

**EMANCIPATING NATURE:
PROVINCIAL REORIENTATIONS TOWARDS ENCI**

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List of abbreviations

ARP	Anti-Revolutionaire Partij
CBR	Cimenteries et Briqueteries Réunies
CDA	Christen Democratisch Appèl
CHU	Christelijk-Historische Unie
CPN	Communistische Partij van Nederland
D66	Democraten 66
ENCI	Eerste Nederlandse Cement Industrie
GS	Gedeputeerde Staten ¹
KVP	Katholieke Volkspartij
LFVV	Limburgse Federatie van Verenigingen van Vreemdelingenverkeer
NAP	Normaal Amsterdams Peil
PDCUL	Parlementaire Documentatie Centrum Universiteit Leiden
PSP	Pacifistisch Socialistische Partij
PvdA	Partij van de Arbeid
PvdV	Partij van de Vrijheid
VVD	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie
SDAP	Sociaal Democratisch Arbeiderspartij
SGP	Staatskundig-Gereformeerde Partij

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¹ English translation: Provincial Executive

Introduction

In the late nineteenth century, shortly after the discovery of Portland cement, the cement industry flourished across Europe. The Netherlands, however, remained dedicated to the use of trass². Moreover it appeared that no suitable location could be found that combined the essential elements for Portland cement (chalk and clay). In the twenties, the Belgian company, CBR, identified the St. Pietersberg as the ideal location to found a Dutch cement industry. The mountain contains marl of a high quality and is conveniently located for transport along the Maas River. By 1928, the CBR set up a cement factory at the east flank of the St. Pietersberg together with other foreign investors. The name of the factory was ENCI B.V.³ (Heerding, 1971, pp. 51-116)

The settlement of ENCI provoked mixed reactions, which are representative of the interests that are at play. On the one hand having secured cement production for the Netherlands in the tumultuous times of the interbellum was welcomed. The added benefit that this factory would provide jobs for an economically weak region was also favourably perceived. (Roemen, 1946b) However, this industry drastically infringed on its environment, as quarrying marl requires surface mining. In this technique, the top layer of soil is removed and then marl is extracted. Therefore the natural environment and beauty of the mountain disappears as well as the geographic relief and the cultural and historical heritage attached to the mountain. (Van Nieuwhoven, 1964, pp. 47-49)

This factory has now been operating at the foot of the St. Pietersberg for nearly eighty years and the arguments between the different groups, only briefly outlined above, have not diminished. During the past eighty years, these interests have featured prominently but in a different balance in the debate about ENCI. At times the argument for a Dutch cement industry prevailed, while at other moments the arguments to preserve nature were dominant. These changes in the relationship between the nature and economic arguments have been strongly influenced by social context: the Second World War, the oil and economic crisis of the seventies and the developing environmental movement.

This thesis tackles the changes in perspective of provincial politics towards ENCI and its mining activity in the St. Pietersberg. Since the late thirties the Province of Limburg is the responsible authority for granting the factory an earth removal permit, which is needed in order to practice surface mining. This permit was initially only conceded for a two year

² Trass cement is a forerunner of modern Portland cement

³ Here after referred to as ENCI

period. However, faced with vast investments required to set up a cement producing factory, ENCI required the assurance of long-term access to marl. Therefore in the mid forties ENCI entered into discussions with the Provincial authorities and central government hoping to secure a private agreement (concession) that would assure them access to the marl for years to come. In 1948 these discussions resulted in a concession of guaranteed access for the next sixty years. (Interview with De Jong, Rijk and Poesen, 15 April, 2009; Nieste & Poesen, 1996, pp. 49-50) The first earth removal permit within this private agreement was granted in 1949 and the last in 1988.

These two permits were granted in different social contexts, which had strong bearing on the perspectives held by the Province on ENCI and their mining activities. The shifting perspective of the Province will be the focus of this thesis. Perspectives are crystallized in the permits and therefore these will be analysed, but these are only the tip of the iceberg. In order to gain a deeper understanding, these permits will be considered in relation to their social context. Furthermore an analysis of the newspapers of the time will reveal the Limburg's public opinion on ENCI's mining activity. Thereby not only reflecting the changing perspectives of the Province, but also indicating the changes in public opinion.

In this case shifting perspectives can best be understood as an altered value orientation that exists between the two periods. Therefore the comparison of these periods will be placed within the theoretical framework of Inglehart and Eder. The theories of these two scholars both address the changing value orientation which took place across the Western world in the second half of the twentieth century. The theory of Inglehart (1977; 2004) describes and explains the postmodern shift in Western value orientation and the theory of Eder (1996) describes how environmental arguments were absorbed into Western politics.

Throughout this thesis it will become clear that there is a considerable change in provincial perspectives on ENCI. However these altered views will not always be in line with the theories of these two scholars. In 1949 there were arguments for nature conservation, but these were incompatible with the economic arguments, which would ultimately trump the efforts to save the St. Pietersberg. In the space of forty years significant changes have taken place in Dutch society (to a certain degree these are also described by Inglehart and Eder), which caused a shift in the relationship between these two arguments. This can be observed in both the public and political discourse surrounding the events in Limburg prior to the permit of 1988. In this discourse the issue of a new quarry in Margraten played a significant role. The denial of this permit by the Province lead ENCI to adapt their strategy and request a new permit for the St. Pietersberg.

It has been claimed that this is an indicator of nature arguments trumping economic arguments. If this were true ENCI would not have received their 1988 permit which has a different character to previous permits. Rather it will be argued that the conflict between economic and environmental concerns in the eighties, influenced by the mature environmental movement and the economic crisis, resulted in both concerns operating together. (Cramer, 1989)

The rise of environmental concerns would seem to support the theory of Inglehart who describes a shift away from materialist concerns, to soft values such as the environment. However, the aim of this thesis is to show that while Inglehart's theory holds generally for the changes in Dutch politics. His correlation does not hold when one looks to the specifics of the St. Pietersberg case, the issues are more complex when considering perspective changes. Before these points can be argued through the comparison of the two periods, we need to examine the theories of Inglehart and Eder.

Theoretical Framework

We live in a society which is constantly in flux. Although this platitude is always true, it is of little value if one does not look for the events, ideas or actors which lie behind these changes. Thus it is easily understandable that environmental concerns, which now hold so much weight in public discourse, were not considered important or even relevant fifty or even sixty years ago. These theories, presented here by Ronald Inglehart and Karl Eder, seek to describe the changes in Western society that have given rise to a postmodern shift in value orientation; the ways through which this shift in perspective has been included in public discourse; and lastly how this has effected political institutions. This theoretical background is therefore important as it frames and allows for a deeper understanding of the comparison between the 1949 and 1988 earth removal permits ENCI has received. I will first recapitulate the theory of Inglehart, which describes the postmodern shift in society and then address the theory of Eder, which describes how environmental concerns have been absorbed by political institutions.

Explaining changing value orientation: the theory of Ronald Inglehart

Inglehart's theory can be seen as an explanation of the shift in society's orientation in the second half of the twentieth century from materialist worries to a growing concern for postmaterialist values. He argues that since the sixties society is less consumed by the need to create material wealth or a secure and safe social environment. Unlike the generation born before or during the Second World War, the generation born after take their economic and social stability for granted and therefore orientate themselves towards postmodern values, such as the environmental concerns. (Inglehart, 2004, pp. 6-9)

This shift occurs through two different changes, which reinforce each other: the first as an increase in political skills and the second a change in political values. (Inglehart, 1977, p. 4) The development in society of political skills is seen in the style of political participation of the public. Before the sixties, political participation was more group-orientated as can be seen in the large political groups, trade unions and church organisations. The traditional political parties were characterised by mass party systems with strong hierarchical structures. This limited the political participation of the individual since participation was done through various organisations, making it indirect rather than direct. (pp. 7-16)

After the sixties, these solid structures started to decay as the public demanded more direct political influence. Inglehart argues that these demands were stimulated by an increase in education, which created intellectually independent individuals who relied on their own

choices and a public that was more politically aware and articulate. This increase in political skills meant that individuals were no longer willing to leave their decisions up to elites. Rather they felt that they were capable of making their own political decision and this was expressed through elections and demonstrations. (pp. 15-16)

In order to understand the second change Inglehart describes, the shift in value orientation, he claims one must look to the conditions in which different generations live. After the war, people were born into a period of prolonged peace and stability between the nation-states and a dramatically improved economic situation. Unlike their parents or grandparents, war and economic instability was unfamiliar to them. This, Inglehart claims, influences value orientation. The generation born before or during the war was consumed with materialist values (creating wealth and safety). Realising these materialist concerns were seen as the mark of a successful society. (Inglehart, 2004, pp. 6-9)

Orientations change when society achieves this, as happened in the Western world beginning in the sixties. This conclusion is based on survey data of life satisfaction done by Andrews & Withey (1976 quoted in Inglehart, 1977), in which individuals were asked to give their perspective on aspects of their life satisfaction. It was found that overall participants were satisfied with their income, of course some more than others. However, when these same participants were asked to give their overall life satisfaction, they no longer gave affirmative answers. The conclusion was that overall life satisfaction could not be attributed to materialist values alone, and therefore reaching a certain gross domestic product or per capita income no longer operated as a good indicator for a successful society. Other aspects also influenced life satisfaction. These were items perceived to be in short supply which posed a threat to their lifestyle. For instance, the environment was shown by the environmental movement to be threatened by materialist pursuits. (Inglehart, 1977, pp. 117-147)

This shift is not limited to individuals because as individual orientations and priorities alter, this affects the political arena. This movement of values from the public into political discourse is reinforced by the shift in political skills described above. The political market place has grown more competitive as political parties have to adapt to a more articulate electorate with less predictable voting behaviour. Therefore to increase their election outcomes, political parties had to exploit the alternative values. (pp. 13-16)

The infiltration of environmental concerns into politics: the theory of Karl Eder

The means through which values created by the environmental movement were included into political discourse is described by Eder. His theory is based on frame analysis, in which frames are defined as “stable patterns of experiencing and perceiving events in the world which structure social reality” (Eder, 1996, p. 166). These can therefore be described as the way through which we organise reality and assign meaning to it. According to Eder, historically there are three different frames. It must however be remarked that these frames are focused on man’s experience of nature. This theory therefore places the experience of man at its centre and nature is considered only in how man experiences and frames it. This makes nature a dependent notion, as it only receives meaning through its relation to man.

The first method of framing described by Eder is moral. It refers to the responsibility that man has towards nature. This is an ethical way of interpreting nature with two separate tracks. One track focuses on man as having an obligation to take care of nature (for instance because God commanded this or because of its utility for man). The other track advocates that general principles apply to both man and nature and therefore a dominating role for man over nature is excluded. The second way in which nature can be framed is empirical. In this frame the focus is on creating or distilling facts from nature. This is a scientific approach to nature. The third and last frame is aesthetic. This frame views nature as an object of sensibility in the man-nature relationship, drawing on, but not limited to, the romantic notion of nature and the Biblical conception of paradise. (pp 172-176)

These frames have been used in public discourse through symbolic packages. These packages utilise different combinations of frames in order to express a particular view on the relationship between man and nature. Eder discerns three different packages: conservationist, fundamentalist and political ecology. The conservationist package separates nature and society by stressing that nature has value in and for itself. Their perception of nature is that it is a self-regulating body and therefore it should be protected from human intervention. This package makes use of all frames, but places more emphasis on the moral frame and aesthetic frame. The fundamentalist package (also referred to as deep ecology) fuses nature and society, strongly emphasising the moral frame by arguing that the same principles that apply to man should be applied to nature. This package is furthest away, in comparison to the other packages, from viewing nature as an object to be dominated by man. The last package, political ecology, integrates nature into society by taking the point of view that the environment is open to political struggles. Unlike the previous ones, this package does not attribute nature a value of its own, but rather sees nature in its value to man. Nature is viewed

as a common good and therefore the sharing of this common good in society becomes a political question. (pp. 177-179)

Until the environmental movement though, the relationship between man and nature was seen quite differently. The central focus was on man's domination over and exploitation of nature (through industrialism) for his own endeavours. This he refers to as the masterframe⁴ of industrialism. The masterframe is the dominant way (the broadly accepted and commonly used way in political and public discourse) of approaching and giving meaning to reality. During the environmental movement, which only started in the sixties, the packages described above entered into public discourse and competed with each other for top billing. Ultimately one became dominant within the environmental movement and this then challenged the framing of reality (the industrial masterframe) until the environmental framing was adapted into the masterframe. (pp.180-183)

Within this assault on the masterframe of industrialism, and therefore in the environmental movement, various stages can be identified. This can be observed before the sixties though, as will be demonstrated by this thesis. Initially the concerns for the environment were seen as incompatible with this masterframe. The period of incompatibility was followed by a period of inclusion. In this stage regulatory laws and sustainable development evolved. The last stage, which falls outside the focus of this thesis, is very recent. In this last period, there is a general acceptance and cultural normalisation of environmental concerns. (pp. 162-163)

In the end it was political ecology that triumphed over the fundamentalist and conservative packages⁵. This can be seen in how ecology "has become a catchword for the basic functions of public discourse" (p.183). The dominant role of framing nature this way can best be observed in the development of sustainable development in which nature, man, culture and economy are seen to be elements that must survive together in the same ecosystem. (pp. 180-183)

Once this package was absorbed into the masterframe, it also brought about behavioural changes:

"The effect goes even further. While entering public discourse, it has also started to reconstruct public discourse. These developments have led to the crystallization of a new masterframe capable of mobilizing collective action in advanced modernity.

Institutional changes have contributed to channeling these mobilizations." (p.191)

⁴ This masterframe can also be referred to as ideology.

⁵ These other packages do not cease to exist; rather they became minor packages in public discourse.

Environmental concerns are therefore not merely absorbed into politics, but these environmental concerns then also start to affect economic, social and cultural policy outcomes of the various institutions. This development, from budding environmental movement to “institutional changes”, can be seen the in following comparison of provincial perspectives on ENCI’s requests for earth removal permits.

Prelude: Founding a Cement Industry in the Netherlands

Before the 1949 and 1988 permits are compared in relation to this theoretical framework, the events before the war will be reviewed. This brief prehistory is important as it indicates the economic magnitude of the cement industry to the Netherlands. This build up of the economic arguments for the cement industry is an important factor, together with the post-war conditions, in explaining the dominant role of economics over nature in the debate in the forties. This prehistory will furthermore serve as an interesting contrast to the context of the permit requests in the seventies and eighties.

By the twentieth century, unlike other European countries, the Netherlands had not established its own Portland cement production. (Heerding, 1971, p.57) The lack of a national supply of cement soon became problematic. For instance during the First World War imports from Germany and Belgium all but fell away. Given this instability of import partners, awareness surfaced of the importance of a national cement industry. This sparked a government led search in which three investigations were instigated that evaluated the need for and possibility of this industry. A location had to be found that was in close proximity both to chalk and clay, and conveniently located for transport. Ultimately only one rapport would look to the south as a possibility. (pp. 71-93) These investigations illustrate on the one hand the urgency that was felt at the time for a national cement supply and on the other the absence of interest by Dutch investors to invest in the regionally weak south.

Among the three rapports there was a consensus on the need for the industry, but the rapports differed drastically in their evaluation of the possibility of it. The first rapport of 1912 prompted by the Maatschappij van Nijverheid concluded that in the Netherlands clay was available in abundance; the problem was that the chalk in Limburg, in their opinion, lacked sufficient quality to be used for Portland cement⁶. The second rapport by Mart Stam came to a different conclusion, claiming that the St. Pietersberg offered the best possibility for starting up a cement factory: it was conveniently located next to the Maas and it had good quality marl. Therefore it was claimed that a cement industry in the Netherlands was possible. This rapport was strongly influenced by the lack of cement during World War One. In the post-war years after cement import normalised, the interest in this industry declined and Stam's rapport faded into the background. A few years later a new rapport appeared by Bongaerts, which came to the same conclusions as the first rapport. (pp. 71-93)

⁶ This rapport though did not take the marl in the St. Pietersberg or Margraten into consideration.

By the mid twenties then, the Netherlands still had not founded their own cement industry. Attempts had been made, by for instance Stam (who had identified the St. Pietersberg as a possibility) and Scharoo, who bought up land on the St. Pietersberg to start a cement factory. (p. 85) However, their attempts failed as they could not secure investments for their factory. This lack of interests to invest in their factory in Limburg reflects the general disinterest in the periphery provinces of the Netherlands. Historically this had resulted in a high level of employment in agriculture, a low level of industrialisation⁷ and a high level of poverty in the southern provinces. (Aerts, 1948, p. 53; Poels, 1917; Roemen, 1962, p. 5)

After Stam and Scharoo's failed attempt a Belgian company (CBR) bought up the land on the St. Pietersberg. Investment discussions with Dutch partners failed in 1924 and the CBR went into business with another Belgian and a Swiss company⁸. Together in 1926 they invested into and started up ENCI. One year later the factory was granted an earth removal permit, which facilitated the construction on their cement factory. The arrival of a 'Dutch' cement industry was greeted positively nationally as well as locally in Maastricht. The factory could lessen the burden of foreign imports and supplied mainly Maastricht and its direct surroundings with much needed employment⁹. (Heerding, 1971, pp. 99-102)

The fact that CBR, the main investor, was a Belgian company was highly beneficial for the survival of the ENCI in the Netherlands. By the late twenties, when ENCI appeared on the scene, Belgian, German, French and British companies already had well-established markets in the Netherlands, whose market share was guaranteed in a cartel. This cartel was set up by the Vereniging Cement Fabrieken in order to regulate cement prices and discourage dumping on the Dutch market. As CBR was already a member of the cartel the Belgian company could easily negotiate a share for their daughter company in 1928. (pp. 115,129)

ENCI was guaranteed twenty percent of the Dutch market, which allowed them to grow as a company and increase output. In the first year (1928) cement supply had only been 4000 tons, but this soon increased to 161.000 tons in 1929 and 531.000 tons in 1939. The position of ENCI in the Dutch market was further increased by an agreement with the government that all state construction would use ENCI cement. (pp. 133, 141) In 1939, given

⁷ The lack of industrialization and high poverty rate however did start to change after the First World War as investors started looking to coal mining in the Limburg. These investments had the added benefit of focusing attention and partially pushing for a solution for the lack of transport infrastructure in and to Limburg. After the First World War agrarian employment decreased. (Raedts, 1948, pp. 56-60; Roemen, 1962, p.5)

⁸ Fabrick Argovienne de Ciment Portland Holderbank-Wildegg (Swiss company) and Société Générale de Ciment et de Matériaux (Belgium company) (Heerding, 1971, p.122)

⁹ In 1930, 190 people were employed at the ENCI from Maastricht (Roemen, 1946b)

the establishment of ENCI's strong market position, in 1939 the factory requested and received a permit for a larger quarry area¹⁰. This permit allowed for a southern expansion which would back-up the investment in a fifth oven. (Nieste & Poesen, 1996, p. 49)

Thus it can be concluded, that towards the end of the thirties ENCI had established a favourable position with the prospects of increasing their cement output through access to a larger quarry. Circumstances changed drastically when the Second World War erupted and the Netherlands was invaded by German forces. Given these turbulent times, ENCI reconsidered their proposed expansion and investment. During this war, as in the First World War, the cement market was completely derailed. In 1943 the Netherlands was supplied by less ENCI cement (355.000 tons) and more German cement (520.000 tons). During the war Belgian supplies had been diminishing, and in 1943 these had stopped all together. The drastic increase in German cement can be explained by the fact that seventy-three percent was utilised for military ends. (Heerding, 1971, p. 141-144) Furthermore in 1941 the previous quarry expansion was retracted in a new permit under the authority of Count Marchant d'Asembourg, the collaborating NSB commissioner for the Province of Limburg. During the war ENCI had to make do with a smaller quarry area. (Nieste & Poesen, 1996, pp. 49-50; Archief Provinciale Waterstaat, stukken betreffende rapport *Het vraagstuk der mergelafgraving.*)

¹⁰ This was the first earth removal permit to be granted by the Province of Limburg, instead of the Maastricht City Council

The Earth Removal Permit of 1949

In September 1944 the south of the Netherlands was first to be liberated by the allies. While the Dutch population anticipated their freedom, ENCI's thoughts turned to the future and post-war reconstruction. Writing in their company magazine: "Het zal ons mogelijkheid bieden op bredere schaal aan den strijdt deel te nemen door een grotere cementproductie" (Jacobs, 1945, p. 5) and "ons wacht immers een belangrijke en vaderlievende taak bij den wederopbouw van onze geteisterde gebieden" (p. 6). Thus, after the war, ENCI felt it had an important patriotic duty to fulfil by supplying the Dutch with cement.

Directly after liberation ENCI could not fulfil this duty as it was limited by the lack of production resources, their decreased quarry area and the fact that their plans for a fifth oven had not materialized. By 1946 cement production had increased from 161.000 tons in 1945 to 260.000 tons a year later. However, to meet demand ENCI would have to increase their output greatly. (Heerding, 1971, pp. 146-148) Therefore plans were drawn up for the future: they intended to build the fifth oven, but to back up this investment access over a long period of time to a large amount of marl had to be ensured. Earth removal permits were only given for short periods of time, so a concession to guarantee long-term access would need to be reached between ENCI and the government. It was with this in mind that ENCI entered into discussions with Minister Vos for Trade and Industry in December of 1945¹¹. (Archief Provinciale Waterstaat, stukken betreffende rapport *Het vraagstuk der mergelafgraving*, Nieste & Poesen, 1996, p. 50)

Political context

Minister Vos was a member of the Schermerhorn-Drees cabinet, who was appointed by Queen Wilhelmina after the war. The intention was for this to be a short lived cabinet, which would prepare for the first post-war elections and commence recovery plans. The first elections, both national and provincial, were to be held in 1946. (PDCUL, n.d., 'Kabinet-Schermerhorn-Drees') The question arose as to whether the pillarized system, which had been the hallmark of Dutch politics before the war, would now return.

While before the war there was a high level of pillarization in the Netherlands, as the Second World War broke out this had come to an abrupt end. The majority of the pillar elite

¹¹ ENCI had to turn to this Minister given the scarcity of goods and materials for building. As the access to marl was directly linked with the construction of a new oven, this also became a topic of discussion between ENCI and the Minister.

were rounded up and imprisoned in St. Michielgestel. During their imprisonment leaders started discussing the course they thought Dutch society should take after the war. Imprisonment inspired among some a consensus: they wanted to overcome the segregation which the pillarized system had created. (Koole, 1995, pp. 223-224; Thurlings, 1978, pp. 104-122)

After liberation, this consensus dissipated and many parties returned to their former pillarized style. This is concurrent with Inglehart's claim that before a more individualised politics took form in the sixties, politics was marked by group participation through tight hierarchies. After the war two important pillars returned with the same force: Catholic and socialist. Within the catholic pillar, the party returned under a new name (KVP). As before their catholic religious orientation remained central to their party programme, but they entered the first post-war national and provincial elections campaigning for economic recovery. (Koole, 1995, pp. 166-171) Social revival and reinstating moral values was also important as the KVP feared the creation of a purely materialistic and capitalist society. This sentiment was shared by a new party, the PvdA, who supported the war time consensus to end pillarization. The party was formed from the pre-war socialist party, SDAP. Similar to the pre-war party, socialist values were central in the party programme, but the party presented itself as the one to unify the population irrespective of class, religion or ideology. (De Hond, 1986, p. 45; Bogaarts, 1996, p. 37)

Support for the catholic party had always been more concentrated in the south. Before the war Limburg had been a predominantly catholic province, and after liberation this did not change as the KVP won eighty-two percent of the votes, decidedly better than its national results. The PvdA however only received nine percent of the votes in Limburg. These results confirm that after the war, the pillared system returned and PvdA had not managed to breakthrough as a unifying party. The outcome of the election in Limburg ensured that the KVP could claim all the Provincial Executive seats for themselves. Any decision with regards to a new earth removal permit by the province would be in the hands of the KVP. (Kuiper, 1994, pp. 29-34)

Table 1: election results 1937 and 1946

Party:	KVP	ARP	CHU	PvdA ¹²	SGP	PvdV	CPN
1937							
% of vote	28.8	16.4	7.4	-	1.9	3.9	3.3
Seats in parliament	31	17	8	31	2	4	3
1946:							
% of vote	30.8	12.9	7.8	28.3	2.1	6.4	10.5
Seats in parliament	32	13	8	29	2	6	10

Source: Bogaarts, 1996, p. 36

The first national elections were held in May 1946. The results of this election corroborate provincial outcomes in showing that the PvdA's national breakthrough had failed and the pillar system recovered. The PvdA received roughly the same amount of votes as it received as the pre-war socialist party. Following the same trend the KVP received the same votes as its pre-war predecessor. (Bogaarts, 1996, p. 37; De Hond, 1986, p. 45) The results of the election are presented in table 1, together with the results from the last pre-war election in 1937.

Post-war economic recovery plans

Based on these results, KVP entered into a coalition with PvdA, forming the first cabinet of Beel. Cabinet positions were divided between these two parties¹³. The focus of the first post-war cabinets went to restoring the standard of living in the Netherlands. Besides the obvious physical scars bombing had left behind, the country also found itself in a disastrous economic situation. Their capacity to compete in the export market had suffered a major setback. Industry was not modern enough, the transport infrastructure had been damaged and export partners (primarily Germany) had fallen away. Production was expensive and this was limited by the shortages of even the most basic goods and foreign currency. Furthermore the population was exhausted from the war and the periphery provinces had suffered badly. In 1948 the Netherlands started to receive aid through the Marshall plan which meant that food could be provided for the population and raw materials and equipment could be supplied to start production again. This aid soon eased the immediate need for resources. (Bogaarts, 1996, p. 1036; Luiten van Zanden, 1998, pp. 123-124)

¹² PvdA was not a participant in the 1937 election, the figure here is that of the collective seats of SDAP, VDB and CDU which merged after the war to form PvdA.

¹³ Huysmans (KVP) was appointed as Minister of Economic Affairs, taking over the role of Minister Vos. The Minister of Education, Cultural Affairs and Science became Gielen (KVP). The Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction became Vos (PvdA). (PDCUL, n.d., 'Kabinet-Beel') Thus, the ministerial positions relating to the concession request of ENCI were held by KVP and PvdA.

After the war economic policies changed which allowed the formation of the welfare state. A central and influential post-war economist in the Netherlands was Keynes. He claimed that the capitalist market was unstable and prone to crises, with disastrous effects such as inflation and sudden mass unemployment. This could be avoided by stabilising the economy through government investment spending. This spending by the government would encourage full employment, which would create consumers who in turn would stimulate the economy by creating demand. (Brue & Grant, 2007, pp. 428-430; Colander & Landreth, 1989, pp. 234-238)

In line with this thinking, the government aimed to increase production and invest and stimulate post-war reconstruction, thereby increasing employment. Consumers would be created who would then further support the economy. The Minister of Economic Affairs, Huysman¹⁴, was not a proponent of state intervention. However, he did feel that the government had a role to play in aiding the weak and deprived in society, and in the post-war state, this meant the whole of the Netherlands required state assistance. (Bogaarts, 1996, pp. 1219-1244)

Given this desperation to recover from the war and the unique position of ENCI in being able to provide much needed cement for reconstruction, it would be expected that ENCI's request for a larger quarry area would be met promptly. Events played out differently though, indicating the difficulty that exists between arguments for economic benefit and preserving nature. Economic needs would be paramount, but the loss of the St. Pietersberg natural beauty and cultural heritage also played an important role. In the following analysis it will become clear that nature was already framed according to Eder's conservationist package. This will demonstrate that Eder's use of these symbolic packages can be extended and that concerns for nature had a significant history before the environmental movement (which started in the sixties) as can be seen in the events that unfolded after ENCI announced their intentions.

ENCI's long wait: the Dalplan

The fact that arguments for the preservation of the St. Pietersberg also played a role can be seen in the publication in October 1946 of a list of protected nature areas by the Rijksdienst

¹⁴ Dr. Huysmans was a representative of the KVP and was Roman-Catholic.

voor de Nationaal Plan¹⁵. In this list the St. Pietersberg was mentioned because of its botanical, zoological, geological and historical values. An additional comment mentioned that the entire mountain was protected except those areas that had previously been assigned for marl extraction. (Archief Belgisch-Nederlands Wetenschappelijk Commissie, stukken betreffende Lijst van natuurgebieden)

Consequently any works or alterations to the mountain had to be approved by the President of this agency. In this case the President was in favour of an alternative location to save the St. Pietersberg, as long as this was economically feasible. The investigation into a different location became known as the Dalplan, in which a location was sought to centralise all marl extraction activities for cement production as well as fertilizer. If ENCI wished, they could relocate to this location. The area that seemed most promising was east of Maastricht, near Margraten. This investigation into alternatives started in 1946 and until it was concluded any decision to expand the quarry had to wait. (Nieste & Poesen, 1996, p. 50; Archief Provinciale Waterstaat, stukken betreffende verslag van bespreking over het voortbestaan)

It is noteworthy that the Plateau of Margraten and the St. Pietersberg have an ill-starred relationship in this narrative. These are the only two locations in the Netherlands that contain substantial quantities of marl. In the forties, it was hoped that digging in Margraten would save the nature, culture and heritage of the St. Pietersberg. In the eighties it will become clear that the roles reverse and quarrying in the St. Pietersberg is seen as the best option to save these same values in Margraten.

While the Dalplan was under discussion, the economic argument gained ground as the deficit in the balance of payments grew. Lacking sufficient foreign currency to import goods, the government was forced to start exporting much needed goods. The supply of cement from a Dutch source would mean that foreign currency needed to import cement could then be used for alternative demands. (Bogaarts, 1996, pp. 1034-1040) In the face of this situation, ENCI claimed that the concession was absolutely necessary.

The factory tried to ease the current national plight, which from a cynical point of view may be seen as a convenient tool for public relations. They urged their employees to work harder to produce more cement: “Wij doen derhalve een beroep op al ons personeel, van laag tot hoog, om man moedig de schouders onder het werk te zetten” (Jacobs, 1947, p. 2). ENCI also tried to lessen the burden of post-war reconstruction by agreeing to maintain a

¹⁵ This national agency was created in 1941 to oversee the national interests in town and country planning. From 1945 this agency fell under the Ministry for Public Works and Reconstruction. In 1965 the agency became the Rijkspanologische Dienst. (VROM, n.d., “Geschiedenis”)

relatively low cement price after the war. Demand was high and supply was short, therefore prices could have risen astronomically. The price that ENCI had agreed to was still higher than the cost of cement before the war, but not as high as foreign cement. ENCI could not supply all the demand so the rest had to be imported. ENCI¹⁶ agreed to deposit a certain percentage of their profit into a cement fund which could be used to buy the more expensive foreign cement. In 1946 ENCI started by depositing f 1.991.000 into the fund. The deposits peaked in 1948 with f 4.407.000. Thereafter the deposits decreased until the system was abandoned after 1950. (Heerding, 1971, p. 149)

The factory not only fulfilled their *patriotic* duty, they also presented their economic arguments. They claimed that while a nature area might be lost, an independent industry would be gained. According to ENCI, they owed it to those who gave their lives during the war to rebuild freedom and wealth. (Jacobs, 1949) The economic arguments were generally accepted by all. However, arguments to preserve the St. Pietersberg were never far behind.

In 1947 the Belgisch-Nederlandse Wetenschappelijk Commissie ter Bescherming van de St. Pietersberg was created. This organisation like other conservation organisations in the early twentieth century (such as Natuur Monumenten) framed nature according to the conservationist symbolic package. This organisation framed nature as a separate realm which should be protected from society's influences. They acknowledged the urgent need for cement, but also argued that the Netherlands was an overpopulated country, and as such every precaution should be taken to protect the dwindling nature areas from the onslaught of man. (Poel, 1949, pp. 103-107)

From the onset this organisation was very active in their struggle to protect the mountain as can be seen in their objection to the ENCI-Maquette. These models were created by ENCI to show what the St. Pietersberg would look like in the future. The final model showed how after excavation the area would again become a beautiful nature area. These models were taken up in the Limburg display of the LFVV. The organisation attacked the LFVV for including these models which were in their opinion a cheap form of propaganda. The display emphasised the return of nature after years of excavation with alluring words such as *eldorado* or paradise, but completely ignored the fact that cultural and historical values would be lost forever. (Archief Belgische-Nederlandse Wetenschappelijk Commissie, stukken betreffende brief aan LFVV)

¹⁶ The sister company CEMIJ also made donations to this fund; however the amount of cement from this factory after the war was much lower and therefore their donations to this fund were significantly smaller.

Another nature group, the Nederlandsche Natuurhistorische Vereniging, claimed that the argument that the Netherlands needed a national cement industry to soften the deficit in the balance of payments was exaggerated. The group also claimed that the setting up of a Dutch industry was done at the expense of the Belgian industry. This they argued was against the Benelux, which had only just been set up to promote cooperation between Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. (Timmers, 1949a, p.16)

Political points of views

On the 19th of July 1947 a confidential meeting took place in Maastricht between the Minister of Economic Affairs, the Provincial Executives, Provinciale Waterstaat van Limburg¹⁷ and the Queens Commissioner for Limburg. (Archief Provinciale Waterstaat, stukken betreffende verslag van bespreking over het voortbestaan) From the minutes of this meeting it becomes clear how the different political layers viewed ENCI's concession request.

The Provincial Executive (Peters) tried to promote the possibility of the Dalplan as long as this was economically feasible. He appeared to have a negative attitude towards ENCI: "Het feit, dat de ENCI de benodigde terreinen reeds heeft aangekocht mag echter voor haar geen vrijbrief zijn om de hele berg af te graven." (p. 4) Later he claimed that ENCI's competitive position had only been made possible at the expense of nature. (Ibid.)

The chief engineer of the Provinciale Waterstaat Limburg stated that although the Dalplan was not completed it appeared that the costs attached to excavating and transporting marl from the Maasdal would be higher. Therefore the price of cement from Margraten would be more expensive. Personally though he felt that to maintain the St. Pietersberg a higher cement price might not be out of order. (Ibid.)

Minister Huysmans of Economic Affairs replied that it would be hard to defend this extra cost of forty to fifty million guilders to foreign moneylenders¹⁸ : "Zullen b.v. de Amerikaanse geldschieters kunnen begrijpen, dat f 40.000.000 nodig is om een St. Pietersberg te behouden." (p. 5) The minister also stressed the jobs that would be lost if ENCI were to leave the Netherlands and the urgent national need to secure cement supply. The only mention he made of nature was that he regretted the loss of nature that would have to take place. (Ibid.)

¹⁷ This is the regional counterpart of the Rijkswaterstaat, which since 1947, falls under the Ministry of Transport and Public Works. Their task it is to oversee the construction and maintenance of public works related to transport on land and water. In this case, with jurisdiction in Limburg.

¹⁸ Given that this statement was made in 1947, the Minister could be referring to loan the Netherlands received from the World Bank / Marshal Plan

One can therefore observe that in this meeting there was a significant difference between the opinions of the provincial representatives and the Minister of Economic Affairs towards the protection of the St. Pietersberg. It is interesting to note here how the Minister refers to the mountain: “een St. Pietersberg”. This has a negative connotation as he appeared to down play the importance of the St. Pietersberg. In this meeting though the provincial representative take the opposite view arguing that their mountain is worthy of a higher cement price.

Another noteworthy aspect to this private meeting is related to the St. Pietersberg-Margraten relationship. There is no mention here of the damages to nature, culture and heritage which would take place if Margraten was quarried instead of the St. Pietersberg. Based on the information presented in this meeting one would think that Margraten was preferred in this case because quarrying posed less of a threat to these values. The debate in the eighties however was centred on the fact that quarrying in Margraten posed a significant threat to these.

Public discourse

While it has been illustrated that the issue of mining in the St. Pietersberg was obviously a topic for discussion between political actors and nature preservation organisations, it was also an issue for public discourse. This can be assessed by analysing the newspapers of the time. Articles from 1945 till 1950 in the main regional newspaper, *De Gazet van Limburg*, were selected. Given the conditions after the war, the articles are not numerous, but they are reflective of public opinion as they are comprehensive.

In this analysis a clear progression can be seen in the attitudes that are expressed. The articles directly after the war until roughly mid 1947, give a favourable representation of ENCI and their economic arguments. These arguments have a patriotic element, as providing one’s own cement is seen as a way to overcome the inflictions of war. ENCI is presented here as a company that wants to do their patriotic duty, but is hampered by slow decision making and insignificant nature arguments. (“De Mergelwinning”, 1946)

In relation to this patriotic fervour, the nature proponents are presented negatively: the cost of saving the mountain is not worth limiting the recovery of the Netherlands: “mag men zich dit permitteren in een tijd waarin iedereen wordt opgeroepen tot wederopbouw, en man alle middelen moet aanwenden om te kunnen bouwen.” (“Uitblijven”, 1946) The title of this quoted article sums up the attitude of the time “Uitblijven van vergunning kostte 360.000 ton

Cement. Behoud van St. Pietersberg *f* 42 miljoen.” Thus the nature arguments during this time are presented as costly and unnecessary.

This fiercely negative attitude towards the nature preservation arguments started to shift by 1947 when an article appeared on a meeting in which a much revered scientist Van Schaik gave a speech for the protection of the St. Pietersberg. (“Om het behoud”, 1947) Reporting on this speech was not at all negative, which is striking considering the negative attitudes towards these arguments before. Another influential factor was the Dalplan which was reported in the newspaper. (“Het lot”, 1947; “Mergelwinning in Zuid-Limburg”, 1947)

In the nature arguments the focus is on the aesthetic value of nature: they focus on the scenic beauty and the utility it has for recreation and tourism. Nature is framed again according to Eder’s conservationist symbolic package: nature needs to be kept separate from societal intervention, especially from being consumed by ENCI. The economic needs of society and the needs of nature are simply incompatible. These arguments are never without their companion, namely the cultural and historic preservation arguments, (“De Sint Pietersberg”, 1947) which would seem to indicate that nature arguments were not strong enough to take on the economic arguments on their own. However, in comparison with later periods, it should be remembered that in the forties cultural and heritage arguments could still be made, this was not the case in the eighties when the catacombs had already been lost.

In this period the economic arguments still dominated, but one can observe that there was a shift in the argumentation from being only economic to now at least including the nature arguments in a less negative tone. The economic arguments did also lose some of their nationalist vigour in this period. Interestingly, the employment argument is never made; the focus was predominantly on the balance of payments, which at the time was escalating.

By 1948 it emerged that the Dalplan was not economically feasible because the cost of production and transport would raise the cement price. There was no alternative to save the St. Pietersberg. The Minister of Economic Affairs therefore set out to convince the Minister of Education, Cultural Affairs and Science and the Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction of the need to give ENCI a concession of sixty years. On the 6th of October 1948 an agreement was reached between the Ministers and ENCI, which resulted in a letter from the Minister of Economic Affairs to the Provincial Executives advising in favour of a concession for 60 years. (Nieste & Poesen, 1996, p. 50; Archief stadsontwikkeling Maastricht, stukken betreffende verslag van St. Pietersberg-commissie, 16 en 30 december 1948)

This news was presented positively in the newspaper, although regret was expressed for the loss of the St. Pietersberg. (“Het lot”, 1948) The economic arguments had prevailed, but one can see that in comparison to the attitudes just after the war, these arguments had at least managed to emancipate themselves to a certain degree. No longer were they portrayed as a new enemy blocking reconstruction, by the end of the forties they were at least acknowledged.

Debating the concession of 1948/1949

The fact that the nature arguments played an important, although unsuccessful, role can be seen in what transpired next. The advice of the Minister of Economic Affairs was adopted by the Provincial Executives on the 23rd of October 1948. The exact borders of the new expanded quarry were not included in this advice, because this fell under the Provincial authority. (Archief stadsontwikkeling Maastricht, stukken betreffende verslag van St. Pietersberg-commissie, 16 en 30 december 1948) To this end a commission was installed on the 16th of December 1948 by the Provincial Executives, in which members were selected to reflect all interests. (Archief stadsontwikkeling Maastricht, stukken betreffende lijst extracten GS, 27 november 1948) Their task was to advise the Provincial Executives on which of the two plans drafted by ENCI was most suitable. Plan A was for a quarry of ninety hectares extending two meter under the Maastricht-Liege canal depth and plan B was for a smaller quarry of sixty-five hectares but then eighteen meters deeper than plan A. (Archief stadsontwikkeling Maastricht, stukken betreffende verslag van St. Pietersberg-commissie, 16 en 30 december 1948)

The commission met four times between December 1948 and March 1949. The last two meetings were concerned with deciding between plans A or B and determining the exact outline of the quarry. The first two meetings are more revealing as the members of the commission discussed whether the side-wing should be protected or excavated. At the time the side-wing, a streak of the mountain not yet excavated, stood between the quarry and the Maas. This means that from the river, the quarry could not be seen. ENCI intended to excavate this area, not only because of the marl, but also because after excavation the new oven could be placed there. (Ibid.)

During the first meeting on December 16th 1948, the members were all quick to voice their opinion. The representative from ENCI, Mooser, naturally stressed the same arguments which have already been mentioned before, but in relation to the side-wing Mooser argued that this contained 460.000 m³ of marl and that the new oven had to be built near the water to

simplify transportation. He reminded the commission that ENCI had previously, (in the 1939 permit) received an expanded earth removal permit which including this area. If the concession would not include the side-wing, ENCI would have to reconsider its investment in the St. Pietersberg. (Ibid.)

According to the representatives of the City of Maastricht (Dingemans and Roomans) it was a question of what ENCI was going to offer the community in return for the nature, culture and heritage that they were giving up. The head engineer of the Provinciale Waterstaat Limburg (Egelie) expressed the same sentiment, only more precisely, by requesting that ENCI should financially support a fund which would serve to protect the remainder of the St. Pietersberg outside the expanded quarries borders. This would mean that ENCI would give up all the areas they possessed outside the concession area on the St. Pietersberg. He felt that this was a reasonable request if the side-wing would be included in the concession, which in his eyes was of great value. The representative of the Rijksdienst voor de Nationaal Plan (Fokker), was also in favour of ENCI handing over the areas they possessed outside the concession line, in order to limit future damage to the nature. (Ibid.)

The last three perspectives show that during these initial discussion the members of the commission when discussing the excavation of the side-wing were still very much affected by the loss of the entire nature area to the ENCI. There seemed to be an atmosphere in which every little bit of the mountain that could possibly be saved, ought to be saved. This sentiment was very much present in the arguments given by the representatives from the Stichting Het Limburgs Landschap (Kofman, Diemont, Thiadens and Kruytzer) and the Limburgs Geschied- en Oudheidkundig Genootschap (Batta and Panhuysen). They were against the concession including the side-wing because of the unique nature and the underground tunnels in the side-wing. These representatives strongly stressed that considering the area of the concession, and especially if the side-wing would be included, ENCI should compensate this loss. In the second meeting this was refined as they demanded that before excavation began, scientific research would be conducted in the catacombs, to be paid for by ENCI. (Ibid.)

After this initial meeting it was apparent that the majority of the commission was against including the side-wing in the concession. Therefore ENCI wrote a letter to the Provincial Executives. In this letter, ENCI claimed that if the factory did not receive a favourable decision with regards to the side-wing by the end of the year, the shareholders would withdraw, the new factory would not be built and the Netherlands would have to rely on expensive imports. They regretted that this appeared to sound like an ultimatum. In regards

to the other requests, ENCI claimed it had already promised enough in return for the piece of “akkerplateau” that they would be excavating. The letter further stressed that ENCI did not have to remain in Maastricht, they also saw other investment opportunities, for instance in South Africa. (Ibid.)

In response to this letter the commission gathered on the 30th of December, one day before the ENCI ultimatum ran out, to discuss and give their final advice with regards to the side-wing. During this meeting, Mooser was supported by Wegerif, an official from the Ministry of Economic Affairs. He stressed the need for Dutch cement to save on the balance of payments. In spite of the pressure, the commission did not support the excavation of the side-wing:

“De commissie is van oordeel, dat de bedoelde coulisse-helling een der belangrijkste gedeelten van de St. Pietersberg is, die behouden dienen te blijven. Zij vormt de afsluiting van de naar de Maas toegekeerde zijde van de groeve en is daarom landschappelijk van de allerhoogste betekenis. Daarnaast staat de natuurwetenschappelijke waarde van de er op voorkomende flora. De commissie zou het dan ook ten zeerste betreuren, indien deze coulisse zou moeten verdwijnen.”

(p. 16)

This advice from the provincial commission reiterates the break between the opinions of the province and the Ministry of Economic Affairs which was also present during the private meeting between the Minister of Economic Affairs and the Provincial representatives.

This advice was given to the Provincial Executives on the 30th of December, and was referred to in the final rapport of the commission which included the outcome of the last two meetings in which the two plans, A and B, were discussed. This final rapport was delivered in May of 1949. It supported plan A, requested a scientific study be carried out in the catacombs before excavation and that the areas outside the concession be handed over by ENCI to a nature conservation organisation. The commission also required a landscape architect to draw up plans for the final state of the quarry. (Archief stadsontwikkeling Maastricht, stukken betreffende advies van de St. Pietersberg-commissie, 14 Mei 1949)

Permit analysis

The first earth removal permit within this concession was requested on the 2nd of June 1949. The legal framework against which this was requested, was the Provinciale Verordening tot Wering van Inbreuken op Natuurschoon door Afgraving of Vergraving van Terreinen. (Archief Stadsontwikkeling Maastricht, stukken betreffende extract uit register besluiten GS,

11 juni, 1949) At the time each province had their own ordinance to decide if a permit could be granted. In Limburg this ordinance, which made the Provincial Executives the responsible authority, first came into effect in 1939. A request could only be refused if conditions set in the permit could not limit the damages the excavation would have on the scenic and natural beauty of the environment. (Provinciaal Blad, 1948, no. 54)

Given this legal framework the only concerns to be mentioned, very briefly in four lines of the two page permit, is nature. Economic concerns, which from the above analysis of the social context and newspapers were shown to be so dominant are not touched upon. (Archief Stadsontwikkeling Maastricht, stukken betreffende extract uit register besluiten GS, 11 juni, 1949) This permit therefore is more representative of the ordinance than of its social context. Given that maintaining natural beauty is the criterion for granting a concession corroborates earlier remarks that in the forties nature was framed according to Eder's conservationist package. This ordinance sets out to restrict the infringement of man on nature, thereby separating these two realms because they are incompatible.

At the time the masterframe of industrialisation still held, which can be seen in this case because the concession was given to exploit a part of the St. Pietersberg for sixty years. This is furthermore supported by the fact that in this concession and this permit the advice of the commission to the Provincial Executives with regards to the side-wing were ignored. These would be excavated and the new factory would be placed here, just as ENCI had demanded in their ultimatum in December 1948. Not all of the commission's recommendations were ignored. The commission had required a landscape architect to draw up plans for the design of the quarry after exploitation had ended. This advice was adapted as conditions were placed on the permit to allow the later restoration of the St. Pietersberg's natural beauty. (Ibid.)

The permit was granted in accordance with ENCI's plan A, although with some modifications of the borders as advised by the commission. This would allow for quarrying till two meters under the Liege-Maastricht canal water level. (Ibid.) With this sprawling quarry ENCI could now supply the increased cement demand. Cement output increased and ENCI's market percentage in the Netherlands also increased from thirty-six percent in 1950 to sixty-five percent in 1970. (Heerding, 1971, pp. 150-156)

In this analysis of the post-war debate about ENCI's request to quarry in the St. Pietersberg both nature and economic arguments were present. It was however the latter which prevailed. This domination of ENCI's economic arguments could happen because of the importance

which was created firstly because before the war the Netherlands had not created its own industry. This is striking given the numerous investigations instigated to look into the possibility and need of for the industry. Without their own industry the Netherlands had to rely on ENCI. The second fact that economic arguments prevailed was the post-war context. An intense need for reconstruction and a deficit in the balance of payments are significant factors in this period.

The nature arguments in this period should not be ignored though. Preserving the St. Pietersberg was seen, by the Province and the Rijksdienst voor de Nationaal Plan, as an important cause. The Dalplan is indicative of this. However, in comparison with the eighties there is a significant difference in the way that nature was framed and this has affected the outcomes of the permits. As remarked upon in the above analysis, nature was framed by the various actors according to Eder's conservationist frame. This frame sees the sphere of society and man as separate and incompatible. Given the urgent need in society for cement it is therefore quite understandable that there was very little concession done towards maintaining nature (which is demonstrated by the fact that the side-wing was included in the quarry area). In the following analysis of the eighties it will become clear that a different manner of framing nature arose. Unlike the conservationist frame, man and nature were no longer seen as incompatible, but rather as occupying the same sphere. This gave rise to an atmosphere of compromise and therefore a different permit outcome.

The Earth Removal Permit of 1988

If ENCI learned anything from their experiences in the forties, it was that applications for permits related to new or altered quarry spaces were time consuming. This fact must have played in the back of their minds when they looked to the future of their business. The concession of 1948 had allowed them sixty years guaranteed access to marl in the St. Pietersberg, but due to the boom in building after the war even this did not seem to be enough. It is for this reason that early on ENCI started looking for a new quarry.

It is in this narrative again we see the St. Pietersberg and Margraten crossing paths. Now though the tables were turned. Margraten, identified by the Dalplan as an alternative location before by the government, was now seen by ENCI as the best location for a new quarry. Therefore in 1976, long before all the marl in the St. Pietersberg was depleted, ENCI requested an earth removal permit for the Plateau of Margraten. Ultimately though after years of waiting this permit would be denied and ENCI would have to develop an alternative plan to exploit the St. Pietersberg quarry more fully through a new earth removal permit. This permit was given in 1988.

In the analysis that follows it will become clear that this request for a new quarry in Margraten has many similarities and differences in comparison to ENCI's request in the forties for a larger quarry in the St. Pietersberg. A striking similarity will be the ill-starred relationship between the Plateau of Margraten and the St. Pietersberg. This period though has more differences than similarities. Firstly, in this later period, in contrast with the earlier period, there was not only a search for an alternative location to save the Plateau of Margraten, but there was also a development of alternative methods of cement production and marl extraction in the eighties. These alternative methods would allow ENCI to continue in the St. Pietersberg longer than they thought possible in the seventies. This difference between these two period was stimulated by a second change, namely in the attitudes of the province towards the relationship between economic and nature arguments. In line with the theory of Inglehart and Eder a very different political context existed. Environmental arguments had managed to gain ground, no longer were they merely mentioned, they now came to play a significant role in decision making by Ministers and Provincial Executives.

Furthermore, a significant third factor that played a role in this struggle is that it took place during the first post-war economic crisis. Faced with an economic down-turn one would expect environmental concerns to fade into the background. However this crisis had a significant impact on the environmental movement, which meant that it shifted from an

idealist to a more pragmatic movement. In this time compromises were sought which would allow for economic growth with a qualitative shift that would allow for environmental protection. Before entering into an analysis though, I will first give a brief overview of the historical events leading up to the permit of 1988.

Historical overview

After the war there had been a dramatic increase in cement demand and ENCI's output had increased accordingly. Following the concession of 1948/9, ENCI was allowed to once more expand their quarry in 1967. The area outside of the borders of the expanded quarry was donated by ENCI to the Province, which then transferred them to Natuurmonumenten. With the looming depletion of marl stock in the St. Pietersberg and the newest restriction on expanding the quarry, the factory started looking for alternative locations, settling on an area previously mentioned in the Dalplan: Margraten. (Heerding, 1971, pp. 150-156; Nieste & Poesen, 1996, pp. 58-62) After purchasing a sufficient amount of land in the area, in November of 1976 an application was filed for an earth removal permit for an area of 433 hectares for forty years. ENCI claimed that it would need this new quarry to allow for further investments, replace old machinery, guarantee the future existence of thirteen thousand jobs and supply cement for the expected increase in demand. (Comité Mergelland, 1979b, p. 12)

A commission was installed, Commissie Ontgronding ENCI-Plateau Margraten, to weigh the different interests. This commission failed to reach a final decision within the given time and therefore the application was considered rejected¹⁹. ENCI lodged an appeal against this, which meant that the decision therefore fell to the Minister of Transport and Public Works (Smit-Kroes of VVD) and a new provincial commission was installed to advise the Minister.

Before the commission could give their final rapport though, a demonstrative march against a quarry in Margraten was organised by the Milieu Federatie Limburg, Comité Mergelland and Stichting Het Limburg Landschap. This march drew over eight thousand participants and the attention of regional and national media. In June of 1978, the advice of this commission was to allow the new quarry in Margraten for 351 hectares. Their reasoning was that the cement industry was regionally important and that they believed cement supply from Belgium was not stable. Following the advice from the provincial commission in 1978, like in the forties, ENCI waited a long time for a response as various investigations took place

¹⁹ It has been argued that this was done on purpose by the Province as it did not dare allow a new quarry in Limburg. (Comité Mergelland, 1979b, p. 19)

into the need for a new quarry and the possibility of alternative locations. (Comité Mergelland, 1979a, p. 19, 95)

Finally in 1985 the Council of State, an advisory board to the government, came to an unfavourable conclusion for the ENCI. The Council reported to the Minister of Transport and Public Works that at the moment there was not a pressing need for a new quarry. This advice was adopted by the Minister and later supported by the Provincial Executives. This marked a change in provincial attitudes which previously had supported a quarry in Margraten. (Bemelmans, 1989, p.17; Nieste & Poesen, 1996, p. 62; “Verhagen toont begrip”, 1985)

Seeing that an alternative quarry was not likely to become available, ENCI applied for a new earth removal permit for the St. Pietersberg quarry on the first of November 1985. ENCI held a permit, granted in April 1978, which was valid till December 1991. The new request called for this permit to be revoked in favour of a new permit for a longer period, for the same area as before, but now it was to dig deeper into the quarry (instead of 20 m+NAP the factory applied to dig till 5 m+NAP). From their application letter it becomes clear that already since 1981 ENCI had been discussing the possibility of extending their presence in the St. Pietersberg past 1991. In the letter ENCI claims that their intention was now to maximise as much marl as possible from the quarry by digging deeper. (Archief Provincie Limburg, stukken betreffende aanvraag vergunning, 1 november 1985) Following this request, rapports of the different interests were gathered by the Provincial Executives and an investigation was completed to assess the plausibility of the deeper quarry. In 1988 ENCI was granted a new earth removal permit which would be valid until 2010. (Ibid.)

In the meantime ENCI's hopes for a quarry in Margraten were raised in 1987 when a government memorandum, *Gegronde Ontgronden*, mentioned Margraten as a location for future marl extraction. (Nieste & Poesen, 1996, p. 62) Naturally ENCI immediately started arguing in favour of this possibility claiming that “de toekomst van ENCI staat en valt met het al dan niet beschikbaar stellen van een toekomstige mergelwinning op een klein deel van de Plateau van Margraten.” (ENCI, 1988a)

However with the permit ENCI received in 1988 and the advances in technology which allowed fly ash and other industrial waste to be added to cement, ENCI had increased their economic outlook till 2025 without needing a new quarry. This meant that ENCI had access to a source of marl for the next thirty years, which were deemed economically necessary to ensure the future operations of and investments by ENCI. (Bemelmans, 1989, p.17)

This fact must have played a role in the decision made by the Minister of Transport and Public Works in 1989, when Smit-Kroes informed ENCI that they would not be given a concession for Margraten. In her decision the Minister did not reject the economic benefits of marl extraction. On the one hand ENCI could continue to quarry for years to come in the St. Pietersberg. (Nieste & Poesen, 1996, p. 64; Provincie Limburg, 1991) On the other, this meant that the environmental concerns, expressed by the thousands of letters of protest delivered to the Province in 1976 and the demonstrative walk in 1978 could be honoured.

Thus by the end of this period, with Margraten denied and a deeper quarry in the St. Pietersberg conceded, a general conclusion would be that environmental concerns had emancipated themselves. However in order to draw more specific comparisons and conclusions from this period, this brief historical overview should be analysed within its social context and the theoretical framework of Inglehart and Eder. In the following analysis the outline of Inglehart's theory will be followed. Firstly showing how there was an increase in political skills and secondly how soft values like environmental concerns emancipated themselves. Throughout this section I will demonstrate how Eder's political ecology package became dominant. This part will be concluded with a criticism of Inglehart's theory.

Increase in political skills

The years following the war were marked by political stability, as can be expected considering the return of the pillared system. Concordant with Inglehart's theory, the sixties brought this to an abrupt end. In the Netherlands a period of stable elitist, group orientated politics came to an end as there were calls for more direct political representation. The election following the night of Schmelzer were symptomatic of how voters turned their back on established parties in the sixties. (Koole, 1995, p. 53)

This is clearly seen in subsequent election outcomes of KVP, ARP and CHU, who had the most difficulty holding onto their electorate. In the elections of 1963, KVP held fifty parliamentary seats which decreased to only twenty-seven seats in 1972. (Koole, 1995, p. 55) Given these losses, KVP, CHU and ARP entered into discussions, from which in 1980 the CDA emerged. With this new union, the dramatic election losses eased up and the new party managed to appeal to voters outside its traditional electorate: non-believers. (Greiner, 2005, pp. 16-17; Koole, 1995, p. 73) Table 2 illustrates the results of some of the election between the sixties and eighties, showing the electoral instability, the recovery of the CDA and the disappearance of the pillarized system.

Table 2: election results 1963, 1972, 1982 and 1986

Party:	PvdA	CDA	VVD	D66	PSP	SGP	CPN
1963: Cabinet of Marijnen							
% of vote	28.0	49.0 ²⁰	10.2	-	3.0	2.2	2.7
Seats in Parliament	43	76	16	-	4	4	4
1972: cabinet of Den Uyl							
% of vote	27.3	30.9	14.4	4.1	1.5	2.2	4.4
Seats in parliament	43	48	22	6	2	3	7
1982: First cabinet of Lubbers							
% of vote	30.4	29.3	23.1	4.3	2.3	1.8	1.8
Seats in parliament	47	45	36	6	3	3	3
1986: Second cabinet of Lubbers							
% of vote	33.3	34.6	17.4	6.1	1.2	1.8	0.6
Seats in parliament	52	54	27	9	1	3	0

Source: PDCUL, n.d., "Verkiezingen Tweede Kamer"

The impact of a more articulate and individualised electorate can also be seen in the provincial politics of Limburg. These dramatic shifts in election outcomes are presented in table 3. As can be seen there is a striking difference for KVP/CDA between the forties and eighties. Whereas KVP used to dominate provincial politics by holding eighty percent of the votes; in the eighties little more than half of this remained. (Kuiper, 1994, pp. 29-34)

Kuiper discerns a trend in which national parties started to 'move into' Limburg politics, thereby nationalising it. As depillarization set in PvdA gained strength, growing enormously. By the seventies provincial election outcomes started to reflect the national results. The VVD is another example as it seeped into Limburg. The increased variation in political parties is reflected in the appointments of Provincial Executives. These were no longer all KVP/CDA, but were drawn from various parties: two provincial executives from PvdA, three from CDA and one from VVD. (pp. 29-34)

Table 3: Provincial election outcomes, 1946, 1982 & 1987, in percentages

	KVP	CDA	PvdA	CPN	VVD	D66	Klein links ²¹
1946	82.0	-	9.1	5.9	-	-	-
1982	-	51.2	16.3	-	17.1	6.9	6.5
1987	-	43.0	32.5	-	9.7	4.2	3.7

Source: Kuiper, 1994, pp. 29-34

²⁰ Combined election results of KVP, ARP & CHU

²¹ PPR, PSP, CPN en EVP

These calls for more direct democracy not only affected the established parties, the public was also changing. Established parties lost votes as on the streets, in the Netherlands and around the Western World, people wanted to be heard. As Inglehart puts forward a more independent and articulate public formed which no longer allowed elites to decide their fate. Such calls are reflected in the fierce public opposition to the ENCI application for the Margraten quarry. In contrast to 1949, the application drew more public interest, or rather scrutiny, as the Province received thousands of letters of protests against a new quarry. The demonstrative walk organised by the Milieu Federatie Limburg, Comité Mergelland and Stichting Het Limburg Landschap is also reflective of this as it drew thousands onto the street to protest against a new quarry. (Comité Mergelland, 1979a, p. 95; 1979b, p. 12)

Rise of soft values: the environmental movement

The protests against ENCI therefore illustrate the increase in political skills among voters, but also reflect Inglehart's theory that the rise of soft values happens when material values are taken for granted. These environmental concerns were initially limited to groups within the environmental movement, however these soon spread throughout society and were then adopted into the political sphere as political parties competed for votes. In the following it will become clear that throughout the second half of the twentieth century there has been a development from conservationist to political ecology symbolic package.

The Dutch environmental movement started to take form in the sixties. As the analysis above has indicated, already in the beginning of the twentieth century, there were a few individuals and organisations (for instance the Belgisch-Nederlandse Wetenschappelijk Commissie ter Bescherming van de St. Pietersberg) that framed nature according to the conservationist symbolic package. The impact of these organisations was quite limited though because concern for improving living standard through strong economic development dominated. (Luiten van Zanden, 1998, pp. 179-193)

As the environmental movement started to evolve in the sixties, it is possible to discern that other symbolic packages (political ecology and fundamentalist) enter public discourse. Cramer describes how there was a slow awakening in society to the damages inflicted on the planet by uncontrolled economic growth. In the late sixties and seventies this developed into a more pronounced awareness through various groups, such as the provomovement in Amsterdam or the organisations mentioned before which set out to protest the new ENCI quarry in Margraten. Among these environmental groups there were a variety of ways of framing nature, in which all three symbolic packages can be discerned. In the sixties

and seventies the fundamentalist package, the more idealist strand among the environmentalist, was most assertive. (Cramer, 1989, pp. 17-19)

The concerns for the environment were fuelled by an increase in scientific publications. Of these the most significant was *Limits to growth* by the Club of Rome in 1972. This rapport claimed that if we continued to develop at the same pace, using the same amount of resources as we had since the war, the planet would not be able to support future generations. This was the first of its kind. The impact of the rapport was exasperated by the economic and oil crisis of the seventies, which gave a practical illustration of the fact that we live with finite resources. (Ibid.)

During the seventies and eighties the concerns which were raised by the environmental movement also started to filtrate into public discourse. The discussion therefore was no longer limited to small groups but was spreading throughout society. This can also be seen in the public discourse surrounding ENCI's request for a quarry in Margraten and a deeper quarry in the St. Pietersberg.

Newspaper analysis

In order to assess public opinion on ENCI's mining activity, newspaper articles can be analysed. Articles were selected from the late seventies and eighties in the regional newspapers *De Limburger* and *Het Limburgs Dagblad*. In comparison to the newspaper with regards to the 1949 permit, this analysis is based on more articles. However, these articles were briefer than the articles in the forties and also more repetitive of arguments in previous articles. The focus was on how the relationship between the economic and nature arguments was reported on.

In these articles it is clear that in contrast with the forties, ENCI no longer enjoyed the unquestionable support of the newspapers. Arguments that ENCI was creating a Dutch cement industry started to be criticized because it was argued the company was controlled by CBR, a Belgium company. Therefore they used Dutch resources to create profits for a foreign company. ("Hoorzitting", 1987) Furthermore articles also seized to rapport on the need for an independent Dutch market. Influenced by the economic crisis and the effects of the mine closures in Limburg, employment was a central focus in the media. Therefore job losses at ENCI received full coverage in the newspapers. ("Geen gedwongen", 1982; "Afslanken", 1982; "ENCI afzet", 1982) A minority however continued to argue that given the job losses ENCI should be further supported with a new concession to ensure these jobs, such as the PvdA: "Bij de ENCI-Maastricht verdienen vele honderden mensen uit deze regio hun brood,

en die werkgelegenheid mag niet in gevaar komen door onduidelijkheid over het beleid van de overheid op langere termijn.” (“Dringend Verzoek”, 1984) Generally speaking the articles ceased to give the employment argument a central and dominant role in the debate.

What is more striking about the newspaper articles in this period is that unlike in the forties the nature arguments were taken seriously. Thereby supporting the conclusion that in the eighties environmental concerns had emancipated themselves. A main difference with the previous newspaper analysis is in the attention that was paid to the search for alternatives. A good majority of all the articles deal with this search in all different forms: using fly ash in cement production, using less marl in Portland cement, including industrial waste, expanding the St. Pietersberg quarry in breadth or depth, alternative location besides Margraten, importing from Belgium. (“Amersvoortse”, 1980; “Minister Ginjaar”, 1978; “Minder mergel”, 1982; “Binnen 5 jaar”, 1981; “Mergelvoorraad in 1991”, 1973; Milieu rapport”, 1979; “Alternatief”, 1981; “Standpunt”, 1982)

Public opinion was against excavating Margraten, but against ENCI remaining in the St. Pietersberg. Indicating that they wanted to keep a Dutch cement industry and the employment opportunities attached to this. The Milieufederatie which was very active in resisting the Margraten concession argued in line with this: “overigens is de St.-Pietersberg al danig aangetast. Als het in het opofferen van de St.-Pietersberg of de verdere aantasting van het Plateau van Margraten, dan kiezen wij het eerste.” (“Verdeelde reacties”, 1983) Reflective of this type of thinking were the requests that ENCI should put in an application to extend their permit past 1991. (“ENCI nog geen”, 1981; “Verontruste bewoners”, 1982)

These articles here reveal how in the eighties environmental concerns were no longer limited to groups within the environmental movement, rather these concerns were throughout society. A revealing fact of this analysis is that nature is framed according to political ecology. Here nature is perceived as a common good that is to be shared, but this needs to be done without risking other common goods. These articles were selected from the late seventies and eighties and therefore they reveal the next turn in the environmental movement, namely that influenced by the economic crisis which followed the oil crisis, the movement became more pragmatic: seeking economic growth while preserving the environment.

This is clear in the newspaper analysis, where public opinion was not against ENCI remaining in Margraten. Rather, a compromise was sought which would maintain the economic benefits the cement industry offered Limburg, while at the same time protecting nature in Margraten from being lost. This was made possible by alternative methods of

producing cement and the possibility of digging deeper into the St. Pietersberg. The fact that this was so elaborately reported in the newspapers reveals a shift in public opinion.

Contradictory period in history: towards sustainable development

While the environmental movement started to spread throughout society, in the late seventies more organised environmental groups started to assert pressure on politics: pressing for regulatory laws and policies. Through protests which attracted support from the public, such as Margraten, it was hoped that political leaders would take environmental concerns more seriously. (Cramer, 1989, pp. 35-52) As the advice given by the provincial commission illustrates, this was not always successful. In the eighties though the last development in the environmental movement started to pay off and political parties did take notice.

Before addressing the success of the environmental movement on exerting pressure on politics, I will first address the last development in the environmental movement. The eighties offer an interesting contradiction. During this period there was the first post-war economic crisis and subsequently people became aware of the fact that material wealth was threatened. According to Inglehart this would mean a decline in soft values, such as environmental concerns. As the newspaper analysis revealed though, nothing could be further from the truth.

As can be expected in the face of economic crisis there was a strong focus in the two cabinets of Lubbers on economic recovery. These cabinets of 1982 and 1986 were formed from a coalition between VVD and CDA.²² These cabinets brought with them a shift in economic thinking, arguing that the state had shown itself to be an inefficient regulator of the market; rather the market should regulate itself. The welfare state was too expensive and it had created irresponsible citizens always looking to the state for assistance. (Colander & Landreth, 1989, p. 382; Brue and Grant, 2007, p. 493) The solution posed by the Lubbers cabinets was to cut back on spending and increase the Netherlands' competitive position. This meant taking full advantage of its position as a trading hub and privatising formally nationalised sectors to make them more efficient and competitive. (Luiten van Zanden, 1998, pp. 158-174)

Economic concerns were exasperated in Limburg due to decision in the late sixties to close the coal mines. The government tried to avoid mass unemployment by stalling the mine

²² In these cabinets all ministerial positions relating to ENCI were held by VVD: Nijpels took on the position of Minister of Housing, Regional Development and the Environment in the second Lubbers cabinet, replacing Minister Winsemius (VVD). The Minister of Transport and Public Works in both cabinets was Smit-Kroes (VVD), while the Minister of Economic Affairs was Van Aardenne (VVD) in the first cabinet and De Korte (VVD) in the second cabinet. (PDCUL, n.d., "Kabinet Lubbers")

closures until each of the over forty thousand workers had found alternative employment. This policy failed and Limburg developed a high unemployment level. In the late seventies the *Perspectievennote Limburg* put forward a new policy to ease unemployment: spreading civil government services, luring investment, increasing infrastructure and boosting Limburg's market sector (especially the tertiary sector). (Derks, 1990, p. 3; Van de Linde & Ruiter, 1990, pp. 22-29)

Extraordinarily though faced with the first post-war economic crisis environmental concerns were not ignored. In the late seventies and eighties the economic crisis and environmental movement collided and out of this came a more nuanced view on economic growth. This meant that the political ecology symbolic package became dominant. The harsh criticism of economic growth evolved into calls for economic growth which took ecological values into consideration. (Cramer, 1989, pp. 63-80)

Within economic thinking there was also a similar movement as ecological economics took form. According to this new economic thinking care for the environment must be taken into consideration. The reason was that by damaging nature in order to have uncontrolled economic growth, the prospect of maintaining economic wealth in the long run were diminished. Consequently, future generations would be put at risk as ecosystems were destroyed that would then not be able to supported them. (Common & Stagl, 2005, pp. 1-4)

This thinking was captured in the Burtrandt rapport, *Our Common Future*, which was brought out by the World Commission on Environment and Development. This was the first rapport to coin the term 'sustainable development', which is defined as "development which meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." The rapport was published in 1987, but the thinking can be seen as an expression of the mentality that developed in the eighties. (WCED, 1987, p. 43 quoted in Rao, 2000, p. 85)

Influence of the environmental movement on political parties

The economic crisis in fact aided the inclusion of the environmental movement into politics. The crisis created within the environmental movement a turn away from idealist anti-growth criticism towards pragmatic outlook more open to compromise. The inclusion of environmental concerns can be seen in the provincial and national electoral platforms of the three biggest political parties in the eighties. Incorporating these concerns was different for each political party, for some it was easier than others.

The social democratic party, PvdA, was a pioneer in this as already in the sixties the environment was included in their party programme. However they were also the party that had the hardest time incorporating this concern. Traditionally the PvdA, in line with socialist thinking, fiercely promoted economic growth to emancipate the worker and raise the standard of living. Although first to include the environment, when the economic crisis set in this inclusion created conflict within the party. This caused PvdA to retreat on its environmental positions: first create prosperity, and then take care of nature. (Harmsen, 1992; Righart, 1992, p. 126)

For the national elections of 1986 PvdA wanted to stimulate the economy in order to address the unemployment problem, but they argued for quantitative and qualitative growth. This meant that a balance needed to be found between nature and growth, in which nature set the boundaries for economic growth. (Lipschits, 1986, pp. 308-332) In the provincial electoral platform, they advocated provincial policies be adopted to reduce the number of companies that damaged the environment. They supported the search for alternative methods for surface mining of marl and in the election of 1991, were against the excavation of Margraten by ENCI. (PvdA, 1991)

The liberal party, VVD²³, was slower and less concerned about incorporating the environmental concerns into their party programmes. Traditionally this party took the view that nature was given to man to dominate over and to use as optimally as possible to increase more affluence. This party favoured the workings of the market with as little state intervention as possible. Environmental policies would restrict the freedom of individuals and business, which could only hinder the workings of the market. (Righart, 1992, p. 127) However the party allowed that freedom could be restricted if convincing arguments were given. (De Beaufort & Van Schie, 2008, p. 148)

The fact that environmental concerns were adopted into the VVD electoral platforms in the eighties suggests that the arguments presented in the Club of Rome rapport were convincing enough. In the electoral platforms preventative measures were advocated to restrict damage to the environment, rather than acting after the damage has been done. In resolving the economic crisis they called for an environment of entrepreneurship, but where economically feasible, ecological concerns should be taken into consideration. In their provincial platform, VVD claims that marl extraction is of national importance and therefore this industry should be supported. (Lipschits, 1986, pp. 444-460; VVD Limburg, 1995)

²³ The VVD was formed from the PvdV in the 1948 and since then had managed to develop from a weak and loose organisation into a solid and large political party. (Voerman & van Dijk, 2008, pp. 109-118)

Out of all the political parties it was CDA that had the easiest time incorporating environmental concerns into their political programme. CDA uses the concept of stewardship to portray their view on the relationship between man and nature. According to which, nature was given to man by God to be cared for, to be managed. Man therefore has a responsibility to society, current and future, and to God to be a good steward. The role of the government in this was to install laws and policies of good stewardship, but also to allow individuals to practice this themselves. Righart argues though that the party is probably unlikely to act on this. The CDA as a centre party must balance the environmental issues against its support for economic growth and interests. (Righart, 1992, pp. 127-129; Wetenschappelijk Instituut voor het CDA, 1993, pp. 219-222)

The religious argument is evident in their electoral platforms. Faced with the economic crisis, this party does not stop calling for economic development, but it does call for policies in which nature and economic values do not frustrate each other. In specific reference to Limburg it argues that economic policies should be pursued which emphasise the tertiary sector of the economy, especially tourism and recreation, which will require maintaining the natural beauty of Limburg. The cement industry is of national importance, but to protect the environment they called for the use of industrial waste in cement to decrease the use of marl. (Lipschits, 1986, pp. 25-37; CDA Limburg, 1991)

Thus it is possible to observe that during the eighties the concerns of the environmental movement had spread through society and as Eder and Inglehart argue, politics was also affected. It can be argued that given the electoral instability which had marked the seventies in the Netherlands political parties were forced to compete for votes instead of previously having a reliable and loyal electorate. In this case this meant that politics had to pay more attention to the environmental concerns in society. Therefore the environmental concerns were included in the political programmes in the hopes of attracting voters.

This can be seen in national politics, but more specifically in provincial politics. As noted in the previous part, Limburg was a predominantly catholic province and the KVP could rely on a loyal electorate. The electoral instability hit the KVP hardest in Limburg as the party lost nearly half its electorate during the seventies (see table 3). Limburg politics nationalised as other parties such as the PvdA and VVD moved into Limburg. Before these parties did not have to take the issues of the Limburg electorate very serious, but now that there was a possibility of luring voters away from KVP, these parties started focussing more on this regions concern, such as ENCI's mining activity in Limburg.

Institutionalisation of environmental concerns

Following the inclusion of political ecology into politics and the masterframe, Eder argues that the last step is the institutionalisation of environmental concerns. This means that it should be observable in governmental and provincial policies that these concerns are included. While the two Lubbers' cabinets adopted neo liberal economic policies, pragmatic solutions were also sought to combine the economic recovery plans with environmental concerns. Prime Minister Lubbers decided to make environmental concern a fifth pillar in governmental policy, making it as important as the concern for the economic crisis and growing unemployment. The Ministry of Housing, Regional Development and the Environment, then held by the VVD, received more responsibility and a bigger budget. (Cramer, 1989, pp. 89-98)

Regionally a similar inclusion of this package can be seen in the streekplan²⁴. From the sixties onwards there was a change in philosophy within planning. These plans ceased to be lists of elements in the region; rather they became more dynamic as there was a move towards systematic planning. (Van der Cammen, 1979, p. 20) Therefore in Limburg, after the mine closures, the streekplan was utilised to stimulate employment in the region. (Van der Kruis & Pouwels, 1987, pp. 77-79) However, the streekplan can also be used to protect the environment as can be seen in the 1987 review of the streekplan for the south of Limburg by the Provincial Council. In this review, environmental concerns and economic concerns play an important role. The south of Limburg is identified as special because it is highly populated meaning that there are "dicht bij elkaar gelegen en zo verstrengeld, sterk uitlopende en vaak tegenstrijdig ruimtegebruik." (Provinciale Staten, 1987, p. 22) The relationship of man and nature is here framed as a political question, supporting the conclusion that political ecology was the dominant means of framing. Through this new streekplan, the Province wanted to include environmental concerns into planning policy. With reference to earth removal, the Province recognised the national need to allow the industry to continue. However in the future it must once again become a nature area, developing into a tourist-recreational zone. (p. 18)

This analysis of politics, economics and the streekplan is in accordance with the theory put forward by Eder. The political ecology symbolic package became dominant in the environmental movement. It was then that the environmental concerns started to be adapted into the existing masterframe, thereby marking a turn away from the masterframe of industrialisation. This development can be seen in how thinking in line with sustainable

²⁴ This is a policy document drawn up by the Province which indicates the division and utility of the region or province. In the case of Limburg, planning is divided into two regions: South and Central/North.

development was institutionalised. This institutionalisation can be seen in the decision made by the Minister of Transport and Public Works with regards to the rejection of the Margraten quarry application because continuing in the St. Pietersberg was possible. More specifically this can be seen in the following analysis of the earth removal permit ENCI received in 1988.

Permit analysis

The permit, requested in 1985 after the Minister's initial rejection of the Margraten quarry was requested under a different legal framework than that of the forties. While the permit of 1949 was applied for under a provincial ordinance, this changed after the sixties when parliament called for a national law to regulate earth removal. In the parliamentary debate several motivations were given. Firstly, they wanted a law that would weigh all the different interests involved in earth removal. Secondly, by having a central law the same principles would apply to all, making the process more democratic. (Bijlage Handelingen II, 1960/61, 6338) The new central law²⁵ came into effect in the late sixties. The primary responsibility of this new law fell under the Ministry for Transport and Public Works, but was executed by the Provincial Executives. According to this law permission had to be asked for any earth removal. The province would then weigh the different interests before giving their decision.

This difference in legal framework explains a major discrepancy between the earth removal permit of 1949 and 1988, namely the interests which were considered in the concession. In the permit of 1949 the only interests that are mentioned are those of nature conservation. This can not be said of the permit of 1988, which includes a summary of the different interests involved. As far as economic arguments are concerned, the importance of the cement industry for the Netherlands is mentioned as well as the employment that ENCI offers. Economic concerns though are fewer than the concerns for the environment. This permit, in comparison with that of 1949, can be said to be more representative of the context. (Archief Provincie Limburg, stukken betreffende extract van besluiten GS, 28 juni 1988)

Environmental concerns are very different to those expressed in 1949. While in the forties the concern was for the loss of aesthetics, in the later permit the concerns are more scientific (the permit almost reads like a scientific rapport). This change in perspective can be explained along two lines. Firstly with regards to the 1949 permit, there still was natural beauty to be lost; in 1988 this beauty had been turned into cement. Rather than applying for a larger quarry, which might have involved losing more natural beauty, this permit was to dig

²⁵ Ontgrondingenwet, Staatsblad 509, 1965

deeper into the quarry. In the permit, the concerns that are expressed relate to the possible environmental damage this deeper digging might have. (Ibid.) This shift can also be explained by the fact that by the eighties there was more knowledge about possible environmental damage involved in excavations.

Given this second explanation, the 1988 permit expresses a more expansive concern for nature. The possible damage deeper extraction could cause is taken very seriously. For instance: putting ground water at risk or possibly changing the biotopes and thereby losing the multi-functionality of the ground. (Ibid.) These damages were also placed in the context of the end result of the quarry, resulting in concern and awareness for the measures needed to be taken to ensure that future generations would be guaranteed a safe and liveable ecosystem, especially as this quarry would become a tourist-recreation zone. This is in line with the symbolic package of political ecology in which nature is seen as a common good of which the distribution in society, current and future, is open to political debate. In order for current and future generations to meet their needs the quarry must now support the hundreds of people who work there. With the future in mind, care must also be taken to ensure that in the future people will be able to live in a safe environment.

Criticism of Inglehart

The analysis of the social context has shown that political ecology arose in the environmental movement and influenced politics. The analysis of the permit showed that political ecology was institutionalised. Therefore it can be concluded that Eder's theory is very applicable to this comparison between 1949 and 1988, this cannot be said of the theory of Inglehart. As claimed before the environmental concerns in the face of an economic crisis did not disappear. This criticism relates to the correlation he sees between materialist and soft values. In this analysis it has become clear that this correlation is far too general. In the case of the rejection of Margraten and the 1988 permit for the St. Pietersberg, one can see that there were a myriad of influences that influenced decision making, which cannot be explained by the rise of material wealth alone.

Firstly, in the space of a few years the attitude towards the economic arguments of the ENCI had shifted quite drastically. The employment arguments and the expected increase in cement demand lost their weight in this period. Cement demand actually started to decrease as the economic crisis of the seventies and eighties started to set in and affect the building sector. Furthermore ENCI made the decision to move their headquarters to Den Bosch, which meant that high quality (service) jobs left Maastricht. With the decrease in cement demand ENCI

was also forced to cut its workforce. (Schreuder, 1980, pp. 6-12; “Afslanken”, 1982) By the mid eighties the economy started to recover and the building sector improved. Consequently the demand for cement increased and ENCI’s supply grew accordingly. Nonetheless this did not mean that ENCI’s workforce expanded, in fact it continued to shrink slowly. This is indicative of a more efficient productivity. (ENCI, 1988; 1989; 1990)

Secondly, the arguments that ENCI always put forward for the need for an independent national supply of cement, which had been so relevant in the 1945-9 discussion, were now falling on deaf ears. Since 1945 European integration had continued and the Netherlands had increased its wealth and no longer suffered from a deficit in the balance of payments which had enforced the need for a national cement industry. Although the provincial executive had advised the Minister of Transport and Public Works that the Belgian cement industry was not stable, this later turned out to be false. (Comité Mergelland, 1979b, p. 17)

A third factor that weakened ENCI’s arguments, were technological developments in the manner of making cement. From the late seventies rapports started to appear which claimed that there were methods which allowed for the same quantity of cement to be created with less marl. (“Amersvoortse”, 1980; “Minister Ginjaar”, 1978; “Minder mergel”, 1982; “Binnen 5 jaar”, 1981) These new methods solved two problems, firstly it allowed for a sparing, more economic, use of resources and it recycled waste products. For these reasons the Minister of Environmental Protection (minister Ginjaar) grasped the opportunity and ENCI started using these methods by the end of 1981. (“Milieurapport”, 1979)

A fourth aspect was that while in the mid seventies it was not seen as feasible to dig deeper into the St. Pietersberg quarry, by the early eighties studies indicated that this was possible. Marl in lower layers was of a lesser quality and because this marl was under the groundwater level alternative methods of extraction would be needed. This would be more expensive but it would drastically increase ENCI’s supply of marl. (Duynstee, 1983; Montfrans, Mourik & Zagwijn, 1988, p. 69) Digging deeper into the quarry was also mentioned in the rapport of the Commissie Alternatieve Winplaatsen, a commission which was installed to investigate alternative places or options for the ENCI besides moving their excavations to Margraten. (“Verdeelde reacties”, 1983)

These four factors together with the economic crisis have played a significant role in the outcome of ENCI’s permit requests in the eighties. The effect of the economic crisis was counterintuitive, as it helped to strengthen the plight of the environmental movement. The fact

that the movement turned to a more pragmatic stance and were open to more compromise meant that it was easier to adopt into politics. This was not possible with the other methods of framing nature. The conservative package claims the two realms of nature and society are incompatible, while fundamentalist framing (by definition) is not open to compromise.

The theory of Inglehart should not be swept away though as it does offer some insights. Firstly, through placing this analysis within the framework of his theory general conclusions can be drawn with regards to political actors. The fact that there was an evolution in political skills was also an important factor in the 1988 outcome. In comparison with the forties one can observe more public involvement, but the depillarization of Dutch society also impacted the outcome. After the sixties Limburg politics became more competitive as KVP was dethroned. It can be argued that Smit-Kroes' rejection of the Margraten permit was an attempt by the VVD to gain votes in Limburg by exploiting this issue.

Inglehart's theory furthermore can be said to be behind the increase in technological development. The fact that there were technological developments is reflective of the interest within society and politics for environmental protection. Technologies are developed because society feels a need for and interest in them. Thus generally speaking it can be concluded that the most crucial difference between the permit of 1949 and 1988 then is the emancipation of nature.

Conclusion

Throughout this thesis the emancipation of nature arguments has unfolded. These arguments went from being displayed as a post-war enemy to influencing policy. In the forties the presence of the nature arguments was striking given the tenacity with which the Dutch government promoted a national cement industry and the post-war reconstruction effort. However, even in the forties nature arguments made their presence felt as can be seen in the Dalplan. This highlights important common denominators between these two periods.

The first is that an effort was made to reconcile economic benefits with nature. The Dalplan was instigated in the hopes of finding an alternative location to save the St. Pietersberg. Forty years later and again a reconciliation of economic and nature arguments was sought, only now there were more viable alternatives: from alternative production methods to deeper marl extraction. The conclusion can be drawn that in neither of these periods was economics or nature an irrelevant factor, even though outcomes would have it appear that way.

The second and most striking common issue is Margraten. In 1949, the Dalplan wanted to centralize marl extraction in Margraten in order to save the St. Pietersberg. This plan would eventually turn out not to be economically viable and the St. Pietersberg could not be saved. Alternatively, in the eighties the search for alternatives was to save Margraten and in this case the combination of an alternative location, the increase in knowledge and the development of technology allowed the Plateau of Margraten to be saved.

Thus it is possible to observe that between these two periods a decisive factor has been the increase in knowledge: of more economic use of marl and of environmental damage. Cramer's overview of the environmental movement in the Netherlands is revealing in more ways than one. Not only is it insightful into the development of this movement, but it also related the increase in funding for government reports into environmental damage. A possible conclusion is that as these reports increased, so did the public awareness of the problem and therefore also the reaction of politics (seen in their expenses to inhibit environmental damage).

This is captured in the following quote by Maya Angelou: "Do the best you can until you know better. Then when you know better, do better." Reports, like *The Limits to Growth*, shocked a portion of the Dutch public and politicians who wanted to act on the doomsday messages on the state of nature. In the run up to the decision in the late eighties with regards to the rejection of Margraten and the deeper permit for the St. Pietersberg,

newspapers reported extensively on new technologies. This was a decisive factor in decision making.

This is reflective of a current debate and an element which has been in the background in this thesis: namely the issue of development. In current debate development is usually linked with third world countries or emerging economies like India, Brazil or China. General lesson can however be drawn from this Dutch case. In both these debates, there is a constant rift between economic development and soft values.

The theory of Inglehart would seem to suggest that the way forward would be to first have economic development to establish material wealth. Once this is achieved, people and governments will be more willing to orientate themselves towards soft values. This is a stance held by many emerging economies, in which it is argued that because the West could develop without the restrictions which creep in when the environment is taken into consideration, so the rest of the world should be allowed to develop in the same manner. It is on this point that this thesis differs. Especially on Inglehart's claim that faced with the economic downturn in the seventies and eighties soft values will retreat and materialist concerns will be revived.

History tells a different story: the economic downturn was beneficial for the environmental movement. As shown in this analysis the oil crisis only gave a realistic illustration of the fact that we live with finite resources: therefore what is the point in waiting till economic development is achieved, there might be nothing left to enjoy at the end of the journey. Furthermore, in the Netherlands the economic crisis also caused a shift in orientations within the environmental movement from idealist, pie in the sky hopes, to a pragmatic search for solutions in which economic development underwent a qualitative change. The St. Pietersberg case also illustrates that the inclusion of environmental concerns is not limited to materialist factors. Technological advances made a more sparing use of marl in the St. Pietersberg possible, which meant for the next thirty years a new quarry was not needed. Demonstrating that when you know better, you should do better.

The qualitative adaptation of economic thinking is taken into consideration by Eder's theory as he claims political ecology emerged as the dominant symbolic package within the environmental movement and was adopted into political discourse. In the forties, before the environmental movement, nature arguments were also present. These arguments were quite significant as can be seen in the instigation of the Dalplan. However, given that the relationship was framed according the conservationist package which sees man and nature an incompatible, there was little hope that a compromise would be reached between the economic and nature arguments. The analysis of the eighties showed how it was political

ecology which became dominant in the environmental movement, public discourse and politics, which then affected the masterframe of industrialism in the eighties. This package sees man and nature as both trying to survive in the same ecosystem and is more naturally inclined towards compromise.

However, it remains to be assessed as to the degree that this masterframe has been adapted. From this analysis the conclusion could be drawn that the masterframe has changed. After all has not the rise of environmental concerns and knowledge of alternatives put an end to ENCI's hopes to exploit Margraten for economic gain? While not denying that this might be the case, it is important to keep in mind that Margraten was denied because an alternative was available for ENCI. In this case a more nuanced approach should be taken; technological capabilities to continue in the St. Pietersberg create a complication. Any conclusion that nature has affected this masterframe must be tested against future developments.

Futures developments in relation to Margraten and the St. Pietersberg will be opportunities to draw a clearer conclusion as to whether Eder's theory is applicable. The curtain is now truly falling on the St. Pietersberg quarry as marl runs out. The question arises as to what consequences this will have for Margraten. In 1985 and 1989, Margraten was denied under the auspices that while the cement industry was regionally important for Limburg and the Netherlands, ENCI could be foreseen in their need for Marl for the next forty years by staying in the St. Pietersberg. Will the province allow ENCI to move to Margraten now that the St. Pietersberg is depleted and there is no new technology to avoid a move?

With regards to this question, again economic benefit and nature preservation arguments will be pitted against each other, rather more reminiscent of the 1949 debate because here the issue will resolve around the question as to whether the Netherlands needs its own cement industry. There is however a significant difference with 1949, namely European integration. This is an element which has not been touched upon in this thesis, but is certainly a factor worthy of future research. Belgium and Germany have always been important import partners, and with integration, their reliability has grown. Only the future will tell whether there is room for nationalist arguments in an integrated Europe. Furthermore, and in relation to this thesis, this difference will play a role in changing the relationship between economic and nature arguments.

The second issue, which will be revealing as to whether environmental concerns have successfully altered the masterframe, is the future of the St. Pietersberg. After ENCI has finished extracting marl the quarry area will return to nature. This was already anticipated in

the forties when the St. Pietersberg commission advised the Province to hire a landscape architect to redesign the quarry. Fitting with the new orientation of the Province of Limburg to take advantage of the natural beauty of the south of Limburg by promoting tourism, the quarry will become a sight for recreation.

It is idealist to think that this would offer a harmonious combination of nature and economic gain. The use of nature for recreational purposes can have negative effects. Therefore the issue of the relationship between man and nature will again centre in the debate. ENCI Transformeert NU is a project set up by the Province, the City of Maastricht and ENCI which attempts to engage the public in deciding the outcome of the quarry (ENCI Transformeert NU, 2009, 'transformatie'). A study of this process would be revealing as to how the relationship between economics and nature in the St. Pietersberg is framed.

It is appropriate that this story which began in the early twentieth century by looking to the future. More specifically, looking to how the relationship between man and mountain will be shaped in the future. However, if this brief story of emancipation has shown anything, it is that there are few predictable events. One would have expected the economic down-turn to send environmental concerns packing. It remains to be seen whether the emancipation of nature is a permanent fixture of our society and whether we are entering into Eder's forth stage, namely the cultural normalization of environmental concerns. A harmonious relationship between man and nature, as has been shown here, will depend less on the environmental threat than on the context in which this threat takes place.

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- stukken betreffende extract uit register der besluiten van Gedeputeerde Staten van Limburg, ontgrondingvergunning, 28 juni 1988.
- stukken betreffende aanvraag vergunning door ENCI bij Gedeputeerde Staten, 1 november 1985.

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- Stukken betreffende verslag van vergadering St. Pietersberg-commissie, 20 januari 1949.
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J. Smeets, May 7, 2009, Maastricht, the Netherlands