. Spuiplein, at the end of Turfmarkt, became a true cultural center with several new cultural buildings to the historic Nieuwe Kerk. Various cultural buildings were erected here: the Music and Dance Theater (1984/87, designed by OMA), the Theater Center at the Spui with the Film House (Hertzberger, 1986/93), and the library and City Hall (1995). Together, these buildings form the Cultural Forum at the Spui designed by Richard Meier. These three buildings did not have a straightforward development process. While the City Hall and the library have been extensively documented from various perspectives, for example books by Duivesteijn and the architect Richard Meier, less is known about the creation of the other cultural buildings, particularly the Music and Dance Theater.

In the preceding years, there was a heated debate about whether one or two buildings should be constructed. The location was also far from certain; initially, the Dance Theater was planned for Scheveningen, near the Circus Theater. After winning a design competition, Rem Koolhaas' OMA began designing the Nederlands Dans Theater (Dutch Dance Theater, NDT) in Scheveningen in 1981. Zwinkels (1980) noted that The Hague found it difficult to reach consensus on the housing of the NDT and RO because three of The Hague's subcenters were in fierce competition: Scheveningen Bath, the Congress Center near the The Hague Museum, and Spui. In June 1980, the council had expressed its intention to build a music hall at Spuiplein, following Weeber's proposals, but given the inhospitable nature of this old city area ruined by demolitions, no one believed in its viability. Ultimately, 25 council members voted in favor of Spui with a combined plan for several buildings, while 17 members voted against it. Several aldermen continued to oppose the idea of culture in the existing ruined landscape.

It's striking that the NDT never wanted to go to Scheveningen, but was forced by CDA alderman Van Lier. The business leader of the NDT, Carel Birnie, found the atmosphere of Scheveningen unsuitable for his company. Additionally, the desired program of requirements could not be accommodated at the location. He wanted to be close to The Hague's orchestra, the Residentie Orkest (RO), which owned land at Spui but had no money itself. After the municipality decided that the NDT could build in Scheveningen, on May 29, 1982, the RO and NDT secretly came together. While the NDT led the municipality to believe they were going to build in Scheveningen and Koolhaas was busy sketching, the RO, along with architects Frits van Dongen and Peter Vermeulen, explored three variants at Spuiplein. With these variants,



Urban plan of the Forum Area (current Spuiplein and Turfmarkt) from 1985.
Source: The Hague municipality. Collection author.

the NDT approached Minister Brinkman. The RO needed a simple construction structure to meet the meager budget and was willing to share a building with the NDT if it would expedite the process. The NDT wanted circulation space around the stage and a stage tower, which would be possible if the theater were to be built at Spui. It also insisted on retaining Koolhaas as the architect. The RO and NDT saw the buildings as two separate complexes with one common foyer in between.

Koolhaas and his team, including Willem Jan Neutelings, were working on the final details and drawings for the Scheveningen location when in 1984 the council decided on a location on Spui. The decision to house the Music and Dance Theater in a single building was largely due to the pressure exerted by Duivesteijn and the fact that Elco Brinkman, Minister of Welfare, Health, and Culture, provided 7.75 million guilders for one building on Spui, on the condition that construction would begin that year. The municipality contributed an additional 14.4 million guilders. PvdA councilors Duivesteijn and Van Otterloo had spoken out against the investment, considering it irresponsible spending in times of crisis. Other parties were fundamentally opposed to building a prominent cultural building on the peaty soil in this part of the city, which was in such a dilapidated site. It was certainly no easy task to create a single cultural building on Spui with such a low budget.

Construction of a joint building for the RO and the NDT began on Spui on July 2, 1984. The starting point was Weeber's urban plan from 1980. The RO received a hall with 1,800 seats, while the NDT received one with 880 seats, both organizations sharing the foyer.

Zwinkels (1980) ironically remarked on the scandalously low budget: "One must question whether the commendable goal of building economically doesn't go too far here. Absolute minimum construction costs never come with minimal operating costs." At the start of the construction, critic Zwinkels (1980) complained about the scandalously tight budget of 26.65 million Dutch guldens for an 80,000 cubic meter building. Once again, quality was an afterthought in cultural policy.

Architect Hertzberger's Music Center in Utrecht Vredenburg, with only one hall, cost approximately 40 million guilders, while the city of The Hague thought a budget of 45.5 million guilders would be enough for just one concert hall. As a result, the average sports hall had a higher level of finishing. Zwinkels concluded his analysis with a quote displayed on the wall of the conference room at Van Mourik Architects: "The bitterness of poor quality remains long after the sweetness of low price is forgotten." Or as Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau (1995) observed: "No money, no details." Upon the completion of the theater in 1988, critic Hans Van Dijk strongly criticized and listed a series of grievances from fellow critics towards policymakers: "It's not so much about monumentality, but rather about a certain durability and permanence with which culture should manifest itself in public space, especially in a location designated by urban policy as the new cultural and political center of the capital city."

Despite the low budget, the cultural hub that was the Music and Dance Theater experienced a golden age, becoming the face of Dutch dance culture and the highlight of Spuiplein.

8.4
The Importance of Urban Morphology and Object-Oriented Urbanism

From Urban Structural Plan to Object-Oriented Urbanism

Fitting into the existing city, urban renewal led to a different kind of urban planning, an object-oriented urban design in which urban morphology became central.

In 1980, Duivesteijn took office as alderman for Spatial Planning and Urban Renewal, succeeding Hardon. For Duivesteijn, the community of people for whom construction was being done was paramount, and he harbored a healthy skepticism toward the somewhat blind building production of housing associations working with their architects and contractors. He also denounced the loss of the individuality that had been present in the typical long narrow building blocks and houses with porticos in The Hague, but not in the new super urban blocks and large-scale construction projects at Oranjeplein, Koningstraat, and Jacob Catsstraat in the first urban renewal of the '70s in the Schilderswijk. Under Duivesteijn, urban planners sought a balance between the city's morphology (and thus the urban space) and the typology of the buildings, where the appearance of the buildings initially remained of secondary importance. Because The Hague grew inward due to a lack of building land, instead of expanding outward, the discussion about the relationship between the architecture of the new buildings and the existing structures became central to local politics. The project-based or object-oriented urbanism within the urban context was a reaction to the degenerated urban structural plans of the past, which imposed city formation and suburbanization.

In The Hague's urban planning, the idea of a general urban structural plan was definitively abandoned in favor of an object-oriented urbanism within the existing urban structure. This project-based urbanism required that new buildings be integrated into the city's morphology. For civil servants, this also meant a new way of working. Urban planners were assigned to product groups or large projects, which resulted in little cohesion between projects and a lack of reflection on the city, as observed in the 1990s in *De Nieuwe Kaart van Den Haag—Stedebouwkundige opgaven voor de komende 10 jaar* (*The New Map of The Hague—Urban Development Challenges for the Next 10 Years*) (Gemeente Den Haag, 1995: 7). From the second half of the 1980s, the collaboration between the municipality, housing associations, and developers also changed significantly. The municipality took over the initiative from the associations and, together with associations and developers, developed various urban ensembles.

All political parties in the municipal council were now convinced that city transformation had ruined the historic city, but they differed on the solution. Urban renewal had not taken off, and the architectural quality of the completed urban renewal projects was poor. This was perhaps

the consequence of focusing solely on low-income social housing and the floor plans laid out by construction lawyers in the *Wenken en Voorschriften* (*Guidelines and Regulations*) which had to be followed in order to get building permission. The appearance of a building was the first area to be ignored in favor of lower costs.

In 1982, the Liberal (VVD) won the elections and secured 14 seats, the Labour (PvdA) fell back to 14 seats, and the Christian Democrats (CDA) received 10 seats. The new coalition between these three parties put a brake on developments in the city between 1982 and 1986. The administration and municipal services dealing with the city were fragmented, leading to opposition and frustration among the Labour (PvdA), Liberals (VVD), and Cristian Democrats (CDA). In 1982, Van Otterloo became alderman for Housing. Duivesteijn's portfolio was reduced from Spatial Planning and Urban Renewal to just Urban Renewal, while Spatial Planning, along with Traffic and Transport, went to the Liberal alderman Nyqvist. The main examples for young Labour politicians were alderman Jan van der Ploeg, who had tackled urban renewal in Rotterdam rigorously from 1974 to 1982, and alderman Jan Schaefer, who shaped urban renewal in Amsterdam from 1978 to 1986.

Although construction largely came to a standstill in the early eighties due to the crisis, this was a definitive turning point, bringing the qualities of the existing city and the compact city to the forefront of attention. The first stone was laid for The Hague's New Center between Spui and the Central Station, based on the ideas of the compact city.

The Morphology of the City as a Guiding Principle

Two important municipal reports from 1980 underscored the new policy and approach of the new alderman Duivesteijn, focusing on morphology at a smaller scale. However, the housing report by the municipal *Bouwen in Open Gaten* (*Building in Open Spaces*) and the urban planning report *De structuur van de Binnenstad—een Stedenbouwkundige Benadering van de Dwarswegproblematiek* (*The Structure of the City Center—an Urban Planning Approach to the Side Road Problem*), also known as *De Witte Nota* (*The White Report*) were both written under the responsibility of Van der Sluijs (Gemeente Den Haag, 1980-02; Gemeente Den Haag, 1980-08).

These reports demonstrate the change in mentality that took place within the Department of Urban Development, emphasizing object-oriented work in the existing city, using the morphology of existing buildings and urban spaces as the starting point. These ideas were brought into the department by the young generation of urban planners and architects and were despised by the old guard, who still rigidly adhered to the CIAM principles and the urban structural plan. Building in Open Spaces stated: "In the existing city, there are many areas with relatively well-maintained residential buildings within an intact urban structure. Within these areas, there are often occasional spots where the buildings are in disrepair and need to be replaced. This replacement is urgently needed to reverse the dilapidation process that emanates from such deteriorated spots" Gemeente Den Haag, 1980-02: 16).

These were words already spoken during the short tenure of alderman Nuij, but had been forgotten under the changed political climate. Incidentally, the municipality only considered open spaces a problem in the existing city when there was a building flow of fewer than 75 homes. Construction systems and designs were adjusted and optimized to keep homes affordable at these smaller scales. In practice, this meant that building had to be done as simply as possible. For series of homes under 30, it became very difficult to create a viable plan. In such cases, one contractor was assigned to build homes across multiple plots in the city in one building project, to use traditional construction methods, or to choose a different financing category, such as subsidized construction of dwellings for sale. This policy was implemented to counter the decline of the residential function in old neighborhoods and thereby halt depopulation.

An inventory identified 70 locations in urban renewal areas that were eligible. The national government contributed to the extra costs associated with building in open urban spaces. The report was implemented, and between 1980 and 1982, approximately 2,000 homes were built on leftover pieces of land in the city. Additionally, in this early period, the super urban block De 444 was underway, which had been in progress for some time. At a very rapid pace, 17 more construction plans were developed to start as many housing units as possible before the introduction of the new rental system, allowing them to benefit from the old rental system (Freijser & Ridderhof, 1991: 251).

For example, in Kortenbos, an enormous project was built on Breedstraat with a parking garage under the housing units, designed by architect Jan Ledderhof, on the sandy plain where the ring road was once planned. Other projects were Het Vierkant in Kortenbos by architect Klunder with 833 homes on the sandy plain, where tower flats had once been planned; in Schilderswijk, the Plan Nieuwe Molstraat with 274 homes by architect Van Wijngaarden and Zuidwalland by architect Campman-Tennekes; in the old city center, Bouwstroom Binnenstad 1981 with 1,000 homes; the project Open Gaten Stroom Binnenstad with 274 homes in 1981; and Bouwstroom Binnenstad 1982 with 2,000 homes (Freijser & Ridderhof, 1991: 251). Thus, the open sandy fields in the inner city and nineteenth century neighborhoods, the scars of harsh clearances and demolitions, were rapidly filled in with predominantly social housing.

In August 1980, *The White Report* was published. This resulted from a 1977 council decision following a motion by Van Otterloo to conduct a study on the morphological structure of the city center, focusing on the urban structural plan that included the inner ring road, also referred to as the "side road" (dwarsweg).

In the 1979 report *Eerste Stap Structuurplan 's-Gravenhage* (*First Step Structural Plan The Hague*), the necessity of the side road was still advocated. However, with the publication of The White Paper in 1980, the consequences of this first step for the city's morphology were extensively and beautifully illustrated. In this report, the municipality explicitly defined the concept of morphology as: "the study of forms, particularly regarding the structure and growth of organisms," a

definition borrowed from the Van Dale Dutch dictionary. The report did not yet go so far as to adopt the definitions used in higher education institutions. About the conflict that had arisen about this side road it was stated: "To reconcile these issues, the council adopted a motion stating that proposals to improve the traffic structure in the city center should be considered in conjunction with principles for promoting urban design quality" (Gemeente Den Haag, 1980-08: 5). Based on the morphological analysis of the spatial structures and buildings in the city center, the Department of Urban Development reached the following conclusion: "The preceding chapters essentially conclude that the side road should not be constructed, or not in the current form. Drawing a conclusion is, of course, the responsibility of the administration" (Gemeente Den Haag, 1980-08: 29).

It was Van der Sluijs who, before his retirement, drew this conclusion. He was evidently convinced by the younger generation of urban planners or had adapted to a new political reality with alderman Duivesteijn. On December 10, 1980, aldermen Duivesteijn (Labour), Nyquist (Liberal), and Blankesteijn (Christian Democrat) reached a historic compromise on the traffic management of the city center. The decision was made to definitively abandon the construction of the inner ring road.

On June 15, 1981, the council approved this historic agreement. The morphology of the old city was saved.

Project Organization Urban Renewal, 1980-86

In December 1980, the Projectorganisatie Stadsvernieuwing (Project Organization Urban Renewal, POS) was established by Duivesteijn with the aim to revive the stalled urban renewal. The coordination of everything related to urban renewal was consolidated into a separate service, apart from the Department for Urban Development and the Housing Department. Alongside the alderman, POS included Bram Harkes, Gerard Evert, Hans van Dijk, and Niek Roos. Harkes and Evert had previously worked on urban renewal in Schilderswijk. The management team of POS, its think tank, mainly consisted of sociologists focused strongly on the participation process. Only Evert was an urban planner.

According to Harkes, the POS model was adopted from Van der Ploeg's example in Rotterdam; since 1975, Rotterdam had been successful in urban renewal. The flagship project that housing and urban renewal advocates liked to showcase was the super urban block De 444. It was seen an ideal for urban renewal, even replicated in Rotterdam (Ridderhof & Freijser, 1990-01). Gerard Everts said about De 444 that "the intention was to move away from De 444-concept" (Ridderhof & Freijser, 1990-02). According to Harkes, the great quality of architects like Van Wijngaarden, who built super urban blocks at Klaverblad, Schippersbuurt, and Paviljoensgracht, and Siza was their ability to deal with the most difficult residents and thereby establish a relationship with them. Initially, Van Wijngaarden was first warmly welcomed by Duivesteijn, although he was later accused of delivering only poor-quality urban renewal projects.

During the urban renewal period of the POS there seemed to be little regard for the finesse of urban morphology and architectural quality; the production of affordable housing took precedence over preserving the old structures and architecture of the city. Especially when parking garages were added beneath buildings later, the construction flows became larger, and the architecture became leaner to achieve a feasible project (Harkes, personal communication by mail, January 2011; Ridderhof personal communication, November 2010).

Harkes stated about the quality of the facade architecture: "The design complied with the regulations, was affordable, and you could choose from five different facades; what more could you want" Harkes, citing the answer of a housing architect to a request by the alderman for facade designs for HAT units on Lange Beestenmarkt (Freijser & Ridderhof, personal communication and interview, January 26, 1990).

The writer and columnist Gerrit Komrij also talk about the demolition frenzy during the urban renewal period with the POS and the quality of the new buildings: "Architects don't design, they "participate in the architectural discourse". That's what they call it. Motorists don't drive, they "participate in traffic circulation.". Politicians aren't constantly confused, they "find themselves in a permanent state of negotiation". Whoever may lack contemporary jargon, the architect certainly doesn't. But just as traffic circulation often leads to congestion and negotiations often result in deadlock, their discussion mainly revolves around dead, utterly dead concepts. It's time for the architectural discourse to draw its terms from existing architecture" (Gerrit Komrij, *Het boze oog* (*The Evil Eye*), 1983: 100).

Exhibitions on the Cityscape: The Hague Must Densify

In the spring of 1981, two exhibitions intended to convey the ambitions of Duivesteijn and his associates. One exhibition addressed the issue of densifying the city: *Den Haag moet verdichten—vijf mogelijkheden om meer woningen binnen de stadsgrenzen te bouwen* (*The Hague Must Densify—Five Possibilities to Build More Housing Within the City Limits*) by the Department for Urban Development, and another focused on the relationship between urban space and art objects: *Den Haag wat doe je met de ruimte?* (*Den Haag What Do You Do With the Space?*), organized by The Hague Art Circle (Freijser et al., 1986).

At the latter exhibition, criticism was directed towards neglected urban spaces, which were described as dreary, unattractive, not cared for, cluttered, and polluted. It was believed that art in urban spaces could rectify this negative image. Architectural historian Chris Rehorst argued in the introduction: "Everyone deals with space and objects daily. Our entire environment consists of spaces—streets, squares, parks—which gain meaning through their design, positioning in relation to each other, and added elements, offering orientation, and even shaping the material world. The city offers a rich variety of spaces."

The exhibition *Den Haag Must Densify* was a plea from the municipal government regarding the situation arising from the city's population decline and the consequent decrease in financial resources. In the transition to a compact city, the discussion revolved around how to

efficiently utilize the available space. The exhibition and its catalog presented numerous ideas and good examples. Filling the empty plots in the city and renovating old, vacant buildings into apartments remained points of focus. Essentially, this exhibition was a result of the 1979 *First Step Structural Plan The Hague*, where The Hague explicitly positioned itself as a residential city.

Alongside the exhibition in 1981, the report *Verdichting Den Haag* (*Densification of The Hague*) was released, listing the causes of housing shortages and advocating for densification in the city: "Firstly, there was a lot of unwanted cohabitation and young people couldn't find independent housing. This was the result of the housing policy which led to the construction of only one type of family home, despite efforts between 1975 and 1995 to develop HAT units. A HAT unit was a one-room apartment of approximately 30 square meters with shared facilities and a rent of 160 to 200 guilders per month: or a two-room apartment of approximately 45 to 55 square meters with a rent of 275 to 325 guilders per month. At that time, this was a very reasonable price for a new apartment; in the open market in The Hague, 500 guilders for 20 square meters in a poor neighborhood was normal.

Secondly, fewer people lived in one house: 1960—3.6 persons per dwelling, 1970—2.9 persons, 1980—2.35 persons (1990—2.06 persons, and 2000—2.01 persons). Thirdly, many large homes were empty, or it was felt that there were too few people living in them. Fourthly, the thinning of the city was the result of urban renewal itself. After expropriation and demolition, only 60% to 70% of the homes were rebuilt. Extra space was created for parks, outdoor areas, and car parking. Fifthly, demolition of homes was faster than construction. This led to urban renewal urgencies for which a place was needed."

Five Strategies for Urban Renewal

It soon became clear that the fact that houses were less densely occupied was related to the increase in prosperity and that urban renewal and housing policy itself accelerated the process of spreading. In exchange, there was indeed an improvement in the quality of life and living in the neighborhoods, but the smaller number of inhabitants proved fatal for the city's level of amenities. Schools were left empty, public transport became underutilized, and shops disappeared. There was a growing awareness of this complex dilemma. Five strategies were proposed based on already realized examples to densify while creating a high-quality living environment.

Firstly, the transformation of large buildings. Old nineteenth century buildings such as those on the corner of Van de Spiegelstraat and Hugo de Grootstraat (Zeeheldenkwartier) were purchased by the municipality and converted into small apartments, and the seventeenth century monument Boterwaag on Grote Markt and Prinsengracht was restored and converted into small apartments and a café.

Secondly, the replacement of large buildings. For example, the large church at Regentesseplein, which had lost its function, was demolished in 1972. In its place, housing for the elderly with a service center was constructed. A building on the corner of Frederik Hendriklaan and Mauritslaan and a factory within the U-shaped building block on Oostmarsumstraat were replaced by a residencial block.

Thirdly, alternative land use. For instance, housing was developed on the site of old barracks, as had happened at Couperusduin and De 222 on Frederikstraat.

Fourthly, the development of open spaces, for example on redundant parking lots in the suburbs. Another example are the urban villas on Melis Stokezijde, which were built in open green spaces.

Fifthly, a new perspective on post-war neighborhoods. The low density in the post-war residential areas and the smaller number of residents per apartment proved problematic for maintaining amenities. For example, Morgenstond had 42 housing units per hectare, Nieuw-Waldeck 55; creating amenities was challenging in these neighborhoods. The post-war neighborhoods had aging populations, despite having ample space for new family homes. A new approach with housing differentiation for more target groups to live there and densification of homes was necessary.

Increasing prosperity and demands for quality housing led to a decline in the city's population and a smaller number of residents in the urban renewal areas. Despite various efforts, this trend would continue until 2000, posing a disaster for the urban economy.

The Real Estate Exchange Between the Municipality and the State, 1983

In The Hague, the government had many buildings and houses scattered throughout the city for office use. On March 22, 1983, the state and the municipality concluded a historic exchange agreement of plots and buildings. The reorganization of government departments as agreed upon in the national coalition agreement of 1982 and the problems faced by local administrators with the stalled urban renewal contributed to expediting this agreement. Furthermore, there was a novelty in the financing of new departments: they were financed and built by the General Civil Pension Fund, and the government rented them for thirty years, after which the buildings became government property.

The historic real estate exchange between the state and the municipality in 1983 provided relief to the problem and offered prospects for both. Administrative centers were placed at public transport nodes, one of the basic principles of the compact city, and the city gained access to the scattered, empty offices in order to transform them into residential units. To densify the city in terms of population while maintaining quality, reducing the number of offices was an obvious step.

Besides the Government Buildings Agency and the municipality, this exchange was primarily the vision of the urban planner Askon Eden, head of the office of the Rijksbouwmeester (Government Architect, Rbm). He played an important role behind the scenes and brought the parties together (Bruggeman, 1983). Rbm was a staff bureau directly

under the Director-General of the Government Buildings Agency. The discussions between the Rgd and the municipality were conducted through the regional directorate 's-Gravenhage en Omstreken Geo (The Hague and surroundings). This regional directorate was responsible for the primary process of accommodating government services. There had been ongoing administrative discussions between the Government Buildings Agency, Geo, and the municipality regarding the construction sites for ministries and the consolidation of ministry components dispersed throughout the city. Additionally, in the 1970s, the municipality and the Government Buildings Agency had collaborated to create HAT residential units in residential buildings that had been used as small government offices for years. This stemmed from the earlier policy of State Secretaries Schaefer and Van Dam (1973-77) (Askon Eden, personal communication, 25-12-2013 and 3-1-2014).

With the historic exchange in 1983, the state received from the municipality 40,200 square meters of building land at two construction sites near Central Station and Laan van NOI Station, where the Government Buildings Agency could construct 105,000 square meters of office space. Together with the building opportunities on the land already held by the Government Buildings Agency, this totaled 180,000 square meters of gross floor area for the new department offices. In Spuikwartier alone, this amounted to approximately 90,000 square meters of gross office space on 13,737 square meters of land. At Laan van NOI Station, the government received 16,700 square meters of land with the possibility for 56,000 square meters of office space. In addition to these two major locations, the government acquired a piece of land on Plesmanweg for the Ministry of Infrastructure and Water Management and another piece of land on Kalvermarkt for the expansion of the Ministry of Defense, as well as land on Koningskade (Zeeheldenkwartier) for the new building of Rijkswaterstaat, and along the Zeekant and Vuurtorenweg for government services regarding the North Sea.

In exchange, the municipality received from the government many scattered, mostly small properties and plots in residential neighborhoods. On approximately 14,506 square meters of land, after demolition, 260 homes could be built. Furthermore, the municipality received 2,197 square meters with buildings that were leased to third parties and another 26,463 square meters of land with thirty office complexes. In total, the municipality acquired an additional 43,166 square meters of land at dispersed locations. In addition to the seventy homes that would be built by the government on Fluwelen Burgwal, the Government Buildings Agency repurposed thirty office complexes into 620 HAT units for the municipality at its own expense.

The municipality of The Hague mentioned the following transformations from old governments offices to HAT units in its monthly magazine: the office building designed by Wegerif, at the corner of Javastraat and Zeestraat; Van Speykstraat 13-27, transformed from offices into 56 HAT units; Lange Houtstraat 26, 28, 30 (1985), converted from offices into 24 HAT units; Buitenom 212-216, a squatted building called 'De Blauwe Aanslag,' was turned into 47 small homes; Laan van Meerdervoort 98, converted from offices into HAT units; Westeinde 33-37; Westeinde 46; Javastraat 28, seven HAT units; Javastraat 30-36; Boterwaag at Grote Markt; Kazernestraat 64-68, a total of five office buildings in Kazernestraat converted into 74 HAT units; Raaltestraat, with special units for wheelchair users; Oude Molstraat in the Old Men's House, which was turned into student housing. On the exchanged plots, the municipality could build an additional 260 homes. Furthermore, it was agreed that if the renovation costs exceeded 50,000 guilders per HAT unit, the municipality would share part of the risk (Gemeente Den Haag, 1984-09, nr.7).

With the land exchange, the city was reorganized programmatically according to the new ideas of the compact city. Residential neighborhoods became residential again, and the government gained its own place in a central location near the railway stations. This way, the heart of The Hague was literally anchored to Spui through Turfmarkt, and Spuiplein became the center for culture. As Duivesteijn described it: "Urban renewal and the exchange transactions—akin to land consolidation in rural areas—had taught me how it could be done. The municipal government is not all-powerful because the city is a complex interplay of many interests. It is not realistic to ignore all these interests. However, it is possible to give each of them their due by blending them in the right way and shaping them as best as possible, integrating them into the city; in short, by giving quality to what exists" (Duivesteijn & Feddes, 1994: 39).

With the exchange, both the government and the municipality expanded their opportunities for renewal within the city limits. The spread of government services and the decentralization of government offices came to an end. Not only a few outspoken council members or Duivesteijn believed in the quality of The Hague's existing city, but so did the government.

The Impact of the Economic Crisis, Stagnation, and Lack of Quality

From 1982 to 1986, The Hague was governed by a coalition of PvdA, VVD, and CDA. This period marked another phase of frustration and stagnation in the city's development. Chris Nyquist (VVD) became alderman for Urban Development, Duivesteijn's portfolio was reduced to urban renewal in the old neighborhoods, and Van Otterloo took over the Housing Service with a focus on post-war neighborhoods. The dynamic urban recovery seen from 1980 to 1982 slowed considerably during this period. Van Otterloo, who was alderman for Public Housing, argued this stagnation because a lot was also invested in the purchase of homes to be demolished for new homes, which hindered construction production (Van Otterloo, personal communication, November 9, 2010).

This was also because a completely new strategy for renewal in the old city had to be followed, with object-oriented demolition and new construction of houses. Urbanism with projects within the existing morphological and infrastructural frameworks.

In 1983, after 37 years of service, Frits van der Sluijs was succeeded as

Spuiplein with the Music (left) and Dance Theater (right) by OMA from the period 1981-1987.
Photo from 2013 by Willem Vermeij. Collection HGA 001313281.

director of the Department of Urban Development by Hans Reijnen, a former PvdA alderman of urban development, traffic, and education in Delft. Reijnen was known for introducing small-scale building within the urban environment combined with a targeted land policy. In 1984, the Land Affairs sector, a part of the Housing Service, and the Department of Urban Development merged to form the Department of Urban Development and Land Affairs (SO|GZ). This restructuring aimed to streamline urban development and better manage land affairs in The Hague, hoping to overcome the stagnation and push forward with the city's development plans.

With the establishment of the POS, significant progress was made in addressing the considerable backlog in urban renewal and restoring dialogue with residents. This success was attributed to the consolidation of municipal departments, the influential position of the POS, and a strong emphasis on property acquisition during the first four years. Larger projects were outsourced to external agencies. After 1983, the focus shifted to POS's role as a think tank. While housing was being renovated, the renovation of public spaces lagged, and the quality of facades and urban renewal architecture took on questionable forms. Priorities continued to be rent control and communication with residents, often at the expense of the quality of the product itself. The merger into SO|GZ did not bring in new designers (Freijser & Ridderhof , personal communication and interview, January 26, 1990). Housing associations and their regular consulting architects were criticized for their lack of quality.

In this time of administrative confusion and disarray, a completely new idea emerged to revitalize the city, bypassing the municipality council and local politics (Gerard van Otterloo, personal communication, 9-11-2010; Peter Drijver, personal communication, 6-12-2010; Casper Postmaa, personal communication, 2-11-2020). In 1984, the Stichting Hoogbouw (High-Rise Foundation) was established by individuals such as Jan Rutten, editor-in-chief of the magazine *Bouw*, and Carel Weeber, architect and professor in Delft. Van Otterloo became the first chairman of the foundation, aiming primarily to promote a new and attractive urban living environment through high-density housing. The foundation organized many excursions to foreign cities. These excursions played a significant role in raising awareness among administrators, architects, and urban planners about the ongoing change in mentality. The focus was shifting from the meager urban renewal to architectural quality, which was seen to restore the identity of the ruined cities. A year later, in 1985, Duivesteijn, inspired by foreign examples, perhaps implemented the most powerful tool to initiate urban transformations outside of politics: the Campaign Urban Renewal as Cultural Activity.

Postmodernism as an Answer to Bloodless Architecture

The Hague administrators, urban planners, and architects looked with envy at the wonders that unfolded in cities like Berlin in the early 1980s. Postmodern architects rapidly filled the gaps in the war-torn city with striking, cheerful, and refreshing architecture, while The Hague was stuck with bland architects working for housing associations.

With the IBA, Berlin had acquired a new face and stature between 1979 and 1987. This upgrade of Berlin caused quite a stir and transformed the city into the cultural center of Germany. Architects such as Rob and Leon Krier, Álvaro Siza, Charles Moore, John Hejduk, Aldo Rossi, Hans Kollhoff, Rem Koolhaas, Peter Eisenman, Arata Isozaki, Baller & Baller, Hans Hollein, and Oswald Mathias Ungers were put to work. Other cities also made their mark with striking postmodern architecture: Frankfurt with museums by Richard Meier, Oswald Mathias Ungers, Hans Hollein, and others, and Stuttgart with the museum by James Stirling. Vienna also experienced a revival with remarkable architecture by Hans Hollein, Wilhelm Holzbauer, and Coop Himmelb(l)au.

In Paris, Ricardo Bofill and Émile Aillaud steadily constructed new architectural forms and garnered significant attention in the international architectural media. London only began revitalizing its east side with the Docklands in the late 1980s. A stream of international trade journals consistently showcased the same architecture. Japanese students spoke the same "architectural language" as South American students in Delft. On the reading tables of many architectural firms in the 1980s, completely new monographs and magazines appeared. Structuralism and Team X were considered outdated, and many architects and urban planners turned to magazines and handbooks filled with colorful postmodern architecture. There was a strong trend towards the mediatization of architecture and globalization of architecture.

At Dutch technical universities and academies, this postmodern architecture was at the forefront of attention. Meanwhile, outside the architecture schools, drab urban renewal projects were rising in nineteenth century neighborhoods; further out, the pounding of pile drivers could be heard for the construction of cul-de-sac suburbs. New buzzwords that emerged in the architectural debates included: "contextualism", "morphology of the city", "typology of buildings", "heterogeneity in architecture" (as opposed to the homogeneity of the modern movement), "heterotopia", and especially "postmodernism" and "deconstructivism".

The postmodern architecture was not a homogeneous modern style but a heterogeneous architecture. Through site analysis and typological studies, historical examples from antiquity to modern architecture were analyzed and reused in new compositions. In the case of existing cities, architects preferably analyzed the immediate surroundings to ensure coherence. Implicitly, they reminded residents that there was such a thing as history and that architecture had an autonomous development, independent of the meeting schedules of urban planners. This was about architecture that resisted the production machine of contemporary architecture and the construction industry, which was filling empty fields with monotonous suburbs and working on urban renewal projects. Architects and urban planners were already aware of this, but local politics seemed to be catching on as well.

For many architects and urban planners still working in the tradition of modern architecture, this postmodern architecture was a mockery, a sign of decadence and squandering of limited resources. After all, wasn't collecting rents the most important thing? Among the

Dance theater by the architect OMA from the period 1981-1987, photo by Hans Werlemann.
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modernists, there was a strict anti-historical attitude. They thought they could solve the city's problems with scientific and functionalist methods, and later with citizen participation. Now, with the arrival of postmodern architecture, they realized that architecture could be narrative, full of meanings and references that appealed to and connected people. Especially the protagonist and ideologue of postmodern architecture, Charles Jencks, demonstrated this in his books and lectures. Jencks categorized all architectural movements into enormous schemes as if they were the evolution of living beings, with one movement sprouting from a predecessor and leading to another.

All these schemes underscored the historicity of architecture to establish a connection between the diversity within architecture, as Jencks point out. "The present situation tolerates approaches, and I hope that architecture doesn't prematurely crystallize around a single style and doctrine, as it has so many times in this century. If there is a single direction I prefer, the reader will discover that it is pluralistic: the idea that an architect must master several styles and codes of communication and vary these to suit the culture for which he is designing. I have called this "adhocism" in the past, and I use the term "radical eclecticism" here to give this approach a name, but there are other portmanteau terms which could work: "Traditionalesque", "Neo-Art Nouveau", "Anthropologism". There is obviously good reason for avoiding such unwieldy labels at this stage" (Jencks, 1977: 7).

The works of Christian Norberg-Schulz (1965, 1971, 1974, 1980) also had a significant influence. The phenomenological method seamlessly fits into the mode of plan analysis, morphological analysis, and typological analysis taughtd at the Delft University of Technology, as well as the attention given to the existing city. The concept of genius loci (the ghost of the place or used by architects as the unique character of the place) had been embraced by Sjoerd Schamhart years earlier as a guiding principle to rescue the architectural community from the nightmare of city formation.

According to Van Otterloo and Ten Velden (Van Otterloo, personal communication, November 9, 2010; Ten Velden, personal communication March 3, 2011), the book Jane Jacobs, *The death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) was another inspiration, especially in the early seventies. Her fight against the Lomax in New York was similar to the struggle against the side road (dwarsweg) as part of the inner ring road and the Prins Bernhard viaduct. Van Otterloo (personal communication, 9-11-2010) also mentions the work of Manuel Castells as an inspiration, who was still mainly preaching historical materialism. Van Otterloo further mentioned the German Neomarxists as inspiration, who placed contradictions and history at the center of debates.

Van Otterloo describes the strong undercurrent he observed as contextualism, an architecture that is fitting and reflective of the environment. Each neighborhood thus got its own architecture. In the housing festival at the end of the eighties on the Dedemsvaartweg, where Van Otterloo and Christiaanse worked, the 'Jane Jacobs diversity' was strictly and systematically organized, while in nineteenth century neighborhoods, postmodern architects were active. Many developers and housing associations deliberately sought the right architect for the right neighborhood.

Another influence was Jan Gehl, who guided, researched, and described Copenhagen's transformation from a car-dominated city to a bicycle and pedestrian city in *Life Between Buildings* (1971, translated into English in 1987). This transition from a car-centric to a bicycle-centric city was a relevant point for The Hague since the actions of Dooievaar in the seventies. These new ideas and architecture were also brought to the Netherlands by the many foreign students who from this period onward came to study architecture in Delft, many of whom eventually worked in Dutch offices. In the eighties, ahead of the European Union's unification, there was a long-running student exchange between Delft and Berlin.

Around 1983 and '84, local politicians from The Hague such as Duivesteijn, Van Otterloo, Vlaanderen, Verduyn Lunel, and others traveled to Paris to observe the developments there, visiting places like Bofill's works. Trips were also made to Berlin, Frankfurt, and Stuttgart. Ten Velden was impressed by the work of Richard Meier. Others, like the local architect and friend of Duivesteijn Joop Bolster (daily personal communication at Geurst & Schulze architecten between 1996 and 2020), mentioned architects such as Álvaro Siza and Neave Brown as individuals capable of remarkable achievements, especially in challenging areas like Schilderswijk. In Berlin and Paris, they explored the works of architects who would later be involved in the renovation of The Hague.

Theater aan het Spui with the Filmhuis by the architect Herman Hertzberger from the period 1986-1993.
Photo by Dienst Stedelijke Ontwikkeling from 1995. Collection HGA 882340.

8.5
Extension of The House of Representatives

The annoyance about characterless architecture, pragmatism and consultation culture existed only in The Hague, but also nationwide. The competition for the new House of Representatives showed how administrators approached architecture. The only positive thing is that this building did eventually fit within the urban morphology of the old The Hague.

Competition Without a Winner

In times of crisis, competitions were often organized to find new paths for architecture and the construction industry. Such competitions illustrate the tension and difference in ambitions between, on one hand, new ideas from architects and urban planners, and on the other hand administrators. The most controversial competition organized by the national government in downtown The Hague was for the prestigious building complex of the House of Representatives next to the historic Binnenhof castle with its thirteenth century Ridderzaal (Knights' Hall). The process began in 1978, but the building was not completed until 1991. This competition highlighted the problem of building in an existing city, alongside the issue of the scandalous treatment of architects by administrators. The competition was surrounded by cronyism and political horse-trading, which sparked significant resistance within the professional community (Niesten, 1978; Zwinkels 1978, 1980; Zwinkels & Rodermond, 1980). Chief Government Architect and jury chairman Wim Quist who found none of the 111 submissions worthy of proceeding to the second, closed round of the competition, a very remarkable decision.

The Jury Report

Apparently, the high standards set by Quist and the jury did not carry much weight, and other forces were at play in The Hague. On September 22, 1978, the jury report was published and the exhibition of the submitted plans was opened, which brought clarity regarding the jury's peculiar decision. They did not want to appoint a single winner because they lacked confidence that these architects could realize a high-quality plan in the second round. Therefore, the jury from the outset applied no other criteria than those that should determine the final choice. This allowed the Government Buildings Agency to proceed directly with its "regular" developers. Architecture journalists questioned whether a competition should have been held at all, as the jury had already assumed that the genius could only be found within their own circle and not among the many young, ambitious architects. These journalists also wondered why the jury set such high, but unpublished standards for what was supposed to be an exploratory first round of the competition. The jury, consisting of Quist and several other well-known Dutch architects, explained that new insights had emerged during the evaluation process. The jury assessed the plans based on three aspects, hesitating over two of them because there was too little information in the brief competition program. These aspects were: "Forms of contract between voters and the elected, influencing the relationship between the internal activities and the lively city activities around it; methodologies of meeting and working in spaces designed to stimulate these activities; urban planning and architectural aspects" (Niesten, 1978: 41).

The first two aspects, according to the jury report, could not be successfully addressed without clear input from the end users. Niesten (1978) argues that this reinforced the feeling that the competition program was incomplete from the start. The jury was more positive about the third aspect, supplementing the competition program with its developed viewpoint: "The visual termination of Spui at the transition between Hofweg and Buitenhof is of great importance. For the small square currently formed by the buildings along Hofcingel and Hofstraat, and bounded by trees along Hofweg, the jury used the name Hofcingelplein. This space can play a significant role, both as an accompaniment to the new building complex and as a transition area to the Binnenhof via the Hofpoort. This means that the jury prefers submissions that do not cover the existing street frontage along Hofcingel" (Niesten, 1978). Niesten considered this additional criterion debatable. The facades along Hofcingel and Hofstraat were remnants of original street frontages, not square walls. By introducing these new criteria, many plans were effectively sidelined from the outset. Since the first two aspects provided little clarity, the third aspect, "urban planning and architectural aspects", became decisive for the jury. This information was evidently unknown to the competition participants.

Vague Assignment

There was also a peculiar contradiction in the assignment given to the architects: on one hand, they were asked to correct the Hofweg cut-through, while on the other hand, the boundaries of the construction site were already so fixed that the cut-through seemed untouchable (Geurtsen et al., 1982). The competition program asked for the combination of the Hofweg cut-through with a visual closing of Spui, but these two objectives were not further explained. The cause of this contradiction was mainly attributed to the municipality, for whom apparently the car still had a higher priority than the well-being of pedestrians or the historical and spatial continuity of the city. The tension between the medieval complex of the closed city (as Lindo liked to see it) and the Berlage-inspired opening for traffic had to be resolved and designed with one building plan, according to the vision of the municipality. One might think that the old guard of CIAM urban planners, with their focus on car traffic, and the new generation of urban planners who believed in the morphology of the city, had reached a kind of compromise. The reason why the standards were so vague, besides these peculiar morphological principles, had another reason. The old way of urban development in which the matter was mutually arranged was at stake (Zwinkels, 1978). From the very beginning, it was clear that the impossible was being asked.

Aerial view of the House of Representatives.
Photo by Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening en Economische Ontwikkeling (REO) from 1992.
Collection HGA 0.86211

Former minister of Housing and Spatial Planning Hans Gruijters said when announcing the competition: “I know nothing more complicated regarding the tasks of the Government Buildings Agency than this matter.” Gruijters therefore left no doubt that according to many, including himself, an open competition for this purpose might not be the right tool. However, the call for democracy was so strong that an open competition was essentially the only acceptable way, according to Zwinkels.

The Snake Pit Can Be Deeper

Quist was aware of this snake pit and requested the ministry to have an observer present during the judging. Chief editor Ruud Brouwers of the architecture magazine *Wonen TA/BK* was assigned this task. It was concluded that a competition like this was not suitable for a subject like this. Brouwers drew attention to the possibility that the program of requirements was asking for the impossible. Especially the end users, represented in the Bouw Begeleiding Commissie (Building Guidance Committee, BBC), played an important role in this. This committee consisted of three members of parliament, faction staff, chamber staff, the parliamentary press, and a secretary. The BBC could exert a fairly large influence on the competition announcement and on the judging. For example, Member of Parliament H. Rienks left little doubt that he found the program of requirements impossible and a competition as an instrument unsuitable. Although approximately 80 MPs had influenced the competition plans, this group must have felt quite cheated by the jury. The representatives found entry no. 45 to be the best entry with 27 votes, while no. 18 was the worst entry (also 27 votes). Yet the jury chose no. 18 as the winner and did not mention no. 45. It was already clear beforehand that the jury did not want a competition, according to Zwinkels (1978). They preferred to continue the practice of quietly handing out assignments to developers known to the Government Buildings Agency. Eleven designs were awarded, but no design was chosen to be built.

In the end, minister of Housing and Spatial Planning Beelaerts van Blokland made the decision. Three developers and architects who had not submitted entries in the first round of the competition were commissioned to create a design before 1980. The architects were Group 5 (the architectural firm of HBG Betongroep), Pi de Bruin (who worked for the contractors Van Eesteren, TBI holding), and A. Hagoort. The competition program was thoroughly revised. Urban morphology disappeared as the highest standard: “Regarding urban planning conditions, some changes have also been made. Much less negativity is spoken about the buildings along the Hofweg, which emerged after the cut-through of 1914. ... It no longer appears to be about “weakening the breakthrough” and “visual closure of the Spui”. The architects are free to decide whether to (partially) cover the Hofweg” (Zwinkels, 1978). From these, Pi de Bruin emerged as the winner with a plan that closely resembled the plan by Rem Koolhaas, one of the eleven winners from the original competition. Koolhaas’s plan was the most radical proposal. The existing square at the corner of Lange Poten and Hofweg remained intact, significant existing old buildings were demolished, and the plan directly connected to the Ridderzaal, while the demolished buildings were partially “relocated” further away.

The three designs sparked outrage among the public: the House of Representatives would become a dull office building. Many residents of The Hague wondered why Koolhaas’ plan was not chosen. The Hague architects and artists advocated for it because De Bruin’s selected plan suspiciously resembled Koolhaas’s plan, but in a diluted form. Both plans included a forecourt, Hofplein. Furthermore, both designs featured a passage to the Binnenhof, with both plans being strict in their composition, devoid of alcoves and cozy corners. What particularly irked the group of The Hague architects and artists, was that Koolhaas’ plan was deemed unacceptable by the jury, which gave numerous arguments against it, while those same arguments weighed so heavily in De Bruin’s favor that his design was chosen. Regarding Koolhaas’ plan, the jury wrote in the first round: “In this environment, it’s a harsh plan whose intellectual pretension is not realized in its architectural execution. That’s why it’s also an empty plan. The designer hasn’t listened enough to the problem. He’s taken a stance where the environment is destroyed, and he subordinates the user to his formal vision.” According to Voorberg, De Bruin’s plan was even harsher and had a greater impact on the surroundings. The title ‘intellectual’ seemed to be used by the jury here primarily as a term of abuse.

Ultimately, no plan was chosen, but rather a man: the architect Pi de Bruin. He was tasked by the new government architect, Tjeerd Dijkstra, to align the plan with the municipality’s requirements regarding urban planning aspects and with heritage conservation regarding architectural integration. The building of the House of Representatives, a symbol of openness and democracy, would always remain for architects a symbol of backroom politics and deal-making, as had been customary between builders and administrators since World War II.

In 1981 Pi de Bruijn was finally allowed to design the Extension of the House of Representatives, in 1988 construction started and in 1991 the building was completed by the House of Representatives.

Competition design from 1978
by the architect Rem Koolhaas OMA.
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8.6
Conclusion

As noted, during the economic recession from 1981 to 1983, construction activity came to a standstill in The Netherlands and The Hague. The ring roads and the side road were abandoned, and the era of indiscriminate demolition of the city came to an end. During the crisis years, new ideas and new people entered the municipality and architectural practices. The Hague increasingly aligned itself with international developments in architecture and urban planning, in which the renaissance of the city became central. Postmodernism in architecture and New Urbanism brought new life to the image of the city. Quite literally, a new urban image was being constructed. Through the urban vision associated with The Hague's New Urbanism, the city would gain a recognizable presence within international architecture, characterized by great diversity and richly colored postmodern architecture. The period from 1980 to 1984 marked only the beginning of a long upward trajectory, transforming The Hague from a decaying urban ruin into an attractive global city.

DR ANTON PHILIPS ZAAL
Theaterrestaurant
Lucent Danstheater

9
CITYSCAPE OF NEW URBANISM: THE CAMPAIGN URBAN RENEWAL AS CULTURAL ACTIVITY 1985-1989

"De Kampagne Stadsvernieuwing als Kulturele Aktiviteit (The Urban Renewal Campaign as a Cultural Activity) will emphatically reflect the understanding that the quality of the new society will determine whether we have collectively succeeded in the objective: to renew the city in such a way that it will be a good place to live, work, and enjoy life for the next fifty to eighty years."
Adri Duivesteijn, *De Kampagne Stadsvernieuwing als Kulturele Aktiviteit*, 1985: 3

"In the campaign, the principle of 'Building for the Neighborhood' is further elaborated with the theme of neighborhood culture, meaning that the design of homes and living environments should be aligned with the way residents in the neighborhood interact with each other."
Adri Duivesteijn, *De Kampagne Stadsvernieuwing als Kulturele Aktiviteit*, 1985: 9
"Cities are always renewing themselves. Just look at their history. Their ongoing transformation experiences surges and stagnations, prosperity, adversity, and calamities; the impulses for changes can come from above, from below, from within, or from outside. The city can expand or grow vertically, densify or thin out; sometimes the plans are brilliant, and sometimes they are terrible blunders, with which the city dwellers, flexible and forgetful as they are, eventually learn to live. Cities age and simultaneously renew themselves, and that is not a contradiction"
Adri Duivesteijn, 1999

Left, photo of the Spuiplein by Christian van der Kooy with left the Music Theater (Van Mourik, Vermeulen) and right the Dance Theater (OMA) from the period 1987-2015. Buildings have now been demolished and replaced by Amare. Behind the theaters the two Ministery towers, now transformed and replaced by Leiden Univeristy and Amare. Copyright by Christian van der Kooy, no further use allowed.

9.1
Introduction

Inspired by developments in other European cities, alderman Adri Duivesteijn launched the *Kampagne Stadsvernieuwing als Kulturele Aktiviteit* (*Campaign for Urban Renewal as Cultural Activity*) in March 1985. This widely supported campaign and its eponymous publication aimed to give urban renewal, or rather the renewal of the city, an entirely new image. The social-democratic ideals of upliftment and cohesion took center stage (Gemeente Den Haag, 1985; Bakker, 1985; Overduin, 1985; Strijland, 1985).

A few years later, Duivesteijn clarified the campaign's credo: "Renewing the city is making the history of the future" (Duivesteijn, 1999). The Campaign shifted the focus of urban renewal from a technical and financial process led by specialists to a cultural mission. As Duivesteijn stated: "We became aware that with urban renewal, we were doing more than could be expressed in technical or financial terms alone. We were drastically changing the city, and with it, the culture of the city and its neighborhoods. And, we realized, if we were doing that, it was essential to explicitly approach urban renewal as a cultural act and a cultural mission" (Duivesteijn, 1999).

Duivesteijn noted several motives for this campaign.

The first motive was clear negative impact of deteriorating neighborhoods: "Especially the poor neighborhoods around the city center were a threat to that center for years, affecting the core of the city. The dilapidated neighborhoods had a defining, negative impact on the entire city" (Duivesteijn, 1999). Urban renewal as a cultural task was seen as the pivot in the process of renewing the existing city and the renewal of urban society. Architecture would bring residents from different backgrounds and from all corners of the world a sense of commonality. After the inception of the campaign, under the progressive municipal council from 1986-1989, the urban ensembles transitioned from bleak urban renewal to colorful postmodern architecture scattered throughout the city. Architecture became a political factor, and the New The Hague Center received a strong boost.

A significant second motive for Duivesteijn to initiate this campaign was his isolated and weakened position within the VVD-dominated council between 1982 and 1986. Duivesteijn's role as alderman of urban planning and urban renewal (1980-82) was reduced to solely urban renewal (1982-1986), effectively ending his assertive first two years. In 1984, Land Affairs was also merged into that department, forming the Department of Urban Development and Land Affairs (SO|GZ). With the avenue for change through the Department of Urban Development closed off for Duivesteijn, culture seemed to be the only fertile path that could lead to change in the city.

The Deputy Director of the Municipal Museum, Henk Overduin, saw the museum as a metaphor for urban renewal and criticized the lack of visual qualities in The Hague's neighborhoods (Overduin, 1985). He pointedly recalled the heydays of museum reformer Hendrik van Gelder, who, along with Berlage, had brought 'culture' out of its ivory tower and to the ordinary citizens during the interbellum. Just as during this time, the social democrats now utilized culture as a means of uplifting and uniting the population. A special urban renewal workshop for young ambitious architects was organized in The Hague (Bakker, 1985).

9.2

Binding, Uplifting, and the Neighborhood Character

The Scope of the Campaign

The idea of a social engineering reached its peak with this campaign. In the introduction of the campaign brochure, it was emphasized that architecture and design, together with art, could contribute to improving the appearance of urban neighborhoods. Many foreign architects would be invited in the years to come to inject new ideas into The Hague's architectural culture, which had so far been dominated by housing associations. The contrast between beauty and ugliness was sharply emphasized. Photos in the brochure were suggestive and mainly showed the worst aspects of urban renewal practice: the bleakness and poverty of the facades in Schilderswijk and Schipperskwartier with their super urban blocks. Although there was a significant difference in quality among the super urban blocks, they represented the urban ensembles that were once revered by the municipality and alderman as the solution for Building for the Neighborhood, although this urban renewal strategy had been embraced by those who later criticized it.

The breadth of this campaign was remarkable, which included forum discussions, workshops, exhibitions, photo contests, competitions, a play, a symposium, debates, and lectures. Participants included the Municipal Museum, the Project Organization Urban Renewal (POS), the Information Department, Department of Urban Development and Land Affairs (SO|GZ), the Culture Department, the Berlage Foundation, the Museum for Education, the Friends of The Hague, the Municipal Archives, The Hague Architects' Café, HaAC), and the Haagse Federatie van Woningbouwcorporaties (The Hague Federation of Housing Associations).

One of the architect workshops was organized by the chairman of the HaAC, Jan Brouwer, and attracted considerable interest. Several European architectural giants taught architecture students the real 'craft' there. Among the attendees were Neave Brown from Great Britain, François Deslaugiers from France, Sten Samuelson from Sweden, Álvaro Siza from Portugal, and from the Netherlands, Carel Weeber and Max Boekholt. Forty young architects worked on nine locations in urban renewal areas and presented a refined urban fabric of existing and new buildings (Bakker, 1985).

In addition to this architect workshop, there was also an essay competition on urban renewal. The jury, including Ed Taverne and Joost Meuwissen, selected Arnold Reijndorp's essay as the winner. The essay focused on reclaiming the street in the new urban society. However, Reijndorp was pessimistic and doubted whether the ideal of social engineering, with a top-down moral stance from the councilors and architects, could indeed reclaim the street: "Modern architectural models have been developed within the context of the destruction of the street. That doesn't make them very useful when it comes to reclaiming the street. Let architecture investigate its own destructive power. ... And by that, I mean both the no-nonsense approach of Weeber and the humanism of Hertzberger, as well as the participatory architecture of Van Wijngaarden, and the outdoor spectacle of Nieuwmarktbuurt" (Reijndorp, 1985).

Contextualism in Architecture and Enhancing Neighborhood Character

The idea of a manageable society led Duivesteijn, Van Otterloo, and others to seek to strengthen the character of certain neighborhoods to provide the many different residents, with backgrounds from all over the world, with something in common. Under the influence of Carel Weeber (urban planning coordinator for Spuikwartier from 1982), Duivesteijn also shifted his focus from affordable housing to emphasizing the character of individual neighborhoods in the early 1980s. This "contextualism in architecture", as advocated by urban planner and alderman of Housing Van Otterloo (1982-1985), became a priority (Duivesteijn & Feddes, 1994: 32). According to Van Otterloo (personal communication, 9-11-2010), this movement stemmed from resistance to the demolition and urban renewal policies in the 1960s and 1970s. The dislike of these policies united the citizens of The Hague and strengthened their conviction that things should be done differently. Their aversion was directed towards the demolition and renewal of old neighborhoods, the dreary flats and offices that emerged in the old city, and the suburban cul-de-sac developments that were constructed far outside the city.

This overarching sentiment, this enduring undercurrent, persisted beyond the millennium, according to Van Otterloo; he called it 'contextualism'. Each neighborhood had its own character shaped by history, which must be reinforced, with architecture serving the function of enhancing the neighborhood. Van Otterloo, who admired Bofill's monumental architecture works, considered his architecture less suitable for the Schilderswijk. Instead, Álvaro Siza, who had already achieved remarkable results in urban renewal projects in Porto and Berlin, and Charles Vandenhove, who aimed to infuse Stationsbuurt with the ambiance of the Quartier Latin, were chosen to work on Schilderswijk. Vandenhove was particularly popular among residents, who invited him themselves, according to The Hague journalist Postmaa. Koolhaas' and Christiaanse's Housing Festival captured the character of the new neighborhoods; Bofill's style was a better fit for the upscale atmosphere of De Monchyplein, while Siza, Coenen, and Vandenhoven were better suited for Schilderswijk (Personal communication with Van Otterloo, 9-11-2010; Personal communication with Postmaa, 2-11-2010; Personal communication with Drijver, 6-11-2010; Personal communication with Bosma, 4-11-2010).

Contextualism had begun with the fight to preserve the Kurhaus in the early seventies, but only found its way into municipal policy and prevailing architectural firms more than ten years later. It proposed to identify the uniqueness of architecture for each neighborhood, not to

Aerial view of the construction of the Music and Dance Theater on Spuiplein
Photo's by E. Spaans from 1986.
Collection HGA 0.86341.

blindly follow it but to stimulate awareness of the environment in new projects, according to Thijs Bosma, architectural historian and compiler of the Aesthetic Guidelines (Gemeente Den Haag, 2004). The historical continuity of the city neighborhoods, where old and new architecture strengthen the neighborhood's character and resilience. The idea of contextualism was further developed and ultimately found recognition in this design guideline, marking the culmination of The Hague's version of social engineering and its contextualistic architecture.

Breaking the Hegemony of Housing Associations, Architects, and Contractors

Duivesteijn aimed to break the hegemony of housing corporations working with their own established architects and contractors to allow more diversity in architecture and give neighborhoods a better chance. These corporation architects were held responsible for the mediocrity lamented by Gerrit Komrij in his columns *Het Boze Oog* (*The Evil Eye*). An increase in rivalry was seen as a key means to challenge architects. Duivesteijn argued: "Against laissez-faire policy, I did not want to impose municipal domination but rather foster a healthy degree of rivalry between public and private interests." As cited by Duivesteijn and Feddes (1994: 40), the Italian architectural historian Leonardo Benevolo wrote in *The European City*): "The point is to integrate both in a way that preserves their respective characteristics, coordination, and spontaneity."

Dutch architects were typically employed part-time by housing associations and the alderman had little influence on them, although this was different for the generation of young unemployed architects. But Duivesteijn also aimed to bring well-known architects from outside the country to The Hague to break the entrenched interests and protectionism of the iron triangle of housing association-architect-contractor.

Additionally, healthy competition among developers was encouraged by organizing competitions. For the City Hall competition, developers still had to submit their choice of architects for approval by the municipality. Regarding this architect selection, Duivesteijn said: "Our main criterion was that the architects advocated a distinct architectural vision so that they were strong enough to resist their vision being diluted in the next phase: a good architect as a guarantee of maintaining quality" (Duivesteijn & Feddes, 1994: 67).

Many objected that after 1985, a cacophony of architecture was built without a common denominator. This seemed to show that architecture is a hodgepodge of coincidences, but others argued that this was not necessarily a bad thing. Did this heterogeneous architecture not align excellently with The Hague's long tradition of diversity, the uniqueness of its neighborhoods, its context? Was there not a homogeneity in this diversity? The heterogeneity of architecture in the period from 1985 to 1990 was precisely the form of urban architecture that Jane Jacobs fervently recommended. The ideals of uplifting and connecting residents in the Compact City slowly crystallized on the many construction sites. This cultural and architectural task for the transformation of urban neighborhoods could allow the shifting sands of the various identities of city dwellers from all corners of the world to blow in a new and common direction. That was the main impact of the Campaign for Urban Renewal as a Cultural Activity.

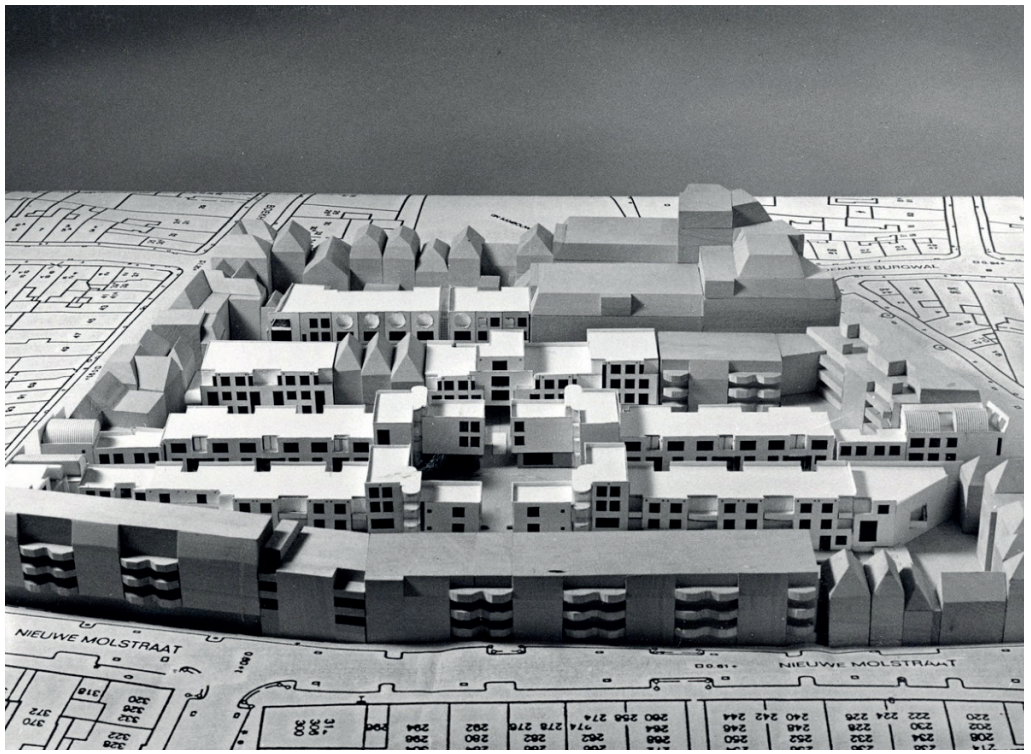
Key Projects of the Campaign

The urban ensembles of Katerstraat, Punt Komma, and Pander complex were the first successes of the Campaign. All the ideals of the '74 generation and the Campaign converged in these three urban ensembles: direct communication between residents without intermediaries, integration and enhancement of urban morphology and spaces, recognition and strengthening of the neighborhood's character, affordable social housing, removing cars from residential streets to parking garages, creating residential streets in inner-city settings, and vibrant architecture. These three projects were extensively illustrated and discussed by the Campaign for Urban Renewal as a Cultural Activity. Finally, the culture of endless meetings was set aside, and the resident was placed in the center. Additionally, the existing city was rediscovered. For instance, Siza discovered the morphology and architecture of the nineteenth-century city. The Hague's stuccoed blocks from the eighties formed a transition from the meager urban renewal to the trendy, diverse architecture that followed. By the early eighties, early modern architecture and architects like Oud, Taut, Aalto, May, Loos, and Le Corbusier were again appreciated at universities and in architectural media. A study like Raumplan versus Plan Libre, Adolf Loos Le Corbusier (Risselada et al., 1991) was the result of years of planning and typological analyses in the studios of TU Delft. Essentially, these stuccoed blocks were entirely different from the independently-positioned modern buildings. They were carefully integrated into the urban environment, and the modern movement was 'quoted' according to the postmodern concept. It was, in fact, a historicizing architecture integrated into the existing city. Similar developments were taking place in Rotterdam with Mecanoo Architects' Kruisplein project (1981-89), followed by urban renewal projects in Rotterdam, Delft, and The Hague (Stationsplein), and in Amsterdam with OMA's IJ-plein (1983-89). The author of this study worked as an intern and assistant at Mecanoo Architects from 1986 to 1990.

Katerstraat (1983-1987)

"The new ideal focuses on new construction that embodies the essence of renewal, and recognizes and strengthens the unique character of the neighborhood. It will be an ideal that has far-reaching consequences for Katerstraat" (Stal, 1987: 14).

The Katerstraat project was designed and built by Atelier PRO between 1983 and 1986, with Hans van Beek and Wolter Nuis as the project architects (Hans van Beek, personal communication, 11-12-2010). For Duivesteijn, it was the first tangible success in the renewal of the existing city. He argued in the brochure: "Take Heilige Geesthofje, for example; it is a place with inherent quality. It is an area that commands



Left above the Katerstraat housing project from 1983-1987 by atelier PRO architekten.
Left below the Punt en Komma from 1984-1988 by Alvaro Siza.
Right above and below Pander Residential and Workspaces Complex from 1984-1990 by the architectural office D.A.K.
Photo from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

respect and authority, exuding quality. Katerstraat should become something similar: a courtyard but without a gate" (Stal, 1987: 15). Since people in the city differ from one another, the buildings should also reflect that difference, according to Duivesteijn, but the buildings should also have their own identity. He therefore envisioned a mix of small homes, studios, and group housing. He argued: "Every place must acquire its own unique value. We have spent too long focused on regulations and too little time on an ideal vision. Too often, houses have been designed based on negative experiences. Designs have been driven by fear. Now, I believe it is very important to analyze the fears people have today. But that fear should not be the driving force in designing buildings. We must start with an optimistic vision of the future, of a positive society. A positive focus is much more important than shielding yourself against something you fear. You must create places that people are proud of. Places with their own identity, so you can say: 'You should go see Katerstraat'" (Stal, 1987: 15).

The Hague urban planners had already carefully integrated the urban design into the fine-grained morphology in 1983, and the urban plan was complete. Traffic was routed into a parking garage under the street. The major example for Duivesteijn was Couperusduin by Atelier PRO, where the ideas of contextualism and urban architecture were fully implemented. He said: "The large residential building was entirely conceived from the location where it was to be placed: an old dune area on the edge of the Scheveningse Bosjes forest. The character of that old, excavated dune area has been restored, and the building has been carefully integrated into it" (Stal, 1987: 17, 19). The uniqueness of the place, the genius loci that Schamhart had already referred to at Couperusduin, was for Duivesteijn, Van Beek, as well as Siza and architectural office D.A.K. the way to shape new buildings within the urban environment. According to Van Beek, the white stucco of Katerstraat was not inspired by the renovation techniques common at that time or by reverting to the early modernists like Mecanoo, Siza, and OMA did. For Van Beek, the reason was primarily functional: the streets were narrow, and the reflection of daylight was desirable—a modern rationale.

Nevertheless, there were plenty of references to the past, especially in urban planning. For instance, the streets were narrowed at the ends, creating a kind of 'gates' to and from the main streets, a tradition that had flourished with Lindo and Berlage, giving residential streets and squares a sense of intimacy. According to Van Beek, what was particularly special about Katerstraat was that The Hague housing corporation Staedion radically changed the approach to housing allocation. It wanted residents who consciously chose to live there, rather than assigning the houses randomly. On a publicly announced viewing day, interested individuals could choose a home themselves, and if there were more candidates than available homes, a lottery was held. Council members raised questions about this, arguing that this direct allocation to people who wanted to live here amounted to discrimination. However, this new method of housing allocation was chosen precisely because significant problems had arisen in the Rotterdam Paperclip project due to placing people in homes where they did not want to live. This led to tensions and conflicts, Van Beek explained.

When asked if the Katerstraat architecture should be followed elsewhere, Duivesteijn responded: "No, we are not going to fill the city with Katerstraats. We must seek the unique identity of each neighborhood. There is no single concept, no overarching dogma. There is also not just one architect who builds beautifully. Every place must have its own uniqueness, and that is something that has been lost in recent years. An incredible amount of the same has been built" (Stal, 1987: 31).

Pander Residential and Office Complex (1984-1990)

The Pander residential and office complex in Spijkermakerskwartier was renovated and partially rebuilt by The Hague architectural firm D.A.K. between 1984 and 1990. It was a careful transformation and repurposing within the existing city, respecting the current residents. Initially, there were plans for Spijkermakerskwartier that involved complete demolition and new flats. The old furniture factory of the Pander company was slated for demolition. Meanwhile, the Pander complex had been squatted by a housing group from the nearby squat Blauwe Aanslag (Blue Tax Assessment), called Foundation De Sirene (The Siren). In June 1984, a public information evening was held where two proposals were presented to the community: completely new construction (and thus the demolition of Spijkermakerskwartier) and a preservation proposal by D.A.K. This firm included architects Peter Drijver, Joost Aerts, Mieke Bos, and Miel Karthaus. Prior to this, squatters from Blauwe Aanslag, representatives of businesses and residents on Prinsengracht, and tenants from Spijkermakerskwartier had united in the Working Group Spijkermakerskwartier. They were supported by the residents' organization Het Oude Centrum (The Old Center). At the information evening, 40% of all neighborhood residents attended, and the new construction plans were scrapped (Van Twillert, 1991: 15). Alderman Van Otterloo accommodated the residents, abandoning the new construction plans and deciding that a new vision for the future of Spijkermakerskwartier was needed. In 1984, the Werkgroep Planontwikkeling Spijkermakerskwartier (PLONS) was established to shape this vision, which proposed a plan based on the preservation of the Pander complex. The municipality conducted a feasibility study and then commissioned D.A.K., which was based in the Blauwe Aanslag (Van Winden, 1990; Van Twillert, 1991). The ideas circulating at that time were summarized by Van Twillert (1991: 19) into five points.

1. Housing and urban renewal policies were insufficiently responsive to social issues.
2. The formation of city centers with a separation of living and working undermined the city. Interventions in the city paid little attention to the historical character of neighborhoods.
3. Historically, Spijkermakerskwartier, Schilderswijk, Kortenbos, and Rivierenbuurt were characterized by a mix of small businesses and residences.
4. Age groups should not be separated by building specifically for the

elderly, students, young families, or older families.

5. The social housing program was insufficient, as newly built social housing was not affordable for the target group due to high rents.

Architects' clubs like Dooievaar, HaAC, and the politicians of the '74 generation had been emphasizing these ideas for years. By taking the initiative, the architects and the working group wanted to create a plan for the Pander complex that addressed all these criticisms. The urban character of the Pander complex would be maintained. The goal was to create a single community, not just a collection of individual homes. This could be achieved within the existing urban ensemble. The group aimed for social housing with affordable rents and a varied housing offer for the elderly, singles, cohabitation groups, and small and large families. There would also be space for artists' studios and small businesses. The Housing Department, led by Van Otterloo, became the client. In January 1986, the final plan development began, and the Pander complex was completed in 1990. The renovated part retained its original materials and appearance. The new parts, like those in Katerstraat, were covered with stucco for insulation. The intimate inner courtyard and the gates to the main street were reminiscent of the urban planning of Lindo and Berlage. For the first time in The Hague, a large urban ensemble was renovated into housing while preserving the fine-grained urban structure.

Punt and Komma (1984-1988)

The residential blocks Punt and Komma, designed by Portuguese architect Álvaro Siza, were constructed in Schilderswijk between 1984 and 1988. They demonstrate a profound appreciation for the qualities of Dutch nineteenth century architecture and show respect for the residents. Duivesteijn and his officials were already familiar with Siza's innovative work, which they had previously seen at the IBA in Berlin. Earlier, The Hague architect Joop Bolster had already brought Siza to Duivesteijn's attention. In Berlin, Siza had elegantly involved Turkish residents in the renewal of their neighborhood, leaving a profound impression. Siza had employed this strategy earlier in Porto, in the social housing complex Bouça (Lapa neighborhood). According to Duivesteijn (Ridderhof, 1994), Siza was the person who could shape the ambitions of the campaign. To celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Carnation Revolution in 1984, Duivesteijn and his fellow party member Jaap Huurman traveled to Porto to observe Siza's work. Duivesteijn remarked: "Both the man and his work greatly appealed to us. His projects, his analytical and investigative approach, his engagement with residents and their desires, with neighborhood-specific conditions, and then finding the architectural implementation—we were enthusiastic" (Duivesteijn, 1988: 5). Therefore: "That's perhaps why the Campaign, launched in 1985, became both a protest and a quest for a new approach to urban renewal, one that exactly acknowledged the original qualities of Schilderswijk while adding new qualities through its renewal. The invitation of Portuguese architect Álvaro Siza to reassess existing municipal plans became a fresh start for Schilderswijk, towards new characteristics and potentially a new identity. Siza identified and named the old qualities of the Schilderswijk, using the residents and their way of life as a basis for his design. The long streets, previously dismissed as monotonous, were revalued for their quality. The Hague's porticoes were reevaluated and redesigned. This approach made the architecture specific once again. He gave substance to a truly innovative policy for the old neighborhoods of the city" (Duivesteijn, 1996: 82).

An urban development plan had already been prepared for the neighborhood, with three models proposed for sub-area 5 (Boasson, 1988: 42-43). The original area consisted of narrow urban blocks with long straight streets running parallel to Jacob Marisstraat, connected via Bosboomstraat to Jacob van Campenplein, featuring revolutionary architecture following the old drainage pattern of the polder. However, this intricate layout was not adopted and underwent significant changes. Rochussenstraat and Suze Robertsonstraat (formerly Van Ravensteinstraat) were partially removed, and many of the old buildings were demolished. The urban development plan therefore resembled the old days of the superblocks of De 444 and Het Klaverblad.

Siza's way of working therefore remained an anomaly in the history of urban planning in The Hague. For Siza, understanding and feeling the 'essence' and 'identity' of Schilderswijk was always central—he wanted to give shape to that. Duivesteijn emphasized: "Everyone talked about it, but what exactly was the essence of Schilderswijk that we wanted to preserve, without neglecting the crucial and necessary renewal? This man might be able to find and shape it" (Duivesteijn, 1988: 5). Regarding the identity of the neighborhood, Siza further stated: "There was no appeal to history as a source of variety and differences, which destroyed the symmetry between history and the dream—the driving force for design .... The historical and geographical aspects alone make us realize that it is precisely the tight-knit and closed social structure and the extremely cohesive cultural environment that provide space for a creative approach to changing the city" (Boasson, 1988: 58).

The socially cohesive structure of the original residents had fallen apart in the 1970s and 1980s. The neighborhood had been repopulated by people from all corners of the world, especially from Mediterranean and Caribbean countries. Schilderswijk, or at least what remained of it, had always been the domain of private landlords renting. Housing corporations traditionally owned little property there, making the neighborhood more accessible to new residents. With architecture, the aim was to create more cohesion in the neighborhood and provide something common for the many diverse residents. Siza and the administrators wanted to create the essence of the neighborhood by having various architects work side by side, resulting in the heterogeneity in brick architecture that was so characteristic of this part of the city. The school on Van Ravensteinstraat, a monumental building in Dutch neo-Renaissance style, was preserved and renovated by Atelier PRO. Part of 't Fort was also renovated.

Ultimately, sub-area 5 of Schilderswijk would be developed by different architects under Siza's supervision: Karsten (78 homes), Siza himself with Punt and Komma (110 homes), Van Herk and De Klein (28 homes), Geurst & Schulze (92 homes), and Herenmarkt (37 homes). In his project description, Siza provided guidelines for these architects. The

buildings were to have the same brick architecture as the existing structures. The materials had to match the color of the stones and white areas of the surrounding buildings. Facades were to remain as flat as possible, with a minimum of protrusions, and should exhibit a monotonous rhythm, making deviations stand out more sharply. Window frames were to be painted in traditional colors. The traditional The Hague portico entrances from the period 1890-1910 were added (Boasson, 1988: 59). This way, the urban ensemble achieved a pleasant variety in architecture, allowing the new buildings to blend seamlessly into the nineteenth century atmosphere of the neighborhood. Thus, the essence of the neighborhood was identified and strengthened.

Up until then, public participation in the urban renewal process had hopelessly stalled: those actually involved were Dutch professionals, while the immigrant residents, the majority in the neighborhood, were neither heard nor involved. Duivesteijn, Van Otterloo, and Harkes understood this well. With Siza, that changed, as he visited people in their homes, in their own environments. The friendly and approachable Portuguese architect was much more accessible to people of Turkish, Moroccan, or Surinamese descent, and to the elderly remaining Dutch residents than the previous urban renewal professionals. Siza personally familiarized himself with the ways of living and the problems that existed. Never had a The Hague architect descended so far from his ivory tower to involve the residents of the city in their neighborhood.

Duivesteijn spoke highly of Siza's approach: “That was new! Siza translates the lifestyle of residents into building plans, stemming from a genuine interest in these people. Rarely do I encounter architects in the Netherlands who consider these differences in such a way, who push back against the flattening effect of standard norms. They are not trained that way. The Netherlands has an ironclad tradition in the field of standardized design and building standardization! I have increasingly felt the need for a new philosophy, both architecturally and urbanistically” (Duivesteijn, 1988: 5). Siza was the only foreign architect who did not yield to the Dutch obsession with regulations. Regarding Siza’s living room conversations, Duivesteijn argued: “I would rather recommend an architect have a hundred conversations with the residents than with two fixed representatives for the neighborhood. ... This way, participation also contributes to maintaining the identity of the neighborhood where you are working, to social cohesion. You talk, for example, with more women and people from ethnic minorities than in the usual participation circuits. And you gain insight into things that truly matter” (Duivesteijn, 1988: 6).

It was mainly the experimental floor plan for the houses that drew attention. According to Mediterranean tradition, Siza divided the living room and kitchen into two equal spaces in terms of area: a men’s space and a women’s space, accommodating the wishes of the new residents of the neighborhood.

Several characteristics from local architecture were incorporated into the new situation: brickwork combined with light-colored natural stone, the typical The Hague building height and porticos, the large Dutch windows, and the orientation of the living room towards the street. Siza argued that brick was chosen because it was the cheapest way to build. He claimed aesthetics played no role (Ridderhof, 1994: 43). Whether construction costs were truly decisive is questionable: the large windows with expensive soundproof and insulating glass were much more expensive per square meter than brickwork. Regardless, brick with natural stone (or concrete) made a comeback in The Hague architecture, reminiscent of the typically The Hague style. Siza taught The Hague architects to look at and appreciate their own architectural history again.

These three key projects of the Campaign centered on the qualities of the existing city and its residents. For a moment, there was hope in The Hague that the end of procedures and protocols was in sight. The urban renewal consultation circus with participation professionals was set aside. The Compact City, where upliftment and cohesion were central, proved possible. The Compact City did not always mean blindly densifying the city; it also meant adding quality in terms of livability. In the overcrowded Schilderswijk and Transvaalkwartier, the population density actually became less, and numerous new parks were created, which improved the livability of these neighborhoods.

However, as The Hague urban planner Fred van der Burg recalled, the fundamental shift in approach brought about by Siza was not followed everywhere. The SO|GZ department was usually process-oriented, starting with the functional program, and the project group had already made significant progress with the residents. They were well into the process when Siza was introduced by Duivesteijn: “Siza asked very different questions, about the character of the area, the defining elements of the environment that could serve as a basis for the future. The streets, the closed urban blocks, The Hague’s porticos—these were essential here. You couldn’t solve the neighborhoods and the residents’ problems if you overlooked these things” (Boasson, 1988: 47). Van der Burg emphasized that this shift was challenging for him. Within SO|GZ, there was little attention and understanding for this change. Sub-area 5 had always been an isolated area, a pet project for Duivesteijn and the POS. Van der Burg regretted that Siza’s way of working did not find its way into the stubborn mechanisms of the SO|GZ department, which fell under a liberal alderman during the 1983-86 period. The use of sketching and observational skills did not become common in the department; discussions continued to dominate urban planning.

Hoefkade-Stationsplein (1986-1993)

If the results were appealing to both residents and the municipality, there was no issue with project-based urban planning within the morphology of the existing city. However, for larger projects, supervision by a coordinator was necessary to avoid ending up with a haphazard collection of architectural plans. Urban planning logic and coherence between the plans needed to be ensured. For the project between Hoefkade and Stationsplein, several parties were commissioned to create urban development proposals. However, a deadlock arose due to a conflict between the municipality and the neighborhood committee over the architects’ plans. The jury selected the plan by Van Herk & De Kleyn, the neighborhood

Katerstraat housing project from 1983-1987
by atelier PRO architekten. Photo above by Peter de Ruig
and below by Leon Thier. Copyright by atelier PRO architekten.

committee preferred Mecanoo, and Duivesteijn favored D.A.K. The municipal council was supposed to make the final decision but was reluctant to do so. Consequently, it was proposed that all three firms further develop their plans. These three firms, however, decided to collaborate, ultimately creating a single urban development plan, with each firm responsible for a different section. Seven years later, 220 homes, 2500 square meters of amenities, and six parking garages were completed. The following projects were realized within this ensemble: single-family homes on Kraijenhoffstraat by D.A.K. (1987-1991), residential units above commercial spaces at Stationsplein by Van Herk & De Kleyn (1987-1992), and single-family homes and apartments on Hoefkade, Jan Blankenstraat, and Kraayenhoffstraat by Mecanoo (1987-1993). The plan followed the original parceling and created a solid façade along Stationsplein. Through underpasses (the Berlage gates), the residential areas could be accessed from Stationsplein. The square on Hoefkade provided the neighborhood with a center that had a different character than Stationsplein. This plan seemed to meet all the conditions of a carefully contextual plan, respecting the existing architecture. But it remained clear that it was a composition of three separate architectural plans. Unfortunately, the existing houses, which were preserved in Mecanoo's plan, were demolished.

Criticism arose about this urban ensemble. Kerkdijk (1992: 32) found it peculiar that the busy Stationsplein, characterized by its urban ambiance, and Hoefkade were connected by two streets with a residential character. "As if the urban dynamism ... could be accommodated in a thoroughly nineteenth century layout of squares and streets, while the need for a truly new urban foundation is masked by an all too easy acceptance of the urban status quo." The two residential areas became thoroughfares where fences were used to deter cyclists and scooters, aiming to give residents some privacy and space on the residential streets. There was also criticism of the materials used: people felt that the colorful stucco did not fit the nineteenth century neighborhoods. Kerkdijk (1992: 33) argued: "Nevertheless, the choice for a modernist appearance is hardly understandable from the context, but rather from an indefinite desire to address the problems of this neighborhood with it. With mere images, however, social reality is only adorned. ... As a result, this urban renewal project looks new at first glance, but the real problems are still hidden too much behind the nostalgic vitality of a modernist visual repertoire." This criticism applied to more stucco plans in the urban renewal areas. A skilled urban planner would have been better suited to create the plan than architects who reached a weak compromise. However, skilled urban planners were lacking here, as was an authoritative supervisor.

Memories of the Heroic Period of Modernism

In the wake of the initial successful projects, various other urban ensembles were constructed in a similar fashion. Comparable projects that followed included the Paviljoenen in Suze Robertsonstraat by Van Herk and De Kleyn (1986-1987), Tussenstrook in Elandstraat and Witte de Withstraat by Theo Bosch (1987-1990), and a housing project in Karel Roosstraat by Geurst & Schulze (1988-1991).

These projects consistently referenced the past, either early modernist housing with stuccoed blocks or nineteenth century architecture. This was also evident in Katerstraat, the Pander complex, and Hoefkade-Stationsplein, all of which featured stucco work. These projects were characterized by careful integration into the urban fabric and the application of stucco on insulation. This technique was affordable and made low rents possible. A facade with an inner layer of sand-lime brick was wrapped in insulation, covered with fiberglass, and stuccoed, saving costs compared to a traditional brickwork facade. Despite doubts about the appearance of aging stucco, its mechanical vulnerability, and its flammability, the main objection was that the stucco projects starkly contrasted with the atmosphere and character of the neighborhood. While the urban morphology was consistent, the materials and appearance were not. Only Siza's project met Duivesteijn's criteria. In the ensuing years, many projects were built in the style of Siza, who had best expressed The Hague's identity. At the time, people spoke of "new frugality".

Siza himself concluded in 1994, in an interview with Ruud Ridderhof and Jeroen Geurst about the early period of the Campaign: "My conclusion after ten years is that the city clearly envisions a new image for Schilderswijk (Vandenhove, Coenen). As a result, new projects no longer concern themselves with the people living in the neighborhoods. The intensive dialogue with the population, a part of my first project, barely existed in the second project and has completely vanished in Jo Coenen's project for Vaillantlaan. Coenen creates a project that formally engages with the neighborhood's atmosphere, but other projects (Vandenhove) do not even respond to the architectural formal qualities and the ambiance of the neighborhood. I think the intentions that Adri Duivesteijn had when he invited me to work in the Schilderswijk no longer exist—the intention to work through a 'pedagogical' contact with the population; pedagogical in both directions: towards the architect and towards the population" (Ridderhof, 1994: 47).

Gradually, along with the intentions, the stucco projects also disappeared from the cityscape. By the 1990s, it was considered a sign of backwardness for an architect to propose such a project. A cityscape that quickly gained popularity vanished just as rapidly, but urban ensembles from this period still stand throughout the city.

Pander Residential and Workspaces Complex from 1984-1990 by the architectural office D.A.K.
Photo from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

9.3
The Ideals of the Progressive Program Executive, 1986-89

The Building Aldermen

In 1986, during the local elections, there was a seismic shift in favor of the PvdA, which became by far the most dominant party in the council with 18 seats. However, this large faction with many newcomers also became the most unmanageable and unstable faction in the council; and three years later the PvdA would collapse under its own dynamics due to the conflict over the new City Hall between the aldermen Duivesteijn and Van Otterloo. In these three years, so much happened that well into the new millennium, plans from this period were still being implemented. The victory of the local left and center-left parties in The Hague was partly brought about by the large cuts and privatization operations of the first national cabinet led by Ruud Lubbers, which consisted of VVD and CDA; by societal discussions about restructuring of higher education, nuclear energy, and cruise missiles; and, to top it off, by the Chernobyl nuclear disaster of April 1986.

In May 1986, national elections also took place, where the CDA and VVD were mostly favored by the rural vote and proceeded to form the second Lubbers cabinet. On a national scale, it seemed that the countryside once again decided on the fate of the cities, but in the local elections, the tables turned. After the significant local election victory of the PvdA, a progressive program coalition was formed between the PvdA, D66, and Links Den Haag. This left-wing coalition consisted mainly of people in their thirties, who had been too young to take part in politics during the protests of the seventies (Duivesteijn & Feddes, 1994: 42), although most of the aldermen who were appointed had been active in various organizations and had been in the council during the seventies. The progressive alderman Fré Vooys-Bosma (1926) was even quite advanced in age. This coalition received strong support from the new mayor Ad Havermans and the municipal secretary Van Beuzekom.

The Campaign could now be fully implemented. Developments in the city gained momentum. After years of lethargy, lack of purpose, and bickering in the council, a powerful undercurrent emerged, characterized by consensus among policymakers, residents, businesses, and institutions in The Hague. This undercurrent embodied all the features of what would later be called New Urbanism. Even during the coalition formation, it was decided to halt plans for the new city hall and relocate its site to the Spui, in the heart of The Hague, between the sandy and the peaty soil.

Remarkably, in the progressive council, each alderman was allowed to spearhead their own projects. Constant Martini focused on the Laakhavens and Scheveningen harbor, Gerard van Otterloo took charge of the Housing Festival, Adri Duivesteijn oversaw the City Hall and the covering of the Utrechtsebaan, and René Vlaanderen handled the redevelopment of the city center with De Kern Gezond, as discussed below. Suddenly, The Hague had numerous aldermen dedicated to the city's transformation, with the existing city as the cohesive structure. All these plans utilized the land consolidation strategy from 1980-83, in which Duivesteijn had become adept as an alderman. Apparently, this was the most successful strategy for implementing transformations in the existing city without a budget. The following urban ensembles were put into action.

Approach and Successes of the New Municipal Executive

Firstly, there were the three urban ensembles and initial successes of Duivesteijn and the POS, where the ideals of the Campaign were shaped: Katerstraat by Atelier PRO (1983-1986), Punt and Komma by Siza (1984-1988), and the Pander complex, a renovation of Scala (1984-1990). These projects had already commenced earlier, but were continually presented as the 'ideal projects' by the young politicians of the '74 generation.

Secondly, The Hague finally acquired a unified city center at Spui, where urban governance and culture converged in Weeber's 1980 plan. Perhaps this was the most crucial decision of the progressive council. The city gained status as its architecture appeared in magazines worldwide and became the focal point of discussions raging in the media for months. The Hague was dubbed "the city with the floating heart" (Duivesteijn & Feddes, 1994: 25). This was largely due to the local political actions (or lack thereof): "[as if] the city council preferred not to decide rather than to decide. When a decision was made, politicians were startled by their decisiveness". (Duivesteijn & Feddes, 1994: 26). The division inthe council played a role in the debate over the location of the City Hall. Should it be located on the sand or in the peat? The Spui location was depicted as a slum area. Prestigious institutions like Pulchri Studio, the historical association Die Haghe, and the local chapter of the BNA all favored Alexanderveld, a dignified city area according to K.P.C. de Bazel (Duivesteijn & Feddes, 1994: 27). Never had the dust in The Hague been stirred up so high as in the conflict over the competition for the City Hall, and now everyone in Europe knew where The Hague was.

Thirdly, the relocation of the City Hall freed up many important locations where municipal offices used to be. In the 1990s, several new urban ensembles with housing and some amnitities were constructed there: De Monchyplein by Ricardo Bofill, Het Zieken in Stationsbuurt by Charles Vandenhove, and the city center around Groenmarkt and Drie Hoekjes by John Outram Associates (the Snoeptrommel), Gunnar Daan (Casa Uccellini), and Vera Yanovshtchinsky (renovation of the Drie Hoekjes with expansion and restoration of the Berlage office).

Fourthly, the existing urban space in the city was significantly addressed following studies in the reports *Hart voor Den Haag* (*Heart for The Hague*, 1987) and *De Kern Gezond* (*A Healthy Core*, 1988). With the latter report, the author and landscape architect Alle Hosper (1943-1997) set a new trend that put the revaluation of public spaces in Dutch cities on the agenda. It was decided, among other things, to remove

Visit of Portuguese President Mario Soares to The Hague in 1989. The Portuguese architect
Alvaro Siza explains a model of the Schilderswijk on which it appears that his designs have a darker color.
From left to right: Mayor Havermans, Siza, Soares, Queen Beatrix and Mrs. Havermans.
Photo by Fotoburo Thuring from 1989. Collection HGA 6.17836.

traffic from the city center and redesign it in an attractive manner. Public transportation was also removed from Grote Marktstraat following the decision to construct a tram tunnel designed by OMA. Since then, the city center and the shopping arsenal have flourished significantly, and the living environment for residents and visitors has greatly improved. The success of Grote Marktstraat in the new millennium is largely attributed to the vision outlined and articulated in these reports.

Fifthly, The Hague New Center began to take shape between the Babylon shopping center and the Nieuwe Kerk. Weeber's urban plan from 1980 for Turfmarkt was elevated by Rob Krier's "Needle Strategy" in the BANK area plan (1988). The principle for the area would be urban substructures of 20 to 25 meters, as present in the city center, with building masses or building lines following the narrow streets, with towers and other vertical accents placed on top and rising above them. Many ministries would relocate back to The Hague and settle in the New Center near the Central Station. The Resident, Krier's urban ensemble that emerged from this, would become a defining feature of the 1990s.

Sixthly, large urban ensembles with a distinct character full of historical references arose in the nineteenth century neighborhoods, partly on vacant land where municipal offices used to stand: the urban and architectural design of the Vaillantlaan by Jo Coenen (1988-1992), the Quartier Latin in Stationsbuurt by Charles Vandenhove (1987-1998), Burgemeester De Monchyplein by Ricardo Bofill (1986-1989), and the urban strategy for the BANK area by Rob Krier (1988), which would later be built as The Resident.

Seventhly, Van Otterloo deliberately chose OMA to design the renewal and restructuring of post-war neighborhoods in a differentiated manner with a wide variety of housing types through the Housing Festival. Kees Christiaanse from OMA took on the implementation and continued the project when he started his own office.

Eighthly, old industrial areas of The Hague were restructured. The Laakhavens harbor area was transformed into a knowledge center by The Hague University of Applied Sciences, while the Slachthuisterrein by Aldo Rossi (a former butchery), and Groothandelsmarktterrein (a wholesale market) by Mecannoo were converted into residential neighborhoods.

With all these buildings and urban spaces, The Hague acquired the distinctive appearance envisioned by the Campaign in 1985. Into the new millennium, construction would continue these colorful and visually striking urban ensembles of The Hague's New Urbanism.

The Strong Arm of the Progressive Executive

Aesthetics Committee

Quality must be enforced; the progressive council must have thought. The Hague's Aesthetics Committe became the strong arm of Duivesteijn, overseeing the implementation of all projects. The political grip on urban development and on SO|GZ was strengthened by the progressive council by expanding the responsibilities of this Aesthetics Committe. In the future, the review board would subject the quality of all urban planning frameworks established by SO|GZ to a critical examination, which meant that, in addition to the buildings it typically assessed, it subjected all urban ensembles to a very critical judgment.

Upon assuming office in 1980, Duivesteijn initiated several changes in architectural review. A *Nota Welstandstoezicht* (*Aesthetic Supervision Memorandum*, 1981) was published, architectural review meetings became public, and the review board was expanded to include an urban planner and a civilian member. In 1987, Theo Bosch was appointed as the chairman of the review board by Duivesteijn (Teunissen, 2010). In varying compositions between 1986 and 1994, the following architects served on the board: Jan Brouwer, Paul Bontenbal, Rainer Bullhorst, Job Roos, Paul de Ley, Miel Karthaus, Leon Thier, Jos Westra, and Vera Yanovshtchinsky; Hennie Brouwer represented monument conservation; Ben Eerhart represented urban planning; Alle Hosper was the landscape architect; and Chris Rehorst was the architectural critic. They were largely loyal to the Hague's administrators of the '74 generation.

This active architectural policy took shape in a new document titled *Welstand en Stadsbeeld* (*Aesthetics and City Image*, 1989), which led to the *Welstandsverordening* (*Aesthetic Regulation*, 1991). The 1989 document states: "The cityscape is determined by the urban layout, by old and new buildings, by profiles and layout of streets and squares, by green spaces, and street furniture. Buildings and public spaces are two equivalent elements for the cityscape, mutually influencing each other and jointly determining the appearance of the city. The buildings form, as it were, the walls of the public space, the urban planning its structure, and the layout with street furniture and greenery its comfort" (Gemeente Den Haag, 1989). This document reflected a practice that had been ongoing since the Campaign had started and was refined every year. Cohesion and quality were the pillars. Good design and coordination add value to the city's image and enhance the quality of urban life, according to *Aesthetics and City Image*.

Supervisors played a special role in this process. Architects of significance such as Siza, Rossi, Krier, Bofill, and Coenen were appointed as supervisors, and young The Hague-based architects were involved in the implementation. It was hoped that these architects would thus become acquainted with international architectural developments and succeed their older colleagues, who often followed the housing associations' lead. The supervisor of an urban ensemble guided, coordinated, and assessed the work of the various architects and advised the Aesthetics Committe. Often, there was a quality plan or a vision on the location, which was assessed by the Aesthetics Committe, and which the architects used as a basis for their work. During workshops and discussions, the plans were refined and harmonized. This way of working brought cohesion between the different designs, giving the urban ensembles their own character. Starting The Hague-based architectural firms also received a sort of complementary 'architectural education' in New Urbanism through this process.

Theater aan het Spui and Filmhuis from 1986-93 by architect Herman Hertzberger.
Photo from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

Sometimes, architects lost sight of the original objectives, as The Hague architect and Dooievaar veteran Jan Ledderhof delicately put it: “In urban renewal, I think it’s important to preserve the structure and the inner-city character as much as possible. ... The charm of an inner city is that there are elements of different ages. We should strive more to preserve what is possible. And above all, to preserve what is iconic for the neighborhood (city). This way, you experience that the neighborhood (city) has a history” (Gemeente Den Haag, 1985: 10-11).

Identity of the Residential Neighborhoods?

Albert Ravestein, a project manager at SO|GZ who was involved with the Vaillantlaan, described the dilemmas and choices in the largest urban renewal area in Europe in an essay titled *Een nieuwe wijk, een nieuwe samenleving?* (*A New Neighborhood, a New Society?*) (Ravestein, 1996). By ‘new society’, he likely referred to the statements made by councilor Duivesteijn during his campaign: “At the time of writing, in late 1995, the renewal of the Schilderswijk has been ongoing for about twenty years. A whole generation of people has grown up in a situation of demolition and construction, tens of thousands of people have moved, and the population composition of the neighborhood has completely changed, from a typically The Hague ‘village-like’ working-class neighborhood to a multicultural, large urban neighborhood. The renewal of Schilderswijk has always been approached with the idea of being able to renew and improve society by initially building new houses, but later also new parks, schools, shops, community centers, and now even new mosques. Not every politician, civil servant, or designer has thought consciously about being able to change society with their design, but the improvement of the standard of living of its residents has always been at the forefront in renewing neighborhoods. It has often been difficult to determine the needs of the large group of immigrant residents. Should they integrate [into Dutch society] or not? Should they be dispersed or not? Should attention be paid to their specific culture or not? Many solutions have been tried out in the neighborhood. The architects of the ‘patchwork’ (Van Wijngaarden, Klunder, De Jonge, Van Schagen) thought it best to draw what the residents desired, and Siza wanted to design housing types that were useful for all population groups. The renewal of Vaillantlaan aims to contribute to the improvement of the quality of life in Schilderswijk. It’s not consciously designed to create an almost automatic urbanity that appeals to all segments of the population and restores the fragmented image of the neighborhood” (Ravestein, 1996: 17, 19).

Bram Harkes, a civil servant and sociologist and chairman of the POS, who enthusiastically took up urban renewal in the new style, argued: “The culture of the neighborhood. How do people deal with their completely changed living environment due to urban renewal? And above all: how do they interact with each other? ... With the Campaign, we want to link construction to the social aspect of urban renewal. ... And in construction teams, the focus is on the technical aspects. There is no time to think about the neighborhood as a whole. Seeing the neighborhood as a unity. Thinking about what forms should be created for which residents. Thinking about neighborhood culture. Culture in design, but also culture in terms of the norms and values of neighborhood residents” (Gemeente Den Haag, 1985: 18).

Duivesteijn also emphasized the connection between neighborhood and identity, saying: “For example: architect Reijenga has had three projects in three neighborhoods. Very different neighborhoods; truly three different cultures. And what do you see? It turns out to be one and the same plan! Routine work. Continuously, you see solutions coming up that make you wonder if they help shape a new society. However, they do contribute to stifling resident cultures” (Bakker, 1985: 2).

The nineteenth century city, which had been depopulated, was repopulated mainly by immigrants from various parts of the world, resulting in a lack of community spirit in the neighborhood; strengthening the neighborhood’s identity could bring improvement in this regard. Therefore, Ledderhof, Harkes, and Duivesteijn firmly linked a geographical unit such as a neighborhood to a single identity, as argued earlier. It was understood that people from different backgrounds lived in the neighborhood, but it was believed that one strong and convincing architecture at the neighborhood level could bring coherence among all these different groups.

In 1987, the Berlagevlag (a local architecture prize) didn’t go to an architect but to a councilor: Adri Duivesteijn. When asked “What is the permanent?” Duivesteijn replied that the identity of the neighborhoods needed to be strengthened by accentuating their characteristics. “Cities are recognizable by the materials they use, or the forms in which they present themselves. The constant factor is giving each neighborhood its own identity” (Architectuurplatform Den Haag ’87, 1987: 4). The strong arm of the progressive executive, consisting of SO|GZ, the POS, the Aesthetics Committe, the supervisors, and the loyal young architects, devised a powerful identity that brought cohesion to the neighborhoods, although many still doubted whether a specific building or type of archiecture belonged in a specific neighborhood.

Den Haag Finally Gets a New Center on Spuiplein

That all the important buildings for governance and culture were on the ‘sand’ – the wealthy part of the town - was a major annoyance for the social democrats (PvdA). In 1980, the groundwork for the new center had already begun in the ‘peat bog’ on the Spui and Turfmarkt - the less prosperous part of the city. The urban plan, meticulously executed in the formal objectivity of Weeber, was supervised by him (Weeber, 1979). By 1986, the entire area had become a large construction site where work was underway on a significant urban ensemble, initially referred to as a Cultural Forum. The urban ensemble around Spui included the Dr. Anton Philipszaal for the Residentie Orkest (1984-87, Van Mourik Vermeulen architects), the NDT (1984-87, OMA), Hotel Pullman (1986-87, architect Weeber), and Theater aan het Spui and Filmhuis (1986-93, architect Hertzberger) (Duivesteijn & Feddes, 1994; Taverne, 2008).

Even before the elections, Duivesteijn had begun a cautious exploration. On May 16, 1985, he spoke with Bart Joon and Henk van den Berg, both are civil servants at the municipality. Both were involved

in the plan for the City Hall at Burgemeester De Monchyplein. However, Van den Berg burst out, according to Duivesteijn, why bother with small changes to the city hall? There is still so much to do in the city! Take the Spui, for example! (Duivesteijn & Feddes, 1994). According to Duivesteijn, Van den Berg drew sketch after sketch of the intersection of Grote Marktstraat and Spui. A raised square, a tunnel, and a new purpose for the empty plot, where the City Hall would eventually be located. The location of the Margetheater (later Theater aan het Spui and Filmhuis) was also at stake. It was supposed to be behind the Koninklijke Schouwburg (Royal Theater), but funding had not yet been approved. Next to the Nieuwe Kerk was empty site at Spui. Duivesteijn believed that the theater should also be located on Spui, just as he had relocated the NDT from Scheveningen to Spui.

By concentrating all cultural and administrative activities of the city at Spui instead of spreading them out, the urban functions were strengthened. According to Weeber, this was a very good idea. Just before the elections in 1986, the idea of concentrating cultural functions had been blocked by the right-wing majority, but three weeks later, the new council expressed support for it. All progressive parties were in favor. With the decision to also place the City Hall there, the cultural center was upgraded to a clear and recognizable center between Spui and the Central Station. This put an end to years of ambiguity with multiple centers, such as Scheveningen and the Congrescentrum. The Hague's administrative and cultural center, which had been located on the sand, definitively shifted to the peat – from the wealthy part of the town to

One of the key ideas emerged during a retreat during the coalition negotiations. There were significant challenges to balance the budget, and a cost-cutting operation was looming. One of the issues facing The Hague were the expensive land plots in the Spui area. For years, the area had been deteriorating after the failed CIAM ambitions. Because interest had to be paid continuously, the land price kept increasing. During an afternoon break during the negotiations, Duivesteijn, Martini, and Van Otterloo walked along the boulevard at Kijkduin. According to Martini, urban planner Van Otterloo exclaimed that the City Hall should be moved to Spui. Martini found this a strange idea, as the construction plan and the tendering process for a building by Ellerman at De Monchyplein had already been approved by the council. Duivesteijn asked Van Otterloo if he really meant it, then sat down on one of the empty chairs to ponder. During the discussions that afternoon, Duivesteijn returned after seeking advice from some advisors of the civil service. That afternoon, the idea was proposed by Van Otterloo and Duivesteijn to relocate the City Hall to Spui, according to Martini. Duivesteijn commented on this: "The thought persisted that with the Residentie Orkest and NDT, the theater center, the City Hall, and the library, a cultural square could emerge as the new heart of the city" (Duivesteijn & Feddes, 1994: 18).

Still, the idea of a cultural center in The Hague was already circulating among urban planners and architects. At the Technical University of Delft, Rein Geurtsen and Niek de Boer had already begun discussing this. Everyone in the progressive municipal executive was enthusiastic. Finally, this seemed a way out of years of crisis. Now there was political courage that would have significant consequences for building within the existing city because many new building plots would become available due to the concentration of urban services at Spui. This was the cornerstone of the Compact City.

The construction of the City Hall was not of interest to the people of The Hague, as it had not been a representative building in the center of the city so far, but merely an office like many others. However, Duivesteijn argued: "There had been hardly any discussion about the place of the municipality office in the municipality, about the representation of democratic values, about the fundamentally public function of a city hall." (Duivesteijn & Feddes, 1994: 13).

Duivesteijn also believed that "the government [is] a client with an exemplary function - generating investments and cultural developments in the city center. Promotion is entirely free; it attracts visitors anyway, as seen in many architectural tours, but more importantly, with sufficient allure, it can create a landmark like the Opera for Sydney, like the Martinitoren for Groningen, like the Palace on the Dam in Amsterdam, like the Euromast in Rotterdam" (Duivesteijn & Feddes, 1994: 85). In short, it should not be an ordinary city hall but a building that would give the city character.

For the competition to build the new City Hall, six developers were selected: two project developers, MAB and Multi Vastgoed; two developer-builders, Wilma Vastgoed and Hollandse Beton Groep (HBG) with its subsidiary MABON; and two ad hoc combinations, Haags Projecten Consortium (HPC) including Ballast Nedam, BAM, and Volker Stevin, and Ontwikkelingscombinatie Stadhuis Bibliotheek Den Haag (OCS) including Brederode, Nelissen Van Egteren / Nevanco, and IBC. MAB contracted the architect Norman Foster, who according to Duivesteijn and Van Otterloo was a strong contender (Duivesteijn & Feddes, 1994: 80). Multi Vastgoed proposed James Stirling, also a favorite among the councilors. Wilma proposed Helmut Jahn. Duivesteijn was particularly impressed by his State of Illinois building in Chicago, a regional building with international allure and a spacious atrium. HPV presented Saubot et Jullien. Mabon proposed the only Dutch architect, Hans Boot. OCS proposed Richard Meier. Through an indirect route, Meier was brought in by Duivesteijn's colleague Joop ten Velden. Foster (and MAB) and Stirling withdrew from the competition. Multi Vastgoed then wanted to contract the traditional office builder ZZOP or Moshé Zwarts, but this was rejected by Duivesteijn. Jo Coenen or Rem Koolhaas were proposed by Duivesteijn instead, but Coenen declined due to time constraints. Ultimately, five architects participated: Boot, Koolhaas, Jahn, Meier, and Saubot et Jullien.

Duivesteijn emphasized that the jury was explicitly not a jury but an assessment committee. The lack of insight by the aldermen into Dutch architecture and the ongoing debates was evident in the choice of Aldo van Eyck as a jury member. Van Eyck had been criticizing architects like Meier and Koolhaas for years (Van Eyck, 1980/81). Van Eyck's lecture in 1980 at the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) was called *Rats, Posts and Other Pests*, by which he referred to, among others, Meier. In other lectures he systematically criticized architects, including Koolhaas. This did not promise an objective judging process. It was

therefore incomprehensible to many that Van Eyck was appointed as a jury member. This was a clear illustration of the councilors' lack of knowledge about the disputes and complexities within the architectural world.

Ultimately, the council chose Richard Meier instead of Rem Koolhaas, who had been selected by the assessment committee, during a council meeting (Meier, 1988; Duivesteijn & Feddes, 1994; Vermeulen, 1995; Franke et al., 1995). The conflicts between Duivesteijn (a supporter of Meier) and Van Otterloo (a supporter of Koolhaas) escalated. Ultimately, the council voted 36 in favor and only 9 against: the City Hall was to be built with Meier's design. Van Otterloo criticized the plan due to its financial infeasibility, but Duivesteijn believed that Van Otterloo's concern was mainly about the architecture, as he supported Koolhaas' plan. According to Hans Reijnen, the head of SO|GZ at the time, a completely unworkable situation arose, and SO|GZ was divided into two camps (Hans Reijnen, personal communication, 16-5-2011).

On September 8, 1988, it was decided to reorganize the municipal service and disband SO|GZ. After a lengthy reorganization process involving the transformation and consolidation of various services, a new organization became operational only on January 1, 1991, the Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening en Economische Ontwikkeling (Department of Spatial Planning and Economic Development, REO), which was transformed into the Dienst Stedelijke Ontwikkeling (Urban Development Department, DSO) in 1996.

Ultimately, Duivesteijn and Van Otterloo had to resign. With the liberals (VVD) and cristian democrats (CDA), a majority was found that supported the City Hall plan, in exchange for participation in the council.

The progressive municipal government collapsed in 1989 due to the debate about the new City Hall, but City Hall had found a permanent place on the old lifeline, the Spui. This would have significant implications for the New Center of The Hague. In 1995, the City Hall was opened, with the National Theater performing William Shakespeare's Julius Caesar (Van der Heide et al., 2008)

The Hague finally had its own cultural center on Spui. The dream of councilor Lely at the beginning of the century had come true.

The Inner City Reclaimed: De Kern Gezond

"Cities function thanks to the existence of a network of undeveloped, public spaces" (Alle Hosper, in Bekkering 2005: 73)

The 'formal objectivity' that Weeber spoke of, referring to urban spaces as carriers of identity and meaning, and the spatial network that connects buildings and places, found one of its finest examples in the report *De Kern Gezond: plan voor herinrichting van de openbare ruimte in de Haagse binnenstad* (*A Healthy Core: Plan for the Reorganization of Public Space in The Hague's City Center*), presented on June 17, 1988. A key focus for the progressive council was the revitalization of the heart of The Hague, encompassing both urban spaces and the economy. During the CIAM years of city formation and suburbanization, The Hague's historical core had fallen into neglect and been ruined by traffic. The new council introduced a fresh vision for public spaces, assuming their autonomy in both image and quality. Turfmarkt and Spuiplein already hinted at 'formal objectivity'. After the Second World War, the term 'urban space' had disappeared and been replaced by 'public space', a term with a merely legal connotation. Space came to be divided into private and public (Van der Woud, 1988).

A Healthy Core was the elaboration of the earlier memorandum *Hart voor Den Haag: Ontwikkelingsstrategieën voor het herstel van de Haagse Binnenstad* (*Heart for The Hague: Development Strategies for the Restoration of the City Center of The Hague*) by a committee led by the former minister Mr. G.P.H. Brokx (CDA). This report was a joint effort by the city center project team and Brokx, outlining development strategies for the restoration of The Hague's city center. With *Heart for The Hague* (1987) and *A Healthy Core* (1988), urban spaces in The Hague were once again discussed and their qualities identified. Heart for The Hague was novel for the municipality because it was the first time a broad, policy-driven focus was placed on the reconstruction of the inner city and the enhancement of The Hague's specific character. Representative urban spaces were declared crucial for the quality of the Compact City, with the assumption that various urban functions would be mixed. A Healthy Core was of great importance, as it led to a reevaluation of urban spaces and the significant impact of their quality on the overall quality of the city, not only in The Hague but throughout the Netherlands. Particularly the work of landscape architect Alle Hosper on this report, filled with sketches, marked a massive shift from which The Hague would benefit for a long time.

In *Heart for The Hague*, Brokx argued: "Vision and policy for the city center should connect as directly as possible to the original identity of the city. The great challenge is to reshape this identity in our current time. The city center then becomes the core from which the rest of the city can grow" (Gemeente Den Haag, 1987: 11). The project team and Brokx believed that the funding of the project for renewal and restoration could not be seen separately from the content of the proposal. They advocated for public-private partnerships and the establishment of a "city center fund" to ensure a financial contribution by the city. However, funding the renewal of the city center was not viewed solely as a municipal task. In Heart for The Hague, Brokx also called for a better division of responsibilities among the cities in the Randstad. Two specific characteristics of The Hague were highlighted: it is the administrative center of the Netherlands and has a unique relationship with Scheveningen. The Hague needed to attract national and international administrative organizations to strengthen its profile, which had been neglected for too long. Instead of competing, The Hague and Scheveningen should improve their special relationship. It was also advised that The Hague should work on its image. Historical characteristics had been 'distorted' and had acquired negative connotations. Brokx mentioned examples, in short, the image of a chic and sophisticated court city in leafy greenery also had a downside: a musty, sleepy city.

To mitigate and undo these distortions, the following policy lines were recommended: increasing liveliness by strengthening the residential

function, emphasizing the city's monuments, promoting cultural events, more clearly highlighting attractive landmarks and diversity within the city, creating connections from The Hague Central and Hollands Spoor station to the center, demolishing 'false' entrances like the Prins Bernhard viaduct, and bringing nightlife to the public attention. In addition to The Hague's specific character, several characteristics applicable to other major cities were described: the inner city as a 'living room' for residents, the inner city as a regional center, and the inner city as a cultural carrier. Priorities according to the committee included urban restoration, cleaning public spaces and making them car-free, maintaining green spaces, restoring social safety in the city, combating the decline of shops, strengthening the market function of the inner city, and promoting nightlife and tourism. Many concrete projects were described to elevate the quality of the inner city. Three measures were always central to these proposals: cleaning up the inner city, enhancing existing characteristics and qualities, and adding new qualities. The report mainly established policy frameworks for urban planning and architectural design. One of the key principles was that the center should once again coincide with the area within the canals by peripheral development along the canals. This idea had been strongly advocated for by alderman Nuij and was now being realized. After years of having a reduced center within the inner ring road, The Hague regained its 'old' center. However, there was a noted shift of the center towards Utrechtsebaan.

The aim of *A Healthy Core* was to enhance the urban spaces of the city center. It consolidated many separate initiatives and policy documents from previous years into a single unified document. Through the redesign of public areas, the goal was to stimulate the interconnected and themed functions of the city. Valuable elements from The Hague's history were preserved and strengthened wherever possible. Three aldermen contributed to its development: Adri Duivesteijn (Spatial Planning and Urban Renewal), Jack Verduyn Lunel (Youth, Sports, Recreation, Culture, and Media), and René Vlaanderen (Traffic, Transport, Public Works, Monuments, and Environment). The designs were executed by Bureau Bakker & Bleeker, under the coordination of engineer Alle Hosper. *A Healthy Core* was a comprehensive project that embodied a significant portion of the ideas outlined in *Heart for The Hague*. Never had so many colored pencils and sketch pens been used in compiling such a document.

For the first time, SO|GZ did not produce statistics, words, and diagrams, but instead drawings depicting street and square layouts.

This policy document was influential because it enjoyed broad support in the city and led to many other positive proposals and policies that collectively shaped the urban landscape. It was also influential because it made a clear choice in favor of pedestrians and slow traffic, thus gradually excluding cars from the city center. "The city center, with its historical character, is literally not built for the immense surge in automobile traffic that has taken place in recent decades" (Gemeente Den Haag, 1988: 112). However, the document did not overlook traffic concerns, recognizing that accessibility was crucial for the plan's success. It advocated for a "traffic-calmed core area" model where pedestrians could move freely. Another part of the city center became a car-free zone for residents and visitors to enjoy. The primary aim was to transform the city center into a place for leisure and relaxation, as emphasized in A Healthy Core. In the document, the focus was particularly on aligning the city center with the atmosphere of the late nineteenth century. 'Recognition of the old city' thus found its expression (Molenaar, 1988: 19). The central axis of the city center, Parkstraat-Kneuterdijk-Spui-Hollands Spoor, became pivotal, connecting five distinct atmospheres in the city center arranged perpendicularly to this axis. These distinct zones aimed to capture and enhance the historical essence of The Hague's city center, each contributing uniquely to its identity and allure. These atmospheres were:

- The atmosphere of green spaces: encompassing areas like Plaats (with the execution site), Lange Vijverberg, Toernooiveld, and Voorhout extending to Malieveld. This atmosphere highlighted The Hague as a royal city in leafy green surroundings: an elegant city adorned with monumental trees which the elite frequented.
- The atmosphere of enclosed squares: comprising a series of squares forming the oldest part of The Hague. These include the church square around Jacobskerk, Groenmarkt, Buitenhof, Binnenhof, and Het Plein.
- The atmosphere of narrow shopping streets: representing the old medieval center where shops for the common man are concentrated in narrow streets. Examples include Vlamingstraat, Spuistraat, Lange Poten, Korte Poten, and Herengracht.
- The atmosphere of city streets: such as Prinsengracht, Grote Markt, and Kalvermarkt. Together with the central axis, these formed the new crossroads of cut-throughs that structured the city center during the interbellum. Almost all major department stores are located along Grote Marktstraat.
- The atmosphere of Spuikwartier: extending from the Nieuwe Kerk to Central Station, according to Weeber's Forum plan. This new connection structured the developments between Central Station and the cultural center on Spui.

The central axis was a pedestrian zone where all major public buildings were located. It followed the old orthogonal structure of the city, and the atmospheres corresponded to the old socio-economic divisions within the city, which were interconnected by the central axis. These five atmospheres were already inherent in the city, and each possessed its own distinct character and identity, seen as an attractive feature of the city center that needed enhancement. The challenge for urban planners and designers was to shape the coherence between these distinct atmospheres while preserving their uniqueness. Cohesion was achieved through materials, lamps, street furniture, and details, but primarily through the central axis where all major public buildings were situated: Spui, Buitenhof, and Kneuterdijk. In redesigning the public spaces of the city center, emphasis was placed on the space itself rather than on street objects, which were limited to functional necessities, although pedestals for sculptures by Peter Struyken were introduced. To unify the urban spaces, a single type of pavement was chosen for the entire city center: an elegant dark manganese paver,

laid in herringbone pattern for pedestrian zones and in chevron pattern for traffic zones. Lighting fixtures were chosen based on a lantern post designed by Berlage. Monumental trees were selected for greenery, and water was chosen as a thematic element for the special design of squares: fountains, water features, etc. These were all objects and materials that gave the city its color and atmosphere between 1870 and 1910. The city council approved A Healthy Core in 1989. Even 2010, the city continued to adhere to its vision, which restored the urban spaces, atmosphere, and character of The Hague's city center.

9.4 Postmodernism in The Hague

Europe, City Branding, and Competition between Cities

The strength of the Campaign must also be seen in the context of global globalization, the unification of Europe, competition between cities, and the strong inclination of many cities to assert themselves through distinctive profiling. A few months after the resignation of Duivesteijn and Van Otterloo, and three years before the removal of internal borders in Europe, the document *Den Haag Nota Bene: Den Haag en de jaren '90* (*The Hague and the Nineties*, 1989) was published, which critically reviewed the achievements of the progressive program coalition. It was primarily this document that placed The Hague in a national and international perspective. Mayor Havermans argued in the foreword that: "Old neighborhoods are being restored, the city center is being revitalized, new offices are being built, the municipality is trying to create more jobs, the environment needs to be protected, and the city's international position needs to be strengthened."

The Hague was considered too inward-looking in the 1980s, according to the document, and policymakers did not view the city from a European perspective. The city's strengths could be much better utilized from a European perspective, such as its coastal location, the dunes and other green areas, the historic city center, the seat of government, various foreign institutions such as the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and International Criminal Court (ICC), as well as attractive residential neighborhoods. The city's profile had remained too undefined until this point. The restoration and renewal of The Hague required primarily job growth and an end to the outflow of population, as the city's population continued to decline slightly, which remained a concern for policymakers. For this purpose, housing needed to be built in areas connected to urban amenities and jobs in the agglomeration. The document concluded that there was no space for this within the current city boundaries. Therefore, expansion of the urban area was inevitable.

In the national policy document *Vierde Nota Ruimtelijke Ordening* (*Fourth Spatial Planning Memorandum*, 1988), The Hague was designated as an urban hub. The city was to create an internationally competitive urban environment around public transport nodes.
In the Europe without internal borders that emerged in 1992, The Hague should acquire a distinct urban allure. "Urban allure" would become the buzzword of the 1990s for councilor Peter Noordanus. In a *Structuurschets voor de Haagse Agglomeratie* (*Structural Sketch for The Hague Agglomeration*, 1989), the Fourth Memorandum was elaborated upon for The Hague's urban area. The central focus was: "renewal inward, expansion outward". However, The Hague was already fully built up to the municipal borders, and expansion or transformations were mostly taking place within the city itself: there, renewal was underway, rebuilding the urban allure that The Hague had lost in the disastrous 1960s (Aerts & Bruyne, 1990). The city acquired urban allure with the New Center and the new buildings along Turfmarkt between Spuiplein and the Central Station. The result was a cacophony of

Urban renewal with the strategy of Building in Open Spaces in Scheveningen village east.
Architect Ingeborg Hoenders and K. Zinsmeister realized various integrations with wooden houses here in the period 1984-1987.
Photo from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

impressive architectures, lacking a common denominator. According to Aerts and Bruyne (1990), Rob Krier was brought in too late to manage this cacophony and bring real coherence to the urban ensemble. The question remains whether the municipality indeed brought in Krier too late, or that the influence of market parties prevailed here. After all, Krier was brought to The Hague by MAB and its urban planner, Mariet Schoenmakers.

The commentary in *The Hague Nota Bene* (1989) by the Utrecht professor of economic geography, J.G. Lambooy, was enlightening and disheartening. He criticized The Hague's administrative practice strongly. The policy mainly stemmed from the activism of individual administrators, who focused on one project instead of having a vision for the city. He criticized the practice of the progressive executive, where aldermen "focused on their own project" and mainly profiled themselves. According to Lambooy, there was a lack of vision for the city. However, he overlooked the ideals of the Campaign, which aimed at uplifting and connecting the population within the framework of the Compact City. Lambooy also overlooked the complexity associated with major urban transformations in built-up areas. For example, to secure national support for the development of the neglected industrial area of Laakhavens to create The Hague University of Applied Sciences, housing, and offices, Constant Martini (alderman for social and economic affairs) and Jan Heemskerk (alderman for education and libraries) made special efforts. Meanwhile, the cultural cluster with the Spuitheater was led by councilor Verduijn Lunel. Maximum administrative attention was a priority for large projects. Perhaps this was because there was a socialist ambition here, supported by progressive parties, rather than a widely endorsed policy by the entire city council.

Lambooy advocated for a clear vision where The Hague would be primarily viewed from an international perspective. He argued that city officials should not only act based on facts but primarily from a vision of the possibilities and challenges of the future. He further noted that it was often too easy to assume that there was only one city, but as he argued: "However, due to the uncertainties and ambiguities mentioned above, there are actually multiple urban images at play." He pointed out that it is wise for policymakers to act from one image and not to adopt a passive attitude. A city is a complex system with many facets. Heterogeneity in imagery was more of a temporary solution and a consequence of the local governance situation, according to Lambooy. While this may have been a correct conclusion, one could question whether heterogeneity was the city's biggest problem. Some saw it more as an enrichment of the city, such as Duivesteijn and Van Otterloo and their associates. Lambooy further concluded that The Hague had to make fundamental choices: either postponing various developments and adjustments indefinitely or allowing and embedding numerous innovations and initiatives into the existing complex structure. Lambooy stated: "Cities must—whether they like it or not—consider the 'globalization' of competition for the seats of businesses, cultural institutions, and European institutions. The Hague is not just a city in itself; it is also a city with which the Netherlands must 'score' in the European and world markets. ... But the most important thing remains whether The Hague can remain attractive to current and future residents." According to Lambooy, there had been a decline in the way in which the municipal government dealt with city improvement. He criticized The Hague's officials for their lack of decisiveness. The required focus on atmosphere was barely visible, especially in the policy for the city center, Lambooy asserted. Therefore, The Hague needed to invest in livability. A city is mainly characterized by its center; it should be the invitation by today's residents to the visitors of the future. Lambooy concluded the policy evaluation with advice: "City center development should … be seen as the starting point and culmination of spatial and economic plans."

Whether Lambooy's observations are factually correct is debatable. Despite the personal style of governance and the councilor-led urban development projects, clear ideas were formulated with the Campaign, which ultimately gave The Hague its distinctive face with The Hague New Urbanism and postmodern architecture. However, from a European perspective, no official had yet looked at The Hague. The European orientation resulted in cities increasingly positioning themselves as competitors. Duivesteijn had already warned about the consequences of this emerging city competition (Berens & Bosma, 1990). Vital cities were vying with each other. Officials first sought to promote their own city's prosperity, mainly by attracting organizations, companies, and institutions, and only afterward did they look beyond city borders. Duivesteijn later remarked that a significant motive for urban renewal was that other cities were doing it too (Duivesteijn, 1999; Berens & Bosma, 1990: 11). Competition was healthy but could also lead to excesses, resulting in cities not strengthening but rather depleting themselves. The fact that the adverse effects were not more pronounced was due more to the economic boom in the nineties, from which many could benefit, rather than to balanced policy. Duivesteijn argued: "Since the eighties, the city has undeniably regained its attractiveness. What began as a by-product of urban renewal became the main goal in the strategy of urban renewal. And riding the wave of the economic boom, developments progressed at a level that was unimaginable ten years ago." Duivesteijn pointed out that a city can distinguish itself by utilizing existing qualities: its natural location, history, heritage, and distinctive contemporary culture. Regarding city marketing, Duivesteijn further noted: "City marketing, selling the product city, is a means to this end, but it can only be used convincingly if the city being marketed truly distinguishes itself from other cities [by] ... its historical core" (Berens & Bosma, 1990: 10).

After the first wave of innovative urban ensembles, more foreign and domestic celebrities were invited who were expected to be able to capture the character of the neighborhoods and thus determine the city's image. The most notable urban ensembles of the second wave included: (a) Burgemeester De Monchyplein by Ricardo Bofill (1986-1989); (b) interventions in Stationsbuurt by Charles Vandenhove (1988-1999); (c) the SAP Vaillantlaan by Jo Coenen (1987-2000); (d) De Resident, then known as the Landbouw-en-Visserijkavel (LaVi-kavel), by Rob Krier (1988-1992). Additionally, there were architectural urban ensembles by HOLY Architects Partnership in Schilderswijk-Noord and the restoration of the edges and gateways of Schilderswijk by The

Urban renewal with the strategy of Building in Open Spaces in Scheveningen village east.
Architect Ingeborg Hoenders and K. Zinsmeister realized various integrations with wooden houses here in the period 1984-1987.
Photo from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

Hague-based firm Geurst & Schulze. There were also urban ensembles on sites restructured industrial; these had a different character from those in nineteenth century neighborhoods. Examples include: (a) The Hague University of Applied Sciences with residential towers and offices in Laakhavens by Atelier PRO; (b) Slachthuisterrein by Aldo Rossi; (c) Groot Handelsterrein by Mecanoo.

Burgemeester De Monchyplein, Archipelbuurt, 1986-89

On the site of the old town hall now lies Burgemeester De Monchyplein, where the Catalan architect Ricardo Bofill designed an urban ensemble with Parisian dimensions and allure between 1986 and 1989. The development aimed to be distinguished, not a student neighborhood like the Latin Quarter or a social housing paradise like Siza's, but a neighborhood where diplomats could take a peaceful stroll. After several aldermen from the progressive council visited Paris, they decided to invite Ricardo Bofill for this assignment. Duivesteijn commented on the choice of Bofill: "His work is controversial in architectural circles: he works in a neoclassical style that, according to some critics, is inhumane or even fascist, while others believe it lends dignity and allure to living" (Duivesteijn & Feddes, 1994: 73). Aldermen Verduyn Lunel and Vlaanderen were cautiously positive, and Van Otterloo also found Bofill to be the right architect for this neighborhood (Gerard van Otterloo, personal communication, 9-11-2010).

Bofill argued about the design of the Burgemeester De Monchyplein that the project expressed the will to combine transparency and massiveness with nature in glass and brick (Bofill, 1991: 2). The monumental ensemble of green strips, crescents, towers, and urban villas was grouped around a park with water. Bofill connected this green space to Nassauplein. These grand Parisian gestures were perceived as not matching The Hague's usual style, especially since Bofill completely ignored the grain size and morphology of the neighboring neighborhoods. A storm of indignation arose. The BNA reacted furiously, according to Duivesteijn. There were reactions like: 'unbelievable' and 'incredibly naïve'. HaAC chairman Jan Brouwer thought: "It is simply fake, one big illusion. You should not do that in Archipelbuurt, but once a year with the circus on Malieveld. The fact that three left-wing aldermen return from Paris with this kind of deceit...." (personal communication, Jan Brouwer, Hans van Beek, and Peter Drijver, 17-10-2012)

When Bofill arrived in The Hague, the HaAC, led by Jan Brouwer—whose interests usually aligned with Duivesteijn's ambitions—was not inclined to organize a public lecture for him. Duivesteijn arranged a lecture by Bofill at the Municipal Museum himself, and it was well-attended (Duivesteijn & Feddes, 1994: 73). Bofill was the red flag that woke up the established The Hague architects: they felt bypassed, argued Duivesteijn. These architects accused the city officials of vanity and flirting with foreign icons. However, the established architectural community was not exactly a model of openness and innovation. It was rather a closed world where building production was divided among housing corporations and their regular contractors. It was a small world with its own customs, where an official who wanted to achieve something new found it difficult to gain a foothold, as Duivesteijn had already experienced. On the other hand, many critics belonged entirely to the corporation architects. In addition to the many opponents, there were also supporters, according to Duivesteijn: The Hague architects Philip Rosdorff and Peter Drijver. "It is grand, colorful, with a certain grandeur," said Rosdorff. "It has everything that the gray sludge in urban renewal lacks. People are looking for something they can identify with, and with Bofill, they can." With Bofill, there was a desire to shake off the shabby image of urban renewal and present The Hague as a city that cares about its urban image.

The arrival of Bofill deepened the rift within the professional community between established architects and the younger generation. Duivesteijn remarked: "Both architects and architectural clients began to orient themselves internationally in the 1980s, thereby shaking up established national customs and interests" (Duivesteijn & Feddes, 1994: 76). Several young The Hague architects with budding firms had the opportunity to learn the trade under Bofill, just as they did with Punt and Komma (Siza), Vaillantlaan (Coenen), Slachthuisterrein (Rossi), and De Resident (Krier). The idea that foreign architects could give a boost to the existing building culture was not new. Nonetheless, the pain was significant among The Hague architects. In the *Guide to Modern Architecture in The Hague* (Freijser, et al., 1997), Bofill's project at Burgemeester De Monchyplein was not included. This guide was produced by The Hague's building community: architects, civil servants, heritage conservationists, urban planners, and critics. However, Bofill's project was published many times in foreign journals. There might have been another factor at play: while it was easy to work with the amiable Siza, Bofill had a completely different character. According to some residents of The Hague, the problem with Bofill was not only that he designed projects in the Louis XIV style, but also that he thought he was Louis XIV: an architect with dictatorial traits who did not tolerate dissent from The Hague's Aesthetic Committee, council members, aldermen, and certainly not from fellow architects. According to architectural historian Marcel Teunissen, the Aesthetic Committee chairman, Theo Bosch, might have barred Bofill from entering the city. (Teunissen, 2010). Yet, the sun king does not participate in the typical The Hague consultation circus.

Quartier Latin, Stationsbuurt, 1987-98

To the east of Schilderswijk, between Hollands Spoor Station and the city center, lies Stationsbuurt. The Belgian architect Charles Vandenhove designed several buildings here between 1987 and 1998, forming an urban ensemble meant to evoke a Parisian atmosphere. Municipal marketers ambitiously labeled this area as The Hague's Quartier Latin, like those found in Antwerp, Amsterdam, and even the small Zeeland town Middelharnis. The original Quartier Latin in Paris, located in the 4th and 5th arrondissements south of the Seine, is a student neighborhood near the Sorbonne University, which gained fame in 1968 through its existentialist philosophers, as well as major student riots. It's a lively student area with many bookstores, second-hand shops, boutiques, restaurants, bistros, bars, and other student

amenities. With The Hague University of Applied Sciences on one side and the city center on the other, Stationsbuurt had the potential to become a charming small Quartier Latin. Although student housing was built along Zieken, creating an ensemble with a high wall marking the important connection to Spui, it was evidently not enough on its own. Duivesteijn noted that Vandenhove's project meant an expansion of the city center. Stationsbuurt thus connected with the heart of the city and was lifted out of its isolation: "it enhances the identity of the city and strengthens the residential character of Stationsbuurt" (Duivesteijn, 1988: 6).

Vandenhove was invited and introduced to the municipality by neighborhood residents. They believed he could bring a Parisian bohemian atmosphere to the Stationskwartier. The municipality warmly embraced this choice. For Duivesteijn, this signaled that the Campaign was gaining broad support in the city. At six locations in Stationsbuurt, Vandenhove realized stately Parisian architecture. Vandenhove, a converted modernist, said he reinterpreted Renaissance architecture in a contemporary way, emphasizing craftsmanship and the identity of a place. In a critique of Vandenhove, architecture critic Hans van Dijk argued: "But as much as the architect has studied the residential city, the low-rise buildings seem more at home in Paris than in The Hague. Zieken becomes an 'imposing' residential quarter, but as often happens, this is only possible thanks to the injection of a foreign architectural vocabulary" (Van Dijk, 1988: 5). The architecture was described more as a pastiche of historical references and ideas, such as Ionic capitals with two CDs incorporated as ornaments, rather than strictly historical. Still, it appears Vandenhove was well-liked among the people of The Hague. When ideas for a new Provincial Council building were proposed and another internationally renowned architect was suggested, the residents of Benoordenhout insisted on Vandenhove as the architect. The Provincial Council building was a landmark building at the gateway to the neighborhood, and Vandenhove's architecture elevated the status of the area (Casper Postmaa, personal communication, 2-11-2010).

The plan by Vandenhove at Zieken, named 'the croissant', was characterized by several interesting public spaces that reflected the fine-grained structure of the old city: the courtyards. This time there were no slums, but rather richly detailed homes. The building block was carefully restored, and a passage connected Huygenspark with the corner of Zieken and Groenewegje. In this way, an informal biking-walking route from the city to Hollands Spoor Station was added. According to Vandenhove, the chic Hofkwartier and Stationsbuurt were visually connected, even though the architecture of Paris and Brussels is rarely found in Hofkwartier. In an interview, Vandenhove said about this: "Building in The Hague is not done the same way as in Paris or Liège because the cultural elements in different cities or different neighborhoods within a city are always different. One cannot ignore the existing cityscapes and natural conditions. The first thing an architect must do is analyze and perceive. The way a project emerges in Montmartre in Paris may have grown in a similar manner as in The Hague, but each contains something distinctive, specific to The Hague or to Paris" (Freijser, 1988: 52). However, it seems that Vandenhove's monumental Renaissance architectural language, with its semi-circular zinc roofs, dormer windows, French balconies, and Louvre shutters, does not match the character of Stationsbuurt, despite Vandenhove's assertion: "In Stationsbuurt, first and foremost, a correct architectural response must be given to the facades, adapted to the specific locations in the city where new houses are needed" (Freijser, 1988: 55). For Vandenhove, a social housing unit was the same as a home for a civil servant or a manufacturer. A home is a home, much like Mozart's music was for everyone. This idea garnered much support from the councilors of the progressive coalition, momentarily forgetting the doctrine that each neighborhood should have its own character. Nowadays, everyone in The Hague seems to have forgotten that there was once talk of a Quartier Latin here. Around 1990, City Mondial was founded, an organization aimed at highlighting the positive aspects of Stationsbuurt. Today, City Mondial is involved in the marketing of Stationsbuurt, Schilderswijk, Transvaalkwartier, and Laakkwartier: city marketing for the neighborhoods of the peat area (Gemeente Den Haag, 1999).

Urban Plan Vaillantlaan and Hobbemastraat, Schilderswijk, 1987-2000

To restore the urban and architectural unity of Schilderswijk, it was decided to renovate the central crossroads in Schilderswijk, between Vaillantlaan and part of Hobbemastraat. Between 1988 and 1992, the subprojects of the Urban Architectural Plan (SAP) Vaillantlaan were carried out (Coenen & Ravestein, 1988) (De Boer, 1989) (Knijnenburg & Ravestein, 1996). The municipality enlisted the Limburg architect Jo Coenen for Vaillantlaan and Heeling Krop Bekkering urban planners (HKB) for Hobbemastraat. Both the residents and the municipality agreed that the characteristic structure of the revolution neighborhoods had to be preserved. An important characteristic was the activity that had taken place in this nineteenth century neighborhood. Traditionally, there was a workshop or shop on the ground floor with living quarters above. In the inner courtyards, in addition to slums, there were many small factories. All this activity disappeared with urban renewal. Partly, this was due to the Nuisance Act and environmental guidelines. For the residents, this meant that a significant part of the employment and activity in Schilderswijk disappeared. Schilderswijk had a coherent appearance, predominantly featuring cheaply executed Dutch neo-Renaissance architecture. The streets primarily followed the old parcel structure of Zusterpolder, and its fragmented image was seen as a problem by everyone. For Hobbemastraat, no urban plan had been developed yet. Given the size of the projects, they had to be carried out in phases. In HKB's plan for Hobbemastraat, the narrow street was widened by adding arcades on both sides, giving the shops a wide sidewalk for displaying their international goods. The architecture was not predetermined, as it was with Coenen, but left to future architects. Rudy Uytenhaak was chosen for the Vaillantlaan side. Unfortunately, the buildings did not have the same urban look as those on Vaillantlaan: the metal cladding resembles an industrial area. The copper-colored ends of the buildings

by Geurst & Schulze architects at Hobbemaplein—for which the current author was the project architect at Geurst & Schulze—referred to the Berlagian 'gates' that marked the entrances to the neighborhoods. The facades, the plasticity, and materials were inspired by nineteenth century examples from Paris.

Alderman Peter Noordanus, who would largely implement these plans in the 1990s, said about the approach to Vaillantlaan: "The plan marks the return of urban renewal planning in cities like The Hague to a stronger urban planning orientation. It is an essential step forward in seeking coherence between urban planning and architecture in areas that are in danger of losing coherence precisely due to recent renewal operations" (Knijnenburg & Ravestein, 1996: 5). Object-oriented urban planning worked well with small projects in open spaces, where urban spaces was already defined. However, the plan was so extensive that the strategy had to be different. Under a special section titled 'Identity', Noordanus further argued: "The main administrative argument for choosing the Coenen plan, in my view, was the observation that in the sum of the individual new construction projects in Schilderswijk, the new neighborhood was threatening to lose its identity. Many good and beautiful projects individually do not yet create a neighborhood with which residents can identify. The individual expression of architects can result in such a heterogeneous situation that a harmonious urban image is lost, and clear identity markers are absent. For me, the Coenen plan is the heart and emblem of the new Schilderswijk; a connection between old and new through its references to classic The Hague architecture and urban planning" (Knijnenburg & Ravestein, 1996: 6).

The subtle balance between variety (through selected young architects) and similarity (through Coenen) had to be crafted with expertise, with similarity emphasizing the neighborhood's identity and the variety highlighting the uniqueness of the individual residents. For the progressive council, this was the flagship project with which it wanted to present themselves in the largest urban renewal neighborhood in Europe. It aimed to create an urban image it could be proud of, demonstrating what SO|GZ was capable of after years of humiliation and criticism. However, the *Beleidsplan Vaillantlaan* (*Policy Plan Vaillantlaan*) had already been established; it included an evaluation of the bottlenecks and introduced an entirely new spatial proposal. The floor plans were dictated by regulations for social housing. Jo Coenen was only allowed to design the facades, the outer shell of the building, extending 60 cm inward. The changes compared to the old situation primarily involved widening the avenue profile and introducing a new square at the intersection with Hobbemastraat. With such an urban planning approach, an architect's freedom is limited; after all, the urban blocks were made too shallow, resulting in unusual and inventive floor plans. This was a very costly and therefore an unfavorable starting point for housing, as a relatively large facade area was needed. Consequently, less budget remained to achieve a qualitatively good facade. Social housing budgets are minimal; in the eyes of housing providers, this was too much of an urban design where the limited plot size had already predetermined the location of residences, businesses, and shops.

Within the urban ensemble, the architectural challenge was to strike a careful balance between variety and similarities among residential buildings. Too much similarity made them boring but brought coherence to the visual aspect; it was also very convenient from a production standpoint, thus reducing construction costs. Too much difference led to cacophony. To address the challenge of unity and diversity in the visual composition, Jo Coenen conducted extensive preliminary studies. From analyses of the 'grand ensembles' in Paris and Bath, Coenen concluded which elements in the facade needed to be strictly prescribed and emphasized to achieve unity in the visual appearance. Horizontal lines became decisive. Coenen defined floor heights and eave heights. Buildings on the corners were accentuated in height. Coenen specified the materials and colors to be used and designed a series of facade elements from which different architects had to choose for the facade design of each residential block. A scaled model was made of the facade elements to be used, including window frames, roof edges, and facade bands. Contracts with individual architects stipulated that they must accept Coenen as supervisor. This ensured uniformity in the applied materials, colors, and proportions. For the architects of the individual urban blocks, this meant adhering to strict guidelines. They were allowed some flexibility in adjusting window placements to introduce some variety. Aside from the urban planning plan, it was primarily this restriction on architects' freedom that brought coherence to the ensemble of Vaillantlaan.

Coenen's plan was also characterized by its division into parts, giving it segmentation. Along Buitenom, the site of the former squatters' stronghold Blauwe Aanslag saw new construction by Geurst & Schulze Architects, which enhanced the architectural quality and diversity of Spijkermakerskwartier in its visual appearance and detailing, leading into Vaillantlaan. Starting at Vaillantplein, there was an unorganized space where many roads and canals converged. A roundabout with a water feature and fountain provided this fragmented space with a clear focal point and served as the entrance to the Schilderswijk, where the architecture had a different character and detailing than in Spijkermakerskwartier. At the intersection of Vaillantlaan and Hobbemastraat, a street crossing was formed in the style of Berlage. Next, there was a curve in Vaillantlaan near Hoefkade, which gave the avenue a more enclosed urban setting, as Lindo had originally intended. Initially, there were two curves, but Coenen modified them into a gentle curve. Vaillantlaan ended at 'the well', the narrow space under the railway tracks, which would later be restructured into a wide, safe passage. The widened streets Buitenom and Vaillantlaan smoothly connected the old city with Laakhavens and Laakkwartier, forming part of the inner ring with other existing streets in a fluid manner.

In his graduation thesis *Eenheid in veelvormigheid* (*Unity in Diversity*) of 1996, art historian Thijs Bosma evaluated the objectives of municipal policy and its architectural implementation for Vaillantlaan. Regarding the intention to enhance the identity of Schilderswijk with adapted architecture, Bosma states: "The renovated Vaillantlaan differs significantly from the old avenue in several important aspects. This has positive and negative consequences. The quality of the buildings and public spaces has been improved compared to the old situation and previous urban renewal projects. Especially because

The Housing Festival 1989-2000, Dedemsvaartweg with a residential building by architects Kees Christaanse and Art Zaaijer from 1988-1992.
Photo from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

the renewal was centrally coordinated and stemmed from a single urban design, coherence and tranquility could be achieved in the streetscape. By using facade elements based on nineteenth century The Hague architecture, Vaillantlaan is not completely detached from its architectural past. However, the facade also shows enough similarities with examples from cities like Paris and Bath that the overall impression is of a different order than that of an avenue in a Hague nineteenth century working-class neighborhood. Therefore, the municipality's and Coenen's goal to preserve the avenue's character was not fully achieved" (Bosma, 1996: 68). Originally, Vaillantlaan was an avenue with a lot of grandeur, featuring a central path of shells and double rows of trees. Lindo introduced a sense of enclosure in urban spaces with curves. Double rows of lime trees with seashell paths were sacrificed as early as the interbellum, and after the war, the streets were widened at the expense of sidewalks. According to Bosma, the new plan gave the street a completely different meaning. The relationship between the avenue and its surroundings also changed. Vaillantlaan was no longer equal to its surroundings and now stood much more independently as an urban space than before. Vaillantlaan not only changed visually but also functionally. Increasing traffic ruined its original quality as a residential area, much like Laan van NOI and Laan van Meerdervoort. This functional change affected the character of all main thoroughfares. Little remained of the elegant The Hague avenues that once existed.

The additional funding from the municipality only covered the facade zone; behind the facade, strict financial regimes and regulations for social housing prevailed. Adding one or more floors would have required costly elevators, according to building regulations. It was decided not to do this, despite the wide street profile suggesting otherwise. Furthermore, Bosma argues that Coenen's promising ideas were only partially implemented. When converting them into the facade catalog, the number of different components from the building kit was reduced to make the plans financially feasible, thus minimizing differences. However, according to Bosma in his thesis, the main limitation was the small number of designs along the avenue. Six firms produced seventeen designs using this facade catalog, which meant that a wide variety could never be achieved. As a result, the diversity that was aimed for was not realized. One of Coenen's key objectives was to preserve nineteenth century architecture while achieving unity in diversity. Bosma argues that this objective was not met, diversity has disappeared, and unity dominates. Whether Bosma's conclusions are correct is a point of debate. Perhaps this uniformity fits well with the character of the workmen's neighborhoods, where conformity and cheap material was prevalent, while the desire for diversity was more characteristic of middle-class neighborhoods elsewhere. By cutting costs, the project fits perfectly with the atmosphere of Schilderswijk and strongly reinforces the character of the entire neighborhood: low-rise buildings because lifts were too expensive, uniformity because diversity was too costly, and no lime trees and seashell paths in the middle strip, because traffic flow took precedence over the quality of urban space.

Housing Festival Southwest: A Celebration of Diversity, 1986-2000

With the Housing Festival - an exhibition of new housing concepts by housing association, citizens, entrepreneurs in a new neighborhood -, conceived and executed between 1986 and 2000, Jane Jacobs' ideas about architectural diversity in the existing city were translated into new construction. This resulted in a neighborhood with a tremendous variety of housing that created cohesion through their proximity. Both alderman and urban planner Van Otterloo and Kees Christiaanse of OMA were particularly inspired by Jacobs' ideas, considering them valuable for the redevelopment of the uniformly composed suburb The Hague Southwest, later renamed De Escamp neighborhood, into a real city (Jacobs, 1961; Franke & Hospers, 2009; Gerard van Otterloo, personal communication, 9-11-2010; the author was working for Kees Christiaanse when the Housing Festival took shape).

In the 1980s, post-war neighborhoods began to show the first signs of wear. The city's housing supply had a one-sided age structure, and the population was aging. The number of residents in Southwest decreased from about 100,000 to 65,000, and all affluent residents moved to homes with gardens elsewhere. In neighborhoods like Mariahoeve, problems were similar (Van der Sluijs, 1989; Oerlemans, 1990; Valentijn et al., 2002; Groot & Herlé, 2008). The Hague Southwest was originally a homogeneous neighborhood with mostly three- and four-room apartments in four-story strip buildings without elevators. Additionally, there was a retreating government on subsidizing housing, according to Van Otterloo (1988). It was feared that if nothing was done, the post-war neighborhoods would follow the same fate as the nineteenth century neighborhoods, with many residents leaving and the less affluent remaining. This process of decline led to the deterioration of these neighborhoods, followed by the demolition of old buildings, and urban renewal. Van Otterloo wanted to prevent the post-war housing stock from ending up in the same ruinous state as the nineteenth century neighborhoods. He aimed to create healthy and affluent neighborhoods with their own identity that offered prospects to a heterogeneous population (Van Otterloo, 1988; Christiaanse et al., 2003). In the municipality's information leaflet *Woningbouwfestival 200.000ste woning* (Gemeente Den Haag, 1988), the ambitions for the architects were described by the alderman and supervisor.

Christiaanse referenced the tradition of housing construction festivals such as the Weissenhofsiedlung in Stuttgart, the Werkbundsiedlung in Vienna, the Baba neighborhood in Prague, and the IBA in Berlin (1957) with the Hansaviertel, as well as the IBA in Berlin (1984) exhibition. These events aimed at the restoration of cities ravaged by war and past urban development, serving as showcases for contemporary living at the time. According to Christiaanse et al. (2003: 375), the IBA served dual purposes: "it contributed on the one hand to the city and on the other hand to a discussion about the city". There was a desire to set a building example, just as Duivesteijn had done in large parts of the nineteenth century city, Van Otterloo did the same with the Housing Construction Festival.

To achieve neighborhoods with heterogeneous population groups and

income categories, creativity was necessary. The Housing Festival led to creative solutions by stimulating the inventiveness of architects and residents to create entirely new urban ensembles (Van Otterloo, 1988). Specifically, non-architects were allowed to build homes. The reasoning was that anyone who lives in a place is an expert in how they want to live. Van Otterloo asked Rem Koolhaas from OMA to create an urban plan modeled after the Berlin International Building Exhibition (IBA), which was developed throughout the 1980s. Kees Christiaanse, who was working at OMA at the time, was appointed as the urban planner and supervisor. Upon establishing his own firm later, Christiaanse took the plan with him and completed it further in collaboration with Art Zaaijer. Christiaanse and Zaaijer themselves designed and executed Plot 25, but residents managed to delay the construction of the homes through legal procedures that reached the Council of State until 1992.

A location along Dedemsvaartweg was chosen because it closely aligned with Van Otterloo's vision for restructuring post-war neighborhoods (Christiaanse et al., 2003: 12). Dedemsvaartweg was once a wide zone where a traffic road was planned alongside Dudok's Morgenstond neighborhood. The location was situated along one of the green zones Dudok had designed to separate neighborhoods and provide space for future roads. Ultimately, the construction site along Dedemsvaartweg, measuring 30 x 1500 meters, saw the realization of 45 building projects comprising a total of 550 homes, designed by more than 45 architects from both the Netherlands and abroad. The projects ranged from individual houses to urban villas and larger blocks. However, because all the homes were situated in a single strip, the visual impression remains surprisingly homogeneous, despite the great diversity in architecture and building types.

In the vast array of designed housing types, two new ones were introduced: firstly, the urban or city villa, and secondly, the low-budget single-family home on its own plot. The urban villas were developed based on older building types of Central European origin in workshops led by Oswald Matthias Ungers in Berlin and the United States. Originally, they were compact detached residential buildings with a few apartments. However, urban villas evolved to accommodate more apartments, becoming larger and taller. They first appeared at the IBA, designed by Krier, as part of a cohesive urban ensemble. Until then, city villas were occasionally found in residential parks in the Netherlands, while detached low-budget homes were rare in The Hague. The strip was divided into three zones, each with its own type of construction: low-rise homes in the northern zone, city villas in the middle zone, and residential towers in the southern zone. The original program, aiming for 70% social housing and 30% private sector housing, was reversed to 70% private sector and 30% social housing due to setbacks such as endless legal procedures instigated by neighbors and contaminated soil. The client for the first ten projects was the Foundation Housing Construction Festival 200,000th Home Dedemsvaartweg. Afterward, housing associations and private individuals took over the projects and client responsibility. The first ten projects were crucial because the municipality supported and enabled these projects as a unique experiment (Christiaanse et al., 2003: 13, 17). Many developers did not participate in the experiment, especially in the medium to high-rise projects.

During the renewal of Southwest, housing associations strongly preferred family homes with gardens, while urban planners and architects aimed to enhance the specific qualities that Dudok and Van den Broek had introduced there. Van Otterloo remained involved with the Housing Construction Festival until its completion in 2003. When it no longer functioned as the client, the Foundation Housing Construction Festival became the coordinator of the project. In the 2004 *Structuurvisie Den Haag Zuidwest* (*Structural Vision for The Hague Southwest*), urban planners adopted the theme "advocacy for the rediscovery of the post-war city". Regarding this, Van Otterloo argued: "At this moment, single-family homes are enjoying great popularity. Many apartment buildings are being demolished and replaced by single-family homes. The market is eager to do this. With this addition, an attempt is also made to achieve social improvement, but it is a somewhat naive view of how social change comes about. Diversity in different forms of housing is very important, but it is too simple to think that only single-family homes can improve the social situation, regardless of affordability" (Christiaanse et al., 2003: 17-18).

In any case, neighborhoods like Mariahoeve already had a wide variety of buildings, while facing the same issues: an aging population, depopulation, and significant maintenance costs for housing associations. The diversity in building typologies and architecture, as advocated by Jacobs (1961) in existing cities, found its first and most consistent form within Dudok's urban structure through the urban ensemble of the Housing Construction Festival. The competition linked to the Housing Construction Festival to build one's own dream home was a resounding success, with many submissions.

Due to prolonged legal proceedings, and problems of sanitation and construction, the Housing Construction Festival did not have the strength and spark it promised. The shock of the new had faded, and so had the momentum (Christiaanse et al., 2003: 375). In addition, the media drew mostly focused on the battle regarding the new City Hall. What was unthinkable in 1986, was indeed built at the Housing Construction Festival, where diversity in residential environments flourished. This had become commonplace in the Netherlands ten years later and became a blueprint for all upcoming suburban neighborhoods. These were called Vinex neighborhoods, after the *Vierde Nota Ruimtelijke Ordening Extra* (*Fourth Spatial Planning Memorandum Supplement*, 1991). The Housing Construction Festival also became an example for the restructuring of all post-war neighborhoods in The Hague and transformations of old industrial areas by The Hague's housing associations and the municipality (Graaf et al., 2002; 2006).

De Resident and the Needle-Strategy: The Hague New Center, 1988-1992

With the decision to build the City Hall on Spui, The Hague New Center received a powerful impulse. A land consolidation like that which had been carried out in 1983 by the national government was now carried

out by the municipality itself. Scattered municipal offices and the old City Hall were concentrated in one high-profile building in the middle of the city center. In addition to the city hall and the 146-metre-high towers housing national government ministries from 2012, De Resident neighborhood became one of the iconic urban ensembles of The Hague New Center. This new neighborhood was designed by Rob Krier and developed by MAB between 1988 and 1992 on a vacant national plot (LaVi lot) and built in the following years. The municipality initiated the plans, devised them together with corporations, and attracted the architects, while the corporations took care of the implementation. It is an urban ensemble in which the mix of urban living and working plays an important role.

At the end of the 1980s, when the economic crisis subsided, a new phenomenon developed in the existing city: integrated area development. Together with private parties and sometimes with housing associations, the municipality developed the first large urban ensembles in public-private partnerships (Van Deursen, 1994). Examples are Laakhavens with Atelier PRO as architect, the covering of Utrechtsebaan, and De Resident and the BANK area (short for Babylon-en-de-Nieuwe Kerk), both by architect Rob Krier. The change in the development of this area brought about a programmatic renewal of the city, in which business activity played a role in addition to homes. The new approach to public-private partnerships and the integrated area development was explained for the first time in the memorandum *Den Haag Nieuw Centrum* (*The Hague New Center*, 1990). It was stated: “The Hague wants to create new opportunities through renewal operations in the city center. Opportunities for economic growth in post-1992 Europe and opportunities for a more prominent place for public transport” (Bank-begeleidingsgroep, 1990: 3). With the Compact City, The Hague foresaw growth opportunities within the unfolding European Union, and only together with private entrepreneurs could those opportunities be capitalized. The municipality saw for itself a coordinating and stimulating task for market parties and corporations. According to the Compact City idea, the aim was to achieve a balanced mix of living, working, shopping and recreation.

In June 1987, the government decided to abandon the development of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, and the LaVi plot, which had become available to the state with the historic exchange of Duivesteijn, was returned to the city. Six months later, in January 1988, the municipality, the Government Buildings Agency, the Dutch Railways and pension fund ABP concluded a covenant in which the BANK area was tackled as a whole. MAB was appointed as the project office. MAB invested financially on the condition that top international architects would be involved.

Initially, Norman Foster was invited by Duivesteijn, but the contract negotiations failed, as Foster was too expensive (Duivesteijn & Feddes, 1994; Freijser, 2000). In June 1988, MAB appointed the Luxembourg architect Rob Krier as urban planner for the area. From 1988 to 1992 he worked on the Strategic Plan BANK. In October 1988, Krier presented the first plan proposals, and in January 1989, an interim report was published by the BANK support group. In December, Krier presented a revised plan proposal, and in October 1990, the study prepared by the BANK supervisory group was completed in the Strategic Plan BANK. Krier introduced the needle strategy - an urban layer of a number of floors with slender towers such as church towers on top - to The Hague with this study, and the municipality simultaneously introduced the multifunctional programming of the city. The report argued: “The functioning of the urban structure benefits from a finely meshed network of streets and squares and clear, closed urban blocks; the shape and architecture of future high-rise buildings in the area should be used to mitigate the dominant masses and planes of the high-rise buildings realized so far (the ‘needle strategy’); part of the planning area borders the old city center. From there, the predominant building height should gradually increase towards the high-rise buildings in the new area around the Central Station and Utrechtsebaan; valuable characteristic pre-war facades make an important contribution to the atmosphere in part of the planning area and must be respected” (Bank-begeleidingsgroep, 1990: 11).

A significant part of the logic and intricacy of the plan, specifically the connection between Muzenplein and the Central Station, was removed. This meant that the connection Grote Marktstraat-Kalvermarkt-Muzenplein-Central Station, was not realized. Instead, Kalvermarkt was expected to provide the connection to the station, as the Government Buildings Agency preferred, because it aligned well with the ministries. However, this did not connect to the station hall. During a lecture, Krier called this a fatal and regrettable plan change, highlighting that it demonstrated how ‘blind managers’ oversaw the city. Everyone else was satisfied with the plan and endorsed the principles for the BANK area. The urban plan with Weeber’s formal objectivity from 1980 gained height and was materialized by Krier, focusing on the urban spaces and their connection to other city spaces, making permeability a given.

The plan area was significantly densified and acquired a small-scale urban street pattern that continued the existing urban fabric with gradually increasing block heights. Within this pattern, a vibrant urban neighborhood could emerge with a good mix of diverse urban functions. To make the plan feasible, the BANK area was divided into four parts: the LaVi plot where De Resident would rise, the Central Station which would get a large station hall, the parking garage next to the station, and Koningin Julianaplein in front of the station. F. van Deursen (1994), then the city center project leader for the municipality, described the entirely new direction the municipality took with this plan: “Through the integration and coordination of investments, opportunities have arisen that would not be possible with isolated plan development. This added value becomes visible in the key project The Hague New Center” (Van Deursen, 1994: 35). In January 1991, the council approved the strategic plan, and one of The Hague’s most significant developments could begin: The Hague New Center.

After Duivesteijn had to step down in 1989, he became the director of the Netherlands Architecture Institute (NAI) in Rotterdam. One of his first actions was organizing an exhibition on urban imagery in Dutch cities. The 1990 exhibition, “Seductive Urban Image”, showcased the results of developments in 22 cities in the Netherlands. In the introduction to the catalogue, Duivesteijn argued: “Urban renewal

has brought new elan to the city, based on economic and cultural potentials" (Berens & Bosma, 1990: 9). He particularly emphasized public-private partnerships as the driving force behind the renewal. The Hague presented itself with the New Center. The exhibition catalog depicted the future urban image, the outcome of various workshops, extensively showcasing all the ambitions of the Compact City in the Netherlands. Regarding The Hague, Duivesteijn stated: "The New Center should become a pedestrian paradise through the introduction of boulevard-like routes, a fine-meshed network of pedestrian paths between Central Station and the city center, with boulevard allure for Spui, a multifunctional layout of the plan area, a perfectly organized public transport system, and the softening of the voluminous skyline by inserting tall and relatively slender tower buildings ('needles'). Multifunctionality per building must be realized by constructing retail and dining facilities on the ground floor and offices or residences above. The square in front of the Central Station should be built upon, while the station building itself should be raised with several floors to accommodate offices" (Berens & Bosma, 1990: 89).

With the "needle strategy," Krier referred to the work of A. E. Brinckmann (see section 5.3), and possibly also to the English architect and critic Augustus Pugin and his manifesto *Contrasts, or, A Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and Similar Buildings of the Present Day* (1836). In this work, medieval society and architecture were compared with those of industrialized nineteenth century England, highlighting what he saw as a decline in taste.

9.5
The Hague's Bankruptcy

With the ambitions of the aldermen, the city's financial problems also grew. Was it a deliberate progressive management policy of The Hague, or was it the free market thinking of the preceding years that led to The Hague's bankruptcy?

Councilman Bakker said in *NRC Handelsblad*: "The identity crisis of social democracy was postponed for years in The Hague... Because we had Adri [Duivesteijn]". The Hague's budget already showed a deficit in 1982, according to *NRC* (Meeus, 1992). A confidential note from the provincial authority revealed that the situation was alarming. Finance alderman Van den Berg (VVD, 1981-86) was pressured by the province to consider austerity measures. Despite all the cuts, urban renewal continued. *The Meerjarenprogramma Stadsvernieuwing 1984-1988* (*Multi-Year Urban Renewal Program 1984-1988*), written by Duivesteijn and to be evaluated by the other municipal services, did not include a financial section, and did not set a limit to the amount spent. The council was unaware of the financial consequences of urban renewal; it saw the results of the vigorous urban renewal by Duivesteijn's POS and were satisfied. Some civil servants were concerned, according to NRC. The head of Economic Affairs of the municipal secretariat, A.J. van Dam, noted in an internal memo that the most essential part of the program was missing. But no one else at the municipality was worried.

Between 1974 and 1981, VVD alderman of finance Vos failed to apply for funds for urban renewal, while all other cities received national subsidies for urban renewal (Meeus, 1992). Council members and later aldermen like Duivesteijn and Van Otterloo were very angry about this. In 1981, Vos became mayor of Utrecht, but by then a construction crisis had erupted, and construction had come to a near halt for a few years. When construction began to pick up again and the progressive municipal government took office, a new situation emerged, and the urgency to improve the desolate state of the city grew.

Additionally, The Hague was building primarily within the existing city rather than on undeveloped land outside the city. This new way of building within the existing city, with 'project-based urban development', did not contribute to an overall vision, especially not on the finances. As argued, during the progressive municipal government (1986-89), each alderman pursued their own projects. According to Reijnen (personal communication, 16-5-2011), the fact that aldermen worked on their own projects in parallel was partly responsible for the enormous financial problems that The Hague faced in the 1990s. The competition among aldermen led to an unworkable situation within the council and the municipal service. The tremendous energy unleashed by the progressive council had become unmanageable. The financing models for construction projects traditionally assumed building on empty, easily accessible fields outside the city, or at least on a super block with many housing units. Building within the urban environment always led to additional costs and deals with residents. Special materials and equipment had to be used to minimize disruption to the

surrounding area. Since large trucks couldn't enter the city, expensive construction techniques and materials had to be chosen.

The potential miscalculations in such situations were exemplified by the Katerstraat project (Stal, 1987). Brothel owners were given 25,000 guilders per window to relocate, in cash, and Atelier PRO architects were tasked with transforming this dilapidated part of The Hague's Spuikwartier into 'a fairy tale', 'the new norm for The Hague'. according to Duivesteijn in *NRC Handelsblad*. In the latter half of the 1980s, the financial department calculated the 'non-profitable additional costs' of the 155 completed homes at 22 million guilders (Meeus, 1992). While this can be seen as 'non-profitable costs' by the journalist, it can also be viewed as reclaiming the city for its residents after the disastrous policies of the 1960s and 1970s. Ultimately, 60 brothels were relocated at municipal expense for a substantial amount of money.

Does a municipality have large financial deficits in the budget over a long period of time? Then that municipality can ask for extra money from the municipal fund. The municipality surrenders part of its financial independence and is given a so-called Article 12 status.

The bankruptcy of The Hague was not easily attributable to a single cause. However, it became evident that building within an existing city entailed different and higher costs than elsewhere. The era of expropriation and demolition, subsidized by the national government, was over. In 1995, this led to the application for Article 12 status for The Hague.

9.6 Conclusion

This chapter examined urban renewal as a cultural activity. Buildings with colorful and cheerful postmodern architecture were rapidly created on the cleared sites of the nineteenth century districts. The highlight of this period was the realization of the new City Hall.

What began in 1985 with social democratic ideals like uplifting and unifying the population through attractive architecture in a Compact City (giving the population renewed hope) and the Campaign urban renewal as a cultural activity had, by 1990, evolved into a debate about The Hague's positioning as a global city via The Hague's New Urbanism.

The elimination of European internal borders in 1992 spurred economic growth and accelerated the globalization process. Urban renewal in The Hague proceeded apace, and despite the city being nearly bankrupt and placed under national financial oversight, it had never been doing so well: everywhere, the ideas from the 1985 Campaign were being implemented, and the city became a massive construction site. The gray veil of decay had disappeared, and the city flourished. New residents poured in.

THE STING

10
CITYSCAPE OF NEW URBANISM: STADSREPARATUR 1990–2004

"The alluring cityscapes have a dual purpose: combating the loss of urban identity and enhancing the image in the competition between cities"
(Harm Tilman, in Bosma, 1990: 36).

"Repair presupposes damage, damage to an original form. But the city has no original form. A city changes, shrinks, and grows in an incessant process. Yet, a city usually retains its own characteristic in its layout and as an image. Sometimes that character, especially if it was pronounced, was even enhanced, and celebrated with magnificent architecture through the changes"
(The Hague architect Menno Homan in the editorial foreword of the *Bulletin Wils & Co* (no. 2, April 1994) in which he announces the theme for 1994: repair of the city).

"I think that in The Hague—outside a limited number of central areas—we focused too much on urban planning in terms of architectural objects"
(Peter Noordanus, in Freijser, 1998: 3).

Left, the Dagelijkse Groenmarkt with the "Snoeptrommel" De Snoeptrommel (Candy Jar) by John Outram Associates (1995-1999). Photo by Leo Oortschot.

10.1
Introduction

The defining urban ensembles of the second half of the 1980s showcased a great variety of remarkable architecture, often with object-oriented urban planning.

In the 1990s, the focus shifted, and urban ensembles were viewed in the context of the intended repair of the city—the so-called "Stadtreparatur", as advocated by alderman Peter Noordanus. The formation of a unified Europe and strong neoliberal politics accelerated social developments, with everyone wanting to invest in the city, leading to a golden age for construction until the global financial crisis of 2008. This chapter addresses how this "Stadtreparatur" unfolded, who the stakeholders were, what their motives were, the conditions under which they worked, and which urban ensembles became defined this period. This chapter describes the quest of alderman Noordanus and his associates, along with The Hague architects, in their search for the identity of The Hague. In short, it addresses the question of The Hague's cityscape in general.

With the formation of Europe in the 1990s, the necessity to make cities attractive became urgent. Cities became competitors in attracting residents, businesses, and visitors, requiring an appealing city with a good living environment and amenities. Social democrats and (neo) liberals tried to stimulate social renewal through the Third Way in politics or so-called 'purple' coalitions, in which social democratic ideas, such as community thinking and opportunities for everyone to develop, were combined with liberal positions, such as the mutual accountability of citizens and government. In England, the Third Way was spearheaded by Tony Blair (1997-2007), in Germany by Gerhard Schröder (1998-2005), in Belgium by Guy Verhofstadt (1999-2007), and in the United States by Bill Clinton (1993-2001). In the Netherlands, the purple cabinets led by Wim Kok, which consisted of social democrats (PvdA), neo-liberals (VVD), and social liberals (D66), brought significant changes between 1994 and 2002.

With the Maastricht Treaty, signed in 1992 and implemented in 1993, Europe became a single economic area. This gave a boost to the economies of individual countries. At the same time, as the national government retreated and numerous public services were liberalized—including housing associations—municipalities increasingly found themselves standing alone.

An important change that rapidly took place from the 1990s onward, due to the national government withdrawing from public housing, was the advent of integrated area development. In this approach, municipalities, together with housing corporations and market parties, undertook major transformations within the existing city and the Vinex urban expansions outside of it. The government's retreat from public housing was a result of the national memorandum V*olkshuisvesting in de jaren negentig* (*Public Housing in the Nineties*, 1989). Its main principle was: "Fewer general housing shortages, a greater emphasis on (small-scale) management of the existing stock, and an increasing differentiation in living and lifestyle patterns require a more flexible and market-oriented approach" (Reijndorp, 1994).

As urban development and project development coincided, public-private partnerships (PPPs) became central to urban and area development in The Hague. This led to object-oriented urban planning and urban renewal—or area development—with heterogeneous architecture in The Hague from 1985 onward. Investors expected that the investments would yield the anticipated profits. However, the fragmented project-based urban renewal of previous years also sparked a loud call for a unified vision for the city. After all, the need for an attractive city remained urgent.

10.2
Europe, Purple, PPP, and the Desire for Identity

Competition Between Cities

Competition between cities visibly increased in the 1990s. The book *Verleidelijk stadsbeeld: ontwerp voor stedelijke vernieuwing* (*Seductive Cityscape: Design for Urban Renewal*) put cities in the spotlight (Berens & Bosma, 1990). In this book, the efforts of various cities were subtly juxtaposed by the Rotterdam-based architectural institute NAI, allowing readers to immediately compare who the winners and losers were in the competition between cities. Experts like Adri Duivesteijn, Ed Taverne, Harm Tilman, Koos Bosma, Auke van der Woud, Erik Kleyn, and Saskia van Dijk provided extensive explanations about urban planning practices and the results achieved in creating attractive urban ensembles.

The political and administrative attention to architecture and urban planning had less to do with the development of the discipline itself than with the political climate under which the designs were made. For Dutch municipal governments, architecture and urban planning were the ultimate tools to profile their cities, according to Tilman. City marketing and cityscapes played a central role in this. The focus on identity automatically meant a fixation on defining urban ensembles, as these projects attracted media attention.

Bosma argued about this: "Urban planning can be seen as a preparatory activity that imposes conceptual patterns and rules on the use of the earth's surface. ... Can urban planning, which aims to guide these processes, integrate new project planning, where governments and private capital concentrate their joint entrepreneurial spirit, in such a way, within a larger urban context, that not only the fleeting image but also the long-term identity of the city is sustained? This is the central question addressed in this book" (Berens & Bosma, 1990: 7).

The new director of the NAI, Adri Duivesteijn, emphasized the importance of a compelling image and meaningful urban planning and architecture. He stated: "Cities remain the most powerful centers of development that can be found in the physical structure of society. … A city is largely determined by its origins and past functions, but this does not diminish the fact that the ambitions and drives of its citizens and leaders, through meaningful urban planning and architecture, can lead to a new and challenging image" (Berens & Bosma, 1990: 9-10).

Especially the anti-urban policies of suburbanization and city formation had been the cause of neglect and impoverishment of cities; after all, the old cities had had to make way for entirely new cities with only service functions. In hindsight, urban renewal was an intermediary step on the road back to the core of the city, according to Duivesteijn. For instance, as discussed in chapter 9, as early as 1988, The Hague presented an integrated area development with The Hague New Center through a photo montage by Rob Krier, which showed the development of the BANK area with the new center for governance and culture at Spui, Krier's De Resident, and the developments around the Central Station (Berens & Bosma, 1990). Krier's ideas for The Hague's new center received widespread attention.

As mentioned, cities began marketing themselves with attractive urban ensembles, increasingly competing for residents, institutions, and businesses to attract them with a favorable living environment. However, this had to be visibly supported by marketing efforts. Attractive urban spaces, a variety of different homes emphasizing the individuality of buyers, and good amenities such as schools were crucial in this regard. Duivesteijn argued: "Although in practice cities are still often centrifugal, there is a growing awareness that, for environmental reasons alone, densification and keeping the city compact are desirable. Moreover, city leaders realized that their cities were becoming more alike, while they wanted them to be distinctive again. City marketing, selling the product of the city, is a means to achieve this, but it can only be convincingly used if the city being marketed truly stands out from others. Thus, attention turned to what traditionally distinguished a city: its historical core" (Berens & Bosma, 1990: 10).

However, this needs to present themselves also had a downside. Duivesteijn pointed out that the competition between cities did not make it easy to implement individual plans. The national government had designated too many urban nodes, and the competition drained the cities more than it contributed to their development. The pressure to secure plans and projects did not always align with careful planning (Berens & Bosma, 1990: 11). The competition between cities on a European scale was also expected to increase. In The Hague, mayor Wim Deetman made exceptional efforts in the new millennium to attract international institutions and position the city as an international center of law and peace. Duivesteijn argued that supporting these efforts was a task for the national government: "Therefore, the national government will have to take a guiding role ... if urban renewal is to truly succeed and not succumb to overly broad, unfocused activities" (Berens & Bosma, 1990: 12).

Architectural Policies and the Major Cities Policy

The national government intensified its efforts with the publication of the first National Architecture Policy Report, *Ruimte voor Architectuur* (*Space for Architecture*), in 1991, encouraging cities to profile themselves. In this policy memorandum, the government allocated financial resources to local authorities to implement architectural policies. The aim was to enhance their marketability as attractive cities. Across the Netherlands, municipalities drafted architectural policies, and architecture platforms and centers were established.

In 1992, The Hague saw a revival of the successful Hague Architects Café (HaAC), and in 1994, The Hague architecture platform Wils & Co was founded to provide more structure and municipal support to initiatives by architects and the urban planning community.

The need for cities to collaborate rather than compete became increasingly urgent, as it was needed to align policies and address urban challenges together. The grotestedenbeleid (major cities policy, GBS) was officially established in 1995 when the national

Sousterrain Tram Tunnel by the architect OMA from the period 1994-2004, photo by Christian Richters.
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government signed a covenant with the four largest Dutch cities, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht. By 2010, this covenant had expanded to include 36 cities. Through the GBS, the national government and the cities aimed to tackle longstanding urban issues dating back to the 1970s, such as high unemployment, low incomes, low education levels, the disappearance of businesses and employment, the large number of cheap and unattractive housing units, and high numbers of addicts and homeless individuals. The GBS introduced social neighborhood policies and subsidized employment. Initially focused on tackling urban disparities, the goal was to enhance the quality of life in major cities and create attractive urban environments. The GBS program ended in 2015.

Integral Area Development

In the 1990s, integrated area development emerged because of the liberalization of the housing market. The definition used on here website by the Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving (Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency, PBL) stated: "Integrated area-oriented projects are investment projects where various land use functions within a specific area are developed in their mutual coherence. Coherence here refers to function alignment and collaboration between different stakeholders in a public-private partnership (PPP) structure at one location."

Municipalities took the initiative to collaborate with housing associations and private developers to construct attractive urban ensembles. Typically, a PPP structure such as a limited partnership (e.g., a general partnership) was established, involving participation from the municipality, developer(s), and financier(s). Within this partnership, costs related to land acquisition and initial development for construction were shared. Additionally, agreements were made within the partnership regarding the housing program and other development aspects.

Forerunners in The Hague included areas like the BANK area and Laakhavens. The Hague's Vinex neighborhoods were also organized in this way. Typically, a supervisor was appointed to assess the plan for architectural integrity. Often, the supervisor was also the designer of the plan and created a visual quality plan. A notable example is the The Hague New Center foundation, established in 1994 to shape the city center, involving a network of developers, builders, investors, office users, brokers, housing associations, the Government Buildings Agency, senior government officials, and municipal leaders, though lacking direct involvement from residents and city dwellers.

Large urban projects were implemented. Urban ensembles like the BANK area, De Resident by Krier, and Burgemeester de Monchyplein were flagship projects of the municipality in the 1990s. These involved varying combinations of housing associations, market players, banks, and the government. Additionally, there were the Vredestein site, Slachthuisterrein by Rossi, the Groothandelsmarkt site by Mecanoo, Laakhavens by atelier PRO, and Beatrixkwartier by Rijnboutt and atelier PRO. This was followed by a series of sub-plans featuring urban ensembles on the three Vinex locations. These sub-plans were managed by the supervisor, with various architects involved in their implementation. Geste Groep developed the postmodern shopping center De Haagse Bluf and nearby the MAB developed the center around Groenmarkt.

The last major urban ensembles in The Hague were built in the new millennium as inner-city Vinex neighborhoods, transforming areas like Duindorp, Spoorwijk, Rivierenbuurt, and Transvaalkwartier. This form of urban development received praise for significantly diversifying the relatively homogeneous housing stock. Many pre-war apartments were replaced by ground-level houses, and a significant number of social rental homes were converted into owner-occupied residences, reducing population density in these areas. Cars were relegated to parking garages beneath or within the urban blocks. However, there was also criticism of the most distinctive new neighborhoods and their sometimes overly artificial identities (Reijndorp & Meier, 2010; Reijndorp & Reinders, 2010).

Between 1988 and 2000, area development and the relationships between stakeholders underwent rapid evolution due to liberalization. By the Bruteringswet (Grossing Law) of 1995, housing associations were made financially independent of the government, and subsidy for housing construction was abolished. The old housing associations were restructured, and merged into foundations with professional, well-paid executives. This marked the end of nearly a century of subsidized housing construction. The longstanding link between the welfare state and the city was gradually severed through these reforms. Previously, local politics, especially in housing, had been closely tied to national policy frameworks and subsidy streams, allowing for national control of urban development and cultural policy by the national government (Bank Nederlandse Gemeenten, 2009).

In The Hague, agreements were made between the housing associations and the municipal government to build 30% of the agreed housing production as social rental housing, with the remainder for the free market. This policy guided the development of the Vinex locations. Left-wing parties staunchly defended the 30% social rental housing requirement, while right-wing parties advocated for its abolition. The housing associations, now independent entities, had to attract external financing to fund their construction projects for social rental housing units. They financed projects partly through the sale of older rental properties or from rental income, but increasingly relied on revenue from the sale of more expensive homes. This reliance on external financiers grew, shaping a new housing culture for the urban population, characterized by elaborate facades and high-quality living environments. The urban landscape shifted away from uniform, rationed housing designs to a diverse character, particularly in inner cities and nineteenth-century neighborhoods. The 30% requirement for social housing for housing associations ended in The Hague in 2010.

Music Hall *Het Paard van Troje* by the architect OMA from the period 1995-2003, photo by Hans Werlemann.
Among others, the musician Prince performed live in the old building in 1988.
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The Demand of the Housing Consumer for Environmental Quality

Changes also occurred at the scale level of the home. As homes needed to be sold or rented at high prices, developers felt the need to provide attractive urban ensembles that included homes as part of them. Before 1985, few leading figures cared about attractive urban ensembles, except Duivesteijn, and most of the young architects. Residents, housing associations, and the city had other priorities: realizing affordable rents in urban environments or suburbs. The focus was mainly on the floor plan, the size of the home, housing differentiation, and the rent price. Additionally, there was a guaranteed uptake of homes due to the municipality's allocation policy. Everything revolved around the process by which one arrived at a product; the final appearance was considered irrelevant.

However, the situation changed when the allocation of homes to tenants by corporations and municipalities through a complex system of points and permits ended. After the government withdrew from public housing and market players gained influence, more homes were sold to discerning housing consumers who had benefited greatly from the economic upturn. Between 1990 and 2010, pension funds, banks, and affiliated financiers and developers took over a large part of housing production from the corporations. The quality of urban ensembles had now become crucial to sell a home.

Urban planner Mariet Schoenmakers of AM Wonen — who had previously worked on De Resident for MAB and promoted the New Urbanism in The Hague — had a distinct opinion about urban ensemble. In her view, homes should not be built as isolated sales objects but as part of an urban ensemble in which homes were embedded. Developers sold an attractive living environment. With much effort, corporations also learned the craft of area development and home sales from developers. They increasingly sought quality over quantity. Not only developers and corporations were selling a product; city administrators also became aware that the city was a product that needed to be marketed.

In the development of Vinex locations near The Hague, market parties went to great lengths to create an attractive urban ensemble to win a tender for a sub-project; first to win the tender, and second to be able to sell or rent the homes. The latter was especially necessary because all Vinex locations were developed simultaneously, leading to a large supply of homes. The housing consumer could finally choose.

10.3 'Stadtreparatur' by Noordanus, Rijnboutt, and Meijer

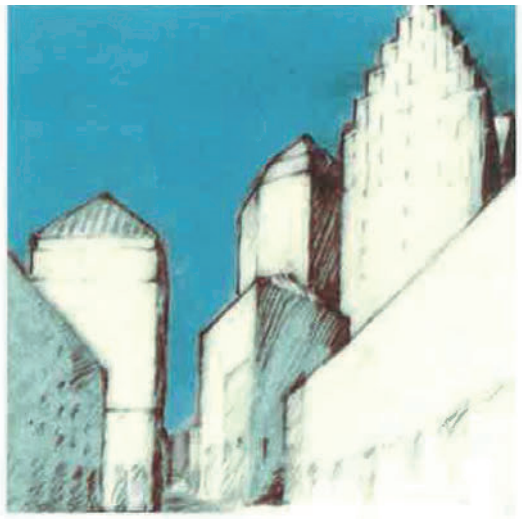
The Example of Berlin

Although ideas about the historical city had already been proposed in the 1960s and 1970s by Aldo Rossi (1966) and Rob Krier (1975), the transformation within the existing urban morphology with project-based urban development in The Hague only began in 1980, as in most other cities in the Netherlands (Bekkering & Heeling, 1981). The classical urban expansion associated with suburbanization transformed into urban transformation with respect for existing old urban structures. Essentially, this shift meant moving from a discontinuous approach to urban planning to a continuous one. The city is seen as perpetually developing (Van der Woud, 1991; Tilman, 1992; Meyer, 1993).

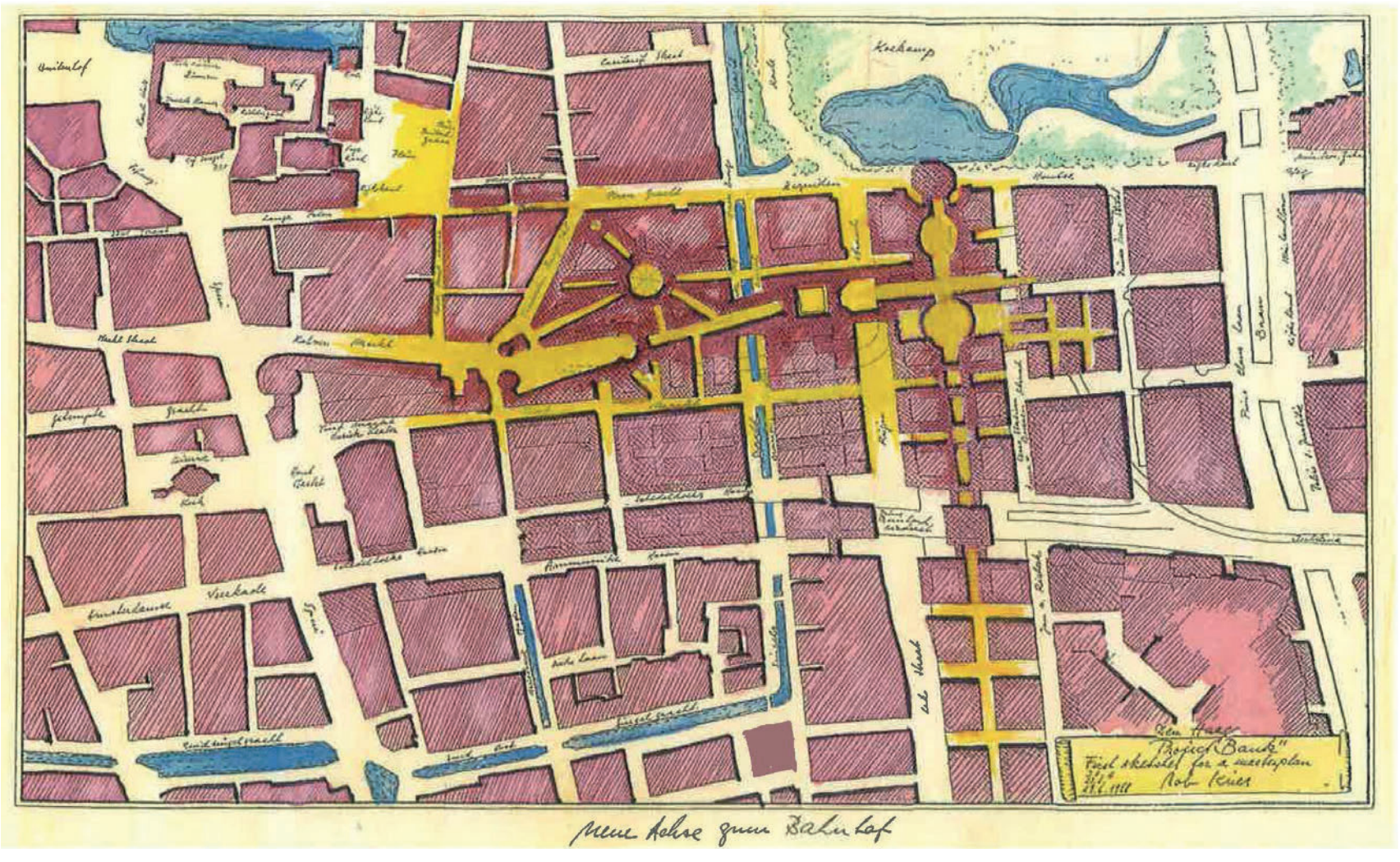
TU Delft Professor Han Meyer explained this new approach to urban planning as follows: "The focus on clearly defined urban projects has various causes, with two considerations playing an important role in the urban planning discipline: firstly, the consideration that it is no longer productive to regard the city as an entity that can be worked on with a single, generalizing concept. Instead, the conviction has gained ground that the city must be interpreted as a complex whole of diverse fragments and structures, each with its own relationships, autonomous dynamics, and unique identity. Secondly, the issue of the form and design of the city and urban space has come back into full focus. This form seems, at first glance, to be somewhat manageable in terms of both design and execution at the scale level of the fragment" (Meyer, 1993: 62).

'Stadtreparatur' is a German concept originating from Berlin, where 'Senatsbaudirektor' and later 'Staatssekretär' Hans Stimmann (1991-2006) shaped a 'critical reconstruction' of the city and its new center, Potsdamer Platz. In The Hague, all lines converged from 1989 to 2001 under PvdA alderman for Spatial Planning and Housing Peter Noordanus, born 1948 (Freijser, 2000; Noordanus & Weststrate, 2001; Noordanus, 2003) and the two major protagonists of New Urbanism: city planner Kees Rijnboutt, born 1939 (Rijnboutt, 1995; Freijser, 1998; Rijnbout, 2007) and Ton Meijer, director-owner of The Hague project developer MAB Development Group, with his right-hand partner in that period, urban planner Mariet Schoenmakers.

Noordanus and Rijnboutt were both professors at TU Delft in the late 1980s. For both, the credo was: urban planning means project and area development, especially since, in The Hague, it mainly involved urban renewal through the replacement or improvement of existing buildings or neighborhoods where selective complexes were replaced or improved, such as Spoorwijk, Duindorp, and Transvaalkwartier. Urban planning could no longer be considered as object-bound, to fill gaps; instead, larger urban ensembles with more stakeholders were



De Resident, preliminary design by Rob Krier with first spatial vision of the central square with the connection to the Central Station.



De Resident, preliminary design by Rob Krier with new axis and urban spaces between town hall and Central Station, connecting the government center both sides of the Utrechtsebaan.
Source is an email from Rob Krier dated December 29, 2013. Copyright by Rob Krier, no further use allowed.

developed and built. Only the Vinex neighborhoods offered prospects for real urban planners. New urban ensembles henceforth had to fit within the spatial and historical context of the various districts or urban environments. Noordanus continued the line of Duivesteijn and Van Otterloo and gave it his own interpretation with his concept of 'Stadtreparatur'.

The heterogeneous New Urbanism was narrowed down to the laws of historicism and 'Stadtreparatur', with Rob Krier contributing to this through the flagship project De Resident (Van Rossem 1996). In twelve years, the city would undergo significant development. Many ideas launched in the progressive program council between 1986 and 1989 were set on the right course and maintained through the expert management of Noordanus and Rijnboutt. The municipal departments and the Aesthetic Committee were reorganized under Rijnboutt's guidance. He had already been involved in the development of the BANK area as Chief Government Architect from 1989 to 1995. From 1995 to 1998, he served as city planner of The Hague; he was succeeded by Maarten Schmitt, who remained until 2009. Especially with the arrival and efforts of mayor Wim Deetman in 1996, The Hague gained new significance and international stature between 1996 and 2008.

Initially, Noordanus advocated: "Design more ensembles—for me, a reaction to the patchwork architecture of the 1980s" (Freijser, 1998: 4). He particularly envisioned ensembles that demonstrated sustainability and calm cohesion in design and material use, such as Berlage's Amsterdam Zuid and New The Hague School. He continued: "What I have become aware of in guiding renewal is that the concepts of urban renewal as a cultural activity and urban regeneration as a cultural activity still needed to be deepened on several fronts. A fundamental line in urban development over the past ten years, in my view, is 'Stadtreparatur', knowing how to deal with the historical heritage of the inner city in relation to the intensification operations that have developed in this area. 'Stadtreparatur' is primarily about healing and remaking the urban fabric that has deteriorated in some areas, and recognizing that for a readable city, intimacy is necessary" (Freijser, 2000: 1.02). The spatial and historical reality was accepted as a starting point, although according to architectural historian Victor Freijser, more historical architecture was added in The Hague than had ever existed before.

All the ingredients were in place: the evolution of Europe and the associated economic growth; the politics of the Third Way or 'purple coalition', in which social democratic and liberal positions converged closely, leading to societal change as a whole; the necessity to better present the city in the global network of cities with diminishing national borders, aiming to attract residents, institutions, and businesses; the social democratic idea that urban cohesion should be strengthened in urban planning and socio-economic terms; liberalization of the housing market and the resulting new relationship between municipalities, housing corporations, and market parties; the rise of integrated area development, where the municipality took the lead to build attractive urban ensembles in collaboration with housing corporations and market parties (PPPs) with a unified theme or recognizable image.

De Resident, Flagship of Noordanus, Rijnboutt, and Meijer

In the time of the Campaign for Urban Renewal as a Cultural Activity with, among others, alderman Duivesteijn and Van Otteloo, postmodern architecture in the broadest sense became popular in The Hague. Under alderman Noordanus, the focus shifted to the reconstruction of the city with buildings referring to this urban architecture.

As described in the previous chapter, the most iconic urban ensemble of Noordanus and Rijnboutt was Rob Krier's De Resident, which was designed and built between 1988 and 2002 (Van Rossem, 1996). 'Stadtreparatur' found its face in De Resident. Ton Meijer of MAB played a significant role as the client, with Mariet Schoenmakers as his urban planner. All the ingredients of The Hague's New Urbanism were meticulously shaped by various architects under the leadership of Krier and his right-hand man, Sjoerd Soeters. Krier was able to realize his ideas as described in his book *Stadtraum in Theorie und Praxis: An Beispielen der Innenstadt Stuttgarts* (*Urban Space in Theory and Practice: Examples from Stuttgart's City Center*) (Krier, 1975). Thus, Krier brought his ideas on urban architecture to The Hague, ideas that could be traced back to Camillo Sitte.

After Krier developed a vision for the The Hague location on the LaVi plot in 1988, it was further elaborated in the Strategic Plan Bank (1990), which the council approved in January 1991. The municipality and the Government Buildings Agency were tasked with further developing the plan through workshops. Starting in August 1991, Chief Government Architect Rijnboutt, councilor Noordanus, and architects Rob Krier, Sjoerd Soeters, Gunnar Daan, Peter Drijver, and Bert Dirrix worked on the plan. MAB was engaged as the developer for the plan by the municipality. Throughout 1992, MAB, the Government Buildings Agency, the municipality, the ABP, and the architects worked in workshops on the plans until a financially feasible plan was presented in October 1992: *The Master Plan LaVi Plot and Design Guidelines LaVi Plot*. In 1992, the council committee approved the master plan. Several elements were added to this master plan: a location for VITA/Zurich Insurance, housing for government services in the old Transitorium, and three towers on Turfmarkt.

Krier must have fiercely opposed all forms of rationalization and optimization because he specifically wanted to preserve the variation and complexity present in the old city in the new plan (Van Rossem, 1996: 64). He aimed for maximum urban richness, aligning with the fine-grained street pattern and the enclosed urban spaces in the surroundings. (Van Rossem, 1996: 58). The 'needle strategy' that Krier developed meant that the city dweller always sees high-rise buildings rise in an urban perspective, never in a modernist emptiness, just as church towers rise from the dense building masses of historic cities (Van Rossem, 1996: 68). This way, an enormous density could be linked to fascinating urban images. In the Design Guidelines LaVi Plot, Krier indicated what the urban image of this ensemble should look

De Resident by the architect Rob Krier and other architects: Sjoerd Soeters, Bert Dirrix, Cesar Pelli Associates, Michael Graves, Scale architecten, Karelse Van der Meer, Gunnar Daan and Adolfo Natalini.
Photo from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

like: “To begin with, construction must be in brick, no storage spaces in the public area, no balconies in the public area, no experimental architecture. Yes, the dreadful, quasi-socialist word ‘housing’ should be abolished to revive the dwelling house as an architectural task. For the office buildings, Krier refers to pre-war Manhattan, indeed the only place in the world where commercial high-rise buildings have led to a monumental urban image” (Van Rossem, 1996: 78)

There were frequent consultations with Aesthetics Committee led by Theo Bosch, which initially had quite some objections to Krier’s principles. This, in turn, caused irritation with Noordanus and Chief Government Architect Rijnboutt. The facade, which in the modern tradition was an expression of the floor plan, gained a certain autonomy in De Resident, which mediated between the urban spaces and the buildings. This was often dismissed as ‘facade architecture’, but only with De Resident was the refined interplay between urban space and buildings consciously shaped into one urban ensemble (my personal experience as architect with Bosch). Since the 1980s, architects had dutifully followed the city’s morphology. Krier’s guidelines and ‘needle strategy’ would determine the urban image of the New The Hague Center within the canals for years to come.

Wils & Co and The Hague Architects

How would The Hague (re)present itself in a recognizable and distinctive manner? Just as Duivesteijn in the 1980s used the HaAC for his campaign, Noordanus also enlisted the help of the city’s architectural community. The question of The Hague’s identity would be answered by The Hague architecture platform Wils & Co (1993-2001). This organization assisted Noordanus with the city’s identity issues and mediated between the professional community and the city government. Before the debate truly began, Noordanus formulated three main principles in the associated journal *Wils & Co bulletin* (no. 1, February 1994).

First, the coherence of urban ensembles: “I aim for stronger guidance towards a harmonious urban landscape and a more coherent architectural vision for cohesive areas.”

Second, dealing with construction in the existing historic city: “I would like to move towards stronger quality guidelines for new building initiatives without falling into purely historical imitative construction.”

Third, The Hague’s quest for high-rise buildings: “I aim to—from my perspective that density and scale enlargement in parts of our city center are not only inevitable but also desirable programmatically—establish more qualitative principles for the desired sculpture and quality of the new skyline.”

With these main principles, Noordanus believed a vision needed to be developed. Wils & Co was a significant initiative supported by the municipality aimed at achieving a “coherent urban landscape”. At the request of the alderman, Wils & Co initiated debates in its own distinctive manner, thereby continuing Duivesteijn’s and Van Otterloo’s approach, with a strong appreciation for the old buildings in the existing city. However, the motivations of Duivesteijn differed from those of Noordanus. In his farewell speech as alderman on January 26, 2001, Duivesteijn acknowledged the differences but highlighted the similarities and continuity.

Wils & Co, named after Jan Wils and Co Brandes, was established in 1994 and housed in Theater aan het Spui. It served as the umbrella organization under which all The Hague architectural initiatives fell, including the organization such as HaAC (The Hague Architect Café), Toren van Oud, Vrienden van Den Haag (Friends of The Hague), and the architect organization BNA’s The Hague branch. The HaAC was active from 1977 to 1985 under Jan Brouwer’s leadership, revived in 1992 by Hans van Beek, and renamed Haags Architectuur Café (The Hague Architecture Café) in the new millennium (Oorschot, 2013). The programming board of Wils & Co included city veterans such as Hans van Beek, Leo Hamer, Victor Freijser, Peter Drijver, Jan de Graaf, Menno Homan, and Eric Vreedenburg, architects who had already supported Duivesteijn and Van Otterloo during their campaign (Jan Brouwer, Hans van Beek, and Peter Drijver, personal communication, 17-10-2012).

Brouwer, Van Beek, Drijver, De Graaf, and later Freijser, who formed the core of Wils & Co, had been at the epicenter of The Hague’s architectural activism for years. Together with the ‘74 generation of politicians, they sought to prevent the demolition of the city. In the first issue of *Wils & Co bulletin*, Noordanus argued: “The municipality can outline beautiful vistas in the upcoming Architecture Policy about how architecture should evolve in the coming years, [but] these policy intentions will fall on rocky ground if clients and architects working in The Hague do not commit to the same course” (*Wils & Co, bulletin* no. 1, February 1994).

The Conflict about the Hoftoren and the Reorganization of the Urban Development Department

The conflict over the appearance and height of the Hoftoren, designed by the American architect Kohn Pederson Fox Associates, ignited a fierce debate about the identity of the city and its urban landscape. For Noordanus, this offered an opportunity to formulate a vision on high-rise buildings, reorganize the Department of Spatial Planning and Economic Development into the Dienst Stedelijke Ontwikkeling (Department of Urban Development, DSO), limit the powers of the Aesthetics Committee, and appoint Rijnboutt as city planner (Casper Postmaa, journalist at newspapers *Haagse Courant* and *Den Haag Centraal*, personal communication, 11-2-2010).

In 1993, the report *Hoogbouw in het Haagse stadsbeeld* (*High-Rise Buildings in The Hague’s Urban Landscape*) was published, marking the first official The Hague document addressing the issue of high-rise buildings. The document began with an apology and the remark: “High-rise buildings evoke extreme reactions from many: some find high-rise buildings dreadful and threatening, while others find them beautiful and a suitable means for a dynamic 'modern' city” (Gemeente Den Haag, 1993: 5). On a map, all post-1945 high-rise buildings in The Hague were marked, revealing their distribution throughout the

Dagelijkse Groenmarkt (historic center of the village The Hague)
with *Casa Uccellin*i by the architect Gunnar Daan.
Photo from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

city, particularly outside the old and nineteenth-century city areas. According to the document, the motivations for high-rise construction could be programmatic and financial, as well as driven by a desire for high-rise buildings as symbols or landmarks: “In the latter case, it concerns the representation of power, progressiveness, prestige, dynamism, or indicating a city center or landmark” (Gemeente Den Haag, 1993: 19). From an administrative perspective, it was crucial to profile The Hague as the primary city in the country and the headquarters for numerous (inter)national institutions and companies: “If we want to maintain and strengthen that role and convincingly position our city as such, a careful use of high-rise buildings as an instrument is required” (Gemeente Den Haag, 1993: 19).

The document divided The Hague into two zones:

- Zone A, a ‘Central Business District’ near the historic center and public transport hubs, encompasse the BANK area, the area along Utrechtsebaan, Beatrixkwartier, and Schenkstrook near Mariahoeve Station. There was a clear urban vision for Zone A: “The image that will emerge is that of a modern business center near the historic center of The Hague, clearly distinct from it. ... The concentration described here visualizes the administrative and business character of The Hague and becomes increasingly evident when entering the city from Prins Clausplein. This development needs to be reinforced” (Gemeente Den Haag, 1993: 21).
- Zone B encompassed the low and green city by the sea where living and recreation are optimal. “The location by the sea, presence of dunes and large green structures (often in the form of old estates), the generally high level of urban planning and architecture, and a large number of protected monuments, provide a unique quality that justifies a restrained policy regarding high-rise buildings in most of The Hague” (Gemeente Den Haag, 1993: 26).

A clear contrast between zone A and B allowed avoiding the wishy-washy character of many cities. Protecting and enhancing the quality of The Hague was the main challenge according to the report. Furthermore, the report described: “The 120-meter [height] limit is crucial in the view from the historic center. Skyscrapers may be visible from Plaats and Lange Vijverberg but should not dominate the historical image of the Hofvijver” (Gemeente Den Haag, 1993: 24). The Supreme Court had already made a ruling on this a few years earlier in connection with the tower designed by the Italian engineer Pier Luigi Nervi by the disgraced The Hague developer Zwolsman. The ideal envisioned in 1993 in *High-Rise Buildings in The Hague’s Urban Landscape* turned out to be a farce. By 2012, the historic Binnenhof was seen from De Plaats as a dwarf village at the foot of skyscraper giants.

The Hoftoren ultimately became a point of contention between the Aesthetics Commission established in Duivesteijn's era and the policies of alderman Noordanus. In an editorial preface in *Wils & Co bulletin* (no. 5, December 1994 - February 1995), Menno Homan openly expressed dissatisfaction with the proceedings of The Hague’s Aesthetics Committee. Ton Meijer from MAB Development Group and journalist Casper Postmaa had strongly advocated for a brick tower, but evidently, the review board had no issue with metal. Apart from the architectural appearance of the Hoftoren, the review board deemed it an inappropriate urban planning intervention in the urban fabric (Teunissen, 2010: 112). Municipality monument conservation department also supported the Aesthetics Committee’s objections.

Alderman Noordanus, prioritizing the city’s economy, decided not to let construction stagnate and disregarded the advice from the Aesthetics Committee. Theo Bosch, who had been appointed by Duivesteijn, wrote an open letter about this in the newspaper, sparking a public debate. According to Teunissen (2010), the alderman banned contacts between the press and the Aesthetics Committee. Bosch refused to be silenced by Noordanus, and the conflict escalated further. However, on April 6, 1994, Theo Bosch suddenly passed away. The Aesthetics Committee continued its work for two more years. Noordanus requested its members to compile a list of candidates for the position of city urban planner, who would play a crucial coordinating role in communication.

As a result of all these developments, the Aesthetics Committee and the municipal services were reorganized. Around 1995, the Department of Spatial Planning and Economic Development (REO), Permits, building and housing supervision, and the Aesthetic Committee were merged into a single new department, the Dienst Stedelijke Ontwikkeling (Department of Urban Development, DSO) in 1996.

Given the ongoing major urban planning projects and emerging public-private partnerships, the council opted to appoint a city urban planner as advisor. The urban planner with a vision on the city was independent of the Aesthetic Committee and advised the municipal government and council. The city favored Rijnboutt for this role and tasked him with assembling a new Aesthetics Committee. As former Chief Government Architect, he had skillfully managed the development process around De Resident in preceding years, including workshops led by Rob Krier and Sjoerd Soeters, alongside other architects. In December 1995, the architectural guidelines were revised, and in January 1996, the old Aesthetics Committee, a legacy of the progressive council which had loyally executed the municipality’s policy under Bosch, held its final meeting. From that moment on, the city urban planner would play a crucial role in creating urban ensembles and shaping the cityscape.

Laakhavens Central Innovation District CID.
The Hague University of Applied Scienses by atelier PRO architekts. Photo's by Leon Thier.
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10.4
How Purple Turned to Stone: The Hague's Architecture Debate

Architecture Policy: Debates on The Hague's Identity and Reorganization

Between December 1993 and September 1996, the municipality and the Berlage Foundation organized a series of debates. The implementation was managed by the steering committee of The Hague Architecture Debate, whose members, including Freijser, were also involved with Wils & Co. Reports of the architecture debates were compiled in five booklets, through which The Hague New Urbanism in Noordanus' version took shape.

- The Hague Architecture Debate 1, 1993: The Interaction between Urban Planning and Architecture
- The Hague Architecture Debate 2, 1993: 'Listening to the City': Building in a Historic Environment
- The Hague Architecture Debate 3, 1994: The New Urban Expansion
- The Hague Architecture Debate 4, 1995: Imitation and Innovation: New Architecture in a Historic Environment
- The Hague Architecture Debate 5, 1996: The Hague Architecture Memorandum

The Hague Architecture Debate 1

The first debate, held on June 23, 1993, focused on the interaction between urban planning and architecture. It was argued that architecture and urban planning were usually practiced as two separate disciplines, whereas their interplay was crucial. The harmonious unity envisioned by Berlage and the Beautiful Unity had not been forgotten. After all, a building does not stand alone but is part of an urban fabric. In the debate, contextualism was assumed as a given, and the discussion centered not so much on the question of 'why?' but on how urban ensembles achieved coherence. The issue was broadened: "The problem in the relationship between architecture and urban planning is, in fact, the contrast between innovation and continuity." (Gemeente Den Haag, 1993).

In this context, architecture represented innovation, while urban planning signified continuity. It was assumed that the architect felt the urge to be contemporary and innovative, aiming to create something exceptional and to stand out, while the urban planner dealt only with the age-old structures that required integration into or adaptation to a larger whole, ensuring continuity and seamless connections. This approach had been followed in The Hague since 1980.

In developing an architectural policy, Noordanus emphasized the importance of considering the extent to which residents could identify with the built environment. As a case study, Soeters discussed the developments of De Resident, where Krier prioritized urban spaces over buildings. These urban spaces seamlessly connected with the urban environment, just as the facade materials (red-brown brick with light natural stone or concrete), the facade divisions, and the ambiance of the streets aligned with the character of the inner city. Part of Krier's original plan would not be executed, resulting in a diagonal from Turfmarkt to the city canal, while the canal itself became a dreary intermediate area with entrances for parking garages and facilities for utility companies.

The Hague Architecture Debate 2

On September 3, 1993, the second debate took place, on Listening to the City: Building in a Historical Environment. The aim was to gain insight into the desired quality for new constructions within the existing city, especially in its historically valuable areas. In his introduction, Noordanus presented several images showcasing what should not be done and what could be possible. According to Noordanus, there was tension between the character of existing architecture and urban planning and new additions. Building in an existing historical environment without disturbing its image and atmosphere proved to be a challenging task, as evidenced by many poor examples. This often resulted in messy, mismatched new constructions fragmenting the street facades (Gemeente Den Haag, 1993).

A problem, Noordanus noted, was that so-called historicizing architecture was generally rejected by designers, even though it was highly appreciated by the public, as evidenced by Vandenhove's projects on Borneostraat. In the preceding years, residents had brought Vandenhove to Stationsbuurt, and subsequently, the residents of Benoordenhout wanted Vandenhove for the new Provincial House.

Noordanus proposed a different approach: he introduced the concepts of 'contrast' and 'harmony' instead of 'non-historicizing' and 'historicizing'. For contrast, he cited Kortenbos, where seventeenth-century courtyards alternated with CIAM colossi such as Westeinde Hospital and the Sirtema apartment blocks. Noordanus also emphasized the importance of 'Stadtreparatur'. He highlighted De Resident as a good example, where the parceling, image, and morphology matched the old city, although the crucial passage to the station had been removed, much to Krier's anger, diminishing the significance of Muzenplein.

In Noordanus' view, the existing tools were insufficient for creating good policies. According to him, the Aesthetic Committee evaluated plans retrospectively and on an ad hoc basis against aesthetic regulations, while, he argued, "we need a vision for locations, neighborhoods, and districts." An important tool for pre-establishing desired qualities was the aesthetic plan, which provided guidelines for desired development through the analysis of specific visual characteristics of a location.

During the workshop, tensions ran high between advocates of historicizing architecture, especially the Stichting voor Stedenbouwkundige Harmonie en Monumentenzorg (Foundation

Dagelijkse Groenmarkt (historic center of the village The Hague)
with the *De Snoeptrommel* (Candy Jar) by John Outram Associates (1995-1999).
Photo from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

for Urban Harmony and Monument Preservation), and proponents of contemporary solutions, led by Bosch. There was a sharp divide between the heterogeneity championed by Duivesteijn, which favored minimal pre-determination, and the historicism of Noordanus, which sought control over the final appearance. The discussion further focused on the aesthetic plan, particularly its significance and the leeway it allowed architects.

Professor Rudger Smook from TU Delft addressed this issue in his lecture. He argued that an urban planning policy needed to be developed not based on zoning plans, but with tools like the aesthetic plan at the city level, in order to understand the city's image and how it came about. In an aesthetic plan, a supervisor describes the visual characteristics applicable to the designed urban ensemble. This plan can be general or very detailed, specifying materials and colors in detail. The supervisor ensures that the architect adheres to these guidelines and advises the Aesthetics Committee accordingly. However, this practice had been common in The Hague for ten years.

The Hague Architecture Debate 3

On November 11, 1993, the third debate took place: The New Urban Expansion. This debate focused on how the Vinex locations Ypenburg, Wateringse Veld, and Leidschenveen could be shaped in urban planning and architectural terms. Key considerations in the development of these locations included sustainability (future), attractive living environments (present), and the uniqueness of the location, specifically the relationship between the city and the landscape (Gemeente Den Haag, 1994).

The Hague Architecture Debate 4

The fourth debate took place on April 4, 1995, following the death of Theo Bosch, with the theme Imitation and Innovation: New Architecture in a Historical Environment. The issue at hand highlighted the character of the city more strongly than in previous debates. This gave the discussion a more polemical tone: "Managing this heritage is a challenge for the city. Landmark buildings and street facades continue to disappear, often replaced by insignificant new constructions. Architects seem to have become estranged from their audience. ... One of the central questions is whether the 'historic image' should give way to 'progress' or if the progress (of architecture) should yield to the historic image, or ... could a rich past inspire new architecture to find solutions that harmoniously integrate with the existing environment?" (Gemeente Den Haag, 1995).

The underlying struggle between proponents of the heterogeneous variant of postmodernism, such as Bosch and Van Beek (who followed the Duivesteijn – Van Otterloo line), gave way to the supporters of historicism in architecture and urban planning (the Noordanus line). This new direction was solidified with the reorganization into the Department of Urban Development. The position of the Aesthetic Committee, which once had the authority to judge urban planning and the appointment of the city architect, was weakened.

In February 1996, a new Aesthetic Committee was inaugurated under the chairmanship of Thijs Asselbergs. Members included Henny Brouwer (monument preservation), Donald Lambert (urban planning), Steven Slabbers (landscape), Peter Drijver, Herman de Kovel, and Kees Regtop (architecture). In the 1996 annual report, the committee presented itself through several individual reflections (Teunissen, 2010: 118). In the foreword of the report, Noordanus provided an explanation of the new dynamics within the municipality: "… a recalibration of the division of tasks between the Urban Development Department and the new Aesthetic Committee, based on the analysis that a stronger position for our urban designers upfront offers more opportunities for spatial quality than a belated intervention by the Aesthetic Committee during the building planning phase, however justified it may be. The first year of the new Aesthetic Committee shows that this approach is being learned through practice and can also lead to a shared quality strategy. Essential to this is how arguments from the Aesthetic Committee, guided by the city's urban planner as a facilitator and intermediary, resonate in a timely manner within the planning process of the Department of Urban Development. My impression is that this approach has found reasonable form in the annual report. An assertive Aesthetic Committee and a reorganized Department of Urban Development, with increased design capability, collaborate on creating a 'beautiful The Hague'" (Gemeente Den Haag, 1995; Jaarverslag Welstand, 1996; Gemeente Den Haag, 1996; Gemeente Den Haag 1997).

The Hague Architecture Debate 5

The fifth debate focused on *De Haagse Architectuur Nota* (*The Hague Architecture Memorandum*) (Gemeente Den Haag, 1996), which laid down the administrative vision for urban planning and architectural policy. On April 1, 1996, the note was presented as a discussion document, marking the first policy memorandum of the new Department of Urban Development. This established The Hague among those municipalities officially committed to an architecture policy. In 1997 this memorandum was replaced by a definitive memorandum: *Haagse Architectuur: bestuursvisie op het stedebouw- en architectuurbeleid* (*The Hague Architecture: Administrative Vision on Urban Planning and Architecture Policy*) (Gemeente Den Haag, 1996; Gemeente Den Haag, 1997).

Noordanus once again pondered what made The Hague aesthetically pleasing or displeasing in urban planning terms. He argued that there was general consensus on the main points. According to him, The Hague was beautiful due to the perfect blend of green spaces and buildings; the historical city center, which largely exhibited a pleasing cohesion; the long vistas with harmonious architecture and often beautiful greenery; and the architectural quality of individual buildings. On the other hand, Noordanus believed The Hague was unattractive due to the initial phase of urban renewal; new construction projects clashed with harmonious street scenes, and imposing buildings disregarded any relationship with their surroundings or the city. Noordanus acknowledged significant improvements over the past 20 years but pointed out recent failures, such as the housing project

Neherkade *Slachthuisterrein* (former butchery) by the architect Aldo Rossi.
Photo from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

Zwarte Madonna (designed by Carel Weeber) and the housing project Zwolsestraat (designed by Neave Brown), where things had gone seriously wrong.

For Noordanus, this was the motivation to articulate a more explicit definition of the subjective concept of 'spatial quality'. The Hague Architecture Memorandum elaborated on five themes:

1. Scale change in the city.
2. Contrast and harmony: new construction initiatives in areas of urban / architectural value.
3. Ensemble formation: the city is not the sum of separate buildings but must derive the identity of districts and neighborhoods from coherence in the language of form and use of materials.
4. Urban management of public spaces and minor architectural interventions such as unwanted billboards, plastic window frames and satellite dishes.
5. Urban green spaces.

In addition to these thematic elements, the memorandum detailed the new role and authority of the city's urban planner, Rijnboutt. Given that much of The Hague's new construction occurred within existing urban areas, the note focused on contextual architecture. It did not prescribe a formula for this contextual approach but emphasized the importance of rigorous architectural discipline. Examples like De Resident and Vaillantlaan were highlighted as benchmarks endorsed by the city's aldermen.

What Was the Purpose of the Architecture Memorandum?

Opinions on the memorandum by Noordanus and Meijer, however, were divided. People wondered in Wils & Co what the aldermen wanted with the architecture memorandum (bulletin no. 13). The memorandum was intended to serve as an introduction to the project De Nieuwe *Kaart van Den Haag: stedebouwkundige opgaven voor de komende 10 jaar* (*The New Map of The Hague: Urban Planning Challenges for the Next 10 Years*) (Gemeente Den Haag, 1995). On this map, all desirable and conceivable futures would be outlined. For city urban planner Rijnboutt, this would eventually become the actual memorandum, and this first memorandum was merely a preliminary step.

Willem Oomens – secretary of the Aesthetics Committee - was less convinced about the new procedural tool being employed: the aesthetic plan. Architect Jan de Graaf was even outright skeptical about it and found the memorandum conservative. The core of the memorandum seems to be Noordanus' favorite theme: urban ensembles and ensemble formation modeled after De Resident, Vaillantlaan, and Groothandelsmarkt. Jan de Graaf posed the question that everyone had in mind when reading the memorandum: what is the memorandum aiming to achieve? It was said to focus on establishing a good architectural climate, but what did that entail? Whether a good architectural climate would result in better architecture was debatable.

The initial reaction to the memorandum was: "The memorandum exudes a somewhat conservative atmosphere. We have so many beautiful things in the city, and they must not be compromised. The words harmony, alignment, and adaptation appear frequently in the memorandum. Some panel members read it as 'fear of the new'. Adaptive architecture does not seem to be the right strategy by default in tackling a new task."

The Hague architect Jeroen Geurst pointed out during the fifth debate that in The Hague, the Berlin battle had been decided in favor of historical building. After the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of Germany in 1990, the *Planwerk Innenstadt* (*City Center Plan*) by the social democratic 'Senatsbaudirektor' (minister) Hans Stimmann (1991-2006) emphasized a 'critical reconstruction' of the city and its new center, the Potsdamer Platz: a 'Stadtreparatur'. Existing typologies and urban spaces, but especially old European cityscapes, became the starting point for inner-city transformations. With the Berlin development, in which architects such as Kleihues, Krier, and Kollhoff played important roles, the European city began the renaissance of its appearance. In The Hague, this trend was particularly followed by social democrat Noordanus and city urban planner Rijnboutt.

Throughout Germany, the struggle over the image of the European city in the early 1990s was fought in the professional press between Rem Koolhaas and Hans Kollhoff. At that time, Koolhaas was working on the Dutch embassy in Berlin. As a result of the reconstruction of the centre of Berlin, the question arose as to which image the European city should be reconstructed. Became something like Singapore or just the city as the Krier brothers saw it.

Freijser argued in that fifth debate about the identity of The Hague's ensembles, which were mainly rediscovered by foreign master architects: "It is striking that in the second half of the 1980s, when a shift towards building within the existing city began, it was precisely foreign architects who pointed out essential 'The Hague' elements of the city to us: Álvaro Siza highlighted The Hague porticoes, the vistas of the long streets (which express the flatness of our country); Rob Krier pointed out the fine mesh of the inner city; Charles Vandenhove emphasized the neo-classical architectural language and the value of semi-public courtyards; Ricardo Bofill noted the monumentality and grandeur; César Pelli demonstrated the possibility of introducing elegance into large and tall volumes; the architect Bob van Reeth emphasized the strategic incentives needed for a city that is existing but in need of new life." (Gemeente Den Haag, 1996).

However, the 'typically The Hague' nature of each architect's contribution was disputed, especially when it came to the cityscape. Most projects in Schilderswijk contrasted with the impoverished neo-Renaissance style of the revolutionary construction neighborhood. The Quartier Latin in Schilderswijk was, according to the architect Vandenhove, inspired by Lange Voorhout, two completely different city districts. But the value lay primarily in the restored urban morphology and the European urban atmosphere that was established, which was very different from the international metropolis. The backdrop of The Hague as a European city was constructed with examples

Haagse Bluf by the architect Pim Hienkens.
Photo from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

from European metropolises at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The study of The Hague's own uniqueness was forgotten.

Hans van Beek's remark that more respect for the existing city was needed was therefore of great significance. Freijser's observation that more historical architecture had been built in The Hague in the 1990s than was originally present indicated how the European city was reinvented and rebuilt in The Hague.

Deltametropool, The Hague Globe 750, and The Hague Identity

A concept of the new center of The Hague was further developed in 1998 through initiatives by the four largest cities in the Netherlands related to a proposed Deltametropool, based on the memorandum The *New Map of The Hague*. The focus was placed on the Turfmarkt zone along Central Station, Utrechtsebaan, and Beatrixkwartier towards Station Laan van NOI (Gemeente Den Haag, 1995).

In 1995, collaboration between the aldermen for Spatial Planning of the four cities began. Historically, collaboration had been ongoing for centuries; however, the formation of the European Union in 1992 accelerated the process, and enormous economic growth was predicted. This resulted in a joint declaration in February 1998 regarding the strategy to transform the Randstad into an urban complex of international stature: a European Deltametropool. This idea was shaped through numerous debates and publications by the Vereniging Deltametropool (Deltametropolis Association), established 1998, and Delft professor Dirk Frieling (1937-2011).

The first strategic point was population growth. In 1998, the Deltametropolis Association issued a statement asserting that the Deltametropolis needed to accommodate at least one million more people by the year 2030. In the exploratory study, the association referred to Statistics Netherlands (CBS) forecasts which projected that about 7.1 million people would live in the Randstad by 2030, 600,000 more than in the year 2000 (Urhahn & Vrolijks, 2000). For these people, 500,000 additional homes needed to be built, as it was conveniently assumed at the time that all new residents would be affluent citizens looking to buy houses.

The second important point in *The New Map of The Hague* was urban diversity and identity (Urhahn & Vrolijks, 2000). What opportunities did the Deltametropolis offer for a wide variety of residential environments to make it a vital European metropolis? An analysis identified several strengths and weaknesses of living in the Randstad. As previously indicated, The Hague divided the city into different residential environments. Even for the Vinex locations, various residential environments were determined. It was established that there was a concentration of poverty due to the monotonous housing supply; the city needed to do more to retain high-income residents by offering a more attractive living environment (Boelee, 2000: 1). This required particular attention to public amenities and the quality of green spaces, urban areas, and architecture. The residential environments that defined the character or identity of the different cities were extensively described by the Deltametropolis Association (Urhahn & Vrolijks, 2000).

For the center of The Hague, the Denneweg/Lange Voorhout area and De Resident were cited as defining the cityscape. Outside the center, Marlot, Scheveningse Bosjes, Sweelinckplein, and Papaverhof were mentioned. It was determined that water played a defining role in the image of all cities in the Randstad, even for The Hague with all its filled-in canals. Each city's unique identity and recognizability were thus sharpened. The Hague was further described with words like: 'royal residence', 'relaxed urban living', 'avenues and parks', and 'dunes and sea'. From the year 2000, the population indeed began to grow again.

In the symposium *Den Haag Globe 750—A Different View of the City*, organized by The Hague in 1998, the cityscape enthusiastically presented by Noordanus and his associates was further debated. In the founding board of Globe 750 were the architects Rijnboutt and Van Beek, and the advisory board included Noordanus and project developer Meijer, alongside numerous The Hague project developers (Koekebakker & Postmaa, 1999). For this symposium, 10,000 residents of The Hague were asked for their opinions on the city's most important challenges. Some responses included: "The Hague must be the residential city of the Randstad", "the significant social differences in our city must be reduced", "the seaside location should be better utilized, along with the many urban green spaces", "employment is important, but should primarily come from service companies and international institutions", "the city should be made safer and more attractive", "the attractiveness and economic vitality of the city center are especially important" and "public transport, bicycle traffic, and pedestrian mobility should have priority over car traffic in and to the city". These were all points that almost everyone agreed on in the 1990s.

The city was indeed made more attractive and safer in the 1990s, although there was still little attention given to cyclists outside the city center. However, the socioeconomic divide among citizens widened. The seaside location was primarily used as a tourist attraction and was more of a burden to residents. It seemed as if the gap between citizens and the government was increasing. The city administrators mainly focused on the city's sophisticated character, strongly supported by The Hague architects and project developers such as MAB and Geste Groep.

The main criticism at the time was that urban planning remained fragmented and project-oriented, or 'project developer urbanism', causing the overall vision of the city to be lost. Urban planning had become a form of object-oriented project development within the city's morphology, not very different from the 'project urbanism' of the 1980s. However, now market parties had joined in the so-called integral area development. This form of urban development gave The Hague its vitality, argued the architects, developers, and the alderman in the symposium's publication.

The city center was also restored: "The new vitality of The Hague was particularly visible in the center. After the process of city formation with its traffic breakthroughs and anonymous office buildings was

Haagse Bluf by the architect Pim Hienkens.
Photo from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

halted, a shift occurred. The projects were sometimes still on the same large scale as before, but now there was more respect for the city's fabric. Finally, the value of the center was recognized again, after it had lost many of its obvious functions in the first decades after the war, such as the cultural center (which had moved to the area around the Municipal Museum in Statenkwartier, according to the Dudok doctrine), the entertainment center (moved to Scheveningen), and the government center (now located in the area around Central Station)" (Koekebakker & Postmaa, 1999: 12).

The problem with 'project developer urbanism' was essentially already present during the era of 'project urbanism', but it was magnified by the scale at which it was now being implemented. All edges and transitions received low priority. Beautiful fixtures and paving stopped at the edge of the developed area. Connections with surrounding neighborhoods unfortunately did not always take precedence, and sharp edges are still visible in the city, where fine pavement gives way to concrete tiles. "The urban planning of the project site won over the urban planning of the city" (Koekebakker & Postmaa, 1999: 12), and this became increasingly evident. The canal that runs between De Resident and the Hoftoren is the most painful example of this: it is now dominated only by utilities and a parking area, while the area had enormous urban potential. Urban planners had lost sight of the city as a network and continuum of urban spaces, and were too preoccupied with the building masses of project developers. This important lesson stated in A Healthy Core (1988) was no longer seen as a priority by the city administrators.

The *Nota Haagse Architectuur* of 1996 and the Creation of The Hague's Identity

The first *Nota Haagse Architectuur* (*The Hague Architecture Memorandum*) of 1996 marked a significant milestone in contemplating the city's image. "What should the city look like?" had become a crucial question, whereas in 1985, hardly anyone had dared to ask this question. The image of the city as a distinguished village in leafy greenery had long been forgotten, replaced by the Compact City and The Hague New Urbanism movements. This memorandum aimed to streamline the fragmentation of building initiatives by establishing explicit criteria. It outlined a comprehensive vision for the city, taking the character of different neighborhoods as a starting point for evaluating building plans and urban ensembles.

The *Haagse Welstandsnota* (*The Hague Aesthetic Memorandum*) of 2004 and its implementation through conservation zoning plans for various neighborhoods were the outcome of a development that began in the 1970s with initiatives like "building for the neighborhood" and "building the neighborhood". The rehabilitation policies of Nuij, Duivesteijn, and Van Otterloo strongly bolstered this trend by reinforcing the character of neighborhoods. Noordanus's Stadtreparatur policy subsequently provided a policy framework for shaping the city's image. The residential environment strategy, focusing on different residential environments within the city, effectively renewed the idea of reinforcing neighborhood character (Boelee, 2000). The character areas outlined in the Aesthetic Memorandum were an elaboration of linking neighborhood character to urban planning. The residential environments of the 1990s align to a surprising degree with the character areas of the new millennium.

In several earlier studies by the section Heritage and Aesthetic Committee, a consistent framework had been employed to strengthen the idea of linking neighborhoods with their character. Each neighborhood's monuments were described, alongside the general history of their development (Rosenberg et al., 1988; Van der Hoeve et al., 1992; Koopmans, 1994; Hoenstok, 1999). These studies laid the foundation for the document *Het verzorgd gevelbeeld van Den Haag* (*The Well-Maintained Facade of The Hague*), which established aesthetic guidelines for various neighborhoods based on their monuments and their urban cohesion. This careful facade image formed the basis for subsequent documents and the *Aesthetic Memorandum*. The extensive series of books on the *Aesthetic Memorandum* was condensed into the practical *Praktijk Pocket Welstand* (*Practical Guide to Aesthetics*) (Gemeente Den Haag, 2004).

The objective of the Aesthetic Memorandum and its predecessors was to develop a framework and policy instrument for assessing building plans in relation to their spatial and historical context. The memorandum highlights the characteristics of project urban planning by administrators, urban planners, and architects, as well as ideas that art historians held about buildings. There was little consideration for urban spaces and cohesion in urban ensembles. The starting point was the existing city and the established architectural-historical classification of different periods per neighborhood. Qualities of specific monuments within a neighborhood were projected onto the entire neighborhood, leading to a somewhat homogenized approach to promote recognition and thereby cohesion. Iconic urban ensembles were only partially addressed. In the Aesthetic Memorandum, designated 'character areas' were established for each neighborhood. Architectural stylistic criteria determined the delineation of these character areas. Broadly, these character areas corresponded with the evolution of The Hague. Each period had its own urban planning and architectural style, according to the authors of the document. They identified ten different character areas covering all The Hague. The first six different character areas had clearly defined 'development periods' connected to specific 'urban locations'. The last four areas served different functions and evidently did not have clear-cut determinations.

1. Historic center (ca. 1250-1850)
2. Non-planned 19th-century urban expansions (c. 1850-1920)
3. Planned urban expansions (ca. 1920-1940)
4. Reconstruction period (ca. 1950-1960)
5. Second half of the 20th century (ca. 1970-1990)
6. Late 20th to early 21st century (ca. 1990-2010)
7. Free plot divisions (villa parks, various periods)

Stationsbuurt by the
architect Charles Vandenhove.
Photo’s from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

8. Business areas (Binckhorst and Kerketuinen)
9. Green spaces (nature and parks, dating to various periods)
10. Special urban areas (Scheveningen harbor, Laakhavens, Vlietzone)

The attentive reader of the map will have noticed that character areas 7, 8, and 10 partly lie within a broad zone stretching from Prins Clausplein to Scheveningen harbor. In The Hague, this zone is also referred to as the economic corridor or central zone, which runs perpendicular to the beach ridges and the long scenic lines. After 2008, city transformations increasingly focused on this economic zone with further development of The Hague New Center, the International Zone, and the seaside resort. After 2020, emphasis shifted to three priority or development areas: Binckhorst, Central Innovation District (C.I.D.), and Southwest. However, in those areas urban design guidelines would play a marginal role.

Deetman and the Comprehensive Vision: Legal Capital of the World

The all-encompassing vision of the city was not only presented by urban planners, architects, and art historians focusing on buildings and urban design. It was mayor Wim Deetman (1996-2008), born and raised in The Hague's Transvaalkwartier, with a background in the Christian Democrats (CDA), who found a niche for The Hague with the slogan International City of Peace and Justice and passionately promoted it to the outside world. He brought about a programmatic renewal of The Hague (Gemeente Den Haag, 2008). Thus, the neutral administrative city transformed into the neutral city of peace and justice.

Deetman's mayorship coincided with Rijnboutt's tenure, and his departure in January 2008 was lamented as 'very unfortunate' by the council and the media. "The municipal executive came to know this mayor as a heavyweight in governance. With heart and soul, he tirelessly worked for the city. Moreover, he made an exceptional effort to strengthen The Hague as an international city of peace, justice, and security," the council stated (De Volkskrant, July 13, 2007). PvdA councilor and deputy mayor Jetta Klijnsma said: "As a council member, I saw Wim Deetman arrive in 1996, and now in 2007, I bid farewell to him as a member of the municipal executive. During that period, we climbed out of the financial doldrums, lost the Article 12 status, and after the reorganization, The Hague grew into a city of international allure. In short, Wim Deetman is a man who gave The Hague back its identity" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2008: 3).

Especially in the new millennium, Deetman and alderman Marnix Norder emphasized The Hague's international profile and elevated the city's status. The campaign that began in 1985, which initially had anarchist traits, was shaped into a cohesive governance by Noordanus and others, and Deetman positioned it in an international perspective. After 2000, the population of The Hague municipality began to grow again.

The Hague High-Rise Debate of 2001: Towers at the Nodes of the Long Lines

The High-Rise Vision for The Hague

A typical point of contention in The Hague focuses on residential towers. Noordanus and his predecessors viewed high-rise buildings as essential for creating a Compact City, as the city would be revitalized by increasing the residential density. However, many residents feared that high-rise towers would negatively impact their enjoyment of living and the quality of life at ground level. The iconic value of towers and their contribution to an international urban appearance with an impressive skyline also factored into the debate. Opponents argued in favor of preserving the old cityscape with its leafy greenery and village character, believing that towers detract from The Hague's individuality. Especially the Friends of The Hague saw towers as eyesores.

In the early 1960s, the province halted the development of a 130-meter-high tower in Wijnhaven that Zwolsman had developed — a beautiful, slender tower on legs designed by the Italian architect-constructor Nervi. Had this building been constructed, it would likely be a national monument today. Citizens critical of the towers argue that they would disrupt the skyline of Plaats and Kneuterdijk as seen from the Binnenhof, a criterion that was also relevant during the later stages of The Hague New Center.

As described earlier, in the early 1990s, the Hoftoren caused endless debate with Aesthetic Committee and interest groups. When he joined the Department of Urban Development in 1998, urban planner Maarten Schmitt found The Hague a city of separate objects, intersected by long lines such as Utrechtsebaan and railways—a city without a vision of the whole, but with ambitions (Schmitt, 2009). Of course, a vision was held by with Duivesteijn, Van Otterloo, Noordanus, and The Hague New Urbanism for renewing within the existing city, but it was not yet fully recognized at the time. In his first week, Schmitt was confronted with a plan by housing corporation Vestia to build a tower on Rijswijkseplein. Schmitt argued: "My appointment had everything to do with the desire of the then PvdA alderman Peter Noordanus to strengthen political control over the renewal of the city center of The Hague. Not only in terms of processes and procedures, but also to enhance the quality of the cityscape at eye level through high-quality architecture" (Schmitt, 2009: 71).

In March 2001, Schmitt's plans and proposals resulted in the *Hoogbouwvisie Den Haag concept* (*High-Rise Vision for The Hague: Concept*), and in November of that year, the definitive High-Rise Vision for The Hague (Gemeente Den Haag, 2001), which elaborated on the ambitions previously formulated for the Deltametropolis. In this vision, urban planners delineated the horizontally oriented city around several church towers in the dynamic working city near arterial roads such as Utrechtsebaan and Binckhorstlaan, like the 'needle strategy' proposed by Krier for the BANK area.

Schmitt proposed placing high-rise buildings at the junctions of the long lines that characterize The Hague, as well as in Scheveningen.

Buitenom by Geurts & schulze architecten. Photo’s from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

The memorandum outlined two main policies: firstly, halting high-rise buildings where they did not align with existing and desirable qualities, such as in the historic city center and in the 'comfortable and relaxed' residential areas; secondly, promoting high-rise buildings in the 'dynamic working city' areas and the 'vital seaside resort' of Scheveningen. The guiding principle in high-rise development was to integrate such buildings with the existing height structure of the city. From a spatial perspective, The Hague was predominantly a 'flat cake' with buildings of an average height of 12 to 15 meters, akin to 'tree height', which could rise to 25 to 30 meters at the edges—'The Hague's urban plinth'. In high-rise zones, heights ranged from about 50 to 70 meters, termed 'The Hague height'. Occasionally, special points allowed for a 'highlight', such as the Hoftoren at 140 meters. This resulted in a typical three-tiered division for The Hague: 'The Hague Height' (50-70 m), an 'outer category' (100-140 m), and a non-existing and undesirable 'middle category' with buildings between 70 and 100 meters. This approach facilitated the development, intensification, interpretation, and branding of The Hague as a Compact City, cultural and administrative center, and economic concentration area.

In the 'Hoog Hage plus' area (High The Hague Plus) from Utrechtsebaan and Central Station to Wijnhaven, high-rise buildings of 100 to 140 meters were permitted, as well as at the entrances to High The Hague Plus, such as Rijswijkseplein and Schenkkade/Prinses Beatrixlaan. This area combined a central location with good accessibility by car and public transport, increasingly developing into the administrative, cultural, and economic center of gravity of The Hague. High The Hague Plus comprised different parts of the center, offering various possibilities for high-rise buildings.

'The Hague Height' (50–70 meters) was generally permitted in the New Center and had to meet several urban, architectural, and spatial criteria. Along the access roads to the center, solitary high-rise buildings resembling 'strings of beads' were erected, reaching heights of up to 70 meters, such as along Utrechtsebaan between Schenkstrook and Haagse Bos, and along Prinses Beatrixlaan. Buildings up to 50 meters high were allowed around the historic Zieken/Spui entrance. Other areas where 'The Hague Height' was permitted included Scheveningen-Bath and Binckhorst. After the construction of Rotterdamsebaan, Binckhorst would also become a gateway to the city.

In a letter to the city council dated July 10, 2001, Department of Urban Development emphasized that: "From an urban planning perspective, the character of The Hague was guaranteed by the specific configuration of concentrations of high-rise buildings parallel to the coast and strings of beads with occasional high-rise buildings perpendicular to the coast." Furthermore, DSO pointed out: "High-rise buildings have only played a guiding role in the development of the city since the 1990s. In Scheveningen-Bath, New Center, and Beatrixkwartier, high-rise buildings have created vital urban environments which, together with the traditionally comfortable residential environments of The Hague, have created a new image of The Hague. … The concept High-Rise Vision for The Hague outlines the ambitions of The Hague as a hub of decision-making in the Deltametropolis and the significance of high-rise buildings as a means to achieve this. High-rise buildings are seen by the municipal council as an instrument to further sharpen those characteristics and contrasting qualities with which the city wants to profile itself: as a dynamic working city, vital seaside resort, and as a comfortable residential city."

The municipality's vision was elaborated by the urban planners in various plans and sub-plans for the New Hague Center: *Stedenbouwkundig plan Wijnhavenkwartier* (2002) and *Masterplan Den Haag Nieuw Centraal* (*The Hague New Center,* 2003). High-rise buildings were a logical choice for the coalition led by the PvdA, stemming from the ideas of the Compact City. For years, aldermen in The Hague had held a keen interest in towers and they played an important role on the board of the High-Rise Foundation. This foundation enthusiastically promoted high-rise buildings in Dutch cities as a strategy for densification and urbanization. The foundation notably had a high number of (former) PvdA aldermen from The Hague on its board, including Van Otterloo, Noordanus, Hilhorst, and Norder. Architects such as Carel Weeber (a co-founder of the foundation), Jan Hoogstad, and Roberto Meyer also served on the board. In October 2011, the objectives were reiterated on the website of the High-Rise Foundation: "The High-Rise Foundation was founded in 1982 with the aim of inspiring the building, design, and administrative sectors in the Netherlands about high-rise buildings. The message was that high-rise buildings in urban settings could make a positive contribution to the city and urban life: architecturally, urbanistically, as well as economically and socially. With the taboo on high-rise buildings largely broken, the foundation expanded its activities to focus on broader urbanization tasks, where high-rise buildings, as a form of intensive space use, take a central role."

Vaillantlaan by Jo Coenen and different architects. Photo's from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

10.5
Inner-City Vinex Neighborhoods and Urban Renewal

Transvaalkwartier and the Atmosphere of Yesteryear

Transvaalkwartier Interim

Residential areas where privatized housing associations and real estate developers realized urban transformations according to the recipe of Stadtreparatur included Spoorwijk, Schilderswijk-West, Duindorp, Transvaalkwartier, and Rivierenbuurt. These neighborhoods transformed from a series of different uniform urban blocks with social rental apartments, where poverty was concentrated, to neighborhoods with a broad housing program. In addition to social housing, expensive rental homes and owner-occupied homes were also built. It was hoped that the more varied housing supply would serve higher-earning residents and bind them to their neighborhoods.

Previously, the neighborhoods had brought together mostly the less wealthy population, due to the one-sided housing stock, while residents who could afford it left for the new suburbs. By realizing 30% social housing at these Vinex locations, administrators hoped to achieve a better socio-economic distribution in individual neighborhoods. Urban planners from the Department of Urban Development documented and published these transformations for several years, until both the construction projects and this series of publications of Boelee (1999, 2000, 2005, 2007, 2010) came to an end. In the 2004 *Aesthetic Memorandum*, these neighborhoods were described as the characteristic areas 'non-planned 19th-century urban expansion' and 'planned urban expansion'. Preparations for the approach to these neighborhoods were already made in the 1990s during the tenure of Noordanus, while the implementation took place in the new millennium and had not yet been completed by 2010.

In Transvaalkwartier, 3,000 homes were demolished and replaced by 1,600 new homes that matched the atmosphere and morphology of the neighborhood. The former predominantly social rental homes were transformed into a mix of different types of housing, such as social rent, free market rent, and owner-occupied homes in all price ranges. The structure of perimeter and linear urban blocks was retained, but the street plan was slightly modified. Parking was removed from the street as much as possible and moved into or under the urban blocks. The interbellum architecture of The Hague was taken as a reference for the design: New The Hague School or the simple housing architecture of Bakker Schut and his contemporaries. The architecture primarily featured solid brick with refined detailing. However, many ground-level single-family homes were built, something that was not common during the interbellum period. Similar developments occurred in other old neighborhoods.

The client was the corporation Staedion and the supervisors were Geurst & Schulze architects. Projects were carried out by architectural firms such as Kühne & Co, Marlies Rohmer, Osorio Lobato, Duinker van der Torre, hvdn architects, HVE architects, biq architects, Geurst & Schulze architects, and Claus & Kaan architects. Rob Krier and Christoph Kohl provided several urban planning and architectural tools for the transformation of Rivierenbuurt: "Reduction of the massive repetition of similar architectural elements. Promotion of the recognizability of the individual dwellings. Respect for the local building tradition and the encouragement of new interpretations. Preservation of the scale of the existing neighborhood; accents should not negatively affect this quality. Special buildings must reflect the urban qualities of the city. The new building assignment must be harmoniously embedded in the urban structure and must not dominate its environment as a monoculture" (Kohl & Krier, 2001). Ultimately, this approach resulted in intricate, monumental urban spaces and residential houses where the facades emphasized the individuality of the families.

In two urban ensembles in Transvaalkwartier, there was an explicit discussion about the appearance of the residential buildings: De Oriënt (The Orient) by architect Wilfried van Winden of WAM architects and the institute of health and care the Kessler Foundation by Jos van Eldonk of the architectural firm Soeters Van Eldonk. These projects demonstrate that the ideals of binding, uplifting and the neighborhood character from the Duivesteijn and Van Otterloo era were still cherished in The Hague. However, the strict contextualism of supervisor Jeroen Geurst (Geurst and Schulze architects) and the Aesthetic Committee, chaired by Andry van Velsen (De Nijl Architects), also came under some pressure.

The Orient and Fusion Architecture

The Orient aimed to answer the call for one identity for Transvaalkwartier. In his design for The Orient, Van Winden argued that his 'fusion architecture' was recognized by everyone and was, therefore, an excellent choice for all residents. This architecture gave a new dimension to society's ideal of social engineering, which had become old-fashioned (Van Winden, 2010; Oorschot, 2011).

Globalization had a homogenizing effect on architecture: a small architectural elite traveled the world and erected the same type of buildings in Dubai, Shanghai, Moscow, London, New York, or Amsterdam. WAM's answer to this homogenization was 'fusion architecture'. Through this vision, the opposition between 'global' and 'local' was overcome by an architecture that was recognizable and tangible for everyone. Architectural features from different cultures were brought together and formed into one new architecture. WAM argued in favor of an elegant architecture with 'fusion' as the glue for the fragmented multicultural society, an idea that appealed to Duivesteijn very much and which became very important in the neighborhoods of The Hague after 1985. Van Winden (2010) stated in his book: "Our eroding society calls for an architect-artist who restores unity with his work." The creation of an environment that people like, that's what it's all about. WAM called this 'an architecture of pleasure'. This architecture had to evoke an 'atmosphere' that,

Rivierenbuurt by the architect Rob Krier. Photo's from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

through 'familiarity' and the 'experience of beauty', appealed to people regardless of their cultural background: a universal experience of beauty that was awakened by fusion architecture. Architecture not only fulfilled material needs, but was also a means of expressing individuality and fulfilling emotional needs, WAM argued.

The Orient residential building in Transvaalkwartier was a closed building block with solid standardized floor plans, neatly integrated into the urban morphology. With luxury houses and apartments, enclosed courtyards, and a closed underground parking garage, The Orient aimed to retain the Hindustani middle class for the neighborhood. The facades were therefore given Hindustani ornamentation. But there are also Art Nouveau influences, ornate cornices with pinnacles like hummingbirds, glazed stones that enrich the brown brickwork, and railings with Gothic arches. The colorful sales brochure features a beautiful peacock that seems to symbolize the diversity of the neighborhood.

The 'individuality' that Van Winden referred to has a specific meaning. It did not mean the 'individuality' of some or all residents, given the many cultural backgrounds in the neighborhood. Neither did it refer to the 'uniqueness' of the neighborhood, because, despite the festive and cheerful architecture, the image of The Orient still forms a contrast with the rest of the district. Neither did Van Winden seem to mean anything like 'regional' or 'local' architecture. According to Van Winden, the search for a 'regional' identity deliberately ignored the renewal of tradition and focused instead on something like 'historical identity'. It was only reaffirmed and used to suppress a complex contemporary identity that was characterized as un-Dutch and perceived as threatening, according to Van Winden. According to him, artistry could overcome the opposition between 'global' and 'local' and thus offer a new perspective to the fragmented society. These views closely matched Duivesteijn's words for the *Campaign.*

However, it seems that Van Winden could not accept the reality of a heterogeneous world and therefore had to create one ideal vision. With The Orient, WAM and the client ERA Contour focused on a single visual language with specific plant and animal motifs, aimed at the Hindustani target group, which is only part of the population of the multicultural Transvaalkwartier. Many people, including Hindustanis, might have wondered for whom this ornamentation was intended. The ideal of social engineering—everyone is different, but the atmosphere and character of the neighborhood create unity—appeared to have been abandoned in favor of one specific target group.

The question is, of course, whether The Hague's 'local architecture' and 'historical identity' can be so easily dismissed as regionally specific. The Hague has a long tradition of heterogeneous architecture, combining motifs from all corners of the world with local architecture. For example, the Sri Wedari (Malay for 'heavenly garden') building from the late nineteenth century on the corner of Sweelinckplein and Banstraat, combined East Indian Romanticism with Dutch Neo-Renaissance. Its Frisian architect Klaas Molenaar won a competition for facades in Duinoord, with greats such as Cuypers and Gugel on the jury. He elegantly combined details from various Dutch cities during the Golden Age with East Indian motifs. Thus, he had created a truly heterogeneous residential palace, a fairytale-like architecture with deep layering, a building that both East Indian returnees and the reserved inhabitants of The Hague were proud of. Fellow fin de siècle architect De Wolf also liked fusion in his beautiful shops in the city center. In many nineteenth-century neighborhoods, 'global' and 'local' aspects can be identified in the buildings. Today, Sweelinckplein is the pearl of The Hague, and in the declaration of the Deltametropolis at the end of the nineties, it was even established that it was iconic for the identity of The Hague. Fusion: so typical of The Hague.

The Kessler Foundation

At the end of 2011, the Kessler Foundation for the homeless inaugurated its new building on De la Reyweg in Transvaalkwartier (Oorschot, 2011). At the beginning of the twentieth century, citizens of The Hague founded the Vereeniging Tehuis voor Onbehuisden (Association Home for the Unhoused). The aim of this association was to provide temporary shelter for homeless individuals and discharged prisoners and to prepare them for their return to civilian life. After a generous donation from the wealthy oil trader D.A.J. Kessler, the homeless shelter was able to erect a new building on the De la Reyweg in 1923. That building was due for replacement in 2009.

This new, strikingly colorful and richly detailed building was designed by Jos van Eldonk of the architectural firm Soeters van Eldonk. The building exudes wealth but was realized neatly within budget. It was the residents of the Kessler Foundation themselves who chose this design, according to Van Eldonk. The homeless were presented with four different models and unanimously opted for the palace model. The architect underlined that this building gave the homeless of The Hague a sense of self-worth, while it was also based on the brick architecture of the interbellum.

The municipality wanted the new building to fit in with the image, atmosphere, and character of Transvaalkwartier. The distinct appearance of the new building must therefore have been a thorn in the side of supervisors Jeroen Geurst and Endry van Velzen of the Aesthetic Committee. According to Van Eldonk, it took a long struggle with the Aesthetic Committee and Maarten Schmitt to realize the palace-like building. It was felt that the building should fit better into its surroundings, but that was problematic from the start. After all, it was not easy to determine one unified image of Transvaalkwartier. This district had once started in a poor revolutionary architectural style with a faint hint of Dutch Neo-Renaissance. The first urban planner, Lindo, and architect, Van Liefland, corrected the urban plan during the layout: diagonals and squares were added, and houses were given front gardens. Between 1915 and 1925, the first housing blocks were built in the immediate vicinity of the Kessler Foundation, featuring the characteristic portico houses, four stories high in sober masonry, with flat roofs and substantial overhangs.

Occasionally, beautiful buildings appeared as visual anchor points in the neighborhood, such as the oriental-looking Julianakerk (1924-26) by the architect Van Hoogevest and the public bathhouse (1925) by the

Grote Marktstraat with a new urban interior designed by Lana DuCroq
of the office DuCroq van Zutphen architecten.
Photo from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

architect Schadee in the style of the New The Hague School. The image, atmosphere, and character of Transvaalkwartier show a transition from revolutionary construction to collectivization construction from the interbellum onward. Van Eldonk's building is full of references, for example, to the fifteenth-century Hôtel-Dieu hospital in Beaune with its colorful roofs and staggered dormer windows. The gable of the central part with the entrance was taken from the old building, thus acquiring its characteristic roof shape. The architects also adopted the idea of a nameplate with the words 'Kessler Foundation, made of decorative concrete. Furthermore, the red brickwork of the building can be found throughout Transvaalkwartier, and the gutter height matches that of the other buildings on De la Reyweg. These characteristics were imposed by the supervisor.

Perhaps the green and yellow roof tiles were influenced by supporters of The Hague's football club ADO, while the architect added the red himself. The palace appears symmetrical from the street, but is not when examined closely. It roughly consists of five parts, in the same way palaces from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were composed: the main building in the middle with the entrance, two wings to the side, and two connecting structures in between. All the components differ slightly from each other.

Residents of The Hague are pleased with this striking palace in Transvaalkwartier. The idea that someone born for a dime will never become a quarter was certainly contradicted as far as architecture is concerned. Still, passing visitors might think this building has more to do with the reassuring yet adventurous and cheerful architecture of Walt Disney than with providing reception, guidance, and reintegration into society for those in need.

Downtown Beatrixkwartier

Between 1999 and 2008, The Hague gave shape to the ideal of The Hague New Center, which initially started with the ideas of the Compact City and later became part of a broader framework with the organization Deltametropolis. In the high-performance book by the municipal, *The Hague/2004 Visions & Projects*, Beatrixkwartier was presented as a real downtown and business district. Joan Busquets' 1999 *Master Plan for Beatrixkwartier* brought coherence to this fragmented area (Gemeente Den Haag, 2004).

In 2012, parts of this metropolitan ensemble were still under construction. The 18-hectare planning area was located on both sides of Prinses Beatrixlaan (parallel to Utrechtsebaan) and was given a metropolitan scale that was unprecedented in The Hague, but a typical The Hague appearance and atmosphere due to the brick architecture and the careful design. All elements of area development from the 1990s could be found in this ensemble: integrated area development and public-private partnerships, strong direction by the municipality, high-quality public transport with a station that dominated the urban space as an icon, mixed functions such as working and living, an urban atmosphere with brick architecture, and very careful and rich detailing of the urban space that forged all the buildings into a cohesive whole.

In this area Beatrixkwartier with the street Beatrixlaan, there were still four CIAM buildings of exceptional quality from the 1970s and 1980s: The Green Tower at no. 23 (1985, architects Van Gool, De Bruijn, and Peereboom Voller), The Silver Tower at no. 15 (1959-67, architects Oyevaar, Stolle, and Van Gool), the Siemens Building at no. 26 (1972-74, architects Schutte, Beljaard), and the Royal Conservatoire at Juliana van Stolberglaan 1 (1974-80, architect Waterman).

The first development within the new ensemble was the Center Court by the Hague architectural firm KOW (1999-2003), commissioned by real estate developer Provast. The plan initially had a kind of blob shape, but after various discussions with the Aesthetic Committee, was molded into a building reminiscent of Chicago around 1900. Offices and homes were combined in a complex with three patios. The enormous Prinsenhof building complex (1999-2006) for The Hague World Trade Center was designed for BPF Bouwinvest by three architectural firms, with Kees Rijnboutt acting as the coordinating architect. Atelier PRO designed the offices and the hotel on Prinses Beatrixlaan, Rijnboutt Van der Vossen Rijnboutt designed the three residential towers behind it, and Kraaijvanger-Urbis designed the tallest office building at the head of the lot (Vermeulen, 2006). This building complex housed offices, apartments, a hotel, and numerous urban functions, all of which were accessed from the streets and several patios. These patios are semi-public, covered urban spaces that form the transition between the street and its various functions.

Mario Botta Architetto was initially supposed to build the Monarch between Utrechtsebaan and Prinses Beatrixlaan, consisting of three enormous brick building masses of 74 meters high, but its development was halted. Instead, in the new millennium, KCAP provided a new climate façade for one of the 1970s building. The most iconic building became the 'fishnet stocking', that is, the RandstadRail station Prinses Beatrixlaan by the architects Zwarts & Jansma from 2004. It floats several meters above street level and winds like a snake between the enormous brick building masses. The urban space was designed by Joan Busquets, who extended the space between buildings so that all buildings were, as it were, placed on a silver platter. The urban ensemble of huge brick buildings with patios, Busquets' design, and the 'fishnet stocking' were forged into a powerful and distinctive image. The ideal of the Compact City and later the Deltametropolis took shape in Beatrixkwartier in The Hague. It even turns out to be a popular backdrop for many films and TV series.

The Old Center of The Hague: A Festive Return to the Old

With the restructuring of Dagelijkse Groenmarkt square (1995-1999) and De Haagse Bluf (1999-2001), the old center received an enormous boost. Several of the architect Zanstra's buildings were demolished or stripped of their facades, and an entirely new urban ensemble was erected during this period. The client was The Hague-based developer MAB Development Group BV, owned by entrepreneur Ton Meijer.

The most eye-catching building was De Snoeptrommel (Candy Jar)

Urban ensemble of the Burgemeester De Monchyplein by Ricardo Bofill from 1986-1989.
Ricardo Bofill.
The buildings were designed by several young local architects under guidance of Bofill.
Photo from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

by John Outram Associates (1995-1999), which was built on the site of Zanstra's old council chamber. It was a colorful and, according to some, hysterical-looking building full of historical references. Furthermore, the historic office building by the architect Berlage from 1895 was restored (1999-2003), and the office building De Drie Hoekjes (The Three Corners) by Zanstra was thoroughly renovated by Vera Yanovshtchinsky Architects (1999-2003). Gunnar Daan (1999-2002) added another residential block, Casa Uccellini, a strange anti-urban building that, with its colors and shapes, seemed more fitting for the polder. Many additional parking spaces were also created under buildings in the city.

Geste Group, led by The Hague entrepreneur René Stevens, was also active in this historic part of the city. Many old buildings were bought and renovated, with the ground floor reserved for shops and the upper floors for apartments. De Haagse Bluf (1999-2001) was developed on the site of a passage from the 1970s, the Passadena. Between 1999 and 2001, the new design by architect Pim Hienkens from Delft sparked long discussions in the Aesthetics Committee about how far architects should go with historic construction. Several historic facades from The Hague were recreated here against an opaque glass wall. Also by Geste Group is the nearby Baljurk (Ball Gown) by architect Eric Vreedenburg of Archipel Designers. In this project, the actual facade was concealed with a translucent facade like a veil, making it a unique The Hague-like structure.

These projects demonstrate a completely different approach to dealing with the city. This did not always mean a literal imitation of the old city, but rather a flirtation with the architecture and images of the existing city, embracing its fine-grained nature and restoring its intricate urban spaces. The ideas of Stadtreparatur in the old town took shape, and the modern CIAM buildings by Zanstra disappeared from the cityscape. Project urbanism became necessary as existing buildings were constantly being replaced or transformed. Yet, there was a crystal-clear coherence in distinct architecture and careful public space, as described in A *Healthy Core.*

10.6
The Hague's Vinex Neighborhoods

Vinex Suburbanization

After years, The Hague once again got real new housing estates in the meadows. These districts were the result of the Fourth Spatial Planning Memorandum Supplement (Vinex) published in 1992. Between 1996 and 2013, new neighborhoods were laid out at three locations outside the city that would later become part of The Hague: Ypenburg, Wateringse Veld, and Leidschenveen. Wateringse Veld was annexed to The Hague in 1994. It was not until the law on border adjustment came into effect in 2002 that the districts of Ypenburg and Leidschenveen were added to the municipality of The Hague. The entire region of The Hague was given six Vinex locations.

The diversity and stratification that can be found in the city with the historic urban ensembles seems to have been directly copied to these new locations with an integrated area development in which municipalities, housing associations, banks, real estate companies, and contractors worked together in unison. On the one hand, the urban plans were set up according to the rules of New Urbanism. On the other hand, the sub-plans show a wide variety of building typologies—sometimes in traditional architecture, as favored by orthodox followers of New Urbanism, sometimes in a liberal interpretation of architectural history, and sometimes conceptually, such as the architect MVDRV in Ypenburg.

In The Hague's variant of New Urbanism, traditional architecture was not always central (Ibelings, 1988; Ibelings & Van Rossem, 2009). All the knowledge and experience that urban planners and architects had gained in the existing city were used to give these new neighborhoods the urbanity and atmosphere that were so important for New Urbanism. An important starting point was the reduction of car traffic and the use of rail connections such as the tram. Therefore, the Vinex locations in The Hague became 'garden cities' in the vicinity of the mother city rather than independent garden cities. Many Vinex locations referred to the garden city character of the urban ensembles from the 1920s and 1930s, which were much praised by estate agents. In doing so, advising brokers were more likely to think of Marlot than of Spoorwijk or Duindorp. Since the cul-de-sac districts of the 1970s around Loosduinen, there had not been a major urban expansion in The Hague. For The Hague, this was an opportunity to present itself with attractive urban ensembles. The Department of Urban Development presented the new neighborhoods in a colorful way in the chic book *The Hague/2004 Visions & Projects* (Gemeente Den Haag, 2004) and published the sub-plans in various colorful brochures (Venema, 2000; Freijser et al., 2006).

The agreement with the government was that 70% of homes would be owner-occupied or private rental homes, while 30% were social rental homes that could be sold after several years. However, the municipality indicated in a 2015 district report that approximately

Urban ensemble of the Burgemeester De Monchyplein by Ricardo Bofill from 1986-1989.
Ricardo Bofill.
The buildings were designed by several young local architects under guidance of Bofill.
Photo’s from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

25-26% social rental homes had been built and between 54 and 59% owner-occupied homes had been built. The rest were more expensive rental properties. The many single-family homes led to a low density of homes per hectare in most plans. The minimum density was set by the government at 30 homes per hectare.

53,810 New Homes in Haaglanden

Wateringse Veld, developed between 1996 and 2011, consisted of 6,353 homes with a density of 26 homes per hectare and about 11,270 inhabitants. The design was by urban designer Peter Verschuren, who until 1996 had worked at the Department of Urban Development, and then as supervisor and urban planner for the landscape agency Wissing. The client was Ontwikkelingscombinatie (Development Combination) Wateringse Veld.

Ypenburg district, developed between 1996 and 2013, had 10,786 homes with a density of 24 homes per hectare and about 30,000 inhabitants. The design was by Palmboom & Van den Bout with Els Bet from the Department of Urban Development, and the client was a public-private partnership, the Samenwerkingsverband Ypenburg, a collaboration of the municipalities of The Hague, Nootdorp, Pijnacker, and Rijswijk.

Leidschenveen was developed between 1998 and 2010. The district had 7,494 houses with a density of 26 homes per hectare and about 20,000 inhabitants. The design was by SVP Architectuur en Stedenbouw and BGSV-Bureau voor Stedebouw. The client was development company Ontwikkelingsbedrijf Leidschenveen, a collaboration of AM, BAM Vastgoed, Bouwproject Leizo, Rabo Bouwfonds, and the municipality of The Hague.

Additionally, approximately 7,000 homes were built at Vinex locations near Zoetermeer-Oost, approximately 1,500 homes at Pijnacker-Zuid, and approximately 4,000 homes at Delfgauw. In the end, the expansion areas added 33,000 homes, and the infills in the existing city added another 9,000 homes. Thus, The Hague gained 42,000 homes. A target of 42,500 homes was calculated for the entire Haaglanden urban region, together with the inner-city locations, and eventually, 53,810 homes were built. With the Vinex locations, The Hague suddenly gained many families with children. After 2000, the population began to increase in size (Wils & Co, bulletin no. 9, 1995; Venema, 2000; Priemus, 2006; Freijser et al., 2006; Boeijenga & Mensink 2008).

Integral Area Development

The Vinex locations involved integrated area development with a public-private partnership construction for each location, including a private equity firm in which the municipality, real estate developers, and financiers were represented. Ypenburg was divided into sub-plans. For each sub-plan, the project office asked a number of real estate developers to draw up a plan with their own architects and to make a land offer. In Ypenburg, the land bid (49%), the quality of the plan (49%), and the vote of the alderman (2%) played a role.

The design of the urban spaces and the buildings were carefully coordinated. For each urban ensemble in Ypenburg, one authoritative architect/urban planner was appointed as supervisor by the real estate developer, and several architects worked out the plans. The supervisor brought unity to the buildings and the architects' diversity. As a result, the urban ensembles were given a distinct image. The supervisor drew up an aesthetic plan in advance, which was tested by the municipality Aesthetic Committee. In this way, real estate developers all received their own sub-plans. In the other two Vinex neighborhoods, an architect/urban planner was selected after a selection procedure with a sketch design. While estate agents had already determined what was best for the sale of the project developers at that time, architects and urban planners in The Hague debated at length about the image of the sub-plans (Wils & Co, bulletin no. 9, 1995).

Characteristics of Urban Planning and Buildings

At the scale level of the neighborhoods, the three Vinex locations mainly worked within the framework of existing infrastructure and cultural landscape elements. The directions of the underlying pattern in the landscape were adhered to but otherwise thoroughly modified. Old waterways, ditches, roads, and quays were restructured. Within this framework, the different densities and atmospheres of the sub-plans were shaped. The urban planner Maurits de Hoog argued: "Anchoring the new development on the existing structures in the landscape has become a magic formula in which the plan legitimizes itself with a great sensitivity towards the landscape" (Wils & Co, bulletin no. 10, 1995-1996). This starting point was comparable to the development of a neighborhood such as Mariahoeve in the 1950s; Frits van der Sluijs had also experimented with the underlying landscape and the modern urban interpretation.

The three Vinex locations were also each given a powerful spatial structural support, sometimes out of necessity. Ypenburg is predominantly a contextual plan based on the old airfield in this location, with its runway and the woods that surrounded it. The runway was rerouted and used as a wide-open strip in the neighborhood called Rijswijkse Landingslaan. Leidschenveen is located in the corner between the crossing of two motorways and intersected by railway lines. As a result, the floor plan strongly resembles the articulated and divided districts of the post-war reconstruction according to the neighborhood unit concept: neighborhoods as islands with wide green strips in between. However, not all sub-plans are strictly uniform. An important feature of Leidschenveen is the old Veenkade from Nootdorp to Leidschenveen and into the polders. Along this road, original buildings and farms from around 1900 were retained. Wateringse Veld was given a central axis that connects to the neighboring Morgenstond. This district refers to the original American New Urbanism in terms of urban planning. The architecture is not traditional but above all shows diversity.

There are similarities at the scale level of the neighborhood and at the scale level of the sub-plans, but the major differences at Ypenburg are particularly striking. The typology of the residential buildings refers

The new Haagse Passage Grote Marktstraat by the architect Bernard Tschumi.
Photo's from 2014 by Dick Valentijn, Dienst Stedelijke Ontwikkeling.
Collection HGA 001316999.

to suburban neighborhoods from the interbellum and the post-war period. There are few direct references, but rather a great number of elements inspired by earlier periods. Style elements from different periods are often used interchangeably.

The double urban blocks from the interbellum in The Hague appeared in all three Vinex locations in numerous ways. Dudok's semi-detached urban blocks also appeared in numerous variations, mostly as single-family homes. Furthermore, there are urban villas, linear urban blocks, and towers. Only the cul-de-sac district allotment from the seventies is missing. Old urban planning and architectural structures, which the urban planners and architects had come to know and appreciate while working in the existing city, found their way to the suburbs. Wateringse Veld and Leidschenveen are more homogeneous in architecture and have less differentiation.

While Leidschenveen and Wateringse Veld were labeled as 'large', Ypenburg (just like IJburg in Amsterdam) belonged to the category of 'very large', and was seen as a new unit with urban characteristics within the city region, such as high-rise buildings. At Ypenburg, there was a wide variety of urban typologies and a 'center-urban living environment' with a mix of functions, including living, working, and recreation (Priemus, 2006). The diversity of the chosen identity for Ypenburg is particularly striking. 'Forest,', 'water', 'history', etc. are all next to each other along the runway, a pastiche of identities reminiscent of the Housing Festival on Dedemsvaartweg. The design shows heterogeneity rather than a clear focus. Priemus recognized almost all architectural movements in Ypenburg. Many architects and urban planners from The Hague saw in this directed architectural hodgepodge the distinct character of The Hague: a liberal variant of orthodox New Urbanism.

Wateringse Veld

The urban planner Peter Verschuren, who, together with architect Peter Drijver from The Hague, is the contact person for the Council for European Urbanism (CEU) in the Netherlands, worked on Wateringse Veld from 1994 to 1996 as chief designer of Department of Spatial Planning and Economic Development, where he was involved in De Resident, among other projects. From 1996, he worked as an urban planner and supervisor at the Wissing office on Wateringse Veld, commissioned by the Development Combination Wateringse Veld.

He presented the plan at the inaugural meeting of the CEU in Brussels in 2002. This introduced the American variant of New Urbanism with a predilection for traditional building. According to Verschuren, there were positive reactions to the urban development plan, but disapproving reactions to the architecture of the first neighborhoods because they were too contemporary in design. This immediately touched on an essential point. According to Verschuren, the adherents of New Urbanism were not only concerned with urban planning but also with architecture that had to be traditional or at least show the characteristics of tradition.

Verschuren had great sympathy for this style of architecture. He stated: "It was clear that Wateringse Veld had many characteristics of traditional urban planning: closed urban blocks with a clear private side and a clear public side, a traditional structure of the street pattern, and the presence of many parks and squares that stimulate 'community' formation. Accents on sight lines and the construction of a denser center with facilities and public transport, a good slow-traffic network, and a reduction to the outskirts with less dense buildings (the 'transect') were also typical New Urbanism aspects" (Verschuren, personal communication, 10-1-2014). According to Verschuren, there was too little enthusiasm at the municipality for real traditional architecture; rather, the preference was for a contemporary interpretation of historic architecture. For example, Parkbuurt-Oosteinde offered vague references to Brandes and Dudok.

About the further development, he argued: "When I proposed a gatehouse with a classical tower for the entrance to the low square in the second neighborhood, Lage Veld, I immediately met with resistance: it has to be 'contemporary'. Always a veiled term that expressed that you had to go along with the fashions rendered by the architects-avant-garde in the architecture magazines. Nevertheless, with offices such as Mulleners and Mulleners in the Zonneveld neighborhood, they also managed to create nice hybrid architecture (in their case, soberly traditional with a few contemporary touches). But it wasn't until after 2010 that it was possible to achieve a truly traditional image with the completion of Parkbuurt Oosteinde-noord and Binnentuinen." Regarding architecture, Verschuren concluded that: "In general, Wateringse Veld does not represent the New Urbanism movement in its architecture." In the urban development plans for Wateringse Veld, the various aspects of New Urbanism have been implemented.

Ypenburg

Ypenburg was designed in terms of urban and landscape by Frits Palmboom and Van den Bout, together with Els Bet of the municipality of The Hague, between 1994-2013 (Venema, 2000; Freijser et al., 2006). Palmboom provided a detailed explanation of the transformation of the cultural landscape from the military airfield with its runway and dense forests around it, intended to obscure views of military activities, into the current residential area. Anecdotal elements were magnified and even relocated to serve as structural supports, such as the runway of the old Ypenburg airfield. The control tower and the main building are preserved as reminders of the intense fighting during the beginning of the Second World War.

In Ypenburg, the various sub-plans each had their own character: from open buildings on the edges (Boswijk) to highly urban buildings in the center. In between, the sub-plans were also articulated in terms of height and density of buildings. Subplan 6 by the urban planners West 8 and the center by architect Rapp + Rapp are considered the most successful urban ensembles by Palmboom (Freijser et al., 2006). Because each sub-plan within the Ypenburg district was tendered to a combination of developer and architect, the sub-plans developed strong individual characters.

Design sketch Wateringse Veld, the Lage Veld neighborhood from 1996 by Peter Verschuren and the Urban Development Department of the Municipality of The Hague. The Vinex district where, inspired by the relationship between buildings and urban spaces—the 'Beautiful Unity'—and the prinicples of the New Urbanism would become a defining principle of urban planning in the Wateringse Veld.
Collection Peter Verschuren. Copyright by Peter Verschuren, nu further use allowed.

Ypenburg's sub-plan 5 was won by Geurst & Schulze architects together with AM-Wonen (the author of this book was involved as an architect in sub-plans 5 and 18, and in the sports hall near Bosweide for Geurst & Schulze architects). Sub-plan 5 was designed with houses grouped in blocks of 6 to 12 units. The residential buildings were distributed throughout the sub-plan. Under the supervision of Geurst & Schulze, various architects worked on the houses in different locations within the sub-plan, creating both a great variety and coherence.

The Woonkubus organization (a combination of The Hague housing associations together with lessor Amvest) had developed a housing program for Ypenburg with requirements for minimum usable area, number of rooms, and maximum building volume, which were related to the building budget. This resulted in standardized house plans: typical single-family homes and typical three-room apartments. Occasionally, a rebellious architect managed to deviate from this programmatic pattern. The large variation in facades increased the visual heterogeneity in the sub-plans. The sub-plans also differed from each other in character. For example, sub-plan 6 in Ypenburg had a completely different atmosphere than sub-plan 5, reminiscent of the fin de siècle districts of The Hague, albeit with a standard home floor plan for all houses.

10.7 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the repair of the city after the conflicts of the decades before. The damage caused in the 1960s and 1970s had to be undone through architecture that matched the surrounding residential neighborhoods. During this period, the suburban Vinex districts Wateringse Veld, Ypenburg, and Leidschenveen were developed. Inner-city Vinex locations such as Spoorwijk, Duindorp, Transvaalkwartier, and Rivierenbuurt were restructured and renewed. The population began to grow rapidly once again.

In 2004, The Hague looked very different from 1990. Europe was now an economic space and new residents from Europe trickled into the city. Housing corporations and market parties had built or were building numerous new attractive urban ensembles with public-private partnerships constructions. During his term of office from 1996 to 2008, mayor Wim Deetman was busy bringing international institutions to The Hague. This international vision brought The Hague new meaning and, above all, many new residents.

Wateringse Veld from 2011 by Wissing Stedebouw en Ruimtelijke Vormgeving. Collection Peter Verschuren. Copyright by Peter Verschuren, nu further use allowed.

Wateringse Veld, the Wateringse Binnentuinen neighborhood from 2003 by Peter Verschuren, Katrien Overmeire and Wissing Stedebouw en Ruimtelijke Vormgeving. Collection Peter Verschuren. Copyright by Peter Verschuren, nu further use allowed.

Wateringse Veld, the Wateringse Binnentuinen neighborhood from 2003 by Peter Verschuren, Ingrid Koenen and Wissing Stedebouw en Ruimtelijke Vormgeving. Collection Peter Verschuren.
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11
CITYSCAPE OF GLOBALIZATION: THE HAGUE, LEGAL CAPITAL OF THE WORLD 2005–2010

"The Hague is an internationally leading city of peace and justice. The position of The Hague is comparable to that of cities such as Vienna and Geneva. The establishment of international institutions and companies in The Hague has greatly increased the importance of the international sector for employment, education, and culture. Because of its international appeal and positive effects on employment, we want to further strengthen this position in the coming years. The state and the municipality have a common interest here. The international city of The Hague deserves an attractive, exciting, and urban climate. At the same time, there are more and more residents of The Hague who have their roots abroad. The Hague is therefore an international city of and for everyone. We want to bring the two international worlds of The Hague together"
(Gemeente Den Haag, 2006: 7).

"Many residents of The Hague experience a distance from 'the international' in their city. We want to bring the people of The Hague and the international organizations and community closer together. … An international city needs entrances that create a first impression of a city of allure. It is our aim to increase the urban allure in the vicinity of The Hague Central and HS stations and the major access roads"
(Gemeente Den Haag, 2010: 33).

Left, the cover of the structure vision by the municipality of The Hague.
Source: municipality of The Hague, *Structuurvisie Den Haag 2020, Wéreldstad aan Zee* (2005): 1.

11.1
Introduction

In the period 2000 to 2010, with the help of mayor Deetman, The Hague found its niche as the "legal capital of the world". Developments within The Hague's New Urbanism slowly faded into the background and the existing city, and its restoration no longer remained a priority. The cityscape of the Compact City was not completely gone, but took on a new meaning, with the globalization of cities taking off. With the arrival of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in 2002, The Hague became the second official seat of the United Nations. Many international and European legal institutions subsequently established themselves in the city, including Eurojust and Europol.

In addition, construction activities and horticulture in the Westland region attracted many new residents from Middle and Eastern Europe. Since 2007, citizens from Poland, Hungary, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Slovenia have been free to work in the Netherlands without a permit. From 2014, this was extended to citizens of Romania and Bulgaria. Furthermore, the Erasmus Exchange program of 2007-2013 attracted many European students to study abroad at Delft University of Technology, Leiden University, the Royal Conservatoire and various Universities of Applied Sciences.

As a result, the composition of the population changed rapidly. The municipality predicted that the ratio between the number of Dutch residents (60%) and the number of residents from outside the Netherlands (40%) would reverse between 2002 and 2015. Tourism also boomed at an unprecedented rate: in 2009, 32.5 million people visited the city.

More than ever, architecture was a conscious part of the city marketing policy with which The Hague and the national government sharply portrayed the city within the world wide web of cities. The Hague became the face of a truly global city.

11.2
The Executive Decides: Globalization of The Hague

Concentration of Power in the Hands of Governing Parties

Since the Wet Dualisering Gemeentebestuur (Dualization of Municipal Administration Act) of 2002, aldermen are no longer part of the city council. Monism – were an aldermen was part of the council - was abandoned for dualism for the time being. Dualism means that the municipal council and the municipal executive (consisting of the mayor and aldermen) have been given clearly separated roles. The framework-setting and supervisory functions are now concentrated in the municipal council, while the municipal executive takes on the administrative functions, which gives the municipal executive a less political character.

The aim of the law was to revitalize the interest of citizens in politics. Too often, municipal politics and the city council had become internal party affairs. Now, aldermen are more detached from their own party. Increasingly, they no longer come from their own party branches, but from other municipalities or levels of government. As a result, the city is managed differently than when aldermen were still part of the local party faction. Aldermen have become a kind of super civil servants who run the city together with the mayor. However, coalition parties faithfully vote along with the proposals of the city council. As a result, the opposition in the council is louder than in previous years and many local political parties were established, which are not a branch of any national party.

In The Hague, the concentration of administrative power in the municipal executive consisting of with Labour Party (PvdA), Liberals (VVD) and Christian Democrats(CDA) between 2002 and 2006 immediately took shape when Deetman set course for the international city. These governing parties had been forming the executive since the war. A new generation of aldermen took office, such as Marnix Norder (PvdA alderman 2004-2014), Frits Huffnagel (VVD alderman 2006-2010) and Peter Smit (VVD alderman 2004-2014).

In the new millennium, it was striking how often the word 'international' appeared in the coalition agreements in The Hague (2006 and 2010), which were dominated by the PvdA and the VVD, in relation to the words 'local'. In 2006 there were no fewer than 46 mentions of 'international' and only two of 'local'. The financial crisis of 2008 had an impact on the coalition agreement of 2010; still, 'international' appeared 28 times, while 'local' remained stuck at two.

Administrators seemed to forget the existing city and its citizens and were strongly focused on the international profile of the city. The international city image that had shot up like a rocket between roughly 2002 and 2008 stalled between 2008 and 2010, and in 2010 it crashed down with equal force - only to rise too quickly again a few years later. The Hague became a real global city in this period; almost half of the population living there in this period was born outside the country's borders.

From Urban Structural Plan to Vision: World City by the Sea

A year before the 2006 elections, in June 2005, The Hague presented a new vision about the future for the first time in more than thirty-five years: Wéreldstad aan Zee: Structuurvisie Den Haag 2020 (World City by the Sea: Structural Vision for The Hague 2020) (Gemeente Den Haag, 2005). This time it was not a legally binding plan (Structuurplan), but a vision (Structuurvisie). In the twentieth century, not a single expansion or structural plan in The Hague had been accepted by the council: Lindo's expansion plan (1903), Berlage's expansion plan (1908), Dudok's urban structural plan (1949) and the 1970 urban structural plan, which critics called "CIAM's mausoleum" or "the Blue Monster", had never been approved.

The vision anticipated an amendment to the Wet Ruimtelijke Ordening (Spatial Planning Act) in 2008. From 1956 to 2008, optional urban structural plans were drawn up with a mandatory and legal character, but many municipalities did not make a structural plan at all, while after 2008 structural visions became mandatory for the entire municipality. The structural vision was not a classic "urban expansion plan" (as before 1956) or "urban structural plan" (1956-2008), but about a policy document aimed to mobilize supporters and to initiate an ongoing discussion on this theme in the city and the region. That is why the document was called an "urban structural vision" and an "urban structural plan", a legally loaded term in The Hague. With this ambitious vision, The Hague wanted to force a breakthrough in the mechanisms of urban development, moving from the project-based urbanism of the past to urban development based on a vision for the entire city.

As an implementation of this vision, Marnix Norder, alderman for Spatial Planning, Urban Development, Housing, and Monument Conservation, who took office in 2004, wanted to develop a series of sub-plans as master plans. All the international ambitions that were colorfully expressed in previous memorandums and on websites came together in World City by the Sea. Globalization and the shaping of the international city was a project that Norder took on personally, or rather took over from mayor Deetman. Norder had succeeded the resigned alderman Arend Hilhorst, who was unable to get the chaos at the service - made independent by the municipality - Woningbeheer (Residential Property Management) under control.

In 2008 the architect Hans Kuiper of the firm KOW succeeded the advisor of the municipality executives Schmitt. However, the position of urban planner, who mediates between politics and the Deltametropolis, was now limited to head of the urban planning department. Norder argued about the new interpretation of the position: "It's not the urban planner who decides, but the politicians. The Structural Vision 2020 would never have come about if I hadn't made myself strongly personified with it. The urban planner must work out plans that have been put forward by local politicians and therefore by the people of The Hague" (Beemster & Bekkering, 2009: 4). According to Norder, the structural vision was a product of the entire city and not of an individual urban planner, as in the time of Dudok and Berlage. The ambitions in the structural vision were mainly focused on the city's main sources of income: visitors and international institutions bringing in affluent expats to The Hague.

In his inaugural lecture as Professor of Urban Design City and Region at TU Delft on April 20, 2005, Joost Schrijnen argued about the old policy instrument of the urban structural plan: "The success of cities and regions is certainly partly determined by their strategic capacity, the potential to select projects and the organization of the corresponding funding. It won't work without a spatial strategy. Structural planning, supported strategy, continuous programming, financial underpinnings, good projects, and implementation are part of such a total approach. Where the link between these aspects is strong, the region is strong. There are many examples in the Netherlands. Amsterdam has a resounding tradition of urban structural planning and is constantly working on a strategic project portfolio from there. The same applies to Rotterdam, as evidenced by the successful riverside and center development. The Hague lacked urban and regional strength and mainly had a loose portfolio of projects, but now (after Berlage in 1908, after Dudok in 1949) it is catching up, thanks to the new structural vision that places it in the Zuidvleugel context [later formalized in Metropoolregion Roterdam The Hague], and claims its position" (Schrijnen, 2005: 55-56).

It was also important to note that the fifth national spatial policy document, Nota Ruimte (Spatial Memorandum) of 2006 announced a far-reaching decentralization by the Balkenende II cabinet under the motto: "decentralize if possible, centralize if necessary". In terms of planning, the emphasis shifted strongly from the central government to provinces and municipalities. With the Spatial Memorandum, local plans were given a strong financial boost. National funding was increased, and key projects were started for public transport hubs, including The Hague Central station. The Masterplan The Hague New Central (Gemeente Den Haag, 2003) was already in place.

Finally, in 2010, the minority cabinet Rutte I would even abolish the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning, and the Environment. In the meantime, a financial crisis had arisen in 2008, which caused construction activities to come to a standstill in the years that followed. All knowledge and institutions that had been built up over years were swept away with the argument that "the Netherlands was finished" and that annoying regulatory organization was not desirable.

The Hague Economic Corridor and The Hague New Center

The Hague New Center - originally the area around The Hague Central Station - starts in the old center with Grote Markt, Dagelijkse Groenmarkt, Rabbijn Maarsenplein and the Binnenhof. It runs via Spuiplein, Turfmarkt, Wijnhavenkwartier and De Resident to Central Station and the area around it, to Utrechtsebaan, parallel to Beatrixkwartier, up to Laan van NOI station. The city divides The Hague New Center into four areas: City Center, Wijnhaven, Nieuw Centraal and Beatrixkwartier. Of the 25 best office locations in the Netherlands in 2013, three are in The Hague New Center: Beatrixkwartier with

Above the map "Structuurvisie 2020" by the municipality of The Hague.
Source: municipality of The Hague, *Structuurvisie Den Haag 2020, Wéreldstad aan Zee* (2005): 44.

587,000 m2 in second place, Nieuw Centrum with 1,001,000 m2 in fifth place and City Center in eighteenth place with 438,000 m2. By way of comparison, Amsterdam is in first place, with Zuidas with 650,000 m2 and the Canal Ring in ninth place with 1,178,000. The first area in a city other than Amsterdam and The Hague is in sixth place (Jones Lang LaSalle, 2013).

In New Central, four projects became the center of attention: the public transport terminal The Hague Central station by Benthem and Crouwel, Leiden University College The Hague (LUC TH) by Wiel Arets, New Babylon by Meyer and Van Schooten and M by OMA. In the wake of The Hague New Center, the city center was also transformed into a hub of recreation, with Grote Marktstraat as its showpiece (Oorschot, 2012; 2013). In the Binnenstadplan (Inner City Plan) 2010-2020 (Gemeente Den Haag, 2010) and the many other memorandums and action plans, the municipality's policy was formulated. Especially in the new millennium, a building frenzy started, but disappointments occurred, such as M by OMA on the square in front of Central Station.

In shaping the international image of The Hague as an international city of peace and justice, the "Haagse Passage" or "economic corridor", as urban planners in The Hague called it, took center stage, because here the city's economy was concentrated. After 2010, this would be the only zone where investments were still made in the city: the wide zone from Prins Clausplein to Scheveningen, with the emphasis on The Hague New Center and Scheveningen with the international zone (World Forum). The clients in the economic corridor were the Government Buildings Agency (ministries, Supreme Court), international institutions (Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW), ICC, Europol, Eurojust), the Directorate-General for Public Works (Scheveningen Boulevard), the municipality (Spuiforum/ Amare) and various asset managers and banks that mainly focused on the shopping hub that arose on Grote Marktstraat and continued to invest after 2008. Urban ensembles of enormous size were built: the new Scheveningen Boulevard, the ICC, New Babylon, Wijnhaven with the government departments and a residential tower, and Spuiforum. In addition, many modest buildings were built, such as Europol, Eurojust, the Supreme Court and the new shopping palaces on Grote Marktstraat: the Nieuwe Passage shopping arcade, shopping and office building Sijthoff City, and shopping and housing complexes De Markies and Amadeus. These structures were completed in the years after 2010.

Meanwhile, because of the crisis, housing construction came to a virtual standstill and the urban spaces in the existing residential areas were hardly managed anymore. It was unclear what would happen, as no one ventured to make predictions and some still hoped for a sudden increase in the value of land and real estate. Most of the master plans for the opportunity zones, which were published in World City by the Sea, were only partially implemented.

Finally, in accordance with the Evaluatie Structuurvisie (Evaluation of the Structural Vision) of 2012, the following masterplans were adopted by the municipal council: Masterplan Erasmusveld-Leywegzone (2008); Masterplan Lijn 11-zone (2009); Nota van Uitgangspunten Internationale Zone (Memorandum of Principles for the International Zone, 2009); Masterplan Kijkduin (2009); Masterplan Scheveningen-kust (2010); Memorandum of Principles for the A4/Vlietzone; Inner City Plan 2010-2020 (2010), and Gebiedsaanpak (Area Plan) Binckhorst (2011).

Globalization of The Hague

In World City by the Sea, the international character of The Hague was firmly enhanced. High-rise buildings were seen as an essential ingredient for the metropolis. However, the densification argument for high-rise buildings seemed to have been abandoned, although many homes were added in residential towers of New Babylon near the station and De Kroon on the Turfmarkt. The municipality created a clear cityscape and used a well-thought-out marketing strategy to promote this. The English-language municipal website skylinecity.nl showing mainly shiny towers underlined this character and cityscape. The Hague wanted to be an attractive environment for ministries and international institutions. Numerous municipal organizations were set up to promote The Hague, such as the Bureau Internationale Zaken (International Affairs Office, BIZ), The Hague Hospitality Center (HHC) and Europa Direct Centrum. Under mayor Deetman and alderman Frits Huffnagel of City Marketing, The Hague was skillfully placed on the international market.

Of all the arguments that were put forward to legitimize high-rise buildings, the urge to profile The Hague as a city with an international character turned out to be the most persistent. Apparently, administrators believed that high-rise buildings elevated the status of a city. Whether this would allow them to distinguish themselves from other cities remains to be seen. The main reasons given for high-rise buildings were the city's ambitions as a (Delta)metropolis. It wanted to profile itself as a hub of decision-making, being the government seat, as an international city, as a comfortable place to live, and as a city by the sea. Within the region of Greater The Hague (Haaglanden), the city wanted to position itself as the regional center.

In 2009 the draft of Agenda voor de Haagse Verdichting (Agenda for The Hague Densification) (Gemeente Den Haag, 2009) was published. In this document, the high-rise program shifted from mainly offices back to apartments, as the office market had collapsed because of the crisis. With office towers in the city, population dilution had been brought about and now the administrators hoped to bring densification back by residential towers. In doing so, they tried to meet the needs of the growing population of the municipality. By this agenda, all previous visions on high-rise buildings were definitively replaced by one new document. This agenda was a thematic elaboration of the structural vision World City by the Sea, in which the international ambitions were emphasized—although the architects were already drawing before the memorandum was printed. De Kroon, New Babylon and other residential towers near Utrechtsebaan, and even in The Hague Southwest the Pharos tower in Morgenstond (2009, designed by Liesbeth van der Pol) were the most visible results.

Skyline of The Hague New Center.
Photo’s from 2020 by Leo Oorschot.

On July 3, 2008, Wéreldstaddag (World City Day) took place in The Hague: a conference on the future of The Hague for professionals from within and outside the municipality. The very name of the convention expressed a deep administrative desire to be a metropolis. The aim was to start a debate on the theme 'Back to the city, return of the city', that is, the new role of The Hague in a globalizing world. Alderman Norder emphasized the necessity of the theme: "If a city loses its inhabitants, it also loses users of public transport and facilities. And it's losing jobs. That is why it is essential to keep the people in the city, to bind them to the city. That is exactly the goal of The Hague Structural Vision 2020 World City by the Sea: to make The Hague a city where it is pleasant to live, work, and relax and where there are enough homes to continue to grow." New locations for high-rise buildings in the city were designated in World City by the Sea: "To this end, urban construction will take place, which means that the emphasis will be on apartments, space-intensive employment, a wide variety of living and working environments, a mix of functions and multiple land uses. The houses will appear on the coast, on the Vliet, on the edges of the greenery (Lozerlaan) and in the inner city in Binckhorst, Laakhavens and Transvaal" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2005: 7).

The same arguments were mentioned in this structural vision that also played a role in 1980; this was the reason that the city was developed inwards and upwards, based on ideas about the Compact City and the High-Rise Foundation, instead of outwards in empty locations or on artificial islands such as in Amsterdam. The arguments were the same all these years: the space within the municipal boundaries of The Hague was very limited, and the greenery and the old neighborhoods had to be spared in the new plans, as they determined the specific character of the city. However, because of the high parking standards for apartments, there was hardly any densification. Eventually, after 2010, more and more small apartments for students would be built, for which there was no longer a parking standard.

Interestingly, by World City Day, the forecast of the Deltametropolis had been revised downwards. In World City by the Sea, The Hague had aspired to grow from 470,000 to 515,000 inhabitants. To achieve this, 37,500 additional homes had to be built. These new residents had to be housed in high-rise buildings in various places in the city. In the report Wonen in Hoogbouw (Living in High-Rises) by Buck Consultants International, commissioned by the High-Rise Foundation and the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning, and the Environment, high-rise buildings were mainly cited as a means of densifying the city. It was unclear whether the many labor migrants who settled in The Hague with a very low income were supposed to live. The report also didn't say a word about the infrastructure (and the related costs) needed to make all those high-rise buildings accessible, while the financial crisis caused more and more developments to stagnate, and the city's financial situation became dire. Investors stayed away.

Multicultural, International, Monumental City of the Sea

In World City by the Sea, a vision of the future of The Hague was sketched; an image that, according to alderman Norder, was based on the ideas and views that live in the city and the region. The Hague had four trump cards: it is a multicultural city, an international city, a city by the sea, and a monumental residence.

The structural vision established that the upcoming building assignment would take place within the urban boundaries. Cooperation in the region seemed further away than ever. According to the memorandum, urban construction should emphasize apartments and high-rise buildings. Even though approximately 200,000 m2 of office space was already vacant in 2011, densification for residents became the major theme. The argument put forward was that the characteristic greenery could be spared by high-rise buildings: "The building assignment must be realized within the existing city. There will be urban construction, which means that the emphasis will be on apartments, space-intensive employment, a wide variety of living and working environments, a mix of functions and multiple land uses, the creative city" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2005: 10).

Norder argued in the structural vision that The Hague had the ambition to be an international city, preferably of the same caliber as the world cities of Vienna, Brussels, and Geneva. After all, The Hague was already the international city for peace and justice through the establishment of the ICC, Europol and Eurojust. The Hague intended to expand and propagate that international character even more, Norder argued, because the arrival of international companies and organizations is good for employment in The Hague, and therefore for the city. In addition, the city wanted to exploit the location by the sea much more. The coast attracts twenty million tourists every year. That should be many more, because tourism is a rich source of income for the city, and good for employment, Norder stressed. In the new millennium, The Hague's urban economy would rest on two pillars: the international institutions and the new residents it brought, and the tourists who visit the city.

The advent of international institutions, especially after 2002, brought employment in all forms: from administrators and lawyers to secretaries, security guards, and cleaners. In the Memorandum of Principles for the International Zone (2009), the municipality presented concrete figures on the expected contribution of internationalization to the economy of the city, based on a study by Ecorys (2005): "The international institutions in the region of The Hague employ around 12,500 people. About 8,700 of the employees come from abroad. The expenditure of the institutions and their staff also creates around 12,500 jobs (security, IT, cleaning, purchase of goods). This brings the total employment related to international organizations in The Hague to 25,000 jobs. It is estimated that the international business community in the region of The Hague consists of approximately 50,000 direct jobs and approximately 15,000 indirect jobs in support and supply services." Thus, the international institutions and companies directly or indirectly provide 90,000 jobs for the region, according to the memorandum. The Memorandum of Principles for the International Zone stated that: "The position of The Hague as a location for international institutions also means a lot to the city itself. The international character of the city is important for The Hague's economy. … The international image of The Hague also has significance

Beatrixkwartier with the "netkous" (fishnet stockings) by Zwarts & Jansma architecten; buildings of World Trade Center and Prinsenhof by atelier PRO architekts, Rijnboutt architect and Kraayenvanger architects; Urban interior designed by Joan Busquets.
Photo from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

for (international) companies in the city. After all, The Hague, as an international city, strengthens the image of the companies present here" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2009: 13- 14).

According to the 2009 Tourism Action Program, the second pillar of The Hague's urban economy was the 'international visitor'. For alderman Norder, the coastal zone was the flywheel that had to pull the rest of The Hague into the development, especially the international zone located right behind it.

The Hague turned out to be an attractive location for labor migrants from Central and Eastern Europe, who worked in greenhouse horticulture, and for expats who worked at the new international institutions. These immigrants, together with the many students who settled in The Hague, formed the newcomers in the city (Gemeente Den Haag, 2012). In 2012, nearly half of the population registered in The Hague was born outside the country's borders. However, this did not mean these people integrated into local society: population groups isolated themselves with like-minded people even more than before, rather than sharing something in common.

The ambitious plans launched in 2005 came to a premature, although temporary, end with the financial crisis. Yet The Hague had changed. In the year 2000, The Hague reached its population nadir with only 441,097 inhabitants. Prosperity and population dilution of residents had taken hold. After that, The Hague grew again. In the year 2010, The Hague had 489,271 inhabitants and in 2022 there were 553,417 inhabitants, according to the municipal statistics office. About the financial crisis of 2008, Norder argued: "You can't 'put away' a large area development for a while; it's now on a smaller scale, like postage stamps" (Beemster & Bekkering, 2009: 5).

11.3
The Hague New Center

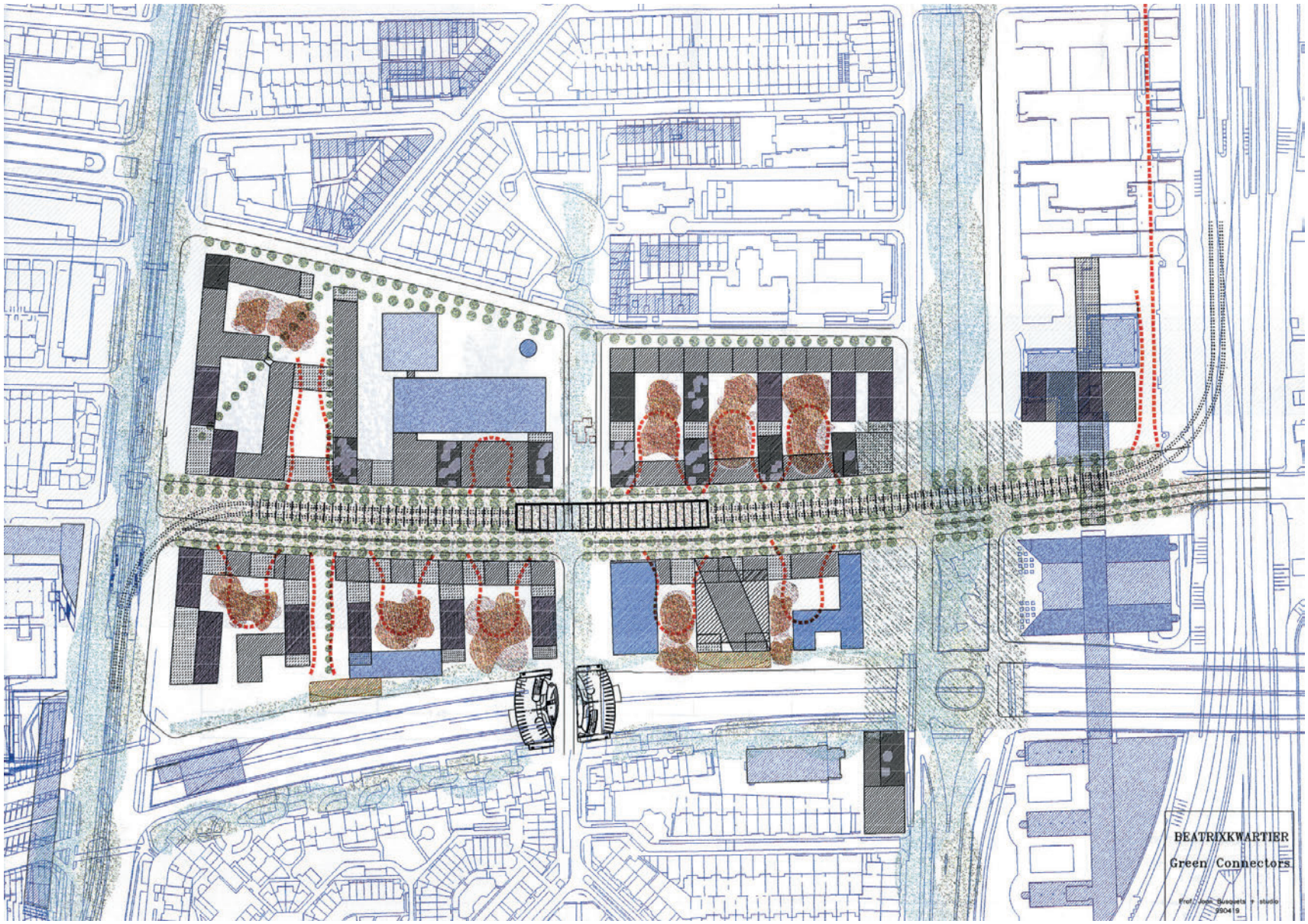
Krier's needle strategy created a convincing effect when seen from De Plaats with New Babylon, the two new departmental towers, and the residential tower on the spot where Weeber's Black Madonna had once stood. The towers between which the sky can be seen rise high above the Binnenhof. The architecture of this urban ensemble seems to be "postmodern" or "traditionalist" within the canals (Van Rossem, 1996; Ibelings & Van Rossem, 2009) and "super modern" or "Super Dutch" outside the canals (Ibelings, 1998; Lootsma, 2000). However, on closer inspection, all the buildings from this period turn out to be full of historical references, as the architects themselves mentioned. The Hague New Center is a collage of images from The Hague, Shanghai, Chicago, and Berlin.

This paragraph will describe the main developments in The Hague New Center. Some elements must be left out, such as the brickwork of Spuimarkt by Wilson that refers to the Municipal Museum, the Delft blue tiles on the New Passage by Tschumi, and the rust-proof storks on the new façade of Sijthoff City. However, the public transport terminal, M on the station square and the towers of Wijnhaven ensemble are discussed (Noordanus & Weststrate, 2001; Noordanus, 2003).

The Hague Central Station

With the public transport terminal designed by architects Benthem and Crouwel, Central Station underwent a transformation from a disorganized, dark hall to a modern palace of light (Oorschot, 2012; 2016). Trains, trams, buses, taxis, cyclists, and pedestrians meet at this transport hub. The expectation at the time of building was that the number of transport movements would increase sharply in the future. Construction started in 2011 and the new terminal was completed in 2014. The new station had four fronts, because the platforms were placed on the main route from Turfmarkt to Bezuidenhout and the Beatrixkwartier business district. The glass roof, measuring 120 by 96 meters at a height of 22 meters, makes the station hall the largest courtyard in the city, surpassing the city hall. Shops and other commercial functions make the public transport terminal a fully-fledged part of the city, a busy place from early in the morning until late at night. In fact, it is a cluster of buildings and restructurings with the new Anna van Buerenplein, designed by the municipality, around which the buildings are grouped. ProRail was the delegated client on behalf of the municipality and the public transport terminal.

New Babylon, was the largest building complex in The Hague New Center, with 335 apartments (53,000 m2), offices (55,000 m2), shops (18,000 m2), as well as 20,000 m2 of renovated offices, 1,251 parking spaces, and a hotel with 143 rooms. As early as 2003, the architect Roberto Meyer of the Amsterdam firm Meyer and Van Schooten Architects was asked to make a design for the renovation of the old Babylon shopping and office complex and to expand it considerably



Design urban space - green connectors - Beatrixlaan from 2006 by the Spanish-Catalan architect and urban planner Joan Busquets Grau.
Source: municipality of The Hague, archive atelier PRO architects.

with offices and homes. In the course of 2012, the complex was completed. Here, too, the combination of Fortress and the financier SNS Property Finance (together forming Babylon Den Haag Ltd.) carried out the project. Meyer designed a monolith-like plastic of glass and metal with an urban plinth, staggered in height between 20 and 50 meters, and on top of it two elegant slender residential towers of 100 and 140 meters. In the large plinth, a space was cut out in which a representation of ancient Babylon was placed as a geode of smoky quartz in a massive horizontally layered rock formation. This plinth was to be used as a vibrant contribution to the city, while new housing rose vertically in the towers high above the city. In addition to the horizontal layering, the architect added an abundance of X crosses and V-shaped legs. According to the architect, the horizontal lines and transparency refer to the old ministries on Turfmarkt, but without CIAM severity, but with a kind of contemporary playful Chinese facade architecture. Light and space were brought into the plinth by open courtyards, floating connections, and impressive voids. Inside and outside merge into one organic whole, according to the architect. In short, neither money nor effort were spared to make the urban outdoor and indoor space more pleasant. Meyer argued optimistically about his building: "Everything that we create as architects will survive us, so the built environment must be able to tell its own story." Perhaps the architects Lucas & Niemeijer (former ministries and Transitorium), Weeber (Black Madonna), Koolhaas, Van Dongen and Vermeulen (Dance and Music Theatre) had once thought the same when they delivered their buildings in The Hague. On February 1, 2013, mayor Jozias van Aartsen (VVD) opened New Babylon; the government became the owner of this huge urban ensemble.

The LUC TH by Wiel Arets, next to the public transport terminal on the Bezuidenhout side, was conceived and developed between 2008 and 2009. Construction started in 2011 and was completed in 2013. It consists of a modest tower with approx. 5,000m2 of university buildings, 1,400m2 of catering, services, and retail, 400 student rooms, together measuring approx. 17,000m2, and 960 parking spaces. The developer was Fortress, the financier was SNS Property Finance.

The M by Koolhaas

The M by Koolhaas of OMA, an impressive building, was to be the terminus of the tracks of The Hague Central Station and the highlight of The Hague New Center. It was planned to be placed on Koningin Julianaplein (KJ plein) on Malieveld. In 2010, the plan fell through due to the financial crisis, a fraudulent project developer and perhaps also due to the impracticability of the plan itself. Numerous articles have been published about this design in local newspapers such as Den Haag Centraal (19-2-2010, 26-2-2010; 16-4-2010, 20-8-2010, 27-8-2010). The office developer was Eurocommerce from Deventer, a company that developed branches with money from ING, Rabobank, and SNS and then sold them on to investment companies. Originally, it was a development in which, real estate companies Multi Vastgoed and NS Poort were also involved. However, Multi Vastgoed and NS Poort were unable to meet the timeline proposed by the municipality and withdrew from the KJ Plein CV development consortium that had been established in 2008.

In NRC newspaper (15-2-2010), alderman Norder called it a 'diamond for the city'. The building costs were estimated at 300 million euros and would have 179 apartments, 43,000 m2 of offices, and a parking facility for 6,000 bicycles. The municipality guaranteed to rent 12,500 m2 of office space for ten years, which amounted to approximately 10 million euros. On April 22, 2010, the city council approved the M by Rem Koolhaas.

In the council, the coalition parties were in favor (Labour Part, Liberals and Green Party), while the opposition parties were totally opposed, especially the extreme-right PVV (Party for Freedom), the SP (Socialist Party) and the local HSP (Haagse Stadspartij, The Hague City Party).

The building was mockingly called the 'M of Marnix', labeling it as a megalomaniac ego project. In particular, the money that the municipality itself put into the project by providing a rental guarantee was a stumbling block. It would be better to invest in the facilities for the city, according to the opposition. When Koolhaas cut off a piece of the design so that the building would fall within the building lines, it was called 'Venus de Milo'.

The building permit was not issued before July 1, 2010, because the constructors Boele & Van Eesteren and Ballast Nedam, who were also building New Babylon, had objected. As a result of this delay, The Hague missed out on 1.3 million of national subsidies that it had wanted to put into this project (De Volkskrant, 8-7-2010). In fact, Boele & Van Eesteren and Ballast Nedam did Eurocommerce a favor: in this way they were able to get out of the obligation to build this structurally difficult and therefore risky project. Finding a financier was no easy task either. Eurocommerce promised that it would match the lost 1.3 million, according to a letter from the municipal executive to the council on August 20, 2010. However, Eurocommerce started to impose further conditions on the municipality, such as a non-binding financing agreement. In the meantime, the municipality had already spent 2 million on planning costs and interest charges. In the letter from the college, a delay in the M project was announced. Eventually, the municipality ended negotiations with Eurocommerce in August 2010. After Eurocommerce was declared bankrupt on July 12, 2012, the banks seized 56 real estate projects that the developer had not yet sold to investment companies. An investigation into fraud followed: Eurocommerce had allegedly borrowed tens of millions of euros from the banks based on false data. Perhaps Boele & Van Eesteren and Ballast Nedam had alsodone the citizens of The Hague a favor, by saving the city from disaster. On the other hand, with such an icon, it would have been clear to the whole world where the rails stop: in The Hague.

The Ministry and Residential Towers of Wijnhaven

In the new millennium, three imposing towers were erected on Turfmarkt near Wijnhaven (where Weeber's Black Madonna had once stood and, before that, Wijnhaven harbor had been located), two ministry towers by Prof. Hans Kollhoff Architekten and one residential

Beatrixkwartier with the “netkous” (fishnet stockings) by Zwarts & Jansma architecten; buildings of World Trade Center and Prinsenhof by atelier PRO architekts, Rijnboutt architect and Kraayenvanger architects; Urban interior designed by Joan Busquets.
Photo from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

tower by Rapp + Rapp architects, this time not in an Asian style like New Babylon but a bit nineteenth century architecture of Chicago or Berlin (Oorschot, 2012). Out of seven visions, this ensemble was chosen in 2002 by the client, the ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning, and the Environment and the Government Buildings Agency. The seven architects who were invited to design new buildings for the ministry of Justice and the ministry of the Interior were Neutelings Riedijk, Mecanoo, Kollhoff, SHL, Bolles & Wilson, NBBJ and Foster & Partners. The client of the residential tower was Wijnhavenkwartier Ontwikkeling CV: Haag Wonen Ontwikkeling BV, together with MAB. Richard Meier had previously done a study for this area with eleven towers, but there was no support for this in the city. In October 2002, an assessment committee, including Chief Government Architect Jo Coenen, alderman Arend Hilhorst and urban planner Maarten Schmitt, came to a unanimous conclusion: "Kollhoff's plan can be characterized as a disciplined play of towers on an urban footing. The most important starting point of the vision is to integrate the block into the urban fabric of The Hague in a natural way. For Kollhoff, it is not about making free-standing objects in the city, but about connecting with the ordinary city. The plan includes a proposal for the entire block, including the residential tower."

In 2006, the construction procedure for the ensemble began. Construction in Wijnhavenkwartier began with the dramatic demolition of Weeber's Black Madonna in 2007; construction of the towers started in 2008. At the end of 2012, the enormous urban ensemble was completed.

The architects Krier, Kollhoff, and Rapp had their roots in Berlin. In the 1990s, Krier had had a major influence on the high-rise and architectural policy of Noordanus and Rijnboutt in The Hague. In The Hague, architecture had developed in parallel with that in Berlin since the IBA in 1984: from multi-colored postmodernist to European New Urbanism. In the 1990s, with the City Center Plan by Stimmann (see 10.3.1), Berlin had placed a strong emphasis on a 'critical reconstruction' of the city and its new center, Potsdamer Platz, in which existing typologies and urban spaces, but especially old European cityscapes, became the reference for inner-city transformations. With the Berlin development, in which architects such as Kleihues, Krier, and Kollhoff played an important role, the European city had begun its renaissance in terms of its appearance. The Hague followed in its wake. With the towers Kollhoff and Rapp + Rapp continued the needle strategy that Krier had developed for De Resident in 1990: relatively slender towers on an urban substructure or plinth, which matched the building heights and the intricate street pattern of the existing city. Tranquility, coherence and quality of spatial mass, materials, and atmosphere were the key concepts in Kollhoff's plan, according to the selection committee.

There was great appreciation in The Hague for the fundamental urban statement of Kollhoff's vision. Still, there were protests from the Friends of The Hague, because the much-vaunted panorama from Het Groene Zootje (the old execution site in front of the Prisoners' Gate) over the Hofvijver to the Binnenhof was ruined by unsightly high-rise buildings. Matching the original urban plan, critics expected a clump of huge glass and metal buildings that protruded above the Binnenhof. Kollhoff, however, gave the towers a diagonal base and a prismatic shape, so that separate towers can be seen from Het Groene Zootje. Architectural means were used to make the bulky building mass look as slender as possible, but a lower height was unacceptable to the state. In this way, the towers also gained a certain transparency from Prins Clausplein and Utrechtsebaan. An important starting point was the fine-grained distribution of building plots, which had to be reflected in the expression of the building masses, materials, and colors. Each tower was given its own appearance.

An important principle for the lower urban building mass or urban plinth was that its height should relate to the existing buildings in the historic city center, which average 20–25 meters (such as De Bijenkorf), with height accents between 40 and 50 meters (churches and the old city hall). According to the "needle strategy" of architect Krier, the old city typically has a uniform building height punctuated by vertical accents such as church towers and the old city hall (see section 9.4.6). The lower residential tower was given a lower urban plinth and the higher towers a higher plinth. Furthermore, another old The Hague theme was also applied: a forecourt or garden with a fence, such as at the Noordeinde Palace, the Pulchri Studio Theater and the Royal Theater.

This gave the facade a section and emphasized the particularity of the functions. On top of this urban plinth the two ministry towers of approx. 146 meters high and the residential tower of approx. 131 meters were placed, which became slimmer towards the top with setbacks and a special articulated top of the tower. The facades of the building complex have tectonics and morphology reminiscent of the late nineteenth-century high-rise buildings. The tone-on-tone colors of the residential tower are reminiscent of The Hague's examples of the Um 1800 Bewegung, such as Berlage's fashion warehouse Meddens & Zoon (1914) and Maison de Bonneterie (1913) by Jacot on Gravenstraat. Like the Um 1800 Bewegung, the ensemble on Turfmarkt refers to the past through the shapes and materials of the metropolis. In short, the urban ensemble refers back to the architecture of the burgeoning European and American metropolises around 1900, a status and cityscape that had been highly valued in The Hague since Noordanus.

The Hague New Center, with its concentration of urban activities and buildings, also had its downside. A ring of vacant plots emerged, especially around ministries in the surrounding neighborhoods. All ministries were concentrated in either the 'Super Dutch' corner with Hoftoren and the VROM building, and the two new ministry towers and De Resident in the 'New Urbanist' corner, separated by the old city canal. Old departmental buildings such as the ministry of Social Affairs and Employment at Laan van NOI station, Foreign Affairs and Economic Affairs along Bezuidenhoutseweg, Infrastructure and the Environment at Koningskade and the two ministries along Turfmarkt in Wijnhaven became vacant. Furthermore, Scheveningen-Seaside resort and the MegaStores in Laakhavens were no longer able to compete with The Hague New Center and languished. The destructive power of a strongly iconic urban ensemble asserted itself here.

Duindorp reconstruction of a neighborhood.
Photo’s from 2025 by Leo Oorschot

11.4
The Boulevard of Scheveningen

"The international coastal zone offers the Randstad as a European metropolis an excellent opportunity to strengthen and expand our national and international position. On the coast, The Hague can give shape and substance to its ambitions of World City by the Sea" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2005: 52).

Regeneration of the Urban Coastal Zone, 1997-2004

The seaside resort of Scheveningen has long been the face and pride of The Hague, with numerous iconic buildings and urban ensembles such as the Kurhaus, the Pier, the picturesque village, and the fishing port. Around 1900, the seaside resort experienced its peak as a center of power and entertainment with distinctly fin de siècle architecture. In the 1960s and 1970s, this beautiful architecture was demolished, and the coastal zone was haphazardly built up by entrepreneurs. At the end of the twentieth century, the seaside resort competed for tourism with the center of The Hague, and lost. Scheveningen declined at a rapid pace. Fishing had disappeared, renewal of the village had stagnated, and all attention was focused on the Vinex areas. There were only plans for Duindorp, an inner-city Vinex neighborhood.

Before the financial crisis of 2008, regeneration of the coastal zone in Scheveningen was characterized by unrealistic planning, and after the crisis control was again left to the free market. As a result, a massive contrast arose between the municipality's international ambitions for tourism (carried out by market parties) and the residents' interests. In 2014, the two biggest icons of Scheveningen went bankrupt: the Kurhaus and the Scheveningen Pier. How did the Pearl of the Sea come to this? And how did Scheveningen rediscover itself with the new boulevard that connected the three spheres: the village, the seaside resort and the harbor, thus restoring Scheveningen's identity as one unified, new, attractive region along the coast? (Oorschot, 2012; 2015).

The ambitious Masterplan Scheveningen-Kuststrook (Coastal Zone) from 2001 was a development and assessment framework that was still based on plans by alderman Noordanus and Hilhorst, which went back to 1997 (Gemeente Den Haag, 2001). In the memoranda Panorama Scheveningen: aanzet tot Masterplan Scheveningen-Kuststrook (Panorama Scheveningen: Starting Points for the Scheveningen Coastal Zone Master Plan) and Terug naar de kust: tussenrapportage Masterplan Scheveningen-Kuststrook (Back to the Coast: Interim Report Master Plan Scheveningen Coastal Zone), both from 2000, an outline of the desired developments was given (Gemeente Den Haag, 2000).

It aimed to economically revitalize the neglected coastal zone and further develop tourism. The master plan followed the original three areas: the seaside resort, the village, and the harbor. These were to be connected by the promenade and the beach. According to the 2004 Aesthetic Memorandum, the harbor, most of seaside resort and the zone along the coast between seaside resort and village fell within the character area 'special urban areas', which meant that old buildings could be demolished, and experiments were possible with something new (Gemeente Den Haag, 2004). To the north of the harbor lay the domain of tourists; to the south the residential area and the beach used by the locals, who get there by bike. This invisible border plays an important role in local politics. In this period, there was as yet no question of creating a new boulevard.

To be able to steer more strongly for architectural quality and the intended coherence, it was proposed that, as an elaboration of the master plan, quality requirements should be set for each sub-area that were more specific and more binding than the criteria in the Aesthetic Memorandum. In the harbor, the city wanted to reinforce the rough and often somewhat nostalgic atmosphere of the port, which also had to be 'tangible' in the architecture of the surrounding neighborhoods. In the village, the historic character with its intricate urban spaces was leading. In the seaside resort, the fashionable atmosphere and allure of European resort architecture had to be restored. However, ambitions did not stop with economic regeneration of the coastal zone. Various aims piled up in the golden age of urban development, and the regeneration of the coastal zone became more than just a series of economic impulses.

Scheveningen: The Hague's Second International Center, 2005-2008

With the arrival of alderman Norder in 2004, this invisible border and the three separate spheres came to an end (Bekkering & Beemster 2009). The international character of Scheveningen became a new starting point. Scheveningen was designated as The Hague's second international center. The invisible border was crossed by plans for a bridge over the port, a cable car, and an ambitious program for tourism adjacent to the residential area.

These ideas first took shape in the comprehensive memorandum World City by the Sea (2005) and its elaboration in the Memorandum of Principles for the International Zone of The Hague of 2009). In the alderman's vision, an international city meant a substantial growth of new international institutions and tourism. Employment was an important motive; every hotel bed meant one more job in the city. The master plan for Scheveningen, together with the plans for Kijkduin and the International Zone, was given priority over other master plans; a deliberate choice, according to Norder. By first tackling these three master plans together, the municipality immediately made the ambitions of the structural vision visible to the outside world. The boundaries of the international coastal zone were considerably expanded in residential areas from Kijkduin to the border with Wassenaar and the Peace Palace inland. This upgrading of the coastal zone to the second international center intended to include all the other master plans in the city and underline the international ambition. However, residents' organizations feared traffic nuisance

Transvaalkwartier reconstruction of a neighborhood and the Kessler Foundation by the architect Jos van Eldonk. Photo's from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

from uncontrollable numbers of tourists and the proliferation of international organizations (OPCW, Europol, Eurojust and ICC) that were placed as bunkers inside the residential areas.

Marcel Wijermans, who as project leader was closely involved in the creation of the structural vision and who, as project manager, coordinated the elaboration of the plans, emphasized that it was no longer about traditional small-scale urbanism based on projects but about one coherent structure for the entire city: "The municipality needed a spatial framework, an answer to the question: where are we going with the city? Do you know what you want? The city was bombarded with this rhetorical question by market parties but also by the national government. The answer is now there: the structural vision sets out a clear course" (Bekkering & Beemster, 2009: 25). In the creation of this second center, Wijermans repeated the ideals of the Compact City. It had to be a center that was populated all year round with visitors from home and abroad, with a mix of functions: tourist attractions, working, and living.

As described in the Leisurenota Den Haag 2005-2010 (Leisure Memorandum The Hague 2005-2010) (Gemeente Den Haag, 2005), the city aimed for two leisure hotspots: Scheveningen and the historic center of The Hague, together forming an attractive zone where the International City of Peace and Justice could be developed (Van Krieken & McKay, 2005). The municipal stated on here website wereldstadaanzee.nl: "The Scheveningen coast will be the bustling second center of The Hague by the sea, which will be attractive to residents and tourists in The Hague four seasons a year. With 15 million visitors a year, Scheveningen is one of the largest seaside resorts in Northwest Europe, and it should stay that way." Especially in the coastal zone, The Hague had to compete with other cities where international politics were concentrated, such as Geneva, Washington, New York, Brussels, Nairobi, and Vienna.

Even before the publication of World City by the Sea in 2005, shipping company Norfolkline, as one of the major users of the port, announced that it would leave the city, freeing up an attractive location in and around the port for new developments. In 2006, the municipality asked four consortia of architects to present a vision for the port, but none of the plans turned out to be ripe enough for implementation. Later it turned out that the municipal plans were a pastiche of these studies.

The beautiful images in the Nota van Uitgangspunten Planontwikkeling Scheveningen-Haven—Parel aan Zee (Memorandum of Principles for the Development of the Scheveningen-Harbor—Pearl by the Sea) (Gemeente Den Haag, 2007) by the Spanish-Catalan architect and urban planner Joan Busquets Grau showed a seaside resort of stature with a forest of towers at the pier: the symbol of the international city. This memorandum was an elaboration and imagination of the structural vision, and it argued: "The World City by the Sea is a multicultural city, an international city, a city by the sea, and a monumental residence." Goals mentioned in the memorandum were to create an authentic urban center, with a mix of fishing, hospitality, leisure, and living; a special facility of international allure coupled with an architectural icon on one of the two sides of the harbor.

Residents of the coastal zone and the local fishermen no longer saw their interests reflected in the plans, despite the optimistic words and beautiful drawings. In the end, things would turn out differently for the municipality's high-minded ambitions for Scheveningen-Harbor after the outbreak of the financial crisis in 2008.

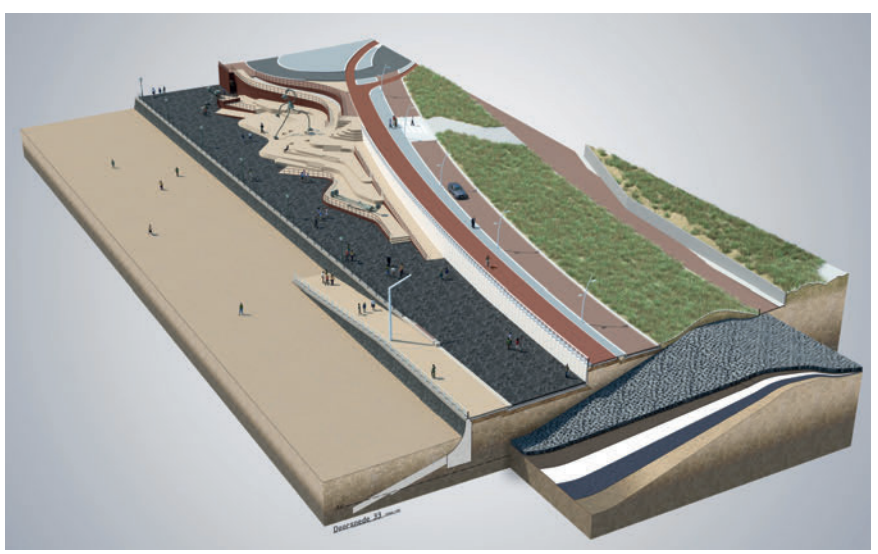
Everyone still proceeded from the three distinct spheres—Bath, Village, and Harbor—and there was as yet no talk of a new boulevard that would alter this.

New Realism in Planning after the Crisis: The New Seawall and Boulevard

The crisis led to a completely new approach to the planning for Scheveningen, reflected in adapted plans: Nota van Uitgangspunten Masterplan Scheveningen-kust (Memorandum of Principles for the Master Plan Scheveningen Coast) and Discussienota Masterplan Scheveningen-kust (Discussion Memorandum for the Master Plan Scheveningen Coast) (Gemeente Den Haag, 2008). Yet these plans turned out to be no less ambitious. But a few months before the November 2009 elections, an important part of the master plan turned out to be impossible. The fourth outer harbor with a cruise terminal, for which the residents' beach Zuiderstrand on the south side of the harbor would be sacrificed, proved to be a major problem. These plans were drawn up by the cruise terminal specialist Züblin Grenada, together with Vestia and AM Wonen, led by former alderman Noordanus. The plan was supported by MKB-Nederland (the trade organization for small and medium businesses), VNO NCW (the employers' trade organization), The Hague Chamber of Commerce, and Scheveningen entrepreneurs. During a VVD meeting, the party members voted en masse against the plans and for the preservation of Zuiderstrand. This may have been caused by the proximity of the luxurious Vogelwijk, where peace and quiet would be disturbed by thousands of tourists. Other parties such as CDA, SP, GL, D66, PVV, and HSP had already rallied behind the residents. Alderman Norder and his PvdA were left alone, but the U-turn of coalition partner VVD meant the end of the plans for a cruise terminal.

On December 11, 2009, the municipal executive adopted the Concept Masterplan Scheveningen-kust (Concept Master Plan Scheveningen Coast), and on January 14, 2010 the municipal council agreed, after several detailed changes. The draft of July 10, 2009 became the final version, as the coalition parties PvdA, VVD, GL, and some CDA members now voted in favor. The final Masterplan for Scheveningen Coast again aimed for the strengthening of the three characteristic areas: seaside resort, village, and harbor, and for a substantial expansion of tourism. For the first time, the new seawall and the design for the boulevard were announced.

The seaside resort had to be attractive to residents and tourists throughout the year. In the village, the emphasis was on preserving and protecting the original character. In the harbor, the aim was to create a good combination of living, working, and amenities. Traffic measures had been drawn up to improve the flow of traffic and parking, the



Above, design of the new neighborhoods around the harbor from 2007 by the Spanish-Catalan architect and urban planner Joan Busquets Grau.
Source: municipality of The Hague, *Nota van Uitgangspunten Planontwikkeling Scheveningen-Haven—Parel aan Zee* (2007).

Left, Defintive Design boulevard by the Spanish-Catalan architect and urban planner Manuel De Solà-Morales and Ingenieurs Bureau Den Haag.
Source: municipality of The Hague, mail of the Ingenieursbureau Den Haag.

memorandum argued in reassuring words, but money for a tram line to Duindorp and the harbor had not been budgeted. The strong focus on tourism, high-rise buildings, and traffic remained a source of annoyance for the protesting residents' organizations. The following message appeared in the newspaper Scheveningse Dagblad:

"The chairmen of eighteen residents' organizations in The Hague are angry with the municipality. They feel that they are given too little say in the plans for improving the coast of The Hague and the construction of the northwestern route. This new road must run from the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia to Kijkduin. The chairmen will meet on Friday at the Museon in The Hague to make it clear to residents that there are indeed opportunities to influence the plans. According to them, this can be done, for example, by voting for parties that are critical of the plans in the upcoming municipal elections" (Scheveningse Dagblad, 12-2-2010).

Residents were angry about the expected traffic nuisance associated with mass tourism by the sea, about the forest of towers on both piers, and about the filling in of the third port, but what stung most was that the eighteen residents' associations had been ignored. The sounding board group for residents had not yet met, even though the master plan had already been approved by the council.

At a debate on February 16, 2010, most political parties indicated that they were going to change the master plan after the upcoming elections. However, in the 2010 municipal elections, citizens again voted faithfully for the same governing parties. Although VVD lost three seats and PvdA five seats and continuing the coalition proved impossible, Green Party (GL) was exchanged for D66 and CDA, who opposed the cruise terminal. The new coalition was formed in 2010 by Labour Party (PvdA), Liberals (VVD), Social Liberals (D66) and Christian Democrats(CDA).

Yet something essential had changed in the city. The economy was under considerable pressure because of the crisis and the city's income declined. In the coalition agreement of 2010, the incoming municipal executive also noted that a new reality had emerged in area development. People were still optimistic about progress in building developments, while everywhere in the media alarm bells were sounding about the consequences of the financial crisis and the political inability to solve the housing problem.

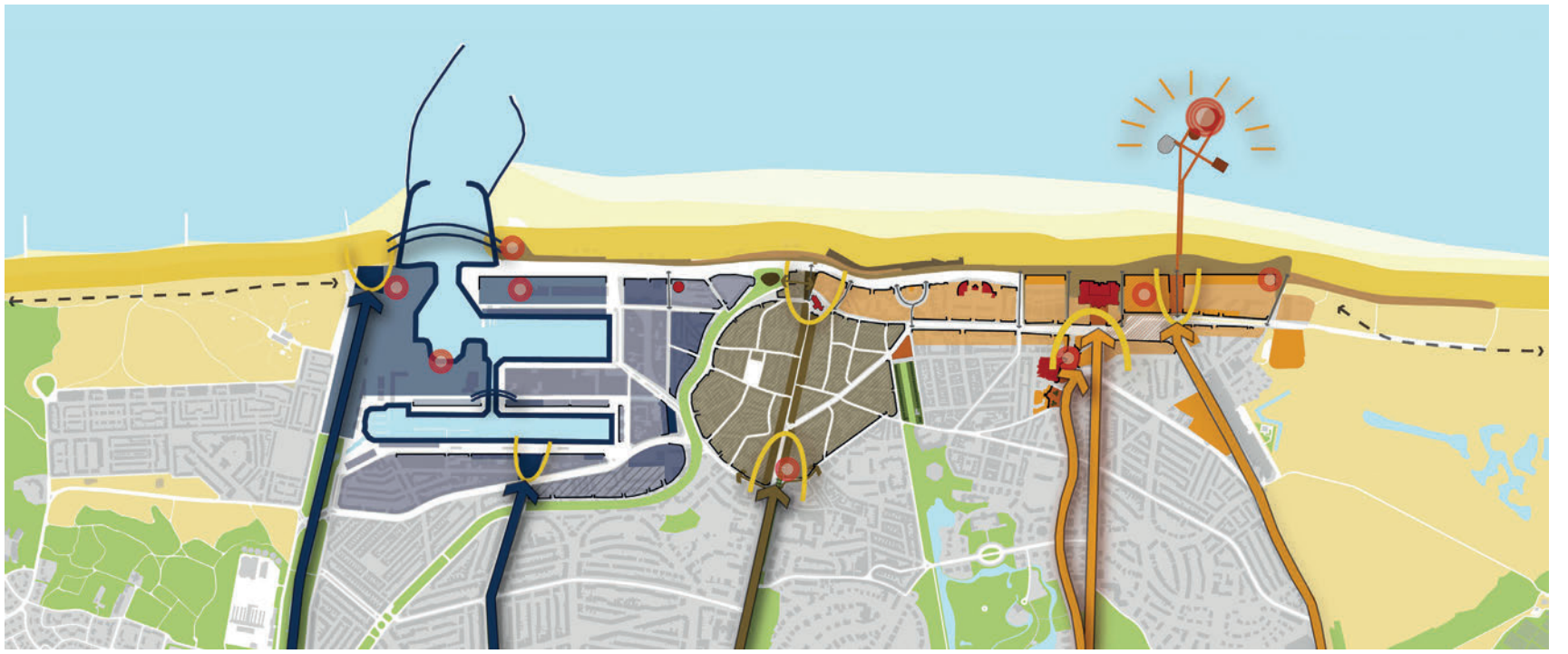
For Scheveningen, the coalition in its 2010 agreement established that: "Within the Scheveningen master plan, the development of Scheveningen-Harbor is a priority development." (Gemeente Den Haag 2010:30). The boulevard was already under development and in Duindorp the renewal process was in full swing, but the seaside resort and village disappeared from the agenda for the time being. In the new coalition agreement, it was agreed that the economic development and maritime character of the port would be further strengthened, the new aldermen had to talk to the fishing sector and the third port would not be filled in. After that, little further attention was given to the plans in Scheveningen-Harbor.

The Lay Out of the Norfolkline Site and Bridging of the Port Access

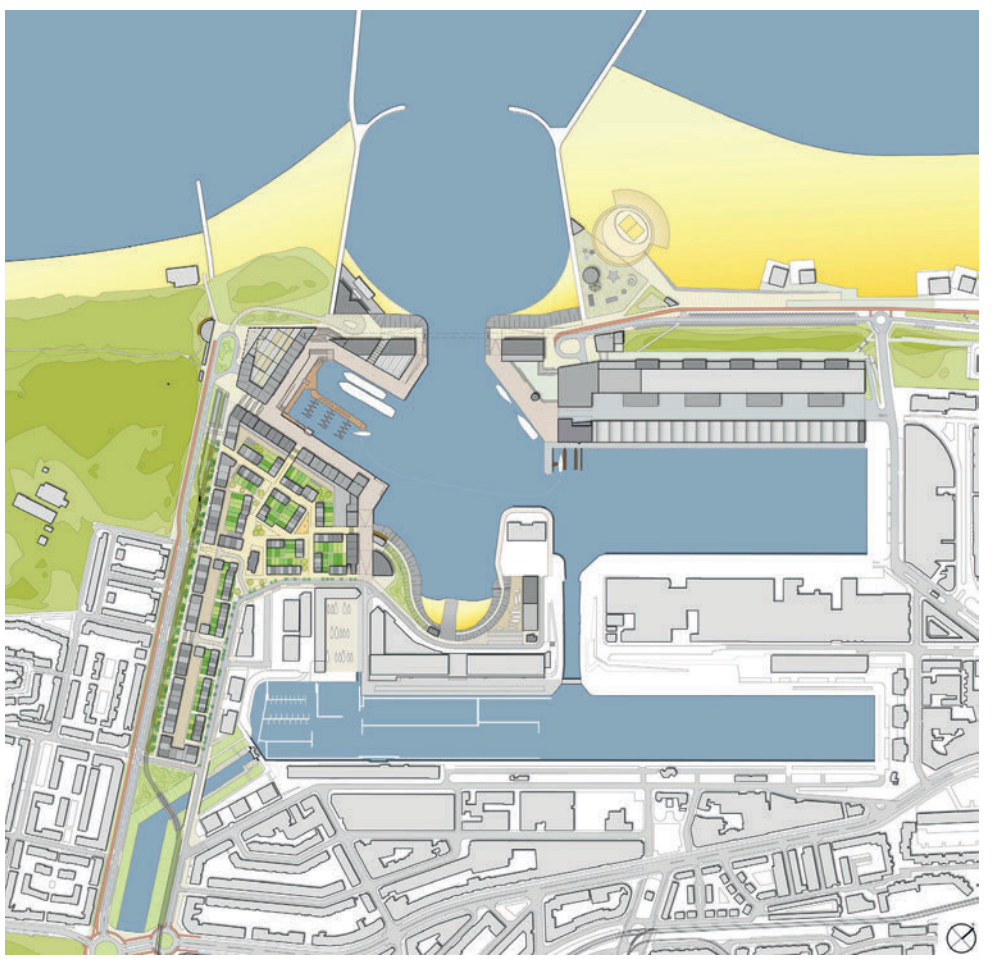
February 2012 saw the publication of the urban development plan Scheveningen-Haven 2025 (Scheveningen-Harbor 2025). Many of the high-flown plans of the past had vanished. Urban development was now tailored to the new economic situation, but the approach was also different. Perhaps the influence of the new head of urban design and planning Erik Pasveer made itself felt; he had taken office on October 1, 2010, replacing Hans Kuiper, who had only been in office for one year. The urban development plan contained several striking changes compared to previous plans. The third harbor would not be filled in and the fishing industry was given space in the harbor again. In the harbor, 700 homes were to be built, 20% of which were social housing on the former Norfolkline site, as well as 100,000 m2 of commercial space, catering, retail, water sports, fishing, etc. Of the Busquets tower forest, only two hotels remained on the piers, 100 meters high on the south side and 40 meters on the north. The surfing village Beach-city was to be situated on the northern pier with the beach volleyball stadium next to it. In the Kom (part of the harbor where large ships can turn), plans were proposed to expand the possibilities for sailing. The piers were to be connected by a cable car and a bridge was to be built over the Pijp (the narrow connecting channel between the first and second harbor). These plans teared up old wounds seemed and residents' associations still feared traffic chaos. After alderman Norder's presentation of June 9th, 2010, and December 3th, 2012, tempers ran high again. Everyone wondered for whom these plans were created: residents or tourists?

In a letter dated May 8, 2012 to the municipal council from the joint residents' organizations, the Algemene Vereniging voor Natuurbescherming voor Den Haag en omstreken (General Association for Nature Conservation in The Hague and surroundings, AVN) and the Belangenvereniging Schevenings Havengebied (Scheveningen Port Area Interest Association, BSH), the old problems and desires were discussed again: no high-rise buildings, no cable cars or bridges over the harbor, and the creation of a traffic plan with a tram line. The large-scale new construction was seen as the death knell for many entrepreneurs in the seaside resort, while there was already a large vacancy rate for commercial space in the spring of 2012. If Scheveningen-Harbor were to be implemented, it would certainly draw activity away from the seaside resort.

But there was also praise for the new housing plans for the Norfolkline site and the fact that the third port would remain open for fishing and port-related entrepreneurs. The strategy of the residents' associations along the coast, which had been trained for years in resistance and opposition, was surprisingly simple: the northern pier for tourists and the southern pier for the local population, with the harbor in between as a natural barrier, and no direct connection over it. The business community and the municipality had different ideas and wanted to bridge the divide between north and south. On May 16, 2012, Norder discussed the plans in the Spatial Planning Committee, proposing several improvements to meet the quality of life requirements in the residential areas.



Above, three pheres the port, the village and the seaside resort. Source: *Masterplan Scheveningen Kust* (2010). Copyright by The Hague municipality.



Left, quality plan of Scheveningen Harbor and Norfolk area. Source: *Beeldkwaliteitsplan Scheveningen Haven* (2013). Copyright by The Hague municipality.

In the new reality following the financial crisis, it was no longer an integrated area development with willing market parties and pre-agreed rules (anterior agreements), but rather one focused on "flexibility" and "phasing" for all parties. As a result, the municipality was forced to take a not inconsiderable risk with a new form of area development. The area developers ASR Real Estate Development and Malherbe Real Estate worked out the phasing. Just before the financial derivatives drama of housing association Vestia revealed itself. A letter of intent was signed by Vestia for the 700 homes. However, Vestia was later forced to shut down all projects in The Hague due to financial problems and transfer them to ASR and Malherbe, among others.

Alderman Norder promised the councilors that the plan for Scheveningen-Harbor would be supplemented by a quality plan that same year. In 2013, Urbis, a Rotterdam-based urban design firm, and the engineering firm of The Hague, produced the Beeldkwaliteitsplan Scheveningen-Haven (Scheveningen-Harbor Image Quality Plan) (Gemeente Den Haag & Urbis, 2013). As a result of the sale of shares to the Dutch railway company (NS) of the municipal tram company HTM, it was promised that the proceeds would be used in the future for the extension of the tram line so that the port would be accessible by public transport.

The Scheveningen-Harbor 2025 of 2012 had been greatly improved on several points. It was less introverted than its predecessors and the urban spaces as well as the morphology of the buildings were more in line with the surrounding urban context and environment. Residents' organizations were rightly very positive about the extension of the quality of Duindorp with its intimate urban spaces and urban blocks to the southern jetty. The older plans still involved a strange, trendy strip allotment, which did not match the character of the harbor. In the new plan, the urban planners drew an enclosed square at an important location that picked up different directions and connected the urban spaces. The closed urban blocks provided peace and quiet for residents at the height of the tourist season. It was also a conscious choice to extend the atmosphere, color, and scale of Duindorp. The visual quality plan mainly looked at developments in the ports of Copenhagen and Malmø.

The conflict over the cable car was still ongoing and every year a little of the municipal budget for this was lost in the negotiations in the council, so that the plan for the cable car could now only be saved by market parties. A design was made for two enormous steel human figures, 60 meter high, on each pier, with a bridge between them at a height of 60 meters, with a glider on steel cables deep underneath. Twice the size of the Colossus of Alexandria, a gate that should mark Scheveningen-Harbor as a world port from afar. Two months before the 2014 municipal elections, alderman Norder found 6.5 million euros for the cable car, so that a market party could exploit it. Norder suggested that if the cable car did not materialize, the municipality would face claims from the company that wanted to build the hotel. Under pressure from his own party, he withdrew the plan. The cable car met an equally inglorious end as the cruise terminal.

Scheveningen Boulevard

Despite these failures, Norder was behind one of Scheveningen's most iconic projects: the new boulevard. With the new iconic boulevard, the sphere Bath was finally connected to the Village and the Harbor in one powerful statement.

For the next hundred years, the hinterland was safe from the sea and the public could finally stroll in a fashionable environment. The development of the Boulevard largely ran parallel to that of the port, but because it also included coastal defense, the public support was considerably larger. The boulevard is almost entirely in the tourist zone of the city, so that most of the residents' organizations had much less of a problem with it. In this way, the debate about the boulevard did not end up a political trap in the city council.

For alderman Norder, this was the most important project in the city; it was almost a personal matter, since before his aldermanship he was already working on it as a provincial executive. The client for this boulevard were the Delfland Water Board, the Directorate-General for Public Works (Rijkswaterstaat), and the municipality of The Hague. The boulevard was designed by Age Fluitman of the office of Manuel De Solà-Morales and Klaas Hilverda of the Engineering Bureau of The Hague. De Solà-Morales has previously designed waterfronts and boulevards at Barcelona, St. Nazaire, Porto, and Trieste.

Already seen in the first sketches for the boulevard in 2003, the wavy lines that are so characteristic of the design appeared. The first design was still car-free, an ideal that every self-respecting seaside resort strives for. However, the business community and residents strongly urged in public participation procedures to restore the old highway on the dunes. In the end, driving along by car was also seen as an important tourist quality. It was not until 2006 that this was decided by the council, with a narrower motorway. The design was finalized between 2007 and 2009.

The budget was set before the crisis broke out. After the crisis, the tender turned out to be very favorable. Construction costs (including the seawall built under the boulevard) amounted to approximately 75 million euros. The boulevard was built between 2010 and 2013. Using 2.5 million cubic meters of sprayed sand and stone, a landscape of 1.9 kilometers long was formed, with a sea dike 1 kilometer long, 40 to 70 meters wide, and between 8.6 and 12 meters above sea level.

The concept of the boulevard was simple: visitors strolling between the seaside resort, the village and the harbor would be experiencing the curves in the dune landscape and the coastline, the vastness of the sea, and the connection with the fishing village as qualities that the designers wanted to strengthen. With attractive materials, colors, street furniture, height differences, and the positioning of beach bars in compact clusters, the design created an attractive strolling zone for visitors. The beach bar clusters are spaced apart, creating an interesting walk for tourists with an unobstructed view of the beach and sea. Like a ship's mooring, the designers weaved the various traffic zones together, each with their own materials, colors, and walls, so that the design reinforces the direction parallel to the beach.

The Boulevard of Scheveningen.
Photo’s from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

Scheveningen Seaside Resort

Behind the beautiful shapes and colors of the new boulevard was located the dilapidated seaside resort with the closed Pier and the bankrupt Kurhaus. The beach bars formed a messy whole of tightly packed self-built houses, so that it was hardly possible to get from the boulevard to the beach. Every season, tourists struggled through chairs, tables, plastic palm trees, and wooden barricades erected by beach bar owners. Important buildings such as the Kurhaus were not visible because of the disjointed and cluttered buildings in front that were more reminiscent of a second-rate furniture boulevard than a distinguished seaside resort. Scheveningen entrepreneurs stubbornly preferred direct self-interest to collective entrepreneurial interests. The municipality's revitalization plans were therefore doomed to fail. Existing ownership and interests stood in the way of improvements. This part of the seaside resort suffered the most from the competition for the attention of tourists between various parts of The Hague: the city center, the harbor, and the boulevard attracted all the tourists.

The Scheveningen Pier, built by architect Huyg Maaskant between 1959 and 1961, had been taken over by the hospitality business Van der Valk Group in 1991 for 1 guilder, which wanted to build a hotel on it. This was rather an absurd idea, because it is difficult to reach the pier by car or taxi. When these plans failed, the blame was shifted to the municipality and numerous renovations began, causing the pier to lose its iconic character and attracting fewer visitors than predicted. Visitors to the sea like to stroll, but the group converted the pier into an unattractive, dense tunnel made of plastic and concrete. A very expensive, iconic project from the 1960s turned into a haunted house. On the night of September 5, 2011, a fire broke out which further damaged the site. Thus, over twenty years the pier had been completely ruined by Van der Valk. The company that managed the pier was also allowed to go bankrupt, so that the trustees were saddled with a ruin in one of the most prominent places in the city. The pier was put up for sale in March 2012, but no one came to the auction to bid.

Disaster also struck Scheveningen's greatest icon, the Kurhaus. In 2004, the building came into the hands of a group of anonymous investors under the leadership of Willem Endstra. Shortly afterwards, Endstra, who had been under investigation for money laundering and connections to the underworld, was murdered (Den Haag Centraal, 21-2-2013: 3; Omroep West, 25-2-2013)..The building was taken over by international real estate fund Jerusalem Economy, which took out a commercial mortgage-backed securities (CMBS) loan of 52.6 million from Hatfield Philips and Deutsche Bank with the Kurhaus as collateral (valued at approx. 70 million). However, the tenant of Kurhaus, the five-star Steigenberger Hotel, could no longer afford the 4.5 million euros rent per year and therefore Jerusalem Economy could no longer pay the interest. The Kurhaus' value was also downgraded by Deutsche Bank from 63.8 million to 24 million in February 2013 (Vastgoedmarkt, 2013: 6). In February 2013, the Kurhaus went bankrupt.

The new boulevard looks beautiful and is a true icon. However, the seaside resort has lost the competition for the tourist to the city center of The Hague with its charming old buildings and pleasant urban spaces. The free market was no longer interested in the resort; the loss is mostly felt by the residents and the small entrepreneurs who stayed behind. On October 11, 2013, the pier was permanently closed to the public due to its bad structural state. There were whispers about the demolition of the pier. In 2014, Van der Valk sold the pier for 3 million euros to KondorWessels Vastgoed and DanZep Hotels. The pier was temporarily patched up and new plans were made, but the pier was again resold in 2025. The new owner, Re:Born Real Estate, came up with beautiful new plans designed by UN Studio, but so far nothing has materialized.

In the meantime, entrepreneurs in Scheveningen resort concluded that they also wanted to profit from the new boulevard; it was renovated in the period 2024-2026 and now also adorns the resort.

Pearl of the Sea

As mentioned, things were not going well in the nineties with the resort, the village and the harbor. The relocation of the primary seawall and the new boulevard in which the coastal landscape was brought back to life gave the whole of Scheveningen a new appearance. The boulevard and the harbor are beautiful and will certainly give tourism a boost. The seaside resort is still going through a difficult time. Still, the extension of the boulevard now also adorns the resort. With the boulevard Scheveningen is truly a Pearl by the Sea again.

The Boulevard of Scheveningen.
Photo’s from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

11.5
The International Zone, The International Criminal Court with the Permanent Court of Arbitration

"The Hague has the ambition to develop into the world capital of justice and Peace" (Maarten Schmitt, in ICC 2007: 2).

Universal and Cultural Neutral Architecture

The Hague proudly called itself "legal capital of the world" (Van Krieken & McKay, 2005), as a result of years of effort by mayor Deetman. The debate on the image of the International Criminal Court (ICC), established in 2002, showed how international clients, the Government Buildings Agency and the municipality thought about the architecture and meaning of the buildings in the International Zone. Here, buildings were intended to express the city's idea of neutrality. However, all the buildings were eventually surrounded by fences, armored curtains and stakes, bulletproof safety glass, gates, barriers, cameras, and security guards. For residents of The Hague, they became impregnable bunkers. These buildings meant for the world community stood farther from the world than ever and seemed to have been launched from another planet. So, can a building be neutral? (ICC, 2007; Oorschot, 2014).

While in the new millennium tempers rose in various European parliaments about questions related to integration—for example whether women in public-facing jobs should be allowed to wear a headscarf—, preparations were taking place in The Hague for one of the most prestigious buildings of the United Nations: the ICC headquarters. With an area of 72,000 m2, it is also the largest building in the city.

Many buildings from the 1990s onwards suggest this neutrality, for example Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates Court Tower; Jan Hoogstad's VROM building; Bezuidenhout-C's buildings; Kallmann McKinnell & Wood's OPCW; Quist & Wintermans' Europol; Mecanoo's Eurojust; Klaus & Kaan's Supreme Court, and Nouvel's Patent Office & Dam Square in Rijswijk. Most of these buildings are concentrated in the economic corridor of The Hague, that is, The Hague New Center (outside the canal) and International Zone. Ibelings (1998) described these buildings as 'supermodernism'; Koolhaas and Mau (1995) call them 'generic architecture. The differences in quality between the buildings are considerable': some are refined, detailed, and beautifully designed, others simple and boring.

The ICC was supposed to represent international law and therefore be a universal building, independent of the building context and time indications such as fashion, without associations, references, or memories, and immediately understood by all cultures of the world. A building stripped of all religious, political, or local symbolism; a building that, like Plato's universal ideas, exists apart from time and space; a building that has been completely stripped of all meanings and historical or geographical references, and preferably reduced to its most original form: the white cube. Pure architecture, not stained by context and meaning. Diplomats, lawyers, and civil servants believed that the ICC should be such a building, and for the sake of convenience, residents were excluded from the decision-making process, and the location was outside a residential area in the dunes. The recently completed Mecanoo barracks had to make way for it. But if there was one architectural image that turned out to be heavily laden with meaning, it was The International Style (Johnson & Hitchcock, 1932). This architecture was seen by many as the symbol of Western values that reached its peak between 1920 and 1970, the architecture that shaped the emancipatory spirit of the Age of Enlightenment through its homogeneous visual language of modern architecture and urban planning, combined with denial and contempt for the historic city.

"The Green Serving Tray with a Teapot and Cups"

The ICC, like all other international institutions, had to be part of the green continuum around the Scheveningse Bosjes, of which the Peace Palace from 1907 and the World Forum form the heart (Schmitt, 2007: 1). After the fall of the Berlin Wall, international developments accelerated. Several international institutes established themselves in The Hague in this area. With the arrival of these institutions, the living culture and facilities in the vicinity also changed. Neighborhoods such as Statenkwartier, Archipelbuurt and Vogelwijk became popular places to live for better-paid expats. Schmitt concludes: "Within a period of about 10 years, the impetus for a compound of peace and justice within the existing city was created" (Schmitt 2007: 2).

Regarding the intentions that the municipality had regarding the international zone, Schmitt argued: "The formation of the compound then took place in a natural, organic way. No grand mannerist gestures were used, but rather the choice was made to allow the institutions to fit into the existing context in a "soft" way, in keeping with the somewhat restrained function of this form of justice. This is entirely in line with the Dutch tradition of democratic urban development, in which drama and monumentality are lacking" (Schmitt 2007: 2).

Urban monumentality had never been a starting point. Just like the older palaces and government buildings, the new buildings were scattered into the informal fabric of the city. Buildings were not 'enlarged' in their status by urban space. The buildings hardly distinguish themselves from the surrounding buildings, Schmitt argued, and do not distance themselves from the population, but are therefore fully part of all sections of society and thus contribute to a collective self-awareness, according to Schmitt (2007: 2). So, there would be no French Baroque conditions.

To profile itself as the world capital of justice and peace and as the center of international politics (Deltametropolis), choices were made. Schmitt spoke a "green serving tray with a teapot and cups". By this he meant the green public space of the Scheveningse Bosjes, with the monumental buildings of the ICC (teapot) and international institutions (cups) on it. On this serving tray, the nature of each international body is recognizable. The serving tray thus had its own intrinsic order and

hierarchy that was not created by infrastructure or a succession of walls, squares, and fountains, but by the intrinsic appearance of the buildings themselves. This was a modern, object-based approach in which architecture is the means to give expression and meaning to the institutions. According to Schmitt (2007: 3), this ensemble is the expression of the global environment.

As for the architecture of the international buildings, Schmitt says: "Pluralism is the theme; there is no such thing as an unambiguous style, each building is the individual face of the institution; expression of its position and image" (Schmitt 2007: 4). Thus, Schmitt argued, the ICC building should become an architectural icon of the international community and the rule of law, underlined in the Memorandum of Principles for the International Zone of 2009.

"Timeless Image Symbolizing Its Mission"

A discussion on the image of the ICC took place at an expert meeting on May 7, 2007 (ICC, 2007). The board of the ICC and its management the Assembly of State Parties, the international community of diplomats and representatives of the city, the Government Buildings Agency, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs debated the architecture of the new building, with lectures held beforehand that set the tone.

Mayor Deetman emphasized the relationship between the city and the court. For the ICC, the international community, and the city, this building had great symbolic significance: "The building should reflect the Criminal Court's special quality. Architecture should be such that the building will become a widely recognised symbol. People must get a certain feeling when they look at the building that the ICC 'isn't an ordinary court'. The permanent premises should be a place where the world community, in the person of the Public Prosecutor, will say: "We do not accept this behaviour. We will do all in our power to punish those responsible and to provide comfort and compensation to their victims". The ICC building should communicate the message to the international community "that this is where justice is meted out" (ICC, 2007: 8).

Schmitt repeated his metaphor of the green serving tray, teapot, and cups. Bruno Cathala of the ICC went a step further in his lecture and argued that: "The main facade of the Court should be a "timeless image symbolizing its mission. It should also reflect that the court is an international and universal court" (ICC, 2007: 11-13). The German architect Ivan Reimann, who designed the new ministry of Foreign Affairs in Berlin, argued that the architectural language of the building must be appropriate to its function and status. Of the new ministry in historically fraught Berlin, he said: "In the case of the Foreign Ministry extension, Müller Reimann chose to build a modern, light, abstract building because in the context of the history of Berlin and the specific site, the architects decided that they didn't wish to use an architectural language which would refer to the past" (ICC, 2007: 14-15).

Somewhat surprised by these strong views, Edmund Wellenstein, Director-General of the ministry of Foreign Affairs and head of the ICC task force, asked whether there was no architectural concept for the International Zone, and whether the city did not prescribe specific parameters for its designs. The chairman of the debate, Mr. M. van Delden, also wondered whether the city did not have a specific style in mind for the building. The local aspect and context seemed to be completely ignored. In the discussion that followed, Reimann indicated that the choice of architect in a competition should be based on a detailed description of the desired architecture. Schmitt argued that there was no preference for a particular style on his part and that the choice for the architecture would lie with the international institutions. The city should focus on the design of the public space around the building. In response to Van Delden's questions, Schmitt reiterated that the architectural style was a matter between the Assembly of State Parties and the architect it chose. The city would play no role in this. Schmitt believed that heterogeneity or polyformity was especially important. During the preparation and construction process, the client still had enough time to instruct the architect on 'design issues', according to Schmitt. Nienke Vermeer of the municipality of The Hague also emphasized: "We don't want to limit creative possibilities. ... We want to make sure that we have a professional architect who can also change plans as well. We want to provide zoning plans and to make things as smooth as possible" (ICC, 2007: 18).

This was a naïve thought and dangerous development. In addition to the residents, The Hague's Aesthetic Committee, the Aesthetic Memorandum, and the listed historic neighborhoods, were now also sidelined. But this also deprived the winning architect of the support of the Aesthetic Committee, which he could use to keep his plan alive during budget cuts. Although fitting in with its surroundings, the winning design by Schmidt Hammer Lassen would be left at the mercy of the project managers, with budget control and security being leading. Later, this would prove to be a strategic blunder on the part of the municipality.

Eventually, several rounds of cutbacks would lead Schmidt Hammer Lassen to consider returning the contract.

In the end, the ICC came to a joint conclusion about what the new building should look like: "Among the points raised with respect to the design, aesthetics, and symbolism of the new facility were the following: the authority of the court should be immediately evident in the design, and felt by those who enter the building, as observers, participants in the process, and employees. Concepts and symbols representing justice are not the same everywhere in the world. 'Grandeur' and 'monumentality' do not necessarily represent justice. The design challenge is to convey the 'unique sense' of what the International Criminal Court signifies. The meaning of a building is not derived entirely from its design but is also largely a function of the institution which the building houses. The facility should be built to last and that implies the use of architectural language, materials, and construction which will not be out of fashion in a short time" (ICC, 2007: 4).

Furthermore, it was concluded about the qualities that the new building had to meet that: "The building should fit into the environment and be well-connected to the city. There should not

be any pre-conceived notion regarding architectural style. The functionality of the building is paramount and design decisions should be guided by the functional requirements. Separation of the various organs of the ICC is essential, but not to the exclusion of opportunities for dialogue. The role of the municipality is to facilitate the process, but client and architect have primary responsibility for choosing and implementing the design. The Assembly of State Parties, as the governing body of the ICC, also plays an important role to play in the selection of a design. The meaning and significance of the court should be evident in its design" (ICC, 2007: 22).

The Competition

At an annual meeting in New York in 2007, the Assembly of State Parties approved the location, on the existing Alexander Barracks, the Program of Requirements, the budget, and an organizational chart for the new building.

The organization of the competition was outsourced to the Government Buildings Agency. The assessment took place in three phases by a jury consisting of seventeen people. This committee, chaired by Chief Government Architect Liesbeth van der Pol, included mayor Van Aartsen, who took office in 2008, and Schmitt (until 2008), State Secretary of Foreign Affairs Ed Kronenburg (in office since March 2008), eight diplomats from the Assembly of State Parties, Dutch architect Herman Hertzberger, German architect Julia Bolles, and architects from various affiliated countries such as Mozambique and Mexico. The criteria and the image for the winning design were made explicit and the report of the expert meeting was available. The decision on the choice of architects was entirely in the hands of the Assembly of State Parties. The municipality did not want a repeat of the Peace Palace competition.

At the end of 2007, the competition was announced in the media. The first phase was the non-public pre-selection in which formal and professional criteria were used. In total, 171 architectural firms applied anonymously. The formal criteria could be a reason to exclude participants if they did not meet the requirements as formulated at the expert meeting. The criteria for the architect competition were also made explicit by the selection committee in the Competition notice. The jury looked at how successful the competitors had been in other competitions and which architecture prizes they had received. Experience and knowledge of similar projects, measuring at least 20,000 m2, that had been carried out since 1997 counted for 50%. There also had to be a reasonable probability that the plan could be carried out. The intention was to select between 15 and 20 agencies.

On May 15 and 16, 2008, the jury chose twenty architects to draw up a plan for a fee. The jury did not disclose which agencies had applied to compete and had been rejected. The five agencies that also participated in the Spuiforum competition immediately caught the eye: OMA, Neutelings Riedijk, Wiel Arets, Mecanoo, and Henning Larsen. These were unmistakably architects who were adept at creating architectural icons, as their buildings had been erected in many world cities.

In the second phase, these plans were evaluated by the jury based on the selection criteria: urban and landscape integration and accessibility; architecture; spatial and functional program; energy and sustainability aspects; construction costs and design efficiency; construction and feasibility; and building legislation. This review was made public online. Out of the nineteen plans submitted at a meeting on October 30 and 31, 2008, the jury selected three plans as candidates.

The jury's preference was for the design by the German firm Ingenhoven Architekten, a 'cheerful building', according to the jury. In second place was the plan by Danish firm Schmidt Hammer Lassen/ Bosch & Fjord. The jury praised the design for the way in which the building was integrated into the dune area. In third place came Wiel Arets, who had an icon in mind with powerful shapes. All three drafts gave the ICC building for the Permanent Court of Arbitration an international and universal character.

The discussion between the jury members about these three plans focused, among other things, on the question of whether the building should be a powerful icon. The building was supposed to represent the law, but it should not intimidate, according to the employees of the ICC. A neutral building was desirable. Of the three buildings that were selected, the Arets building had the most pronounced shape. Ingenhoven's building was the least pronounced in its expression. Schmidt Hammer Lassen was somewhere in between. In the latter plan, the large black box in which the courtrooms were housed immediately caught the eye. This black box evoked too many memories of the Kaaba in Mecca, according to two people who were present at the judging. The jury discussion was not recorded in writing. Of the three candidates, the building by Ingenhoven with the least pronounced character was chosen as the winner and the building with the most pronounced character by Arets came last. The idea of neutrality won out over the architectural icon.

The Negotiators of the Assembly of State Parties

After the jury's verdict in October 2008, the role of the Government Buildings Agency changed. "First, on behalf of the ministry of Foreign Affairs, we were leading the service of the ICC on behalf of the host country, and after the jury's verdict we were supervising," the project leader of the Government Buildings Agency summarizes the change (Maandag 2010: 14). The Government Buildings Agency still held the role of advisor to the ministry of Foreign Affairs. The ICC's project office took over responsibility for the negotiations with the winning architects. After the three winners had been announced, negotiations were started with them in early 2009 about the architect's fee, the costs of the design proposal, and the implementation strategy. The architectural firm that best met the principles used was awarded the execution.

Finally, at a meeting in 2010 of the ICC's member countries, in the Assembly of State Parties, the plan by Schmidt Hammer Lassen/ Bosch & Fjord from Aarhus was chosen, despite the jury's preference.

Construction was scheduled to start in 2011 and completion in 2014. “The Danish agency managed to stay within budget and responded well to the functional recommendations of the ICC, among other things” (Maandag 2010: 15). “The design provides the ICC, with a ‘sculptural composition of square towers’. The jury quoted this approach as a very impressive and interesting architectural gesture and a great contribution to the city with an attractive integration into the landscape. This also applies for the idea of ‘moving down’ to the Court through the spacious stairs. The two main entrances, the big and sharp incision in the landscape and the lower ground floor are considered as very interesting elements. The inner atmosphere was confirmed as user-friendly, especially the spacious ground floor with beautiful daylight from above. This ground floor can be seen as an inner private park area which facilitates the interaction between all the ICC employees in a very pleasant and positive way. The dark volume of the stacked courtrooms allows different connotations. The final choice of the materials and the transparency of the facades should clarify this. The chosen typology shows up very well the different areas of the prosecutors, the judges, the registrars, and the courtrooms. Although the proposed façade material puts all the blocks together in a very special and bright way” (website: icc-architectural-competition.com).

The architects Schmidt Hammer Lassen emphasized the recognizability of the building in the design. “Riding west on the alley of Van Alkemadelaan past the Bronovo Hospital and the low apartment buildings, you will see the landscape suddenly open up and give way to a luminescent, sculptural composition of square towers. It emerges against a backdrop of remarkable rolling dunes and scenery of heath, and dry and wet grasslands. If you were looking for the new ICC, you have found it” (icc-architectural-competition.com).

From ‘Black Box’ to ‘Glass Box’ to ‘Green Box’

The ‘black box’ in which the Permanent Court of Arbitration was going to pronounce its judgments could be interpreted differently, as far as symbolism is concerned. It could be described as ‘the black box of international politics’. The reference to the Kaaba in Mecca proved problematic; such symbolisms weighed heavily on the independent court. Eventually, the ‘black box’ was changed into a ‘glass box’, a truly modern theme, and one step further into a contemporary ‘green box’. The building was given towers of different heights on a continuous recessed substructure. The designers wanted to take away as little as possible from the view of the dunes and a public garden was designed between the towers so that it seemed as if the dunes continued, a garden that, according to the architects, should become an ‘open, democratic space for contemplation and unity’. From the offices and meeting rooms, there was a view onto this garden and the dunes, creating a sense of cohesion, according to the architects. On their website, the architects described the ICC with keywords such as: “Openness / Democracy / Justice / Icon / Global / Freedom / Sparkling / Land Art / Clear-cut / Floating / Reflecting” (website Schmidt Hammer Lassen, www.shl.dk). This building was considerably more compact than that which had been awarded first prize and had a considerably smaller footprint.

While the design by Ingenhoven was mainly praised for openness and transparency, the ICC saw the closedness of the building by Schmidt Hammer Lassen as a plus. Due to financial cutbacks, the building was not placed in a sunken space; instead, the towers stood on a high plinth. All the qualities of the original design were cut back and gradually the building turned into the bunker that everyone feared. An original design with respect for the environment was molded into a solid juggernaut by project managers from budget control and security departments.

11.6
City Marketing and the Promotion of the International Image

"The Hague is developing into the international (conference) city by the sea. The municipality, together with market parties, is further expanding The Hague's conference function, both in terms of capacity and programmatically. Effective and result-oriented city marketing is a fundamental prerequisite for economic policy. The Hague Marketing & Events will be placed under one portfolio holder and the budgets will be bundled. We are committed to a more vibrant and dynamic range of events in the city" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2006: 6).

City Marketing: The Image of The Hague as an International City in the Media

The municipal council became explicitly concerned with the image of the city and created a kind of imaginary city alongside the existing city. The identity of the city had to be strengthened by directing its image. International profiling became an important part of the policy. In 2005 the municipal executive adopted the Plan van Aanpak Citymarketing Den Haag (Action Plan City Marketing The Hague). The council was asked to approve the plan, including the budget of up to €250,000 per year for 2005 and 2006. The plan included the merger of two consulting groups that dealt with city marketing into the Administrative Consultation City Marketing (Bestuurlijk Overleg Citymarketing, BOC) 9gemeente Den Haag, 2005).

The definition of identity and image formulated in the 2006 coalition agreement was striking: "Image is the image that others (rightly or wrongly) have of the city. The identity is what you are. It often happens that there is a difference between identity and image. Where necessary, city marketing should help to sharpen the image towards the image you want to project" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2006: 4). Apparently, city marketing was not just spreading the word about the existing identity of the city; it was defined as the 'selling' or 'marketing' of the city with the ultimate aim of strengthening the economy, according to the coalition agreement.

The agency Motivaction Research & Strategy conducted an image study and organized several expert meetings with stakeholders. It concluded: "City pride in The Hague is low, lower than in other big cities. The Hague suffers from negative images nationally (civil servants, "the government", aggression by football supporters) but also internationally (the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia) among some groups. What the city has to offer appears to be insufficiently known. Attracting middle-income earners requires more than just building houses. The Hague scores relatively low as a business location for offices. The city's tourist position is under pressure due to increasing competition. The city center of The Hague attracts too little purchasing power from outside the city" (City marketing strategy. This source is no longer available and the municipality website has been removed).

The report stated: "The Hague's leisure offer has a major influence on the identity and image of The Hague; it is one of the city's most striking calling cards. 'The Hague, World City by the Sea' includes an attractive leisure package. From an economic point of view, it is an important sector because it creates a lot of employment."

For the new municipal executive that entered office in 2006, these kinds of studies were reason to sharpen the international image of the city in the Leisurenota Den Haag 2005-2010 (Gemeente Den Haag, 2005). Numerous previous visions on leisure activities were brought together in one document. This paper provided a strategic framework for urban development. The city center, Scheveningen, to a lesser extent Kijkduin and, in the longer term, the A12 zone were important in this respect. The city center and Scheveningen had to become the city's calling cards and form a concentration of commercial leisure facilities with a (supra-)urban care function. The sectors hospitality/nightlife, attractions/entertainment, art/culture, sports/games, wellness/health, accommodation, and business tourism were considered in this memorandum.

City Marketing Conference, 2006

Administrators and officials of Amsterdam and Rotterdam and the marketing guru Philip Kotler were also consulted. In 2006, the City Marketing Congress took place in the Royal Theatre. There, Kotler explained to The Hague's administrators and civil servants how a city can create an image for itself and sell it. According to Kotler, The Hague had made the right choice with "city of justice and peace", but it did not sell that image well. He pointed out that The Hague did not have a slogan like Rotterdam's "Gateway to Europe". Kotler also had tips for new attractions in The Hague, such as the "justice prize", a museum about what happens behind the doors of the war tribunals, exhibitions about peace in the Peace Palace, and an international archive about crime (AD, 13-5-2006). Kotler believed The Hague should build a large new conference center, which rekindled the discussion. In Kotler's words, the word "Cultcore" (later renamed "Spuiforum" and "Amare") echoed a solution to the image problems. In 2008, administrators from The Hague would initiate Cultcore and would submit a nomination for the European Capital of Culture, to make the international image of the city shine more (see section 11.7 and 11.8).

In 2006, Frits Huffnagel of the VVD was appointed alderman for City Marketing, International Affairs, ICT and Organization. In Amsterdam, Huffnagel had already proven himself as an alderman and city marketer. Huffnagel became the first alderman to be explicitly involved in image building for the city. As a first step, Zestienhoven airport changed its name to Rotterdam The Hague Airport. On November 1, 2006, Huffnagel presented the new city logo that photographer and art director Anton Corbijn had designed for his city. He transformed the traditional stork into a greenish yellow, experimentally designed figure that was soon popularly referred to as 'the spermatozoa'. There

was immediate commotion because the design of the logo and the concomitant rebranding had cost €190,000. By 2012, The Hague had replaced Corbijn's logo on the municipality's website with an old-fashioned stork. The criticism was that Corbijn's design looked too much like a sperm cell. The trendy logo also no longer appeared in the bid book for the European Capital of Culture. Huffnagel also introduced The Hague Festivals, bundling a number of existing events into one well-oiled whole with one website and one agenda.

In 2010, The Hague was named Dutch event city of the year and received the prize for the best city marketing in the Netherlands. However, when the new coalition was formed in 2010, the VVD had to give up a seat and Huffnagel fell by the wayside. The City Marketing Office became a compact department again, which was brought under the umbrella of the Department of Urban Development with The Hague Marketing as the executive body. Years later, it was reorganized into the Bureau Citybranding, which 'participates, stimulates and facilitates stakeholders', according to its objective. The aim of city marketing remained the core positioning of The Hague as international city of peace and justice.

City marketing had become more important than memorandums and master plans. Policy documents changed; thirty years earlier, they had been long-winded, illegible documents full of statistics, graphs, and in-depth scientific considerations. In this period, policy documents were better designed than brochures from travel agencies, full of colorful images and in a narrative tone. The master plans and policy documents are illustrative elaborations of the ideas of city marketing. Cheerful people on websites propagated municipal policy. An actual analysis of the problems with an assessment framework of the interests of the various stakeholders was considered of secondary importance. After all, in the council, college parties are traditionally in favor and the opposition always against, regardless of the subject. There was little willingness to compromise.

As a result, conflicts of interest grow into insurmountable conflicts from which there seemed to be no way out; a trench war between coalition and opposition. That conflict was fought in the media with suggestive websites, and in the local newspaper Den Haag Centraal and the news channel Omroep West, where journalists have their hands full writing about The Hague's municipal council. Communication between residents' organizations and the city council was difficult and full of mistrust.

The number of local opposition parties grew strongly, compared to traditional governing parties. For example, in the period 2006-2010 there was an enormous number of local parties with seats in the municipal council. There were larger, traditional parties like Socialist Party (SP, 4 seats), Cristian democrats (CDA, 5 seats), Labour Party (PvdA, 15 seats), Green Party (GroenLinks, 3 seats), Liberals (VVD, 10 seats) and Social Liberals (D66, 2 seats). In addition, local parties held seats as well: Solidair Nederland (1 seat), Lijst Pim Fortuyn (1 seat), Politieke Partij Scheveningen (1 seat), Partij van de Eenheid (1 seat), Islam Democraten (1 seat), CU/SGP (1 seat), and Haagse Stadspartij (1 seat). Many of these parties remained active only for one four-year cycle, while others emerged suddenly and managed to take away many seats from traditional parties. The most successful is the PVV, which gained 8 seats in 2010. These rapid changes made it more difficult to create stable coalitions for the long term.

The Creative City and Its Breeding Grounds: The Kosmopolis Foundation

September 2005 saw the publication of the Notitie Creatieve stad Den Haag (Memorandum on the Creative City of The Hague) published by the municipality, announcing the Creative City program. Creative business services were an important factor for innovation. The memorandum moved away from the narrow definition that creativity related to the arts, media, entertainment, and creative business services, and adopted the idea of Richard Florida (2002; 2008) that focused on the creative class: that part of the workforce that is engaged in innovative work, such as designers, knowledge workers, and scientists. Human creativity was seen as the new engine for economic growth, as proposed by the British geographer Peter Hall (1998).

The memorandum noted that The Hague was the only one of the four major cities to show a downward trend in creative activity. Creative activity is generally spatially characterized by clustering. In the location strategy, the municipality therefore developed an incubator policy: multi-tenant buildings, often monuments, where creative activity was given space, for example Zuid 57 in Morgenstond, the Nest on De Constant Rebecqueplein, the Caballero Factory and Bink 36 in Binckhorst, etc.

This memorandum showed the changes that were taking place in thinking about the city and the importance that was attached to culture and the activity that resulted from it. The cultural philosopher, teacher, and civil servant Tom Dommisse reported extensively on roundtable discussions between 2007 and 2010, in which the search for an international identity and the role of 'the creative city' was discussed. Dommisse argued: "Expats and migrants tell you that the international atmosphere here is almost self-evident, and city marketers convince you of the unprecedented possibilities in its branding as 'legal capital'. But you are also a bit anxious that you will miss the boat in the maelstrom of globalization. You are proud of this city and ambitious, and so you wrestle with the big questions of cultural politics today: how do you, as a smart city, attract talented residents? How do you facilitate a creative economy with opportunities for growth? How do you combine the unique spatial quality of the 'world city by the sea' with sustainable development? How do you formulate a distinctive identity?" (Dommisse, 2010). It remained unclear in Dommisse's argument whether The Hague could distinguish itself by following the same concept as Amsterdam and Rotterdam. There was no critical self-reflection on the situation in The Hague. For example, little or no attention was given to The Hague's cultural identity, and subsidies were mainly spent on mega-events.

Dommisse stated: "The stereoscopic perspective outlined above also resonates in the Foundation for the Directors of The Hague Stages and

Companies. Here, they have been working in practice for some time on a solid vision that, emphatically from an artistic approach, wants to work out the position of The Hague as an international cultural city in two directions. On the one hand, with an artistically high-quality art program that strengthens the international image of the city and makes it visible in the international world as the 'legal capital of the world'. On the other hand, with art that actively intervenes in the multinational hometown of 50,000 expatriates and that gives voice to residents of all nationalities: an art that explores new language idioms, that creates concepts and visual figures for urbanization and embraces the richness of cultural diversity." In 2012, Dommisse's article about the ambitions, the steps that had been taken, and the results, disappeared from the municipal website. Nothing is as fluid in policy as a temporary colorful website.

In addition to the economic arguments mentioned in the 2005 memorandum, administrators also put forward political arguments that legitimized the benefits of globalization and the international city. Both Dommisse and the Kosmopolis Foundation, active since 2007, emphasized these arguments. With its website kosmopolisdenhaag.nl, Kosmopolis mainly tried to reach youth of various ethnic backgrounds. Kosmopolis set itself the goal of promoting social cohesion in the city and chose art and culture to this end. Kosmopolis described itself as a local, interurban, and international multimedia platform that uses art, culture, and debate to create an in-depth dialogue between 'old' and 'new' Dutch people. The mission of Kosmopolis was to connect the international ambitions of the city and the many identities of the new and old residents: "Kosmopolis The Hague aims to promote social cohesion in the city and prefers art and culture to that end. It wants to enliven the art climate in The Hague and involve artists, art practitioners, and art lovers. It wants to make art and culture more visible and accessible to a wider audience. And it is committed to deepening cooperation between cultural institutions and stimulating metropolitan art policy, which focuses on the international city in all its capacities, with all its faces" (Kosmopolis Den Haag, 2011). It consisted of three urban organizations, each with its own emphasis: The Hague, Rotterdam, and Utrecht. The Rotterdam architect Ashok Bhalotra was appointed chairman for The Hague. The foundation was funded by these municipalities, the ministry of Education, Culture and Science and the ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The question was whether a top-down organization such as Kosmopolis really reached the youth of The Hague. Unfortunately, it was never evaluated whether art had increased social cohesion in the city. It may be that art had increased cohesion within certain circles, but whether the entire city benefited from this remains to be investigated.

The Crisis Years: Cityscape and Alienation

In September 2008, a global financial crisis started, resulting in an economic crisis and the halting of construction projects in The Hague. Developers and corporations received little money from banks, while consumers found it very hardly to get a mortgage. Housing corporations in The Hague ran into difficulties and eventually dissolved all development, so that housing construction came to a virtual standstill. The integrated area development and the public-private partnership in which the municipality, corporations, and developers jointly developed large urban ensembles came to a temporary end.

On July 1, 2008, the new Land Exploitation Act (Grex Act) came into force, giving municipalities more tools to recover the costs of area development from landowners (often project developers). However, the lucrative landholdings of municipalities, developers, and corporations now became a heavy burden. The expected developments and profits did not materialize. Everyone had to write off interest losses on the landholdings. The usual way of area development, in which project developers simply received a lot of money from banks, led to the construction of shops, offices, and homes that no one was interested in. The motive for building houses was not to provide people with a home, but to bring a profit to the project developer if he managed to sell the project to an investor. In several neighborhoods, including Duindorp, Transvaalkwartier, and Rivierenbuurt, initiatives that had been started under Noordanus were only partially built. New projects were frozen by corporations.

While the retail sector was being restructured and many shops disappeared in certain locations, new stores were being built everywhere. There was even talk of 30% more retail space in the new millennium. While the new way of working (Het Nieuwe Werken) led to a huge reduction in the demand for office space, new offices were also being built everywhere. Banks had no insight into the processes of globalization and invested too credulously in the projects of clever project developers such as Eurocommerce or Fortress. The municipality went along too easily with the wishes of project developers and did not take responsibility as 'city programmer'. As a result, for example, the huge shopping center MegaStores, along the railway tracks in Laakhavens, is slowly decaying. The ambitious project MegaStores could not compete with the beautiful shops in the city center, just as the Scheveningen resort was unable to compete with the successful city center.

Increasingly, the city marketing advice published by administrators came to the attention of the population. The slogans became more and more improbable. The support in the city for the projects that were launched was decreasing. The Action Plan City Marketing The Hague alienated the population from the city rather than creating a bond. It was therefore not surprising that the development of a new cultural center on Turfmarkt, now known as Amare, sharpened contradictions in the city and caused tempers to run high.

In the meantime, the Nederlands Danstheater (Dutch Dance Theater, NDT) led by choreographer Jiří Kylián and the building designed by Rem Koolhaas of OMA were world-renowned.

11.7

Spuiforum: Theatre for Music and Dance

"With the transformation into the International Culture Forum Spui, the city center of The Hague will become even more attractive and receive more visitors. … With the International Culture Forum Spui and the new dance and music center, international ambitions are made concrete, and The Hague shows what it has become in terms of urban planning and culture: world city by the sea!" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2009. Text council proposal 19-05-2009)

Cultcore: The Completion of the Campaign for Urban Renewal as a Cultural Activity, 2006-2009

The Culture Forum, Cultcore, Spuiforum, Educational and Cultural Complex (OCC), finally named Amare, has had many names. In essence, it is an economic and cultural concept that fits perfectly into a period that emphasized internationalization. The plans for this iconic building caused emotions to run high in The Hague. The Spuiforum should have been the face of The Hague if it had been elected European Capital of Culture 2018. On the website cultuurforum-spui.nl, the splendor of the cultural forum on the Spui was depicted in colorful images. However, the building was much more than that; it was also the final piece of the Campaign for Urban Renewal as a Cultural Activity and the ideals of the Compact City. The cultural center on Spui was a facility that bridged the gap between the peat and the sand, and is the icing on the cake of the Compact City.

According to the city executive, the main aim of the cultural center was to let the inhabitants of The Hague, from all corners of the world, grow into one truly cosmopolitan population. "Culture is an excellent means of bridging these differences between groups", argued alderman Marjolein de Jong in 2012 (Van der Ven, 2012: 5). Culture unites and gives all the citizens of the city something in common, was the theory. The intended broad program was based on the idea that big crowd-pulling events make smaller art forms possible. In Asia and Anglo-Saxon countries, too, cultural buildings with a similar exploitation model were built, which have enriched the cultural offer. Meanwhile, about half of the population of The Hague was born outside the Netherlands around this period and The Hague exuded a real global atmosphere. It was the international circumstances, but especially the smart response of mayor Deetman and alderman Noordanus that made The Hague globalize and transform into an attractive and inclusive city. The unification of Europe and later the great expansion of the European community to the east in 2004 and 2007 brought many new residents and prosperity to the city. This was favorable until the financial crisis of 2008 caused financial problems for cities. Increasingly, global ambitions of city leaders came up against local interests. The paradox, as it turned out in the discussion about this cultural center, was that the internationalized population of The Hague were less socio-economically fortunate, and therefore opted for local interests instead of embracing the city's international ambitions.

The idea of the cultural building and the Euopean Capital of Culture was probably born during the City Marketing Congress in 2006 by the marketing guru Philip Kotler, who made The Hague's heads of government whizz. The international ambition as it was sung about in the 2005 World City by the Sea was thus partly given shape. A decision on bidding for nomination as the 2018 European Capital of Culture was announced in the coalition agreement of 2006-2010.

It was also announced that consideration had to be given to the long-term accommodation of the NDT and The Hague's orchestra, the Residentie Orkest (RO): "The Hague is an internationally leading city of peace and justice. The position of The Hague is comparable to that of cities such as Vienna and Geneva. The establishment of international institutions and companies in The Hague has greatly increased the importance of the international sector for employment, education, and culture. Because of its international appeal and the positive effects on employment, we want to further strengthen this position in the coming years. The national government and the municipality have a common interest here. The international city of The Hague deserves to work on an attractive, exciting, and urban climate. At the same time, there are more and more residents of The Hague who have their roots abroad. The Hague is therefore an international city of and for everyone. We want to bring the two international worlds of The Hague together" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2006: 7).

The municipal executive with coalition parties PvdA, VVD, and GL were very much in favor of the international ambitions and the Culture Forum. On May 19, 2009, the council approved the Voorstel van het college inzake ontwikkelingen rond het Spuiplein: een nieuw dans- en muziekcentrum en een stedenbouwkundige visie (Proposal of the Municipal Executive Regarding Developments around Spuiplein: A New Dance and Music Center and an Urban Development Vision). OMA's urban development study of February 2009 into Spuiplein and the integration of the cultural building into a Cultcore (an area that also includes the Nieuwe Kerk, Spuitheater film house, Pathé Cinema, Central Library, City Hall) was part of the council decision. This study was presented in the Nota van Uitgangspunten Internationaal Cultuurforum Spui (Memorandum of Principles of the International Cultural Forum Spui) of April 2009. In May 2009 the Department of Urban Development published a colorful brochure: Cultuurforum Spui wordt het culturele hart van Den Haag—Op weg naar het Internationaal Cultuurforum Spui (Cultuurforum Spui Becomes the Cultural Heart of The Hague—On the Way to the International Cultural Forum Spui).

A program study was made into the integration of the building into the surroundings of the Cultcore. A total of 45,000 m2 for the RO, the NDT, and the Royal Conservatoire (KC) had to be accommodated in one mega building. The concentration of culture would positively impact the living climate in the city itself, went the argument. Therefore, the starting points for the building mass in relation to the urban spaces had to be properly coordinated. This part of The Hague would thus transform from an empty city into a pleasant 'hub of respite' with Grote Markt

and Plein, with a huge concentration of shops in between: an attractive city for international institutions, new residents, and tourists.

OMA presented a wide, low design and a high, narrow design. The municipality chose the wide, low design as a starting point (Brakema, 2009; Den Haag Centraal, 20-11-2009). It was immediately clear to everyone that too much building mass with too many functions was being squeezed into too small a place, because the KC had been added later. A novelty was that OMA wanted to connect Rabbijn Maarsenplein with Spuiplein. Two squares and a seventeenth-century church with a green space around it would then be turned into one Culture Forum Spui within the Cultcore. OMA's study did not elaborate on the connections with surrounding neighborhoods such as Rivierenbuurt.

The urban development vision also made it clear why the other side of Spui had to be involved in Spuiplein. The city wanted to revitalize the dead image of Spuiplein by connecting it with the cozy squares in the city center with their lively cafes and restaurants. It argued: "The future Spuiplein is not just a collection of cultural institutions and beautiful buildings. The development of the dance and music center on Spuiplein will be supplemented with more cultural facilities and activities, restaurants, outside seating, and entertainment venues. Interconnectedness with the rest of the city center is essential." (Gemeente Den haag, 2009). Yet, OMA's vision lacked exactly those connections with the environment.

The most essential question was not asked by the municipality: why was the current Spuiplein not the bustling heart of The Hague but an empty heart? (Den Haag Centraal, 1-1-2010; Drijver, 2010, Versteeg, 2010). Why was the city's main square populated only by skaters and people who had lost their way? Of the dozens of squares in The Hague, Spuiplein, designed by Catalan architect Joan Busquets, was seen as least attractive. This was not due to the architect, but to the lack of an urban plinth around the square and the routing in the city. One might think that the problem could be solved by forcing a lot of food and drinks options to be created, but Spuiplein, just like Rabbijn Maarsenplein, would almost certainly lose the competition with the charming Plein (known as 'Bubbeltjesplein', after the luxury establishments where people drank champagne) and the cozy Grote Markt (known as Bierplein after its many beer cafes). Spuiplein should therefore have been given a distinct character of its own that matched the status of the buildings. For example, it could have referred to The Hague's tradition of 'forecourts' at important palaces and cultural buildings. Unfortunately, this was overlooked by OMA.

Spuiforum: Competition in a Time of Draconian Austerity, 2010

The financial crisis of 2008 caused draconian austerity measures as a result of the financial problems for the state and cities. In the municipal elections on March 3, 2010, the coalition parties VVD and PvdA together lost eight seats in the council. Small community libraries, community centers, and the Koorenhuis, a cultural center for people with a small budget, suffered cutbacks that spring. The budget was also cut at the Cultuurforum (Versteeg, 2010; Van der Ven, 2010). According to the coalition agreement between the new coalition parties VVD, PvdA, CDA, and D66, a decision would be made about the Spuiforum at the end of 2010, but for the time being no money was reserved for it. The coalition agreement opened with a less optimistic message: "This coalition takes its responsibility. Due to the economic crisis, the municipality has less money. We need to keep our account books in order. We want to perform better: do more with less money and share responsibility with citizens, organizations, and companies" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2010: 4).

However, the competition for the Spuiforum was launched in May 2010. The competition program contained too many requirements, hardly fitting the location and meaning of Spuiplein. Due to the lack of a municipal vision for that part of the city, the architect had to solve the problem of Spuiplein with a building. The task for the architects was therefore: give The Hague the shine that belongs to a metropolis and for God's sake do something with the square!

Even before the plans were presented, a letter signed by a long line of former aldermen, architects, historians, artists, former civil servants, urban planners, etc. appeared in the local newspaper Den Haag Centraal on April 16, 2010 (Drijver et al., 2010). The letter emphasized the importance of a beating heart for The Hague, but voiced serious concerns about the planning. In summary, the criticism focused on seven points:

1. There is no urban vision on the environment that connects to the building.
2. Due to the enormous building mass and the limited available space, the building can never contribute to a lively Spuiplein.
3. By concentrating everything in one building, the renewal of cultural real estate cannot be phased in. It also excludes other locations in the area that are available for redevelopment and repurposing, which could give the city a strong boost.
4. The plan conflicts with the economic vision of the city center. To bring so many cultural functions and services under one roof is contrary to the city center plan.
5. Funding is uncertain.
6. There are no guarantees that the RO and NDT will recover from years of closure. Nor does the merger with the KC in one building guarantee a facility with unprecedented élan.
7. The pre-selection by a committee of twenty architectural firms implies a narrow range of manuscripts and architectural views.

In view of the above, the current new construction initiative was doomed to failure, according to the letter. Not only was this a huge, missed opportunity, but the city simply couldn't afford it, certainly not at Spuiplein. The writers urged the city to take a step back.

There were 54 entries for the competition, including one by Koolhaas. The selection committee included the chairman Herman Tjeenk Willink, a politician and member of the Council of State, the Chief Government

Architect Liesbeth van der Pol, the director of the NDT Jet de Ranitz, the director of the RO Niels Veenhuizen, and the director of the KC Henk van der Meulen. Also included was the head of the Department of Urban Development Hans Kuipers and Erik Pasveer, head of the section Stedenbouw en Planologie (urban design and planning), and the project leader of the municipality. The committee chose twenty studios that were allowed to give their design vision on the Spuiforum. It became clear from the selection that these were mainly architects who could design striking architectural icons for the city. Of the twenty selected architects, sixteen would submit a design. From May 7, 2010, the sixteen designs were on display in the City Hall (Gemeente Den Haag, 2010; Postmaa, 2010; Drijver et al., 2010).

It was striking that these five architects had also participated in the competition for the ICC, where architecture with an international allure had also been requested. Aldermen were openly delighted with Koolhaas' plan; after all, after the disgraceful competition for the House of Representatives (see section 8.5) and the debacle of the City Hall competition, everyone saw OMA's Koolhaas as a legitimate contender. His name alone gave the city its international sparkle. However, things would turn out differently.

Three architects were chosen to participate in the second round in June: Neutelings Riedijk, Thomas Rau and Zaha Hadid (Postmaa, 2010-06). OMA's plan was rejected because it did not offer enough m2 of space—rather embarrassing; after all, OMA had advised in its programmatic mass study that the program would fit in this location. The selection committee emphasized that building plans could be moved to another building plot. Zaha Hadid's poetic, undulating plan was too big for the plot; while Rau's plan, which stated that his design was the most sustainable, turned out to have a very unfavorable ratio between facade area and building mass, which was bad for energy management. The most compact building was by Neutelings Riedijk; this plan was sustainable and fit the location.

The selection committee therefore opted for this plan, which had already scored the most points in the preliminary round. The committee found the structural design of Neutelings Riedijk to be a promising, logically constructed concept, which found a new and contemporary balance between the scale of the historic city center and the high-rise buildings of the adjacent Wijnhavenkwartier. The 'waist' in the facade, the 'shoulder' that consciously seeks to connect with the existing hotel in terms of height, and the round roof that crowns the building and its surroundings, made the proposed shape of the building both unique and fitting in the demanding environment of Spuiplein. The committee considered the proposed dome at the top of the building to be a great idea, in more ways than one. However, after this no more was heard about the Spuiforum, leading to the impression that the Spuiforum had died a quiet death in December 2010 (Postmaa, 2010; DHC redactie, 12-10-2010).

The Return of the Spuiforum, 2012

The return of the Spuiforum was suddenly announced by the alderman Norder and De Jong in a letter to the city council on September 13, 2012. In an explanation published on September 21, it was announced that the Spuiforum would be considerably smaller, with the costs cut back to 181 million. By reducing the building mass, the building could be rotated by 90 degrees, so that the building mass could be integrated into the urban morphology in a new way. The Spuiplein would almost completely disappear as a result. The intimacy and closedness of the urban spaces, as present in the time before Berlage created various breakthroughs in the center, returned. With this 'move', the urban planners were also able to improve the connections with the environment (Versteeg, 2012). Various functions would be housed in adjacent buildings. Maybe OMA could have told the alderman this a few years ago! The local newspaper Den Haag Centraal published a slew of comments and open letters for and against the plan. During public participation in October 2012 in the Spatial Planning Committee meeting, all the arguments for and against the plan that were already mentioned in 2010 came back in full force.

A suvery on the Spuiforum conducted by polling company Maurice de Hond was shocking: 48% of the population had no idea what the Spuiforum was. Only 19% of the population was in favor, 69% were against it because they thought it was too expensive and 12% had no opinion. Incidentally, 40% of the population turned out to be in favor of renovating the existing buildings and 40% in favor of taking advantage of the vacant space in the city. Only 11% wanted a new building. A survey by Omroep West indicated that 79% of the population did not want Spuiforum. The paradox is that the globalized local population, who were less fortunate socio-economically, preferred money to be spent on local issues instead of the city's global ambitions (Koopman, 2012; Simeone, 2012; De Boer, 2012).

On November 8, 2012, the municipal council definitively decided to implement the Spuiforum. According to the usual way of working in The Hague, the coalition parties were in favor and the opposition parties against. Conditions were a budget of 181 million euros, that the operational costs must be budget-neutral after 4 years, that the buildings must reasonably fit on the building plot, and there must be support from the population. The alderman had to report on this in April 2013.

Failure of the Bid for Capital of Culture, 2012

At the end of 2012, The Hague was not shortlisted for European Capital of Culture 2018, even though everyone in the city saw The Hague a serious candidate. The Spuiforum had been presented as a key project in the municipality's bidbook for The Hague's candidacy.

Earlier, on January 26, 2012, Eric Corijn (professor of social and cultural geography at VU University Amsterdam) had remarked during a lecture for the Deltametropolis Association that administrators in The Hague should pay more attention to the cosmopolitan culture that already lived in the streets of the city and should spend much less attention on imagery and city marketing.

To successfully make the transformation into a global city, it was not

only the administration's prefabricated image and city marketing that must be realized. The transformation is taking place among all city dwellers, who often come from all corners of the world and who form a patchwork of identities. Cosmopolitan culture arises on its own, and that must be shown. In this way, the city can acquire a place in the network of cosmopolitan world cities. Due to the heterogeneity of its inhabitants, Brussels had quietly transformed from a national capital to a world city. The city of The Hague can learn from this, Corijn argued. The state-building process in Europe, with national languages and institutions, was an obstacle to the emergence of a truly cosmopolitan and hybrid urban culture in many cities. Newcomers to the city must be given a place and the city must pay more attention to its population. No prefab, clichéd city marketing; rather, the city should help to shape this identity together with residents and newcomers, so that a widely supported image of the city is created. Alienating marketing strategies such as 'legal capital of the world' and 'international city of peace and justice' should be abandoned, as no one identifies with them. Corijn argued that the city is not the product of national policy intentions, city marketing, and government control; cities produce their own culture, or rather all its inhabitants produce this hybrid culture.

In the Pre-selection Report, Nomination of the European Capital of Culture 2018 in the Netherlands (European Commission, 2012, 11 29/30), the panel was unrelenting in its assessment of The Hague. The city was too globally and internationally focused with its slogan 'capital of justice and peace' and the bidbook paid little attention to common European values. Furthermore, the municipality of The Hague showed little attention to conflicts between the population groups in its bidbook and these various communities were not actively involved in the preparation of the Capital of Culture. In the Panel's assessment it was stated: "With regard to the European Dimension, the Panel felt that the bid rather suited the idea of an international, global, Capital of Justice and Peace – with its focus on the international values of which the city is the symbol – as opposed to a specifically European Capital of Culture. The common denominators of European cultures were not, some panellists felt, made apparent enough in either the bid book or at the presentation. Concerning the "City and Citizens" dimension, the Panel felt that the multiculturalism of The Hague's population was well highlighted. However, although the bid comprises two programme lines under the theme of "inclusion and opportunities", the Panel missed reference to conflicts or tensions between different groups of society and precise proposals to actively involve the various communities living in the city in both preparation and implementation of the ECoC programme." (European Commission, 2012, 11 29/30: 3).

At the same time, many libraries and community centers were closed in the neighborhoods and the budget for culture was cut considerably in the Haagse Meerjarenbeleidsplan Kunst en Cultuur 2013-2016. (The Hague's Long-Term Policy Plan for Art and Culture 2013-2016), showing that The Hague was unable to really support culture at grassroots level. The Hague's response to the failed bid showed that it did not really understand the criticism. "We approached the diversity in the composition of the population of The Hague from a positive point of view and not from a problem (read 'conflict') point of view. Cultural education, and thus the involvement of broad layers of the population in culture, also played an important role in this subject. This is a sustainable approach that makes diversity a strength and not a problem. It is an investment in future participation and in future audiences. Various groups were interlocutors with us and were part of the process. Through our ideas campaign, ideas were submitted from all parts of the city" (Website www.denhaag-2018.nl 2013, 10 01 – offline).

Jan Brouwer of the Delft research and consultancy firm ABF Cultuur accused the municipality of ignoring its own population, especially all the local communities that had repopulated the city since the 1980s. Brouwer's most important conclusion was that the squabbling in municipal politics about the Spuiforum had made the jury for the Capital of Culture wary. Brouwer concluded: "The fact that half of the residents of The Hague are of immigrant origin has been ignored. … The white part of society in The Hague recognized themselves in the plans. The white stronghold writes culture with a capital C and art with a capital A. The bidbook was mainly intended for that group. Of course, the bidbook also contains a lot of figures about the mixed composition of the population, but I didn't see any of it in the program itself" (Van der Ven, 2012: 5).

During a city debate "Events as the engine of the city? On the legacy of visions" on December 11, 2012 about the bidbook and the rejection for the European Capital of Culture, specialists Greg Richards (professor of Leisure Studies at KUB), Bernadette Jansen (urban planner at Parkstad Limburg), and Aus Greidanus (Appel Theater) argued that an event such as European Capital of Culture should above all be a means to an end, the dot on the horizon. However, The Hague lacked urgency and the goal did not involve the various communities of the city in the application, but only a certain elite. In the applications submitted by Maastricht, Leeuwarden, and Eindhoven, this urgency was much more visible. Perhaps The Hague, as a city without walls, would have been better off setting itself the goal of breaking down the walls that exist in the minds of its inhabitants. After all, the different communities from all corners of Europe and the world lived alongside each other but seemed to have almost nothing to do with each other. Socio-economically like-minded people clustered together in the different neighborhoods, and the neighborhood where one is born still determines one's status in The Hague. During the debate, Richards said: "If The Hague ever wants to win anything, it must first get its residents on board: 144 nationalities, expats, residents of The Hague, politicians, and workers." Someone in the audience explained: "Especially in a city of peace and justice, an example should be set of how bureaucrats can deal with the local population."

The Spatial Planning Committee and council meetings of the municipality, which could be watched online, achieved high viewing figures in October and November 2012. The editors of the local newspaper Den Haag Centraal were inundated with opinions from supporters and opponents, and newspaper headlines were already taking a firm stand.

During that period, newspaper headlines appeared in Den Haag

Impression of the Spuiforum by Neutelings Riedijk Architects, *Trouw,* Februari 20, 2010.
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Centraal from both supporters and opponents, such as: “Opposition to the new Spuiforum persists”, “The Hague wants a music temple, but shuts down its incubator”, “Spuiforum will be a disappointment”, “Champagne balcony on the Spui”, “Enormous boost for the city center”, “Richard Meier: ‘Development of the square is highly unfortunate’ — renowned architects angry about Spuiforum plans”, “Confusion over Spuiforum increases: ‘Concert hall is not a dome where you gaze at the stars, but a flat box’ ”, “Spuiforum will be an asset”, “Urban planning has become bookkeeping”, “Deception in the presentation is also present in the Dance Theater”, “Open letter from the De Mos Group to The Hague Labour Party—Abandon the Spuiforum!”, “Spuiforum continues to stir public debate,” “Dooievaar Working Group threatens to approach Cultural Capital jury”, “How Norder rallied his own supporters—Council majority backs Spuiforum”, “Open letter from architect Hans van Beek to Marnix Norder”, “Spuiforum decision produces no winners”, “Spuiforum: investing against the spirit of the times”.

The questions remains whether all these criticisms were justified. The Hague had grown explosively in the past 25 years and had been thoroughly transformed into a world city. Perhaps the municipality went a little too fast, and the emergence of a cosmopolitan culture was only a matter of patience.

Credit Application, Renovation and the Elections, 2013

The Irreversible Decision of 2013

When the municipality published its Gewijzigd voorstel van het college inzake Kredietaanvraag Spuiforum (Amended Proposal on Credit Application Spuiforum) on July 18, 2013, emotions ran high again. Council members only seemed to care about scoring points for or against the Spuiforum, while the rest of the urban problems were of secondary importance. For the second time, the Spuiforum became a crucial issue in the approaching municipal elections (Oorschot, 2013).

Part of the opposition only wanted to study the renovation of the existing cultural buildings and decide before the elections. The population opposed spending money, so this viewpoint would win, they reasoned. GL, once the initiator of the Spuiforum, was now actively opposed. PVV, SP and HSP enjoyed seeing the coalition parties being torn to pieces by party dissidents. PVV, the big winner of the 2010 elections, thought spending money on a cultural palace was a waste of money anyway. Again, there were endless Spatial Planning Committee meetings, media appearances, and council meetings that could be seen live via the internet by the citizens; ideal occasions for council members to present themselves.

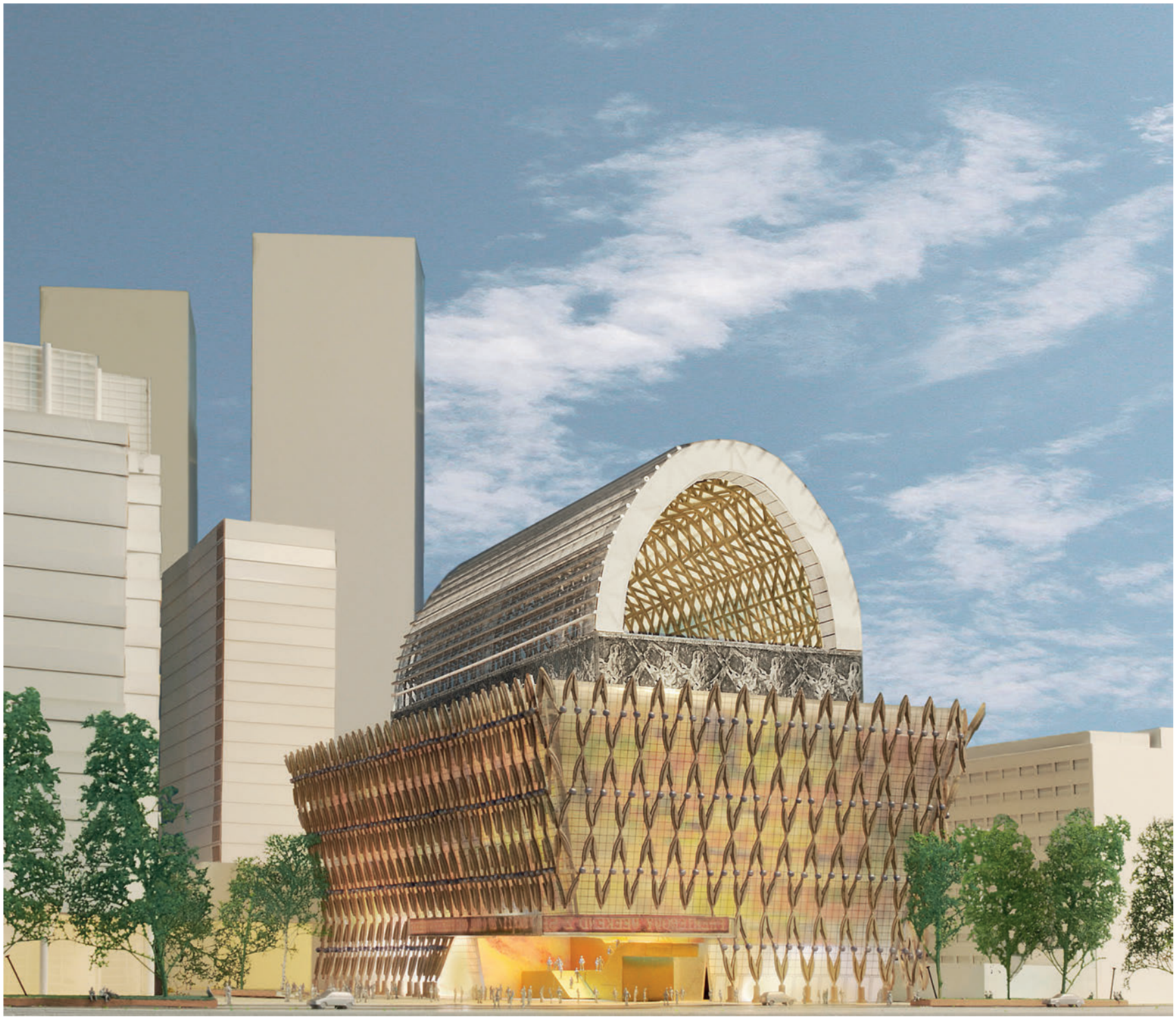
Architectural images thus became a powerful weapon in municipal politics. After all, in addition to the economy, every municipal executive also dreamed of leaving behind an architectural icon. A new city hall, a theater, or a Spuiforum. For some icons, it could be said that they do make a lot of money, such as the Sydney Opera, the Eiffel Tower, or the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, which draw many tourists. It is not known whether this benefit was calculated in advance in these cases. But building such powerful, clear images will certainly draw strong support as well as opposition. The council decision on the Spuiforum from November 2012 would become irreversible with the council decision of July 18, 2013 on the credit application. In short, this was a last chance for the opponents to prevent it.

Proponents argued that the Spuiforum was an expensive building, but it would also bring a lot to the city. This was already shown in the period before the decision to build. The number of tourists in the city was increasing, which brought a lot of employment because every hotel bed means a job. The operation of the building would also provide a lot of employment. Although the exploitation calculation was not entirely conclusive, the economic significance of such a building must also be viewed in the long term. The building would be depreciated in 40 years and hopefully would be there for at least a few hundred years after that. Therefore, a budget of 181 million was justifiable. The tender was expected to go well in this time of crisis and would create a lot of jobs for the construction industry. Countercyclical construction has always been advisable in times of economic crisis.

As mentioned, important arguments in favor of the building stemmed from the idea of the Compact City and the educational ideals and employment promoted by various political parties. PvdA and D66 played a leading role in this. Usually, a member of the PvdA held the post of alderman of urban development; during this period, it was Marnix Norder. For D66 it was a main driver of the culture and education policy and the PvdA saw in the Spuiforum the completion of the Compact City and The Hague New Center. With the urban development plans for the surrounding area, The Hague now had an entrance to the city with a ‘red carpet’ (Turfmarkt) and surrounding neighborhoods such as Rivierenbuurt were made an integrated part of the city by the fine network of urban spaces. At the Spuiforum, ‘elevation’ and ‘bonding’ came together, resulting in an enormous economic stimulus, it was argued. Councilor Jos de Jong (PvdA) emphasized that employment was an important issue for the PvdA. In addition to the social return during construction, the Spuiforum would have major consequences for the city’s economy, especially now that youth unemployment was rising dramatically. The programming would be based on all types of music and tastes, not just the genres displayed by the RO and NDT, which some labeled as elitist.

Adri Duivesteijn (PvdA) also turned out to be a warm supporter of the Spuiforum and regularly published messages on social media in which he propagated his position from 1985 and highlighted the positive aspects of the Spuiforum. In the golden age, the Spuiforum had been the shining diamond in the candidacy for European Capital of Culture; now that the financial crisis had occurred, the argumentation changed to a truly Keynesian point of view, in which government projects are intended to defuse a crisis. The Liberals also appeared to be convinced of the economic benefits for the city and the enlightenment that culture could bring. The proponents were unanimous in arguing that the creative industry and economy are riveted together.

Opponents denounced the ostentatiousness of this intended icon,



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argued that the administrators mainly wanted to put themselves on the map, and claimed that the economic effects were exaggerated. They doubted that profitable exploitation of the Spuiforum would be possible, and did not trust the estimated land development and construction costs. Usually, these objections were contained in confidential council documents, which fed the distrust among the population. For many successful cultural icons, there are at least as many failed or forgotten icons. Yet, the opponents were otherwise mostly divided.

After a thorough questioning of Bordewijk (D66) and Lakerveld (VDD) during the council meeting on July 18, the opposition parties turned out to have little sympathy for an alternative to the Spuiforum. The SP only wanted to allocate 100 million for the alternative, which might cost as much as 150 million. The CDA remained silent about the Spuiforum, but quietly voted in favor, with only one dissident. With this delay, which the opposition had desired, the Spuiforum decision would take place shortly before the 2014 elections, instead of in 2013. In previous elections, controversial points of view had driven wedges between and within the coalition parties. Before the 2010 elections, the cruise terminal at Scheveningen-Harbor had been demolished because critical members of the VVD forced their own party to do so. Before the 2014 elections, the idea for a cable car over the harbor had been cancelled at the hands of Norder's own PvdA members. The opponents were divided but had one clear goal: delaying the decision to the 2014 elections, so they could raise their profile.

The opponents furthermore argued that it the Spuiforum would be a cultural building mostly used by the ethnic Dutch upper class. This united opponents such as Dooievaar+, a group of architects supplemented by angry citizens including many immigrants and PVV voters, who found this kind of spending irresponsible in this time of unemployment. For the PVV, cultural subsidies by the municipality were a waste of money anyway, which cost too much for the citizens. Yet, the opponents were not all unified: Dooievaar+, which had set up the Spuiforum Krankjorum (Spuiforum: Crazy) campaign and organized debates in which mainly the opponents were allowed to debate, did not share the PVV's view on cultural subsidies.

Some people from the cultural sector and organizations such as the Friends of The Hague supported the opponents. Spuiforum Krankjorum presented an alternative, which said that the three cultural institutions KC, NDT and RO had to be located on Spui and that substantial investments should be made in culture and buildings. The starting point was to preserve the exciting buildings and to involve the empty ministry of Justice in the planning. Now real estate developer Proper Stok had an option to buy it, but there was no program for this building yet. Part of it had been converted by Leiden University into its campus in The Hague with student housing. Many opposition councilors wanted to see this option seriously investigated, so they could take the decision before the elections. The proponents of the Spuiforum saw this study into the alternative as a delaying technique, aiming to torpedo the Spuiforum in its entirety later, during the elections. In any case, the much-vaunted renovation option might cost 150 million euros, hardly less than new construction at 181 million euros. Furthermore, the municipality would miss out on the money from the sale of the ministry of Justice to Proper Stok, and the old buildings would have to be renovated on a large scale later. The KC, NDT, and RO were also not happy with the alternative because they preferred to have all activities in one building, instead of spread over several buildings.

With the elections on March 19, 2014 in mind, each party tried to take the best position in the opposition and to push each other into the abyss. Yet, most parties were not fully united in their viewpoint. In the PvdA, members usually debated loudly about all kinds of subjects. Slowly, the party was divided into supporters and opponents for the Spuiforum. The aldermen and most party members were in favor, while some members opposed it. Administrators are accused of have too little regard for sustainable developments. After all, reuse and repurpose were the new magic words, and this should also apply to construction products and resources. The miserable cycle of demolition and new construction in the old golden age was now over; the sustainable city was imminent. People of Turkish, Moroccan, and Hindustani descent within the PvdA felt that there should be other priorities to spend money at the moment, for example the degraded residential areas and youth unemployment. As to culture, libraries in the periphery were closed, so it would be strange to spend money on a new cultural icon.

Within D66, former alderman René Vlaanderen, chairman of the Friends of The Hague, and former minister Laurens Jan Brinkhorst sounded a critical note, but they turned out to be dissidents. SP, GL, PVV, PvdD and other opposition parties seemed to be a homogeneous bloc internally. Opposition within these parties was invisible, but that does not mean that it was not present. There were supporters of the Spuiforum among the opposition parties, but they were not heard.

Max. 181 Million and Two Options, July 2013

The endgame between proponents and opponents had begun with the debate on the credit application. On June 26, 2013 there was a Spatial Planning Committee meeting on the council's proposal for a credit application for the Spuiforum. On July 8, 2013, the majority of the members of the PvdA voted against the construction of the Spuiforum at a general meeting. Opponents suddenly became PvdA members and voted against. During the debates in the Spatial Planning Committee meeting on July 10, the PvdA abstained from the debate. On July 15, there were live debates on Radio West, in which aldermen Marjolein de Jong (D66) and Marnix Norder (PvdA) met the opponents of the Spuiforum. The positions were merely repeated without any new insights or concessions. That evening, the coalition parties held intensive consultations about the situation that had arisen.

On July 16, during the Spatial Planning Committee meeting, it appeared that the coalition parties had mapped out a new strategy. Enraged by this strategy, councilor Mustafa Okcuoglu, who had previously voted in favor, tore up his PvdA membership and decided to continue on his own in the council. He later joined GL, which, as an opposition party between 2010 and 2014, was also suddenly opposed. The coalition came to the council with an amended proposal. On the one hand, the

PvdA was in favor of putting the Spuiforum's credit application to the vote, but on the other hand, it wanted to seriously study the alternative of Dooievaar+ with the promise that if it turned out to be cheaper and better, the PvdA would opt for this plan.

With the vote in favor of credit application, the council's decision for the Spuiforum taken in November became irreversible. The question remained which of the two options would eventually be built. The credit application for 181 million was changed into 'a maximum of 181 million. This cleverly drove a wedge into the opposition, just before the July 18 council meeting. The opponents to the Spuiforum who favored the renovation alternative and the opponents who did not want to spend money at all were played against each other. Dooievaar+ was commissioned to work with Neutelings Riedijk to bring the renovation alternative to a sketch design level, so that this plan could be assessed alongside the new-build variant. Two previous studies into renovation had already come to nothing, but the alderman was confident about the result. After the elections, it was hoped that a final judgement on new construction or renovation would be possible. The assessment criteria were determined as 'significantly better' and 'cheaper'. Other assessment criteria, such as public support, were introduced as motions but voted down. Criteria such as the sustainable development of the city were not suggested by any council member. It was striking that no one used the words 'icon', 'image' and 'architecture' during the endless debates, while it was precisely the invisible power of the image that had caused the Hague to stir up the dust.

During the council meeting of July 18, which lasted well into the night, 21 of the 45 council members voted against and 23 in favor of the credit application for the Spuiforum.

That summer, opponents worked feverishly on a renovation variant. This was finally presented to the city council as the Aanbiedingsbrief Renovatieplan Spuiforum (Presentation Letter Spuiforum Renovation Plan) of September 23, 2013. A few days earlier in June, it was decided to build Rotterdamsebaan, a huge but invisible structure that connected the A4 and A13 motorways with the inner ring road of The Hague. The costs for the municipality were at least two Spuiforums. In the council, this project was accepted without debate or publicity. Media attention, party politics, and the silent power of the image played a decisive role in the great architecture icon Spuiforum, on which all eyes in the city were focused, and where political successes can easily be achieved or lost.

New Build or Renovation? September-October 2013

Much has been said and tweeted about the Spuiforum, but the architect Willem Jan Neutelings had not yet talked about his design (Oorschot, 2013). He was kept away by administrators to limit any political damage. In a tumultuous council meeting on September 23, 2013 Neutelings and the independent project leader of action group Dooievaar+ explained their alternatives to the council (Gemeente Den Haag, 2013). On September 26, architects from The Hague invited Neutelings to the BNA to hear his vision.

One thing was certain: the urbanity quality of The Hague New Center improved considerably with the rotation of the Spuiforum as proposed in the plan for the new building. It ensured that the solitary building fitted into the orthogonal morphology of Wijnhavenkwartier. The De Nieuwe Hout plan from 1970 with all the buildings parallel to the main direction of the city, such as the Central station and the two ministries, was thus taken up again. According to Neutelings, this position had several positive consequences. This would improve the affordability of the area, because more streets would be added, and the connection with the nearby neighborhood would become self-evident. The narrower street profiles would create an intimate and urban atmosphere, while the widened Turfmarkt takes on the profile of Grote Marktstraat and the Nieuwe Kerk would finally become visible again. Spuiplein would largely disappear, but a courtyard would be built in its place. The accent would be more on Turfmarkt and the corner entrance of the Spuiforum, which directly connects to the large atrium, the public interior space of the Spuiforum. The rotation would also make the round roof more natural and give the domed foyer a view of the Nieuwe Kerk. The building mass had shoulders at approx. 36 meters with a recessed dome of up to 70 meters above it. This receding roof shape was Palladio's idea and ensured that the enormous building mass was visually reduced. Thus, the head of urban planning Erik Pasveer took the principles that Rob Krier had formulated for De Resident a step further for The Hague New Center: intricate urban spaces that connect the parts of the city reinforce the enclosed character of the old city, and the 'needle strategy' with 'The Hague Height' for the shoulders and recessed high-rise buildings for the dome.

The renovation alternative lacked the clarity of the urban spaces, as was evident from Neutelings' presentations. The surface area for circulation within the new building would be 8,400 m2; the renovation option would offer 15,900 m2. The affordability of urban space and the connection with the environment were also missing in the renovation alternative, because important passages would be closed. In addition, considerably fewer houses could be built on the extra plots and the old ministry of Justice could not be repurposed for Leiden University because the Royal Conservatoire would have to be housed there. Spuiplein and the hall of the NDT were to be retained, thus coming back to the design of a square in front of a cultural building, as is an old theme in The Hague.

The new-build variant of the Spuiforum has two strong points, Neutelings argued. It promotes synergy between cultural institutions and its extraordinarily compact building mass makes it a passively sustainable building with a simple building structure that fits better on its plot. It is compact because the spaces are simply organized: the rooms are stacked on top of each other. Downstairs is the NDT, above that the music hall for the conservatoire, and above it the dome hall for the RO. Each floor will have its own front door for the various institutions. The floor plan of the new building is that of a classical basilica: a central nave with stacked halls and two side aisles on the facade for secondary spaces such as education and offices. On the side of Spui is the atrium with a 'stairway' that connects the three institutions and ends in the dome foyer. The NDT will have a replica of

the current dance hall, the old Lucent Danstheater of OMA, with 300 extra seats; the golden shields and the curtain by Petra Blaise will be taken to the new building. The reason for this is the emotional value and fame of the hall, as it is one of the few halls designed specifically for dance due to its width and angle of inclination of the floor with the seats. Neutelings once worked on it as a student at OMA. The Royal Conservatoire would get four floors with the music hall at its heart; this is not a public hall but a room specifically for educational purposes, where visitors sit in galleries around the hall. The hall is like an Italian square: from the corridor one can look into the hall from above. The dome hall would be a rectangular flat-floor hall with stage lifts so that the stage can be adjusted to different heights. The most special thing about the dome is the daylight and the starry sky that can be seen at night, according to Neutelings.

When comparing the renovation alternative with the new building, it became crystal clear what was already clear: due to its compact building mass, the new building would be much more sustainable. The energy consumption of the new building is estimated at 18,589 GJ and of the renovation variant at 22,662 GJ per year. The new building has a 29,000 m2 facade and roof shell; the renovation variant 46,500 m2. The gross/net factor for new construction is 1.73, while the renovation variant is 2.1. The renovation alternative also turned out to be 7.5 million euros more expensive and cost an additional 1.5 million euros in operation on an annual basis. It also turned out that the renovation alternative requires much more demolition than was thought. Although the two halls ministry buildings would be preserved, the ministry of Justice would be largely demolished. In the new-build option, 15,500 m2 would be demolished; in the renovation alternative no less than 33,000 m2.

With the Spuiforum located on Spui, it took on the atmosphere of the Staatsoper in Vienna on the Ring or the theaters on Broadway in New York. In the future, Spui could develop into a true city boulevard, an ideal of Pasveer that had also been suggested by alderman Lely a hundred years earlier. Furthermore, plots became available where 400 to 500 homes could be built. Leiden University wanted to establish itself in the old ministry of the Interior with student housing on the top floors. Because various cultural functions around Spui would be brought into close proximity to each other, a cultural campus would thus be created. With the redevelopment of the old ministries by Leiden University, new housing on the vacant plots, and the new ministry of Justice, the completion of the Compact City with its ideals of mixing urban functions was near.

After Neutelings' explanation and a debate with critical questions from the audience, a vote was taken. The architectural community in The Hague voted in favor of a new building and found the renovation alternative unsustainable. The council debated these options twice and the zoning plan once, and the final decision was made on October 31. The hall at the Stroom cultural center was full of architects. Local politicians, policy makers, and activists were nowhere to be seen. Neutelings explained the new building and the renovation option that was made together with Dooievaar+ in nine workshops. A collaboration that was enforced by the municipality city council. Even before any conclusions were drawn by the council or fellow architects, Dooievaar+ withdrew and distanced itself from its own plan. In doing so, opponents avoided a discussion on topics that were important to the city, such as the impact that each option would have on the city in the long term, the extent to which the proposals would achieve the desired urbanity in the New Center of The Hague, the synergy between the institutions housed in the Spuiforum, and sustainability in urban development and buildings.

During the meetings of the Spatial Planning Committee on October15 and 16, 2013, opponents of the Spuiforum appeared to have chosen a new strategy: casting suspicions and insinuations and coming up with a lot of new points of view that still had to be investigated. Proponents had also united, and famous musicians made an impassioned plea for new construction. A dancer from primary school also spoke and made a warm plea for the facility. The debate in the council between supporters and opponents declined into mudslinging; a low point in the procedure. Arguments for or against and carefully substantiated motives were apparently no longer relevant. Seized by the power of the image of the Spuiforum, with the approaching elections in mind, everything seemed permissible for both supporters and opponents. Even though the members of the PvdA were against, the council faction was in favor except for two people. During the council meeting onOctober 31, 2013, the final choice was made for the new variant of the Spuiforum. However, with the city council of The Hague, nothing was ever certain.

The Municipal Elections of March 19, 2014, and the End of the Spuiforum

The municipal elections of March 19, 2014, and particularly the subsequent coalition formation, were decisive for the fate of the Spuiforum. Governing parties were in favor of the Spuiforum, whereas the opposition—especially the local parties—were firmly against it. Supporters and opponents had announced beforehand that they would not change their positions. According to opinion polls, the proponents were unlikely to gain a majority. Halting the Spuiforum project, however, would have represented a major loss, and an alternative would then have to be developed. Thus, the Spuiforum once again became a political plaything during the elections.

The 2014 elections were won by local parties, while the established governing parties of The Hague suffered losses. The coalition parties lost only one seat in total: the VVD lost three seats, retaining four; the PvdA lost four seats and ended with ten; the CDA remained at three; and D66 (a supporter of the Spuiforum) gained two seats, reaching eight. The election winners, primarily local opposition parties with a pronounced stance against the Spuiforum, gained six additional seats. The HSP gained three seats and reached five, while the right-wing newcomer Group de Mos/Heart for The Hague obtained three seats. For other parties, the efforts surrounding the Spuiforum proved futile: GL lost one seat and ended with two; the left-wing Partij voor de Dieren (Party for the Animals) remained at one; the SP kept two; the PVV

lost one, retaining seven; the CU/SGP remained at one; the Islamic Democrats gained one, rising to two in total; the Unity Party remained at one; and the Political Party Scheveningen disappeared from the council altogether. In short, a new balance of power emerged in The Hague's municipal council.

The newly formed coalition consisted of Social Liberals (D66), Labour Party (PvdA), local party (HSP), Liberals (VVD), and Christian Democrats(CDA). The coalition agreement was titled Vertrouwen op Haagse Kracht (Trust in The Hague's Strength) (Gemeente Den Haag, 2014). The Spuiforum no longer appeared in the document. Instead, the new coalition announced an alternative plan:

"A new plan is being developed: an integrated area development between the Spui, Turfmarkt, the extended Nieuwe Haven, and Schedeldoekshaven. This means that Spuiplein will be preserved and enhanced, and that the vacant Ministry of Justice building (owned by the municipality) will be incorporated into the development. An education and cultural complex will be created, jointly housing the Netherlands Dance Theater, the Residentie Orchestra, the Royal Conservatory, and the Dance and Music Center Foundation. The existing program of requirements and the financial framework will remain the point of departure." (Gemeente Den Haag, 2014: 20).

Thus, a new city administration brought with it a new cultural building.

11.8 Amare: Completion of the Cultural Cluster at the Spuiplein

Three Market Players

After the dramatic elections of 2014 and the cancellation of Neutelings plans of the Spuiforum, it was decided during the coalition negotiations that market parties should take responsibility for the development. "The market" was a magic word for a municipality that has lost its way. The new alderman for Urban Development, Housing, Sustainability and Culture, Joris Wijsmuller of the HSP, was an ardent opponent of the Spuiforum. Het therefore took a completely different approach. Instead of a single Educational and Cultural Complex (OCC), the council asked for an integrated area development for the entire Spuikwartier. An integrated design-build-maintain (DBM) contract was chosen for the tendering procedure. The tender included 45,000 m2 of OCC with maintenance for 25 years and an area vision, based on which 55,000 m2 of commercial facilities in Spuikwartier would be positioned. For this commercial development, Heijmans had held the development right in Wijnhaven phase 2 since 2013. It was agreed with Heijmans that it could exercise its development right at another location in the Spuikwartier planning area. This location would follow from the area vision of the winning consortium. The municipality hoped that the OCC would be kept within budget by the contractor himself. The budget for the OCC was the same as for the Spuiforum in 2012, namely 181 million euros, as if there had been no price increases in those six years. Eventually, the winner of the tender, VolkerWessels, took over the development right from Heijmans.

There were seven applications for the DBM. In December 2014, three consortia were invited to develop their proposals: BAM-Ballast Nedam with architect OMA; Heijmans with architects Frits van Dongen, Felix Claus and Dick van Wageningen; and VolkerWessels (Boele & van Eesteren/Visser & Smit Bouw) with Patrick Fransen of Architectuurstudio HH, Jo Coenen Architects and Urbanists, and Kamiel Klaasse of NL Architects. After three months of working together, the Heijmans consortium fell apart due to quarrels and Jeroen Geurst and Adriaan Geuze took over the design work. BAM–Ballast Nedam, together with architect OMA, were excluded because they had submitted a conditional proposal; in a tender procedure, that is a disqualifying criterion. VolkerWessels had made the lowest bid and won the tender. The plans were submitted on July 1, 2015 and presented to the people of The Hague two weeks later. The winner was thus the only market party that remained.

Love?

The design by team AHH, Coenen, and NL architects was an open filigree building with a Gothic tuning fork-like facade cladding that rose from street level to above the eaves and seemed to support the

building. The cultural center would illuminate Turfmarkt like a lantern in the evenings; Spuiplein would turn into a garden and Plazza Cour would be built near Turfhaven. The renderings show how the facade opens like a curtain at the corners, where the entrances are. Like London's Covent Garden, the building would unite the street level with the interior. There was also a clear vision for Spuikwartier, where Jo Coenen, together with former urban planner Erik Pasveer and urban planner Richard Koek, were given the space to give substance to this. The design was a true completion of the Compact City ideas according to alderman Noordanus's ideas about Stadtreparatur.

Bernard Hulsman saw a similarity with the Spuiforum of Neutelings Riedijk with its grid facade with glass and the cantilevered roof cornice. He concluded that the aversion to neo-Gothic façades had disappeared (NRC, 20-8-2015). The columns fanned out in the way that the American architect Minoru Yamasaki had done with the WTC towers and a university building from 1958 Detroit. In 2015 The Hague, this reactionary neo-Gothic style no longer caused objections and even moved some viewers. Coenen himself referred to the arches on St. Mark's Square in Venice and Fransen referred to Renaissance palazzi in Florence for the cantilevered cornice.

The design was developed and built by the VolkerWessels consortium. It turned out that the construction budget could not be kept under control due to numerous changes. The spatial design was not mature before it was put out to tender. The step from an abstract program of requirements to a spatial design gave VolkerWessels the opportunity to claim additional work for each proposal from users. Nothing remained of the original design by Neutelings. The investment credit granted had been set at €177.4 million, but in 2014 it had already been raised to €193.6 million and in 2018 it would be €223.2 million. In the end, the costs added up to €233.3 million, a budget overrun of 31.5%.

The step from an abstract program of requirements to a spatial design gave VolkerWessels the opportunity to claim additional work for each proposal put forward by the users (Gemeente Den Haag, 2021).

In the meantime, the name for the building was reviewed for the umpteenth time. Finally, the name Amare was chosen. In Latin this means 'to love', but in contemporary Italian it can also mean 'bitter'.

Limited Lifespan

Amare was supposed to be one of the most sustainable buildings, but it has the CO2 footprint of a small African country. It is a concrete colossus for which numerous other buildings have been demolished and removed; a reminder of an era in which raw materials could still be obtained in endless quantities and demolished buildings can be dumped elsewhere instead of harvested. It is sometimes argued that a building such as Amare has a lifespan of up to 500 years. But in The Hague, buildings in attractive locations never have had such a long lifespan. The two ministry towers on Turfmarkt, the Black Madonna, the Lucent Danstheater, the Royal Conservatoire, and the former ministries by Siza will be demolished or have already disappeared. Large parts of the city center, Bezuidenhout and Scheveningen have been demolished since the 1960s. The shelf life of a building in The Hague New Center seems to be fifty years at best.

It seems that construction companies had given a free hand. According to AD newspaper (11-12-2018), the Welfare Department was blamed for slackness in approving the amendment to the draft. The contractor VolkerWessels decides what happened in The Hague and the municipality, led by alderman Revis (VVD), covered for it. Thus, the graceful open pillars on the outside were turned into glued-on concrete slabs. In this way, the building lost the elegance it had shown in the competition design and turned into a cumbersome block. Coenen was so incensed by the attitude of the Welfare Department and his colleague Fransen that he withdrew as supervisor of the construction, although he remained involved as an architect. Fransen agreed to the new VolkerWessels facade during the aesthetics meeting. Revis appears to have had concerns about the collaboration with VolkerWessels, but continues to stand by this contractor. The contractor also carried out other large projects in The Hague, such as the development of the northern harbor, the boulevard in Kijkduin, and the construction of the bus platform at Central Station. Sometimes, it seems to be the only contractor in the city.

The Disappointing Aesthetics of Amare

The result could be considered disastrous. Amare is a box on which a concrete grid has been glued. Behind the grid there are some vertical windows (at the back), some of which are made of concrete, some of natural stone; other windows are column-to-column, suggesting a kind of band window (Turfmarkt), weirdly staggered; and part of the facade is made of dark glass. There is no unified appearance. In the competition design, the grid facade was shown only for three sides. From Rivierenbuurt, the view is blocked by the two residential towers that are glued to it. The narrow space between the buildings does not add any value; it reduces the amount of daylight for both the houses, and enables the residents to view what's going on in the teaching rooms in Amare. The corners where the concrete grid meets are somewhat contrived. On the ground floor, this results in a kind of strange fiddle shape that could be interpreted as a bench. The concrete grid rests on a kind of plinth of concrete protection material; the details are downright sloppy and clearly contractor solutions, as can be seen with the stairs at Turfmarkt. The weird blocks that are screwed onto the grid look strange. The brown glass in the facades and the brown and cream tones of the interior are probably a reference to the demolished buildings from the 1970s. In all, it's a shame, because beauty is also in the little things.

The beautiful entrance shown in the competition design has completely disappeared. Coming from the Central Station, there is no impressive entrance but an insignificant corner with two revolving doors and dark brown glass, as if it were a casino. The same applies to the Spuiplein entrance. By opting for two entrances at the ends of the building with revolving doors and an entrance hall like a long hospital corridor, the building lacks a convincing welcome. There is also no real foyer on Spuiplein or Turfhaven, while everyone would have loved a city foyer

Spuiplein with on the left the town hall and on the right right Amare.
Photo from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

like the concert hall Bimhuis or the EYE Film Museum in Amsterdam. The 'hospital' ground floor offers hardly any contact with the Turfmarkt. Brown glass, cloakrooms, and retail spaces block the view to the outside. The facade on the ground floor is even worse than the old Music Hall (see section 8.2.3) that was demolished. At least there you could arrange your hair in the mirrored glass before entering.

The view inside is also largely blocked, as if one should be ashamed to enjoy beautiful music and dancing here. On the ground floor along the Turfmarkt, a poster of Local Joe has been pasted on the brown glass. It is a missed opportunity that the Music History Museum (of the collection of Scheurleer, see section 4.4) could not be housed here, with its impressive collection of historical sheet music and instruments from all over the world. At best, there will now be hamburgers and beer served in the café attached to the building. From Rivierenbuurt, the view of Amare is blocked by the two residential towers.

Precious Lessons

It could be argued that the interior is a victim of the tendering process. Prior to the selection of the consortia, a program of requirements was drawn up, but this was never been consulted with the user groups. It was only after the consortium had been chosen that the architect and the users discussed the actual interpretation. By then, the plan had already been made and almost nothing could be changed. Every change had immediate budget consequences, apart from the 10% profit that the contractor can count on a plan change.

Almost the entire length of the building behind the facade on Turfmarkt is used as space to distribute people over the halls or to lead them to the Royal Conservatoire. The three dance and music halls look beautiful: there are good sightlines from every spot and the acoustics are very good. The spacious, bright rehearsal rooms with a view over Spui also look beautiful and fit four purpose; these are spaces where artists belong. Furthermore, the playground on the roof is unique.

As a school building, the Royal Conservatoire is not all it could be. There are dark, long corridors and parts of the rehearsal rooms do not have outside windows. Courtyards on the roof have been used to try to bring as much daylight as possible into the rooms. There are almost no spaces to socialize or do homework. In addition, a large part of the educational and office spaces is situated across from the two residential towers. Residents can't walk through their living room there without a classroom of students noticing. The teaching rooms are literally squeezed in between the outside facade and the music halls. Of course, cramming such a complex program into a building of this small size is not an easy task. It was very naïve of the municipality to opt for such a form of tendering for a program of requirements with different users that was still being developed. It remains as yet unclear what a powerful builder such as VolkerWessels has negotiated with administrators in The Hague in back rooms.

The cultural and educational complex will remain in place for decades to come; hopefully it will not be demolished after fifty years. In any case, the Amare educational and cultural complex in The Hague opened its doors from 19 to 21 November 2021 after fifteen years of ambitions. So, as an exception, let's not be too bothered by the building, and above all enjoy all the beauty that Amare's music and dance program has to offer. One of the charms of cities is that their collective memory is short. Only historians and a few engaged citizens recall how this cultural complex came into being. Tomorrow, everyone will have forgotten it. Who still remembers the controversies surrounding Willemspark? Fortunately, we all remember the beautiful music and dance performed weekly here and the beautiful interior of the music hall and dance theatre.

The Council Inquiry on Amare: 'Exceptionally Complex'

The municipal council ordered an inquiry by the city council into the course of events. On September 8, 2023, following fifteen months of research and interviews, the final report was published in 2023: Amare: Bijzonder complex (Amare: Exceptionally Complex) (Gemeente Den Haag, 2023).

In the report, the council largely sought to absolve itself of responsibility. "The quality of the information provided to the council has repeatedly been inadequate. In some respects, the council was not fully informed, and in others it was misled by the executive board" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2023: 9) … "All this reveals a pattern in decision-making in which the council is not treated as the highest authority responsible for major decisions, but rather as an obstacle to be overcome" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2023: 10).

At the same time, it cannot reasonably be expected that part-time council members would be capable of establishing policy frameworks for such a complex construction project, which requires highly specialized expertise. The report stated that: "Although serious deficiencies in the information provided to the council have been identified, the council has not adequately fulfilled its framework-setting and supervisory role. By focusing primarily on construction rather than on the building's use (its operation), the council too has lost sight of the public interest. … The information submitted to the council was often too complex for council members to comprehend. While the executive board bears the primary responsibility for providing accurate and accessible information, the council's position vis-à-vis the executive is weakened by its lack of specialized knowledge and expert support to properly assess such information. Moreover, it is not clear to the council how the various proposals relate to the existing policy frameworks" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2023: 10).

The beauty of cities is that their memory of many of their residents is short. At most, historians and those with a particular interest will recall how this cultural complex came into being. By tomorrow, everyone will have forgotten it all again. Who still remembers the controversy surrounding Willemspark? (See chapter 2). Fortunately, we all do remember the beautiful music and dance performed weekly at Spuiplein, and the magnificent halls of Amare.

The Hague Central Station by Benthem and Crouwel
Photo’s from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

11.9
Conclusion

This chapter focused on The Hague's international ambitions, as outlined in the Structure Vision World City by the Sea (2005). In 2008, The Hague put itself forward as a European Capital of Culture, and plans were launched for a major cultural complex at Spuiplein and Turfmarkt. Initially referred to as Cultcore, later as the Spuiforum, and today known as Amare, the project aimed to give the city's somewhat pale international image a stronger shine. Numerous new institutions established themselves in the International Zone. The city developed into a true global city, with new architecture intended to be internationally recognizable worldwide. The question is whether it was all the new buildings of the international institutes that gave The Hague its global character, or rather its new residents from all parts of the world.

12
CITYSCAPE OF ORGANIC GROWTH 2010–2015

“The Netherlands is fully built up … I believe – and hope – that no more construction will take place in the Netherlands.”
Chief Government Architect Frits van Dongen
(Nieuwsuur, 20 September 2013; Architectenweb, 23-9-2013)

“I am the first VVD-member to have dismantled an entire ministry!”
Minister Stef Blok (Financieele Dagblad, 6-10-2017).

Left, Cohousing community the Groene Mient.
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12.1
Introduction

The years 2010 to 2015 can be characterized as an interim period during which the urban landscape gradually shifted away from an exaggerated emphasis on globalization and internationalization toward a model centered on densification, sustainability, and greening.

The financial crisis, which peaked around 2008 and subsided by 2011, caused widespread turmoil and uncertainty in global financial markets. The international financial system came under severe strain, prompting coordinated intervention by central banks worldwide. The consequences were far-reaching: the global economy cooled significantly, and many countries—including several in Europe—fell into deep recession. The Dutch economy also contracted markedly, as evidenced by rising office vacancy rates.

The crisis hit the construction sector hardest in 2012. According to the Statistics Netherlands (CBS), production declined by over 8 percent and revenues dropped by 7 percent. Numerous construction firms, consultancy agencies, and architectural practices went out of business. The value of commissions for architects fell by 10 percent, and their revenues declined by 14 percent, bringing the sector's turnover to nearly 50 percent below pre-crisis levels. Between 2008 and 2012, turnover at architectural firms fell sharply. It was not until 2014 that the economy began to recover and GDP resumed growth (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistieken, 2013).

As mentioned in chapter 11.2.2, in 2010, the ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning, and the Environment was dissolved under the first Rutte administration (2010-2012). Components of the ministry were redistributed across various government departments. Particularly ominous was the dissolution of the Directorate-General for Housing and Spatial Planning (Directoraat-Generaal Wonen en Ruimte), which had succeeded the National Spatial Planning Agency (Rijksplanologische Dienst, RPD, 1966-2001), itself a continuation of the National Planning Service (Rijksdienst voor het Nationale Plan, 1942-1965). This marked the end of several decades of centralized state control and coordination in the spatial domain. From this point onward, spatial planning responsibilities were largely devolved to municipalities and provinces.

Under the second Rutte cabinet (2012-2017), further dismantling efforts were undertaken by Stef Blok, minister without portfolio, but responsible for housing and the civil service. Upon completion of this process, Blok remarked cheerfully:

"We had a ministry that built homes without ever stacking a single brick. That can be done more efficiently." Later, he declared: "The housing market is running smoothly" (Blok, 2017).

With such remarks, the drastic dismantlement of national steering in housing and spatial planning was casually framed as a budgetary concern. What remained was a fragmented spatial planning system in which municipalities and market actors assumed control, without a national vision or long-term strategic framework.

Between 2010 and 2015, many architecture firms, contractors, and consultants went bankrupt, and the entire construction sector contracted, bringing building activity to a near standstill. At the same time, entirely new ideas about housing and urbanism began to emerge. These would not be implemented until after 2016 - only to be challenged again by subsequent crises, such as the COVID-19 pandemic and Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Gradually, a major housing crisis took shape.

12.2
A New Reality

Binckhorst

In November 2011, the *Gebiedsaanpak Binckhorst* (*Binckhorst Area Plan*) was published. The quote below served as the opening of the accompanying explanatory letter (dated December 11, 2011) to the municipal council. The alderman stated in the letter: "The era of large-scale, comprehensive area development in Binckhorst is over. The approach of transforming Binckhorst through a consortium with two private market parties, operating from an active development role with corresponding land use policies, is no longer viable due to the financial crisis. The necessary financial capacity is lacking at the national level, within the municipality, and among major developers."

The municipality's goal was to transform the Binckhorst industrial area into a mixed-use residential and commercial area over an extended period. The urgency of this new approach was strongly emphasized. In effect, this strategy served as a death warrant for The Hague's pre-crisis urban development model. The city executive proposed that the council adopt several key decisions, including:

"To revoke the council resolution regarding the *New Binckhorst Master Plan*; to adopt the *Binckhorst Area Plan* and to shape and facilitate developments in Binckhorst in accordance with this strategy, which among other things means: the objective remains to strengthen the city from within and to develop Binckhorst into an area with strong potential for spatial developments in housing and employment. The municipality will no longer determine how, when, and with what predefined residential and employment program these goals will be realized. Municipal priority will lie in reinforcing the area's primary spatial infrastructure, including projects such as the construction of Rotterdamsebaan and the extension of Regulusweg."

The letter further argued that, under the new strategy, the initiative for site and real estate development in Binckhorst—for non-municipal properties—would rest with third parties, who would assume full responsibility and financial risk. The municipality would no longer contribute financially to such developments. The city's project organization for the area was reduced to a bare minimum. In October 2010, Erik Pasveer took up the position of Head of Urban and Spatial Planning at the Department of Urban Development. He would remain in this position until January 2020 and are confronted with a new situation in area development. The era of large-scale master plans was over for the time being in The Hague. On the other hand, a different path was taken at the national level with the *Nota Ruimte: Ruimte voor Ontwikkeling* (*Memorandum Space: Space for Development*) of 2006.

Dismantling of Centralized Governance in the Spatial Planning Domain

On January 17, 2006, the Dutch Senate adopted the *Memorandum Space.* In it, the administration led by Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende articulated four key policy objectives: (a) strengthening the international competitive position of the Netherlands; (b) promoting vibrant cities and a resilient countryside; (c) safeguarding and enhancing key (inter)national spatial values; (d) enhancing safety.

In practice, however, decentralization from the central government to municipality had already been initiated years earlier, effectively breaking the tradition of centrally coordinated spatial planning as outlined in the *Vijfde Nota Ruimtelijke Ordening: Ruimte maken, Ruimte delen* (*Fifth Memorandum on Spatial Planning: Creating Space, Sharing Space*) from 2001. Following years dominated by suburbanization through Vinex developments, urban regions once again became central to policy focus after 2006. In response to a faltering economy and growing international competition, the national government resolved to eliminate spatial bottlenecks impeding economic growth, particularly in major cities and mainports. To facilitate high-productivity economic activities, it was deemed essential to fully exploit agglomeration benefits within strong knowledge clusters. Especially in the cities, efforts were made to create *hoogstedelijke woonmilieus* (high-density urban living environments) to prevent an exodus of middle and higher incomes, and to create attractive living and working environments. This marked the end of a period characterized by suburbanization to Vinex locations—typically situated in empty meadows, on reclaimed islands, or in repurposed industrial zones.

Explosive Population Growth and a Housing Crisis

While minister Blok assumed that population growth in the Netherlands had come to an end and that no additional housing would be necessary, reality proved otherwise. The population of the Netherlands grew explosively, and The Hague grew with it. According to The Hague's Statistics office (denhaag.incijfers.nl), The Hague had 441,097 residents in the year 2000. By 2005, this number had risen to 472,087, in 2010 to 489,271, in 2015 to 515,739, in 2020 to 546,335, and by 2024, it had reached 566,731. This absolute growth of 125,634 residents meant a population increase of 28.48 percent in 24 years.

A significant portion of this growth was driven by migrants from southern and eastern Europe, many of whom found employment in the greenhouses of the Westland region or logistics hubs around Zoetermeer. Additionally, large numbers of university and college students settled in the city, alongside knowledge migrants and employees of European and international institutions and organizations. In 2006, 45 percent of The Hague's population had a migration background; this rose to 47.8 percent in 2010 and reached 59.2 percent in 2024.

Although the housing stock expanded over the same period, it did so at a much slower pace than the population. In 2000, The Hague had

220,960 housing units. This number increased to 236,106 in 2005, 243,565 in 2010, 251,374 in 2015, 262,492 in 2020, and 272,242 in 2024. This total of 51,282 units represents a growth of 22.1 percent relative to 2000. Especially the new Vinex neighborhoods provided many new houses. Between 2021 and 2024, the housing stock grew by approximately 5 percent per year, while between 2010 and 2020, annual growth was only 3.5 to 4 percent.

The explosive population growth and the fact that the housing market and associated amenities could not keep up were partly responsible for a structural housing shortage. This issue was further exacerbated by increasing trends toward individualization in living arrangements, with a growing number of people—both young and old—living alone (Statistics Netherlands, 2017). The persistent housing shortage drove up the prices of both residential properties and urban land. Eventually, The Hague, like many other Dutch cities, experienced a housing crisis, characterized by a significant lack of affordable housing. Centralized policy coordination would have been desirable, but was lacking.

Tipping Point in the Housing Market, 2015

On October 30, 2014, the Dutch Parliament presented the final report of its inquiry into misconduct within the social housing sector. In 2015, this was followed by an evaluation and amendment of the Housing Act (Woningwet). This had major consequences for the Netherlands and the municipality of The Hague. Minister Blok initiated a sweeping reform of the housing system, significantly narrowing the scope of housing associations' responsibilities. From that point forward, their role was limited to their core mission: the construction and management of social housing for low-income households. Housing associations were no longer permitted to develop mid-range rental housing. Furthermore, housing associations were mandated to implement either a legal or administrative separation between services of general economic interest (diensten van algemeen economisch belang, DAEB) and their non-general economic interest (non-DAEB) activities. This measure aimed to ensure greater transparency, financial accountability, and compliance with European state aid regulations. For housing associations, DEAB meant that their core task is to build, rent out and manage social housing to people with a low income. Non-DEAB activities include the rental of medium-priced homes, business premises or parking space near homes.

With the implementation of new regulations in 2016, housing associations were required to ensure that at least 95% of their tenants was eligible for housing allowance. Moreover, rents could not exceed the rent cap threshold (aftoppingsgrens). The system governing annual rent increases was also restructured: income-dependent rent increases were replaced in 2017 by the so-called rent sum approach (huursombenadering). This shift also aimed to discourage higher-income tenants living in social housing and to encourage their transition to the private rental sector. In addition, a new rent calculation system was introduced with the revision of the housing valuation system (woningwaarderingsstelsel) on October 1, 2015. This system employed a points-based method to determine maximum rents, in which the property's assessed market value (WOZ-waarde) became a significant factor. In inner-city areas with high WOZ-values, only small units—such as studios and student accommodations—could still qualify as social housing. As a result, the construction of family-sized social housing on expensive urban land became virtually unfeasible after 2015.

From 2013 to January 2023, housing associations were also subject to a landlord levy (verhuurdersheffing), a tax payable to the national government amounting to approximately 10% of rental income. This amounted to an additional tax burden of €16.7 billion over that period. This sum could alternatively have financed the construction of approximately 93,500 additional dwellings, enabled monthly rents to be reduced by €70 per household, or supported investments in maintenance and sustainability measures. Further constraints arose from the corporate income tax (vennootschapsbelasting, vpb), which housing associations have been required to pay since 2008, amounting to roughly €600-900 million annually and rising to approximately €1.5-1.6 billion per year from 2023 onward, as well as the Anti-Tax Avoidance Directive (ATAD), introduced in 2019. Together, these measures significantly undermined the investment capacity of housing associations. These cumulative taxes and levies significantly curbed the investment capacity of housing associations in traditional working-class districts of The Hague, such as The Hague Southwest. As a result, construction and renovation activities in these areas came to a halt, leading to the neglect of social housing neighborhoods and a steep decline in the development of new social housing.

The housing crisis and the problems at the housing corporations created room for private initiatives. By this time, Adri Duivesteijn had returned to The Hague and became an active advocate for a new model of resident-led housing cooperatives, which he presented as an alternative to the traditional housing association model.

12.3
Years of Organic Growth

Organic Growth in The Hague

Stagnation in housing production led to the strategy of organic growth, in which the task of the city was to facilitate construction initiatives. During the 20062010 period, the coalition of PvdA, VVD, and GL remained firmly committed to the vision of The Hague as an international city. Numerous ambitious master plans were under development, including projects for the International Zone, Kijkduin, Leyweg, Lozerlaan-Uithof, Scheveningen, Transvaal Plus, the Moerwijk-Laakhaven West junction, Binckhorst, and the Vliet/A4 corridor (Gemeente Den Haag, 2006). However, over time, momentum was lost. Investors began to withdraw, the national government faced mounting budgetary challenges, and municipalities were confronted with significant austerity measures.

The municipal elections of March 3, 2010 took place against the backdrop of a severe economic crisis. As a result, the new coalition agreement, by PvdA, D66, VVD, and CDA, offered little cause for optimism. New housing development was to focus exclusively on the middle segment of the market, with the aim of promoting residential mobility. Regarding urban development, the coalition observed:

"As a result of the economic recession, market conditions have changed, and construction projects are progressing more slowly. Therefore, we are optimizing and phasing urban development efforts and focusing on priority areas. Feasibility and economic viability are key guiding principles in this approach. Available budgets for master plans are being allocated as much as possible to high-priority developments" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2010: 30).

The period from 2010 to 2014 was largely marked by stagnation. Alderman Marnix Norder witnessed his master plans crumble under the pressure of successive crises. Scheveningen-Harbor was identified as one of the priority developments within the Scheveningen-Harbor Master Plan. Work also continued with the Master Plans for the International Zone and Erasmusveld/Leyweg. The Transvaal/Line 11 Zone Master Plan proceeded in a phased manner. However, in the Kijkduin Master Plan, social housing was no longer included; instead, additional owner-occupied housing was prioritized. The revenues generated from these units were used to improve the financial balance of the Binckhorst Master Plan.

The situation deteriorated sharply when the Vestia scandal surfaced in late January 2012. The largest housing corporation in the Netherlands faced collapse due to its exposure to a highly risky derivatives portfolio. Corporation Haag Wonen was also drawn into the fallout, as both corporations were jointly involved in development projects. Vestia's projects were transferred to the District Development Corporation The Hague Zuidwest (Wijkontwikkelingsmaatschappij The Hague Zuidwest, WOM DHZW), established on April 9, 2014—a partnership between the municipality of The Hague and Vestia (now split into three entities, of which Hof Wonen is active in The Hague).

Alderman Norder did not return after the 2014 municipal elections, marking the end of the era for large-scale master planning. The Hague was forced to shift toward a more organic approach to urban development. Following the municipal elections of March 19, 2014, the new coalition, consisting of PvdA, D66, VVD, CDA, and HSP, formulated only modest ambitions in its 2014-2018 coalition agreement. Notably, the term "master plan" was entirely absent, seemingly banished from The Hague's policy vocabulary (Gemeente Den Haag, 2014).

During this period of relative stagnation, two new aldermen assumed responsibility for spatial planning. Boudewijn Revis (VVD) oversaw the portfolios for the inner city, core area urban development, and public space. Joris Wijsmuller (HSP) was responsible for urban development, housing, sustainability, and culture. This duo, a liberal who placed faith in the market and an anarchist who believed in organic growth, were an unlikely and striking duo. The Department of Urban Development—which under Marnix Norder had been a tightly controlled and powerful agency—was effectively dismantled under the new coalition. The spatial planning domain, formerly steered by master plans, lost coherence. In its place emerged a more organic approach in which development was primarily driven by initiatives from market actors and civil society. The so-called "priority areas", now rebranded as "core areas" (kerngebieden) were reduced to Binckhorst and Scheveningen-Harbor. These zones were envisioned as mixed-use residential and employment districts, developed on former industrial sites. Additionally, the areas around the train stations were redefined as urban gateways where sustainable urban renewal was to take place.

Urban Densification as an Urgent Imperative, 2008–2012

Cities Full of Space, 2008

Meanwhile, a professional discourse had emerged in the Netherlands concerning urban densification. The ambitions outlined in the policy document *Memorandum Space* (Nota Ruimte, 2006) marked a paradigm shift in urban and landscape development in the Netherlands. As mentioned, this document served as a response to the earlier wave of suburbanization, which had resulted in the construction of large-scale Vinex neighborhoods. This transition was reflected in various studies and ultimately led to the implementation of the *Ladder for Sustainable Urban Development* (*Ladder voor Duurzame Verstedelijking*), a statutory planning framework that remained in effect from 2012 through 2025.

Within this context, the 2008 study *Cities Full of Space: Qualities of Density*, authored by TU Delft professor Rudy Uytenhaak, investigated the relationship between building dimensions and urban density through a series of case studies. While methods for quantifying urban density—both nationally and internationally—had existed for some time (including in The Hague, where building density calculations were already in use by 1948 [Gemeente Den Haag, 1948]), the Vinex era primarily relied on dwelling units per hectare as a measurement

standard. Uytenhaak introduced new analytical tools that were better suited to the complexity of existing urban fabric. Among these were the Ground Space Index (GSI)—the ratio of a building's footprint to the total plot size—and the Floor Space Index (FSI), the ratio of gross floor area to land area. He also proposed the Facade Index (FI), which expresses the relationship between the total facade surface and the gross floor area. These indicators enabled a more systematic classification of different urban forms, such as perimeter blocks, open blocks, towers, or suburban typologies. In addition, Uytenhaak defined spatial parameters such as the obstruction angle and daylight access angle, which offer insight into how building volumes affect spatial experience. His key recommendations included the development of a *Dutch national standard* (*Nederlandse Norm*, NEN) for urban density metrics and the creation of a comprehensive reference library for such data. This would allow for more nuanced evaluation and comparison of residential environments in relation to spatial ambitions and quality objectives. Uytenhaak's emphasis was primarily on building typologies rather than on the urban network (Uytenhaak, et al., 2008).

Intense Low-Rise Building, 2009

In 2008 and 2009, the design competition and research exhibition *Intense Laagbouw* (*Intense Low-Rise Building*) was held, focusing on the potential for achieving high residential densities using low-rise housing typologies. Initiated by the city of Groningen, the event was a form of research-by-design in which architects explored how dense development could be reconciled with the residential quality and character typically associated with low-rise housing. In addressing this design challenge, the novel metrics of GSI and FSI were employed, along with an additional indicator: the Open Space Ratio (OSR). The OSR represents the ratio of open, undeveloped space to the total gross floor area. This metric helps to quantify the spatial pressure that built structures exert on the public realm, as well as the degree of openness or "breathing room" remaining within the residential environment.

The outcomes of the study provided concrete values for FSI across different urban conditions. In typical Dutch urban areas, the FSI averaged around 0.75; in suburban contexts, approximately 0.5; while in stadsschap—urban environments characterized by an intensive mix of functions—FSI values reached approximately 1.2. During the exhibition, the submitted designs were presented and evaluated comparatively. Notably, the winning proposal achieved an FSI exceeding the conventional urban average, all within a low-rise typology. This demonstrated that high densities do not necessarily require high-rise construction, provided that the design is both innovative and efficient (Dorsman et al., 2009).

Ladder for Sustainable Urban Development, 2012

From 2012 onward, new urban developments were assessed based on actual demand and whether such developments could be accommodated within the existing urban fabric. As a result, building on undeveloped, greenfield sites—such as open farmland—became increasingly uncommon. The *Ladder for Sustainable Urban Development* was applied in cases involving changes to zoning plans (bestemmingsplan), and later to environmental plans (omgevingsplan), and to permits for spatial developments outside of existing zoning frameworks (Besluit Omgevingsvergunning Projectafwijking Activiteiten, BOPA). The ladder aimed to prevent spatial fragmentation of the countryside and to promote more efficient land use within existing urban areas. A justification requirement (motiveringsplicht) was introduced for urban expansion beyond municipal boundaries: developers and municipalities were required to substantiate why a proposed development could not be realized within the existing city.

The ladder was partly a policy response to the high costs associated with the Vinex operation, during which the national government had made significant investments in new infrastructure to support the accessibility of suburban housing developments. By concentrating future development within established urban areas, new projects could leverage existing infrastructure, resulting in substantial cost savings for the national government. The *Ladder for Sustainable Urbanization* came into force legally in 2012 and was aimed at enforcing careful use of space and combating vacancy. In practice, the ladder affected The Hague in two major ways. First, as noted, it became mandatory to apply the ladder for every amendment of a zoning or environmental plan. Second, the regulation increased pressure on major cities.

Definition of Densification: NEN 9300 – Surfaces and Densities in Urban Planning, 2013

In October 2013, the Dutch national standard *NEN 9300, Oppervlakten en dichtheden in de stedenbouw—Termen, definities en bepalingsmethoden* (*Surfaces and Densities in Urban Planning—Terms, Definitions, and Methods of Determination*) was published. This standard provided an objective, formalized basis for determining the degree of densification in urban areas. The calculation of density using the indicators FSI, GSI, and OSR was thus codified in a standardized framework. Within this standard, five spatial scales were distinguished—municipality, district, neighborhood, urban block, an parcel. At each level, the concepts of gross, net, and tare (interstitial) space were defined, along with rules for delineating these spaces. For example, a "net urban block" refers to the area within the building facades, including both built structures and interior courtyards. A "gross urban block" additionally includes a share of the surrounding public space, designated as tare space ("TO public space"). The standard specifies in detail how to define and demarcate net, tare, and gross areas across the various spatial scales. A few years later, the website on Spatial Densities and Mixed Functions RUDIFUN 2024 was launched by the Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency (pbl.nl/publicaties/rudifun-2024). This website contains an extensive dataset in which the physical living environment and spatial functions are mapped, including concepts such as FSI, GSI, and OSR. In addition, a visual representation of the spatial densities for the whole of the Netherlands was presented on the website *Compendium voor de Leefomgeving* (*Compendium for the Living Environment*, CLO) via a digital map (clo.nl).

The Ladder Space of Binckhorst, 2017

As part of the *Environmental Impact Assessment* (*Milieu-effectrapportage*, MER), the consultancy agency Bureau Stedelijke Planning prepared the report Justification for the *Ladder for Sustainable Urban Development—Binckhorst, The Hague for the area's new environmental plan* (Gemeente Den Haag, 2017). In the case of Binckhorst, the municipality deliberately chose not to define a fixed endpoint or prescriptive quality standard. Instead, the ambition was to develop a mixed-use, inner-city environment combining residential and employment functions.

In its *WoON2015* housing survey, the ministry of the Interior identified five residential environment types: "urban center", "outer center", "green-urban", "(center) village", and "rural." For Binckhorst, a hybrid of an urban center and outer center environments was envisioned. Within the context of The Hague, this was referred to as an "urban residential environment". The objective was a complete transformation of the former industrial zone into this new urban living environment. Although the housing program had not yet been finalized, projections indicated that approximately 5,000 dwellings could be accommodated in Binckhorst, provided that the entire area underwent redevelopment. Because Binckhorst lies within the existing urban fabric, the core research question of the justification ladder focused on both the quantitative and qualitative demand for housing within the area. Notably, the glossary of terms included in the report did not explicitly define the term "qualitative", neither in relation to the residential environment nor in terms of the surrounding urban context.

In the 2016 *Agenda Ruimte voor de Stad* (*Agenda Space for the City*), the province of South Holland and the municipality of The Hague concluded that the city faced a housing construction target of 50,600 new dwellings by 2040. With regard to the available development capacity for Binckhorst, the 2038 outlook concluded that there would be a demand for 45,100 dwellings within the market area. It was also established that the existing planning stock remains insufficient and that Binckhorst, given the scarcity of inner-city locations, still offers potential for residential development. The market area refers to the delineation of the territory within which the regional housing demand was determined, namely the municipalities of The Hague, Rijswijk, and Leidschendam-Voorburg. The projected increase in the number of households within this market area was estimated at 27,240 between 2018 and 2028, and an additional 22,050 up to 2038. In total, this amounts to 49,300 households that must be accommodated with housing (Gemeente Den Haag, 2017: 15). The number of households to be provided with housing between 2018 and 2028, reduced by the existing hard planning stock in the market area, results in a quantitative demand of 23,000 dwellings (27,240 households minus 4,200 dwellings in planning stock). Of these, 20,900 dwellings must be realized in The Hague and the remainder in the other municipalities within the market area. For the period 2018-2038, the quantitative demand amounts to 45,100 dwellings (49,300 households minus 4,200 dwellings in planning stock), of which 40,300 are to be built in The Hague and the remainder in the other municipalities of the market area (Gemeente Den Haag, 2017: 23).

The conclusion stated: "In the coming period there will be a substantial shortage of hard planning stock in the market area. Residential development in Binckhorst, across all housing types and segments, can contribute to alleviating this shortage. For residential development in the Binckhorst, there is therefore, on the basis of the requirements of the Ladder, more than sufficient quantitative demand. In qualitative terms, there is likewise sufficient scope for all possible housing types and segments" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2017: 25). The question of how many dwellings Binckhorst, or other locations within the market area, could accommodate, was not addressed.

A striking aspect of the report was the top-down determination of the number of dwellings to be built in The Hague, without considering the absorption capacity or the spatial and social quality of existing neighborhoods. Nor was attention paid to the necessary public amenities required because of the projected housing growth, or to the broader question of desired urban quality. There was, in effect, no indication of an organic urban development approach. Because of this planning strategy, high-rise buildings were constructed on vacant lots throughout the city, without a coherent vision for spatial (visual) quality or the integration of social infrastructure. As a result, ambitions for urban design quality and the provision of public amenities were sidelined.

The Debate about Living in The Hague, 2014

On October 7, 2014, a debate was held on the future of housing in The Hague. Organized by the HaAC, Stroom, the BNA, and the Nutshuis, the event was titled *ADHD XVIII: Samenwonen* (Living Together)—On the Future of Housing Associations. Participants including alderman Joris Wijsmuller, housing association directors Karin van Dreven (housing association Haag Wonen) and urban sociologist Tineke Lupi (Platform31 - knowledge and network for the city and region of the national government) engaged in a dialogue on the forthcoming municipal housing vision. Journalist Carola Houtekamer, who had reported on Spoorwijk for *NRC Handelsblad*, delivered a reflection on the area. The audience was composed of a diverse mix of architects, municipal officials, housing association staff, real estate developers, and residents of the co-housing cooperation Roggeveenstraat in The Hague's Zeeheldenkwartier. The evening culminated in a preliminary draft for a new municipal housing vision, which also redefined the role of housing associations (Oorschot, 2014).

Alderman Wijsmuller regarded housing associations as important partners of the municipality. The city was attracting many new residents—both young and elderly—seeking affordable housing. According to the alderman, cities had a vital responsibility to provide housing for individuals with limited financial means, with housing associations playing a central role in fulfilling this duty. At the same time, the relationship between municipalities and housing associations had evolved due to broader societal developments. The 2008 financial crisis had left a significant mark on the property management practices of housing associations. Additionally, there had been a shift away from large-scale, master-planned developments and proactive land

use policies. At that time, The Hague was still operating under the old housing vision from 2009. A reassessment of this policy had therefore become necessary.

Many housing corporations had relatively young real estate holdings, as they had hedged their interest rate risks using financial derivatives, as was the case with housing association Vestia. These derivatives only offered protection against rising interest rates. As a result, the steep decline in interest rates following the financial crisis led to serious financial difficulties. Moreover, many housing associations had made large-scale investments in land positions. After 2008, the sale of housing became significantly more difficult, resulting in the sudden loss of a key source of funding needed to cover the unprofitable margins in the construction of affordable housing. Despite these challenges, housing associations still managed to realize 1,467 dwellings in 2011 (of which 28% were social housing), 1,152 in 2012 (28% social), and as many as 1,958 in 2013, with a striking 65% falling within the social housing segment.

In the preceding years, housing associations in the Netherlands had participated in the broader trend of upscaling that was also occurring among other stakeholders, leading to undesirable outcomes. In addition to their core task of providing housing, associations became increasingly involved in urban spaces, commercial ventures, and community real estate projects. As a result, they were often used as a funding source for municipal ambitions. This drive for scale led, in some cases, to excesses among associations, developers, and municipalities, and contributed to a sense of alienation among citizens. In political discourse, these incidents came to dominate the public image, even though many housing associations continued to operate with integrity. Meanwhile, the direct relationship between housing associations and their tenants gradually faded into the background. The new policy introduced by minister Blok was expected to result in a rapid decrease in the core stock of social housing.

The real difficulties for housing associations began with the introduction of the corporate income tax and the landlord levy under minister Blok. Alderman Wijsmuller regarded it as a positive development that housing associations were once again focusing on their core task: constructing and renting social rental housing to low-income households. At the same time, he expressed concern about the feasibility of this objective in light of the newly imposed taxes and the landlord levy. One restrictive measure followed another: the introduction of the landlord levy, sweeping legislative reforms, and the implementation of the conclusions from the parliamentary inquiry of 2014. According to Wijsmuller, these developments threatened to render housing associations in The Hague incapable of maintaining the core stock, implementing sustainability measures, or even carrying out essential maintenance. As a result, housing associations were forced to sell off parts of their housing stock to finance critical maintenance and energy-efficiency upgrades. Particularly attractive, ground-level social housing units in Vinex neighborhoods proved to be highly marketable and were increasingly sold off.

Consequently, the number of social rental units was projected to decline sharply. According to CBS, The Hague had a total of 241,376 dwellings in 2012 and 272,242 in 2024—an increase of 30,866 homes over twelve years. This equates to an average of 2,572 additional homes per year. Over the same twelve-year period, only 2,453 social rental units were added. Most of the growth occurred in the mid- and high-end rental segments, mainly through private landlords. This left significantly fewer affordable housing options for low-income residents, students, and the elderly. Moreover, existing association-owned housing was visibly deteriorating. Overdue maintenance issues became visible all over the city at corporation homes; many tenants complained of mold.

Obligatory Municipal Housing Vision and Performance Agreements

Following the revision of the Housing Act, as of January 2022, all municipalities are mandated to develop a housing strategy or vision in collaboration with housing associations and tenants' organizations. This vision was intended to guide the operations of housing associations and to equip municipalities with more tools for actively shaping local housing policy. The question, however, was to what extent these tools could be effective. The increasing restrictions imposed by the national government meant that while municipalities were obligated to formulate a housing vision, the associated ambitions often amounted to little more than empty promises in practice. Housing associations simply lacked investment capital.

For The Hague, the development of a housing vision was not a new undertaking. The city had previously drafted several housing visions and established performance agreements with housing associations. These agreements addressed the housing needs of various groups, including migrants, students, and individuals requiring care, as well as the promotion of greater social diversity within neighborhoods. The emergence of monocultures in residential areas was viewed as detrimental to urban livability. The ideal was a balanced distribution of social rental housing across the city, supporting a diverse residential culture.

According to alderman Wijsmuller, the collaboration between the municipality and housing associations should be grounded in partnership rather than unilateral control. This perspective aligned with the 2013 report by the Association of Netherlands Municipalities (VNG) *Gemeenten en corporaties; de vrijblijvendheid voorbij – wederkerig en verplichtend* (*Municipalities and Housing Associations: Beyond Voluntarism—Mutual and Binding Commitments*), which advocated for a reciprocal and binding relationship between both parties.

Prior to the legislative reform, performance agreements regarding social housing were established between the regional housing association umbrella organization Sociale Verhuurders Haaglanden (SVH) and the Haaglanden agglomeration. SVH represented the fifteen housing associations operating in the region, which collectively managed approximately 166,000 rental units, as of early 2013.

With the dissolution of the agglomerations Haaglanden per January 1, 2015, the governance structure changed significantly. From that

point on, performance agreements were to be made within the framework of the Metropolitan Region Rotterdam The Hague (MRDH), which comprises 23 municipalities. While mobility and economic development are the primary pillars of the MRDH, sustainability and housing were later added to its agenda. Nevertheless, alderman Wijsmuller regarded the immediate neighboring municipalities from the former Haaglanden city region as the most suitable partners for establishing joint housing agreements. He viewed this subregional scale—the Haaglanden subregion—as the appropriate level for managing the regional housing market. Efforts were underway at the time to formally establish a subregion within the MRDH, to facilitate targeted and coordinated performance agreements with SVH.

A Vinex Neighborhood in Vacant Office Buildings in The Hague

According to Wijsmuller, urban growth had traditionally been guided by a structural vision accompanied by dedicated housing construction programs. Under the new municipal policy, that logic was reversed: construction had to occur because the city was growing. The projected population growth of The Hague in the coming years made new housing developments inevitable. A significant portion of this growth, the alderman argued, should be accommodated through the repurposing of vacant office buildings. Wijsmuller identified a major challenge in transforming vacant office buildings into residential spaces—essentially, creating a kind of "Vinex neighborhood within existing offices". At the time, the national government was divesting large amounts of real estate, part of which was slated for conversion into mid-priced apartments, particularly suited for one- or two-person households.

On October 7, 2014, an agreement was reached between the municipality of The Hague and the national government regarding the repurposing of these vacant buildings, many of which were in prime areas of the city. These properties presented opportunities for private investors to initiate transformation projects. In addition to adaptive reuse, urban growth was also supported by new construction projects through Collective Private Commissioning (CPO) and Private Commissioning (PO) (Norder, 2014). These initiatives ranged from the sale of small plots to individuals, to fixer-upper homes offered by housing associations or the municipality, and even to larger complexes sold by associations for redevelopment. According to Wijsmuller, empowering residents to organize themselves on a small scale and take responsibility for their own living environments was a positive development.

Nonetheless, uncertainty remained as to whether such initiatives could effectively absorb the anticipated population growth. A portion of the population lacked the financial resources, expertise, or motivation to actively participate in housing development through CPO or PO. Moreover, land prices in The Hague were significantly higher than in cities like Almere, which was frequently cited as a successful example of private commissioning (Duivesteijn, 2014). While homes offered by contractors could be affordable in principle, the high cost of land posed a substantial barrier in The Hague. According to Wijsmuller, housing associations therefore remained indispensable. They were essential for the realization of affordable and sustainable housing for low-income households or for individuals for whom CPO or PO was not a feasible option. Furthermore, for The Hague, it was of strategic importance to retain these residents with a low income for the city.

Disappearance of the Core Stock of Social Housing

Despite its clearly stated ambitions, The Hague faced a significant challenge, according to Wijsmuller. The core stock of social rental housing—comprising approximately 72,000 units at that time—was under substantial pressure. Very few new social rental homes were being added. In many cases, demolition and reconstruction projects resulted in a net loss of social housing: in replacement construction, typically only 30% of the new units were designated as social rentals, while 70% were market-rate owner-occupied homes. Moreover, these projects often yielded fewer newly built units than were originally demolished, thereby exacerbating the strain on the core stock. The availability of housing for specific groups—such as older adults and students—was expected to decline significantly. Furthermore, the ideal of a balanced geographic distribution of social housing across the city would likely no longer be attainable. In short, the situation was deeply concerning for anyone with a modest income hoping to live in The Hague.

Annual rent increases—partly necessitated by the landlord levy—also contributed to the deregulation of an increasing number of rental units. This levy was effectively paid by tenants. As a result, more and more homes fell outside the reach of the target group for social rent and became medium-priced rental homes. Furthermore, this resulted in a substantial reduction in the financial capacity of housing associations to make necessary investments. This had serious economic repercussions for the municipality. While Haag Wonen once spent around €10 million annually on neighborhood livability, that budget had since been slashed to just €1 million, according to Karin van Dreven, director of housing association Haag Wonen. As a result, conditions in many association-dominated neighborhoods, such as Southwest, deteriorated further—leading to an increasingly visible decline in the quality of these areas. However, Van Dreven expected the tide to turn as a result of the planned 2017 evaluation of the effects of the landlord levy, which had been secured through the efforts of Adri Duivesteijn. According to Van Dreven, this evaluation would expose the consequences of national policy for cities like The Hague.

The Situation Between 1995 and 2015

Between 1995 and 2015, housing associations partially evolved into project developers. Van Dreven described the challenges housing associations had faced until quite recently. Prior to 1995, most housing associations in the Netherlands had been structured as member-based organizations, in which tenants were involved in addressing housing needs. These associations constructed homes using advances from the national government. However, by the late twentieth century, subsidizing affordable social rental housing came to be seen

as excessively costly. From a liberal economic standpoint, resistance to social housing subsidies intensified, and successive governments increasingly favored homeownership, viewing owner-occupied housing as a "merit good". After World War II, the housing stock in the Netherlands developed into a highly polarized system, consisting predominantly of two types of dwellings: low-cost social rental units concentrated in specific neighborhoods, and privately owned homes in others. There was little to no availability of mid-range or high-end rental housing, leading to a lack of diversity in the housing market. This was particularly problematic for cities like The Hague—historically characterized by the divide between "living on the sand" (the wealthier areas) and "living in the peat" (the poorer districts). Neighborhoods such as Southwest, and later urban renewal areas like Schilderswijk, were dominated by social housing owned by associations.

With the implementation of the *bruteringsoperatie* (financial disentanglement operation) under state secretary Heerma, housing associations became independent entities as of January 1, 1995. The government's rationale was that the costs of constructing social rental housing should be offset by profits from developing and selling more expensive, owner-occupied dwellings. Loans for various projects were insured through a dedicated national fund. The former member-based associations were transformed into financially autonomous foundations, governed by professional management boards. In some cases, this transformation led to serious abuses, such as at housing association Vestia in The Hague. These activities contributed to the perpetuation of a dysfunctional housing system, characterized by a stark divide between low-cost social rentals and expensive owner-occupied homes. Ultimately, this prompted a redefinition of the role and responsibilities of housing associations.

Low-Income Zones in the City

The consequences of the revised Housing Act were significant for neighborhoods dominated by social housing. A further intensification of residential segregation in The Hague and other cities ensued. Typical social housing neighborhoods increasingly became concentrated zones for low-income residents and specific target groups that housing associations were required by the national government and municipalities to accommodate. Examples include Escamp with the post-war neighborhoods in Southwest, as well as cul-de-sac neighborhoods around Loosduinen and urban renewals in Schilderswijk and elsewhere. Studies revealed that the increase in nuisance and insecurity in social housing neighborhoods was linked to this concentration of vulnerable residents (Frissen et al., 2018; 2020; Frissen & Leidelmeijer, 2023).

12.4
Co-living and the Existing Housing Stock

New Forms of Collective Living and the Improvement of the Existing City

Driven by the construction crisis, the stagnation of new housing production, and the growing housing shortage, new housing initiatives began to attract public attention: housing cooperatives, CPO and PO, as well as a shift toward the renovation of existing dwellings.

In housing cooperatives, groups of residents organize their own housing arrangements, sometimes with support from housing associations or project developers. Increasingly, residents themselves took the initiative and showed interest in such forms of collective living. Housing cooperatives had long existed in The Hague in various forms, such as Papaverhof by architect Jan Wils, the Centraal Wonen concept from the 1970s, De Waterspin, and the Pander Complex. Two new cooperative initiatives took concrete shape after 2010. Tenants of housing association Haag Wonen were given the opportunity to establish a cooperative in Roggeveenstraat, while work was underway on realizing De Groene Mient. In Roggeveenstraat, a group of residents sought to purchase and convert homes that were slated for demolition by Haag Wonen into a cooperative housing project. Yet, questions arose as to whether such a cooperative could be a viable alternative to the traditional housing association, which builds and finances housing for low-income households.

At the policy level, these new developments were also embraced by both the national and municipal governments. The 2013 competition Bouwen op elkaar—Plannen voor gestapeld kleinschalig opdrachtgeverschap ("Building on Top of Each Other—Plans for Stacked Small-Scale Commissioning"), organized by the municipality for part of Laakhavens, reflected this emerging trend. The competition provided space for initiatives by CPOs and POs and emphasized the changing role of citizens within the housing agenda. In 2015, DUS Architects and the campaign agency Partizan Publik published the manifesto WoonCoop, documenting their search for new housing cooperatives in the Netherlands (Oorschot, 2015).

Remarkably, much of the inspiration for these new housing forms appeared to draw on nineteenth century ideals of social justice, collectivity, and livability. This was hardly surprising: first-time homebuyers were increasingly called upon to increase their "self-reliance" within the framework of the so-called "participation society" (a term introduced by the Balkenende cabinet in 2005) with independent government and self-reliant citizens. In practice, however, this ideology primarily served as a cover for budget cuts and the gradual dismantling of the welfare state, as national responsibilities were devolved to local governments.

The process facilitator and the architects further developed the plans. Finally, a contractor was selected.

The obstacles to the establishment of this housing cooperative and the realization of the plans were very similar to those of other initiatives. A well-founded business plan proved essential but required specialized expertise—knowledge typically possessed by housing associations, project developers, and architects. Banks categorically refused to cooperate with the foundation or cooperative association. Each resident therefore had to organize the financing for their own home individually at De Groene Mient.

By early 2017, the final homes were delivered in what had become known as the only sustainable and ecological residential ensemble in The Hague: an inspiring model project in which sustainability and community building were central. This residential paradise saw idealistic citizens transformed into real estate developers under the pressures of institutional structures.

12.5
The Focus on Priority Areas, 2015

The Housing Market in The Hague, 2015–2016

"Many Vacant Homes, Yet No Place to Live," headlined newspaper *NRC Handelsblad* on October 9, 2015. At the time, the Netherlands had no less than 50 million square meters of vacant office buildings, retail spaces, schools, and healthcare facilities. At the same time, the country faced a severe housing shortage, particularly in urban regions. This striking paradox was the central theme at two conferences held in The Hague during the fall of 2015. On November 3, the Housing Conference: Towards New Relationships in Housing (Wooncongres: Naar nieuwe verhoudingen in het wonen) took place at The Hague University of Applied Sciences, organized by a research institute of TU Delft (OTB) and Platform31. On November 26, the real estate sector convened for the 21st edition of The Hague Real Estate (The Hague Vastgoed) at the WTC (Oorschot, 2015). A key question raised at both events was: How can urban populations be growing rapidly, while the supply of housing continues to lag? This issue was particularly pressing in The Hague. Why have municipalities, housing associations, and private developers failed to provide sufficient affordable housing? How can the widespread vacancy of real estate be explained? And why has market-based housing policy failed in the real estate sector? Another urgent matter was whether The Hague could resolve its housing crisis within its municipal boundaries and existing urban fabric. Would there be enough affordable housing available in The Hague in the future? In September 2016, The Hague published two important policy documents: the Investeringsprogramma Stedelijke Ontwikkeling (Urban Development Investment Program, IpSO) and the long-anticipated Performance Agreements between the Municipality and Housing Associations 2015-2019 (Prestatieafspraken tussen gemeente en woningcorporaties 2015-2019). These conferences and documents revealed several trends that called for an active and unconventional municipal response:

- Significant population growth: projections estimated an increase of 40,000 to 68,000 residents by 2030.
- Changing household composition: the number of single-person households was expected to rise sharply—by between 26,000 and 37,000 according to the IpSO. Young adults and elderly residents required smaller housing units. However, data from the municipal statistic website indicated that only 4.9% of the city's housing stock was smaller than 50 m² gross floor area (GFA), and another 4.8% was smaller than 60 m² GFA.
- Decline in social housing stock: based on the number of households earning below the social rent threshold, approximately 75,000 social housing units were needed. Although previous agreements stipulated the availability of 69,750 units by 2015, the three major housing associations in The Hague collectively guaranteed only 67,280 core stock units that year.

Valthe urban block by the archtect Fels
Photo's by Leo Oorschot.

Het Rode Dorp, The Red Village
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Renovation of Rode Dorp, Schilderswijk, 2010–2014

The global financial crisis and the subsequent decline of large-scale urban development strategies from the so-called "golden age" yielded, despite their many adverse consequences, several unexpected benefits. One notable example is Rode Dorp (Red Village) in Schilderswijk, which narrowly escaped demolition in 2014 despite ongoing redevelopment plans. This district, an iconic instance of early social housing had offered some of the first affordable and hygienic dwellings constructed by the Vereeniging tot Verbetering der Woningen van Arbeidende Klasse (Association for the Improvement of Workers' Housing), established in 1854 (Oorschot, 2014). It had been slated for replacement by fashionable high-rise projects primarily targeting the owner-occupied housing market. Instead, Rode Dorp underwent a comprehensive renovation—initiated by and for students—and has since emerged as a highly desirable residential location.

On June 12, 2008, The Hague's City Council had adopted the *Gebiedsvisie Hollands Spoor* (*Hollands Spoor Area Vision*)—an ambitious plan that fully embodied the traditional demolition-and-reconstruction approach. The proposal aimed at a substantial intensification of urban development around Hollands Spoor station. The vision included the addition of approximately 725 residential units, around 24,000 m² of space for hospitality, commercial, retail, and leisure purposes, roughly 45,000 m² of office space, and approximately 10,000 m² of educational facilities. At the time, there was hardly any demand for office space. Within this area vision, the neighborhood known as Rode Dorp was described as follows: "The residential streets are narrow, and the homes no longer meet modern housing requirements." In collaboration with housing association Staedion, which owned the properties in the area, the municipality pursued replacement construction that would meet the most current standards. This plan also included measures to improve traffic safety and the construction of a large-scale parking garage in a hard-to-reach location in the heart of the old city. Along Parallelweg, a striking residential tower was envisioned to serve as a visual landmark for the square in front of Hollands Spoor station and as part of a sequence of high-rise buildings on both sides of the railway. At the time, it was believed that the high-speed railway line (HSL) would pass through the city between these towers—an idea later rendered obsolete when the HSL route was changed.

Rode Dorp was to be replaced by a new complex consisting of approximately 140 residential units, of which only 42 would fall within the social housing sector. These were to be built atop a parking garage with 200 to 300 parking spaces, complemented by some commercial space. The proposed tower along Parallelweg was expected to have thirteen or fourteen stories, surrounded by five-story perimeter buildings. Along Hoefkade, the development was planned to be four stories high. This plan thus entailed both a considerable densification of the site and a significant reduction in the number of social housing units. Architect Dick van Gameren was commissioned by the housing association Staedion to design the project. However, just a few months later, in September 2008, the global financial crisis started. As a result, the ambitious plan was postponed. Staedion conducted feasibility studies on the proposed development plan, but it ultimately proved financially unviable. The other planned towers at the station square also turned out to be economically unfeasible.

Tentatively, in 2010, contact was established with The Hague architect Job Roos of Braaksma & Roos Architecten, a proponent of renovation and adaptive reuse. Amid a growing deadlock, the housing association eventually decided to change course. An alternative scenario was cautiously introduced: a temporary refurbishment of the existing housing stock, with the aim of preserving it for potentially another 25 years. The tower project was shelved, and Rode Dorp was instead slated for renovation by and for students. This decision caused disappointment for alderman Norder, who stated in a council committee that this was merely a deferral by ten years. Staedion, however, opted for a fundamentally new approach. Students from various educational institutions in The Hague—including vocational schools such as ROC Mondriaan, The Hague University of Applied Sciences, and TU Delft—were actively involved in the renovation, under the guidance of professionals from Braaksma & Roos, Staedion, and the contractor Era Contour. This approach was facilitated by an amendment to the Dutch Bouwbesluit (Building Decree) on April 1, 2012, which relaxed renovation requirements for heritage or existing buildings that could not meet current new-build standards.

In November 2012, the first students from ROC Mondriaan's Construction & Infrastructure program began stripping the interiors of the units. Floors, ceilings, plastic window frames, and standard interior doors were replaced. In an interview with Stadskrant (23-10-2013), a teacher and his students described the project as "the best internship ever". Ultimately, the project was awarded the 2013 The Hague Education Prize for best student construction site. In Delft, students worked intensively under the supervision of architect Job Roos on modeling and rendering the Rode Dorp neighborhood. At the request of Staedion, Braaksma & Roos Architecten were tasked with reviewing these experimental student proposals and developing them further into a feasible architectural plan. This was a particularly noteworthy heritage assignment, as the complex represents a unique chapter in the history of social housing in The Hague. What stands out in the renovation carried out by Braaksma & Roos is the craftsmanship with which the original atmosphere was not merely preserved, but in fact enhanced.

Whether Rode Dorp constitutes an urban anomaly or serves as a model project is difficult to determine at present. Time will tell. Should economic crisis fade from memory, derivatives be repaid, and the bulldozers of The Hague's housing associations resume construction of ambitious tower blocks, they may encounter a tightly knit youth community in the heart of the Schilderswijk. By then, the name of this village will surely be known to all once again.

Cohousing community the Groene Mient. Copyright by Cornelie Quist and the Groene Mient, no further use allowed.

Social-Ecological Residents' Initiative De Groene Mient, 2006–2015

The housing crisis and new social values related to the climate crisis, which became increasingly important, led to a housing cooperative with an organic ecological vegetable garden as a starting point. In January 2016, alderman Wijsmuller drove the first pile for De Groene Mient, a social-ecological residents' initiative that would become the most sustainable and green housing development in The Hague. This marked the end of a ten-year struggle against institutional barriers; construction of this green haven had finally begun. Gita van Duinen, initiator of both De Waterspin housing cooperative and De Groene Mient, described the long journey that the group of idealists had to undertake to realize their vision. Shifts in the institutional landscape forced the residents to take on the role of project developer themselves in pursuit of their dream. The architectural design was developed by De Architektenkombinatie in collaboration with Fillié Verhoeven (Oorschot, 2016).

The story of De Groene Mient began in Spijkermakerskwartier, around the Pander Complex and the ecological garden De Waterspin. Urban residents there had consciously chosen an alternative way of living. With its intimate city gardens and distinctive historic architecture, Spijkermakerskwartier had become a favored residential area for those seeking something different from the standardized Vinex suburbs. At both the Pander Complex and De Waterspin, a foundation rented the dwellings from housing association Vestia. These foundations organized the housing cooperatives as associations governed by statutes: the Pander Foundation for the Pander Complex and, in 1998, Formidabel Foundation for the ecological garden at De Waterspin.

A group of like-minded individuals met in 2002 at the organic food store next to the garden. This group expressed a desire to establish a new cooperative elsewhere, as the homes at De Waterspin had become too small for their needs. The group presented their plans to then-alderman Norder, who assigned a municipal officer to act as guide and liaison. Together, they explored various potential sites, and in 2006 they identified a suitable location on a plot occupied by two schools. One of the schools was demolished, while the other, Vlierboomschool, was incorporated into the new plans. Formidabel Foundation, founded by the initiators, held talks with the three housing corporations in The Hague about a possible partnership to also include social housing in the development. The housing associations responded positively, and ultimately Vestia was chosen due to its prior involvement in Spijkermakerskwartier.

Between 2006 and 2012, the group worked on a range of plans. In 2009, Formidabel Foundation applied for support from welfare organization Foundation BOOG (now known as Zebra) in the form of a subsidy for professional guidance. After a six-month review, however, they concluded that the residents were too highly educated to qualify for funding. Following an appeal to then-minister of Housing Jacqueline Cramer, the foundation did receive a provincial grant, which enabled them to hire a process facilitator and develop a business case. An experienced process supervisor and architect were hired to work out a plan. In 2012, however, Vestia was forced to withdraw from the project due to internal problems. As a result, the possibility of including social housing was lost, and that aspect of the original vision had to be abandoned.

In January 2013, the initiative for De Groene Mient was revitalized. Although many of the original residents had since dropped out, six households continued the process, of which three ultimately remained. Out of necessity, the project shifted toward owner-occupied homes, requiring residents to fully finance their own purchases. An advertisement in a local newspaper and on the Duurzaam (Sustainable) The Hague website generated substantial interest, with several hundred households expressing a desire to participate. However, the plan only accommodated 33 households and a shared community building. Priority for plot allocation was given to those who registered first. The Formidabel Foundation was transformed into the Groene Mient Association.

Meanwhile, the municipality of The Hague had established a so-called "plot shop" (kavelwinkel), designed to facilitate the sale of land to initiatives organized through CPO and Small-scale Commissioning (kleinschalig opdrachtgeverschap, KO) for one or a few houses. However, the Groene Mient Association was not granted permission to proceed under the CPO framework; instead, the municipality forced the initiative to adopt the KO model. Under the KO model, the municipality refused to negotiate collectively, insisting on dealing only with individual purchasers of plots. Within the KO model, the land was offered as 'build-ready' (woonrijp), imposing obligations such as commencing construction within three years. Restrictions were also dictated by the predetermined zoning plan, which included an imposed subdivision layout and the design of public spaces. The residents of De Groene Mient, however, refused to accept the land as 'build-ready' because it was both prohibitively expensive and incompatible with their ecological ambitions. They aimed for 'construction-ready' (bouwrijp) land instead, which would allow them to preserve space for gardens and implement an alternative subdivision structure. After intensive negotiations, a compromise was reached: the municipality sold the land at market value to the Groene Mient Association, which then immediately resold it to the 33 participating households.

While the city of Amsterdam actively promoted housing cooperatives by providing inexpensive building plots (Cobouw, 2-1-2016: 4-5), the process in The Hague proved considerably more challenging. In Amsterdam, moreover, flexibility was created within zoning plans, and possibilities were explored to make vacant office buildings available to tenants wishing to establish housing cooperatives for social rental housing. In The Hague, such processes typically unfolded in a markedly different and more complex manner. During protracted negotiations and the revision of the zoning plan, the land price increased dramatically within just six months (in the first half of 2013), from €1.8 million to €2.8 million for a parcel approximately 7,100 to 7,400 m2 in size. A contract was drafted between the Groene Mient Association and the participating households, whereby each household contributed between €20,000 and €30,000 toward development costs and additionally made a 10% down payment for the acquisition of the land.

- Stagnation in the middle segment: construction of mid-priced rental units and affordable owner-occupied housing had stalled, as market actors largely withdrew from this segment.
- Limited availability of building sites: space for new construction in The Hague was scarce.
- Slow progress in redevelopment: the transformation of vacant office buildings into residential units—the envisioned "Vinex neighborhood in empty offices"—was slow to take off.
- Problems in absorbing growth within the existing stock: most of the population growth was accommodated within the existing housing stock, through strategies such as subdividing larger dwellings into smaller units or adding extra stories. The average number of residents per dwelling was 2.05, while only 24.4% of the housing stock consisted of units measuring between 100 and 130 m² GFA. This indicated potential for further densification. In practice, however, subdivision primarily occurred in socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhoods.
- Stalled sustainability efforts: the greening and energy retrofitting of the existing housing stock—particularly in the social housing sector—had made little progress due to insufficient financial resources.

Causes

The causes of the emerging housing shortage were multifaceted and operated at various levels. The following were identified in the policy documents: (a) the national policies toward housing associations discussed in section 12.2; (b) the financial crisis, which severely impeded the issuance of mortgages and the financing of housing construction projects; (c) market actors who preferred to construct dwellings in higher price segments or focused on the conversion and rental of existing office buildings; (d) the prolonged vacancy of substantial state-owned real estate in The Hague; and (e) internal problems at The Hague housing association Vestia, as well as other associations that had co-developed with Vestia. The conclusion of both documents was unequivocal: The Hague was unable to accommodate the current and expected population growth within its municipal boundaries. In particular, the rapidly expanding group of single-person households would largely end up residing in subdivided existing dwellings.

The Success of the City

Paradoxically, The Hague was penalized for its own success. The city had become an exceptionally attractive place to live and work, which intensified pressure on the housing market. This appeal was well-founded: The Hague offered a high quality of life, with strong amenities such as good education, cultural institutions, a beach, historical heritage, and a well-designed urban structure. Its proximity to knowledge institutions—including TU Delft, Leiden University, Erasmus University Rotterdam, and The Hague University of Applied Sciences (all within easy reach by bike or public transport)—further enhanced the city's profile as a desirable location for students, residents, and businesses alike. There was also a high demand for workers in greenhouse horticulture and distribution centers outside The Hague.

In addition to the substantive contributions made during the conferences, a lively debate also emerged in the media concerning the increasing pressure on the housing market. According to Jos Feijtel, there was a structural national shortage of between 240,000 and 300,000 homes, while the planning capacity at that time was only sufficient for approximately 65,000 units. He argued that this shortage could not be resolved solely within urban areas. Urban planners estimated a need for 140,000 homes within urban boundaries and 27,000 outside urban areas—a ratio of five to one—whereas this ratio had been one to one in the previous decade. However, the housing boom of the 1990s and early 2000s had also produced negative side effects, leading policymakers and investors to adopt a more cautious stance (Feijtel, 2015).

According to Taco van Hoek, director of the Economic Institute for Construction (EIB), and The Hague alderman Wijsmuller, the housing market began to show clear signs of recovery in 2014. The resurgent economy and renewed migration to urban centers played a central role in this development. This trend was also evident in The Hague, as reflected by an increase in housing subdivisions, room rentals, and growing pressure to convert vacant office buildings into residential units. The city experienced steady densification, despite the absence of large-scale new construction. The housing market recovered significantly faster in major cities than in other parts of the country, a trend manifested in rising housing prices. Additionally, The Hague continued to develop as a student city, partly due to the establishment of the satellite campuses of Leiden University and TU Delft (Jager, 2016).

According to housing specialists Boelhouwer and Geuting, the housing shortage initially manifests itself in more attractive cities. They argued that the housing market was not accelerating but rather recovering, with high pre-2008 housing prices yet to return. Boelhouwer believed that inner-city developments would offer limited prospects for new residents. The supply in these areas was limited, while demand remained high, forcing many individuals to live in small but expensive homes, despite a general preference for larger dwellings, ideally with gardens. The primary explanation for urban growth was that most construction over the past twenty years had occurred in and around cities, combined with ongoing labor migration (Jager, 2015).

Location and Building Type

Coen Teulings, former director of the Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis (CPB) and professor at the University of Utrecht, argued in 2025 that neither constructing additional housing, addressing exploitative landlords, nor imposing restrictions on rent increases would make housing more affordable. His conclusion was that housing is inherently expensive in the densely populated Netherlands. Construction costs were high and developable land scarce.

Why, then, does building more not necessarily lead to cheaper housing? According to Teulings, the answer lies in construction costs and housing prices across different locations. The first problem concerns location. The 25 least expensive municipalities are primarily found in northeast Groningen and southern Limburg, as well as in eastern cities such as Almelo. There, housing prices are below €2,500 per square meter. This amount equals the construction costs of a standard two-story dwelling, inclusive of VAT but excluding land. In these municipalities, private developers cannot build profitably, even if the land were provided free of charge. Quite simply, demand for housing in these areas is insufficient, even though space is available.

By contrast, the 25 most expensive municipalities are Amsterdam, Utrecht, and cities along the North Sea coast, where prices average €7,000 per square meter. Demand for housing in these regions is high due to their attractive living environments. The most desirable area in the Netherlands is Amsterdam within the A10 ring road, with prices reaching €9,000 per square meter. However, these areas are already largely built up. On the city's edges, additional housing may be developed at very high densities—eight stories or more—bringing the price down to approximately €5,000 per square meter. The same pattern holds for other popular cities such as Groningen, Zwolle, Nijmegen, Maastricht, and Eindhoven. According to Teulings, housing prices in Amsterdam are comparable to those in other attractive European cities such as Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Munich. Paris, London, and Swiss cities are even more expensive.

The second problem concerns the cost of the building typology. Because land is scarce and high-density construction is required, building costs rise considerably. Elevators, fire safety provisions, stricter requirements for building materials and facade tightness, as well as more advanced ventilation systems all add to the cost. Competition for land is also intensified by demand for other urban functions such as retail, cultural and educational facilities, and workplaces. These are precisely the amenities that make urban living attractive. The price paid by urban residents for housing reflects both this density and the provision of amenities. To maintain affordability, dwellings are reduced in size and often built without gardens.

In Teulings's view, this situation should not be interpreted as a crisis but rather as an expression of urban attractiveness. Those who prefer tranquility, open space, and expansive views pay the price of reduced access to such amenities, which have become increasingly scarce in rural areas. His recommendations are: (a) constructing smaller apartments and studios of 30 square meters or less; and (b) discontinuing subsidies for residential parking by decoupling parking spaces from dwellings. In his view, the housing market is not failing; rather, it is accurately reflecting the true costs of living in specific locations. Additional construction may lower housing prices, but only through massive investments that would ultimately be financed by taxpayers through other channels (Teulings, 2025).

A Policy of Facilitation and Concentration of Resources in Priority Areas

Urban Development Investment Program

In the Urban Development Investment Program and the accompanying letter to the municipal council of 2016, the municipal executive once again clarified its evolving role, as previously articulated in the Coalition agreement 2014-2018, titled Confidence in The Hague's Strength (Vertrouwen op Haagse Kracht) (Gemeente Den Haag, 2014).

In the preceding years, the role of the municipality had changed from one of regulation to one that was facilitative and oriented toward collaboration. The municipality supported initiatives emerging from the city and, through investments in public space and infrastructure, stimulated various forms of development. In addition, it worked to attract new investors. The municipal strategy was thus directed at creating favorable conditions and establishing enabling frameworks. The municipality's financial capacity had significantly diminished following the termination of national contributions for urban development in 2015.

According to the Urban Development Investment Program, The Hague faced the challenge of finding a balance between: (a) stimulating economic development and employment growth; (b) accommodating population growth; and (c) preserving the city's core qualities. Municipal investments were to be concentrated in locations with the highest anticipated return: the core areas. The investment program identified as core areas: Scheveningen Harbor and Beach, the CID between the railway station districts Hollands Spoor, Central Station, and Laan van NOI, Wijnhaven and Spuikwartier, the International Zone, Binckhorst, and Leyweg—the traditional economic axis of The Hague. The emphasis was placed on area-based development, in close cooperation with all stakeholders active in these zones. The accompanying letter explicitly linked the two most significant obstacles to achieving the city's housing ambitions: the limited availability of sites and the absence of parties willing to invest in the city. It concluded: "If sufficient sites do not become available, we will not be able to bind interested investors to us." The coalition agreement and investment program served as the blueprint for the Agenda Space for the City from 2016 (see paragraph 12.4.3).

The Strength of Area-Based Collaboration in Creating an Attractive Residential Environment

In new construction and urban restructuring, area-based collaboration between the municipality, market actors, and housing associations was both desirable and necessary to achieve concrete results in this period. Only through such cooperation could a differentiated and appealing residential environment be realized, featuring a mix of various housing categories within a carefully designed and tastefully arranged urban ensemble. An active municipal approach was essential to achieving this outcome. In this regard, The Hague had a strong tradition.

Nevertheless, debate within The Hague city council appeared

increasingly polarized. On one side, there was a faction advocating for the construction of social rental housing to accommodate new residents. On the other, a group favored building mid-priced rental and affordable owner-occupied housing to facilitate people moving out of social housing. The issue was often framed as a choice between one or the other. However, social housing construction had become increasingly difficult for housing associations to realize, while mid-priced rental and affordable owner-occupied housing development had failed to materialize altogether. Market actors withdrew from this because no feasible business plan could be made, and for years there had been no significant residential turnover, leading to stagnation in the housing market. According to data from The Hague statics office, the rate of residential mobility in the city had been declining for several years. The theory of residential mobility, in fact, had not been adequately researched or substantiated.

Area-based working and collaboration offered significant benefits for all parties Involved. When new construction by private developers was combined with renovations to make houses more sustainable—aiming for at least energy label B on a scale from E to A—or even the development of social rental housing within an attractive urban ensemble, the status of housing for all parties was enhanced. This approach also improved the overall residential environment of the neighborhood. Although this was not a new concept in The Hague, unfortunately, the city's housing associations no longer embraced this approach. The Wijk Ontwikkelings Maatschappij (Neighborhood Development Company, WOM, a collaboration between the municipal and housing association), which emerged following the collapse of Vestia, offered a collaborative perspective.

The key point was that the municipality needed to be willing to take risks and assume a leading role. Only then would market actors and housing associations be able to build affordable housing targeted at their respective constituencies, resulting in a win-win situation for all stakeholders. Unfortunately, as observed at the Housing Conference: Towards New Relationships in Housing and The Hague Real Estate 2015, this scenario did not materialize as hoped.

Indeed, The Hague's successes deserve recognition. At Scheveningen Harbor, significant progress was being made with the development of the Norfolk site, where a mix of various housing categories—including social rental housing—was constructed. ASR Real Estate, Arcade, and the German real estate fund Patrizia had taken over the roles previously held by The Hague's housing associations (Oorschot, 2015). Another key project was the development near the Haga Hospital, where Patrizia and Heijmans build 600 to 700 homes, 30% of which would be social rental units.

Vinex Neighborhoods in Empty Offices?

In addition to the priority areas, hopes were also pinned on the transformation of the empty offices into homes. Although empty buildings would never offer enough space to accommodate the 60,000 new residents expected in The Hague, it was a start. In the Voortgangsrapportage Transformatie Kantoren 2014 (Progress Report on Office Transformation 2014), which was submitted to the Spatial Planning Committee of the municipal council on December 2, 2014, the objective was set at 1 million square meters of gross floor area to be transformed within twenty years. This objective had also been included in the 2014 IpSO.

The city possessed a substantial amount of vacant office buildings and neglected industrial sites, as well as a considerable portfolio of vacant government-owned real estate. The high book value of these assets posed a challenge, partly because many of these properties were integral components of pension funds. Nonetheless, this stock of empty offices offered opportunities for the city and its residents—though not without limitations. Many office buildings were outdated, unsustainable, and located in suboptimal areas. The most attractive interbellum and postwar office buildings, situated in desirable locations—often possessing heritage value or a distinctive architectural character—were transformed into tasteful, spacious, and expensive apartments. Private market actors were the first to undertake such transformations toward higher-end housing. However, for housing associations, this was financially unfeasible. Hope was placed in minister Blok, who proposed new legislation to facilitate the conversion of offices and nursing homes into residential units, potentially creating opportunities for housing associations to provide homes for their target groups. Unfortunately, the national government itself made only a small portion of the vacant real estate that it owned available.

Two notable successes were the vacant office buildings at Kortenaerkade 1 and Esperantoplein 19. In 2013, the municipality and the national government entered into a cooperation agreement concerning the transformation of office space in three designated areas: (a) the ministry of Social Affairs and its surroundings; (b) the ministry of Foreign Affairs and its surroundings; and (c) the International Zone including Plesmanweg. The progress report noted that the volume of office space transformation here was over 100,000 m^2. However, it would take several more years before these office buildings were all converted into residential units. Feijtel (2015) argued that the inner-city adaptation of existing buildings and the repurposing of vacant properties were merely drops in the ocean. The question remained whether this would be sufficient to resolve the regional housing shortage. It was clear that strong governance on a larger scale was necessary, and such solutions could only be effectively implemented at the regional level.

The Paris Climate Agreement, 2015

The ideas of densification, sustainability and greening were given a solid basis and powerful impetus with the Paris Climate Agreement of 2015. This was an important turning point for the entire construction chain, the built environment and the physical living environment. In 2015, the Netherlands—along with 194 other countries—signed the Paris Climate Agreement. The primary goal of this accord was to reduce the emission of greenhouse gases, such as CO_2, to limit global warming to a maximum of 2 degrees Celsius, with an aspirational target of 1.5 degrees. Global warming is largely caused by the burning

of fossil fuels, which are responsible for the emission of greenhouse gases. This warming leads to climate changes worldwide, resulting in severe consequences such as floods and heatwaves. In response, the Netherlands introduced its own Climate Act. This legislation mandated a reduction in CO_2 emissions by 49 percent by 2030 and by 95 percent by 2050, relative to 1990 levels. It also stipulated that by 2050, the entire energy supply must be derived from sustainable sources. Energy conservation was deemed equally essential, as the required amount of renewable energy could not be generated otherwise. The Climate Act is binding for all future Dutch governments. Its implications for housing production and the construction sector were profound.

In the 2005 vision document World City by the Sea, the word "sustainability" had appeared only once—solely in the context of "the sustainable functioning of the Westland Greenport". The term "climate" was mentioned twice, but only in reference to "cultural climate" and "international climate" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2005). In the 2006 coalition agreement, "sustainability" was mentioned eleven times, but still scarcely in relation to the spatial planning domain (Gemeente Den Haag, 2006). In the 2010 coalition agreement, the concept of "climate-neutral cities" was mentioned only once and in a general sense. From 2010 onwards, attention to sustainability in policy documents increased significantly: the term appeared 28 times the coalition agreement of that year and as many as 36 times in 2014 (Gemeente Den Haag, 2010). The spatial domain also became increasingly linked to sustainability objectives. Notably, the ambition to become a "climate-neutral city" by 2040 was explicitly formulated for the first time during this period. The Binckhorst area was designated as a pilot zone for "climate adaptation". Still, terms such as "nature-inclusive" and "biodiversity" were still entirely absent from the 2010 and 2014 coalition agreements.

The Paris Climate Agreement was first explicitly referenced in The Hague in September 2016, with the publication of the Agenda Space for the City (Gemeente Den Haag, 2016). This agenda further elaborated on the theme of urban densification in the policy document Nota Haagse Hoogbouw: Eyeline en Skyline (The Hague High-Rise Memorandum: Eyeline and Skyline) (Gemeente Den Haag, 2017). The term "climate adaptation" appeared no fewer than ten times in the Agenda, making it clear that sustainability would henceforth play a central role in the city's spatial development. Densification, sustainability and greening became the new mantras guiding The Hague's spatial planning trajectory; this was expected to fundamentally reshape the cityscape over time. These ambitions were to be realized in the priority development areas such as Binckhorst, around The Hague's stations, and The Hague Southwest.

The urbanist Carlos Moreno, professor at the Sorbonne in Paris, introduced the concept of the "15-minute-city" during a conference in 2016. This concept envisions an urban environment in which living, working, and access to essential services are all within walking or cycling distance. In Paris, the idea was embraced by the municipal executive, leading to a reduction in car traffic and an improvement in overall livability. For The Hague, as well as for many other cities, this concept became a guiding principle for spatial development strategies focused on densification, sustainability and greening.

12.6 Transformation of Industrial Areas and The Hague New Center

The Urban-Block-City on Empty Industrial Sites

Two former industrial areas that were neglected and largely vacant and were transformed into residential areas are the Energiekwartier and Norfolk sites. This area development had already started before the economic crisis and the system changes that significantly limited housing associations in their room for investment, and they were already under development before the priority areas were designated. These projects can be regarded as a late variant of the inner-city Vinex development. They therefore formed an important step, in which densification was the main starting point. Here, for the first time, robust building blocks appeared with mainly residential functions in high densities, intended to make the plans financially feasible, partly in view of the economic crisis.

These residential neighborhoods consisted of a mix of building types: apartment buildings, terraced houses and high-rise buildings with passages in between. Various housing categories were represented, such as social rent, medium-priced rentals, and affordable and more expensive owner-occupied homes. Under the buildings or in the middle of each building block there was usually a parking garage for residents. Some underground parking garages were provided with a roof with a courtyard garden on top; in other cases, parking was available in a separate building, so that the streets remained car-free. At the head, edge, or corner of each residential building, residential towers were frequently constructed, generally limited to heights below the 70-meter threshold stipulated in the Building Decree. Beyond this limit, alternative regulatory frameworks apply, rendering high-rise construction considerably more costly due to additional fire safety requirements, enhanced structural and mechanical provisions, and stricter material specifications, including façade suspension systems as well as water- and wind-resistance performance standards. To ensure visual continuity with adjacent, older neighborhoods, nearly all buildings were constructed using brick—reinforcing a distinctly "The Hague" architectural character. For both the Norfolk site and Energiekwartier, comprehensive urban design and architectural quality guidelines (beeldkwaliteitsplannen) were established. On the Norfolk site, a supervisory framework was implemented to coordinate the contributions of the various architects involved in the project's elaboration, whereas in Energiekwartier such supervisory oversight was absent. In sum, these projects were characterized by strong municipal steering and regulatory control.

The area was originally known as *Gemeente Industrieterrein* (*municipal industrial site*, GIT), then as the planning area Regentesse Zuid, and finally as Energiekwartier. The urban development and visual quality plans of Energiekwartier were commissioned by the municipality and housing association Staedion, in collaboration with urban design firm

Energiekwartier
Photo from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

Maxwan, which was responsible for refining the design, and developer Heijmans. Between 2010 and 2022, the area was developed in phases with a series of building blocks consisting of mid-rise buildings, complemented by low-rise elements and several vertical accents—only one of which reached 70 meters—resulting in a total of approximately 450 residential units. In the Projectdocument Regentesse Zuid of May 31, 2011, the municipality designated the area as an "urban center residential environment". In the Verfijning Stedenbouwkundig Plan (Refined Urban Development Plan) prepared by Maxwan on June 14, 2011, a building density of 154 dwellings per hectare was calculated (Gemeente Den Haag, 2011).

The configuration of the urban blocks was determined by the programmatic requirements set forth by the municipality and Staedion. The *Regentesse Zuid Visual Quality Plan* dated April 7, 2011, outlines the envisioned visual standards as follows. For the public space, the design principles aimed to achieve: "(a) a calm visual appearance: minimizing the variety of materials, dimensions, surface treatments, and detailing; (b) directness: avoiding unnecessary decorative elements; (c) simplicity with surprising effects, instead of relying on standard detailing and expensive materials; (d) contemporary rather than classical or formal styles" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2011: 13).

Regarding the buildings themselves, the guiding design principle was: "In pursuit of a simple and flexible visual quality plan, it was decided that all buildings would share a single common aspect. In doing so, one of the most challenging objectives of a visual quality plan—creating coherence and variation without an extensive set of regulations—was achieved. The unifying element of the GIT is color: all buildings will have a light color palette." The rationale behind this design choice was particularly important and included: "(a) the existing buildings in the GIT area predominantly feature light tones and have an informal industrial character, in contrast to the surrounding Regentesse Zuid buildings, which are built in red brick and have a more traditional appearance; (b) distinctiveness and industrial character were adopted as guiding principles of the visual quality plan. New light-colored buildings will further reinforce the unique character of the GIT; (c) the plan involves relatively high-density development with narrow streets, where light façades ensure optimal daylight access; (d) the possibility of individual or collective private commissioning within the project makes it especially important to prevent a cacophony of architectural expressions through the use of a simple design rule" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2011: 33).

Following the architectural and urban design diversity, along with the low densities of the Vinex neighborhoods situated on the urban periphery, a new trajectory was adopted—one characterized by sober, rational urban ensembles within the city. These ensembles consisted of brick-built blocks topped with high-rise structures reaching up to 70 meters in height.

The address density in Energiekwartier (including part of the densely populated Regentessekwartier South) averages 9,169 per km². By contrast, address density in Ypenburg's Morgenweide neighborhood is 1,969 per km², and in Singels neighborhood 1,667 per km². In Zeeheldenkwartier the figure is 6,873 per km², while in Mariahoeve's Burgen and Horsten it is 3,305 per km², and in Moerwijk 4,369 per km². With Energiekwartier, a precedent thus has been set in terms of urban densification.

Energiekwartier represented an introduction to this type of area-based development for housing corporation Staedion and developer Heijmans. It laid the groundwork for both the architectural quality and block-based spatial organization later seen in the Southwest district, where residential blocks consist of multiple housing buildings. This model of urban design and architecture proved viable for delivering high-density housing during a period of severe housing crisis. Large numbers of dwellings were added—even before any official quality framework or urban development plan for Southwest had been formalized. Energiekwartier has developed into an attractive residential neighborhood with an industrial character, marked by significant densification through the construction of energy-efficient housing. The nearby urban park De Verademing was utilized as a green amenity for the neighborhood. Thanks to its central location, Energiekwartier was well-served by amenities and public transport. However, the streets and squares have largely remained paved and impermeable, while the inner courtyards—designed as gardens atop parking decks—proved to be of limited quality. At this stage of area development, climate adaptation and nature-inclusivity played little to no role.

This is where the so-called "urban-block-city" first took concrete shape, an urban planning principle that was later applied on a larger scale in Binckhorst and in Southwest. Schaloen in Moerwijk-Southwest and Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten would be the next developments. It proved to be a financially feasible concept for urban regions to realize affordable housing with high densities, various housing categories and parking on site, with densification and sustainability were the main focus. Greening, on the other hand, was often limited to the parking deck within the building block or to the remaining urban space that remained due to the high building density, such as in De Verademing park.

Norfolk Site and Scheveningen Harbor, 2015

During the construction of the new, beautifully designed boulevard, the quality that arose there was viewed with some jealousy at both ends—Scheveningen Bad and Scheveningen Harbor, including the Norfolk site. People realized that there was much to be gained by seeking cooperation. The complex restructuring task in this coastal area has led to a renewed dynamism thanks to the arrival of new investors and an alternative approach. Not through a large-scale, all-encompassing master plan, but through urban planning customization and intensive cooperation with the parties involved.

The driving force behind this development was the construction of the new boulevard. This intervention not only offered protection against the sea, but also formed the impetus for a broader area development. During the Praktijkcongres Gebiedsontwikkeling (Practical Conference on Area Development) in 2015, Delta Program Commissioner Wim

Norfolk site.
Photo’s from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

Kuijken underlined the importance of adaptive capacity and integrated design and execution as the key to successful area development (Oorschot, 2015).

In contrast to the traditional approach, characterized by rigid technical and planning frameworks imposed by the national government, the Delta Program created space for local input and the pursuit of multiple objectives. This approach extended beyond water safety alone: it connected flood protection with local interests and ambitions, thus also attracting private investors. The success of this development strategy lay in its ability to align diverse objectives at the local level. As a result, the financial burden of spatial interventions was no longer borne solely by the national government but shared among all stakeholders with a vested interest in the area. The principle of integrated, multifunctional interventions proved to be more effective in practice than traditional solutions such as dike construction or protracted expropriation processes. Over time, the number of successful projects realized through "smart deals" has grown. Notable examples include the Coastal Zone Katwijk project and the redevelopment of the Scheveningen boulevard.

The redevelopment of the Scheveningen boulevard constituted a subproject with far-reaching implications for the city of The Hague. In this urban resurgence, multiple policy objectives converged. The project stands as a compelling example of an adaptive and integrated approach applied to the complex transformation of both Scheveningen Bad and Harbor. The coastal reinforcement and redesign were developed by the Spanish architect Manuel de Solà-Morales, in collaboration with the Ingenieursbureau van Den Haag (Engineering Department of The Hague). It was a joint initiative by the Delfland Water Board, the Directorate-General for Public Works, and the municipality of The Hague. Beyond improving flood protection, the municipality aimed to broaden its economic base by promoting tourism. The functional strength of a seawall was combined with the aesthetic appeal of a promenade linking the Bad area to the Harbor.

At the time, Scheveningen Bad presented a dated appearance with too much paved surfaces. Iconic landmarks such as the Pier, the Kurhaus, and the Vitalizee spa had gone bankrupt. Hospitality venues, including beach bars and restaurants, struggled to stay afloat, while many retail properties stood vacant. The area was colloquially referred to as "the largest free haunted house." The Harbor also stagnated; following the collapse of housing corporation Vestia, the Norfolk site remained unused for years. However, investment in the boulevard created a ripple effect benefiting both Scheveningen Bad and the Harbor. The new approach—outlined in the Scheveningen Harbor 2025 urban development plan in 2012—marked a departure from earlier strategies (Gemeente Den Haag, 2012). Instead, a new course was adopted, characterized by adaptive, site-specific planning that allowed for incremental development and the involvement of residents, entrepreneurs, and local authorities. As a result, earlier ambitions—such as the construction of imposing towers and a cruise terminal on the harbor pier, envisioned in a 2007 sketch by urban planner Joan Busquets—quietly faded into the background. In their place emerged a more realistic, broadly supported, and flexible approach to area development.

A Vital Coast: From Investment Agenda to a New Impulse for Scheveningen Bad, 2015

Building on the success of the renewed boulevard, alderman Revis presented the *Scheveningen Bad Agenda: De Kust Gezond* (*A Vital Coast*) on March 5, 2015 (Gemeente Den Haag, 2015). This vision included a €70 million investment program, with €20 million allocated in the first four years for the improvement of urban public space. A key ambition was to extend the boulevard into Scheveningen Bad and to reintroduce the experience of the original dune landscape within the existing densely built environment. This approach aligned with the design philosophy of Manuel de Solà-Morales and the Engineering Department of The Hague, who had likewise emphasized the spatial perception of the dune landscape in their redesign of the boulevard. The plan had long been on the political agenda and was elevated to a policy priority by the municipal executive.

In this context, the redevelopment of several iconic sites in Scheveningen accelerated. In October 2014, the Scheveningen Pier was sold to KondorWessels Vastgoed and hotel operator DanZep, both aiming to breathe new life into seaside leisure and promenading. The Amrâth Hotel Group acquired the bankrupt Kurhaus and announced an extensive renovation of this landmark building. The long-vacant spa facility Vitalizee was repurposed as a casino. At the same time, new initiatives emerged in urban infrastructure. BAM GO-Park proposed the construction of an underground parking garage with 495 spaces beneath Circusplein. Property owner and casino operator Hommerson submitted plans to demolish outdated 1970s buildings along the northern Boulevard, aiming to replace them with contemporary new developments featuring retail, hospitality venues, and a parking garage for 700 vehicles. Remarkably, this renewed momentum was not limited to large-scale investors. Numerous smaller parties also submitted proposals, signaling a broader resurgence of interest in Scheveningen as an investment area. Public funds allocated through A Vital Coast functioned as a leverage mechanism for private investment and helped increase the engagement of market actors. The budget from alderman Revis was being effectively deployed to revitalize the coastal district.

Norfolk Site: From Stagnation to Renewed Interest

In contrast to the successful redevelopment of the Scheveningen boulevard, the Harbor area of Scheveningen lagged behind in terms of development for many years. This stagnation was largely due to the collapse of Vestia, the housing corporation and landowner, which brought progress on the strategically located Norfolk site to a halt. The *Beeldkwaliteitsplan Scheveningen Haven* (*Scheveningen Port Urban Design Guidelines*), produced by the urban planners of Urbis in 2013, appeared to have lost its relevance (Gemeente Den Haag & Urbis, 2013). Nevertheless, in 2015, the area was revitalized with new momentum and, apart from minor adjustments (Gemeente Den Haag & Urbis, 2016). On March 25, 2015, alderman Klein presented the vision *Scheveningen Haven: Is en blijft haven* (*Scheveningen Harbor: Is and Will Remain a Port*). This policy agenda, much like the one for Scheveningen Bad, emphasized the diversification of the urban

economy, while maintaining the authentic character of the port as a guiding principle. This led to concrete plans for the redevelopment of the Norfolk site, which was divided into several sub-areas (Gemeente Den Haag, 2015).

ASR Real Estate Development took responsibility for the northwestern section and began transforming it into an urban district evoking the atmosphere of Amsterdam's Eastern Docklands. The southeastern portion was assigned to the housing corporation Arcade. Other investors also recognized the emerging opportunities. Luxury apartments in the harbor area were regarded as a promising investment category. After years of paralysis, the Norfolk site finally seemed to have a viable future. This new course marked a shift away from large-scale master planning toward a more incremental, market-driven approach, in which public frameworks and private initiatives were effectively aligned.

The success of Scheveningen was, to a large extent, attributable to the Netherlands' growing appeal among residential real estate investors—particularly at a time when population growth was increasingly concentrated in major cities, while housing construction lagged significantly behind. Another key success factor was the municipality's targeted and integrated approach, with the redevelopment of the boulevard serving as a catalyst. Scheveningen was firmly placed back on the map. The boulevard provided not only physical protection from the sea but also served as a powerful spatial stimulus for the entire coastal zone—a new point of orientation for the historic seaside resort and its harbor.

Paradoxically, the redevelopment risked undermining its very foundation. As the harbor gradually transformed into a predominantly residential area - with luxury apartments and amenities tailored to the upper market segment - the original function of the port as a working harbor came under increasing pressure. It was precisely this economic activity - fishing vessels, fish-processing businesses, ship repair services, and other maritime industries - that gave the area its distinctive character. Concerns mounted that the "golden goose" might be slaughtered: tourism thrives on authenticity.

Moreover, the future of the city requires space for the circular economy and artisanal manufacturing enterprises. There was a significant risk that another valuable industrial site would be sacrificed to make way for a housing development, thus threatening the city's economic diversity and resilience. The challenge for The Hague was therefore unmistakable: how can the distinctive character of an area like Scheveningen Harbor be preserved while simultaneously accommodating urban densification, economic renewal, and evolving housing demands?

Public Realm of The Hague New Center, 2003-2016

The heart and backbone of The Hague New Center was the Haagse Loper (The Hague Ribbon), the entrance to the city that starts at the public transport terminal The Hague Central Station, via Turfmarkt to Spuiplein (see section 11.3). Almost all important government ministries, the cultural buildings on Spuiplein, and the City Hall were strung together like beads here. Later, The Hague New Central became the lively center of the Central Innovation District (CID). The renovation of The Hague Central Station into a public transport terminal and the redesign of Turfmarkt as The Hague Ribbon established the new gateway to The Hague New Center.

At the station, major government ministries are concentrated, while Spuiplein hosts the City Hall and key cultural institutions. In this way, The Hague New Center acquired a genuine urban core, and Turfmarkt was transformed into a fully-fledged entrance to the city. The origins of this concept can be traced to the 1980s, with the Turfmarkt design competition and Carel Weeber's design approach of formal objectivity. This provided the initial framework for the concentration of cultural institutions and the connection with the station. The concept was elaborated in the 1990s through Rob Krier's De Resident and Richard Meier's City Hall, and in the following decade further institutional buildings, including new ministerial offices designed by Hans Kollhoff, were realized along Turfmarkt.

On November 10, 2015, the theme of the public domain was the focus of Debate ADHD#21, held in the atrium of City Hall—by then widely regarded as the "living room" of the city. An alderman from the past, Adri Duivesteijn, talked to architects Herman Hertzberger, Hans Kollhoff, Jo Coenen and Rijk Rietveld (at the time the project architect for Richard Meier's City Hall). While the debate expressed considerable appreciation for the aesthetics and ambition underlying The Hague Ribbon (De Haagse Loper), critical observations were also made, notably that the area becomes largely deserted in the evenings (Oorschot, 2016).

A crucial element of this development was the renovation of The Hague Central Station, a project initiated well before the 2008 financial crisis (see section 11.3.1) . Thanks to the design by Benthem Crouwel Architects, The Hague significantly enhanced the quality of its public realm with the upgraded public transport terminal. Moreover, this intervention contributed a vital component to The Hague Ribbon - an urban design axis that bestows a clear structure and grandeur upon the city's entrance. Under the influence of the *Grotestedenbeleid* (*Major Cities Policy*) and the *Knooppuntenbeleid* (*Transport Nodes Policy*) of the early 1990s, railway station areas along the Oude Lijn – the railway from Leiden to Dordrecht - became central to national urban planning agendas. These areas were viewed as key locations for the development of high-density urban environments and for stimulating the urban economy. They were intended to serve as the core of the compact city. In this context, the architect was commissioned by ProRail in 2003 to transform the outdated The Hague Central Station into an attractive and functional public transport terminal. Construction began in 2011 and was completed in early 2016. The assignment presented a formidable challenge for the architect in 2003. They were tasked with fundamentally renewing the station concourse and creating three distinct entrances, thereby improving the station's integration with the urban fabric, and enhancing its function as a major mobility hub.

For many years, the area surrounding The Hague Central Station was

disorganized and chaotic. The Bezuidenhout district—situated between Utrechtsebaan and the station—had been haphazardly developed by the national government, resulting in what many viewed as an urban planning disaster. The positioning of the station entrance also posted significant challenges. Initially, the entrance was located on the side facing Turfmarkt. In the 1970s, it was moved to the Malieveld side, where the Stichthage office building was erected—a massive structure of exposed aggregate concrete along Koningin Julianaplein, with the station entrance tucked away inconspicuously in the building's base. The new station concourse is monumental in scale: 120 by 96 meters in floor area, with a height of 22 meters. Trams traverse the building on an elevated track, transforming the station into a vibrant, open transit hub. The once-monolithic office building of Stichthage now appears naturally integrated with the new construction. The transparency of the structure and the abundance of entrances allow visitors to experience the space from multiple perspectives simultaneously—both inside the station hall and outside along The Hague Ribbon. The dynamic daylight characteristic of The Hague plays a crucial role here, much like in the nearby city hall. The logical organization of circulation flows, the visual openness, and the seamless connection to The Hague Ribbon together make the renewed station hall a meaningful and engaging public space.

Connecting Two Halves of the City

In parallel with the development of the vibrant public transportation terminal, construction of The Hague Ribbon began in 2012. The objective of this design was to create a distinctive and cohesive entrance to the city. Where there had previously been a fragmented collection of urban spaces and disparate design elements between Spuiplein and Grotiusplein, The Hague Ribbon introduced visual unity through a consistent language of materials, paving, and street furniture. The Ribbon served not only as a physical gateway to the city but more significantly as an access point to a concentration of major urban functions: government ministries on both sides of the station, the City Hall, cultural institutions such as Amare, Nieuwe Kerk, and Theater aan het Spui, and Leiden University's The Hague campus. This transformation established the area as the civic heart of The Hague New Center. The unifying element of this urban redesign was the use of manganese brick paving, a material also characteristic of The Hague's historic city center. The design was further enhanced by the integration of trees and water features at Spuiplein and Anna van Buerenplein. The Hague Ribbon connects the two halves of the city flanking the newly renovated transit terminal, thus forming the backbone of the public urban domain in The Hague New Center.

Back-to-Back Housing as an Urban Planning Blunder

While the new station stands as a beacon of spatial quality, the development of Koningin Julianaplein (KJ-Plein)—the square fronting the renovated terminal—presents a disconcerting contrast. A critical urban planning misstep occurred on this site by orienting apartments with only one facade directly onto the Stichthage office. VVD alderman Revis, responsible for the city center, core area development, and public space, granted exclusive bidding rights for the site to three private parties: TBI/Synchroon, ProVast, and VolkerWessels. The project was ultimately carried out by the Development Consortium Koningin Julianaplein (OCKJ), a collaboration between Amvest and Synchroon. The construction of the towers was executed by contractor J.P. van Eesteren, a TBI Group company. A mobility study - focused on cyclists, pedestrians, and vehicular traffic - was conducted concurrently with the tendering process. In particular, the enormous bicycle basement under the square and new building proved a challenge. The result was an overloaded program that included office space and hospitality venues. The outcome was the design of so-called "corridor dwellings" by Powerhouse Company. A significant portion of these units—surrounded by buildings on three sides—faced directly onto the rear facade of Stichthage, just a few meters away. Effectively, these were back-to-back dwellings in a high-rise format, with a central corridor only 1.1 meters wide.

Revitalizing the Public Realm: From a 12-Hour to an 18-Hour Economy

During the debate held November 10, 2015 in the City Hall, the transformation of The Hague - from a desolate wasteland in the 1970s to an attractive and high-quality city center - was widely praised. However, critical voices were also heard. Kees Duivesteijn, emeritus professor of urban design at TU Delft, argued that the balance between public space and its users was misaligned: too much space had been allocated for too few people. Hertzberger described Spuiplein as cluttered and conceptually hybrid. Criticism also focused on the daily rhythm of The Hague's public realm. According to Kollhoff and several participants, the city's urban domain was overly tailored to the working hours of civil servants. Once the city hall and ministries closed, the vibrancy of the city dissipated. Following their lead, cafés and other amenities would also shut down, rendering the city center eerily deserted by evening.

Erik Pasveer, head of Urban Design and Planning, and urban designer Richard Koek—both responsible for the spatial framework of Amare—acknowledged the structural challenges facing The Hague New Center. The local economy in this area largely depends on civil servants, who are present only during daytime hours and reside elsewhere. They identified the arrival of Leiden University and the Royal Conservatoire as a potential turning point: students bring with them a different urban rhythm and could help foster a more continuous and dynamic city life. Koek and Pasveer also criticized the ground-level usage (the "plinth") of the city hall. Although the public library attracts over a million visitors annually, the City Hall closes at 7:00 PM, and the library at 8:00 PM—on weekends even as early as 5:00 PM. Likewise, the furniture store Hulshoff, located in a strategically visible part of the City Hall's plinth, shuts its doors by 5:30 PM. These limited opening hours stand in stark contrast to the ambition of creating a vibrant and lively city center. Koek proposed that relocating the public library to the ground floor of City Hall—between Turfmarkt and the atrium—might be a more effective strategy. Extending its opening hours to 10:00 PM, he suggested, could help foster a more vibrant evening atmosphere and activate the public realm beyond traditional office hours.

Laakhaven-West with the Calandkade.
Photo’s from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

The planned new residential towers near Amare were, according to Joris Wijsmuller, alderman for Urban Development, Housing, Sustainability, and Culture - intended to inject life into the area. However, doubts quickly emerged regarding this promise. The housing units were to be constructed significantly above street level, complicating their relationship with public space. Furthermore, concerns had arisen over housing quality in The Hague, as private developers increasingly dictated what constituted “quality”. Sunlight access and views were no longer guiding design principles, while features such as additional circulation space or shared amenities were often eliminated on cost grounds.

Architect Hans Kollhoff identified another major challenge: the public realm was severely fragmented by infrastructure. Trams, trains, and highways cut through the city, undermining spatial cohesion. He advocated for the removal of redundant infrastructure that he considered superfluous, such as Prins Bernhard Viaduct and Schenk Viaduct. Dismantling these barriers would free up space for housing and enhance the integration of urban environments. Alderman Wijsmuller cautiously acknowledged that demolishing Prins Bernhard Viaduct could indeed unlock significant spatial opportunities. Members of the public then inquired about the municipality’s broader vision on the matter. However, around that time, colleague alderman Revis was working on the CID Structural Vision, in which the urban space was central. Nowadays – in 2026 – Amare, hotels and Leiden University bring life to the Turfmarkt, even in the evenings. Urban planning sometimes also means having patience.

Laakhaven-West and Collective Private Commissioning

At the Norfolk site and in Energiekwartier, direction and planning were still arranged by the municipality, housing associations, and market parties. In Laakhaven-West, however, that control was abandoned. The highly urbanized Laakhaven-West and the green suburb of Vroondaal were both designated zones free of aesthetic regulation. This was mainly due to the financial crisis, during which virtually no new construction was built. Initially, Binckhorst also had little guidance and offered a lot of maneuvering room to entrepreneurs but gradually, however, the development became more and more focused on cohesion and spatial quality.

Development in Laakhaven-West started as early as the nineties and was linked to the design of the so-called residential wall, De Lamel, by architect Aldo Rossi. When the financial crisis struck, the public-private partnership (PPP) based on architect KCAP’s 2007 masterplan for Laakhaven-West proved unfeasible.

In response a new urban development framework was established in 2012 based on the existing streets, followed by the implementation of a revised zoning plan. During this period, the municipality opted to sell off all its landholdings in the area. Laakhaven-West was developed within the existing street pattern. As a result, coherence in the design between urban space and the built environment is lacking. On the other hand, existing historic industrial buildings and an office structure were able to be incorporated into the plans. For example, Maakhaven, located between Calandkade and 1e Lulofsdwarsstraat, was transformed into ateliers and studios; the RAC halls, between 1e Lulofsdwarsstraat and 1e Van der Kunstraat, became a sports center; and the iconic office building on 1e Van der Kunstraat was converted into small apartments. This has partially preserved the site’s rugged industrial character, but at the same time the quality of the urban space falls short: it is overly hardscaped, feels unsafe, and is primarily oriented toward cars.

The Caland Tower, designed by architect Ludo Grootman and consisting of 104 apartments, was the first building conceived, in 2009, and ultimately completed in 2015; large-scale construction activity only began to accelerate after 2016 (Archined, 2013; Haan & Laan, 2023). In May 2013, the municipality launched a design competition for CPO under the theme “Building on Top of Each Other – Concepts for Stacked, Small-Scale Commissioning”. Participants were invited to develop an innovative, creative, and feasible concept for high-rise residential buildings with a minimum height of twenty meters. Out of 125 submissions, fifteen teams were selected to further elaborate their proposals. The jury was chaired by former alderman Adri Duivesteijn. In November 2013, three winning proposals were announced: HOGE Vrijheid (HIGH Freedom) by Martijn van der Hijden Architecten from Amsterdam, Licht-Lucht-Ruimte-Vrijheid (Light-Air-Space-Freedom) by Studiohecht from The Hague, and Tree of Life by SYNarchi from Roosendaal. The HOGE Vrijheid project was ultimately chosen and was the first high-rise project in the Netherlands that was realized according to the CPO principle. It comprises 130 housing units of varying sizes.

In the years following the competition, additional plans emerged for Laakhaven-West. In Laakhaven-West, NU Project Development realized Waldo City, a residential complex consisting of 499 compact apartments based on its proprietary housing concept, The Waldo. This concept offers self-contained units of approximately 24 square meters, designed for single occupancy. Several architectural firms contributed to the development of the various buildings. Kampman Architecten designed several components of the project. Among them was the Waldo Tower, a 70-meter-high structure completed in 2017, comprising 320 apartments. This building was part of a competition-winning design of 2013. Kampman Architecten also designed Waldo Park, located adjacent to the railway, consisting of 42 units, and the Waldo Twins, with 54 apartments—both completed in 2016. Klunder Architecten was responsible for the designs of Waldo First (41 apartments) and Waldo Neighbour (44 apartments), also completed in 2016. Another notable development is Caland Dock, by Kampman, designed from 2014 onwards and completed in 2020. Situated attractively along the waterfront, this complex includes 550 two- and three-room apartments. The two Petroleumhaven Towers, designed from 2018 onward, added 242 apartments to the area. Along Waldorpstraat, Kampman Architecten further contributed by designing the River Towers: White Nile with 66 apartments and Blue Nile with 46 luxury units, both completed in 2016. However, questions may be raised about the long-term viability of The Waldo concept. The compact studio apartments are often small and dark, and there is a notable lack

Above Laakhaven-West with the Laakhaven.
Left public space of the Waldorpstraat.
Photo’s from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

of shared amenities. Consequently, the overall residential quality is limited.

The fact that the development was not subject to aesthetics regulations had noticeable consequences for the quality of the built environment, as is visible in the area around Calandstraat, Calandkade, and Waldorpstraat. The public space is predominantly paved, lacks greenery, and is full of cars. The architectural quality is limited and without mutual cohesion, there is no social life on the street. Cyclists encounter hazardous traffic situations, such as cycling paths that cross busy thoroughfares. Ground-level facades (plinths) are largely inactive, contributing to a sense of abandonment. Entrances to the residential towers are modest and lack a sense of arrival or architectural distinction. There is a lack of coherence, and buildings seem to stand next to each other as isolated objects. Later additions to the area included rows of unattractive and partially unfinished self-built homes along the harbor, as well as dormitory-like rental blocks near the railway, marketed to students at extremely high prices. Of the three planned Hindu temples, one remains under construction, visually marking a bleak terminus of Neherkade's spatial and architectural continuity.

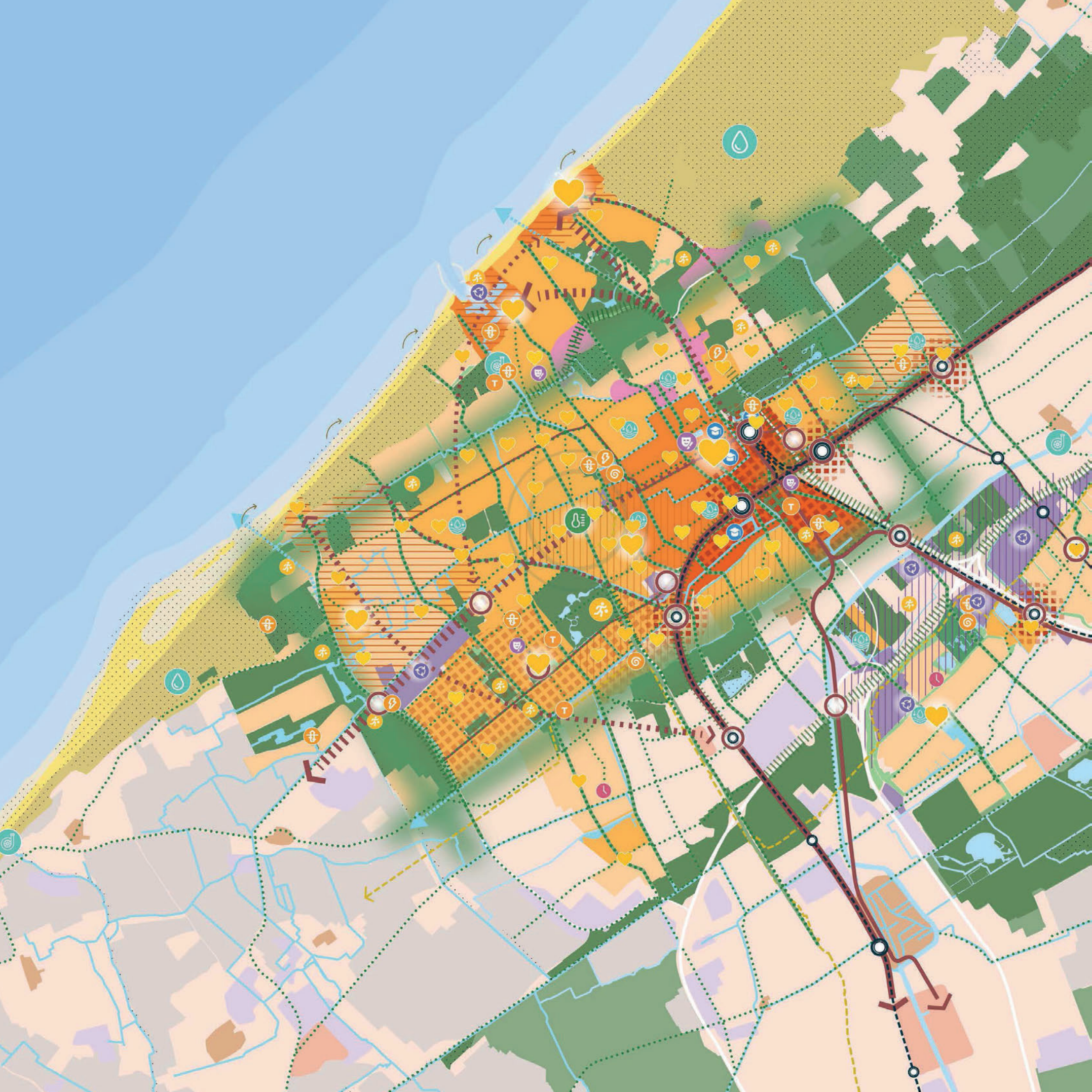
Thus, this development emphasizes the need to draw up a clear and binding quality plan for area developments, if only to bring coherence to the architecture, building mass and the urbans spaces of the residential neighborhood.

12.7 Conclusion

The years 2010 to 2015 can be characterized as an interim period during which the urban landscape gradually shifted away from an exaggerated emphasis on globalization and internationalization toward a model centered on densification, sustainability, and greening. Many projects implemented during this time still originated from this earlier paradigm, while new initiatives—such as De Groene Mient—emerged from a different, more sustainability-oriented perspective.

The Hague New Center was equipped with a new, high-quality public transport terminal at The Hague Central Station, alongside the development of a pedestrian axis - The Hague Ribbon - connecting the station to the historic city center via Turfmarkt. Former industrial sites, including the Norfolk site, Energiekwartier, and later Binckhorst and Laakhaven-West, were subject to redevelopment plans that were implemented incrementally over extended periods.

During this period, global climate challenges also moved to the forefront of the urban agenda, with circular approaches to energy and resource use becoming increasingly central to city-making. The Paris Climate Agreement of 2015 may be regarded as a critical turning point in this regard. The following chapter, examines these developments in The Hague, ultimately culminating in the *Environmental Vision The Hague 2050: At home in a Green Metropolis by the Sea* (*Omgevingsvisie Den Haag 2050: Thuis in een Groene Metropool aan Zee) of 2025*.



13
CITYSCAPE OF DENSIFICATION, SUSTAINABILITY AND GREENING 2016–2025

"The Netherlands is fully built up" … "I believe – and hope – that no more construction will take place in the Netherlands."
(Chief Government Architect Frits van Dongen, source: Nieuwsuur broadcast, 20 September 2013, and Architectenweb, 23 September 2013)

"I am the first VVD-member to have dismantled an entire ministry!"
(Minister Stef Blok, source: Financieele Dagblad, 6 October 2017)

Left, a fragment of the "Omgevingsvisiekaart Den Haag 2050" by the municipality of The Hague.
Source: The Hague municipality. *Omgevingsvisie Den Haag 2050: Thuis in een groene metropool aan zee* (2025): 60-61.

13.1 Introduction

Population Growth, Cars, Energy, and Climate

With the publication of the Agenda Space for the City in 2016, the first societal urban blocks were laid, integrating global challenges into local policy and the collaborative networks through which urban development agreements were forged (see chapter 13.2). The vision of a city shaped by densification, sustainability, and greening gradually took physical form after a period of crises. This development was formalized in the *Omgevingsvisie Den Haag 2050: Thuis in een groene metropool aan zee* (*Environmental Vision The Hague 2050: At Home in a Green Metropolis by the Sea*), published in January 2025, and accepted by the city council in the autumn of 2025 (see chapter 13.7).

After a period of suburbanization—during which new Vinex neighborhoods were developed and the city became increasingly car-oriented—the financial and economic crisis years of 2008-2012 led, of necessity, to a shift toward more organic urban growth. Following years of crisis, stagnation in construction, and a period of organic growth, The Hague regained momentum after 2016, despite the challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine. Themes such as densification, sustainability, and greening became central to urban development. The city developed new large-scale, sustainable, and energy-efficient housing complexes, while the urban realm became visibly greener. The policy triad of densification, sustainability, and urban greening constituted a municipal response to global climate challenges resulting from greenhouse-gas emissions.

Two principal factors underpinned the housing crisis. First, rapid population growth was driven by strong economic expansion in the Netherlands, with this growth concentrating predominantly in urban regions. Second, a structural shift in housing culture occurred, moving away from traditional family household composition toward one- and two-person households. This shift was influenced by demographic aging, national government policies, and broader processes of societal individualization. Housing production failed to adapt adequately to these changes and instead continued to favor the more profitable development of low-rise, single-family homes with private gardens.

In addition, as discussed in chapter 12, the policy measures introduced by minister Stef Blok around 2015 resulted in a contraction of the construction sector as a whole, causing the supply of appropriately tailored housing products to lag significantly behind demand. Finally, the Russian invasion of Ukraine triggered a sharp increase in energy and raw material prices. Elevated construction costs, combined with competing spatial claims in urban regions—leading to high land prices—ultimately culminated in a housing crisis.

Within the administrative boundaries of municipality of The Hague, however, the limited availability of land and high cost of land rendered housing ambitions particularly challenging. The need to accommodate additional housing through urban densification directly competed with spatial claims arising from other ongoing transitions, including the energy transition, the mobility transition, and climate adaptation measures.

The population of The Hague reached 569,387 inhabitants in September 2025, driven in part by immigration from other European countries and by broader societal trends toward individualized living arrangements in the Netherlands. This demographic growth was accompanied by a marked rise in car ownership, imposing considerable financial burdens on both the municipality and residential development projects—particularly where underground parking facilities were required. The *Netwerkstrategie 2040* (*Network Strategy 2040*) of 2025 estimated that the combined spatial claim of roadways and parking facilities amounted to approximately 80 m² of urban land per vehicle. Residents without cars indirectly contributed to these costs through municipal taxation. The extensive spatial footprint reserved for cars significantly constrained the city's capacity to densify.

Densification was pursued to meet the rising demand for urban living in close proximity to employment and amenities. Sustainability measures sought to reduce both heating demand and overall energy consumption in existing and newly built structures. Finally, urban greening was applied to make the city healthier and more resilient to the climate change impacts, such as heat stress, extreme precipitation, and sea level rise, while simultaneously enhancing biodiversity. These strategies included the development of green-blue networks and the use of native plant and tree species.

From a Compact City to a Polycentric City

Following the Paris Climate Agreement (2015), many major cities experienced a significant shift in their spatial and mobility planning paradigms. The emergence of the "15-minute city" concept, alongside increasing urban densification and the incorporation of the STOMP principle (Stappen, Trappen, Openbaar vervoer, Mobility-as-a-Service en Privéauto, that is, Walking, Cycling, Public transport, Mobility-as-a-Service and Private car) in mobility planning redirected attention toward the proximity and functional integration of housing, employment, and urban amenities. These functions were increasingly organized within mixed-use residential-working districts that are more evenly distributed across the urban fabric. Major cities, including The Hague, gradually evolved from a monocentric Compact City to a Polycentric City. The combined agenda of densification, sustainability, and urban greening collectively served as the driving force behind this transformation.

The vision *World City by the Sea* of 2005 still reflected the conceptual framework of the monocentric Compact City. The *Agenda Space for the City* (2016) represented a decisive turning point, whereas the 2025 *Omgevingsvisie* (*Environmental Vision*) explicitly adopts a polycentric approach to urban development. Comparable transformations occurred in Amsterdam, Utrecht, and Rotterdam, each following its own trajectory. Unlike the canonical "dartboard city" or "water city", characterized by a medieval core and concentric growth rings, The Hague exhibits a distinct developmental trajectory. Originating as an

elongated settlement behind the coastal dunes and surrounded by country estates, the city gradually incorporated neighboring villages and hamlets into an increasingly urbanized landscape.

The development of priority areas - Binckhorst, the Central Innovation District (CID), and The Hague Southwest—played a pivotal role in shaping this polycentric urban structure. Historically, The Hague had possessed multiple subcenters, including Scheveningen, Loosduinen, Leyweg, and the more peripheral Vinex districts, which themselves were linked to existing regional service centers. Furthermore, the historical cores of Rijswijk and Voorburg are now almost fully encircled by The Hague's municipal boundary. High-quality public transport (HOV), station development, and inter-city cycling highways are crucial for maintaining accessibility and livability across all parts of the city. The Vliet Line and the perpendicular South-Westland corridor constitute critical infrastructural links. "No rails, no housing," as former alderman Urban Development (2018-2025) Robert van Asten asserted to the national government on October 1, 2025.

13.2 Agenda Space for the City, 2016

Metropolitan Region Rotterdam The Hague, 2015

As of January 1, 2015, 23 municipalities—together comprising approximately 2.3 million inhabitants—form the Metropolitan Region Rotterdam The Hague (MRDH). In 2016, the *Roadmap Next Economy* was presented, outlining the MRDH's vision for societal transformation inspired by the so-called "Third Industrial Revolution", a concept popularized by economist Jeremy Rifkin in his book *The Third Industrial Revolution*. The Roadmap connected emerging technological and economic developments to clearly articulated societal and global objectives, as formulated by the MRDH. That same year, the Agenda Space for the City was also introduced. This agenda served as a local elaboration of the Roadmap and emphasized the CID as its primary development focus.

The establishment of the MRDH, the *Roadmap Next Economy*, the *Agenda Space for the City*, and the CID constitute an integrated framework through which high-density urban living and the strategies of densification, sustainability, and greening were given concrete meaning. These documents also delineated the roles of the national government and the province. High-quality public transport (HOV) was an integrated challenge addressed jointly by the national government and major municipalities. The documents focused on the Oude Lijn (Old Line), a term which refers to the railway line in the western Netherlands that runs along the route Amsterdam Central-Haarlem-Leiden Central-The Hague HS-Rotterdam Central, the oldest railway line in the Netherlands.

Several other planning and financial documents by the central government and the province influenced The Hague:

- Verstedelijkingsalliantie (Urbanization Alliance, 2017-2021)
- Woondeal zuidelijke Randstad (Housing Deal Southern Randstad, 2019)
- Regio Deal Zuidwest (Regional Deal Southwest, 2019-2023)
- Nationale Omgevingsvisie (National Environmental Vision (NOVI), 2020)
- Tweede Regio Deal Zuidwest (Second Regional Deal Southwest, 2023-2026)
- Nationaal Programma Zuidwest (National Program Southwest, NPZW, 2023-present)

After the crisis and concomitant uncertainty, various partnerships came to fruition with agreements and cooperation agendas and programs between the national government, the province, and municipalities. The housing deal ultimately aimed to establish a "G4 funding mechanism for integrated urbanization tasks". "G4" stands for the four major cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. The primary focus in The Hague was on development locations within the CID, Binckhorst, and other sites along the Old Line, such as

Turfmarkt, on the left the Town Hall and on the right the culture center Amare.
Photo from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

knooppunt (traffic junction) Moerwijk. Zuidwest and Scheveningen were considered too far from the HOV network, but were mentioned in connection with the South-Westland Corridor (ZuidWestlandcorridor) and Koningscorridor (later called Vlietlijn, which is part of this corridor in the CID) as future HOV routes serving as conditions for development.

The ZuidWestland corridor connects Central Station with high-quality public transport, with The Hague Southwest, Naaldwijk, Maassluis, Schiedam in the direction of Rotterdam. The Koningscorridor connects Scheveningen, Central Station with the CID, Binckhorst, Voorburg and later Zoetermeer and Delft with high-quality public transport. With these two corridors, The Hague wants to make a public transport leap to the region.

Urbanization Alliance, 2017-2021

The province, the national government, and the MRDH formed the Urbanization Alliance together with eight municipalities: Leiden, Zoetermeer, The Hague, Rijswijk, Delft, Schiedam, Rotterdam, and Dordrecht. The first strategy was developed in 2017 and focused on the Old Line corridor. The objective was to increase the agglomeration strength of the region. This was further elaborated in the *Verstedelijkingsstrategie Zuid-Holland 2021-2040: Versterken van steden en dorpen* (*South Holland Urbanization Strategy 2021-2040: Strengthening Cities and Villages*), adopted by the province on December 21, 2021. The guiding principles included: strengthening the spatial structure of South Holland; prioritizing construction within existing urban and village areas (better utilization of existing urban and village space); focusing construction near high-quality public transport (HOV); enhancing slow traffic connections; ensuring that new housing projects consist of approximately 50% affordable homes; an integrated approach to the various demands within urbanization; leveraging the network of urban centers and hubs; building future-proof by considering subsidence and climate adaptation, vital villages and urbanization, mixed-use functions, prime economic locations, healthy urbanization, energy transition, and circular and nature-inclusive construction; and realizing robust and climate-adaptive recreation and nature areas in coordination with the urban network. In 2020, the Urbanization Alliance agreed with the national government to realize 215,000 new homes in South Holland by 2030. Although the alliance identified a planning capacity of 280,000 homes, the emphasis was placed on actual delivery. The National Environmental Vision, published in September 2020 and largely following the Urbanization Alliance's agenda, designated large-scale development locations along the Old Line.

Housing Deal Southern Randstad 2019

For the *Housing Deal Soutern Randstad*, which was agreed on May 28, 2019, the chosen scale was the Southern Randstad, a metropolitan area where the urbanization challenge was concentrated along the Old Line corridor connecting Leiden, The Hague, Delft, Rotterdam, and Dordrecht, with public transportation serving as the unifying element. Twelve key locations were prioritized: within The Hague CID/Binckhorst and the Moerwijk Junction.

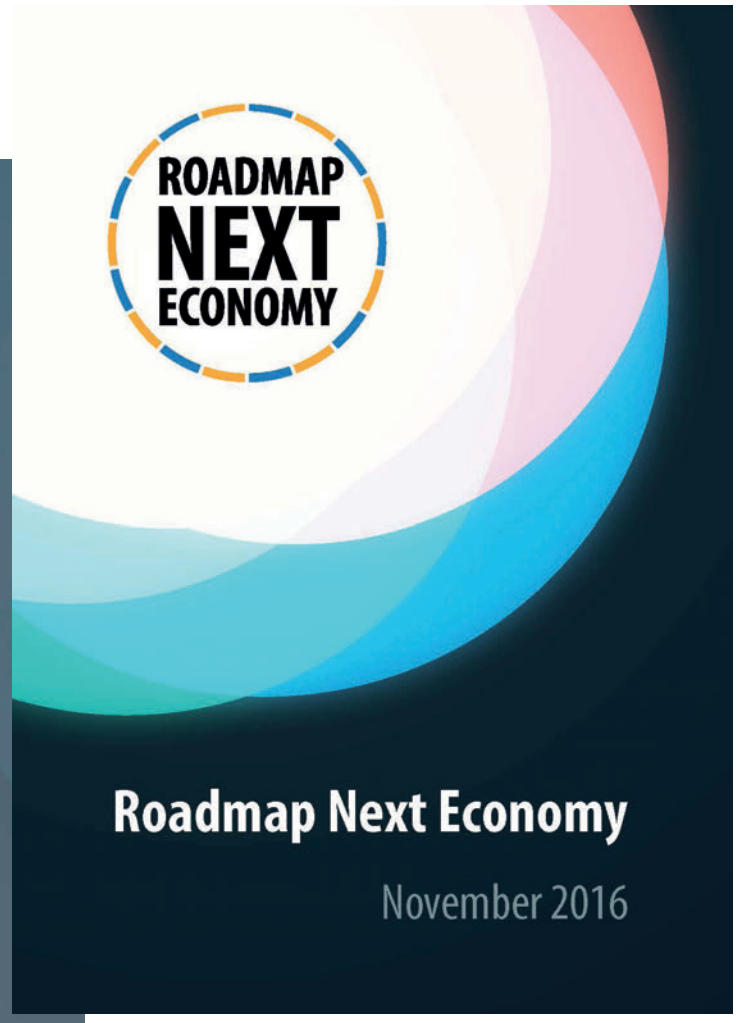
The Housing Deal focused on inner-city transformation, densification efforts, and neighborhood renewal. A significant component of this partnership was to secure, during the current and subsequent cabinet periods, additional measures and resources from the national government to support urbanization goals in the Southern Randstad at large and major area developments in The Hague in particular. The deal outlined agreements on a joint urbanization strategy, regional housing production, neighborhood renewal and sustainability, ensuring affordable housing supply in the social and middle segments, and safeguarding the private housing stock. The goal was to construct 100,000 new homes in the Southern Randstad by 2025. Specifically for this urbanization challenge, a public fund was established to finance initiatives in the Southern Randstad.

Several objectives were identified: (a) the conversion of soft plans into concrete development capacity at inner-city locations with an affordable housing program; (b) the integration of various challenges within the physical domain, such as climate adaptation, accessibility, mobility transition, and energy transition; (c) linking the physical domain with the social domain; and (d) the preservation, maintenance, and renovation of the existing housing stock. The concentrated urbanization strategy along the Old Line primarily aimed to develop and realize central urban residential environments near high-quality public transport, to alleviate pressure on the road network, advance the mobility transition, and strengthen the economy, as well as to provide access to amenities and employment opportunities. Additionally, the strategy sought to preserve scarce green spaces—considering climate adaptation, nature-inclusive development, and preventive health measures—and thus enhance urban livability.

Region-specific agreements were established within the framework of the housing deal. For example, in Rotterdam South, an integrated socio-physical neighborhood renewal was pursued, with a joint investment of €260 million from the national government and the municipality. Similarly, progress was made in The Hague Southwest through a combined investment of €17.5 million. The *Nationaal Programma Rotterdam Zuid* (*National Program Rotterdam South*, NPRZ) and later the *Nationaal Programma Zuidwest* (*National Program Southwest, NPZW*) in The Hague are examples of targeted agreements formulated within the scope of the housing deal.

Key agreements were made in the Housing Deal (2019: 5). Municipalities and the province committed to:

- Ensuring sufficient planning capacity for the construction of 230,000 housing units by 2040, aligned with both quantitative and qualitative demand.
- The production of over 100,000 homes in the period 2018-2025, of which:
  1. nearly half would be located in the municipalities of The Hague and Rotterdam;
  2. a significant portion would be in the affordable housing segment.



Synthesis between the transition pathways as described in the Roadmap for the Rotterdam The Hague Metropolitan Area MRDH.
Source: The Hague municipality, *Roadmap Next Economy* (2016): 58

- Achieving a balanced distribution among target groups and promoting the creation of affordable housing for low- and middle-income households.

To facilitate this, the national government commits to:

- Providing instruments to realize the integrated urbanization agenda and to develop solutions for financing affordable housing in locations within existing urban areas near HOV.
- Enhancing the investment capacity of housing corporations in the Southern Randstad to address social housing challenges.
- Implementing legislative and regulatory adjustments to promote equity and accessibility in the housing market.

Specific agreements were also made in the Housing Deal concerning the CID and Binckhorst. The Housing Deal (2019: 9) stipulated: "The ambition is to add approximately 25,000 housing units in total within the CID and Binckhorst, with a focus on further intensifying the housing development program wherever possible. Developing a viable business case for the area's transformation, ensuring sufficient housing diversity and quality, presents a significant challenge. This is compounded by the urgency of the energy transition, infrastructural constraints and demands within the area, rising construction costs, the preservation of space for employment, and maintaining an affordable construction program. The municipality of The Hague reserves the right, within this partnership, to require timely decision-making regarding the necessary public transportation accessibility measures in the CID-Binckhorst area."

Although not a primary focus area and less specifically addressed, agreements were also made regarding the urbanization challenge in The Hague Southwest within the Housing Deal (2019: 13). "Furthermore, the physical renewal and densification of Southwest is of critical importance. An ambitious housing development program is required to achieve a better mix of social rental housing and higher-end rental and owner-occupied units for middle-income groups. This necessitates an improved level of amenities as well as enhanced local and regional accessibility. Mixed-use area development will commence in Moerwijk Junction, the Leyweg vicinity, and Lozerlaan/Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten. The national government and the municipality of The Hague aim to secure a special national status for The Hague Southwest." This laid the foundation for the National Program Southwest (NPZW). The municipality of The Hague and the ministry of the Interior entered a multi-year partnership to shape and implement the urban renewal and densification efforts in Southwest.

Regional Deal Southwest and NPZW

The *Regional Deal Southwest* (2019-2023) differed from the Southern Randstad Housing Deal (2019) in its focus and scope. Whereas the Housing Deal emphasized the physical domain, the Regional Deal was primarily aimed at the socio-economic domain. It also aligned with the ambitions set forth in the 2018-2022 Coalition Agreement *Den Haag: Stad van Kansen en Ambities* (*The Hague: City of Opportunities and Ambitions*), with the parties HvDH, VVD, D66 and GroenLinks. As a continuation of the *Regional Deal Southwest*, the NPZW was in 2023 developed in The Hague to improve overall livability in a holistic manner within a residential district of approximately 70,000 inhabitants—comparable in size to the entire population of Gouda.

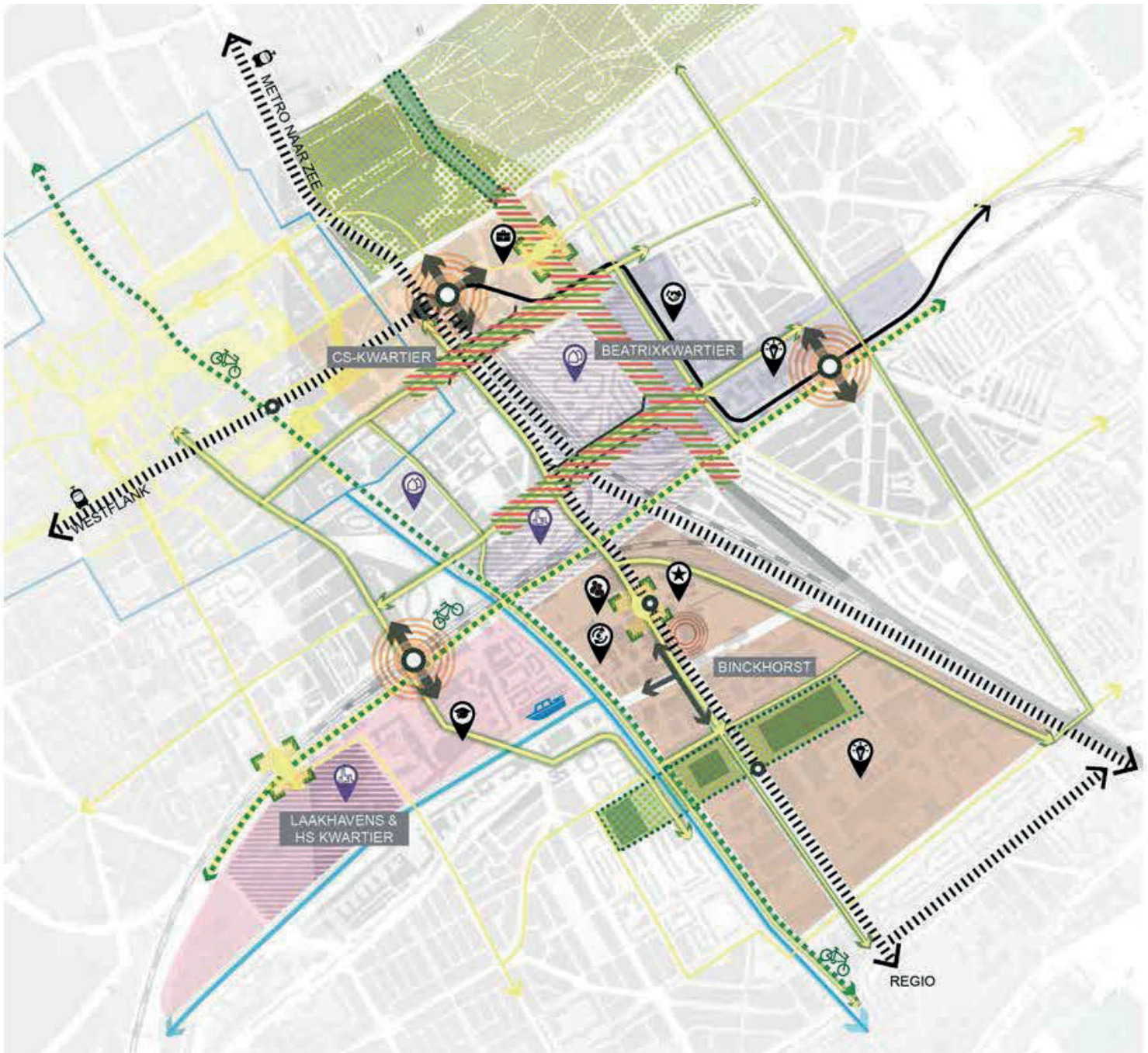
NOVI (National Environmental Vision) and the NOVEX (National Environmental Vision Execution) Areas CID-Binckhorst

To give more control over spatial development, the ministry of the Interior published the National Environmental Vision in 2020. This was replaced in 2026 by the *Nota Ruimte* (*National Spatial Strategy*). As part of the 2022 NOVEX Program, sixteen large-scale housing development sites were designated. The Southern Randstad Urbanization Area (Verstedelijkingsgebied Zuidelijke Randstad) is one of these sites. For this region, the Urbanization Alliance had already been concluded in 2019. It stipulated the development of 70,000 housing units and space for 80,000 jobs along the "Oude Lijn" (Old Railway Line), as well as an additional 100,000 housing units in highly accessible locations. These agreements are continuously updated and refined. Subsequently, seventeen large-scale urbanization sites were formally designated nationwide as NOVEX areas. Within these areas, 400,000 new housing units are aimed to be constructed. To support this, the national government allocated a budget of €7.5 billion in 2022. The Hague CID-Binckhorst is among these major housing development sites.

The CID-Binckhorst area comprises three subdistricts, with a total development goal of 33,000 housing units. The CID is currently the economic core of The Hague. The aim is to transform the area into a sustainable, economically innovative, livable, and inclusive part of the city. Adjacent to The Hague's city center lies Binckhorst: once an industrial area with three inland harbors along the Trekvliet canal, in a strategic location near the city center, highways, and railways. Binckhorst directly connects to the CID and had already begun transitioning into a new urban neighborhood prior to its formal designation.

STOMP Principal and New Mobility

Municipal elections were held on March 16, 2022. Following these elections, a coalition was formed consisting of D66, VVD, GL, PvdA, and CDA. The spatial planning portfolio was divided among no fewer than four aldermen. Robert van Asten (D66) was appointed Alderman for Urban Development, Strategy, and European Affairs. Arjen Kapteijns (GL) took on the portfolio for Sustainability and the Energy Transition. Martijn Balster (PvdA) became responsible for Public Housing, Social Welfare, and the Southwest district, while Anne Mulder (VVD) assumed responsibility for Mobility, Public Space, and Scheveningen (Municipality of The Hague, 2022). Within this distribution of responsibilities, the area developments in the priority zones of Binckhorst and the CID fell under Van Asten's purview. The Southwest was assigned to Balster, who implemented the NPZW in that area.



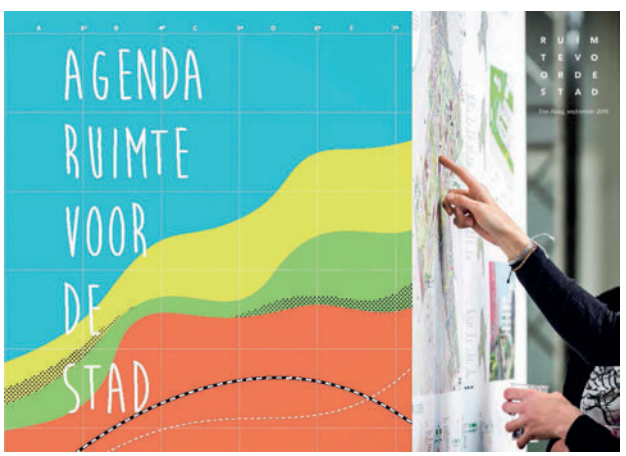
Central Innovation District

Strengthen connections
- Slow traffic connection
- Connection canals and water
- Switch point
- Public space Kern special
- Green integration of infrastructure

Audience-Engaging Features
- Public facilities & Event site

Transformation areas
- Opportunities for urban intensification
- Renewal of city districts
- Highly intensified areas
- Opportunities infrastructure transformations
- Urban views of public transport hubs
- Opportunities for urban hubs
- Education
- Startup & innovation
- Government
- Circular economy
- Entrepreneurship and meeting

Improving accessibility
- Opportunities accelerating public transport
- Tram stop
- Train station
- Integration of car infrastructure
- Option for velostrada
- Main cycle route
- Water supply route



The Central Innovation District CID according the *Agenda Space for the City*.
Source: The Hague municipality, *Agenda Ruimte voor de Stad (*2016): 51.

The municipal executive coalition collapsed in June 2023, following the withdrawal of the VVD due to a conflict concerning the renewed participation in the coalition of populist party HvDH. In October 2023, a new municipal executive was formed, consisting of D66, GL, PvdA, CDA, PvdD, and pro-migrant party DENK (Gemeente Den Haag, 2023). The division of responsibilities within the spatial planning domain remained largely unchanged. Van Asten retained responsibility for urban development; Balster continued to oversee public housing and the Southwest district; Kapteijns remained in charge of the energy transition and additionally assumed the mobility portfolio; and Robert Barker of the PvdD was appointed alderman for Public Space. The strategic focus on the three priority areas—Binckhorst, the CID, and Southwest—was maintained.

In the spatial planning domain, Van Asten, Balster, and Kapteijns played a central role. The spatial demands resulting from the policy objectives of densification, sustainability, and greening were substantial, while the city had by then been nearly built out to its physical limits. Space allocated to cars in the public realm was significantly reduced. Parking facilities were increasingly incorporated beneath or adjacent to large new residential developments, where residents could rent a parking space at market rates. Parking policy, particularly in the context of urban development projects, increasingly emerged as a contentious issue.

Within the mobility transition, the municipal executive primarily relied on the STOMP principle as the guiding framework. This principle prescribes a hierarchical ordering of mobility options, to be systematically applied throughout every stage of planning and design. The sequence comprises five successive steps, in order of desirability:

- **Walking**—ensuring daily amenities within walking distance, supported by attractive and safe pedestrian routes for all ages;
- **Cycling**—locating amenities within cycling distance and providing direct, comfortable cycling routes;
- **Public transportation**—connecting new areas and refining the existing transit network;
- **Mobility as a Service (MaaS)**—facilitating shared use of cars and scooters through mobility hubs; and
- **Private car use**—defining the degree of neighborhood accessibility for private vehicles and the provision of parking facilities.

In new urban development projects, the municipal executive placed particular emphasis on shared mobility solutions within the STOMP framework, whereas HvDH positioned itself politically as a party defending the interests of car users. In 2024, the governing coalition lost its majority after one council member from both the PvdA and the CDA defected to HvDH. On March 27, 2025, alderman Balster resigned after coming under personal scrutiny over delays in the relocation of a trailer park. The coalition continued its course towards the 2026 municipal elections. Co Engberts, PvdA party leader and former councilor in Rotterdam, took Balster's place as alderman. In the municipal elections of 18 March 2026, the battle for urban space took a prominent place. The choice between space for the car on the one hand and space for densification, greening and sustainability. The populist HvDH became the big winner of the elections with 16 seats out of 45 in the Hague city council.

The Roadmap Next Economy, 2016

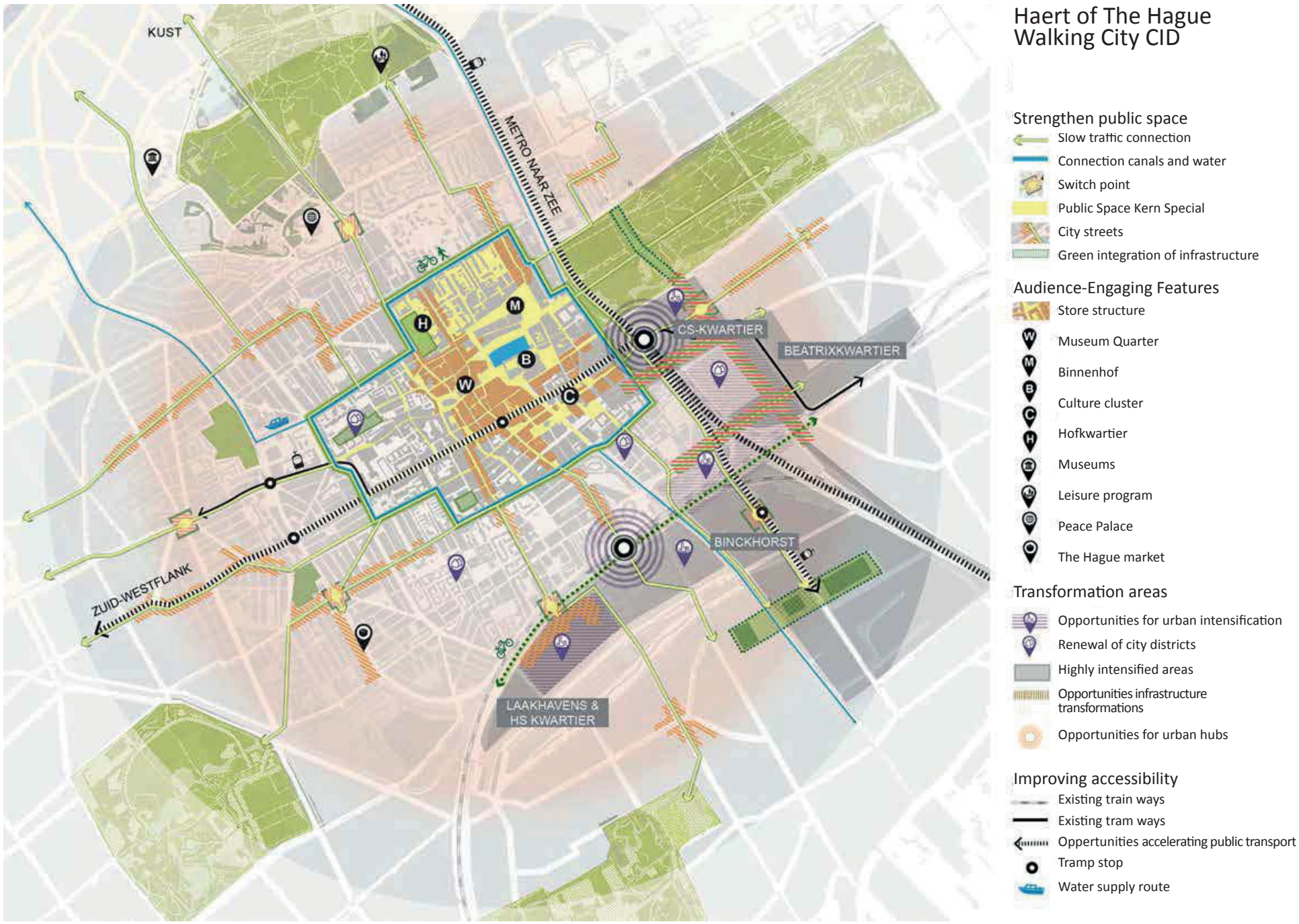
The collaboration within the MRDH initially focused on the domains of economy and mobility. At a later stage, sustainability and housing were added to the agenda. The *Roadmap Next Economy* was developed on behalf of the MRDH, aiming to provide guidance for the transition toward a future-proof regional economy. The societal transition, led by economist Jeremy Rifkin, was described in his book the *Third Industrial Revolution* from 2011. New developments, as discussed in the context of the Smart City discourse, were linked to clear societal and global objectives, as formulated by the MRDH (Metropoolregio Rotterdam The Hague, 2016). Parallel to the development of the *Roadmap*, the *Agenda Space for the City* was developed in 2016.

Global Themes for the Local Population

The Roadmap began with a cautionary tone: "Our world is in transition. We are no longer living in an era of change; we are witnessing the change of an era. We stand on the threshold of the greatest social and economic challenges since the nineteenth century. Global trends such as climate change, geopolitical shifts including the rise of new economic powers, increasing migration, growing inequality, depletion of natural resources, disruptive technological innovations, and the rise of the commons are driving this transition toward systemic change. We must anticipate this transformation; a fundamental shift is required in how we organize our society." (Metropoolregio Rotterdam Den Haag, 2016: 4)

The approach in the Roadmap was thematic and future-oriented: five transition pathways were identified and described, each of which was subsequently reflected upon in detail. Each pathway focused on a specific aspect of the social and economic transformation and offered actionable perspectives for regional governments and collaborative partners.

1. **Smart Digital Delta, Toward Zero Marginal Costs.** This transition pathway encompasses all developments related to high-speed digital connections, big data platforms, smart logistics, intelligent mobility, sensors, the Internet of Things, and so forth. It includes all necessary actions to establish a well-designed digital infrastructure that enables the region to increase its data productivity, including a legal framework that fosters trust within a digitized market.
2. **Smart Energy Delta, Toward Zero Carbon.** This transition pathway covers everything related to interconnected smart energy systems, sustainable energy sources, conversion and storage technologies, energy conservation, carbon dioxide sequestration, heat exchange, and the entire electrical and hydrogen infrastructure. It comprises all actions required to build infrastructure for renewable energy.



The historic city and walkability of The Hague, according the *Agenda Space for the City*.
Source: The Hague municipality, *Agenda Ruimte voor de Stad (*2016): 49.

3. **Circular Economy, Toward Zero Waste.** This transition pathway involves the use and reuse of resources and waste streams within the region: recycling, creative reuse (upcycling), bio-based materials, and clean technologies. It outlines all measures necessary to transform the region into a circular hub.
4. **Entrepreneurial Region, Toward New Productivity.** This transition pathway includes all relevant components of the new economy: novel business models, new products and services, emerging clientele, new forms of collaboration, disruptive innovations, the development of start-ups into scale-ups, laws, and regulations, living labs, and barriers that must be removed to build the new economy. It encompasses all efforts aimed at creating an entrepreneurial culture and structure.
5. **Next Society, Toward an Inclusive Society.** This transition pathway addresses various aspects of the future society in the region. It pertains to new labor market arrangements, new skills and educational formats, community ownership, citizen cooperatives, bottom-up movements, social entrepreneurs, and social innovation. It covers all necessary actions to develop a more inclusive society.

The five transition pathways distinguished in the *Roadmap Next Economy* are each discussed through a series of key questions. In the final synthesis, after extensive deliberation, the Roadmap integrates these pathways into a coherent vision. An explanatory glossary was also appended to the Roadmap, intended for policymakers and specialists within the spatial domain. This introduced an entirely new English-language vocabulary — largely derived from the American policy context — into the Dutch spatial discourse.

The first question of the Roadmap was: Is the region ready for the new economy? The answer was both yes and no. On one hand, the region's dominant economic sectors—the Port of Rotterdam and the greenhouse horticulture cluster in Westland—are deeply rooted in the fossil economy. On the other hand, these sectors are heavily investing in radical innovation. They are undergoing a transformation process in which they gradually develop into pillars of the new, sustainable economy.

The second question was: What will be the region's future sources of income? It was emphasized that the development of the 'software'—the human side of innovation, such as talent development and network formation (transition pathways 4 and 5)—is at least as important as the 'hardware'—technological innovation, research and development, and ICT (transition pathways 1, 2, and 3). A notable conclusion from the discussions was that an estimated 75 percent of innovation success derives from social rather than technological innovation.

The final question was: Can the ambitions of the Roadmap Next Economy be realized? Can this development be initiated and sustained on the regional agenda over the long term? The answer was that this is only possible through a smart, coherent, and integrated approach characterized by continuity and administrative decisiveness. In other words, a systems approach is required according to the Roadmap.

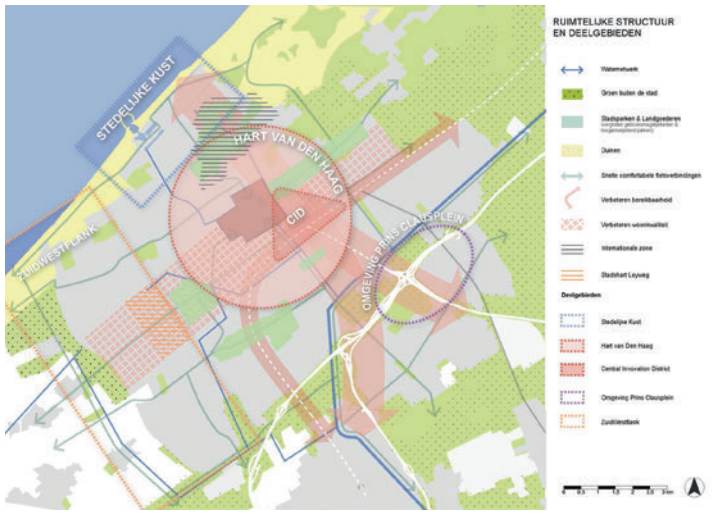
The entire set of projects included in the Roadmap must be methodically and temporally organized for implementation, with sufficient flexibility to allow for adjustments along the way. The Roadmap explicitly warns against adhering to a rigid blueprint. Instead, it advocates for an organic planning approach that connects long-term goals, medium-term strategies, and short-term projects. The governance structure must also reflect this approach: not institutionalized and top-down, but organic in nature—adaptive, learning, and capable of continuous alignment with changing circumstances.

The Roadmap and the Distance between City Government and Citizens

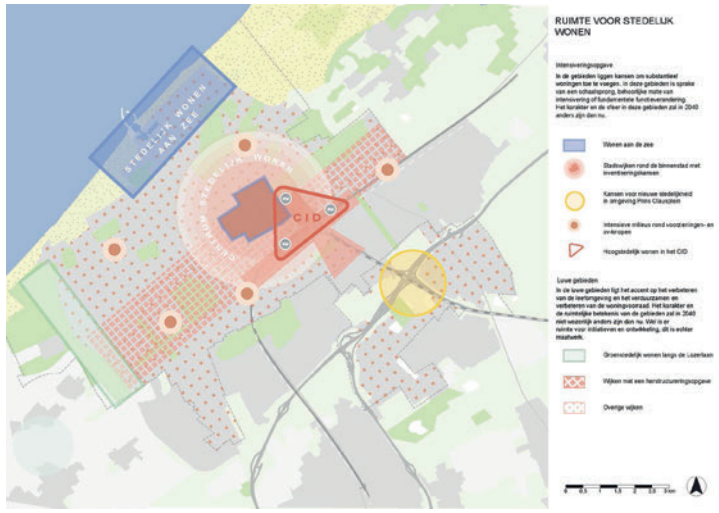
Did the Roadmap bridge the gap between government and citizens in The Hague? Perhaps the Roadmap was the ultimate project for administrative and spatial specialists, a policy celebration by professionals, and simultaneously a response to discussions surrounding the Smart City concept and urban metabolism. It may have correctly identified urgent global problems and offered a relevant approach for cities facing profound transitions. In many respects, it proved to be a successful approach. However, criticism can also be voiced. Those who examined the extensive list of involved partners and participating institutions in the various working groups searched in vain for representatives of citizens, neighborhood committees, or community organizations. Perhaps these groups were deemed irrelevant in light of global challenges. By this choice, the Roadmap arguably widened rather than narrowed the gap between the "average citizen" and governance. Politically, the Roadmap was perceived by many as an abstract, technocratic, and alienating document. Had a random passerby in The Hague been asked in 2016 what the MRDH or the CID meant, or what a circular economy entailed, the vast majority would likely have been unable to answer. The utility of the MRDH and the Roadmap, with its abstract discussions about global climate challenges and the necessity of a circular economy, was not universally appreciated in The Hague - particularly among citizens struggling to make ends meet daily, for whom the Smart City concept seemed distant and irrelevant. The narrow focus on global themes rendered policymakers blind to local issues, such as poverty affecting a significant portion of the less-educated population. The Roadmap thus proved blind to the reality of its own population in municipalities where - both in council chambers and local media - a unique dynamic had emerged. The 2018 municipal elections – and later in 2026 - thus marked a turning point in the city of The Hague. Public transport became increasingly expensive, and the car remained the only alternative for many, the housing crisis deepened, and housing production stagnated further and energy poverty among citizens increased in rental housing.

Global versus Local: Problems Reflected in the 2018 Local Elections

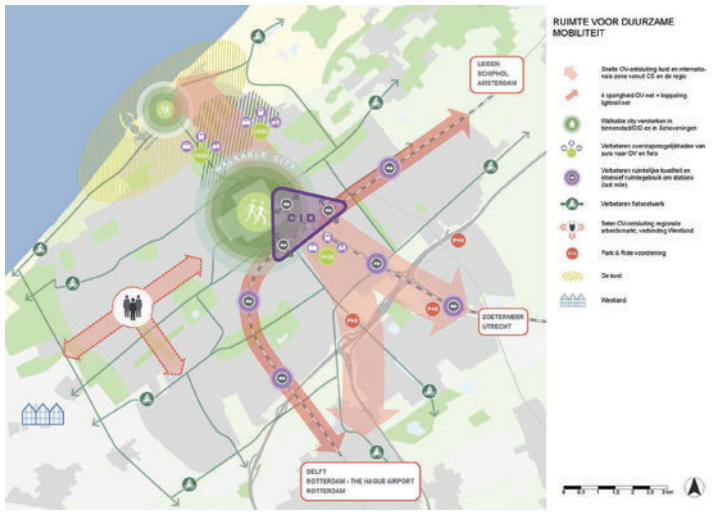
After a period of caution and waiting between 2010 and 2016, traditional governing parties came under considerable pressure due to the rise of a new political movement: Groep de Mos / HvDH, led



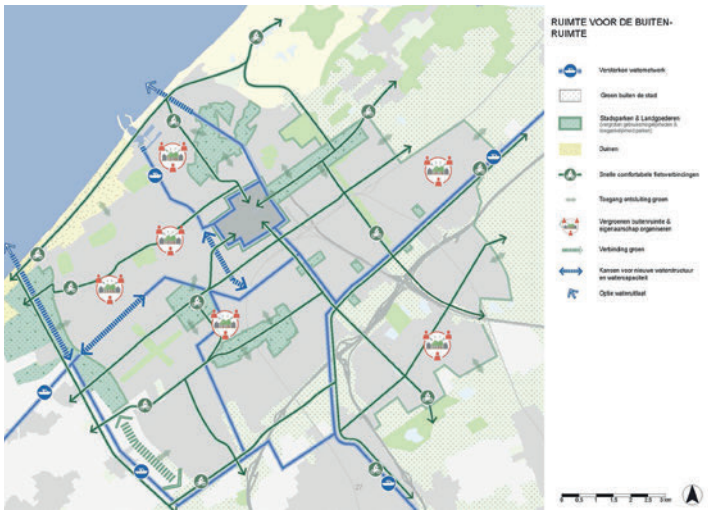
Spatial structure of different districts. Source: The Hague municipality, *Agenda Ruimte voor de Stad (*2016): 47



Space for urban living environment. Source: The Hague municipality, *Agenda Ruimte voor de Stad (*2016): 31

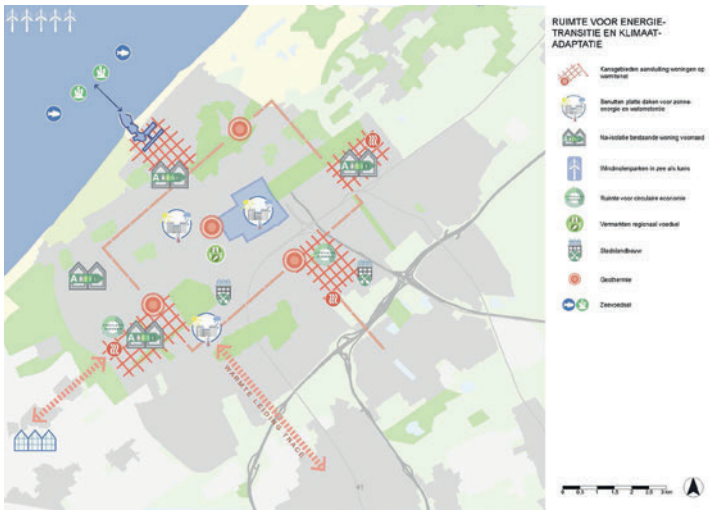


Space for sustainable mobilty. Source: The Hague municipality, *Agenda Ruimte voor de Stad (*2016): 39



Space for urban space. Source: The Hague municipality, *Agenda Ruimte voor de Stad (*2016): 27

Space for economy and tourism. Source: The Hague municipality, *Agenda Ruimte voor de Stad (*2016): 35



Space for energy and climate. Source: The Hague municipality, *Agenda Ruimte voor de Stad (*2016): 41

by Richard de Mos. Originally founded as Group de Mos in 2013, the party changed its name to Heart voor The Hague (HvDH) in 2017. The party consisted of members from various political backgrounds within The Hague's political landscape. In 2021, the faction of party for the elderly 50Plus also joined this party. HvDH explicitly positioned itself as a local party, distancing itself from major global issues and the long term as articulated in the Roadmap of 2016. Instead, the party focused on short-term, local concerns and ombudsman politics, emphasizing direct interaction with citizens to resolve problems. It garnered broad support across diverse demographic groups in The Hague, regardless of ethnic and political background. In the 2014 municipal elections, Group de Mos had secured three seats. However, in the elections held on March 21, 2018, the party emerged as the largest winner with eight seats, followed by the VVD with seven seats and D66 with six seats. The portfolio for Urban Development, Housing, and Scheveningen came under the responsibility of Boudewijn Revis, who served as alderman for spatial policy.

The city council concentrated spatial development efforts in priority zones:

- **CID**, including the Campusboulevard Schedeldoekshaven and Prins Bernhardviaduct, the junction Laan van Nieuw Oost-Indië, and the covering of Utrechtsebaan/CS East—as well as Binckhorst and Laakhavens.
- **The Hague Southwest neighborhoods** (Leyweg, Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten, and junction Moerwijk).
- **Scheveningen Habor and the International Zone** played prominent roles within urban development policy, as outlined in the Agenda Space for the City of 2016.

Since the emergence of "invitational planning" – because of the economic crisis - in Dutch spatial policy, municipal departments have seen a reduction in capacity, particularly in the fields of urban design and spatial planning, while the national government relinquished its coordinating role. As a result, it appeared that market actors had been granted a free hand in spatial development. Indeed, they seemed to function more as the principal driving force behind urban transformation than as partners within a coherent and organized municipal vision. The municipality's role appeared largely reactive. Terms such as "priority areas," "structure," and "vision" were absent in relation to the spatial domain in the 2018 coalition agreement of the municipality of The Hague (Gemeente Den Haag, 2018). Although market actors did not dominate the city's official vision—as evidenced in the structural and environmental policy documents—they nonetheless shaped the often-opportunistic interpretation of densification strategies. In October 2019, the coalition collapsed. The VVD, D66, and GL withdrew their trust in HvDH following allegations of corruption. Subsequently, a majority coalition of D66, VVD, GL, PvdA, and CDA was formed.

Agenda Space for the City, 2016

In September 2016, Erik Pasveer, the Head of Urban Design and Planning at The Hague, presented the *Agenda Space for the City* (Gemeente Den Haag, 2016). In October 2010 he had taken office as the new head, and he would remain so until January 2020. With a planning horizon extending to 2040, this agenda outlined the spatial framework needed to accommodate the emerging global economy and a growing urban population. Already at that stage, it was acknowledged that the inner city would undergo profound changes because of multiple ongoing transitions.

In their influential publication *The Rise of Innovation Districts: A New Geography of Innovation in America* (2014), economist Bruce Katz and Julie Wagner spatially conceptualized these transitions. For example, key innovative firms and knowledge institutions were relocating from peripheral science parks along ring roads to central urban areas near public transportation hubs.

The CID, located between The Hague's three main railway stations, offered new perspectives for a city that had experienced years of stagnation. The vision was to create a mixed-use area combining housing, employment, education, and research, all near public transit nodes. However, the question of what The Hague would ultimately look like remained open, as major challenges persisted. The CID lay in a densely populated urban area where the municipality held limited land ownership.

During a working session of The Hague's city council on September 14, 2017, Pasveer presented the scope of the tasks the city faced. For The Hague, the agenda marked a pivotal turning point (Oorschot, 2016). After a period of organic growth—often characterized by laissez-faire—new urban planning ideas began to take root in the city. At the same time, the municipality signaled its intention to primarily assume a facilitating role. The agenda identified five principal spatial challenges:

1. Space for public space.
2. Space for urban living.
3. Space for (new) economy and tourism.
4. Space for sustainable mobility.
5. Space for the energy transition and climate adaptation.

Gradually, a shift occurred in The Hague. This was evident even in the language used in municipal policy documents: the term "sustainability" appears in numerous variations throughout the agenda. Whereas sustainability had previously appeared only sporadically in Hague policy documents, it now emerged as a central theme. The interconnections between building, densification, sustainability, and greening were explicitly emphasized. The agenda stated: "The municipal executive wants densification, sustainability, and greening to go hand in hand in future development. This is a logical choice, especially considering climate adaptation and the energy transition. Green and sustainable development will play a more significant role in location and area development than ever before" (Gemeente The Hague, 2016: 66).

Densification + Greenification = Sustainable City

As early as 2012, at the Fifth International Architecture Biennale Rotterdam, the concepts of densification and greenification had been explicitly linked. The publication *Rotterdam: People Make the Inner City—Densification + Greenification = Sustainable City* provided numerous compelling examples (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2012). An inspiring study by Hiltrud Pötz from 2012, published under the title *Urban Green-Blue Grids for Sustainable and Dynamic Cities,* also pointed to an entirely new path for urban development. Several years later, *Neighborhoods for the Future: A Plea for a Social and Ecological Urbanism* revisited and summarized the core ideas of this period (Buitenlaar et al., 2020).

The *Agenda Space for the City* also addressed circular processes in the urban environment. However, the circular economy was associated exclusively with the Binckhorst district. The broader significance of circular principles for the city as a whole was not yet fully recognized. At that time, the focus was on flows of energy, raw materials, and waste. The agenda also introduced emerging concepts such as urban mining and urban agriculture.

The agenda designated the CID as a new urban core, where knowledge institutions, corporate headquarters, startups, and central urban housing would converge. At the time, the agenda projected a population increase of 50,000 to 80,000 residents over the following decade. It also anticipated a sharp rise in single-person households, expecting that by 2030, half of all households in the city would consist of a single individual. A major housing task was formulated: 25,400 new homes between 2016 and 2025, followed by an additional 25,200 from 2026 to 2040. Given that expansion beyond the city's current boundaries was not feasible, all 50,600 new dwellings would need to be accommodated within the existing urban fabric. For the first period (2016-2026), the target was 2,800 new homes per year; from 2026 to 2040, this goal was adjusted to 1,800 per year.

This made clear that The Hague needed to densify—or more precisely, that existing urban structures would have to be transformed to make densification possible. The Agenda provided the guiding vision for this urban transformation. The CID was assigned a central role in this effort, with plans for 18,500 new homes to be developed by 2040 in the densely built neighborhoods surrounding the city's railway stations.

Innovation Districts

One of the most striking features of the agenda was that a significant portion of the planned housing development was concentrated in the CID and the adjacent Binckhorst-Noord area. The aim was to establish a high-density urban environment characterized by a strong presence of the knowledge and service economies. The ambition was to create a district where education, research, central government, housing, and—above all—interaction would converge between the three major railway stations: The Hague Central (CS), Hollands Spoor (HS), and Laan van NOI. The CID was positioned as a metropolitan hub of national significance, encompassing approximately 250 hectares.

For The Hague, these developments offered substantial opportunities. Comparable urban transformations could be observed in other international cities, such as London's Tech City, New York's Chelsea District, Pittsburgh's Bakery Square, Ørestad in Copenhagen, and La Défense in Paris. These urban redevelopments were all manifestations of a global transition catalyzed by the third and fourth industrial revolutions, as previously described by authors such as Bruce Katz, Jeremy Rifkin, and Anthony Townsend.

However, how these urban transformations would ultimately lead to residential densification, while at the same time integrating green spaces, however, remained an open question.

No Grand Master Plan, but a Community of Practice

In the Agenda, The Hague deliberately chose not to develop a traditional master plan for the CID, as was also the case for the Binckhorst area. Rather than outlining a comprehensive structural plan, the city adopted a "new style" structural vision. This approach did not involve a clearly defined end-state for 2040, but instead proposed a strategic framework to guide a transition whose ultimate outcome could not yet be precisely determined. The rationale behind this choice lay in the complexity of the area, the fragmented property ownership, and the multitude of divergent interests. It was a structural vision that gave direction to spatial developments for 25 years in an adaptive way.

In this context, aldermen and civil servants referred to the concept of a "Community of Practice", in which all stakeholders would actively participate. Notably, the agenda lacked any municipal financial underpinning for the proposed plans. In preceding decades—particularly under the The Hague New Center program—such a community of practice had largely existed between the national government and a select group of real estate developers and institutional investors.

Opportunities and Risks for The Hague

The outlook for this metropolitan hub in the Randstad, located along the Old Line corridor, was highly favorable. In this location, the new economy—measured in terms of employment—and spatial development had found meaningful synergy. In addition to its excellent accessibility via public transportation, the district enjoyed several strategic advantages. The CID is centrally located between three major universities: TU Delft, Leiden University, and Erasmus University Rotterdam. Within the CID itself, branches of Leiden University and The Hague University of Applied Sciences are located. According to a 2014 ranking by Jones Lang LaSalle, the CID contains two of the top three office locations in the Netherlands—Beatrixkwartier and The Hague New Center. According to the *Structuurvisie CID The Hague* (*Structural Vision CID The Hague*), which was adopted by the city council on July 1, 2021, around that time about 90,000 people were working and more than 30,000 students were studying in the CID.

Furthermore, the CID is home to The Hague Security Delta, a leading international cluster in the field of cybersecurity. A notable spatial

advantage was the relatively limited presence of historic residential neighborhoods and protected heritage buildings in the area. This meant that local policymakers could avoid the minefield of heritage preservation conflicts and neighborhood resistance that often complicates urban redevelopment elsewhere in the city.

In short, the CID was viewed as a unique opportunity for urban intensification and densification—a site where housing, employment, education, and research could be brought together within an appealing urban environment centered around public transport nodes. Nevertheless, alongside this highly promising starting position, there were also clear risks and critical issues that could influence future development.

Risks for The Hague that were identified in 2016 were (Oorschot, 2016):

- **The National Government as a Risk Factor for The Hague:** A key risk to the development of the CID concerned the role of the national government—or more precisely, the absence of a clear and shared vision for the area, particularly around The Hague Central Station. The primary danger was that a central government entity might either pursue a divergent agenda or, more troublingly, have no agenda at all. Historically, national politics have not always been favorable to the interests of cities, and The Hague is no exception.
- **Through-Traffic as a Risk to Citywide Accessibility:** Another potential risk to the development of the CID was the possibility that the area would function as an urban bottleneck, obstructing vehicular access to other parts of the city. The planned concentration of buildings and activities would inevitably attract a significant increase in traffic, despite the presence of three major train stations serving the area.
- **The Problem of Car Space and Urban Livability:** The intensification of activities within the CID carries significant implications for livability and ground-level urban quality. After all, the addition of numerous office buildings, residential towers, and new functions necessitated a substantial number of parking facilities and the addition of alternative forms of mobility. The intention to develop the buildings vertically, with towers and tall buildings under which it is difficult to fit parking basements, exacerbated the parking challenge.
- **Neglect of Other Urban Districts as a Risk Factor:** A significant risk in The Hague's urban development strategy was the concentration of investments within the traditional economic corridor, stretching from the CID to the International Zone to the seaside resort of Scheveningen. This focus on a single zone implied that other parts of the city might receive insufficient attention. Given that financial resources are limited and can only be spent once, this posed a serious challenge. While certain restructuring efforts were planned for parts of The Hague South-West, other neighborhoods—such as Rustenburg-Oostbroek and Laak-Noord—were entirely overlooked. Notably absent was a comprehensive plan for the sustainability transformation of the interbellum and postwar residential districts, which was urgently needed. Such a plan would have provided a crucial opportunity to convert these neighborhoods into attractive residential areas, thus not only improving livability but also advancing the city's sustainability goals. Enhancing and insulating the existing housing stock represented a major task, particularly considering rising energy costs.
- **Circular Economy Undermined by Demolition and New Construction:** Another significant risk was the unchecked emphasis on new construction, driven by prevailing optimism in the construction and real estate sectors. This led to limited attention for the preservation of existing urban structures and architecturally significant buildings. In the CID, despite the relatively small number of heritage buildings, there were still several valuable buildings at considerable risk, with their preservation remaining uncertain. When the national government sold real estate within the CID, municipal planning documents from The Hague notably omitted terms such as "heritage" or "protection." No binding agreements were made regarding the conservation of specific structures. A notable example of the loss of architectural heritage was the demolition of the Royal Conservatory, as well as the removal of the ministry of Social Affairs and Employment.
- **Widening Societal Divides:** Another significant risk facing the city was that not all residents of The Hague would benefit equally from ongoing urban investments. The CID was increasingly becoming the domain of highly educated knowledge workers—those who could afford to live or work there. Although the number of jobs for lower-skilled workers was expected to increase slightly, this growth would not match the expansion of employment opportunities for higher-skilled professionals. As a result, the social divide between highly and less-educated residents in The Hague risked deepening further. Moreover, space for manufacturing and craft industries was steadily being pushed out of the city. Following the displacement of such industries from the Binckhorst area, they also began to vanish from the CID, particularly in areas like Laakhavens. The new workspaces introduced in redevelopment plans were simply too expensive for small businesses, such as repair shops. For a city aspiring to transition to a circular economy, this represented a missed opportunity.
- **The Facilitating Municipality as a Risk Factor:** Arguably, the greatest risk to the development of the CID lay within the area itself—and in the role the City of The Hague intended to assume in the process. The CID did not yet exist as a fully developed urban district; the planning area was densely built up and crisscrossed by major roads and railway lines. This necessitated significant development of the public realm and the effective integration of fragmented urban spaces. The CID had to become accessible and permeable for its residents. Cyclists and pedestrians should be able to move seamlessly from one end of the area to the other without barriers. A city that adopts merely a facilitating role would be unlikely to achieve this. Transforming the area from an abstract planning concept into a functional and vibrant urban environment would require strong, proactive municipal leadership.

- **Spatial Structure of the Planning Area:** From a spatial perspective, the CID resembled an archipelago of (residential) enclaves, separated by railways, roads, and waterways. Creating spatial continuity between these isolated urban "islands"—especially for pedestrians and cyclists—presented a major challenge and, above all, a significant financial burden. Constructing tunnels through railway embankments or building overpasses across Utrechtsebaan and converting them into park-like spaces was vital. But was funding available for such interventions? There was a real risk that they may never materialize.

Over time, the sense that the CID constitutes a coherent urban district may dissipate. What could have become an integrated whole may instead evolve into a patchwork of disconnected neighborhoods, each with its own identity—and eventually, no one may recall why the area was ever referred to as the CID in the first place.

In short, there were risks in 2016, but at the same time also opportunities. To transform the CID into an attractive, highly urban, and interactive environment with a vibrant and accessible public realm, a carefully considered structural vision was required, including a clear perspective on the design of urban spaces. Crucial elements for safeguarding livability included spatial quality, interconnections, and well-designed ground floors. If these aspects were to be neglected, the CID risked devolving into a series of isolated development projects, with separate towers and functions placed indifferently side by side, in an area cut through by railways and major traffic arteries—an area avoided rather than experienced in the evenings. The challenge for The Hague was therefore to create more than a sum of plans: to develop a coherent, future-proof urban district. Whether facilitation—already pursued by the municipality for several years—constituted a fruitful strategy at that time was subject to debate.

During the presentation of the Agenda, professionals in the field—urban designers, planners, architects, and project developers—discussed these aspects. The Agenda functioned as a guiding vision, with the CID at the core of further elaboration into a structural vision and, later, the structural vision for Southwest.

The risks described above provided the basis in 2016 for several key development points. Thus, the Agenda marked the starting point for numerous new developments that have since been set in motion:

- A renewed relationship between the municipality and the national government, through initiatives such as the *Urbanization Alliance* (*Verstedelijkingsalliantie*), the *Housing Deal Southern Randstad* (*Woondeal Zuidelijke Randstad*), the *Regional Deal Southwest* (*Regio Deal Zuidwest*), and the *National Program Southwest* (*Nationaal Programma Zuidwest,* NPZW).
- A revised vision of mobility, embracing the STOMP principle.
- The development of a vision and policy for the post-war district of The Hague Southwest, characterized by a large share of social housing. This ultimately resulted in the *Structuurvisie Den Haag Zuidwest 2040; Groen, stedelijk en vitaal Zuidwest* (*Structural Vision The Hague Southwest 2040: Green, Urban, and Vital Southwest*, 2023).
- A shift in land policy from facilitative and passive to active.
- The elaboration of The Hague's "long lines" as spatial connective elements in the *Structural Vision CID The Hague* (2020), the *Structural Vision The Hague Southwest 2040* (2023), and the Environmental Vision (2025).
- A new form of collaboration between housing associations and market parties, aimed at greater diversity in housing developments and a mixed housing program.
- The accession of The Hague to the national cooperative Cirkelstad (Circular City) and the development of a vision for the circular economy.

The Hague High-Rise: Eyeline and Skyline, 2017

Returning to Rob Krier's Needle Strategy

An important follow-up to the *Agenda Space for the City* was the policy document *The Hague High-Rise: Eyeline and Skyline*, which defined regulations for densification through high-rise development. Within the municipality, work had been underway on such a vision, which was released in draft form on September 19, 2017, and formally adopted by the city council on November 15, 2017. This document replaced the *Agenda for The Hague Densification* of 2009 and placed greater emphasis on visual and aesthetic aspects. In both documents, high-rise buildings were defined as structures exceeding 50 meters in height (Oorschot, 2017).

On August 31, 2017, a debate on high-rise development in The Hague took place at the organization Platform STAD. Several critical questions were raised during the discussion. Was a separate high-rise strategy sufficient? Or would it be more desirable to develop an integrated, comprehensive vision in which area-based development took center stage—a vision that not only addressed the city's identity but also considered the quality of the public realm and the design standards expected of future buildings? It was also deemed essential to work toward a sustainable urban future over the long term. Densification, after all, is one of the most effective strategies for creating a more sustainable urban landscape, as it shortens physical distances between living, working, and leisure spaces. Another key question emerged: was there a clear and coherent vision for the CID, where most of these developments were to take place?

How Will The Hague Densify?

First and foremost, it was established that The Hague and the surrounding municipalities could only effectively manage population growth through coordinated collaboration within a cohesive metropolitan region. In the current era—where city governments, market actors, and other stakeholders collectively shape urban areas through integrated area development—the regional scale is essential.

Yet, practice often falls short of this ideal: each municipality, at best, continues to pursue its own isolated small-scale policy. While The Hague concentrated its efforts on the CID, progress in neighboring municipalities largely stalled.

Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Utrecht had already updated their high-rise visions, setting a precedent from which The Hague could—and did—learn. Architects and urban planners such as Jeroen Geurst, Ruurd Gietema, and Hans Kollhoff led the debate, offering expert recommendations to the city council. The discussion also featured prominent The Hague-based architects Dorte Kristensen and Eric Vreedenburgh, along with urban planners involved in the high-rise strategies of other cities, such as Ton Schaap (municipality of Amsterdam), Emiel Arends (municipality of Rotterdam), and Marlies de Nijs (municipality of Utrecht). Landscape architect Ben Kuipers and developer Rob van Kalmthout (Heijmans), both active in residential tower projects in The Hague, also contributed. Together, they presented a unanimous set of recommendations to the city council and municipal government.

But what exactly was at stake? Architect Jeroen Geurst performed calculations based on the targets outlined in the Agenda Space for the City, which envisioned the construction of 5,000 new housing units. This would translate into 125 costly towers, each measuring 25 by 25 meters and rising 100 meters high—a skyline reminiscent of Singapore. An alternative would involve 62 affordable perimeter blocks, each 75 by 75 meters and five to six stories tall, more aligned with the morphology of a nineteenth-century European metropolis. A third option proposed 36 perimeter blocks topped with 72 slender towers, offering greater spatial variety, and leaving room for green public space. In short, there was much to discuss.

Broad Consensus in the Recommendations

A key question in the high-rise debate was, of course: what do we mean by high-rise? Understandings varied widely—what qualifies as high in Manhattan will likely differ from perceptions in a small Dutch village. The experience of high-rise buildings is highly context-dependent; the immediate urban environment largely determines whether a building is perceived as tall. This is particularly true when strong winds circulate around the structure, when residential units receive insufficient sunlight, when lower levels consist of storage units or vacant retail spaces, and when cars accumulate in nearby residential streets—as is the case with the residential towers Het Strijkijzer on Rijswijkseplein or De Hoge Regentesse in the low-rise Transvaal neighborhood. It is therefore not surprising that the debate focused primarily on the urban context of The Hague. The resulting recommendations were clear and broadly supported (Oorschot, 2017):

- **Develop high-density urban environments around public transit hubs, with a mix of functions.** High-rise should be treated as a means, not an end. Avoid scattering isolated, so-called “playful” towers that cause wind discomfort, create inactive or unattractive ground floors, and generate parking pressure in adjacent neighborhoods.
- **Respect the unique identity of the city as the foundation for densification.** In The Hague, zones of interaction are concentrated in the city center, and the urban fabric is defined by its green, open character and predominantly low-rise development. Each of the G4 cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Utrecht) has its own morphology and identity, which should guide development strategies.
- **Integrate high-rise into urban perimeter blocks.** Slender towers placed atop robust, urban blocks can minimize wind nuisance, support the creation of attractive public spaces with active ground floors, and provide opportunities for underground parking, rooftop gardens, and solar panels. The higher construction costs of towers can be offset by the lower costs of the base, enabling mixed-use programs and a diverse housing supply—not just expensive apartments.
- **Establish clear standards for urban blocks and ensembles.** Just as parking norms are codified, municipalities should also define guidelines for other components, such as green infrastructure, sustainability measures, tower slenderness ratios, maximum building heights, housing typologies, functional mix, and ground floor design. This provides clarity for both developers and residents.
- **Formulate quality criteria for the public realm.** Streets and plazas should be “greened and blued” to support climate adaptation and biodiversity, with attention to sun and wind conditions. These public spaces should connect logically to form a cohesive urban network. In line with the broader urban transition from car use to cycling and walking, the public realm must be designed in a way that balances densification, greening, and everyday use.

What the Needle Strategy Means for Cities

The respective high-rise strategies of Amsterdam and Rotterdam were closely attuned to the specific identities and urban morphologies of these cities. In the 2001 high-rise vision developed under Noordanus and Schmidt, tall buildings were still primarily conceptualized as spatial markers or symbolic beacons dispersed across the cityscape—such as the proposed residential towers for Scheveningen and on the corner of Lijnbaan. In contrast to metropolises like Rotterdam, the built fabric of The Hague was characterized by a fine-grained urban morphology and a modest scale.

Amsterdam deliberately excluded high-rise development within the ring road, directing such projects instead to locations along and beyond the ring. Utrecht adopted a similar stance, preserving its historic core as a low-rise urban environment in which the Dom Tower remained the sole vertical monument.

Many historic centers of cities had evolved gradually since the medieval period, with significant expansion in the seventeenth and especially the nineteenth century. During these eras, the permissible height of residential buildings was largely determined by physical accessibility—namely, the number of floors that could reasonably be reached on foot.

Only public buildings, such as churches and town halls, were permitted to rise above this limit, thereby asserting their symbolic and civic importance. Many municipalities continue to carefully safeguard this historical morphology to the present day.

Rotterdam, however, constituted a notable exception. Extensively reconstructed after the devastation of the Second World War, the city developed an urban morphology shaped by modern, large-scale interventions and a normalized reliance on elevator technology. Consequently, Rotterdam adopted a markedly different high-rise strategy, concentrating vertical development around Central Station and along the banks of the River Maas.

In The Hague, the so-called "interaction environments"—as described in *The Dutch Metropolis: Designing for the Quality of Interaction Environments* (De Hoog, 2012)—were mainly concentrated in a single, continuous urban area: the CID and the city center. In other cities, such zones are typically dispersed across multiple locations. Quiet, green residential neighborhoods are a defining feature of The Hague's cityscape. These neighborhoods should be left untouched, according to urban planner Ton Schaap. Densification, in his view, should occur only around public transportation hubs and within the previously mentioned interaction environments, not within the city's green residential areas. The conclusion shared by the participating architects and urban planners in the debat was unequivocal: The Hague's spatial development strategy had to be based on the city's own identity and characteristic structure (Oorschot, 2017).

According to architect Hans Kollhoff, the European city was essentially characterized by its urban culture, specifically, the unique interplay between buildings and the public domain. In the 1970s and 1980s, thinkers such as Aldo Rossi and Rob and Léon Krier wrote extensively about this relationship, advocating a return to the classical European urban fabric. In The Hague, these ideas were translated into urban ensembles as De Resident and Rivierenbuurt. European cities experienced their most significant expansion prior to the invention of the elevator, resulting in an urban block typology defined by horizontal spread and a layered, human-scale architecture. Compared to cities like Vienna or Berlin, The Hague's urban blocks are less monumental, both in size and height, and display a mix of different buildings and types. Nevertheless, together with the city's green boulevards and parks, they shape the fine-grained texture and urban character of The Hague.

Though The Hague, too, has its share of "inventions dropped from outer space"—as Kollhoff described them—such interventions often appear as discordant notes within the urban fabric. As an illustration, he presented an aerial photo in which the white, monumental city hall stood out like a massive iceberg against the finer-grained structure of the surrounding neighborhoods. Urban planner Ruurd Gietema emphasized that European cities differ fundamentally from their relatively young American and Asian counterparts. The European city was historically layered, more complex, and denser in cultural terms. Unlike the vertical monotony of downtown areas in American and Asian cities—often driven by the profit motives of large-scale developers—high-rise development in Europe holds a different meaning and context altogether.

Kollhoff argued that in non-European contexts, such towers often weighed down unpretentious buildings, which rarely made a substantial contribution to urban life. Occasionally, they alternated with so-called "funny" towers—architectural objects that seemed to have been designed as a marketing tool to attract attention, rather than to function in harmony with their surroundings. Kollhoff also questioned the suitability of high-rise buildings for families with children. If high-rise buildings really wanted to be made child-friendly, he notes, this requires substantial investments in design and facilities.

According to project developer Rob van Kalmthout, however, the cost level of high-rise buildings was already about 40% higher than that of regular low-rise building blocks. On top of that, future buildings will have to meet higher sustainability requirements, which increases development costs even further. This raised the question of whether commercial developers, who often strive for quick sales and returns, were willing to make such investments structurally.

Against this background, Rob Krier's so-called Needle Strategy—developed in the late 1980s for De Resident in The Hague—became relevant again. According to Gietema, this strategy was in line with the European tradition, in which high-rise buildings were always part of a carefully designed urban ensemble, rather than as a stand-alone object.

The Rhythm of Slender Towers on Urban Blocks: The Needle Strategy in The Hague

The Needle Strategy, which Rob Krier developed in 1988 for the so-called BANK area (now De Resident) in The Hague, was a tailor-made approach for the city to carefully integrate high-rise buildings into the urban morphology. This strategy was based on a basic structure of urban blocks with a height of five to six storeys — the so-called urban plinth—on which slender towers were placed that reached up into the air like "needles". Between these towers, the view of the sky was preserved, so that the characteristic open feeling and the sea air—typical of The Hague—remained visible and tangible. According to Krier, this was characteristic of the urban silhouette of The Hague.

The first major implementation of the strategy was the De Resident complex, designed by Krier himself. It was later extended to include Nieuw Babylon, the two government department towers, and residential towers along Turfmarkt, designed by Kollhoff and Rapp. Even the town center of Ypenburg, designed by Rapp, followed this urban composition, resulting in a skyline that aligns with The Hague's morphological character. Moreover, the value of the Needle Strategy lay not only in the skyline, but also in the way in which it organized urban space. By combining urban blocks and slender towers, streets and squares were defined and given a clear spatial significance within the larger urban whole.

Architect Eric Vreedenburgh showed a photo of Het Plein in The Hague. According to him, the emergence of the slender towers that rise above the historic buildings in the background gave this space an extra spatial

dimension. As a result, the square had become more intimate and urban. The urban plinth, on which the high-rise rests, played a crucial role in this: it limited wind nuisance at ground level and contributed to a livable and attractive urban space. This created an urban experience with lively, human spaces at eye level—the eyeline—while in the background—the skyline—slender towers were visible with the blue-tinted sea air that is characteristic of The Hague in between.

A comparable planning approach was applied 25 years ago in Rotterdam's Wijnhaveneiland. There, a structured framework was developed for private-sector development, aimed at achieving controlled densification through a clear urban logic. Functioning like a zoning "regulatory filter", this framework included a formula for determining tower slenderness, based on factors such as lot size, gross floor area, and diagonal length. Notably, it did not impose maximum height or volume restrictions. The result has been a flexible and dynamic urban model that, after 25 years, has demonstrably contributed to the qualitative transformation of Wijnhaveneiland.

The recommendations from participating urban designers and architects in The Hague were remarkably aligned. As architect Hans Kollhoff put it: "Low blocks with courtyards and good, slim towers on top. No dull political compromise with 50-meter height and heavy clumsy buildings."

The Urban Block Plinth, Social Safety, and the 18-Hour Urban Program

The importance of a well-functioning ground floor (plinth) was emphasized by Marlies de Nijs (municipality of Utrecht). Based on an extensive study of the ground-level design of high-rise developments, she concluded that only 20% of all plinths could be considered acceptable. In particular, freestanding towers almost systematically fail in this regard; she cited Het Strijkijzer in The Hague as a prime example of a poorly executed plinth.

A successful ground level requires the facilitation of what is often referred to as an "18-hour economy": the area must remain lively into the evening hours. Urban districts must not transform into deserted zones after business hours, as seen, for instance, in Amsterdam-Zuid. Activities at the plinth level must be visible and accessible, even during the evening, to ensure the liveliness and safety of the street environment.

Emiel Arends (municipality of Rotterdam) also argued for a high-quality urban experience at eye level. According to him, especially solitary towers caused problems: in addition to a failed plinth, there was often serious wind nuisance and an unlivable microclimate at street level. In Rotterdam, this was overcome by designing so-called sunspots—places that combined shelter and sunlight—and by testing designs in a wind tunnel in the early phase of area development. In addition, it was mandatory for developers to subject their preliminary design to wind tunnel tests as well, even before further elaboration. Ton Schaap emphasized the importance of a consistent long-term policy. Urban development required steadfastness: "Not something different every four years."

Diversity of Urban Functions and Housing Categories as a Foundation for a High-Density Urban Environment

Due to the severe housing shortage, many citizens who wanted to buy or rent simply had no choice; they were forced by circumstances to live in high-rise buildings. Still, some people did want to live in these metropolitan towers. Architects Vreedenburgh, Kristensen, and Van Kalmthout agreed on this issue: "People must voluntarily choose this housing type—otherwise, it will not work."

They also emphasized that high-rise buildings were generally unsuitable for families with children. According to them, a suburban neighborhood such as Ypenburg was better equipped for families. Moreover, high-rise construction was particularly costly. According to Schaap, it was in practice almost inconceivable that social housing could be incorporated into high-rise projects. Where such units were realized, this typically required substantial concessions in terms of quality. As Van Kalmthout observed, people did not necessarily aspire to live in high-rise buildings per se; rather, they were drawn to the metropolitan environment because of its proximity to amenities such as cafés, cinemas, restaurants, and other forms of urban leisure. The attraction lay in the diversity and vitality of city life. As Kristensen argued, the city was experienced primarily through its streets and squares—an idea repeatedly articulated by the Danish architect Jan Gehl in the past. The quality of the public realm, together with carefully designed ground-floor frontages, constituted the stage upon which urban life unfolded.

Vreedenburgh and Kuipers also emphasized that social housing should not be missing from densification processes. After all, diversity is a fundamental characteristic of a metropolitan environment. Without this mix, there was a threat of a monofunctional living environment.

The central question, therefore, was whether there is any room at all for social and mid-priced rental housing within a model that relied solely on towers. A more balanced residential mix can indeed be achieved by combining urban blocks with slender residential towers on top. Kollhoff reinforced this point by highlighting the vacancy of high-end high-rise apartments in Berlin, a phenomenon that is also evident in The Hague, where several units in the New Babylon complex remained unoccupied.

An Integral Vision for the High-Rise

Alderman Joris Wijsmuller also expressed a critical stance on high-rise development. Echoing previous speakers, he remarked: "High-rise building is not an end in itself, but a means to facilitate urban densification around public transport hubs and within the CID. We need to engage with it. And it is clear that we must establish clear guidelines for future construction to shape this densification."

These rules should address the design of the plinth, support for 18-hour programming, sustainability, green infrastructure, a diversity of housing categories, and slenderness ratios for towers. Such regulation was inevitable, yet the urban layer of streets, squares, sunspots, and green space must also be carefully defined. A comprehensive high-rise vision with unambiguous rules not only reduced uncertainty for

skeptical citizens of The Hague but also for developers, who often lacked clarity on the municipality's expectations. A master plan for the CID, including development guidelines, was therefore essential in order to give concrete shape to densification efforts. As Jeroen Geurst noted: "The high-rise vision is mainly intended to reassure. Citizens can breathe a sigh of relief: 'Oh, those towers won't be built right around the corner from me'."

Whether such reassurance is achieved remained an open question. The current lack of a clear vision regarding the city's identity and what The Hague aspires to become continues to create uncertainty. The overarching question for everyone was how this vision would take shape.

The debate on high-rise buildings took place on 31 August 2017 and on 19 September 2017 the memorandum Haagse Hoogbouw: Eyeline and Skyline was published in concept and accepted two months later by the Hague City Council. The objective of *The Hague High-Rise: Eyeline and Skyline* (2017) was to develop a regulatory framework that would serve as the foundation for future urban densification efforts. This policy document was primarily intended for three priority areas: Binckhorst, the CID, and Southwest. The key characteristics of The Hague's approach to high-rise development, as defined in the document, were as follows:

- A distinct local identity: quality takes precedence over height.
- High-rises were defined as buildings exceeding 50 meters in height.
- Human scale: an engaging urban layer and active ground floor (the "eyeline").
- Elegant and slender towers with a distinctive top, such as a "hat, cap, or crown" (the "skyline").
- Recognizable and coherent clusters of towers.
- A composite urban block: a solid urban base with towers rising above.
- Area-specific design: architectural responses tailored to local context.
- Densification combined with greening and sustainability measures.

The structure of high-rise developments in The Hague was broken down into three components: the urban base with its plinth, the tower, and the crown. Each component was governed by specific guidelines. The urban base—comprising the street-level block—ranged from 9 to a maximum of 25 meters in height, aligning with the scale of the surrounding buildings. The plinth had to be at least 4.5 meters high and 50% had to be made of transparent materials. Towers, generally ranging from 50 to 70 meters, were subject to slenderness regulations. The crown had to be distinctive and reflect the identity of the specific area. A key element of The Hague's identity is the clustering of high-rise buildings. While high-rise buildings were once dispersed across the city, the new strategy concentrated tall buildings around public transportation hubs.

The *Agenda Space for the City* (2016) and The Hague High-Rise: Eyeline and Skyline (2017) were developed for the plan area between three stations of The Hague. In 2000, the draft version of the *Structuurvisie Central Innovation District* (*Structural Vision Central Innovation District*, CID) was published and in 2021 the Hague City Council adopted it. The Eyeline and Skyline policy document was evaluated in 2023 and served as the basis for a new high-rise policy. Beginning in 2024, work commenced on a new policy framework: The Hague High-Rise 2024. From that point on, any building exceeding 30 meters in height was required to comply with the new guidelines. This forthcoming policy replaced Eyeline and Skyline. A notable new requirement is the introduction of the Hoogbouw Effect Rapportage (High-Rise Impact Report, HER). The HER must be prepared for all high-rise projects. This instrument was initially developed in a generic form by the Association of Dutch Municipalities (VNG) and is now a standard element of the approval process.

13.3 Priority Area: Binckhorst

The End of the Masterplan New Binckhorst, 2010

In the structural vision *World City by the Sea* of 2005, five development areas or opportunity zones had been designated for The Hague. Binckhorst and Laakhavens were included within the so-called Opportunity Zone or Development Area "Centrum". The intention was to add approximately 7,000 dwellings in Binckhorst and Laakhavens. These areas were described as follows: "Here, along the water, there is ample space for distinctive inner-city environments with a metropolitan mix of housing, amenities, and urban economic activities" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2005: 46). The overarching goal was to transform the former industrial estate into a high-quality residential, employment, and living environment. Alderman Norder stated in the structural vision: "This requires urban construction, which means an emphasis on apartments, space-intensive employment, a wide variety of residential and working environments, mixed land use, and multifunctional development. Housing will be developed along the coast, along the Vliet, at the edges of green areas (Lozerlaan), and in inner-city locations such as Binckhorst, Laakhavens, and Transvaal" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2005: 7).

On March 1, 2006, the *Ambtelijk concept Structuurvisie The Hague 2020: Wereldstad aan Zee: Binckhorst* (*Administrative Draft Structural Vision The Hague 2020: World City by the Sea: Binckhorst*) was published. This was further elaborated in 2007 by Urhahn Urban Design and Floris van Alkemade of OMA into the *Masterplan Nieuw Binckhorst* (*New Binckhorst Master Plan*) with the *Integraal Ontwikkelingsplan (IOP) Binckhorst* (*Integral Development Plan (IOP) Binckhorst*) and adopted by the city council in December 2009. However, because of the financial crisis and the withdrawal of market parties that had taken the initiative, the planning had been halted in 2010 (Gemeente Den Haag, Urhahn & OMA, 2009-12).

In November 2011, the *Gebiedsaanpak Binckhorst* (*Binckhorst Area Strategy*) was introduced, outlining an entirely new approach. This strategy placed the facilitation of private-sector development initiatives at the forefront, thus abandoning the masterplan. The focus shifted toward organic area development. After the publication of the *Binckhorst Area Strategy*, developments at The Hague's city hall remained quiet for some time. Land was acquired, businesses were relocated, and preparations for Rotterdamsebaan were in full progress. In May 2016, the *Voorontwerp voor het Omgevingsplan Binckhorst* (*Preliminary Draft of the Binckhorst Environmental Plan*) was presented (Gemeente Den Haag, 2016-05).

Passive, Facilitating, and Active at the Same Time, 2018

In May 2016, the *Preliminary Design of the Binckhorst Environmental Plan* was submitted by the municipal for a general review. In the accompanying *Beleidsregels Omgevingsplan Binckhorst* (*Policy Guidelines for the Binckhorst Environmental Plan*), the municipality indicated that different approaches would be applied to the various subareas within the Binckhorst. Some areas would be approached passively, without urban design frameworks, while others would receive a facilitative approach aimed at transformation. Additionally, certain areas were designated as having an active development task, in which the municipality itself owned land. Nevertheless, the overall municipal vision remained unclear.

The policy guidelines referred to the residential atmosphere as "metropolitan living", described as follows: "Metropolitan living is possible in neighborhoods where high-density urban amenities are available. It embodies urban sophistication and grandeur. To ensure a pleasant residential experience in a high-density environment, the interface between public and private spaces must be of high quality. Supporting programs for residential life, such as parking, play areas, and places to linger, must be present. However, due to high spatial pressure, it is more logical to integrate these facilities within residential enclaves. To enable high-quality urban living within a metropolitan context, continuous management of the quality of public space is essential" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2016: 4).

In September 2017, the *Omgevingsplan Binckhorst* (*Binckhorst Environmental Plan*) was made available for public consultation by the municipal executive and alderman Revis. Although formally a zoning plan, it featured an expanded scope. This plan served as a pilot project, developed under the provisions of the *Besluit uitvoering Crisis- en herstelwet* (*Decree on the Implementation of the Crisis and Recovery Act*). It enabled the organic transformation of Binckhorst to be supported through a legal-planning instrument. In doing so, The Hague was experimenting with the principles underpinning the forthcoming *Environment and Planning Act* (*Omgevingswet*). In the attached policy rules document, it was stated that the area should have "the spatial quality of a mixed metropolitan living, working, and living area" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2016: 4).

In an accompanying letter dated September 12, 2017, the municipal executive explicitly emphasized: "The environmental plan facilitates the organic area development that formed the basis of the area strategy for Binckhorst, as adopted by the municipal council in 2011." However, the outlook regarding the green ambitions in relation to financial feasibility was rather pessimistic. The letter noted: "Whereas traditional zoning plans typically include only policies and developments that are already financially secured, the environmental plan also incorporates policy intentions that have not yet been financially covered. The green corridor and the redesigned public quays in Binckhorst are examples of this. The environmental plan makes these policy intentions legally and spatially possible, but also states that actual realization is dependent on securing the necessary funding."

On March 7, 2018, the *Binckhorst Environmental Plan* was formally adopted (Gemeente Den Haag, 2018-03). By that time, the ambitions for the Binckhorst area had been articulated into four pillars, which would be consistently integrated into the *Omgevingseffectrapportage* (*Environmental Impact Assessment*, OER), serving as a guiding thread throughout the environmental plan and its accompanying documents. These pillars were:

Above the Binckhorst harbor.
Below Binckshorst Marsstraat.
Photo’s from 2026 by Leo Oorschot.

- Urban gateway with a regional orientation
- Economically significant area
- Distinctive and dynamic residential neighborhood
- Testing ground for sustainability and greening

The environmental plan comprised three components: (a) the environmental plan itself, (b) the policy rules, and (c) the Environmental Impact Assessment. In the explanatory letter Proposal by the Municipal Executive regarding the Adoption of the *Binckhorst Environmental Plan*, dated March 8, 2018, the municipal executive stated the following regarding cost recovery:

"The organic nature of the Binckhorst Environmental Plan necessitates a different approach to cost recovery than is typical for a standard zoning plan or land development plan. In organic area development, it is not yet clear in detail which activities will be undertaken or which associated public infrastructure costs will be incurred. Consequently, it is also not yet clear how these costs can be allocated to specific activities. The use of open standards provides flexibility in these respects."

In the *Evaluatie Pilot Omgevingsplan Binckhorst* (*Evaluation of the Binckhorst Pilot Environmental Plan*) of February 3, 2021, it was concluded that the integrated approach to the physical living environment, intended to generate added value, was only partially successful. Bringing together the various policy frameworks requires substantive flexibility to enable meaningful trade-offs. However, the policy frameworks remained fully in force without consideration of the specific context and characteristics of the area. Regarding the four pillars, the evaluation stated: "These form a sound basis for the ambition, but according to the discussions, they are not widely supported within the organization and are insufficiently elaborated to provide clear guidance for implementation" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2021, 5).

It was also noted that the municipal organization was not always fully aware of the implications of introducing a new policy instrument, such as the principle of saldering (compensatory balancing). This should have been discussed and coordinated across the organization. The lack of such coordination ultimately resulted in the need to establish a program plan and to organize a program-based structure.

Updated Binckhorst Area Strategy, 2018

In 2011, the development strategy had emphasized organic growth. However, by the time of the *Actualisatie Gebiedsaanpak Binckhorst* (*Updated Binckhorst Area Strategy*) in 2018, market conditions had changed fundamentally, leading to a different approach. According to the evaluation, the response to these shifting (housing) market dynamics was slow. On a positive note, the update did provide greater attention to the scale and complexity of the area, which enabled more detailed assessments at the subarea level. In this way, priorities could be set for each subarea in line with its specific context, and an appropriate municipal organizational structure could be designed for each subarea.

The *Updated Binckhorst Area Strategy* of March 2018 marked a departure from the principle of organic area development and outlined a new approach to shaping and implementing the development of Binckhorst in collaboration with stakeholders through a series of subplans. This approach went beyond the facilitating role characteristic of organic development, which until then had served as the guiding principle. Instead, concrete plans were drafted for each subarea and formalized in so-called *Omgevingspaspoorten* (*area development frameworks or passports*), as part of the 2018-2023 development program. The *Maanweg Area Passport* served as a model for the subsequent area passports prepared for other subareas.

The main action points identified included:

- Drafting an energy plan with the goal of achieving climate neutrality in The Hague by 2040.
- Establishing specific criteria for subareas and design guidelines for architectural quality and aesthetics, aimed at reinforcing the robust character of the industrial area with its raw urban edge.
- Elaborating the public space ambitions and guidelines within the Public Space Handbook, with particular attention to emerging themes such as climate adaptation, densification, and sustainability through energy provision and underground infrastructure.
- Mapping property ownership, maintenance conditions, and replacement needs of the quays. These quays are intended to be made publicly accessible and developed into safe and attractive public spaces.
- Preparing a facilities map with neighborhood amenities to ensure the emergence of a truly vibrant urban environment.
- Drafting a comprehensive mobility document and concept, with attention to innovation, public transportation, parking, and slow traffic.

On November 29, 2018, the Binckhorst environmental plan was adopted by the city council, and the environmental plan was to come into force on March 7, 2019. However, appeals were filed with the Council of State and the environmental plan would not become irrevocable until October 18, 2024.

Cooperative Association We Think Binck, 2019

The planning process for the Binckhorst area experienced delays and was marked by missed opportunities in terms of vision and quality benchmarks. The establishment of the cooperative association We Think Binck by ten market actors during the Provada real estate fair on June 5, 2019, emerged as a response to the perceived lack of clear direction and communication from the municipality of The Hague. This market collective included stakeholders such as Local, Stebru, BPD, Vorm, Amvest, De Mannen van Schuim, AM, Schouten, Borghese Real

Above the Binckhorst Melkwegstraat.
Below Binckshorstlaan.
Photo’s from 2026 by Leo Oorschot.

Estate, and De Oudendal Groep.

During the fair, these stakeholders formulated ten development principles for the Binckhorst. These principles focused on preserving the area's industrial character and nurturing both the traditional and emerging clean manufacturing industries. Key ambitions included the creation of a robust slow-traffic infrastructure, a functional mix of residential and commercial uses, and the cultivation of diverse residential atmospheres—all centered around human-scale development. The overarching vision was to transform Binckhorst into a circular living and working district that would add long-term value to The Hague and the broader region.

On July 9, 2019, the municipality responded with the *Beeldkwaliteitsplan Binckhorst* (*Binckhorst Visual Quality Plan*). However, this plan resembled a hastily assembled slideshow rather than a thoroughly considered vision for the area. In the accompanying letter dated July 16, efforts were made to emphasize collaboration with the organization I'm Binck platform and the market collective, yet these appeared belated and insufficiently thought through. The idea of a quality team to watch over the quality principles was announced.

On December 17, 2019, the quality team was introduced to the municipal council. Simultaneously, the *Voorzieningenprogramma Binckhorst* (*Binckhorst Facilities Program*), dated July 9, 2019, was released. However, by that time, development proposals for most of the plots had already been submitted by private initiatives, leaving the municipality in a reactive position. The facilities program, the visual quality plan, and the quality team (Q-team) all came too late. This delayed and fragmented approach allowed market collectives significant leeway to pursue their own initiatives, which in turn jeopardized the coherence and strategic direction of the Binckhorst transformation. The absence of a clear and timely municipal policy resulted in a misalignment between the city's planning frameworks and the ambitions of private developers, unnecessarily complicating the area's development.

5,000 Homes but No Schools or Sports Facilities

In December 2019, developers were invited to register for participation in the Binckhorst area development through an online application system. The municipality granted development rights to five private parties, authorizing them to construct approximately 5,000 housing units over the coming years. Stakeholders raised concerns in the newspaper *Algemeen Dagblad* (20-12-2019), noting that these plans focused exclusively on residential development, with no provisions for public amenities such as schools or sports facilities. Reinout Kleinhans of TU Delft questioned whether Binckhorst might be headed in the same direction as some under-equipped Vinex districts (Kleinhans, 2020). This situation raised broader questions about accountability: was the municipality or the developers responsible for the lack of social infrastructure? The strategy of "development-led planning" (uitnodigingsplanologie) risked producing a one-dimensional urban landscape. This criticism was voiced by, among others, participation expert Frans Soeterbroek and D66 council member Daniël Scheper. The land had been parceled and sold in such a fragmented manner that no plots remained available for public facilities such as schools. According to these critics, this outcome was fundamentally at odds with the principles of the Environment and Planning Act.

The *Binckhorst Environmental Plan* came into effect on March 7, 2019. According to Kleinhans, most of the Binckhorst area was designated as a transformation zone: it had only a broadly defined zoning designation that was to be further specified in later planning stages. According to Kleinhans, there was considerable criticism of the methodology by which developers could obtain the rights to construct 5,000 housing units through an online reservation system managed by the municipality. The submitted plans lacked basic amenities. Essential public infrastructure—such as schools, sports facilities, and cycling paths—was absent. Developers had proposed projects that maximized return on investment, prioritizing housing over mixed-use development. The municipality, for its part, failed to take the lead in coordinating and ensuring the integration of public amenities.

Yet, the municipality had already developed the *Voorzieningenprogramma Binckhorst. Uitwerking van de Gebiedsagenda Binckhorst* (*Binckhorst Facilities Program: Elaboration of the Binckhorst Area Agenda*), dated July 9, 2019, which had been adopted by the city council in November. In this document, the municipality stated its intention to realize public amenities on land owned by the municipality and land it held in leasehold. However, the municipality also acknowledged that the available public land was insufficient to accommodate all necessary facilities. Private developers would therefore have to contribute to the overall amenity provision. In short, integrated cooperation with developers was essential to embed facilities within urban blocks. Nevertheless, developers submitted plans that only included housing, leaving no space for the municipal facilities program. Kleinhans argued that the municipality, under its own Binckhorst environmental plan, should have provided clearer direction and frameworks for the area's transformation. The notion of "organic and flexible" development ultimately worked against the city's interests. As planning is seen as a public responsibility under the philosophy of the Environment and Planning Act. It was never the intention of the law to facilitate one-sided area development. "The Environment and Planning Act provides municipalities with an adequate framework to intervene when developers fail to act accordingly, but that does require timely and proactive governance," Kleinhans argued (Kleinhans, 2020).

Further Development of Binckhorst and the Vliet Line (Koningscorridor), 2022-2025

In a letter to the municipal council dated March 22, 2022, alderman Anne Mulder of Urban Development indicated that the further development of Binckhorst should review the Binckhorst environmental plan—which provides 5,000 homes and 200,000 m² of workspace—and the organic, facilitating area development strategy used there. The

Primate residential areas

Primate work areas

Indicative network of routes and public spaces

Urban context and zoning of the Binckhorst.
Source: The Hague municipality, *Beeldkwaliteitsplan Binckhorst* (2020): 3.

alderman stated: “The municipal executive is of the opinion that more direction must be exercised in the further development of Binckhorst in order to be able to give sufficient direction to the further development. To this end, it is necessary to determine a clear joint dot on the horizon together; a development strategy for the longer term (20 years).” Currently, houses are spread like islands over the extensive Binckhorst site. The ambition is to significantly increase the number of homes. This is also a condition for the realization of high-quality public transport via the Koningscorridor. The intention is to update the now binding Binckhorst Environmental Plan. In preparation, the municipal want to draw up a development strategy with different scenarios, as well as an Area Program (Gemeente Den Haag, 2025). The new set-up for Binckhorst is based on four “quarters”, each with its own programmatic interpretation of living, working and facilities. These four quarters are described as follows (Gemeente Den Haag, 2025).

- Binckhaven: A dynamic urban area with an industrial appearance around the harbor. It is characterized by lively quays, informal green spaces at heritage locations and meandering routes through new and transformed buildings. In the northwestern part of this quarter will be the central heart of the district.
- Trekvlietkwartier: This area borders the waterfront park along the Trekvliet canal. It combines new buildings with characteristic heritage, such as Binckhorst Castle and the Fokker Terminal, and provides an urban mix of living, working, and amenities.
- Parkkwartier: The former area of the gas factory and waste processing plant will be transformed into an urban park that is part of the waterfront park. The park is surrounded by highly urban (approx. more than 60 homes per hectare) buildings and offers a mix of living, working, facilities, and recreation.
- Mercuriuskwartier: This quarter, located along the railway, will offer space for manufacturing and urban activities in the northern part. The southern part includes urban facilities, including a swimming and sports center, and a highly urban mixed program around the cemetery.

In response to questions from councilor Noorlander regarding the *Ontwerp-Nota Ruimte 2050* (*Draft Memorandum Spatial Policy 2050*) of the national government, dated November 25, 2025, the municipality stated: “The municipal executive emphasizes the importance of these infrastructural investments, not only for housing but also for maintaining employment within the city and supporting the economic business climate. For example, the realization of the Vliet Line is a prerequisite for the further development of Binckhorst, which includes 7,500 to 8,000 homes, approximately 240,000 m² of gross floor area for work programs, and around 100,000 m² of gross floor area for new social and commercial facilities.”

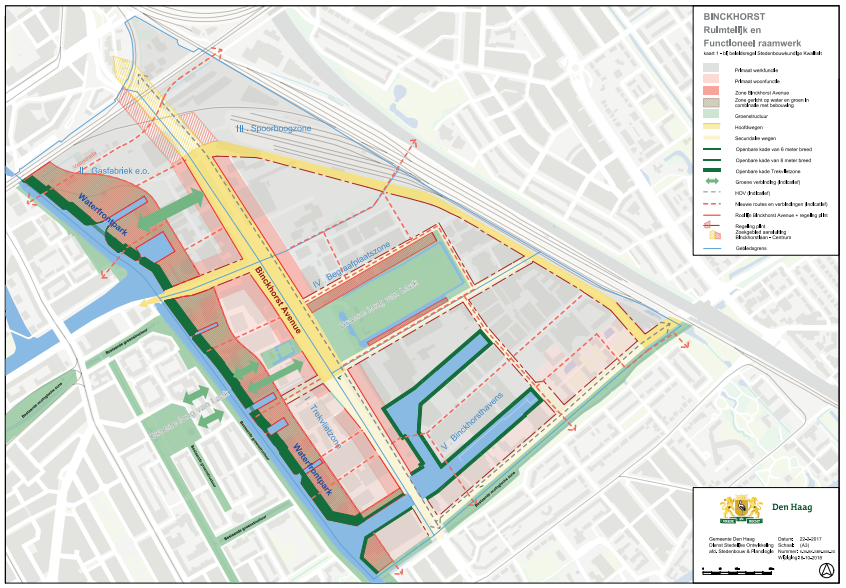
13.4 Priority Area: CID

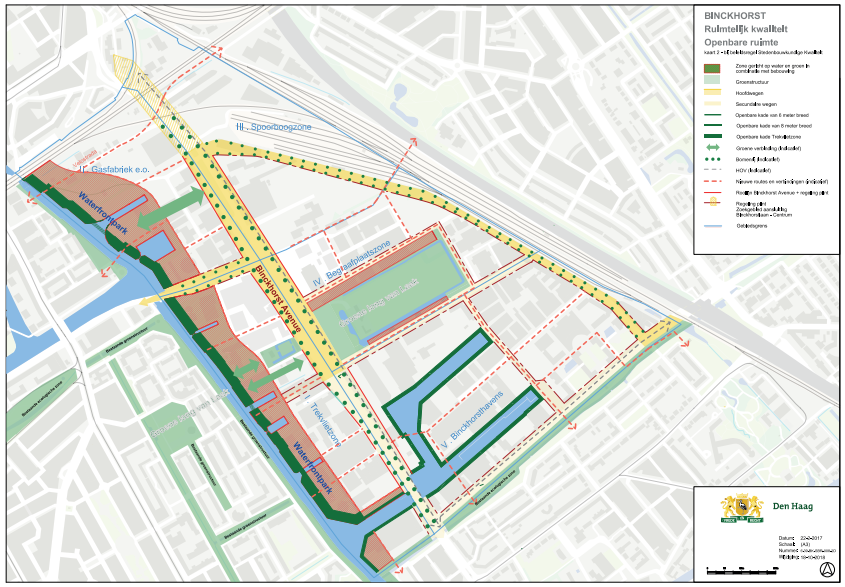
Structural Vision CID 2021

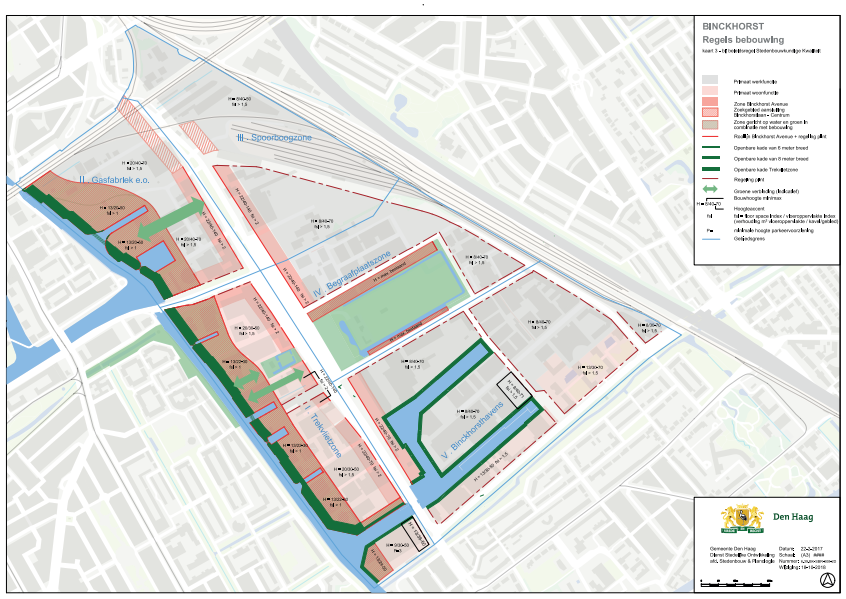
In a letter from the municipal executive to the city council dated April 21, 2020, the *Ontwerpstructuurvisie CID 2040* (*Draft Structural Vision CID 2040*) and the accompanying *Ontwerp-Plan MER Structuurvisie CID* (*Draft Environmental Impact Assessment Structural Vision CID 2040*) were made available for public consultation. Following some revisions, the Structural Vision CID The Hague was submitted for approval to the city council on November 18, 2020 and was formally adopted by the council on July 1, 2021 (Oorschot, 2020-07). The vision proposed the development of 20,500 new housing units and 25,000 jobs within the existing urban fabric, located between the three main railway stations: The Hague Central, Hollands Spoor, and Laan van NOI. In the accompanying letter dated June 29, 2021—titled *Gewijzigd voorstel van het college inzake Structuurvisie CID* (*Revised Proposal of the Municipal Executive Regarding the Structural Vision CID*)—the seven core principles guiding the CID development were outlined:

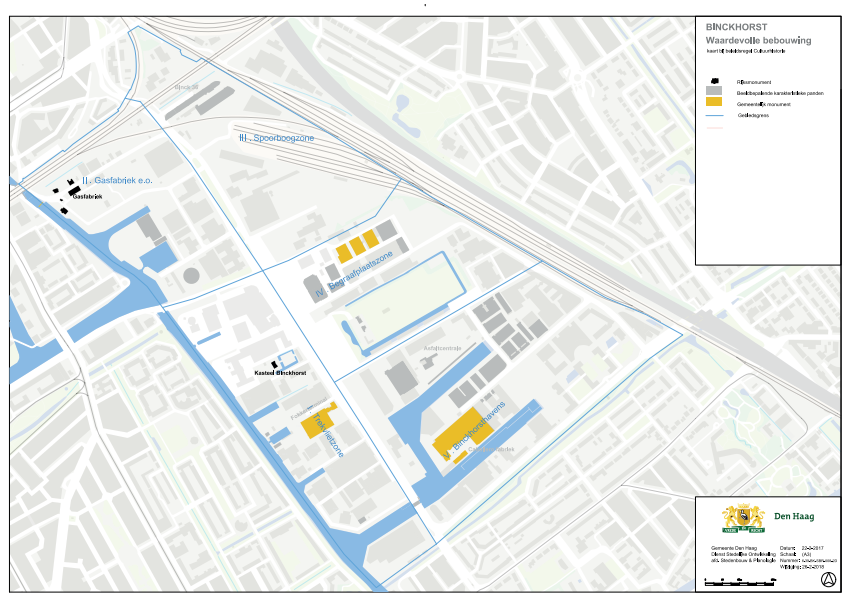
1. The CID will become a central urban environment.
2. The fragmented station areas will be connected through long visual and physical axes.
3. New developments will contribute to climate adaptation and the energy transition, while simultaneously creating opportunities for the existing city.
4. The CID will feature a vibrant mix of housing, employment, and amenities.
5. Development will build upon the existing quality and identity of the various sub-areas.
6. The CID will always offer a mix of functions, though the degree of functional integration will vary, from quiet residential zones to dynamic live-work environments.
7. By sharing and combining functions, the scarce urban space (both above and below ground) will be used as efficiently as possible.

A structural vision represents a long-term outlook—typically spanning ten to twenty years—offering a future-oriented image of the city that is submitted to residents for public consultation. During the drafting of this vision, between 2020 and 2022, the COVID-19 pandemic unfolded, accompanied by prolonged lockdowns with profound impacts on both the economy and society. In retrospect, it might have been more prudent to first assess the social and economic consequences of the pandemic before formalizing the ambitions of the structural vision. Since the pandemic, there has been a reorientation toward remote work, while public transport costs have risen significantly. The structural vision for the CID rested on several fundamental assumptions:









Above left: Binckhorst Ruimtelijk en Functioneel raamwerk, kaart 1
Above right: Binckhorst Ruimtelijke kwaliteit Openbare ruimte, kaart 2
Below left: Binckhorst Regels Bebouwing, kaart 3
Belof right: Binckhorst Waardevolle bebouwing, kaart 4
Maps are a supplement of the Environment Plan Binckhorst.
Source: The Hague municipality, *Beleidsregels Omgevingsplan Binckhorst, behorende bij het omgevingsplan Binckhorst* (2018): 107.

- It assumed that urban densification would take place exclusively within the boundaries of existing cities. However, in early 2020, the Dutch government launched a national debate on the *Nationale Omgevingsvisie* (*National Environmental Vision*, NOVI), which introduced the concept of the Urban Network Netherlands as its central framework. This vision was formally adopted in September 2020. As a result, the earlier emphasis on inner-city densification gradually shifted toward a broader urban network approach.
- There was considerable confidence in the success of the mobility transition in The Hague, which was regarded as a precondition for the realization of the CID.
- There was optimism surrounding the concept of the "vertical city" to foster an inclusive urban environment with affordable housing.
- Part of the area development was planned within the existing city, in neighborhoods already populated by large numbers of social housing tenants. At the time, it remained unclear where these residents would be relocated in the event of redevelopment.

What Is at Stake?

In 1980, the development of Haagse Turfmarkt marked the first step toward the vision of The Hague New Center. Forty years later, the concept of the compact city entered a new phase with the CID structural vision. This area was envisioned as an international hub connecting The Hague's three main railway stations, where housing and economic functions would be innovatively integrated through a planned doubling of the city center's footprint. The planning area was divided into three thematic zones: the College Campus surrounding Hollands Spoor, the Policy Campus near The Hague Central, and the ICT Security Campus adjacent to Laan van NOI station. The vision outlined an appealing image of a vibrant, green, inclusive, and above all compact city, where many residents would live in high-rise buildings. Following deliberation in the city council, a revised proposal regarding the structural vision was adopted on June 29, 2021. It stated: "The development of the CID must include a high-quality green public space with significant ecological and user value, and at the area level, a standard of 8 m² of public green space per dwelling shall apply." The announced densification, sustainability, and greening seemed to become reality. Yet there were also challenges.

1 – Competition between the Urban Network Netherlands and the CID

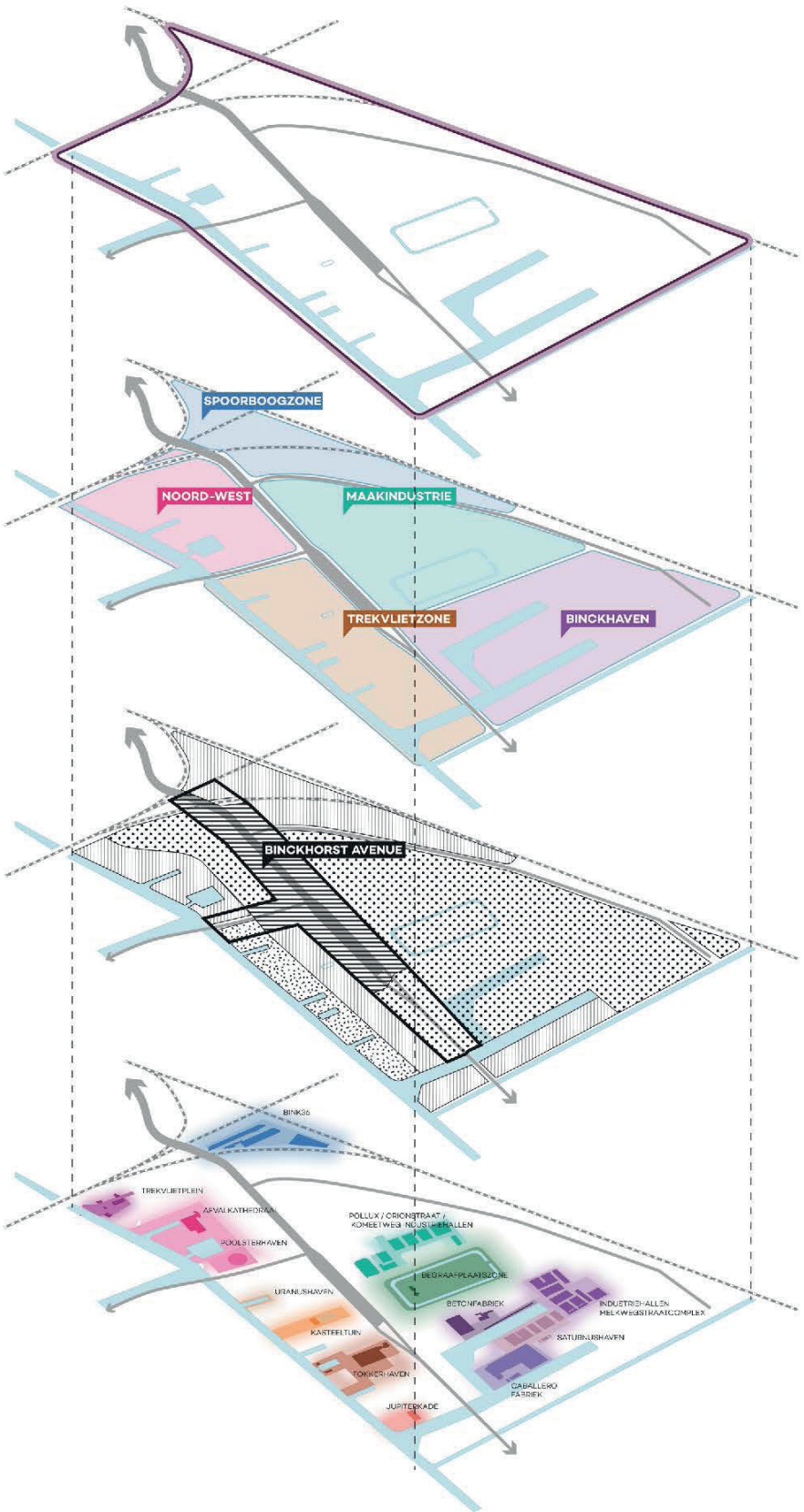
For years, densification within municipal boundaries—particularly around public transport hubs—formed a core pillar of national policy, reflecting the ideal of the compact city. However, with the parliamentary letter Direction and Choices in *National Environmental Policy* (NOVI) dated April 23, 2020, the Dutch government began to question this course of action, thus undermining previous policy frameworks. In early draft versions of the NOVI, the national housing shortage was not acknowledged, which drew considerable criticism.

For example, the report Small Country, Big Choices: Spatial Planning Toward 2050, published by the think tank Denkwerk in January 2020, explicitly highlighted the housing deficit. According to Denkwerk, densification around urban nodes alone would be insufficient, and national policy required new approaches. This view was further elaborated in the March-April 2020 edition of *ROMagazine.* Denkwerk stated in its report: "By 2050, at least 1.4 million additional housing units must be built. This cannot be achieved through urban densification alone. Of the 1.4 to 1.6 million dwellings needed, at most 35 percent can be accommodated within the existing urban footprint. For the remainder—nearly 1 million homes—approximately 300 square kilometers must be identified outside current urban areas. A new housing-plus-nature strategy offers opportunities: for every new square kilometer of housing, one square kilometer of new nature will also be developed." In her letter to Parliament, minister of Housing Kajsa Ollongren adopted this advice and stated that from now on steering would take place on "the development of the entire Urban Network Netherlands by linking new residential and employment locations (including cross-border areas) to infrastructure—particularly public transport. The most pronounced growth is expected in the Randstad-Amersfoort-Zwolle-Arnhem-Nijmegen-Brabant urban corridor. This requires deliberate long-term strategic choices to ensure growth is realized not just in quantity, but with appropriate quality. This applies to housing, mobility, and the living environment alike."

For The Hague, this policy shift represented a potential risk. Prospective homebuyers might prefer more affordable, ground-level homes surrounded by green space elsewhere in the broader Urban Network Netherlands, rather than an expensive apartment along Utrechtsebaan or Rotterdamsebaan in The Hague. Regarding residential preferences, the Dutch Housing Survey (WoON) 2001 observed that: "Age and household composition play a decisive role in the housing preferences of prospective residents. The preference for owner-occupied single-family homes is particularly strong among couples with children (over 80%) and couples under the age of 65 (over 60%). The demand for owner-occupied apartments is comparatively strongest among older couples (32%). Single persons and couples between the ages of 35 and 64 also display a relatively high preference for owner-occupied apartments (20%). The preference for rental single-family homes is relatively small across many groups, yet significantly higher among single-parent households (47%). Such dwellings can meet the need for temporary housing that provides sufficient living space. The demand for rental apartments is very high among older single-person households (65%). Among younger single-person households (43%), the preference for rental apartments is also considerably greater than average" (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2021).

2 – The Car versus a Healthy Living Environment

In the CID structural vision, the executive put mobility on a human scale. This meant priority for pedestrians, cyclists, and public transport. The CID assumes: (a) accessibility by different means of transport, multimodal accessibility; (b) better quality of life; (c) CO2 emissions



Main structure Binckhorst

Design guidlines per sub-area

Design guidlines for the concentration of high-rise Binckhorstlaan

Design guidlines of activity zones and places

Design guidelines Binckhorst. Source: The Hague municipality, *Beeldkwaliteitsplan Binckhorst* (2020): 5.

reduction. To this end, the aim was to achieve a mobility transition with a priority of clean and space-efficient means of transport. Mobility on a human scale meant priority for pedestrians and cyclists as the main road users. When designing the public space, the preference order was used of: (a) pedestrians; (b) cyclists; (c) public transport; (d) cars. The starting point was that about 40% of journeys are made on foot, about 25% by bicycle, about 20% by public transport and about 15% by car. This could possibly be feasible within the CID area itself. But the Environmental Impact Assessment stated that the municipality of The Hague had to make drastic choices regarding car mobility, while there was considerable through traffic via Utrechtsebaan and Rotterdamsebaan, which was a complicating factor. This traffic consisted largely of commuters on their way to the green neighborhoods on the coast and, in summer, tourists. Through-traffic negatively impacts air quality—especially due to particulate matter emissions—and therefore represents a serious threat to creating a healthy living environment within the CID. The central question was what would happen to this traffic, particularly given the anticipated increase once Rotterdamsebaan became fully operational, as it was expected to attract even more vehicles. It remained uncertain whether a political majority in The Hague would ever emerge that was willing to restrict through traffic in the CID and the adjacent Binckhorst, to enable a genuinely healthy urban environment. In The Hague's political climate, parties could still win elections by promising measures such as the creation of 800 additional parking spaces or free parking in selected neighborhoods, as advocated by HvDH. As such, the future of the CID was highly contingent upon political decision-making at the local level.

3 – The Optimism Surrounding the Vertical City and Its Contribution to Urban Inclusivity

High land prices and the inherently expensive nature of high-rise construction inevitably led to either very costly or extremely small dwellings. This resulted in gentrification and the displacement of low-income residents from the center of The Hague. The Structural Vision referred to the Housing Agenda 2019–2023, which stated that the city aimed to achieve 30 percent social housing, evenly distributed across the urban area. At the same time, the coalition agreement Together for the City: Coalition Agreement 2019-2022 (VVD, D66, GroenLinks, CDA, PvdA) allowed for a compensation system (saldering) that permitted the required social housing to be built elsewhere in the city. The agreement stated: "For new developments, a minimum of 30 percent social rental and 20 percent mid-range rental housing shall apply. We also aim for 20 percent affordable owner-occupied housing. These targets are to be realized per project or per area, across the entire city. Where the required percentage cannot be achieved in a specific area, it will be compensated for elsewhere in the city."

In practice, however, the mid-range rental segment within the private market has seen steep price increases in recent years. Moreover, social rental units developed by private market actors often fell under the social housing category only temporarily. These dynamics gave rise to serious doubts about the feasibility of creating an inclusive city within the framework of the vertical city, with residential towers rising far above the skyline in both the CID and Binckhorst. Despite previously agreed commitments, the city ultimately abandoned its inclusive housing ambitions; in several projects, such Adagio & Bolero in Spuikwartier near Amare, no social housing units were included. Furthermore, housing associations in The Hague—many of which own properties in neighborhoods such as Bezuidenhout-West, Rivierenbuurt, and Schippersbuurt—faced the unresolved issue of where to relocate residents if these neighborhoods were to undergo restructuring.

4 – Restructuring Existing Neighborhoods?

The appreciation of the CID structural vision mainly concerned the integral commitment to improving public space through densification. Development along the railway tracks and near Utrechtsebaan was regarded as a sound idea. There was even speculation that The Hague might one day cover Utrechtsebaan entirely, to be able to build more houses. Nevertheless, the CID structural vision proposed an exceptionally ambitious agenda. According to the document, four times as many new homes were to be built as in Binckhorst (5,000 homes), but on the significantly smaller, more densely populated, and already developed terrain of the CID. In total, the vision aimed for 20,500 new dwellings to accommodate around 40,000 new residents, along with 640,000 m² of office space and 260,000 m² of commercial facilities. The promised provision of high-quality green public space—8 m² per dwelling—would also still need to be delivered. For context: at the time, the area was home to approximately 46,000 residents living in 25,000 homes. The vision referenced the use of an active land policy, and even expropriation. It was noted that 5,500 new homes were to be added in the vicinity of Central Station, Beatrixkwartier, and Bezuidenhout-West. Since both Central Station area and Beatrixkwartier were already largely built up, the question arose whether these new homes would have to be located in the already densely populated Bezuidenhout-West. Why, then, was there no detailed elaboration in the vision on the future of Bezuidenhout-West? The vision also stated that an additional 3,000 dwellings should be developed in Rivierenbuurt and Stationsbuurt. However, the vision lacked any substantive plan for the restructuring of existing residential neighborhoods within the CID, such as Stationsbuurt, Rivierenbuurt, Bezuidenhout-West, and Schippersbuurt. Nonetheless, there was a widespread intuitive sense that precisely these neighborhoods would soon be facing major changes.

5 – Linking the Development of the CID to The Hague South-West

The CID structural vision offered a vision of the future, but that future remained deeply uncertain. At a time marked by the COVID-19 pandemic and the introduction of the *National Environmental Vision*, major societal and economic shifts were already underway, the full consequences of which had yet to become clear. Against this background, the question arose whether it would not have been wiser from the perspective of residents for The Hague to opt for a link between the CID structural vision and The Hague Southwest, and to

facilitate the flow of residents from Southwest to the CID. For residents of neighborhoods undergoing restructuring, such an approach could have offered a tangible perspective—particularly in Southwest. Ideally, the development of the CID would be accompanied by a balanced and parallel investment in this city district. During earlier restructuring processes in the 1990s—in neighborhoods such as Transvaal, Duindorp, and Spoorwijk—residents were generally offered a choice: they could return to their original neighborhood or move to a newly built Vinex location. Many residents opted for the latter. This gave housing associations the opportunity to provide real freedom of choice regarding future living environments.

Quality Plan Central Innovation District, 2023

Residents of The Hague found it difficult to envision how the new buildings would be integrated into the existing urban fabric. Although the *Structuurvisie CID* was formally adopted in July 2021, the volume and complexity of its accompanying documents made it challenging for many to grasp the full spatial and societal implications for the city.

In October 2022, the draft *Kwaliteitsplan Central Innovation District* (*CID Quality Plan*) was published. On October 13, a city-wide public consultation was held. The urban design office De Zwarte Hond, commissioned by the municipality to help develop the plan, gave a presentation. The CID quality plan is a municipal policy document that sets out the envisioned environmental and spatial quality standards for the CID. The ambitions articulated in the plan serve as a guiding framework for the drafting of future development visions, planning principles, and architectural quality guidelines. Moreover, the plan outlines the interrelationships among the district's various subareas and defines their individual identities. The CID quality plan thus serves as a guiding document for the discussion about environmental quality for the CID. In April 2023, the CID quality plan was adopted in the city council.

The CID quality plan elaborates on the so-called *Priority Area Agendas* (*Gebiedsagenda's Prioritaire Gebieden*), published on December 18, 2018:

- *Policy Campus Central: Area Agenda for Covering Utrechtsebaan (A12) / CS East*
- *College Campus HS: Area Agenda for Hollands Spoor/Laakhavens*
- *ICT Security Campus: Area Agenda for The Hague Laan van NOI*

In a letter to the City Council dated December 18, 2022, Alderman Boudewijn Revis emphasized: "By addressing the physical barriers within the area, missing links in the spatial network are being realized. The public space serves as the structural backbone of the CID. A high-quality public realm is essential in a high-density urban setting. It forms the mold around which densification can take place and is a prerequisite for a livable and attractive city. In recent years, we have invested in the city's gateways—those locations where large numbers of visitors and residents enter and leave The Hague. This focus on city entrances will be continued in the three priority zones of the CID area."

Core Qualities and Quality Objectives within the CID

Following a series of consultations and reflection rounds, the final CID quality plan was published in January 2023. Notably, the document included a glossary, aimed at making municipal terminology more accessible to the professional community.

Three core qualities that gave direction to the spatial and social development of the area. The first, "eternal beauty of The Hague", refers to respecting the local context, building upon The Hague's distinctive characteristics, and strengthening its (social) communities. Spatial features include the grid city, the green city, "brick with whipped cream" (brick facades with white plaster on the ground floor and other façade details), and The Hague Height for high-rise buildings. Identity markers encompass: an international city, recognizable character, a world city by the sea, a governmental city, a courtly city, and a residential city.

The core quality "long lines connect the city" emphasizes the importance of historic landscape structures, such as the coastal sand ridges, which have come to play a defining role in the urban fabric. These structures provide the foundation for the road and water network. The long lines literally connect neighborhoods, districts, and residential areas, and create legible urban spaces. They accommodate multiple modes of transportation, bridge urban barriers, and are crucial for spatial orientation in the city. Moreover, they align with the eternal beauty of the grid of The Hague.

The core quality "distinct character of each subarea" concerns the dynamics of development within the various neighborhoods. In some cases, these dynamics are limited, with emphasis placed on preserving existing buildings and historical character, such as in neighborhoods designated as protected urban heritage. In other cases, the dynamics are more pronounced, as in CID East and South, where densification and quality improvements are central. The development of these area profiles was strongly informed by cultural history, which also shaped specific residential environments. These profiles subsequently served as the foundation for the urban design quality plans.

To reinforce these core qualities, of the CID, the municipality formulated seven quality objectives:

- Improving the microclimate and the quality of public space, including building plinths. The design must stimulate social interaction and movement, while also being healthy for citizens and climate adaptive.
- Creating an inclusive and accessible CID, where people are placed at the center and public spaces, housing, and facilities are accessible to all.
- Promoting functional diversity, combining living, working, and recreation, alongside a differentiation of housing categories. The level of facilities must develop in parallel with residential growth. Urban space is subdivided into three activity zones: vibrancy (e.g., the shopping street), background (the residential street), and tranquility (inner courtyards).

- Expanding urban greenery, under the motto Naturally! to improve the quality of public space and the health of residents, while also enhancing biodiversity.
- Smart densification, aimed at accommodating urban growth through an attractive and healthy living environment. High-rise buildings, clustered around public transport hubs, play a central role in this approach.
- Stimulating a high-level economic environment. The concentration of office space, three railway stations, various facilities, and the proximity of higher education institutions provide the CID with excellent preconditions.
- "Get out more than is put in", by capitalizing on synergies and linkages between the preceding quality objectives to generate added value.

Interaction Environments and Layering

Many aspects of the quality plan clearly reflected ideas from Maurits de Hoog's influential study *De Hollandse Metropool: Ontwerpen aan de kwaliteit van interactiemilieus* (*The Dutch Metropolis: Designing for the Quality of Interaction Environments*) from 2012, which emphasized clustering and environments of interaction. The plan also showed clear influence of David Sim's *Soft City: Building Density for Everyday Life* (2019), which presented the impact of urban densification in an accessible manner. Sim identified nine criteria for livable urban density:

- Diversity of Built Form
- Diversity of Outdoor Spaces
- Flexibility
- Human Scale
- Walkability
- Sense of Control and Identity
- A Pleasant Microclimate
- Smaller Carbon Footprint
- Greater Biodiversity

The first seven of these closely resemble the principles promoted by the New Urbanism movement of the 1980s and 1990s, as well as the work of Jane Jacobs. In fact, in the foreword to *Soft City*, Jan Gehl explicitly references Jacobs' seminal book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), as a key source of inspiration.

What set Sim's approach apart was the concept of layering urban blocks, as an alternative to the traditional approach of stacking. In layering, different functions were placed in layers on top of each other: on the ground floor there are shops and facilities, on the floors above homes and/or offices, and on the roof are penthouses or other forms of private outdoor space. In this model, cars were parked in the courtyard of the building block or in an underground parking facility. Within the functional diversity quality requirement, this principle was explicitly applied to the CID.

The CID structural vision had already introduced the framework vibrancy, background, and tranquility as a spatial organizing principle for urban form and land use, based on varying degrees of human activity. For instance, ground floors typically host vibrancy—lively functions such as retail and hospitality; upper floors are defined by tranquility—residential or quiet office uses; while parking zones, whether underground or at the rear of a building, are considered background, that is, low-engagement spaces. This tripartite model reflects a form of activity-based zoning, originating in part from the design of educational and innovative office environments.

Within the CID, competition for scarce space was intense. A key principle stated that building footprints should in principle remain unchanged. The structural vision further established a target standard of 8 m2 of public green space per dwelling, calculated at the district level. The central challenge was how to weave densification and greening together. In the section titled Naturally!, the vision stated: "Integrate green solutions at the building or block level. The building's design should be inherently pleasant and contribute to a 'cleaner' living environment, independent of technical add-ons."

Naturally, a structural vision is just that: a vision—a guiding horizon where densification, sustainability, and greening converge. But if a municipality lacks ownership of land or sufficient financial resources, area development—particularly when involving multiple stakeholders—remains a challenge.

CID: 15-minute city and Mixed Use, 2023

"Who wouldn't want to live in a mixed-use city in the future, where work and amenities are close to home?" This was the argument put forward by alderman Van Asten during the Den Haag Vastgoed (The Hague Real Estate) 2023 conference on April 7, 2023.

The guiding principle for urban development in the CID, the Binckhorst, and South-West The Hague was the 15-minute city: a concept centered on the spatial proximity of residential, commercial, and service functions. This idea, introduced by urbanist Carlos Moreno in Paris in 2016, was embraced by the city's mayor as design principle in Paris. However, how were these ambitions reflected in actual developments within The Hague's retail and office markets? And was there also space for manufacturing industries and small enterprises in search of affordable workspaces within the city of The Hague? These opportunities—and their limitations—were the subject of discussion during The Hague Real Estate 2023. The main potential for integrated development was identified in the CID, the Binckhorst, and the South-West. In the historic parts of the city, the combination of living, working, and access to amenities had long been the norm. Yet the creation of a new urban district, or the transformation of existing areas, revealed just how significant this challenge truly was (Oorschot, 2023).

The long lines as a connection of the CID with the other parts of The Hague.
Source: The Hague municipality, *Structuurvisie CID Den Haag* (2021): 24.

Why Mixed-Use Buildings and the 15-Minute City?

Why, once again, were cities turning toward mixed-use—the integration of housing, workspaces, amenities, and leisure within walking or biking distance? The 15-minute city promised urban environments in which residents could access all essential functions—home, work, shops, schools, healthcare, and recreation—within 15 minutes on foot, by bike, or by public transit. In dense urban areas, spatial competition has always been intense. Housing typically yields the highest returns, followed by office space, with industrial or maker spaces yielding the least. As a result, business and manufacturing functions have gradually been pushed out of the city through successive redevelopment cycles. Private developers are often reluctant to lease out affordable space for small businesses. Yet such space is vital for a truly circular economy. Affordable workspaces for small-scale manufacturing, repair, and technical trades—often operated by individuals without formal academic qualifications—are indispensable to urban resilience and inclusivity. Moreover, recent trends in activity-based working and the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic have further blurred the boundaries between residential and work environments. The mobility transition according to the STOMP planning principle has also underscored the need to physically integrate urban functions more closely. This requires a layered, functional configuration of buildings and neighborhoods, exactly the kind of urban typology vividly described in Soft City by David Sim. This work advocated for compact, mixed-use urban environments that are adaptable, human-scaled, and livable. In short, mixed-use development and the 15-minute-city are not just urban planning fads; they are critical strategies for maintaining the long-term livability and sustainability of cities.

Urban Development Projects in the Planning Framework Phase with PUK and NvU

The municipality of The Hague recognized the importance of this approach and formally embedded its ambitions in policy instruments and area development visions, including the new Environmental and Planning Act, which came into force on January 1, 2024.

This law states that during the Planning Framework phase, private developers have the opportunity to receive a formal recommendation from the Haagse Initiatieven Team (The Hague Initiatives Team, HIT), based on an initial plan submission, allowing them to apply for an Environmental Permit (Omgevingsvergunning). For larger projects in which the municipality acts as a collaborative partner, clear preconditions are established through two instruments: a *Plan Elaboration Framework* (*Planuitwerkingskader*, PUK) for projects on privately owned land, and a *Statement of Principles* (*Nota van Uitgangspunten*, NvU) for developments involving public land or where the municipality has a vested interest. These frameworks define the spatial, urban design, visual quality, mobility, and other criteria that guide development, even in cases where the proposed plans fall outside the existing Environmental Plan. A PUK can serve as the basis for drafting a preliminary agreement or a comprehensive project document. The preparation of both PUKs and NvUs falls under the authority of the municipal executive, but the associated costs are borne by the project initiator. These documents are routinely submitted to the Municipal Committee on Spatial Planning for review and discussion. After this phase, developers may proceed to request an environmental permit in the Finalization phase, during which binding agreements are formalized. In the subsequent Implementation phase, the actual permit application is submitted, and land allocation or land transfer takes place. Later, the PUK would be replaced in The Hague by the off-plan environmental plan activity (BOPA). This applies to activities in the physical living environment that do not comply with the Environmental Plan.

In the *Nota van Uitgangspunten Dynamisch Laakhavens! Ontwikkelvisie Laakhavens Hollands Spoor* (*Memorandum of Principles Dynamic Laakhavens! Development Vision Laakhavens Hollands Spoor*, March 2022), the principles of mixed-use development and the 15-minute city were elaborated in detail. The document specified, down to the square meter, what should be located where, and outlined the spatial connections with other parts of the city.

Three Key Challenges

Real estate developers, landlords, and housing associations often served separate market segments and were not eager to collaborate on mixed-use concepts within a single building. At best, a modest amount of commercial space was incorporated at ground level, typically squeezed between storage rooms. Office space represented yet another distinct segment, involving different stakeholders in the real estate sector, while workspace for businesses barely constituted a formal category. As a result, functional synergy had to be actively steered by the municipality. In new developments, the affordability of business space was also a critical concern. Older, low-cost commercial units were frequently replaced by more expensive alternatives, which proved inaccessible for many small enterprises.

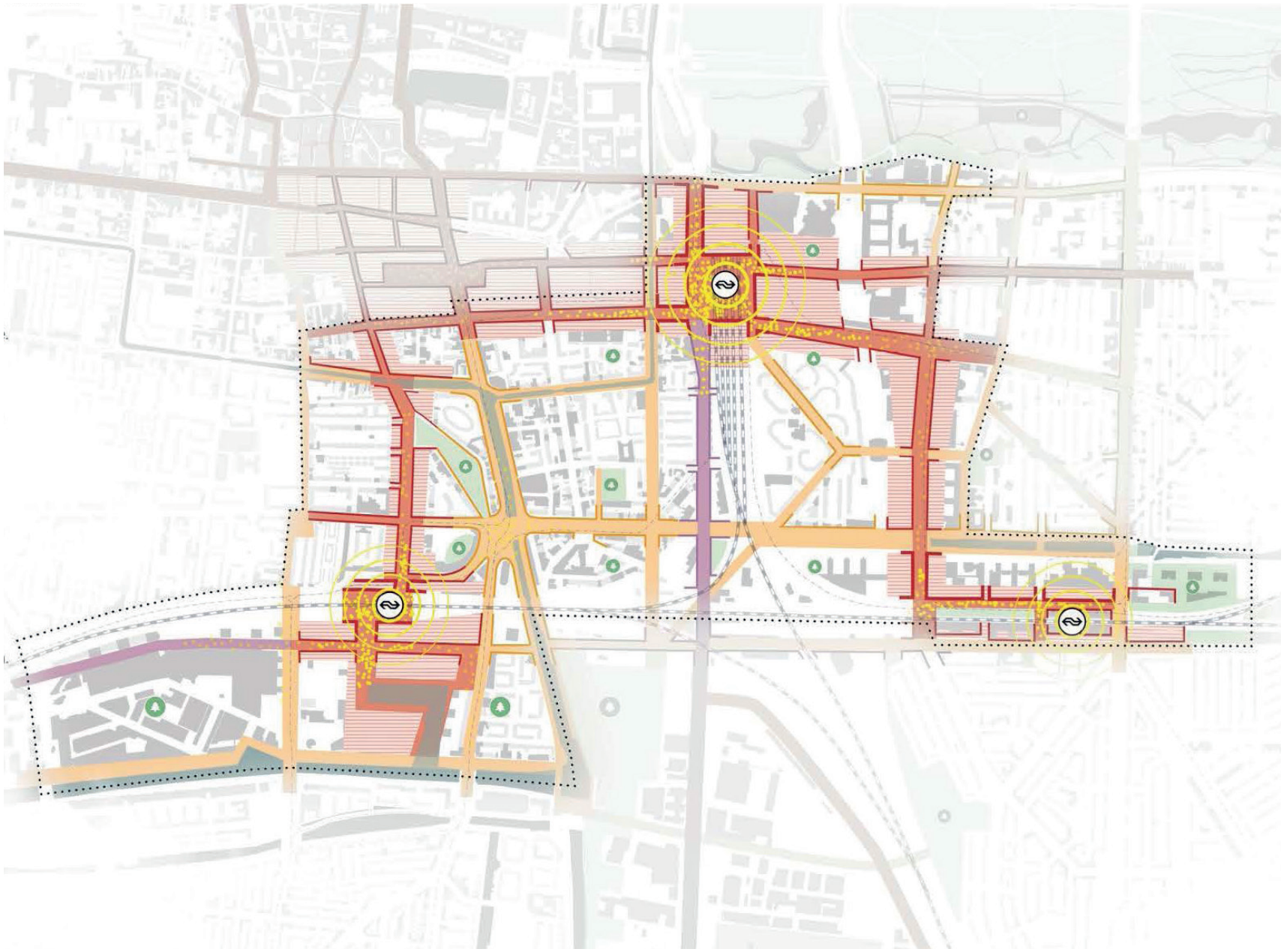
A second challenge concerned the sequencing strategy for neighborhood transformation. What should come first—residential units, offices, commercial space, or amenities? There was a real risk that, during the initial phases, there would be limited demand for often overpriced ground-floor commercial space, leaving these units vacant for extended periods.

A third challenge was the national government's lack of attention to affordable workspaces for the manufacturing and repair sectors in its occasional (financial) stimulus programs. The primary focus remained on residential construction.

These challenges were the subject of discussion among various stakeholders during The Hague Real Estate 2023. Esther Fleers, director at Heijmans Real Estate, served as moderator. The case study examined here was Laakhaven-Centrum in the CID.

Laakhaven-Centrum: "A Hammer Instead of a Fresh Coat of Paint"

Laakhaven-Centrum was still a desolate area marked by high vacancy



Zone 1: Buss. High level of liveliness on the street. Crowd pullers, training, catering, culture, large offices, high quality public space.

Zone 2: Rest. Green and blue veins, parks, residential streets. Social facilities, neighborhood café.

Zone 3: Noise. This is where it is allowed to rub. With space for manufacturing and motorized traffic, but also for living. Always attractive and urban.

Lively plinths: buildings with a function on the ground floor that stimulates encounters. This is mainly non-residential. Important meeting places in the CID. Station areas, the center and to a lesser extent the connecting streets.

Boundary of the structural vision

Meeting, urban plinths and connecting city districts.
Source: The Hague municipality, *Structuurvisie CID Den Haag* (2021): 28.

rates, but the ambitions for its transformation were substantial. Elise van Pieterson (real estate developer at COD) and Edwin van Leeuwen (Amvest) presented their plans to replace the MegaStores retail complex with a new urban district structured around perimeter blocks.

The area bounded by Waldorpstraat, Calandstraat, and Verheeskade—currently home to the MegaStores, among others—is slated for complete demolition and redesign. Throughout Laakhaven, the realization of 9,000 homes, 18,000 m² of business space, 35,500 m² of retail, 55,000 m² of office space, 45,800 m² of educational facilities, 4,750 m² for healthcare and social services, 7,600 m² dedicated to arts and culture, 3,000 m² of indoor sports facilities, and 42,250 m² for services, leisure, and hospitality. The four property owners in the area are LWP (a consortium of COD and Amvest), MS Vastgoed, Included City Development, and Ten Brinke/Antenor/Myb.

According to Van Pieterson, the redevelopment of the MegaStores was no longer a matter of superficial renovation or cosmetic upgrades; it called for a comprehensive demolition and reconstruction strategy. This large-scale urban development was aligned with the surrounding infrastructure and aimed to become the vibrant core of Laakhaven. The project focused on a mixed-use urban program integrating residential units, commercial activities, community facilities, and retail, with an emphasis on purposeful shopping and daily necessities.

The shopping center would be replaced by perimeter blocks featuring urban towers. These blocks would include height accents of up to 70 meters. The ambition was to create a The Hague-specific variant of the urban ensemble Little C Rotterdam - a fine-grained urban fabric with small squares, narrow streets, and seamless integration into the adjacent neighborhoods. Plans even included a new underpass beneath the railway, connecting Laakhaven directly to Schilderswijk. Along Verheeskade, the proposals by Ten Brinke/Antenor/Myb and MS Vastgoed envisioned higher-density development, including more high-rise structures. At the heart of Laakhaven-Centrum, on the site of the former harbor basin, an urban park was planned.

Van Pieterson noted that aligning the ambitious development program with local traffic flows would remain a key challenge. In addition, the interdependencies among the area's multiple property owners posed ongoing coordination issues within the development process.

Is The Hague's Office Market Future-Proof?

Evelien Ravesteijn (real estate company Cushman & Wakefield) explored the opportunities for creating a future-proof office market in The Hague. She questioned whether the city's office sector was genuinely ready for the future and discussed several emerging trends. Among these were the ongoing "war for talent" amid a tight labor market and the rapid development of new technologies such as artificial intelligence. Office real estate was increasingly required to meet high sustainability standards, ideally being energy-neutral. In addition, the rise of 24/7 culture and economy significantly influenced the requirements for office locations. Employee well-being, opportunities for social interaction, and flexibility were becoming central concerns.

According to Ravesteijn, The Hague's office market could be described as impressive. The total stock amounted to 3.6 million m2 of gross floor area, making The Hague the second-largest office city in the Netherlands, behind only Amsterdam, which has 6.6 million m2. Vacancy rates dropped from 9.7% in 2016 to 4.3% in 2023, falling below the frictional vacancy threshold. However, concerns remained: in 2012 and 2013, the total office stock had been approximately 4.15 million m2, indicating a significant decline over the past decade. Ravesteijn concluded: "Since 2019, take-up in The Hague has declined. This is primarily due to supply-side constraints: the demand for office space cannot be accommodated because of the (very) limited availability." Notably, she did not address the rise of Activity-based working (ABW), which had gained significant traction in recent years—particularly within the national government—nor did she reflect on the normalization of remote work following the COVID-19 pandemic. Historically, office market dynamics in The Hague were shaped predominantly by sectors such as justice and international law, the (semi-)public sector, cybersecurity, and the energy sector. More recently, growth has been driven primarily by office users relocating from surrounding municipalities, along with expanding sectors such as IT services, engineering, and technical consulting. Ravesteijn identified the most important trend as the increasing demand for high-quality office spaces in attractive locations. Key criteria for users included proximity to amenities, excellent access to public transportation, and strong sustainability performance. Ravesteijn concluded her presentation by noting that the office market in The Hague presents both opportunities and challenges.

1. She anticipated a full recovery from the COVID crisis in 2023.
2. The traditional office should be replaced by workspaces centered around interaction, with an emphasis on high-quality office buildings.
3. These new workplaces needed to be located in favorable, easily accessible locations.
4. Market participants were leaving The Hague. Despite historically low vacancy rates, absorption figures showed a declining trend, primarily due to a shortage of suitable office supply.
5. The Hague lacked sufficient planning reserves for new office developments.

Her advice to the municipality and market stakeholders was therefore clear: develop quality offices in the right locations within the city, both for the short and medium to long term. The pressing question remained what The Hague should do with existing lower-quality offices in less favorable locations. A quality upgrade in the International Zone could be an option; however, this area lacked a pleasant environment for interaction and fast, reliable public transit connections.

Shift of Retail Toward the CID: Retail on the Move

The retail market in The Hague was also undergoing significant

reuring — Buzz: The highest density, the most people on the street. Active plinth, small grain. Space for meeting and facilities. Always lively. No to little space-intensive functions and infrastructure.

rust — Rest: Wider range of housing concepts, space for climate adaptation and recreation. Basic facilities and offices will find space here. No room for noise makers. In the evening it is quiet, but safe.

ruis — Noise: This is where it can rub. Room for (manufacturing) work and a high level of tolerance for nuisance. Space-intensive functions and activity find a place here, but always attractive and urban.

Metropolitan living, working and recreation.
Source: The Hague municipality, *Structuurvisie CID Den Haag* (2021): 29.

changes, according to Ruud Weerts of Syntrus Achmea Real Estate & Finance. In recent years, retail real estate had faced considerable challenges. For many years, the sector had experienced growth in rental prices and valuations, driven by rising consumer spending and increasing demand from international retailers. However, after 2013, this trend had reversed. Structural shifts led to a significant oversupply, placing downward pressure on rents. The COVID-19 pandemic accelerated several of these trends. Nonetheless, Weerts identified compelling reasons to continue investing in retail real estate. It offered an attractive direct yield, performed relatively well during economic recessions, and provided investors with inflation protection. According to Weerts, retail real estate was in a recovery phase, with prospects for further improvement. The Hague ranked among the top five retail cities in the Netherlands, according to Syntrus Achmea. This ranking was based on several factors: the development of a stable and growing catchment area (according to the population forecast), the relative attractiveness of retail districts, the urban appeal (including employment, quality of living, accessibility, and historical or cultural identity), and the financial attractiveness of retail locations.

According to Weerts, the foot traffic in shopping streets provided a reliable indication of where the retail focal points were located. The core shopping district was situated in the historic city center. The primary core (A core) consisted of the heavily frequented retail streets such as Grote Marktstraat and Spuistraat. The secondary cores often had a distinct character, including De Passage, Noordeinde, Haagse Bluf, Spui- and Venestraat, Vlamingstraat, Wagenstraat, Denneweg, Prinsestraat, and Het Plein. Additionally, there were connecting streets between these cores, as well as feeder streets on the periphery of the shopping area.

A notable trend was the increase in the number of supermarkets in the city center. According to Weerts, there were 20 supermarkets in 2010 compared to 38 in 2023—an increase of 90%. Weerts drew six conclusions regarding the situation in The Hague:

1. The retail market in The Hague offered abundant opportunities.
2. In recent years, the busiest areas had become Grote Marktstraat and Spui.
3. The functional mix changed: less fashion retail and more food service, culture, recreation, and services.
4. The number of residences in the city center and the station area had increased significantly.
5. The development of the CID could further shift the retail focal point.
6. The city center was in flux; an integrated approach was necessary. Once Laakhavens and Binckhorst would be fully developed with housing, retail will naturally follow, as happened in the city center. The interim period may present the greatest challenge.

However, the session chair, Esther Fleers, questioned whether, given the enormous demand for housing, the focus in Laakhaven Centrum should initially be on residential development rather than commercial space and retail. After all, in another part of the city—nearby Southwest—a considerable amount of commercial space was simply vacant.

What About Moerwijk?

Session chair Fleers stirred the pot by drawing attention—besides the flagship urban development projects—to the situation in Moerwijk, in Southwest, citing the problematic retail strip along Jan Luykenlaan as an example. This was an area people avoided in the evenings—especially women—and there were currently significant nuisance issues. According to Wim Kulik (municipality of The Hague), living and working were not contradictory; rather, they needed to be integrated. However, he noted significant differences between areas within the CID. Kulik therefore advocated for the simultaneous development of housing, commercial real estate, and retail. Fleers questioned whether this was realistic. De Jager pointed out that the better neighborhoods were characterized by a mix of functions rather than being exclusively residential. De Heer also emphasized that functional mixing was important for neighborhood livability. She stressed that every urban development project should consider what was locally feasible and appropriate. According to both Kulik and De Heer, this varied considerably by area. Fleers stated that combining living and working was a prerequisite in every area vision. However, she wondered whether a retail area managed by Haag Wonen, such as Jan Luykenlaan in Moerwijk, might be better transformed into housing.

Dubbelman explained that this was only possible to a limited extent. The issue was not solely retail, but also involved functions such as healthcare and social services. Such facilities needed to be housed more efficiently with fewer resources; affordability was a critical factor. Additionally, Dubbelman stressed the importance of reintroducing retail to sections of Jan Luykenlaan, where other types of commercial activities currently prevailed. She argued it was essential to collaborate with the municipality to invest in the ground-floor spaces.

Lack of Coordination for a Future-Proof City

According to Kulik, experience in the CID revealed that functional mixing was challenging in practice. Combining residential and office uses within a single building often proved ineffective. Nevertheless, he advocated for engaging in dialogue on this topic. The principle in the CID was “living and working in one building”, but from an investor’s perspective, this was often not feasible. His advice to the municipality was to engage with market parties but to avoid attempting to centrally dictate everything. There was no direct governance on this matter.

Dubbelman emphasized the importance of maintaining flexibility in programmatic requirements. Area development must allow room for incremental adjustments over time. This calls for an “interim strategy” to gradually work toward mixed-use development. Roel Koster from Arcadis highlighted another bottleneck: the sectoral approach within area development complicates mixed-use implementation. Rather than organizing around fixed functions such as “residential”, “office”,

Structural Vision for The Hague Southwest 2040; Green, urban and vital Southwest,
the integral vision map by the municipality of The Hague.
Source: The Hague municipality, *Structuurvisie Zuidwest 2040, Groen, stedelijk en vitaal Zuidwest* (2023): 107.

or “retail,” he advocated for buildings designed with surplus capacity and generous ground-floor heights. This allows spaces to be easily repurposed or subdivided later, enhancing building resilience. He pointed to Zeeheldenkwartier in The Hague as a good example, where shell buildings were constructed with a degree of flexibility, enabling functions to change over time. This approach is not only practical but also sustainable and circular. For instance, vacant spaces can temporarily be converted into housing. This fosters an adaptive city where functions can evolve over time.

13.5
Priority Area: The Hague Southwest

The Need for Linking the Social and Spatial Domains

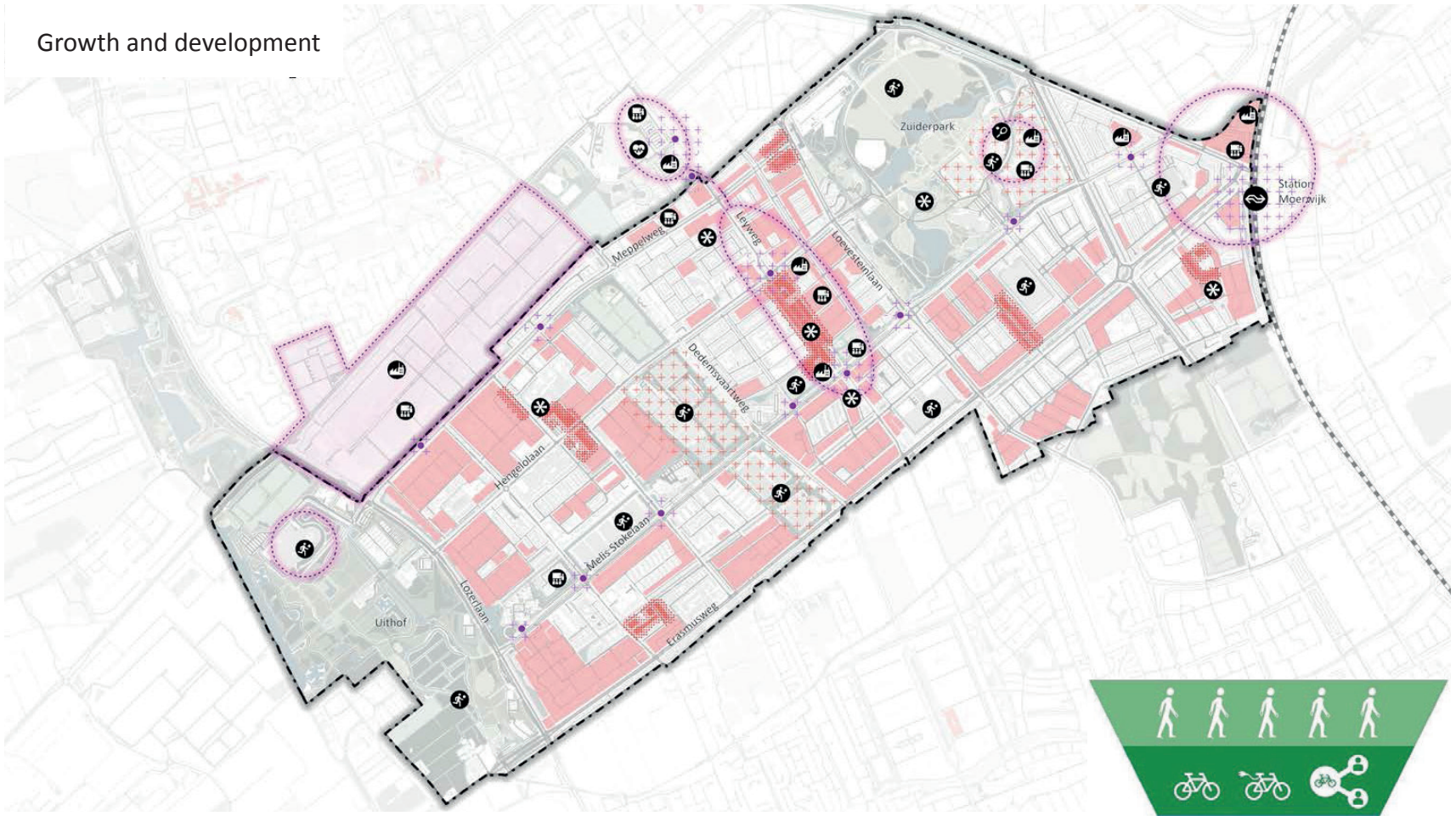
The transformations taking place in The Hague Southwest differ fundamentally from those in Binckhorst and the CID. The Hague Southwest is in the district De Escamp, which was built in the reconstruction period and consists of the neighborhoods Moerwijk, Morgenstond, Bouwlust/Vrederust, Leyenburg, and Zichtenburg. This is an area with about 70,000 residents, facing major socio-economic challenges. Thus, the challenge is the area transformation of several post-war neighborhoods with a population size of the entire city Gouda.

In *World City by the Sea* (2005), densification in The Hague Southwest was not yet envisioned. In the neighborhoods of Morgenstond and Moerwijk, however, an initial transformation toward more diverse residential environments—with greater differentiation in housing typologies—had already begun. However, the large-scale renewal of Southwest largely stalled in the aftermath of the global financial crisis of 2010, reflecting how global economic turbulence can reshape local planning trajectories.

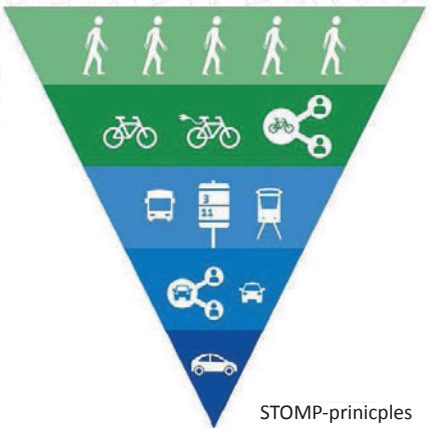
This partial renewal led to residential thinning—a reduction in both housing stock and population—which undermined local service provision and, ultimately, neighborhood livability. At the same time, the mandate of housing associations was redefined in 2015, requiring them to focus primarily on low-income households. Nowhere else in the city did social and physical decline manifest itself as starkly as here. According to the Leefbaarometer (Dutch Livability Index), livability in the area was assessed as (seriously) below sufficient. This situation underscored the urgent need for an integrated approach to urban governance, one that addressed livability not only in socio-spatial terms but also in relation to broader dynamics of territorial inequality (Harvey, 1973; Soja, 2010). Increasingly, it became evident that this complex urban challenge required multidimensional interventions—spatial, social, economic, and ecological—aligned with contemporary debates on urban resilience and the just city at Delft University of Technology.

The area faces significant challenges. Health outcomes were below the city average. Livability remained insufficient, with issues such as unemployment, poverty, and debt. Facilities and amenities were not always well-matched to local needs. Accessibility was car-dependent, and distances were often large. The housing stock was outdated and homogenous. Sustainability goals require major interventions. And while green space is abundant, its quality and function can still be improved.

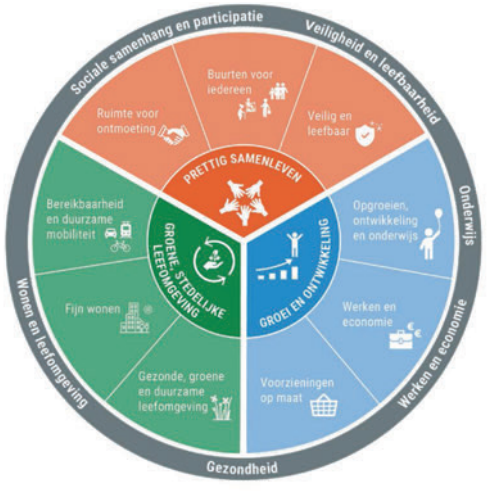
In 2019, the newly formed coalition of D66, VVD, GL, PvdA, and CDA pursued the goal of securing a status for Southwest comparable to that of Rotterdam-Zuid, with the intention of obtaining additional financial support from the national government. This support came



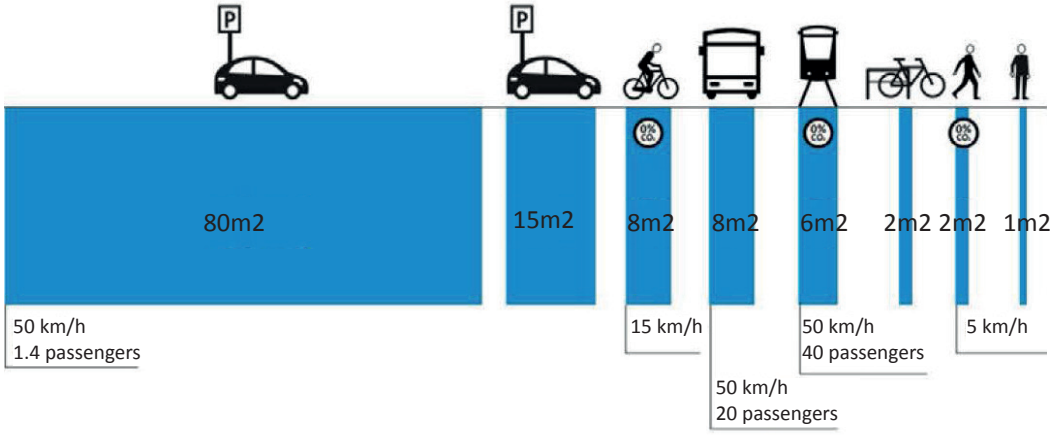
Above, the map growth and development by the municipality of The Hague.
Source: The Hague municipality, *Structuurvisie Zuidwest 2040, Groen, stedelijk en vitaal Zuidwest* (2023): 65.



Below, the compass 2040 by the municipality of The Hague. Source: *Structuurvisie Zuidwest 2040, Groen, stedelijk en vitaal Zuidwest* (2023): 46.



Below the STOMP-principles by the municipality of The Hague. Source: *Structuurvisie Zuidwest 2040, Groen, stedelijk en vitaal Zuidwest* (2023): 87-88.



with the *National Program Southwest* (NPZW) from 2023. However, the new coalition agreement *Samen voor de Stad* (*Together for the City*), as well as the draft 2020-2023 Program Budget—which had not yet been approved by the municipal council—did not include any financial allocations for Southwest. After 2019, a strategic shift occurred in which the physical domain was explicitly connected to the social domain, with livability and residents' well-being placed at the center. Alderman Martijn Balster (PvdA) played a central role in this reorientation between 2019 and 2025. Under his leadership, the structural vision took shape. The February 2023 version of the *Structuurvisie Den Haag Zuidwest 2040: Groen, stedelijk en vitaal Zuidwest* (*Structural Vision for The Hague Southwest 2040: A Green, Urban and Resilient Southwest*) was accepted by the city council on December 14, 2023. The *Kwaliteitsplan Zuidwest* (*Southwest Quality Plan*) was accepted by the city council on October 9, 2025, and was in line with the ambitions of the Environmental Vision.

Prior to the adoption of the structural vision, three major area development projects had already been initiated that became exemplary for subsequent interventions: De Schaloen, Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten, and De Venen. These projects aimed to foster social-spatial integration through a more diverse housing stock, while simultaneously introducing higher densities of dwellings and residents. Yet a persistent structural challenge remained: the absence of high-quality public transportation. The so-called South-Westland corridor—intended to connect The Hague Central Station with Southwest and Westland via a rapid transit system—had yet to materialize. In parallel with these projects, however, the structural vision was elaborated, signaling a more comprehensive attempt to integrate physical planning, social policy, and long-term strategies for urban resilience and socially just urban development.

The key redevelopment projects in Southwest include Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten, De Venen, Morgenstond/Leyweg, and Moerwijk Junction. Alongside these are several smaller-scale developments, such as those near De Schaloen and within the Morgenstond neighborhood. For most of these projects, design quality plans have already been established, including for De Schaloen, Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten, Moerwijk Junction, and De Venen.

Physical and Social: Housing Association District in Decline and the Need for Densification

The core of the problem in Southwest was partly to be found in the physical state of the buildings or the public green spaces. The challenge was rooted in the socio-economic position of the residents: a population marked by poverty, low residential density due to the individualization of housing and the allocation policies of housing associations, the disappearance of local amenities, and a lack of mobility within the housing market. These dynamics created insufficient room for incoming residents and led to a stagnation of the necessary social dynamism. Over the previous years, the socio-demographic situation in Southwest had deteriorated significantly. The predominantly elderly population and residents with a migration background were, after 2015, increasingly joined by new groups, including labor migrants from Central and Eastern Europe (so-called MOE-landers, often living in 'buy-to-let' apartments), refugees with residential permits (statushouders), and individuals with mental health conditions who were placed in social housing. As a result, Southwest developed into a district characterized by high concentrations of elderly people, care dependency, poverty, and social isolation.

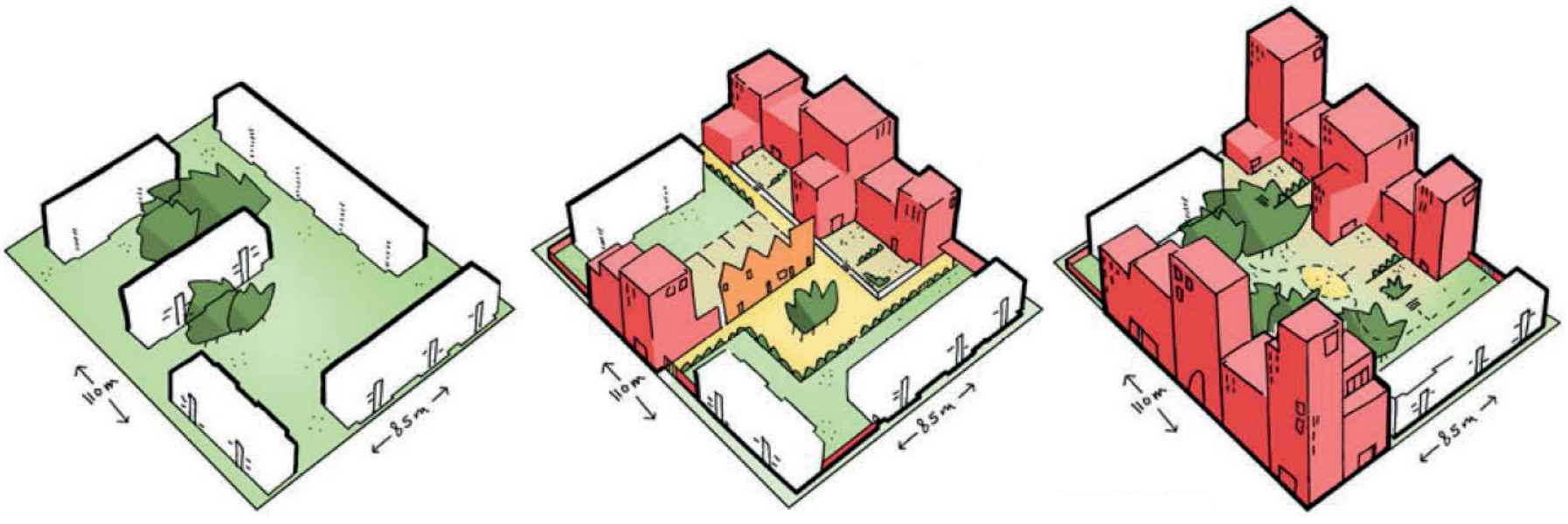
Due to the targeted allocation policies of housing associations and the influx of approximately 50,000 labor migrants in the previous years, poverty became concentrated in specific neighborhoods. In The Hague Southwest, the average annual income per income recipient was €22,400, substantially below the Dutch median income of €36,000. Roughly 20% of residents lived at or below the subsistence level, and more than 10% received welfare benefits. The average monthly rent stood at €523. Because of residents' limited purchasing power, local amenities such as shops gradually disappeared from the streetscape, further eroding neighborhood livability. This neglect can be partly attributed to national housing policies, which mandated the allocation of social housing to specific target groups—often individuals with special care needs. Additionally, financial extractions from housing associations (such as the landlord levy and VAT obligations) severely constrained their capacity to invest in maintenance or renovation. The expanded statutory duties of housing associations also meant that supplementary neighborhood amenities were no longer being added to typical social housing districts. As a result, urban resilience was noticeably lacking. The progressive erosion of Southwest's social fabric—driven by housing individualization, income policies, and allocation strategies—led to the disappearance of many public and private services, thereby undermining overall livability (Frissen et al., 2018; 2020; Frissen & Leidelmeijer, 2023). Unlike areas such as Binckhorst or the CID, where social issues were largely absent, the situation in Southwest required a fundamentally different approach.

Around 2019, the Dutch national government re-engaged through integrated intergovernmental collaboration. Key frameworks for this renewed involvement included the previously mentioned *Urbanization Alliance*, the *Housing Deal for the Southern Randstad*, the *Regional Deal for Soutwest The Hague*, and the *National Program Southwest* (NPZW) (see paragraph 13.2.1). Under alderman Balster, the R*egiodeal Southwest* and the NPZW formally granted Southwest the same programmatic status as Rotterdam-Zuid. Through the *Woondeal,* The Hague received €71 million from the national government for the construction of more than 8,034 new homes in Southwest, Binckhorst, and the HS Quarter (around Station Hollands Spoor). The municipality itself also made significant financial contributions, including allocating part of the proceeds from the sale of its stake in energy company Eneco to support the transformation.

Spatial frameworks were defined through area specific *Planuitwerkingskaders* (*Plan Elaboration Frameworks*, PUKs) for privately owned land, and *Nota's van Uitgangspunten* (*Statements of Principles*, NvUs), for land owned by or of direct interest to the municipality. These PUKs and NvUs were subsequently elaborated into detailed project documents, as in the case of Dreven-Gaarden-

Above, the map healthy, green and sustainable environment by the municipality of The Hague. Source: The Hague municipality, *Structuurvisie Zuidwest 2040, Groen, stedelijk en vitaal Zuidwest* (2023): 79.

Below, densification-principles by the municipality of The Hague. Source: The Hague municipality, *Structuurvisie Zuidwest 2040, Groen, stedelijk en vitaal Zuidwest* (2023): 82.



Zichten. The central strategy aimed to counter the mounting problems in Southwest through high-density redevelopment and a deliberate social mix of housing types. The return of middle- and higher-income households was viewed as essential to restoring balance and improving neighborhood conditions.

Housing associations entered partnerships with market parties to achieve diversity in the housing programming. These projects typically involved the demolition of existing structures, followed by the construction of closed urban blocks atop parking decks, with towers placed at the perimeters to achieve higher densities. In some cases, renovation formed part of the development strategy. Examples include:

- Area development Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten: a collaboration between housing association Staedion, developer Heijmans, and the Municipality of The Hague.
- Area development De Venen: a joint effort between Hof Wonen and the public-private development company WOM DHZW.
- Area development Morgenstond: a collaboration between Haag Wonen and developer BPD.
- Area development De Schaloen: developed in partnership between Staedion and developer Sustay.

Area Development De Gaarden, De Dreven en De Zichten

In line with the 2018 coalition agreement, alderman Revis announced the *Aanpak Gebiedsontwikkeling The Hague Southwest: De Gaarden, De Dreven en De Zichten* (*Approach to Area Development in The Hague Southwest: De Gaarden, De Dreven, and De Zichten*) in a letter to the city council committee on October 9, 2018. An agreement was reached with the housing association Staedion to investigate the feasibility of redeveloping the Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten area. A preliminary exploration had already been conducted in partnership with Staedion. The premise of this exploration was that the social housing units to be demolished would be replaced by the same number of new dwellings, and that a substantial densification would take place through the addition of market-rate housing. The plan also included the redevelopment of the Leyweg shopping center and the *Knoop Moerwijk* (*Moerwijk traffic junction*), the introduction of new amenities and employment opportunities, a revision of green space design, and alignment with a projected scale-up of public transportation infrastructure. Developer Heijmans, Staedion, and the municipality of The Hague signed an agreement concerning the restructuring of Southwest, covering the neighborhoods of Dreven, Gaarden, and Zichten. It was agreed that, over the course of ten years, the 1,200 social housing units slated for demolition would be fully rebuilt, and that an additional 3,000 owner-occupied and private rental units would be added to the housing stock.

To provide a spatial framework for the various ongoing developments in Southwest, the municipality drew up a document in which densification was introduced as one of the means to strengthen the range of facilities, to create more support for public transport, to create a business case for the energy transition, improve greenery and water structure, and attract businesses. The document *Bestemming Zuidwest Gebiedsverkenning* (*Destination Southwest: Area Exploration*) was presented on April 19, 2019, by the municipality. In a letter to the municipal council dated May 22, it was announced that three area visions would be developed: (a) Uithof/Lozerlaan, (b) Leyweg City Center, and (c) Moerwijk junction. Contrary to earlier reports, the area exploration for Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten ultimately projected the addition of 2,600 new housing units. The area exploration also included the presentation of several supporting studies. Initial projections envisioned the addition of 10,000 new housing units in The Hague Southwest. Urban design firms Palmbout and De Nijl conducted various densification studies, focusing on closed perimeter blocks with vertical accents, integrated within the existing urban fabric.

However, the final conclusions were different. In the area study, the municipality stated that: “The conclusion of the exploratory studies is that densification in Southwest has the greatest potential at strategic locations such as Leyweg and along the main urban thoroughfares. However, the exact locations and methods of densification, the target groups, and the types of residential environments must still be further developed. An important consideration in this elaboration will be the parking challenge, with the guiding principle being on-site parking” (Gemeente Den Haag, 2019: 20).

With *Destination Southwest*, the Municipality of The Hague aimed to address the challenges of densification, sustainability, and greening. However, significant obstacles remained. The adopted generic approach to the district failed to sufficiently account for the specific qualities and substantial diversity of the individual residential neighborhoods. By comparison, in terms of surface area and population, Southwest was comparable to Gouda, but they are very different in terms of image and structure of neighborhoods (Oorschot, 2019; 2020).

On July 7, 2020, the *Ambitiedocument Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten* (*Ambition Document for Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten*) was published. In the meantime, the municipality of The Hague had entered into an agreement with the national government through the Southern Randstad Housing Deal. The ambition document, issued by the municipal executive on July 7, 2020, outlined the framework within which the transformation of the area would take place. In the ambition document, the municipality stated that:

“With 1,224 housing units in the project area, De Dreven is by far the largest of the three neighborhoods. It is one of the more carefully designed parts of the Bouwlust-Vrederust district and has largely remained in its original condition, with several well-preserved architectural details. De Dreven was the first residential neighborhood in The Hague to be fully constructed using prefabricated building systems and is emblematic of the post-war reconstruction era. Its development marked the completion of urban expansion in The Hague Southwest. The open spatial layout creates a unique interplay between the built environment, public green spaces, and semi-public greenery, which seamlessly merge. The peripheral buildings and water features along Lozerlaan form a distinctive conclusion to the urban

Above the Schaloen residential building and left residential building Ruimzicht in the Zichten. Photo’s from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

edge. For these reasons, in 2004, the city council resolved to protect the neighborhood, and De Dreven was designated a municipal heritage area" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2020: 6).

However, housing association Staedion considered preservation to be unfeasible and advocated demolition. The municipality argued that the protected status of De Dreven no longer aligned with the area's new development plans. Notably, the municipal executive did not consider the possibility that the proposed developments might be incompatible with the neighborhood's heritage designation. The Statements of Principles by the municipality, Heijmans, and Staedion were released in May 2021. These documents effectively re-evaluated the heritage status of De Dreven, although the municipal executive had already decided to revoke that status. In a letter dated November 23, 2021, the municipal executive outlined to the city council how heritage is evaluated in The Hague:

"The recommendations of the Aesthetics and Monuments Commission (Welstands- en Monumentencommissie) are considered by the municipal executive when deciding on applications for environmental permits and/or the designation or revocation of protections. The executive may adopt such advice in full, in part, or not at all. If the executive decides to adopt it only partially or not at all, the decision must be substantiated. The Building Code, the Monuments Ordinance The Hague 2019, and the Aesthetics Ordinance 2003 do not grant the Aesthetics and Monuments Commission the authority to provide unsolicited advice to the municipal executive. For this reason, the commission chose to share its concerns regarding the intention to revoke the designation of the municipal heritage area Vrederust-West (Drevenbuurt) in the form of a preliminary recommendation at an early stage. This recommendation, dated March 1, 2021, was considered by the executive in the further planning for the Dreven neighborhood. During the City Council's Committee on Spatial Planning meeting concerning this issue, some confusion arose regarding the procedures for forwarding this recommendation to the council. It is not the case that the Aesthetics and Monuments Commission could or should have sent the recommendation directly to the council, nor was the executive obligated to do so." (Gemeente Den Haag, 2021).

In this process, the municipal executive ultimately prioritized the business plan presented by Heijmans and Staedion over the heritage value of The Hague Southwest. In December 2021, a conceptual design followed, including a visual quality plan, framework for public amenities, spatial development conditions, and a broader development strategy.

The Urban Blocks of De Schaloen, Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten, and De Venen

In *Bestemmingen Zuidwest Gebiedsverkenning* (*Destinations Southwest: Area Exploration*) of April 2019, the entire core area was reported to have 67,290 inhabitants and 33,630 households residing in 32,672 dwellings. Of these, approximately 63 percent were owned by housing associations. On October 9, 2018, alderman Revis submitted a letter to the city council announcing the restructuring of Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten. An agreement had already been signed between the municipality and Staedion concerning this redevelopment. At the end of 2018, Staedion and Heijmans also entered into an agreement to prepare an urban design vision for the Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten area. In July 2020, the *Ambitiedocument Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten* (*Ambition Document Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten*) was published, in which the municipality, together with Staedion and Heijmans, presented the redevelopment plans. The city council subsequently approved the document. This was followed in April 2021 by three *Projectdocument Herstructurering Dreven, Gaarden en Zichten* (*Framework Memorandum for Dreven, Gaarden, and Zichten*). In December 2021, the comprehensive *Projectdocument Herstructurering Dreven, Gaarden en Zichten* (*Project Document Restructuring Dreven, Gaarden and Zichten*) was released. This included, among other things, three *Beeldkwaliteitsplannen* (*Visual Quality Plans*), also prepared by Palmbout Urban Landscapes.

With the *Planuitwerkingskader De Venen* (*Plan Elaboration Framework De Venen*) of November 2022, prepared by KCAP, the redevelopment strategy for De Venen was presented. The project foresees the construction of 1,347 dwellings, of which 651 will be social rental units. Within this framework, 352 existing dwellings are to be demolished and 299 renovated. The client is the District Development Company The Hague Southwest (Hof Wonen), while the architectural design has been assigned to De Zwarte Hond. The expected completion of the dwellings is scheduled for 2029. These area developments set the tone in terms of densification, mainly with demolition of new construction.

New area developments in Southwest in which densification with huge building blocks became central were De Schaloen, Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten, and partly De Venen. In the *Planuitwerkingskader* (*Plan Elaboration Framework*) for Schaloenstraat of August 2019 and *De Schaloen Bouwstenen voor beeldkwaliteit* (*De Schaloen: Building Blocks for Visual Quality*) of September 2019, prepared by Palmbout Urban Landscapes, the development plans for De Schaloen were set out. The client was housing association Staedion. The plan provided 570 dwellings, of which 222 were designated as social rental units, with the remainder consisting of mid-range and private sector rental housing. Construction commenced in January 2023, and the first homes are delivered to residents in 2026. The architectural design was produced by JMW Architecten, with Sustay as the developer.

Scale, Residents, and Neighborhood Diversity as a Challenge

Southwest possessed also had spatial qualities. The area was defined by core features such as: (a) a continuous green structure and green zones interweaving the neighborhoods, along with the open block structure of the built fabric; (b) long sightlines and spatial corridors that organized the urban layout and connected Southwest to its surroundings; and (c) the characteristic architecture and urban design of the various residential neighborhoods, which warranted appreciation and formal recognition through a comprehensive quality

Proeftuin Erasmusveld; an ensemble with a residential buildings and terrace houses. Photo’s from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

framework. These qualities were further reinforced by the often-distinctive post-war reconstruction architecture and the presence of diverse public artworks. It was this spatial and cultural identity to which many residents had become deeply attached. Southwest, therefore, held significant potential to evolve into a model of a true Green City—a sustainable, healthy, and livable urban district where social and ecological capital are developed in tandem. In addition to the challenges, there were also proven strategies.

Creating Perspective for Residents

Facilitating the gradual relocation of elderly residents within the neighborhood and creating spatial opportunities posed an additional challenge, especially given the stagnation in residential mobility, which severely slowed down the process of renewal. Where were current residents expected to go? Hardly any new social housing was being developed in The Hague. Surrounding municipalities such as Rijswijk and Wassenaar built very few units in this segment, and even within The Hague's districts on the sand—traditionally less densely built—there was structurally little space reserved for social housing. As a result, residential turnover was minimal, even for residents with urgent housing needs. This also significantly hampered the renewal process in Southwest.

A proven strategy involved developing housing that directly matched the needs of specific consumer groups—for instance, tailored housing solutions for elderly residents living alone or young adults entering the housing market, who might also have care needs. Examples included clustered housing complexes located near public transport and neighborhood services. By integrating shared amenities into the housing design, it became possible to build at higher densities while maintaining affordability. These typologies also offered older residents a substantially improved quality of life, allowing them to remain in familiar surroundings while freeing up space elsewhere in the housing stock.

The vacated apartments could then be renovated to climate-neutral standards and made available to young individuals and starter families—a demographic facing high housing pressure in the city. In short, by strategically building for those with the most acute housing needs and facilitating smart, targeted relocation into more suitable housing, new space could be created for incoming residents, thus fostering the desired social diversification within the neighborhood.

Later, the municipality, together with housing associations and the Centrum Groepswoningen (Center for Group Homes, advice center for cohousing in The Hague), developed a specific policy and program for this. One major obstacle for housing associations in this approach was the inability to incorporate shared amenities into the rental price under existing regulations. Eventually, this barrier was addressed through interventions in various steps and at various levels of government, provincial subsidies, municipal land price policies, and active involvement by housing associations. Together, these efforts enabled clustered housing models or cohousing to become a viable option for the future.

The Scale of Southwest and the Diversity of Neighborhood Qualities

The greatest challenge in the transformation of Southwest lay in the sheer scale of the area. Comparable in size to a city such as Gouda, this task required far more than the transformation of a single neighborhood. Around 2019, the number of urban designers working for the City of The Hague's section of Urban Development was equivalent to that employed for the Zuidas district in Amsterdam—a situation that, given the size and complexity of Southwest, must be considered worrying. Had an area exploration of this nature been conducted for Gouda, such limited planning and engagement would likely have been met with significant resistance.

However, the effective application of densification, sustainability, and greening demanded an approach of surgical precision at the neighborhood level. The differences between Southwest's neighborhoods are substantial, ranging from a wide variety of building typologies and urban design ensembles to highly diverse resident profiles. The main green infrastructure of the district was originally designed by Willem Marinus Dudok, encompassing areas such as parts of Moerwijk and all of Morgenstond. In addition, other renowned architects, such as H.P. Berlage, Frits van der Sluijs, and Jacob van den Broek, contributed significantly to the design of various residential neighborhoods in Southwest.

The scale and planning approach of the area risked obscuring the intrinsic qualities of its individual neighborhoods. Yet it is precisely these qualities that offered valuable opportunities for the development of distinctive residential environments and the necessary social and programmatic differentiation. Such differences and qualities deserve a central place in any vision for the transformation of Southwest.

Each Residential Neighborhood as a Distinct Living Environment with Its Own Character and Residents

Individual neighborhoods possess distinct identities shaped by their urban ensembles, architectural character, green spaces, and social structures. A generic approach not only obscures the intrinsic qualities of these neighborhoods but also undermines the potential for meaningful dialogue with residents about the transformation of their living environment. As a result, public support for redevelopment efforts comes under pressure.

This neighborhood-oriented perspective becomes even more crucial when considering an integrated approach to the design of the public realm, including climate-adaptive infrastructure, green space redesign, water integration, and the development of district heating networks. Only through such localized, integrated strategies can informed decisions be made at the neighborhood level. Therefore, it is necessary to avoid the indiscriminate demolition of affordable housing and instead to prioritize renovation. In parallel, residential mobility should be enabled by specifically developing housing tailored to the needs of specific groups—such as clustered housing forms located near high-quality public transportation hubs.

In the *Cultuurhistorische Verkenning—herijking cultuurhistorische*

waarden Den Haag Zuidwest (*Cultural-Historical Exploration—Reassessment of Cultural-Historical Values The Hague Southwest*) by the consultancy Crimson from November 2021, the various districts of Southwest were valued and recommendations were given. Also, in an earlier study *De Wederopbouw. Haagse gids voor architectuur en stedenbouw in de periode 1945-1965* (*The Reconstruction. The Hague guide to architecture and urban planning in the period 1945-1965*) from 2002, edited by Dick Valentijn, described urban and architectural differences between the neighborhoods. Instead of a broad area-based exploration, a neighborhood-specific approach should be pursued—one grounded in existing neighborhood qualities, resident experiences, and localized challenges. Such an approach would allow for a more accurate assessment of the cultural-historical and architectural value of buildings, the urban fabric, and the use of green space. It would also facilitate more precise definitions of living environments and differentiation within the housing stock.

In the *Kwaliteitsplan Zuidwest. Zuidwest op z'n best* (*Quality Plan Southwest. Southwest at its Best*) by the municipality from October 2025 the specific qualities of each neighborhood were discussed.

City of Urban Blocks: De Schaloen, Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten

De Schaloen as a Blueprint for Urban Redevelopment in Southwest

With the development of De Schaloen in Moerwijk-Zuid, a new step was taken. In previous cases such as the Norfolk area and Energiekwartier, industrial zones had been transformed. In contrast, De Schaloen involved the demolition of a residential neighborhood composed of apartment buildings. The focus here was solely on housing, with urban amenities and public transport largely absent. The redevelopment of De Schaloen was carried out by housing corporation Staedion. The PUK was drafted by the Department of Urban Development, and the Quality of Design Plan was prepared by Palmbout Urban Landscapes. The residential buildings were designed by JMW Architects from Tilburg (Oorschot, 2019; 2020).

In the document *De Schaloen Bouwstenen voor beeldkwaliteit* (*De Schaloen: Design Guidelines for Visual Quality*) (September 2019), Palmbout discussed architectural principles that could also be applied more broadly in the renewal of The Hague Southwest. It is possible that work on Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten had already begun at that time. The policy document *The Hague High-Rise: Eyeline and Skyline*, in effect since 2017, applied citywide. The buildings rest on a plinth elevated one meter above ground, with a semi-underground parking garage beneath. Above the plinth rises a five-story base. The towers are placed atop this base but set back at least three meters from the edges rather than being located on the corners. These towers form an integral part of the ensemble and are designed with distinctive terminations. Facade composition, materiality, detailing, and color differ subtly between the base and the towers. The facades exhibit a strong plasticity, achieved with relatively simple means. Brickwork is the dominant material, complemented by architectural concrete and plaster. The bricks are predominantly sand-colored, with light gray mortar joints.

The Urban Ensemble of De Schaloen

The urban and architectural design was developed by JMW Architects and appears fresh and contemporary. The plan consists of sand-colored brick volumes with square window recesses, resulting in a clean, grid-like facade. The ensemble comprises two building blocks, each with a five-story base, surmounted by towers of eleven and eighteen stories respectively. This reaches the symbolic high-rise threshold of 70 meters. The first block of this extensive residential complex includes 225 social rental units and 345 mid-priced rental apartments. To make way for the construction of De Schaloen, all existing apartment buildings were demolished—approximately 200 social rental units in total.

The building blocks in De Schaloen are conceived as all-sided ensembles, where each street-facing side received equal architectural attention. The volumetric plasticity of the buildings was accentuated through the predominant use of sand-colored brick paired with light gray mortar, generating sharp shadow lines that emphasize the sculptural character of the architecture. Distinctive features were introduced through plinths, cornices, and entrance halls—architectural elements characteristic of both the post-war reconstruction era and subsequent urban renewal waves in The Hague Southwest.

The blocks were composed of several residential buildings, each with a pronounced street facade and courtyard side. Residential functions face the street, while access to the units is organized through a collective courtyard garden. The ground-floor units were slightly elevated above street level, resting on a plinth, enhancing residents' privacy, and accommodating the underlying parking garage. A central entrance hall provides access to the courtyard, establishing a semi-public space that, according to the designers, contributes to a socially safe living environment—particularly important for children at play.

The urban space created between the built volumes of De Schaloen is structured through sightlines toward prominent public buildings, such as churches. This approach references the so-called 'Beautiful Unity'—the harmonious unity between architectural mass and urban space. In this respect, De Schaloen revives elements of the classical urban design repertoire of The Hague. Additionally, the towers are distinctly capped at their uppermost levels, contributing to the formal articulation of the overall ensemble.

Questions have been raised about whether the courtyard concept might have been presented too optimistically. The green inner realm atop the parking deck, enclosed by tall buildings, is expected to support only limited vegetation, no more than shrubs. Consequently, its contribution to climate adaptation remains marginal. Stormwater retention is a challenge, and the built mass largely consists of stone and concrete, which tend to retain heat. Furthermore, the project's biodiversity benefits appear limited; the closed building blocks with hard plinths hinder ecological corridors for ground-based wildlife.

Despite this significant densification, the design quality plan notes that a degree of cohesion has been achieved between the new and existing building volumes—even considering De Schaloen's relatively isolated position within Moerwijk. The plan also articulated a set of architectural principles that would later serve as a foundation for redevelopment elsewhere in The Hague Southwest. In this way, De Schaloen served as a prototype for the spatial and architectural principles guiding large-scale urban redevelopment in Southwest.

Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten

In the Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten project as well, most of the existing buildings will be demolished. Like De Schaloen, the new urban blocks are integrated as much as possible within the existing urban framework. To facilitate the desired density, towers reaching up to 70 meters in height are positioned at the perimeters of the blocks. As in De Schaloen, the inner courtyards are designed as parking garages with collective gardens above. Palmbout Urban Landscapes also outlined the visual design quality for Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten.

The *Ambitiedocument Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten* (*Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten Ambition Document*) outlines a clear vision for the future of The Hague Southwest. According to the document, the existing urban framework—originally designed by Willem Dudok in the post-World War II era—is set to undergo further differentiation in the coming years. The current, largely monotonous network of long traffic corridors and green structures will be transformed into an urban fabric consisting of long avenues intersected by vibrant "urban streets", equipped with amenities that serve to activate and connect the residential neighborhoods. Each traffic corridor will be given a distinct identity, depending on the dominant form of mobility—car traffic, public transport, or slow modes such as cycling and walking. According to the Ambition Document, these differences in character and function between avenues and urban streets serve as a basis for creating a variety of residential environments and diversifying the range of neighborhood functions and public amenities.

In the Dreven neighborhood specifically, the aim is to preserve and even enhance the existing green qualities of the area. A total of 1,224 outdated social housing units are to be demolished and replaced. The housing program will include 1,359 new social rental units and 1,436 market-rate homes. Although the Ambition Document stresses the importance of preserving the garden-city character, it raises the question of whether such qualities can truly be maintained under the pressure of this scale of densification.

In the Gaarden neighborhood, the existing open allotment pattern will be drastically transformed into two large building blocks composed of multiple residential buildings. These blocks also mark the urban edge of the Southwest district along Erasmusweg. In this area, 339 existing social rental units are demolished and replaced, with an expansion that includes 442 new social rental units and 441 private-sector rental homes.

In the Zichten neighborhood, as in Dreven, the existing street grid will be maintained, but combined with closed perimeter blocks. A total of 512 social rental units will be demolished and replaced, along with the addition of 923 new social rental units and 855 private-sector rental homes. Like the developments in De Schaloen and Gaarden, high-rise elements featuring towers up to 70 meters in height will be concentrated along the periphery of the neighborhood.

In May 2021, the PUK policy outlines for Dreven, Gaarden, and Zichten were submitted to the municipal council. In December 2021, the project documents, including the visual quality plans and facilities programs, were formally adopted by the city council. Both sets of documents were developed in collaboration with Palmbout Urban Landscapes.

Together, the three neighborhoods originally comprised approximately 2,075 social rental units targeted for intervention. Upon completion of the planned transformation, the total number of homes will grow to 7,531 units, of which 2,732 will be private-sector rental homes. The redevelopment is scheduled to span a fifteen-year period and will be executed in phases.

Given the decision to pursue large-scale demolition and reconstruction, current residents will have to be temporarily relocated—a significant logistical and social challenge in light of the existing shortage of affordable housing in the city. For this reason, the transformation is being carried out step-by-step: initial construction takes place on remaining open plots within the existing urban fabric, after which demolition occurs and the newly vacated space is used for further development.

The Challenges Facing Southwest

The first major challenge in Southwest was the need to develop a comprehensive area vision. A densification effort of this magnitude inevitably generates competing spatial claims: housing, employment, mobility, water retention, energy infrastructure, green space, and public amenities all require space. These claims had to be identified and coordinated within an overarching spatial framework. This framework, a structural vision, was eventually formulated: *Structuurvisie Den Haag Zuidwest 2040: Groen, stedelijk en vitaal Zuidwest* (*Structural Vision for The Hague Southwest 2040: A Green, Urban and Resilient Southwest*), 2023.

The second challenge concerned the chosen development strategy. The so-called Ladder for Sustainable Urban Development, the national guideline for spatial planning, was applied in Southwest in a rather particular way. The new plans did not connect with the existing urban fabric, but instead largely replaced it. This raised questions about whether such a large-scale demolition-and-reconstruction strategy could prove both swift and resilient. There were concerns that development would stall after a few isolated projects, particularly in the event of an economic downturn, if national funding were to be withdrawn. Should there not have been a parallel strategy in place? For example, a large-scale program for the renovation and sustainability upgrading of existing apartments? Such an approach would not only

align more closely with the European Green Deal, which designated renovation as one of the pillars of a sustainable Europe (European Commission, 2020), but also with The Hague's own circular ambitions. Under the EU's Recovery and Resilience Facility, the Netherlands was awarded €5.6 billion—funding that could have supported such initiatives. In addition, short-term solutions such as flexible, timber-built housing could have been realized on vacant lots in the neighborhood, offering an entry point for first-time buyers and young renters.

A third pressing concern was the disappearance of affordable family housing in Southwest due to the proposed transformation. Many older apartments—well-suited for young families—were demolished and replaced with private-sector rental apartments that are unaffordable for larger households. This is especially problematic given that municipal research had revealed a strong demand for affordable family dwellings. The result: young families were leaving the city in large numbers. While livability improved in parts of the redeveloped areas, this was largely due to the influx of more affluent new residents.

Finally, the social composition of Southwest also played a role. Since the introduction of income-based allocation policies and the increase in labor migration, the neighborhood has experienced an increase in low-income households, with clear implications for livability. Adding a large number of high-density social rental units—as in Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten—may further undermine social cohesion and livability. The question emerged: was The Hague inadvertently building a segregated city?

It was up to the newly appointed aldermen, Martijn Balster and Anne Mulder, to address these tensions by establishing, through the *Zuidwest Gebiedsvisie* (*Southwest Area Vision*), a sustainable, inclusive, and urban spatial framework.

Structural Vision for The Hague Southwest 2040

The *Structural Vision for The Hague Southwest 2040: Green, Urban and Resilient Southwest* was accepted by the city council on December 14, 2023. The structural vision was appended to include a Facilities Program, an Opportunity Map, and a Development Strategy. The *Southwest Quality Plan* was accepted by the city council on October 9, 2025. The structural vision was founded on three key imperatives: (a) the urgency of improving livability; (b) densification and diversification of the housing stock; and (c) preserving and enhancing the area's green qualities. This direct coupling of social and spatial goals is what sets this structural vision apart. The core qualities of Southwest were also identified in the structural vision:

- Abundant green space and openness: Green was broadly defined to include trees, vegetation, grass, flowers, nature, and water. Urban greenery was further subdivided spatially into various types. City-level green consisted of parks, sports fields, and allotment gardens. Neighborhood-level green are play areas and dog parks. Block-level green means resident-maintained green spaces around residential blocks, including green strips and tree-lined avenues.
- A well-structured mobility network: There should be sufficient public transport, and this should be clearly organized.
- Art, culture, and history in the public realm: The architecture of the old apartment buildings, the urban layout, public art, and Zuiderpark, should be maintained.
- Economically vital locations: Business parks such as Zichtenburg, Kerketuinen, Dekkershoek, Leyweg, and the Sportcampus.
- A wide range of public services and amenities.
- A resilient community, with strong resident-led initiatives.

Het Kompas 2040

To give structure to all these ambitions and qualities, these were summarized in Het Kompas 2040 (Compass for 2040). The compass was built around three main ambitions: (a) living well together; (b) growth and development; (c) a green, urban living environment. To connect the desired spatial qualities (inner ring) and the ambitions (middle ring) with socio-economic themes of the Program for Southwest (outer ring) introduced with the Compass for 2040. The three most important desired spatial qualities with the associated ambitions were: (a) pleasant coexistence (with space for meeting; neighborhoods for everyone; safe and livable); (b) growth and development (tailor-made facilities; work and economy; growing up, development and education); (c) green, urban living environment (accessibility and sustainable mobility; pleasant living; healthy, green, and sustainable living environment). Each theme was accompanied by a corresponding map to visualize the ambition. The step from the core qualities to Compass for 2040 comes across as somewhat incomplete. In the compass, the core quality "Art, culture and history in public space" suddenly disappeared. It would have been advisable to keep the terminology somewhat consistent.

The Spatial Framework Southwest and the Facilities Program

As part of the structural vision, the *Ruimtelijk Raamwerk Zuidwest* (*Spatial Framework Southwest*) was published, in which the main structure and the relationship between the individual neighborhoods are clearly laid down. The spatial framework is in line with the historical development of pasting neighborhoods together within the geomorphological and landscape structure (The Long Lines of The Hague) and with the desire to bring a green-blue network into cities to provide space for the mobility transition, climate development, and biodiversity. Within that framework, the individual districts of Southwest are placed.

Another strong point of the structural vision is that space was reserved for facilities. The attached *Voorzieningenprogramma. Groei en ontwikkeling van Den Haag Zuidwest* (*Facilities Program. Growth and Development of The Hague Southwest*) made clear which facilities were involved and which space was reserved for them. These facilities will scale up during densification.

Opportunities Map Southwest: Opportunities for Densification and Renewal

The structural vision outlined a set of densification principles, identifying key locations where new housing is to be added: (a) along major linear corridors, which also accommodate key public transport routes; (b) along cross streets, where public amenities and services are concentrated; (c) along the edges of green structures, including the perimeter of Zuiderpark and the green spatial cross axis; (d) around amenity hubs and public transport nodes, such as Leyweg and Moerwijk Station, and in local neighborhood centers. The *Kansenkaart Zuidwest: kansen voor verdichting en vernieuwing* (*Southwest Opportunity Map: Opportunities for Densification and Renewal*) showed the places where densification and renewal were planned.

Because of this densification strategy, the original open urban layout of linear residential strips set in a green "carpet" is being replaced by semi-enclosed urban blocks constructed above semi-sunken parking facilities. These building blocks consist of residential buildings of varying heights, with some locations allowing for towers of up to 70 meters. While De Schaloen still represented a single residential ensemble composed of two main volumes, the new urban fabric introduces more varied and robust spatial forms.

Quality Plan Southwest

In earlier urban development projects, planners largely pursued a uniform "building-block city", in which the spatial and architectural distinctions between neighborhoods gradually disappeared. With the *Quality Plan Southwest*, introduced several years later, a clear shift in approach was made. In many respects, this plan also aligned more closely with the Environmental Vision presented in early 2025. The plan stated: "Preserving existing qualities is an important principle in the Structural Vision, yet how to address these qualities and how to safeguard and strengthen them in the future has not yet been sufficiently defined. With the *Quality Plan Southwest*, the municipality aims to provide direction and guidance for the preservation and enhancement of spatial qualities. The Quality Plan builds on the qualities described in the *Structural Vision Southwest* and therefore serves as its elaboration. It establishes the level of ambition for the quality of future developments."

It is noteworthy that the Structural Vision hardly acknowledged the existing spatial quality. It merely mentioned that the neighborhoods, through the introduction of new and interesting destinations—such as sports facilities, event spaces, creative incubators, and museums—had each acquired a distinctive character. The Quality Plan, by contrast, was clearly more in line with the principles of the Environmental Vision (see paragraph 13.7). According to the municipality, the Quality Plan was not intended as a formal assessment framework for environmental permit applications. Instead, it served as a guideline for the Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality and Cultural Heritage, particularly for areas where no visual quality plan had yet been established. At the time of the plan's publication, this applied to Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten and De Venen.

In the Quality Plan, the municipality identified three spatial core qualities: (a) the long lines: the main street grid, characterized by broad avenues and rows of trees; (b) green structures: the continuous green framework that defines the atmosphere and character of Southwest at every spatial scale; (c) neighborhood and district characteristics: each neighborhood possesses its own identity, derived from the evolution of post-war urban planning and architecture. This progression can be seen in the transition from closed building blocks in the earliest part of Moerwijk, to open blocks inspired by Dudok's designs in Moerwijk and Morgenstond, and finally to the building stamps (bouwstempels) of the later post-war neighborhoods and the high-rise developments along the urban edge. In addition, the municipality formulated a series of design guidelines—a set of principles provided to architects intending to build within the area.

Beyond the three core qualities, the plan also distinguished five programmatic key quality objectives for Southwest: (a) layered urban fabric: the original buildings, completed restructurings, and forthcoming developments should together create a coherent and recognizable layered cityscape; (b) future-proof: the living environment must be resilient to ongoing transitions such as the energy transition and climate adaptation. This entails, among other things, managing heavy rainfall and heat stress, enhancing biodiversity and public health, promoting sustainable mobility, and facilitating circularity; (c) vibrant mix: a better balance must be achieved between living, working, entrepreneurship, amenities, and recreation, ultimately creating a mixed green-urban environment; (d) feeling at home: people should be at the center of all spatial and social developments; (e) pleasant connectivity: outdoor spaces should be healthy, safe, diverse, well-connected, and pleasant to visit.

The long lines and green structures partially overlap and reinforce one another, thereby enhancing biodiversity. This interplay is perhaps the most defining feature of the Greencity Southwest concept.

Coherence of Policy Instruments

The *Structuur Vision The Hague Southwest*, together with the appendices *Facilities Programme, Spatial Framework, Opportunity Map* and *Quality Plan*, forms the basis for the further area development and transformation of Southwest. These documents were elaborated in specific area programs for other residential areas in Southwest such as for De Uithof, Bouwlust-Vrederust, Morgenstond and Moerwijk, among others. The area programs were then further elaborated at project level in PUKs, NvUs, and BOPAs (Out-of-Plan Environmental Plan Activities).

13.6
Housing in the Haaglanden Region

Congress Housing in the Haaglanden Region, 2023

"Interdepartmental area development" was presented by the government to accelerate housing construction. Yet, during the SPRYG-congres Woningbouw Regio Haaglanden (SPRYG Conference on Housing in the Haaglanden Region), held on September 27, 2023, Hettie Politiek, program director for Large-Scale Housing Development at the Ministry of the Interior, reiterated the now-familiar ambitions. A so-called Housing Construction Dashboard (Dashboard WB) was announced. The audience was not satisfied with the ministry's approach. The only truly new information: by 2030, the housing shortage in the Netherlands was projected to rise to a staggering 981,000 affordable homes. A headline in newspaper *NRC Handelsblad* on October 5 read: "Number of newly built homes sold more than halved—largest decline since data collection began in 2013." What was the perspective for Living in Haaglanden? (Oorschot, 2023).

Integrated Area Development?

The recently increased real estate transfer tax of 4.1%—introduced by the ministry of Finance—further paralyzed an already sluggish housing market. At the same time, considerable uncertainty loomed around tenancy law, in part due to the proposed Wet betaalbare huur (Affordable Rent Act), scheduled to take effect on July 1, 2024. Institutional investors had exhausted their investment capacity, while international investors had already withdrawn from the Dutch market. On the implementation side, the outlook was equally bleak. Contractors were desperately searching for the last available construction workers, while architecture firms were experiencing a marked exodus of staff. Young designers were even being advised to retrain for different professions. Local governments, too, faced acute staffing shortages, significantly slowing down the processing of planning applications. In The Hague, the approval of a PUK for a modest care housing project in Scheveningen took as long as eighteen months. Many projects ultimately ended up before the Dutch Council of State, where rulings typically take another eighteen months to materialize—amounting to a total delay of around three years per project.

As if this were not enough, further stagnation in housing construction was caused by grid congestion for electricity and the limited availability of nitrogen emission allowances. And what of the much-touted "interdepartmental area development"? It was not clear what the ministry of Finance's and the ministry of Agriculture, Nature, and Food Quality thought of this. Despite the promising rhetoric, a genuinely integrated approach appeared more elusive than ever.

National Government Involvement

In the national government's approach to large-scale area development, mobility was a central pillar—but it did not end there. According to Hettie Politiek, other adjacent policy domains also had to be integrated into this strategy. She identified three key areas: (a) aligning the energy transition with housing development; (b) experimenting with public-private partnerships (PPPs), in which the national government would take on a financial stake in area development projects; and (c) direct national-level intervention in cases where progress was at risk of stalling.

Meanwhile, the legislative proposal *Versterking Regie op de Volkshuisvesting* (*Strengthening Direction in Housing Policy*) had been approved by the government and submitted to the Council of State for review. On paper, the national government had committed to ambitious agreements with the provinces to deliver 917,193 new homes. In addition, a significant investment—€7.5 billion in MIRT (Multi-Year Infrastructure, Spatial Planning and Transport) funding—had been allocated to improve access to residential construction sites through investments in tunnels, roads, public transit, train stations, bike infrastructure, and shared mobility solutions. These funds were also meant to accelerate development at large-scale housing sites targeted to produce a combined total of 400,000 homes.

A total of 105 acceleration locations were designated in the region, including The Hague's CID and Binckhorst with 22,500 homes and the Old Line corridor with 53,600 homes. Yet a major bottleneck remained: only 31% of these plans qualified at the time as having "hard" zoning capacity, that is, legally binding and ready for execution. In other words, the vast majority of plans were still far from realization—an alarming prospect.

Market Trends in the Haaglanden Region: Persistent Housing Shortage and Declining Feasibility

At the conference, Bart Nijhuis, director of Capital Markets Residential at Jones Lang LaSalle (JLL), offered a realistic assessment of the housing market in the Haaglanden region. Although interest rates appeared to be stabilizing and inflation was beginning to ease, consumer confidence had reached a historic low.

Since 2015, construction costs had risen from by 38%, a trend that accelerated following Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022 and the resulting surge in energy prices. One key consequence has been a decline in the number of building permit applications. An audience member noted that the financial feasibility threshold for residential development stood at approximately €4,500 per square meter. Below that level, realizing new housing projects was nearly impossible. This is especially problematic in complex urban contexts—characterized by high-rise buildings, deep underground parking structures, and demolition-reconstruction schemes—which significantly compromise affordability.

Nijhuis also highlighted demographic trends in the Haaglanden region: strong population growth and a marked aging of the population. Notably, only 13% of The Hague's new residents were born in the city itself, while 41% came from abroad and 46% relocated from

other Dutch municipalities. The housing shortage remained acute: approximately 550,000 households were competing for just 540,000 available housing units. New homes were both scarce and expensive. JLL's housing tightness indicator peaked at 3.7 in the first quarter of 2023, and the average time on the market for homes had also increased.

Due to the lack of available homes for purchase, the rental market remained attractive, particularly among people looking to buy a house for the first time. Nonetheless, JLL observed that total investment volumes in the Dutch residential market continued to lag. The combination of rising construction costs, increasing demand, and limited supply rendered the housing market in The Hague highly challenging for the foreseeable future.

Closing Panel: Opportunities to Accelerate Housing Development in the Haaglanden Region

The closing discussion brought together several prominent stakeholders: Karin Schrederhof (alderman for Housing and Care, Delft), Gertjan Giele (Municipality of The Hague), Theo Rook (regional director at contractor Van Wijnen), Gijsbert van Herk (Chair of the Board at Staedion), and Frank Verwoerd (real estate developer CBRE). The central question: where do opportunities lie to accelerate housing development in the Haaglanden region?

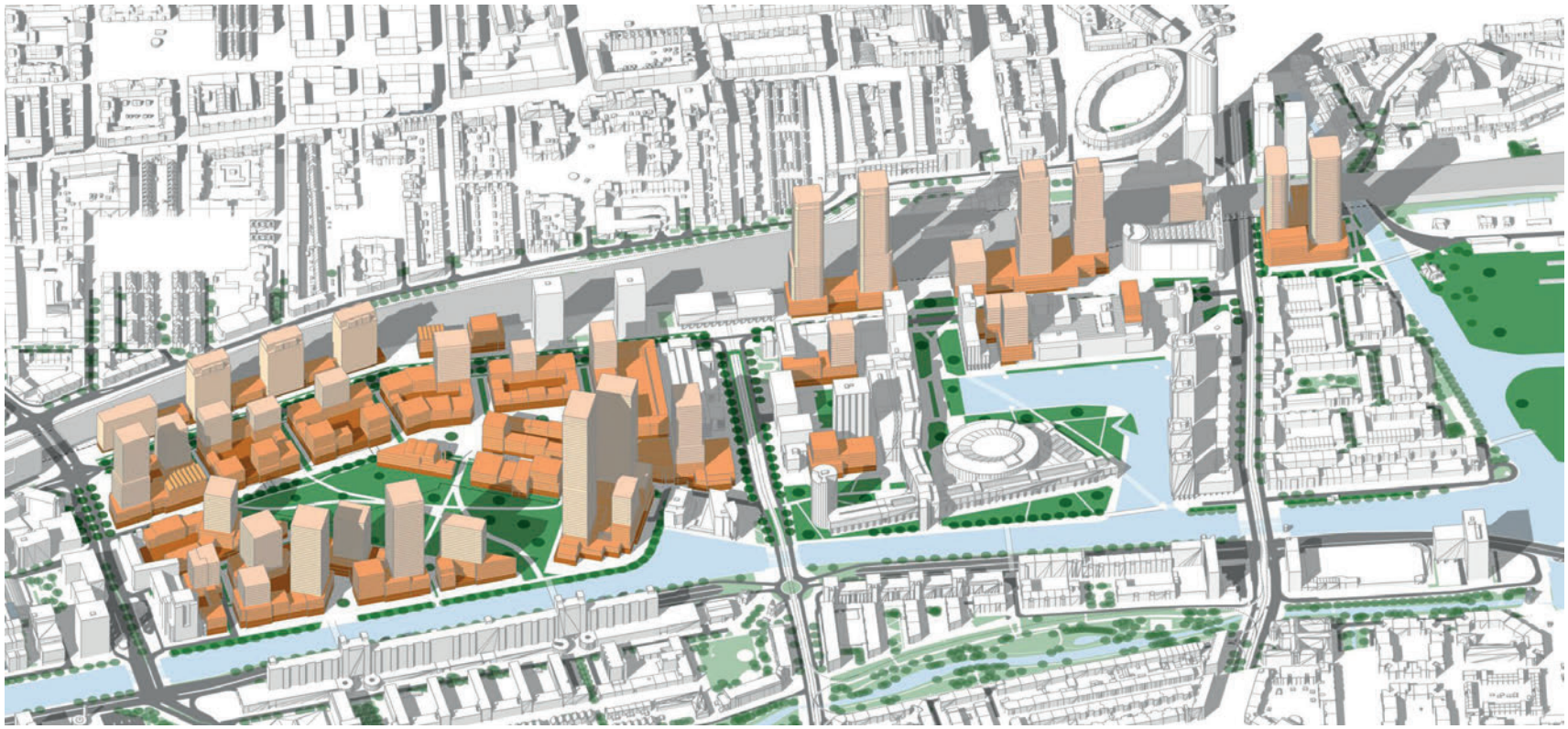
1. Flexible housing programs and better use of the existing stock. Gijsbert van Herk identified potential in flexible housing programs that integrate social rental, mid-market rental, and owner-occupied homes within a single project, developed through collaboration with various market actors. He also advocated for accelerating existing projects in The Hague in cooperation with housing association Haag Wonen. Van Herk stressed the importance of optimizing the use of the existing housing stock. For example, Staedion is allocated 60% of its housing units to single elderly individuals—often under obligation by the government and municipalities. According to Van Herk, this leads to the "dilution" of the urban fabric and exacerbates the problem rather than resolving it.
2. Institutional investors and housing associations: reviving a historic partnership. Gertjan Giele highlighted the renewed role of housing associations, now permitted to offer mid-market rental housing again, as a pivotal development. He even described it as a potential salvation for the housing market. At the same time, he observed a revival of the partnership between housing associations and institutional investors, reminiscent of the Vinex-era collaboration.
3. Sharper programming for healthy, diverse neighborhoods. Karin Schrederhof emphasized that the fundamental question should be: "For whom are we building?" As previously mentioned by Nijhuis, the aging population poses a major challenge. Schrederhof, like Van Herk, expressed concern about the allocation of large homes to single-person households, particularly within care target groups. The risk, she argued, is the emergence of neighborhoods consisting solely of vulnerable or care-dependent populations. To ensure healthy, resilient communities, a more sharply defined housing program is required—one that promotes social diversity and balance.
4. Long-term commitment and collaboration are essential. Theo Rook emphasized the importance of collaboration: "We develop areas, with buildings in them, and homes within those buildings—in short, we work together on projects." This, he argued, requires long-term engagement between municipalities, residents, and private companies. After all, housing and neighborhoods are inextricably linked. These are areas where people already live, and thus collaboration is essential. But such long-term commitment, Rook noted, also demands courage.

Rook went on to offer a more nuanced perspective on the often negatively perceived terms "industrialized housing" and "temporary housing". According to Rook, from the resident's perspective, it makes little difference whether a home is produced using industrial methods. "Everyone dreams of one of those charming wooden holiday cabins, but they are quite permanent," he noted. The industrial component primarily concerns the construction process, not the final product. He also referenced the well-known type of Diawa modular homes: high-quality, durable dwellings designed to last. In Rook's view, the term "flexible" does not refer to the home itself, but to the location: the site may be designated for another use after ten years, requiring the housing to be removed. This drives up costs, as infrastructure must still be installed for a temporary project.

Frank Verwoerd echoed Gertjan Giele's earlier point: housing associations were taking the lead in building houses, as international investors have largely withdrawn. Fortunately, housing associations had some investment capacity, offering a glimmer of hope. By contrast, international investors were increasingly turning to countries like Sweden, Denmark, or Germany—places where residential investment is actively supported. In the Netherlands, measures such as the increased transfer tax have effectively driven these investors away. Like Van Herk, Verwoerd also saw significant potential in flexible housing programs and in the creation of adaptive project environments. He concluded with a call for greater stability in the housing market, which he considered essential to work constructively toward lasting solutions. Investing in the mid-market rental sector, according to multiple speakers, remained a particularly challenging issue. Verwoerd suggested that during periods of economic downturn, policy should allow for more flexibility: fewer affordable homes might be built in such times, while during periods of economic growth, it would be possible—and indeed necessary—to build more.

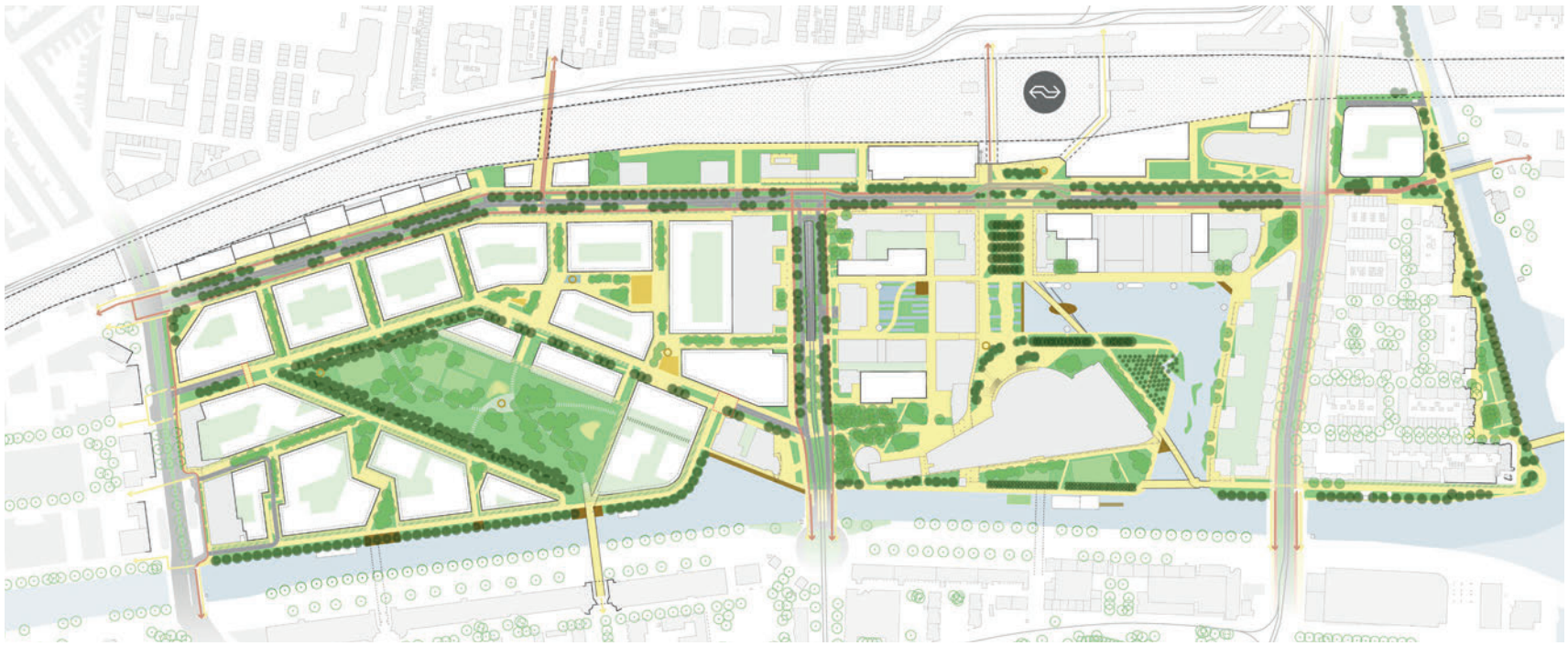
Karin Schrederhof offered a different perspective. She argued that the demand for affordable housing is particularly urgent at this moment. Waiting lists for social housing were long, while the market showed an oversupply of high-end, unaffordable homes. In her view, guaranteeing short-term affordability must be a policy priority.

Moderator Annemarie Maarsen (Achmea Real Estate) also saw opportunities, especially in the creativity of investors themselves. "Not



Above the spatial framework Laakhaven CID. The principles of the needle strategy from the nineties have been further developed.
Light brown: high-rise from a height of 25 meters. Brown: urban layer from 9 to 25 meters high. Dark brown: urban plinth low to about 9 meters.
Source: The Hague municipality, *Ontwikkelstrategie Laakhavens Hollands Spoor Den Haag CID* (2025): 85.

Below the framework map Laakhaven CID by BRP
Source: The Hague municipality, *Bijlage 1. Kaartenset buitenruimteplan Laakhavens* (2025): 2.



every investor view opportunity the same way," she remarked. For Achmea Real Estate's clients—such as pension funds and insurers—creating social impact is becoming increasingly important. "If we can demonstrate that investing in mid-market rental housing creates societal value, then we can reclassify it within our asset-liability management framework—not under "housing", but under "impact". That opens new financing channels." As a concrete example, she cited "building for the elderly" as a strategic investment concept. New clustered housing models for seniors promote mobility within the housing market by freeing up homes for younger generations. These developments not only add to the housing supply but also help reduce healthcare costs and minimize per-unit household fragmentation. That is societal impact, and therefore an attractive investment proposition.

The participants in the conference agreed that housing development in the Haaglanden region was caught in a tension between soaring ambitions and a stubborn, complex reality. Policy, market dynamics, demographic trends, regulation, and institutional capacity remained out of sync. While local initiatives showcase resilience and creativity, true acceleration would remain elusive without interdepartmental cooperation and strong national coordination. What remained is the hope that vision and decisive action will once again align—not in dashboards, but in concrete, livable square meters.

The Dutch Housing Crisis

The Context of The Hague

The municipality of The Hague was struggling with a major lack of space, as it is densely built-up and populated. Within the limited space available, various spatial taskings compete. The energy and mobility transition, climate adaptation, nature inclusivity, and water storage all require space, just as housing construction. As a result, land is scarce and precious. At the same time, the housing market is in crisis nationwide, exacerbated by immigration, an aging population, and sharply increased construction costs because of more expensive and scarce raw materials and energy.

Housing was therefore expensive, while affordability was an important requirement. This posed a major financial challenge for housing associations in The Hague. Parking also put pressure on the feasibility of projects. The automatic link between living and parking remained problematic. Parking under residential buildings or in separate parking facilities is expensive and leads to high parking rates. In areas such as Binckhorst and Dreven-Gaarden-Zichten, this is particularly problematic, because public transport was not yet sufficiently developed. "No rails, no home," said alderman Van Asten. The future Vliet Line should provide better access to Binckhorst; for The Hague Southwest, the South-Westland corridor is still not finished.

Affordable housing construction for housing corporations is often profitable only when market parties participate and realize medium-priced and expensive homes at redevelopment locations of housing associations. Housing associations are therefore increasingly working together with market parties, including in The Hague Southwest and Binckhorst.

The urgency of the housing crisis became even more visible during the national elections at the end of 2025, where housing was a central theme in addition to migration and aging and the associated rising healthcare costs. Numerous organizations and interest groups sounded the alarm, and came up with analyses and solutions. However, the question remains whether the widely promised construction of 100,000 homes per year is actually feasible (Moster, 2025).

Complexity of the Housing Crisis

Peter Boelhouwer, professor of Housing Systems at TU Delft, outlines the problems of the housing crisis that has arisen (Boelhouwer, 2023). The housing crisis is complex and extensive. Political divisions, nationally in the House of Representatives and locally in municipal councils, lead to an incoherent and inconsistent policy. The call for more direction and guidance by the government is a major challenge in this regard. Boelhouwer divides the problem into ten issues.

Some problems are quantitative and qualitative in nature and affect people's livelihoods:

1. The housing shortage as a result of population growth due to strong immigration and the shrinking of households to one or two people. The housing stock did not grow in line with these developments.
2. The start-up problem. Middle-income earners are not eligible for social housing with rent subsidy and, if their income is too low—as applies to many single people—they cannot get a mortgage to buy a home. In addition, medium-priced rental homes have been sold on a large scale by private investors in recent years. As a result, both tenants and first-time buyers have an unfavorable position on the housing market.
3. The unfavorable position of middle incomes. No individual rent allowance because they are not allowed to live in social housing because of waiting lists and no mortgage interest deduction because they have too low an income for a mortgage for an owner-occupied home.
4. The lack of housing facilities suitable for the elderly. The Netherlands is aging and many elderly people live alone in a large house without a mortgage. They often want to move, but there are not enough suitable alternatives. Not enough houses are being built to meet the demand of elderly housing consumers. Clustered forms of housing, in which the elderly share care, for example, are lagging behind. As a result, the housing market is stalling, as people do not move from one type of house to the next.
5. The housing costs problem in the rental sector. Rental and purchase prices have risen sharply. For part of the population, incomes rose along with them, but for many they did not. In addition, the value of owner-occupied homes has risen sharply, allowing owners to build up capital and use the surplus value. This

Central Innovation District CID.
Photo’s from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

possibility does not exist for tenants.

Other problems result from current or past policies:

6. The wealth inequality caused by housing.
7. The quality-of-life problems in specific districts and neighborhoods.
8. Yet other problems are of a technical nature, but have major financial consequences:
9. Lagging quality improvements, especially in the post-war housing stock.
10. The slow increase in sustainability of the housing stock.
11. Many municipalities have problems with the foundations of buildings.

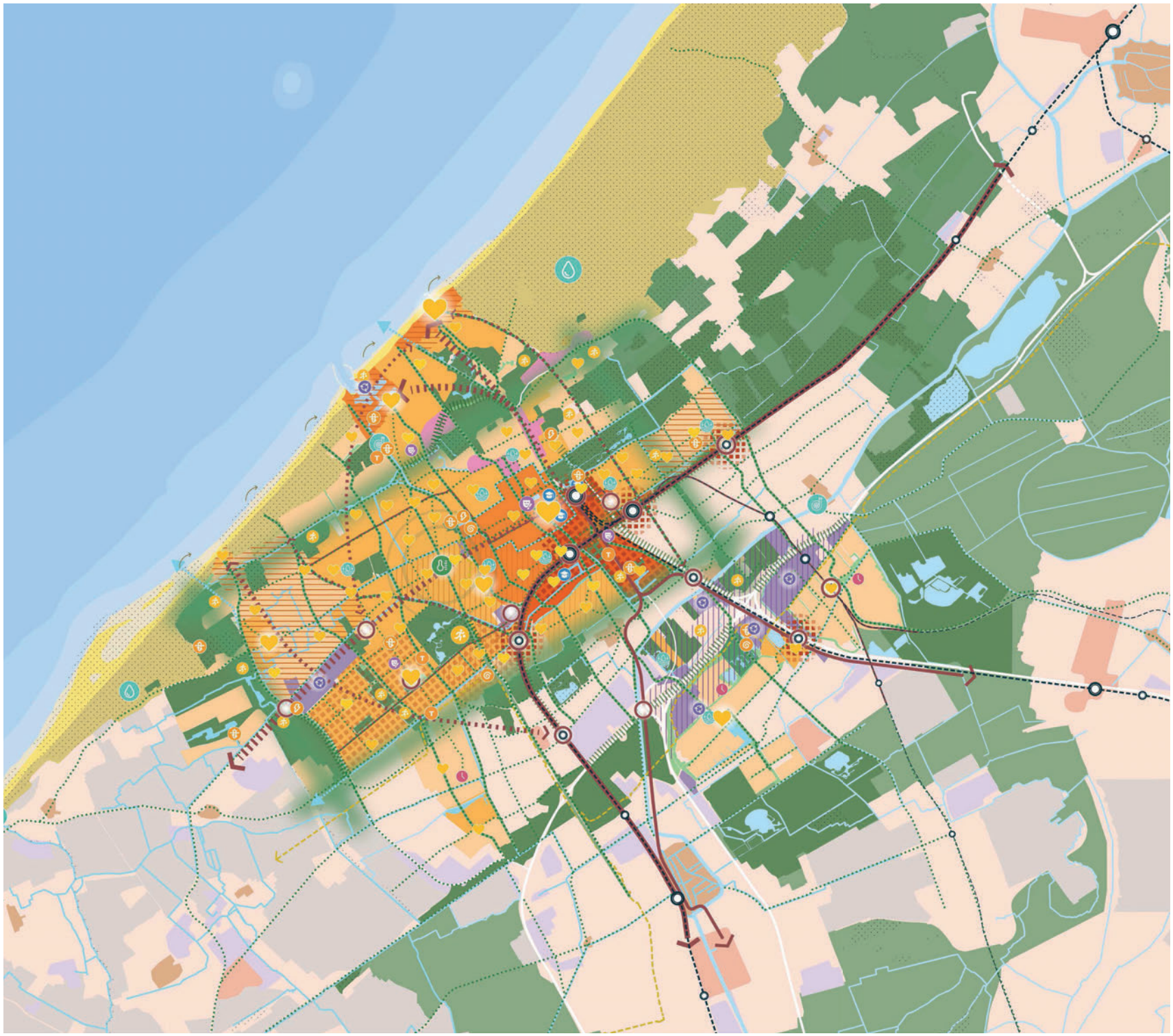
Solutions and necessary reforms proposed by Boelhouwer are the introduction of equal treatment of renting and buying (ownership-neutral housing policy), skimming off the increase in the value of land through zoning changes, a politically established standard for affordability for low-income groups and greater government responsibility for developments in the housing market.

Recommendations for Solving the Housing Crisis

In another essay, written in the run-up to the 2025 national elections, four specialists from the spatial domain discussed tackling the housing shortage (Boelhouwer et al., 2025). In November 2025, after the national elections, an update was published (Boelhouwer et al., 2025). Central to the argument are ten pitfalls and necessary restructurings to achieve a healthy housing market. The first three points relate to the lack of direction at the national level because of political divisions, and the lack of coherence and consistency of policy in recent years.

1. Commit to countercyclical policy. Invest in housing construction in a period of crisis.
2. Ensure that policy is stable and avoid short-term politics.
3. Make political promises financially feasible and commit to realistic and gradual implementation.
4. Make Dutch housing policy property neutral.
5. Support municipal land policy more actively, combat speculation, and expand the possibilities of cost recovery.
6. Put (future) housing preferences of households central in housing programming.
7. Standardize, simplify, and moderate sectoral requirements for housing and living environment.
8. Look for solutions in the existing housing stock and encourage topping up, plinths, an extra street in a village, splitting existing homes, home sharing, and room rentals.
9. Decouple rental policy from poverty policy.
10. Encourage a culture of cooperation between public parties.

The ten necessary restructurings have been translated into six proposals for concrete measures in the short term to keep the housing crisis manageable and to realize the promised 100,000 new homes per year nationwide. Whether the new minority cabinet Jetten from 2026 of D66, CDA, and VVD will succeed in putting together the complex puzzle of the housing crisis in conjunction with other challenges such as migration, aging, nitrogen emissions, agriculture, lack of energy and raw materials remains uncertain for the time being.



The Environmental Vision The Hague 2050 by the municipality of The Hague.
Source: The Hague municipality, *Omgevingsvisie The Hague 2050* (2025): 60-61.

13.7
The Environmental Vison, 2025

"This environmental vision brings together two worlds: the world of the city as experienced by residents, and the "planned" world of the city and the region—in other words, the metropolis. How residents and visitors experience and use the city is central. We want The Hague to remain a city where everyone can develop and feel at home. At the same time, together with neighboring municipalities, The Hague forms a coherent urban region—a metropolis that matters on the global stage. This is due to its international institutions, its position as the seat of government, its leading educational and research institutions, and its strong economic profile. That is why we use the term metropolis. However, the Haaglanden region is a distinctive kind of metropolis. This is closely tied to its historical development and its location on the North Sea. The region features vibrant urban areas, but also abundant nature, landscape structures, and green residential neighborhoods connected to its coastal setting. The typically The Hague qualities—green avenues, parks, and the diversity of neighborhoods—contribute significantly to this character. In our vision toward 2050, the Haaglanden region will continue to develop as a green metropolis by the sea, building on local qualities and the everyday living environment of its residents, with the ambition of contributing to a stronger Netherlands and a better world" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2025: 57).

Growth

With the 2025 *Omgevingsvisie The Hague 2050: Thuis in een groene metropool aan zee* (*Environmental Vision The Hague 2050: At Home in a Green Metropolis by the Sea*), the city's agenda of densification, sustainability, and greening was given a comprehensive vision for the physical living environment and future spatial development (Gemeente Den Haag, 2025). Previously, the municipality argued about the Environmental Vision that: "Filling in and developing both the quantitative and qualitative construction task (residential, economic, and social facilities) in The Hague according to the principle of densification, greening, and sustainability," as described in the *Agenda Space for the City* (Gemeente Den Haag, 2020: 17).

Yet the Environmental Vision does not provide a clear beacon on the horizon. The municipal executive applies an area-based approach as the guiding principle. Only later, with the area visions for each district, will the real choices be made. Decisions that fit the characteristics of each district are to be made at a smaller scale, but as a result, choices for the city as a whole are not made. This is, on the one hand, a strength—because it focuses attention on existing neighborhoods and allows for flexibility in responding to future developments—but on the other hand a weakness, because an overarching narrative for The Hague is lacking.

In January 2025, the draft version of this environmental vision was released for public consultation and the submission of viewpoints. The concept was discussed during the General Council Committee of June 26, 2025. However, no decision was made; The final decision-making took place after the summer recess on 18 September 2025. Eventually, it was adopted by the municipal council with 25 votes in favor and 20 against. The dissenting votes came from the VVD, PVV, HvDH, and FvD. For some opposition parties, the city's "moderate growth"—adding approximately 30,000 homes—was a key point of contention. The city is expected to grow to 643,000 to 674,000 inhabitants by 2050, with an estimated 77,000 to 107,000 new inhabitants.

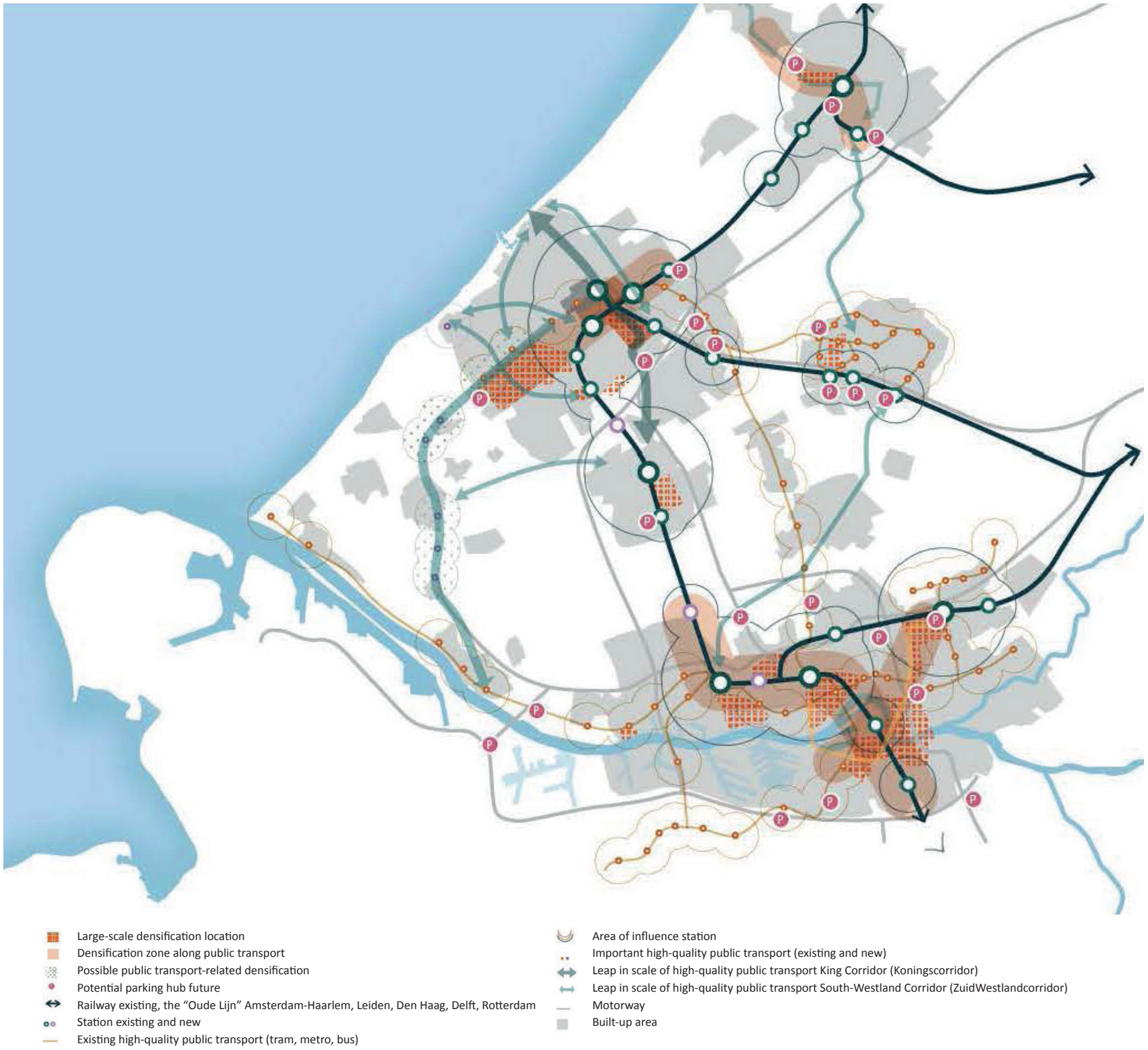
Other parties primarily emphasized the city's absorption capacity and livability as a fundamental threshold; after all, growth also meant an increase in the number of cars competing for scarce urban space. Several motions were adopted that aim to enhance the city's quality of living. For instance, the motion "truly building for the neighborhood" was passed with 30 votes in favor, and all 45 council members supported the motion "being open to green initiatives".

Area-Specific Approach in the Future as a Guiding Principle

New Instruments of the Environment and Planning Act and The Hague's Policy Choices

The Environment and Planning Act, which entered into force on January 1, 2024, introduced a comprehensive systemic reform, along with an entirely new vocabulary and new procedures. The four most important instruments are the Environmental Vision (Omgevingsvisie), the Environmental Plan (Omgevingsplan), the Environmental Permit (Omgevingsvergunning), and the Environmental Program (Omgevingsprogramma).

The Environmental Vision outlines, in broad terms, the quality of the physical living environment and focuses on intended developments, use, management, protection, and preservation of the municipal territory. The vision contains policy objectives for long-term changes to the physical environment and serves as a self-binding assessment framework for the municipal executive. The vision does not contain legal rules but instead provides a narrative for the city to which concrete policies and implementation instruments can later be linked. The Environmental Vision is the "guiding light" presented to the residents of the city. Communicating this vision clearly to the public should be central. For the city's population and spatial growth, The Hague adopts in its Environmental Vision a moderate population growth scenario, consistent with the scenario established by the national government in the report *Gematigde Groei – Rapport van de Staatscommissie Demografische Ontwikkelingen 2050* (*Moderate Growth – Report of the State Commission on Demographic Developments 2050*, 2024). The only firm decision in the Environmental Vision concerns the planned addition of approximately 30,000 homes in the coming years—an average of 4,000 per year—as agreed in the 2019 South Holland Metropolitan Housing Deal (Woondeal Zuidelijke Randstad).



The map "Regional context" by the municipality of The Hague.
Source: The Hague municipality, *Omgevingsvisie The Hague 2050* (2025): 81.

The Environmental Program is the instrument for thematic elaboration, implementation, participation, procedures, and execution. It describes what is needed at the neighborhood level. The municipality is free to determine the themes addressed in the Environmental Vision. The Hague has chosen six citywide ambitions, which are elaborated through five strategic transitions. In addition, the municipality develops district-specific visions and thematic and area-based programs. With instruments such as district visions and area programs, The Hague aims to eventually shape its area-based approach at a smaller scale. The challenges per district are explicitly identified in the Environmental Vision. An area-based approach is a guiding principle for The Hague in integrating and coordinating the various transitions. With the generic Environmental Vision and the area-specific Environmental Program, the Environmental Plan can be made for parts (districts) of the city.

The Environmental Plan forms the municipality's assessment framework and contains all rules concerning the physical living environment. It operationalizes the Environmental Vision. Each municipality has one Environmental Plan. This comprehensive set of rules enables an integrated assessment of any proposed change to the physical environment, such as a development initiative. All existing zoning plans and policy rules must be harmonized into this single Environmental Plan. A transition period applies until the end of 2031 to convert existing plans.

The Environmental Permit s required for any activities that result in changes to the physical living environment, such as construction. This must be granted within eight weeks if a development proposal complies with the Environmental Plan. Permit issuance is an administrative process; no plan amendments may be made at that stage. The proposed environmental change or development initiative must therefore fit within the Environmental Plan.

When a proposed development conflicts with the Environmental Plan, the municipality may use an out-of-plan environmental plan activity permit (buitenplanse omgevingsplanactiviteit, or BOPA). Because the Environmental Plan is not yet fully developed, the majority of development proposals in The Hague currently fall under a BOPA. The municipal council provides binding advice to the executive board on each BOPA. In 2023, the council drew up a list of categories of development projects with significant impact on the physical living environment in which it wishes to be involved. This binding advice is comparable to the former "declaration of no objections" (verklaring van geen bedenkingen) under the former Wabo regime. One of the conditions set by the council is that it must be clear in advance what will happen in the surrounding area: policies must first be established for each component in order to formulate the rules—such as for participation, high-rise development, or rooftop extensions—after which these rules can be incorporated into the Environmental Plan. Anyone planning an activity that result in changes to the physical living environment must know clearly which requirements they must meet before applying for an Environmental Permit. Participation with the surrounding community must take place before the permit application, as under the Environment and Planning Act, participation by affected residents and stakeholders holds a central position in the planning process.

Inventory of Current Developments or the Physical Living Environment?

According to The Hague's Environmental Vision, coherence and long-term orientation must be articulated through three steps: (a) taking stock of current developments; (b) identifying the urgent issues at the local level; and (c) determining the choices to be made for the long term. The Hague has identified three major social challenges that will guide its spatial and other policies in the coming years. What is striking is that the role of the national government, the province, and the region is hardly mentioned. Social challenges are mainly the result of global and geopolitical developments that transcend the municipality. For The Hague, the main challenge is to deal with the consequences of these developments.

Offering social and economic prospects. The city is characterized by major socioeconomic contrasts and inequality between the residents of the affluent neighborhoods on the sand and those of the vulnerable neighborhoods in the peat. In vulnerable neighborhoods and districts such as The Hague Southwest, Schilderswijk, Transvaalkwartier, Rustenburg-Oostbroek, and Laak, there is persistent poverty, limited access to work, disappearance of manufacturing jobs, poorer health, population growth due to immigration, overcrowding, and pressure on municipal services.

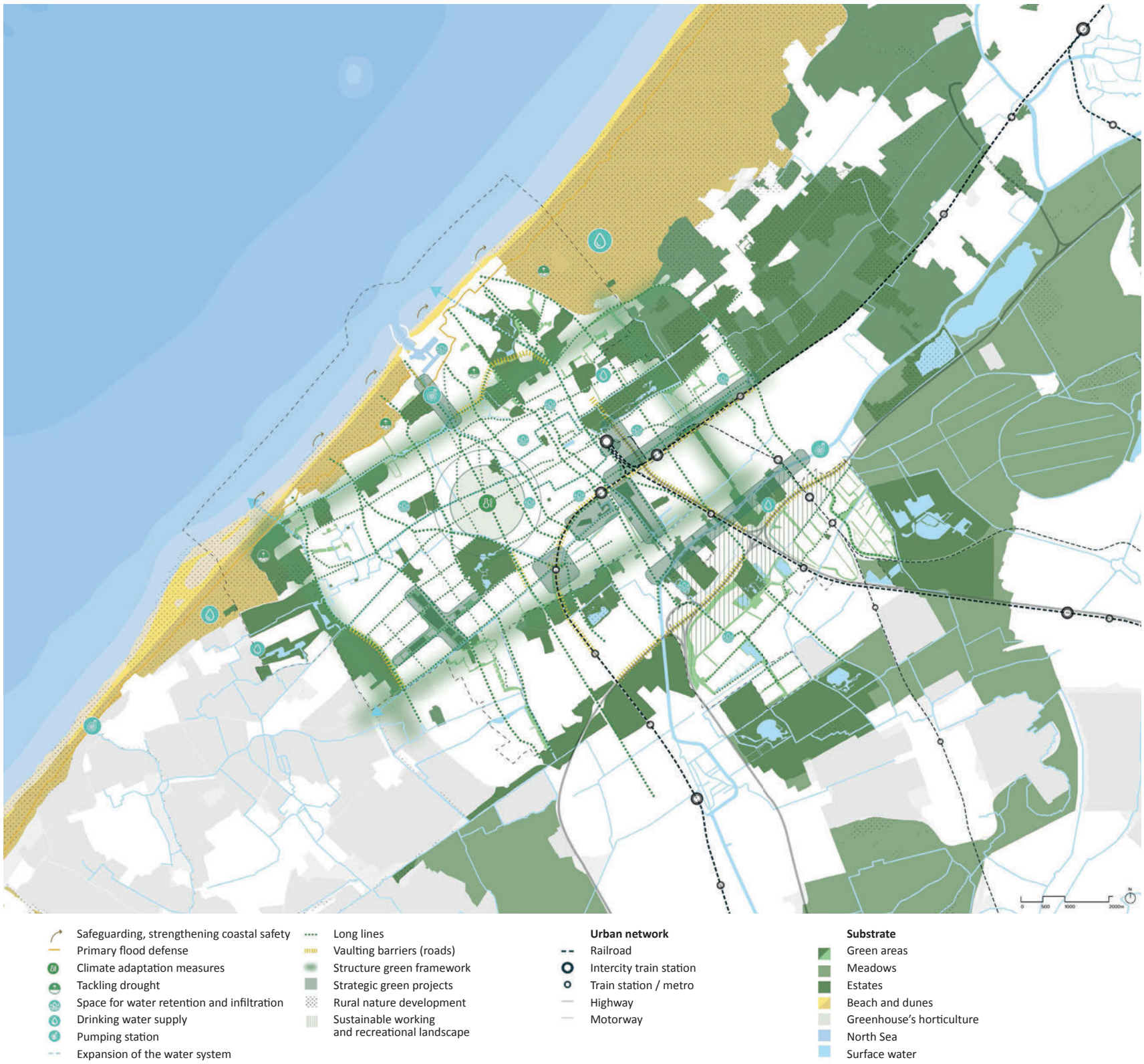
Growing in balance. The population of The Hague is growing steadily, partly due to immigration and partly due to aging. At the same time, the housing culture has been changing in recent years. More and more people are living alone, which is leading to a decrease in the average number of residents per home and therefore per neighborhood. This has major consequences for the facilities in residential areas and exacerbates the housing crisis.

Realizing transitions at a pace that the city can handle. Global climate change, biodiversity loss and geopolitical instability are necessitating a number of transitions. These involve interrelated changes in the areas of energy, climate, mobility, and the economy. Due to the limited space in the city, three priorities have been formulated:

- Energy transition – focus on solar, wind, geothermal, and water as renewable energy sources;
- Climate adaptation – strengthening resilience to extreme precipitation, sea level rise, and heat stress, especially in urbanized neighborhoods.
- Mobility transition – focusing on improving public transport, expanding cycling and walking routes, and realizing the 15-minute city according to the STOMP principles.

As mentioned, these social challenges partly exceed the capabilities of municipal policy and require national, provincial, and regional policies. Examples include the problem of an aging population, housing that is too expensive for its residents, immigration, and the individualization of housing leading to housing shortage. It is therefore understandable that The Hague has opted for a flexible Environmental Vision.

The municipality states regarding physical quality: "In this vision we



The map "Ruimte voor groen en water" by the municipality of The Hague.
Source: The Hague municipality, *Omgevingsvisie The Hague 2050* (2025): 76-77.

indicate which qualities we want to protect and which qualities we want to further develop. In doing so, we make strategic choices that are needed to anticipate major societal challenges that have spatial implications" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2026: 9). These qualities are translated into maps indicating what is to be protected, along with five "development directions", referred to as "movements". The qualities to be preserved include building upon the city's history and identity.

The vision also refers to a varied mosaic of neighborhoods and districts, each with their own character, embedded in a framework of long avenues, water structures, and green corridors: "Identity and environmental quality: mosaic of neighborhoods and districts, framework of "long lines" and landscape structures. Plus, three defining markers: international city of peace and justice; coastal city; seat of government and monumental residence" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2026: 22).

In the vision, however, the concepts of "identity" and "environmental quality" are conflated. They are neither explicitly defined nor explained in relation to one another. According to the Van Dale dictionary, identity refers on the one hand to sameness (proving your identity, proving you are who you claim to be; the identity of the perpetrator is still unknown), and on the other hand to the unique character of an individual or group (preserving one's identity)—in this context, the distinctive characteristics of a city. The Environmental Vision remains abstract in this respect: chapter 3 provides only a general outline of qualities without specifying which spatial, urban design, architectural, or landscape values actually characterize The Hague. As a result, spatial qualities are not distinguished from broader, image-driven qualities that are primarily associated with city marketing. Of the three defining markers named by the municipality—international city of peace and justice, coastal city, seat of government and monumental residence—only one is a spatial element: the coastal location. The other markers are institutional or symbolic, but not physical or spatial qualities in the sense of environmental quality. Iconic buildings are not mentioned, nor urban ensembles or neighborhoods.

Article 3.2 of the Environment and Planning Act specifies three elements that are mandatory for the performance of public tasks and responsibilities through an environmental vision: (a) description of the main features of the quality of the physical living environment; (b) the main features of the intended development, use, management, protection, and preservation of the territory, and (c) the principal elements of the integrated policy to be pursued for the physical living environment. In The Hague's Environmental Vision, the section *Description of the Quality of the Physical Living Environment* remains overly general and insufficiently addresses the spatial and physical-substantive components of the living environment. Spatial quality is not described using the standard concepts of "use value", "future value", "experience value", and "heritage value", as applied by the ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment. These concepts clarify the balance between functional value, aesthetics, and sustainability, yet they are absent from the vision.

Guidelines from the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, RCE) and the Association of Netherlands Municipalities (VNG) with definitions of heritage and how it can be safeguarded in environmental visions and plans are also not used. These guidelines cover not only monuments but also iconic buildings, parks, waterworks, and intangible heritage (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2022; 2023; Vereniging van Nederlandse Gemeenten, 2023).

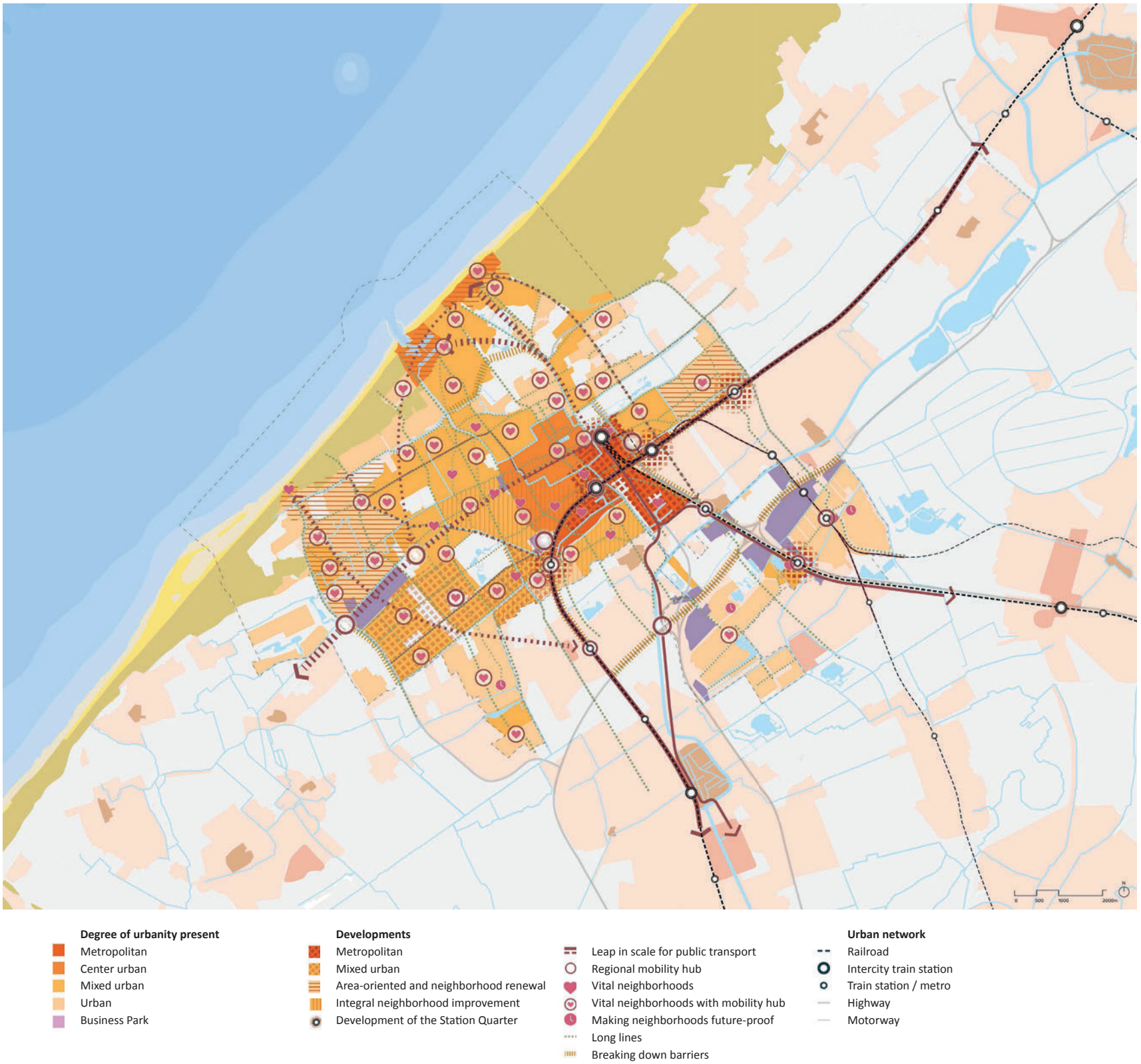
Identification of Urgent Issues: The Five Movements

The Environmental Vision identifies six ambitions or development lines that serve as guidelines for tackling social challenges. These ambitions are: (a) a fair and inclusive living environment; (b) an affordable, accessible, and future-proof housing stock; (c) a climate-proof, climate-neutral, and nature-inclusive city; (d) an economically vital city; (e) a healthy and safe living environment; (f) a sustainable and accessible city. How these principles relate to the three guiding principles mentioned above is not further explained.

The Hague furthermore introduces five strategic challenges or sectoral themes for the physical living environment, referred to as "movements", in order to respond to the social challenge and ambitions. These movements have a certain degree of autonomy and must work together in an integrated manner to shape the spatial development of the various neighborhoods. These movements do not form a clearly defined end goal, but rather outlined an area-specific approach. According to the municipality, the movements serve as steering instruments for the municipality in making choices in the spatial domain to improve the living environment, facilitate growth, and strengthen urban quality.

Each movement is accompanied by a spatial claim on the available land, but they are also strongly intertwined. They also influence each other and therefore require an integrated approach and coordination in their implementation. Synergy in the use of space therefore offers opportunities for efficient use of space. According to the municipality, the movements are:

1. At home in a diverse The Hague. The municipality wants to focus on: building for the neighborhood, combating segregation, safe and healthy public spaces that connect, and a quieter and cleaner city. That is why the municipality focuses on social facilities growing along with the city and on protecting, utilizing and future-proofing cultural heritage.
2. Space for greenery and water. The municipality wants to focus on greening at street and square level, dunes growing along with the sea, more attention to soil quality, focus on strategic green projects in vulnerable areas of the city, and working together on greenery. Therefore, the municipality focuses on strengthening, protecting and expanding the Urban Green Corridors.
3. Urbanization and accessibility in conjunction. The municipality focuses on a construction pace that suits the Hague metropolitan area, and construction and renovation throughout the city. The municipality does so by accelerating the mobility transition at the



The map “Verstedelijking en bereikbaarheid in samenhang“ by the municipality of The Hague.
Source: The Hague municipality, *Omgevingsvisie The Hague 2050* (2025): 86-87.

urban and regional level, accelerating the transition to sustainable urban distribution, and urbanization around public transport hubs.

4. Space for knowledge and expertise. The municipality wants to promote the clustering of education and employment, preserve, densify, and make better use of existing business parks, and bring services and small-scale businesses back into the neighborhood. Therefore, the municipality aims for accelerating the transition to a circular economy and strengthening top economic environments.
5. Basic systems in order. The municipality focuses on investing in soil and water systems, space for future drinking water needs, and more control over the subsurface. Therefore, the municipality aims for the rapid development of a sustainable electricity grid and accelerating the construction of collective heating networks, as well as investing in robust coastal defense and making existing buildings more sustainable.

Long-Term Choices

The Environmental Vision mentions the eight districts (stadsdelen) of The Hague and discusses how the five movements can be incorporated into these districts. The existing priority area developments Binckhorst, CID, and Southwest are located within these districts. The tasks have been mapped out for the districts through preliminary research, sessions, and district agendas. The details of these visions differ per district, but in general, the council has drawn the following conclusions: "All these sessions paint a fairly clear picture of what the residents of The Hague consider important. These include quality of life (such as a sense of community, health, and safety), the availability of sufficient affordable housing, traffic safety, more space for cyclists and pedestrians, the level of amenities, the design of public spaces (greener!), and the protection of recognizable places and cultural-historical values" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2026: 105).

This preliminary study will be used for the area visions for each district. The area vision examines what is needed in a specific area, for example in terms of facilities, and maps out the space required. The necessary facilities are closely intertwined with the character, structure, and available space of the neighborhood. Based on this, the aim is to draw up the Area or Environmental Program per district. The Area Program is the concrete implementation tool for realizing the vision. Legally, these area programs must be translated into Environmental Plan with accompanying policy rules at the neighborhood level. These Area Visions and Programs serve as an assessment framework at the area level and include, among other things, an Image Quality Plan. They provide direction for all project-based plans.

The first area vision is currently being drawn up for the Loosduinen district, followed by the second phase of area development in Binckhorst with visions for four quarters, and for various neighborhoods of The Hague Southwest.

As mentioned, each movement makes use of physical space, resulting in conflicting space claims at the district or neighborhood level. These tensions are common within the visions and programs. When making an integrated assessment for BOPAs, it will be challenging for the municipal council to make the necessary choices.

Network Strategy 2040

Two important cornerstones of the Environmental vision are the *Nota Omgevingskwaliteit The Hague 2025* (*The Hague Environmental Quality Memorandum 2025*) and the *Netwerkstrategie 2040—Voor een leefbaar en bereikbaar Den Haag* (*Network Strategy 2040—For a Livable and Accessible The Hague*).

In February 2025, the preliminary draft of the Network Strategy 2040 was published. This strategy replaced The Hague Mobility Memorandum from 2011 and further elaborated on the mobility transition. It made clear choices for the city. The Network Strategy and the Environmental Vision are consistent and function as complementary policy documents, together forming a whole. In the introduction, Arjen Kapteijns, alderman for Energy Transition, Mobility, and Raw Materials, immediately outlines The Hague's problem: there is a lack of space and the city is not inclusive if it focuses solely on cars and public transport. The strategy therefore asks: "How do we ensure that more people can get around without compromising the safety, livability, and accessibility of our city? How do we make optimal use of the available space in a city that is already quite squeezed between the coast and our neighboring municipalities?" The expected population growth would lead to a 21% increase in the number of trips to, from, and within the city. That meant a space requirement of 7%, according to the strategy. This space was not available within the municipal boundaries.

The old The Hague Mobility Memorandum was still a traffic and transport plan for cars and public transport. Pedestrians and cyclists, or sharing concepts, were not yet taken into consideration at that time. But with the introduction of the 15-minute city and the STOMP principles in the new memorandum, inclusivity takes center stage, with networks of different modes of transport. In order to make mobility manageable, the following measures were considered: (a) lower speeds on many roads to 30 km/h to improve traffic flow and safety; (b) more space for pedestrians and cyclists; (c) strengthening existing public transport networks Old Line and tram line 9, and realizing the Koningscorridor and South-Westland corridor; (d) mobility hubs for travelers to transfer between different modes of transport; (e) a robust road network with better connections to motorways, with tunnels in the city to resolve bottlenecks; (f) tightening the parking policy and encouraging walking, cycling, public transport, and shared mobility.

As stated in the Environmental Vision, the mobility transition is one of the three important transitions for The Hague. The mobility transition is based on the realization of the 15-minute city according to the STOMP planning principles. The Network Strategy therefore advocated a reassessment of the mobility system, in which livability and accessibility had to go hand in hand. The longer-term consequence of the 15-minute city concept and the STOMP principles is a polycentric

city. The advantage is that quality of life is greatly improved by reducing the space taken up by cars. There is more space for greening, climate adaptation, and energy transition.

Reflections on the Environmental Vision: The Hague in a Transitional Phase

The Hague is in a transitional phase from the Wet algemene bepalingen omgevingsrecht (Environmental Law General Provisions Act, Wabo) from 2010 to the Environment and Planning Act from 2024. This transitional phase means that some projects fall under the old legislation and others under the new legislation. This creates a lot of uncertainty among councilors and citizens. It is expected that the new relationship between the municipal council and the municipal executive will crystallize into a new and generally accepted working method. However, there are still several challenges.

The independent Commission for Environmental Impact Assessment (2025) issued a review recommendation. In its review of the Omgevingseffectrapport (Environmental Impact Report), the Commission concludes that the importance of the living environment cannot currently be fully considered in the decision-making process concerning the environmental vision The Hague (Milieueffectrapportage, 2025). The main points of attention are as follows: (a) clearer key message: due to the large volume of information, the narrative and central message have become insufficiently clear; (b) provide better insight into uncertainties: it is unclear how wide the gap is between the ambition and the actual feasibility of the vision. The city council needs insight into the extent to which the vision contributes to achieving policy objectives; (c) steering ambitions within limited space: the Commission advises examining whether the vision's objectives are realistically achievable within the available physical space; (d) sufficient consideration of the impact on Natura 2000: the Environmental Vision may have potential effects on Natura 2000 areas both within and beyond municipal boundaries. When such effects cannot be ruled out with certainty, an appropriate assessment is legally required; this assessment is currently missing in the Environmental Framework.

Diffuse Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework and definitions used by the municipality of The Hague are often diffuse. This is related to the large number of policy documents that succeed one another or exist in parallel. On the one hand, this is understandable, as meanings can shift when the societal context changes—the world does not stand still. On the other hand, this dynamic has clear consequences. Terms such as *facilities, reference standards, green space, sustainable, defining features, urban frontage, quality, high-rise, and homeless* are frequently interpreted and defined differently. This, in turn, fuels political debates in the city council, where an endless back-and-forth can emerge as council members seek to position themselves within this diffuse conceptual landscape. A clear and consistent conceptual framework, combined with reducing the multitude of sectoral policy memoranda, would significantly improve communication. It would also enable the city council to make more well-substantiated integrated decisions. When terms are clearly defined and align with terminology used by other government bodies, values can be assigned to them that can be monitored over longer periods of time. This also makes it possible to draw meaningful comparisons with other authorities, such as the national government, the province, and municipalities through the Association of Netherlands Municipalities.

The municipality is currently working to catch up by bringing more coherence to its conceptual framework and aligning it with other government bodies and municipalities. The report *Koers op Groen* (*Steering toward Green*) by The Hague's Court of Audit, the ETHOS (European Typology of Homelessness and Housing Exclusion) count of homelessness, and *The Hague High-Rise* report illustrate improvements related to this conceptual framework. A clear conceptual framework also simplifies the preparation of the environmental plan. The points discussed below are therefore largely connected to the shortage of space within the municipal boundaries—which makes it impossible to fully realize the city's ambitions—and to the diffuse nature of the conceptual framework.

Densification

The Hague states in its Environmental Vision that it anticipates moderate population growth, to about 643,000 to 674,000 inhabitants. According to the Housing Deal and the Environmental Vision, The Hague must build 30,000 new homes by 2050. That means a construction rate of 4,000 homes per year; between 2035 and 2050 the municipality wants a construction rate of 2,000 homes per year.

These homes should be built especially at the NOVEX (National Environmental Vision) housing locations CID and Binckhorst. This means that a lot of space must be reserved for new infrastructure (roads, parking, public transport), greenery, facilities, space for climate adaptation, biodiversity and energy transition. But if there is anything missing in The Hague, it is space. The relationship between the intended number of new homes and the amenities for the new residents has not been clarified or explained. In the Environmental Vision, the question of how this will be solved has been postponed to the future, to the area visions that are yet to be developed.

One major tension lies between the city's absorption capacity and the ambition to build 4,000 new homes per year. The city's capacity to absorb new residents, the housing demand from citizens, and today's low household occupancy rates have not been considered. According to Statistics Netherlands figures (CBS StatLine), The Hague had a total of 241,376 dwellings in 2012 and 272,242 in 2024—an increase of 30,866 homes over twelve years. This equates to an average of 2,572 additional homes per year. Over the same twelve-year period, only 2,453 social rental units were added. Most of the growth occurred in the mid- and high-end rental segments, mainly through private landlords, and those properties are now being sold. Building permit data of CBS StatLine also illustrate that construction in a densely built-

up urban area poses significant challenges. These figures underscore the tension between ambition (Housing Deal, Housing Vision, Environmental Vision) and the municipality's actual capacity and available space for delivery.

The space taken up by cars is particularly problematic and forms a brake on the densification ambition, whether this is achieved by housing construction or by splitting large houses into two or three smaller apartments. High land and construction costs also lead to expensive but small high-rise apartments in the CID and Binckhorst, both for sale and for rent. That is a useful perspective for the elderly, who want to move on from their large houses with a garden, or for people who are already in social housing.

The affordability requirement imposed by both the national government and the municipality for new housing developments is currently leading to stagnation in housing production in the CID and Binckhorst. This situation is resulting in the construction of small, expensive apartments, driven primarily by the need to maintain building activity. However, there is a clear discrepancy between the housing programs developed by the municipality in priority areas and actual housing preferences and needs, the purchasing power of housing consumers, and the observed behavior of housing seekers. Housing preferences are not explicitly addressed in the Environmental Vison. This raises the question of how future-proof this residential environment truly is.

Greening

A contradiction in movements is the combination of densification and greening. A December 2024 research report, *Tekort aan groen in Nederlandse steden: Onderzoek naar de verstening van Nederlandse gemeenten* (*Shortage of Green Space in Dutch Cities: Study on the Paved Area of Dutch Municipalities*) by environmental organization Natuur & Milieu and Sweco, shows that The Hague's green space has declined in recent years. In 2019, the average amount of public green space per residential address in The Hague was 102 m². By 2024, this had fallen to 83 m²—a decrease of 19 m², or 18.5%. During this period, the number of residential addresses and inhabitants grew by 8.5%, while public green space in neighborhoods increased by only 0.9%. Space for greenery has not kept pace with the space taken up by housing and mobility (Sweco, 2024).

With its report *Steering toward Green* of September 30, 2025, The Hague's Court of Audit assessed the effectiveness of the city's greening efforts. The Court found that between 2020 and 2023 at least 48,000 m² of green space and between 850 and 900 urban trees were added. The Stedelijke Groene Hoofdstructuur (Urban Green Main Structure, SGH) was also strengthened during this period. However, the municipality has not yet succeeded in increasing the share of trees that are well-suited to the region's natural ecosystems. The Court recommended that the municipal council adopt a coherent vision with concrete objectives, and that the municipal executive translate this into a systematic approach supported by a clear budget. In addition, it recommended that the executive maintain all information necessary to measure progress toward these objectives and report fully and accurately to the council. On November 13, 2025, the municipality council discussed the Court of Audit's *Steering toward Green* proposal, and it was adopted unanimously (Gemeente Den Haag, Rekenkamer, 2025-09).

Health of Residents and Urban Renewal

Another conflict of interest that remains insufficiently addressed concerns the health conditions of residents in vulnerable social housing neighborhoods. These residential areas are being densified through demolition and new construction, with mid-range and higher-priced homes added to promote greater diversity and economic resilience within the neighborhood. However, this does not improve the socioeconomic position of the existing residents. They are relocated elsewhere in the region and often face higher housing costs. Even when they return to their own neighborhood, their former living environment has changed, and the rent for the new dwelling is generally higher than before (Hollanders & Van der Velden, 2025). In this way, ill-considered densification can pull communities apart and negatively affect residents' mental health, particularly among those with a weak socioeconomic position and among residents who do not have sufficient command of the Dutch language. The resulting recommendation was therefore to involve residents more effectively in changes occurring within their neighborhood.

Another study focused on the balance between stressors and recovering opportunities for recovery among residents (Beenackers, et al., 2024). Stressors include noise disturbance, heat stress, crowding, a sense of insecurity, and poor housing affordability. Opportunities for recovery include spaces for relaxation or physical activity within the neighborhood, adequate sleep, attractive green areas, and social facilities that promote interaction. Densification often increases these stressors: more people, more buildings, more noise, and more stimuli are introduced. Residents begin to wonder how their neighborhood will change, which amenities will disappear, what role they will still have, and whether they will continue to feel at home in the "new" neighborhood. At the same time, there are substantial differences between neighborhoods: demolition-new construction and densification occur primarily in vulnerable social housing areas and almost never in more affluent residential neighborhoods such as Vogelwijk. For healthy urbanization, the focus should not be on top-down densification driven by housing associations and private companies, but rather on identifying promising locations within the neighborhood where sufficient support exists. This approach makes use of the existing, gradually developed social and green networks and helps prevent harm to residents' health (Posad Maxwan, Provincie Zuid-Holland, GGD, Gemeente Dordrecht, 2024).

Interview with Planning Expert Frank van den Beuken and Urban Design Expert Richard Koek on the Environmental Vision

On September 18, 2025, the Hague City Council adopted the *Environmental Vision 2050: Feeling at Home in a Green Metropolis by the Sea*. Rather than presenting a fixed end state, the vision offers strategic direction and is conceived as a "living story" that evolves through interaction between urban development and everyday life. District-level area visions will gradually refine the overarching framework to reflect local differences across The Hague. In January, I spoke with Frank van den Beuken and Richard Koek about the vision's content and approach (Oorschot, 2025, 2026).

Living Story

Asked for whom the vision was written, Koek explained that while it addresses residents, housing corporations, market actors, and entrepreneurs, its primary audience is the city council, which formally adopts it and sets the policy framework for current and future municipal executives. As a long-term compass for urban development, the document had to balance the needs of diverse audiences. Van den Beuken emphasized that the vision seeks to connect the physical environment and social life. Its "living story" format is organized around five "movements" that integrate different policy domains. Over time, these will be elaborated in district-level sub-visions and may lead to updates of the broader vision. This marks a shift from sectoral policymaking toward integrated planning across multiple scales and requires cultural change within the municipal organization. To explain such a complex document to a broader audience, Van den Beuken said the vision is meant to guide an ongoing public conversation about what the city should look like in twenty-five years and, more importantly, how to get there. The concept of "home" highlights the social dimension of urban development and the interaction between social processes and the physical environment. To make the vision accessible beyond city hall, a child-friendly film was produced and premiered on October 31, 2025, at Filmhuis Den Haag. It visualizes the five movements and explains concepts such as urbanization, densification, and accessibility. On the relationship between vision and implementation, Van den Beuken argued that vision and program should reinforce one another. The Hague's vision is deliberately concrete, including maps indicating areas for densification, green preservation, industrial retention, and future public transport lines, while district-level visions address neighborhood-specific differences.

Green Metropolis

The term "green metropolis" in the title was controversial. Koek noted that while The Hague lacks the classic features of cities such as London or Paris, it is part of an increasingly integrated metropolitan region of over one million residents with a strong international and green profile. The vision stresses regional interdependence within the wider Southern Randstad, especially through mobility and connectivity. A key example is the "Old Line," the railway corridor linking Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leiden, The Hague, Delft, Rotterdam, and Dordrecht. Regional cooperation led to the January 13, 2026 signing of the MIRT exploratory study for scaling up development along this corridor, including improvements to Laan van NOI station. Van den Beuken added that metropolitan cooperation allows municipalities to complement one another: The Hague offers urban amenities and dense housing, while surrounding municipalities provide space for suburban living and other economic functions. Strong public transport and economic interdependence make such cooperation essential.

Dilemmas

The five "movements" also bring dilemmas. (a) One is implementation capacity: balanced growth in housing requires matching investments in mobility, social facilities, and jobs. Another is financial feasibility. The municipality imposes ambitious requirements for affordability and sustainability but lacks sufficient funding, causing many developments to stall. High affordable-housing quotas can unintentionally slow production. (b) Koek identified a second dilemma: explaining to residents that the entire city is gradually changing under transitions in energy, care, climate adaptation, and mobility. Unlike the 2016 Agenda Space for the City, which focused on concentrated development in areas such as the Binckhorst and the Central Innovation District, the new vision applies citywide. Many people are wary of change, but most changes are also improvements, for example because the city becomes more livable. Densification brings amenities closer together. (c) A third dilemma concerns heritage and existing neighborhoods. Koek acknowledged criticism of postwar urbanism, arguing for more mixed use, better green space, and suitable housing, while recognizing tensions with heritage preservation. The municipality's main role lies in public space, requiring coalitions with market actors, housing corporations, and care institutions to future-proof both buildings and neighborhoods. We are, however, working on a quality framework for the city as part of the environmental vision. We will designate more buildings as visually defining or landmark structures in the district area visions.

Opportunities

The greatest opportunities for linkage arise in integrated interventions. Van den Beuken noted that when sewer systems are replaced, streets can simultaneously be redesigned for climate adaptation, accessibility, cycling, greenery, and underground infrastructure. The Bomenbuurt is the first neighborhood where this integrated approach is being tested. Koek highlighted another major opportunity: densification around railway stations and along high-quality public transport corridors, such as the line from Kijkduin via Rijswijk to Delft, with a key connection at Leyweg shopping center. Such investments not only reshape the physical city but also create social opportunities, particularly in Southwest The Hague, where social sustainability and spatial development are closely intertwined.

13.8
Conclusion

The Hague was, is and will be highly dependent on regional, national, European and global developments for its spatial development. The Hague is therefore highly dependent on cooperation with other municipalities, as organized within the Rotterdam The Hague Metropolitan Region. If no joint, clear spatial choices are made, it will mainly be external pressure that will be leading in how The Hague will develop spatially.

After a period of suburbanization, during which new Vinex residential districts were developed and the city became increasingly car-oriented, the themes of densification, sustainability, and greening moved to the forefront in the years following the financial and economic crisis of 2008-2012. Following the Paris Climate Agreement, a major shift occurred in many large cities. With the emergence of the 15-minute city concept, increasing urban densification, and the application of the STOMP principles in mobility planning, the emphasis shifted toward proximity and integration of living, working, and urban amenities. These were increasingly organized in mixed-use residential and employment areas, evenly distributed across the city. Large cities, including The Hague, are gradually transforming from a monocentric compact city into a polycentric city. The combined agenda of densification, sustainability, and greening became the driving force behind this transition.

The development of priority areas in Binckhorst, the CID, and The Hague Southwest has made a substantial contribution to the emergence of this polycentric urban structure. Moreover, The Hague has historically comprised multiple centers, such as Scheveningen, Loosduinen, Leyweg, and the more peripheral Vinex districts, which connect to existing service centers in the wider region. The historic centers of Rijswijk and Voorburg are now almost entirely enclosed by the municipality of The Hague.

High-quality public transport, station area development, and high-capacity regional cycling routes play a crucial role in maintaining accessibility and livability across all parts of the city. Infrastructure is a fundamental prerequisite for the development of mixed-use residential and employment areas and for meeting the densification challenge, particularly in areas such as Binckhorst and The Hague Southwest.

Yet, despite these ambitious plans, significant challenges remain due to the limited space within The Hague's municipal boundaries and high land costs. Urban densification through new housing requires additional space, but this demand competes with other ongoing transitions, such as the energy transition, the mobility transition, and climate adaptation. Above all, however, it is the spatial footprint of the automobile that constrains the city and makes densification difficult to advance.

By refraining from making firm choices in the Environmental Vision and by treating it as a living document, it is likely that the national government's housing agenda will become the dominant force in shaping The Hague's future vision for the living environment in its districts. Other policy movements may then inevitably recede into the background, as they are less easily quantified and are likely to receive less—or no—national funding. As a result, adopting an integrated approach will become a challenge for municipal departments and the The Hague City Council.

The Environmental Vision provides the building blocks for a coherent narrative in which the quality of the physical living environment guides the development of The Hague. Rather than focusing on individual challenges, the emphasis lies on their interrelationships and on the opportunities that arise where these dynamics intersect. The Hague is gradually evolving from a compact city into a polycentric city. As the role of the automobile is further reduced, more space becomes available for densification, sustainability, and greening. This makes it possible to describe—more clearly and precisely—the balance between the five key transitions for each district, in line with the specific character of that district.

This approach can be used to articulate a narrative for The Hague in which the city's spatial characteristics of long linear structures and its green-blue network are connected to mobility, climate adaptation, biodiversity, public health, recreation, and heritage. The long green-blue corridors of The Hague reinforce the city's green and village-like character and make it possible to position centers such as Loosduinen and Scheveningen more distinctly. Between these green-blue structures lie neighborhoods and residential areas, each with its own identity and spatial characteristics. In this way, an area-based approach as the guiding principle of the future Environmental Vision for The Hague can be embedded within a single, shared urban narrative. The Hague: "at home in a green metropolis by the sea."

60-31

14
CONCLUSION

Scheveningen harbor, photo from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

14.1 Patterns and the Life Cycle of Cityscapes

A healthy, democratic cityscape and an open society are characterized by a variety of visual different cityscapes that exist side by side, as well as succeed one another. This diversity and layering, this heterogeneity in the appearance of cities, has many causes. Industrialization, increased access to education, and the explosive growth of cities have all contributed to it. However, the main contributor to the great diversity of architecture and urban ensembles in Dutch cities was the possibility of public debate in council chambers and the media, made possible by state reforms and the introduction of the Municipalities Act in 1851. Through this law, the cityscape became the domain of public debate and conflict. Since then, municipal politics has been conducted within an overarching, coherent, positive vision of the city's future that responds to the existing situation and offers voters a new perspective.

This study aimed to identify and define the successive, crystallized cityscapes that emerged in The Hague between approximately 1860 and 2025, along with the political and social conflicts that accompanied them. The study further explored who was involved in shaping these cityscapes, with what motives, and against what contextual background. This includes actors such as mayors, politicians, aldermen, organizations, entrepreneurs, architects, urban planners, civilian organizations, and other stakeholders.

In addition, the study examines the extent to which, and in which locations, planned cityscapes were actually realized—if at all—and the reasons why many existing cityscapes ultimately partially or completely disappeared. These dynamics have contributed to The Hague's current fragmented urban landscape as a patchwork of cityscapes.

The hypothesis is that the city today is no longer experienced as a unified whole with a single homogeneous image, but rather as a sum of urban images from different periods—coexisting side by side and succeeding one another. It is precisely this layering and fragmentation that give The Hague its heterogeneous and kaleidoscopic appearance. Conflicts among stakeholders over The Hague's urban imagery contributed to this fragmentation.

The degree of fragmentation resulting from successive urban landscapes imaginaries is greater in The Hague than in other, similar-sized cities. The cause lies in the special status of the service-oriented city of The Hague as the royal residence and seat of government. In The Hague, differences between the interests of various stakeholders—such as the municipal government, the national government, citizens, businesses, and institutions—are more pronounced than in other cities.

This study examined tangible elements such as landmark buildings and urban spaces, and investigated the motives that influenced their development. The human activities taking place within these buildings and urban spaces were not considered in this study. The case studies show that urban images follow certain patterns and have a life cycle. This section outlines these patterns and life cycle in broad terms.

14.2 Characteristics of the Imagined City

- **Cityscapes Are Detached from Space and Time.** Iconic urban ensembles such as exist in The Hague and are not strictly typical for the city. The fin-de-siècle neighborhoods that are present in The Hague can also be found elsewhere. The garden suburbs of the interbellum were built in other countries as well, as were the postwar reconstruction districts. Likewise, the superblocks of urban renewal were constructed in many major cities. At the scale of the urban ensemble, similarities become apparent; at the scale of the city or municipality, the differences emerge—differences from which a city derives its distinct identity. At the same time, specific iconic urban ensembles—the "city on postcards"—also contribute to that unique identity.
- **Cityscapes Are Never Sharply Defined;** they possess an elusive and fluid quality. Cityscapes often give rise to debate or conflicts over the design and form of the city. There are periods in which urban imaginaries are accepted by everyone as self-evident, but such periods rarely last long. Precisely because of their elusive nature, urban imaginaries are a recurring source of debate and conflict. In this context, urban imaginaries are defined as iconic urban ensembles. A city stripped of the categories of space, movement, and time becomes an urban imaginary. Through images, stakeholders shape and manipulate public opinion. Images of how people wish the city to be are easy to produce and reproduce, especially in the new millennium. These images can be realized by stakeholders through such urban ensembles. Within these urban ensembles, the interests of stakeholders—politicians, the House of Orange-Nassau, the national government, the municipality, and developers—intersect with architecture and urban space. Around iconic urban ensembles, public debate almost always arises as a result of a conflict of interests or tensions between stakeholders—from Willemspark to Amare.
- **Cityscapes Have a Life Cycle.** In the development of urban imaginaries, a certain trajectory can be observed: emergence, peak, and decline. Each individual urban imaginary crystallizes in its own distinctive way, making formal comparisons between them difficult. What all urban imaginaries share is that three layers play leading roles: ideas, architecture or building traditions, and urban planning traditions or doctrines. When these three layers converge, they reinforce one another into a coherent urban imaginary. Ideas—or representations in words and images—refer to urban planning and building traditions, while these are in turn shaped by the ideas being (re)presented. This interplay is subtle and temporary. It crystallizes during a specific period, only to fade into obscurity afterward. Sometimes this is not a gradual process, and a clash of ideologies erupts, with one or more urban imaginaries—an old one and a new one—at stake. An urban imaginary usually arises in a time of confusion and uncertainty, when a group of pioneers begins to set the tone. As the case studies have shown, this group of pioneers can vary greatly. Almost always, there is a

broad circle of like-minded supporters who implicitly or explicitly back these pioneers. Such support is essential to secure the acquisition of land, initiate actual construction, and mobilize the necessary investments. To those involved, it seems self-evident that the urban imaginary should take the particular form it does in that period. Often, these ideas are channeled through local politics. Conservative supporters of the House of Orange-Nassau advocated for the beautification of the city. Lindo and developers Scheurleer and Goekoop introduced the splendid Viennese ideas of hygiene and the picturesque city. The Liberal Union championed the Housing Act and urban expansion; the SDAP promoted the Housing Act and collectivization; the KVP and the PvdA during the postwar reconstruction supported "Roman Catholic Labor" deals; and the generation of politicians of 1974, together with protesting architects, fought for urban livability. Eventually, an urban imaginary erodes and gives rise to resistance. Numerous exclusionary mechanisms are devised to preserve it; conflicts increase, and ultimately the urban imaginary falls into disrepute and is abandoned. Often, at this point it is not yet "finished", not yet fully realized. Conflicts arose over Lindo's ideas regarding the Peace Palace, the competition for the western expansion of The Hague during the interbellum, and the planning of Berg en Daal. There was the conflict between Dudok and the architects of Het Plan 2000; there were conflicts and residents' protests between 1970 and 1986 over city formation and suburbanization; and conflicts over the building of the new House of Representatives of the Netherlands, the City Hall, the International Criminal Court, and the Spuiforum. There are also misconceptions about urban imaginaries. The most important is the assumption that they are the result of top-down "policy", established by administrators or policymakers and executed by loyal urban planners and architects. In reality, all the ingredients for an urban imaginary—ideas, motives, means of representation, and the pressure to build extensively—are often already present. These different layers then converge, influence, and reinforce one another, developing into an urban imaginary that results in iconic urban ensembles, for which architects are deliberately selected through competitions; the preferences of developers, civil servants, or aldermen; and similar mechanisms.

- **Cityscapes Are Not Necessarily Homogeneous in Themselves.** Cityscapes may contain a diversity or heterogeneity of images. Not every stakeholder strives for visual homogeneity or for a single style within a particular urban imaginary. The liberal visionary Lindo and the aldermen of the Liberal Union deliberately refrained from engaging with specific architectural styles, while the social democratic aldermen Adri Duivesteijn and Michel van Otterloo pursued heterogeneity in architectural styles. At times, as many as three urban imaginaries were pursued simultaneously within a single period: between 1860 and 1890, each socioeconomic pillar was given its own urban ensemble, each with a distinct structure and composition. In the new millennium, urban ensembles of wealth and poverty are once again becoming more sharply defined, as illustrated on the one hand by Bosweide in Ypenburg and on the other by the so-called migrants on the outskirts of the city. In the 1970s, there was even complete indifference toward urban image, with contractors choosing the cheapest facade materials available. This mainly concerned social housing in neighborhoods such as Schilderswijk and similar districts, whereas in more expensive developments, such as Couperusduin and ZHB De Hoven, materials were carefully selected by architects.

- **Cityscapes Can Reconcile Local and International Influences.** It is striking that most iconic urban ensembles in the history of The Hague reveal influences from elsewhere: French court fashion among the House of Orange-Nassau , with Paris setting the tone in The Hague between 1622 and 1850; Northern Italian humanism in the work of Constantijn Huygens and the architects of Dutch Classicism; English Neo-Gothic in the circle of William II of the Netherlands and his contemporaries; Art Nouveau and Wiener Secession influences from Paris, Germany, and Austria around 1900; German influence on the monumental garden suburbs of the interbellum; the influence of Frank Lloyd Wright on the New The Hague School; Anglo-Saxon influence on the neighborhood-unit concept during postwar reconstruction; postwar Scandinavian architecture and urban planning using local materials and landscape as the foundation for new districts such as Mariahoeve; American-inspired shopping malls such as In de Bogaard in Rijswijk; African village structures of the 1970s, such as the ZHB courtyards; the influence of American activist Jane Jacobs; postmodernism from Berlin, Vienna, and Paris in the 1980s and 1990s (Campaign for Urban Renewal as a Cultural Activity); and New Urbanism, as seen in developments such as De Resident, Rivierenbuurt, and Wateringse Veld. In the new millennium, a distinctly international style of architecture has emerged, often without reference to the local context of construction. In most urban ensembles, distant influences appear to be balanced with local conditions. The global and the local coexist effortlessly; rather than opposites, they function as different layers within a design. The Hague has long followed the latest fashions, which is hardly surprising: it was never an isolated village but has always been part of a European network frequented by diplomats, ambassadors, wealthy administrators, and nobility. Today, new residents from far beyond the border work in the Westland region and at embassies and international organizations.

- **Cityscapes Are More Successful When Construction Output Is High.** It is striking that successful cityscapes are usually accompanied by enormous volumes of construction. This implies discontinuity in the making of the city. There are periods marked by the rise of many new urban imaginaries, and long periods of stagnation. In times of low construction output, there is little demand for new urban imaginaries, and people tend to fall back on successes from the past. New ideas for urban imaginaries are dismissed or simply fail to mature. The making of the city is therefore not a gradual and continuous process, but rather a discontinuous one, marked by conflicts and by the coming and going of architects and planners who are moved back and

forth by stakeholders like pawns on the chessboard of the city—stakeholders who often do not realize that they, too, are pawns entangled in these imaginaries.

- **Cityscapes Have Explicit Motives; the Spontaneous City is a Fiction.** Although the motives underlying a cityscape are often presented and documented with great precision, it is striking how quickly some cityscapes are forgotten and how neglected they are afterward. The only remnants of these urban imaginaries are the buildings and urban spaces, insofar as they were actually realized. Of most iconic urban ensembles from the past, no one remembers the original meaning or the goals of those who created them.
- **Cityscapes Are Rarely Adaptive; They Are Usually Destructive and Intolerant of Their Predecessors.** In a densely built urban landscape, an urban imaginary usually has a destructive effect. Demolition and clearance are required in order to build the new ideal. "Old houses are obsolete", or "the area must be gentrified", or "the neighborhood must become more diverse in terms of housing categories and residents". There is always a rationale for demolition and for clearing away old urban ensembles to make way for new ones. Urban imaginaries are usually not adaptive and are intolerant toward what came before. The city is therefore filled with isolated and partially demolished urban imaginaries, because a new one has been built over or against them.
- **The Individual Plays only a Marginal Role in the Realization of Cityscapes.** Architects, planners, administrators, and other stakeholders as individuals play only a marginal role in urban transformations. Ultimately, they all become subordinate to a particular cityscape, each playing a specific role in an inseparable interplay—or else being excluded from it. Crucial is the interaction among the previously described factors within a particular span of time in which everything appears self-evident.

14.3 The Meaning of Cityscapes

What is the value of cityscapes? What do they mean for people living in residential neighborhoods?

In recent years, cities such as The Hague have been compelled by global climate change and geopolitical circumstances to deal with resources and energy in new ways. The goal is to transform the old linear economy into a truly circular economy. This transformation has been formalized in policies related to the many transitions currently underway. The most important of these are the energy transition and the mobility transition. The consequences of climate change also mean that cities must build resilience into their physical structure to cope with heat stress, extreme rainfall, and the loss of biodiversity. This requires strong attention to green-blue networks to cool cities, absorb excessive rainfall, and provide ecological corridors for wildlife within the city's network of green and blue spaces. An additional challenge that has emerged is the housing crisis. There is a push for densification by erecting more residential buildings and a higher number of people per square foot of living space. In short, cities—and The Hague in particular—are undergoing major transformation. In the face of these changes, it is important to understand how the city is structured and what opportunities exist in its different types of neighborhoods, each characterized by a specific urban image. Therefore, two arguments are presented here as to why knowledge of urban images can be useful in these transitions.

The first argument is about people. It is the residents themselves who know, recognize, and value their neighborhoods; awareness of urban images provides them with additional insight. People often place great value in their living environment, and alongside the social dimension, the physical environment is of particular significance. When architecture and urban design have a distinctive character, people identify with them. The famous quote by Winston Churchill, when he spoke in 1943 about the reconstruction of the House of Commons, is therefore also applicable to urban images: "We shape our buildings; thereafter they shape us." We create our urban images, and urban images shape us. In short, urban images hold great value for city residents. However, residents are also key to shaping the aforementioned transitions. Every residential neighborhood has its own distinct identity, as described in this study through the lens of urban images. Residents recognize this identity in their neighborhood and see the opportunities in the transformations that are underway and yet to come.

The second argument is about the built environment and physical space. As stated, global climate change and geopolitical circumstances are prompting the transformation of the linear economy into a circular one. This has major consequences for the physical environment. The New European Bauhaus program of the European Union is one such initiative. New European Bauhaus is a policy and funding initiative that makes green transition in built environments and beyond enjoyable, attractive, and convenient for all. Even the smallest communities on

the ground deserve living spaces that improve their well-being and sense of belonging. The initiative promotes solutions that are not only sustainable, but also inclusive and beautiful, while respecting the diversity of places, traditions, and cultures in Europe and beyond. The construction industry, after all, is responsible for a large share of the greenhouse gas emissions. Moreover, the construction industry remains heavily dependent on fossil energy. It is therefore important to focus on the renovation and transformation of buildings rather than on the demolition of buildings and neighborhoods followed by new construction. Fortunately, this is already happening in many cities. What matters most is that we learn to understand the architecture and urban design of these specific neighborhoods—and the differences between them—, appreciate their qualities, and address their shortcomings. This study of urban images provides insight into the character, spatial structure, and architecture of highly diverse residential neighborhoods—knowledge that is essential when making changes to neighborhoods and buildings.

Hopefully, this study contributes to that effort and raises residents' awareness of the transitions affecting their living environment, the value of what already exists, and the opportunities these transitions create for specific neighborhoods. Because the city never stands still.

APPENDICES

Scheveningen harbor, photo from 2025 by Leo Oorschot.

Acknowledgements

In addition to the sources used, the guides and peers who navigated me through history, urbanism, architecture, and municipal politics were of great value. This was necessary, given the overwhelming number of documents available.

Long ago, I was a student assistant and later an employee of Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre. There, my eyes were opened, and I learned that the urban landscape and its architecture must be understood primarily in a broader spatial and historical context.

First and foremost, my supervisor, Professor Henco Bekkering, was of great value to my research. He guided me through the sources with angelic patience and showed me the common thread of urban development. I remember Henco and I talking about Detroit—he was working on a publication about this city at the time—and about Hermann Hesse's book Die Stadt, which beautifully depicted the lifecycle of a city. Every time I see hills in the flat landscape of Turkey, I imagine that there was once an enormous city there—a city whose name no one remembers, but which resonates in our minds as a primal image as soon as the name Troy is mentioned.

Secondly, my co-supervisor dr. Herman van Bergeijk provided me with stacks of books to read. He became my co-supervisor when, after a year, it became clear that I had to make a clear methodological choice. Instead of a purely historical approach, he taught me to look at cities as the Slavicist Karl Schlögel does: as an observer and narrator of cities.

I would also like to thank my two mentors, who assisted me during my viva, veterans of The Hague who were intensively involved in the city's urban development, prosperity, design, and cultural policy: Ruud Ridderhof and Martin Verwoest. Ruud gave me a stack of boxes containing the archive of The Hague architecture historian and civil servant Victor Freijser. I would also like to thank the architectural historian Marcel Teunissen for his inspiring books and the patience and precision in reading through my texts about the early modern movement.

Archivists Kees Stal and Koos Wentholt of the Hague Municipal Archives were also very helpful. They taught me the profession of archive researcher and guided me through the city's extensive archives. Thijs Bosma guided me through the cultural policy of The Hague as an international city—nowhere are architecture and politics so closely linked as when diplomats speak out. Finally, I would like to thank all the former civil servants of The Hague and the Rijksvastgoedbedrijf (Government Buildings Agency) who told me about the complex relationship between urbanism, architecture, and policy, including Askon Eden, Bram Harkes, and Evaline Blitz.

After studying original sources and completing the concept for my study, I interviewed many people involved – this was planned thus in order to avoid being influenced by the actors who created The Hague's cityscape. I already had an extensive network among architects and urban planners in The Hague, since I had been working in architectural practice for many years, including at KCAP in Rotterdam, Geurst & Schulze architects in Scheveningen, and later, while writing my dissertation, at The Hague-based atelier PRO architekten.

From 2008 to 2016, I was also chair of the Haags Architectuur Café (HaAC) and editor-in-chief of the magazine and later the website HAACS, which showcased The Hague's architecture and urban development in words and images. The debates we organized between 2010 and 2014 together with Stroom, the BNA, and the Nutshuis on all kinds of issues in the city were particularly eye-opening. I realized that urban planning and architecture are not isolated phenomena, but the product of society.

Interviews with fellow architects in The Hague, many of whom are known for their activism, further opened my eyes to the complex relationship between urban planning, architecture, and politics. I spoke at length with Hans van Beek, Joop ten Velden, my colleague Joop Bolster, Peter Drijver, and Jan Brouwer. They explained to me in detail how 'it works' in The Hague. However, the interview with the astute elderly architect Rutger Bleeker—supervisor for Mariahoeve, among other things—was a real lesson in cultural politics, architecture, and urban planning in the post-war period. He emphasized that it is important that no reports or notes are made of conversations between aldermen Feber and supervisors about strategies. Those strategies, as he discussed them with his neighbor in Wassenaar, former Delft School professor Granpré Molière, were always shared in confidence. It was only during that period that I realized that architecture, urban planning, local politics, and the interests of stakeholders are inextricably linked, and that the imagined city plays a crucial role in this.

Local politicians who were involved in urban development and architecture in one way or another patiently guided me through the complex trade-offs municipalities must make in the face of limited budgets and numerous urban dilemmas. Conversations with Gerard van Otterloo, an urban planner and former alderman, confirmed many of the suspicions I had developed by reading various documents. He also helped to put the political tensions between parties within the city executive into perspective. These tensions are often exaggerated in the media, whereas in practice, parties frequently already knew what must be done, and cooperation is generally constructive. I also had several in-depth conversations with Adri Duivesteijn, the idealistic former alderman who energetically spearheaded the transformation of the city in the eighties. Former alderman René Vlaanderen taught me the liberal political principle of combining restraint with well-placed nudges. Ultimately, it is the personal chemistry among members of the municipal executive, along with the character and quality of the city council, that determines the success of urban policy.

I am also grateful to the members of the working group City of the Labour Party (PvdA) for the insights they shared with me: former council member and architect Joop ten Velde, architect Madeleine Steigenga, urban planner and geographer Elsbeth van Hijlckama Vlieg, and Hans Reijnen, former alderman of Delft and director of the Department of Urban Development. Council members from this period, such as Lobke Zandstra, Martijn Balster, Bülent Aydin, and Jeltje van Nieuwenhoven, who studied architectural history in Utrecht and was active in urban renewal movements during her student years, played a significant role as well. It was within this working group that I truly began to understand how politics is made with cityscapes. I learned just how subtle yet compelling language and the imagined city—the cityscape—can be when it comes to shaping our vision of the city of the future. I am also grateful for the help of urban planner and landscape designer Richard Koek in writing chapter 12 and 13.

Finally, I would like to thank Sakia Roselaar of Roselaar Tekstadvies for her patience and passion in translating this book.

References

All maps of The Hague, archives, reports, and notes mentioned in this book can be assessed in The Hague Archive (Haags Gemeentearchief, HGA) (https://haagsgemeentearchief.nl), unless otherwise stated in the text.

For archives: HGA BNR 0828-01, inv.nr.: 10030. BNR is the archive number and inv.nr.10030 is the accces to the specific document.

For visual data such as city maps, photos, images etc., access codes are given for example as HGA gr.1028. HGA is The Hague Archive; gr.1028 is the access number or code.

For city council meetings, debates, and decisions the specific date is mentioned. For example: “City Council meeting of January 6, 1880”. In The Hague Archive the date is used as the access code to the minutes of the meeting.

For the The Hague Municipal Archives, are written for example as “HGA BNR 579-01, inv: P4504.0”. Then ‘HGA’ is the institute, ‘BNR 579-01’ the archive and ‘inv: P4504.0’ the access code. For the archive of the former Nederlandse Architectuur Instituut (NAI), currently named Het Nieuwe Instituut, are written for example as “Het Nieuwe Instituut, Ottehof, F. (Fop) / Archief. Inv. OTTO3” Then ‘Het Nieuwe Instituut’ is the institute, ‘Ottehof, F. (Fop) / Archief’ the archive and ‘OTTE3’ is the access code.For other used data the source is mentioned in the text.

All names of organizations, persons, specific places, or buildings mentioned are given in Dutch, except for places that are better known in English, such as The Hague. Names of organizations are mentioned for the first time in Dutch, followed by an English translation in parentheses. After that, the English translation is used. For example Vereeniging tot Verbetering der Woningen van de Arbeidende Klasse (Association for the improvement of Housing of the Working-class), Vereniging van Nederlandse Gemeenten (Association of Dutch Municipalities) (VNG) or Dienst der Stadsontwikkeling en Volkshuisvesting (Department of Urban Development and Housing).

All names of specific books, magazines, maps, paintings, newspapers, memorandums, reports etc. are given in italic, followed by the date of publication. For example *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania inferiore* (1567), *Wereldstad aan Zee: Structuurvisie Den Haag 2020* (2005) or *Het Vaderland*.

Names of policy documents are mentioned for the first time in Dutch, followed by an English translation in parentheses. After that, the English translation is used. For example Wereldstad aan Zee: Structuurvisie Den Haag 2020 (Structural Vision The Hague 2020: World City by the Sea).

Data on monuments, are derived from the website of Monumentenzorg Den Haag: https://www.monumentenzorgdenhaag.nl/monumenten, unless otherwise stated. Publications by the municipality are given as follows:

- Rosenberg, H., Vaillant, C., & Valentijn, D. (1988). *Architectuurgids Den Haag 1800-1940*. Den Haag: Sdu.
- Gemeente Den Haag. (1999). *Den Haag 2000 monumenten*. Gemeente Den Haag.

Statistics Websites

Statistics Netherlands

Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek CBS

https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/dossier/nederland-regionaal/informatie-voor-gemeenten/cijfers-op-gemeentelijk-en-regionaal-niveau

Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek CBS StatLine:

https://opendata.cbs.nl/#/CBS/nl/navigatieScherm/thema

Den Haag in cijfers:

https://denhaag.incijfers.nl

Waar staat je gemeente:

https://www.waarstaatjegemeente.nl/

Alle Cijfers:

https://allecijfers.nl/gebieden/

Interviews

Lecture by Hans van Beek, architect at atelier PRO and former member of the Aesthetic Committee, on Couperusduin, March 16, 2010.

Interview with Casper Postmaa, journalist at *Haagse Courant* and *Den Haag Centraal*, November 2, 2010.

Interview with Thijs Bosma, policy officer for the municipality of The Hague, November 4, 2010

Interview with Ruud Ridderhof, policy officer municipality of The Hague, November 8, 2010.

Interview with Gerard van Otterloo, urban planner and alderman of The Hague, November 9, 2010.

Interview with Hans van Beek, architect at atelier PRO and former member of the Aesthetic Committee, December 10, 2010.

Interview with Peter Drijver, architect at Scala and former member of the Aesthetic Committee, December 6, 2010.

Interview with Joop Bolster, architect and former roommate of Adri Duivesteijn, Januari 12, 2011.

Interview with Rutger Dirk Bleeker, architect supervisor for Mariahoeve, by Niek van Vught, Marloes Groot and Leo Oorschot, February 16, 2011.

Interview with Joop ten Velden, council member in The Hague and employee of PPD Zuid-Holland, March 15, 2011.

Interview with Hans Reijnen, head of the Urban Development Department in the 1980s, May 16, 2011.

Remarks by Bram Harkes, on draft text for the period 1960-70, January 2011.

Interview with Hans van Beek, architect at atelier PRO and former member of the Aesthetic Committee, May 30, 2011.

Interview with Jan Brouwer, Hans van Beek, and Peter Drijver, The Hague architects, October 17, 2012.

Interview with Adri Duivesteijn, alderman of The Hague, October 10, 2022.

Interview with Richard Koek, expert Urban Design, and Frank van den Beuken, expert Urban Planning, January 14, 2026.

Municipal Departments and Persons

Nineteenth Century

Department of (Urban) Manufacturing

Department Dienst van (Stedelijke) Fabricage

Period 1824–1847

City architect Zeger Reijers (1789–1857), in office 1824–1857

Department of Public Works

Department Dienst Openbare Werken

Period 1847–1890

City architect Willem Cornelis van der Waeyen Pieterszen (1819–1874), in office 1857–1874

City architect B. Reinders (1875–1890), in office 1875–1890

Fin de Siècle

Department of Municipal Works

Department Dienst der Gemeentewerken

Period 1890–1919

City architect Isaac Anne Lindo (1848–1941), in office 1890–1918

Interbellum

Department of Urban Development and Public Housing

Department Dienst der Stadsontwikkeling en Volkshuisvesting (Dienst S en V or DSenV)

Period 1 July 1918/1919–1945

Director Piet Bakker Schut (1877–1952)

This department was divided into:

Grondbedrijf (Municipal Land Company)

Woningdienst (Housing Service)

Post-War

Department of Reconstruction

Department Dienst voor de Wederopbouw

Period June 16, 1945–1949

Director First Henk Suyver, then Piet Bakker Schut

This department was divided into:

Dienst Stadsontwikkeling (Department of Municipal Development)

Gemeentelijke Woningdienst (Department of Municipal Housing, established November 20, 1948, dissolved January 1, 1964)

Dienst voor het gemeentelijk Grondbedrijf (Department of the Municipal Land Company)

Department of Reconstruction and Urban Development

Department Dienst voor de Wederopbouw en de Stadsontwikkeling (WOSO)

Period 1949–1962

Director Frits Bakker Schut (1903–1966)

This department was divided into:

Dienst Stadsontwikkeling (Department of Urban Development)

Dienst Bouw- en Woningtoezicht (Department of Building and Public Housing Supervision)

Gemeentelijke Woningdienst (Department of Municipal Housing, established November 20, 1948 dissolved January 1, 1964)

Dienst voor het gemeentelijk Grondbedrijf (Department of the Municipal Land Company)

Period 1962–1983

In the period 1953–1983, the municipality of The Hague had the administrative Secretarial Service Model (Secretarie Dienstenmodel) with a central role for the municipal secretary as the highest civil servant who ensured coherence between policy and implementation of the various services. In 1982, the municipality of The Hague had the departments (afdelingen) of the secretariat mentioned below that were focused on policy-making and advised the municipal executive under the leadership of the municipal secretary and services (dienseten) that were more focused on implementation.

Secretariat Departments (Secretarie afdelingen)

Ruimte, Grond en Milieu (RGM)

Wonen

Verkeer, Openbare Werken en Monumentenzorg (VOM)

Projectorganisatie Stadsvernieuwing (POS)

Period 1981–1986

Director Bram Harkes, Hans van Dijk, Niek Roos

Service Departments (Diensten)

Dienst Stadsontwikkeling SO (Urban Development Department)

Period 1962–1983

Director Frits van der Sluijs (1962–1982)

Hans Reijnen (1982–1983)

Including Land Affairs (Grondzaken GZ) since January 1, 1984. The service changed its name to Urban Development and Land Affairs SO/GZ.

Dienst Volkshuisvesting (Housing Department)

Period 1964–1983

Director Fop Ottenhof (...), ?

Including the sections: Housing service (Woningbedrijf), Land Affairs (Grondzaken GZ) independent section between 1950–1963 and part of the Housing between 1964–1984.

Dienst Bouw- en Woningtoezicht (Construction and Housing Supervision)

Director Cor van der Gaag

Including the sections Aesthetics Committee (Welstandscommissie)

Dienst Gemeentewerken (Municipal Works)

Period 1984–1986

In the period 1984–1990 there was a Secretarial Service Model in which the secretary was charged with preparing decisions for and advising the municipal administration. Services, such as SO/GZ, supported the secretariat in preparing and advising on decisions and took care of the implementation of the decisions. In this period, there were also mergers of secretarial departments with the service departments, an administrative clustering within the municipality of The Hague.

Urban Development and Land Affairs

Dienst Stadsontwikkeling-Grondzaken (SO/GZ)

Period January 1, 1984–January 1, 1991

Director Hans Reijnen

With the sections:

Grondzaken (sector land affairs), directeur Evelien Blitz,

Stadsontwikkeling & Planologie (sector city development) directeur Peter Jonquière, 1986–1992

Housing department

Dienst Volkshuisvesting

Period January 1, 1984–January 1, 1986

Director Elly Boomsma (January 1, 1984–1989)

Housing was a merger of Secretariat and Service Departments Housing. Including the section Gemeentelijk Woningbedrijf, direction: Erik Staal (1989–1990)

Period 1986–1990

In the 1986-1990 college period, there was an extensive municipality-wide reorganization into a Sector-based or Concern Service Model, in which large parts of the secretariat were allocated to new services. The Secretariat Service Model was dismantled. This transition was led by alderman Fré Vooys, who was responsible for organization, among other things. Bram Harkes led the project officially.

Urban Development and Land Affairs

Dienst Stadsontwikkeling-Grondzaken (SO/GZ)

Period January 1, 1984–January 1, 1991

Director Hans Reijnen

With the sections:

Grondzaken (sector land affairs), directeur Evelien Blitz,

Stadsontwikkeling & Planologie (sector city development) directeur Peter Jonquière, 1986–1992

Building and Housing Department

Dienst Bouwen en Wonen (DBW)

Period 1986–1990

Director Elly Boomsma (Januari 1, 1984–1989)

Including the section Gemeentelijk Woningbedrijf, direction: Erik Staal (1989–1990)

DBW was a merger of secretarial departments POS (Projectorganisatie Stadsvernieuwing), RGM (Ruimte, Grond en Milieu), Housing Department (Dienst Volkshuisvesting) and Construction and Housing Supervision (Dienst Bouwen en Woningtoezicht).

Period 1991–1996

In the period 1991–1996, a Sector-based or Concern Service Model had emerged as a result of reorganizations. The position of the secretary of the municipality changed and the position of the municipal secretary depended on his personality and ability to bring cohesion between the different sectors.

Spatial Planning and Economic Development Department

Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening en Economische Ontwikkeling (REO)

Period Januari 1, 1991–1996

Directors Hans Reijnen (1982–1994),
Wouter van der Poel (1995–1996)

REO is a merger of secretarial departments RGM (Ruimte, Grond en

Milieu), VOM (Verkeer, Openbare Werken en Monumentenzorg), Department SO/GZ and Department of Economic Affairs (Economische Zaken). In its new form, it consisted of three sectors:

Grondzaken (land affairs),
directeur Evelien Blitz (1984–april 1991)

Stadsontwikkeling (city development)
directeur Elsbeth Hylkema-Vlieg (1991–1994)

Economische Zaken (Economic Affiars),
directeur Frits Schreiner (1991–1994)

Building and Housing Department

Dienst Bouwen en Wonen (DBW)

Period January 1, 1991–1996

Director Henk Werkhoven (January 1, 1991–1994)

DBW was a merger of secretarial departments POS (Projectorganisatie Stadsvernieuwing), RGM (Ruimte, Grond en Milieu), Housing Department (Dienst Volkshuisvesting) and Construction and Housing Supervision (Dienst Bouwen en Woningtoezicht).

Periode 1996–present

The type of municipal organization changed from a Sector-based or Corporate Services Model to a Directorate-based Services Model (Directie-dienstenmodel) with a Municipal Management Team (Gemeentelijk Management Team (GMT) in 1999, consisting of a municipal secretary/general director and the general directors of the departments as advisors to the Board of Mayor and Aldermen. Since the Dualism Act of 2002, the municipal secretary has taken on a different role and now supports only the executive board and its members. Previously, the municipal secretary also advised the municipal council. The role of the municipal secretary has thus shifted to that of manager of the civil service organization.

Department of Urban Development

Dienst Stedelijke Ontwikkeling (DSO)

Period 1996–present

Directors Bert Klerk (1996–2000), Henk Jagersma (2001–2005), Leonard Kok (2006–2013), Peter Jägers (2013–2024), Bas van Rijsbergen (2025–present)

This department is divided into the sections:

Ruimtelijke en Economische Ontwikkeling (Spatial and economic development)

Stedelijke Inrichting (design of urban spaces)

Mobiliteit en infrastructuur (Mobility and infrastructure)

Wonen (Housing)

Monumentenzorg en welstand (Heritage and Aesthetic Committee)

Vergunningen, Bouw- en Woningtoezicht en Handhaving (Permits, Building and Housing Supervision and Enforcement)

Energietransitie (Energy transition)

Grondbedrijf (land company)

Gemeentelijk Vastgoedbeheer (voorheen Centrale Vastgoedorganisatie Den Haag)

City architects, head of urban development and planning, and urban development experts

Kees Rijnboutt, Stadsstedenbouwer, 1995–1998.

Maarten Schmitt, Stadsstedenbouwer, 1999–2009

Hans Kuipers, Hoofd Stedenbouw, 2009–2010

Erik Pasveer, Hoofd Stedenbouw en Planologie, 2010–2019

Richard Koek, Expert Stedenbouw, 2023–present.

Political Parties of The Hague City Council

Social Democrats, Socialists, Marxist, Maoist, Green and Animal Parties

SDAP Sociaal-Democratische Arbeiders Partij (1894–1946)
Social Democratic Workers' Party

PvdA Partij van de Arbeid (1946–2026)
Labour Party or Labour

GL GroenLinks (1990–2026)
GreenLeft or Green party or Green
A fusion in 1990 of four political parties:
- CPN Communitische Partij
  Communist Party
- EVP Evangelische Volkspartij
  Evagelical People's Party
- PPR Politieke partij Radikalen
  Radical Political Party
- PSP Pacifistische-Socialistische Partij
  Pacifist Socialist Party

SP Socialistische Partij (1971–present)
Socialistic Party

DENK A left wing pro-migrant party (2015–present)

PvdD Partij voor de Dieren (2002–present)
Party for the Animals

PRO Progressief Nederland (2026–present)
Progressive Netherlands
A fusion in 2026 of the PvdA and GroenLinks

Liberals and Social liberals

Liberale Unie (1885–1921)
Liberal Union

"De Vrijheidsbond" or Liberale Staatspartij (1921–1938)
The Freedom League of Liberal State Party

VVD Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (1947–present)
People's Party for Freedom and Democracy or Liberals

D66 Democraten 66 (1966–present)
Democrats 66 or Social liberal

Local Parties

HvDH Hart voor Den Haag (2013–present)
Heart for The Hague

HSP Haagse Stadspartij (1997–present)
The Hague City Party

Confessional parties

RKSP Roomsch-Katholieke Staatspartij (1926–1945)
Roman Catholic People's party

KNP Katholieke Nationale Partij (1948–1955)
Catholic National Party

NU Nationale Unie (1956–1960)
National Union

SGP Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij (1918–present)
Political Reformed Party

CU Christen Unie (2000–present)
Christian Union
A fusion in 2000 of two political parties:
- GPV Gereformeerd Politiek Verbond (1948–2003)
  Reformed Political Alliance
- RPF Reformatorische Politieke federatie (1975–2003)
  Reformed Political Federation

CDA Christen-Democratisch Appèl (1980–present)
Christian Democrats Appeal
A fusion in 1980 of three political parties:
- ARP Anti-Revolutionaire partij (1879–1980)
  Anti-Revolutionary Party
- KVP Katholieke Volkspartij (1945–1980)
  Catholic People's Party
- CHU Christelijk-Historische Unie (1908–1980)
  Christian Historical Union

Right Wing and Nationalistic Parties

PVV Partij voor de Vrijheid (2006–present)
Party for Freedom

FvD Forum voor Democratie (2016–present)
Forum for Democracy

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Colophon

Conflicts about The Hague Cityscapes | The Making of a Modern City 1860–2025

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Keywords:

cityscapes; history of architectural and urban planning;

modern city; The Hague; governance

Published by:

TU Delft OPEN Publishing | Delft University of Technology, The Netherlands

DOI: https://doi.org/10.59490/mg.128

ISBN: 978-94-6518-363-3

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Electronic version of this book is available at: https://books.open.tudelft.nl

Front and back cover photo's and design made by author.

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Conflict of Interest:

No conflict of interest to disclose.

Data Access Statement:

Open data: research data supporting this publication are available from:
The Hague Archive (Haags Gemeentearchief, HGA):
https://haagsgemeentearchief.nl
The Hague Heritage Section (Monumentenzorg Den Haag):
https://www.monumentenzorgdenhaag.nl/monumenten

History of the book:

Chapter 1–11 of this book is a translation of the doctoral thesis *Conflicts over Cityscapes of The Hague. From Willempark to Spuiforum*, parts 1 and 2 (*Conflicten over Haagse stadsbeelden. Van Willempark tot Spuiforum*, (delen 1 and 2) published by Delft University of Technology, TU Delft A+BE Architecture and the Built Environment, published in 2014. ISBN 978-1499763997 and ISSN 2212-3203.

Supervisors of the doctoral thesis were prof.ir. Henco Bekkering (Promotor) and dr. Herman van Bergeijk (Copromotor). In addition to the supervisors, the Doctorate Committee consisted of: Prof.dr. B. Verschaffel, Ghent University; Prof.dr. C. Wagenaar, University of Groningen; Prof.Dipl.-Ing. H. Frank, Hafen City Univesität, Hamburg; Ir. G. van Otterloo, urban planner, former councilor and former alderman of The Hague; Dr. H. Buiter, association historian ANWB. Chapter 12–13 is a new addition from 2025.
https://research.tudelft.nl/en/publications/conflicten-over-haagse-stadsbeelden-van-willemspark-tot-spuiforum/

Peer review:

Chapters 1–11 has been peer reviewed by supervisors and the doctorate committee in 2014. Chapter 12–13 is peer reviewed by Richard Koek, expert urban design of the municipality of The Hague in 2025. The Author and the Publisher would like to thank the reviewers for their time and effort.

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How to cite this book:

This book can be cited as (APA style): Oorschot, L.M. (2026). *Conflicts about The Hague Cityscapes: The Making of a Modern City 1860–2025*. TU Delft OPEN Publishing,

Abstract

Around the Napoleonic era, the village of The Hague had around 41,000–45,000 inhabitants. In the second half of the nineteenth century, population growth accelerated sharply: by 1875 the city already had approximately 100,000 inhabitants, and by 1913 about 300,000. Around 1960, the population had grown to roughly 600,000, although by 1995, the population had declined to 442,937.

This trend of increase required far-reaching urban renewal programs, characterized by the demolition of parts of the historic city and subsequent reconstruction. From the second half of the 1980s onward, however, The Hague experienced a renaissance. Attention shifted back to the historic city and its rehabilitation through urban renewal. Subsequently, new Vinex residential districts were developed, and a period of rapid growth began, driven by the arrival of immigrants from other countries. In January 2025, The Hague had nearly 570,000 inhabitants and had evolved into a fully-fledged global city.

Conflicts over the cityscapes of The Hague arose not so much because of personal disputes concerning urban design or individual buildings, but rather out of conflicting interests in the creation of the city, which created tension between the municipality, entrepreneurs, and citizens. Such tensions became especially visible from the moment municipal politics began to develop more fully, after 1852, when debates about urban development came to occupy a central place in the city council and in various media. There was always a prevailing cityscape or urban image that hung over the city like a shadow—an image that was actively shaped and eventually cast aside once a new cityscape emerged.

The cityscape as an idea and as a physically realized urban landscape merged, interacted, and influenced one another, ultimately converging in what became a clearly defined and architecturally recognizable urban landscape, accompanied by a corresponding narrative. In any given period, the urban image functioned as a driving force behind the expansion of the city, the organization of urban spaces, and the design of buildings and architecture.

The cityscape or urban image is not an autonomous phenomenon, but is deeply intertwined with broad societal developments, both national and international. An essential characteristic is that it is never entirely unambiguous or precise; rather, it is a mental construct that gradually embeds itself in the collective consciousness. How compelling a cityscape can be is demonstrated by the case of The Hague. The city is distinctive for its often well-organized, activist citizenry, which resists government authorities and corporate actors, as well as for entrepreneurs who perceptively respond to this resistance and reinforce the dominant urban image.

Walking through The Hague is akin to moving through a time machine, revealing the historical layering of the physical environment, its architecture, and urban design. A chic fin-de-siècle townhouse with turrets adjoins a concrete apartment block from the 1960s. A New Hague School residential neighborhood, partially demolished and supplemented by austere urban renewal, stands alongside it. This historic layering of cityscapes appears to be characteristic of the modern city.

The author, Dr. Ir. Leo M. Oorschot, is architect and urbanist at atelier PRO architects and design and research tutor at Delft University of Technology / Faculty Architecture and the Built Environment, Department of Architecture. In 1982 he moved from the province to The Hague to study at Delft University of Technology and saw the city and administration change.