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The Impact of the Interaction Process on Activities in the Rural Area

A comparison between the cases 'Boven Regge' and
'Azelerbeek' in the Netherlands

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Summary

In this research the contextual interaction theory is used as a framework for analyzing two area development processes in the Netherlands. The purpose of the research is to determine to what degree public and private stakeholder involvement in the rural policy process will lead to more and better sustainable activities in the rural area. The case study compares the two cases 'Azelerbeek' and 'Boven Regge' which are comparable in their objectives. The focus in both cases is on the reconstruction of the watercourses, creating nature-areas, water retention possibilities, and broadening or cutting out agricultural activities.

We found that rural policy steers actors in their actions in a certain way, because of obligations to fulfill certain objectives. Rural policy and regulation can be restrictive, but on the other hand provides also power and capacity for actors to act in accordance with their aims. The European Water Framework Directive for instance gives power and capacity to fulfill water objectives, or for instance Natura 2000 which represents nature objectives. A multifunctional use of the rural area is promoted within Dutch rural policy documents. Rural Development Policy became a major element in the reformed Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). Hence, the CAP promotes the development of more sustainable activities on the countryside, but also because of decreased compensations. The Reconstruction Law forms in our case study areas the leading document, because the developments are dependent from the reconstruction zoning with a distinction between agricultural development zones, extensive areas – with nature as main objective - and weaving areas – combining functions. The Azelerbeek development program forms a pilot under the Reconstruction Plan – on the base of the Reconstruction Law. The policy network in the Azelerbeek case was therefore structure related, while the network in the Boven Regge was agency related because the network has been formed on the initiative out of the area.

Sustainable activities were in both cases realized because of voluntary involvement. Involvement in the form of a policy community with few involved actors is a basis for the further process. It proved to be important that the process starts at the local scale with early involvement of affected people, whereby actors out of the area take the initiative by themselves. Actors choose for involvement, because of shared problem perceptions and are therefore willing to exchange resources. It is important to include various goals in the plan from the beginning, so that more actors have an interest and contribute to resource exchange. The provided activities are in this way more sustainable on the long term if all three sustainability pillars – social, economical and ecological - are represented in more or less the same extent. This is however dependent from the way power is distributed. Twickel has for instance much power in the Azelerbeek case, because this actor owns many grounds and has many tenant farmers. The government should decide in common interest about the developments made with help of the constitutional basis for decision making and also on the base of her property and ownership, for instance through reconsolidations with help of governmental ownership of grounds.

Also, a positive nature of the plan in terms of goals and approach – early involvement and bottom-up - contributes to realizing sustainable activities. Government should provide the necessary resources in terms of money, support, certainty and information, so that farmers have enough power and capacity to provide sustainable activities. The government must have the role of a facilitator, whereby the focus must lay on farmers' attitude and not on farmers' behaviour. Thereby is communicating possibilities for sustainable activities most important, not only directly to farmers but also by politicians so that awareness via the media rises. In this way, the cognition, motivation, power and capacity of actors in terms of the contextual interaction theory will change so that more sustainable activities on the countryside will be provided.

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Preface

This research is focused on the impact of the interaction process on activities in the rural area. Two cases are investigated whereby the focus lies on the relation between public and private stakeholder involvement on provided sustainable activities in the rural area, with two watercourses as frame of reference. That is because of my interest in behavior of actors in relation to other actors and the policy field environment and sustainability. I found more policy fields interesting, but sustainability itself is about the economic, ecological and social pillar so that sustainability itself is an adaptation between various interests, which could be conflicting in a certain way.

I will complete my study Public Administration Environment and Sustainability with this master thesis. I found this research very interesting and I really enjoyed it to write this thesis. I wish to thank Cheryl de Boer for supervising me during my research. It was good to work with her and she stimulated me to think more critically. Also thanks to Hans Bressers, because of his advice to ask Cheryl as my first supervisor, but also because of the useful feedback in the early and later process of my research. I could not do my research without the actors who were willing to participate in the interviews, so also thanks to them. It was thereby helpful to talk with Martin Verbeek – projectleader of 'De Groene Poort' - in the very beginning of my research. He gave me the possibility to explore the different projects within the municipality of Borne. Partly because of that, I was able to select very interesting cases.

Enschede, 18 September 2009

1. Introduction

1.1. Problem statement

Since the reforming of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) in 2003, CAP is demand driven and farmers are no longer paid just to produce food. Farmers still receive direct income payments in order to maintain income stability, but these payments are not linked to production anymore. Farmers will face reductions in their direct income payments when they fail in respecting environmental, food safety, hygiene and animal welfare standards. The reform of the CAP fits within WTO developments with regard to international trade. The reforms produced a new CAP based on two pillars. The first pillar of the CAP is focused on food production. A basic income support to farmers is provided. The Second pillar supports agriculture as a provider of public goods in its environmental and rural functions. The Common Agricultural Policy has promoted diversification of activities in rural areas (European Commission, 2006).

Because of that, a new type of area within the countryside has emerged. This fourth type of area is considered by the 'New Rurality Project.' Such area, a so called New Rural Area, is a combination of the agricultural production area, artificialised area and natural area (Larrue, 2008). This so called new rural area is also described within the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (2003). Ecosystem services can be divided into three groups: provisioning services, regulation services and cultural services. Besides, supporting services are necessary for the production of these three other services (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, 2003). Because of the various rural activities and services in the New Rural Area, there are different stakeholders and values on various institutional levels. An increase in the demand for ecosystem services in the New Rural Area has lead to trade-offs among ecosystem services. A gap between ecosystem service supply and demand has emerged, as we can see for example in the fishery sector referring to overfishing. Nature is increasingly affected by humans through the increased demand for nature (Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food quality, 2005). The New Rurality project is focused on the regulation of the 'rural land resource' uses (Larrue, 2008). The focus of our research is more on the interaction processes, rather than the more institutional approach. Though, the impact of regulations on the stakeholders in the interaction process is certainly important to identify. This will be performed from the perspective of the stakeholders in the interaction process, since the purpose of this research is to identify how interaction processes contribute to the management of the trade-offs.

1.2. Background

Each member state of the European Union must draw up a rural development programme, which is according the EU Rural Development Regulation (EC) 1698/2005 (European Commission, 2005^b). Nearly 60% of the population of the 27 Member States of the EU lives in rural areas. Rural areas covers 90% of the territory of the Member States, therefore rural development is an important policy area. Rural Development policy is focused on helping rural areas respond to economic, social and environmental issues. Rural Development Policy takes different values of the countryside into account. The Rural Development policy for the 2007-2013 period is focused on three traditional axes:

- (1) improving agricultural competitiveness;
- (2) improving the environment and supporting land management;
- (3) improving the quality of life and diversifying the economy in rural areas.

(European Commission, 2006, p. 12)

These three axes are supplemented by a fourth axis – the 'Leader axis' – which is based on the Leader Community Initiative. This initiative aims at implementing local strategies for rural development through local public-private partnerships (European Commission, 2008). The Leader approach is designed with the aim to help rural actors improve the long-term potential of their local areas. This approach is focused on the encouragement of the implementation of integrated, high-quality and original strategies for sustainable

development for local areas. These strategies have to be drawn up and implemented by broad-based local partnerships, Local Action Groups (European Commission, 2006). The 'Agenda for a living countryside' is the Dutch application of the rural development policy. The quality of rural life and the vitality and sustainability of the agricultural sector is the focus of this policy document (Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality, 2006).

1.3. Research Objective

1.3.1. Hypothesis

Since the focus of our research is on the interaction process and the contribution to the management of the trade-offs between ecosystem services, we stated the following hypothesis: public and private stakeholder involvement will enhance integration of values and resources and this integration will subsequently enhance more and better sustainable activities in the rural area.

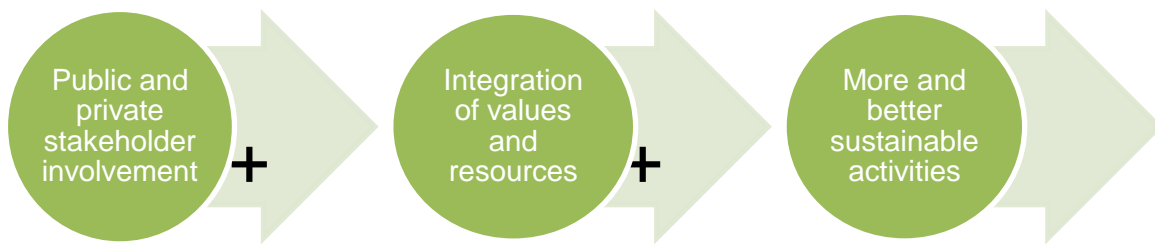


Figure 1: Hypothesis

We split this hypothesis up into two hypotheses, so that the research objective is more clearly observed.

- a). Public and private stakeholder involvement will lead to a better integration of their values/problem perceptions and resources.
- b). Integration of values and resources from public and private stakeholders will lead to more sustainable activities in the rural area.

We take the perspective of the Brundtland commission (1987) about sustainability. That commission states that sustainable development meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The focus is hereby on the three pillars: sustainable social development, sustainable economic development and sustainable ecological development. The Dutch government has three main values with regard to sustainable development: planet, people and profit. These values can enhance and supplement each other, like nature and recreation. However, sometimes choices must be made, for example between the development of nature or agriculture. The Dutch government has stated in the Agenda for a Living Countryside (2007-2013) that the objective is to integrate the various functions of the countryside with each other. Sustainable activities are characterized by the three sustainable pillars.

1.3.2. Research Question

The research question is formulated on the base of the hypothesis: *To what extent does public and private stakeholder involvement and interaction in the rural policy process have impacts on sustainable activities in the rural area?*

Thereby, we stated three sub questions in accordance with the hypothesis and research question:

1. What are public and private interests and resources in the rural area and to what extent are they taken into account in rural policy?
2. To what extent are public and private stakeholders involved in the rural policy process in the two cases: Azelerbeek and Boven Regge?
3. To what extent is the degree of involvement of public and private stakeholders an explaining factor for sustainable activities in the rural area?

2. Method

The research will focus on the local level. The starting point of the research is the perspective of local stakeholders with regard to the multifunctional rural area. Activities in the countryside are mostly performed by local stakeholders and these local groups have the expertise in the field. The main objective of this research is to determine to what degree participation of public and private stakeholders in the rural policy process will lead to more and better activities in the multifunctional rural area.

2.1. Case study

A case study is the research strategy in this research. This strategy is chosen on the base of three conditions stated by Yin (2003): *“(a) the type of research question posed, (b) the extent of control an investigator has over actual behavioral events, and (c) the degree of focus on contemporary as opposed to historical events”* (Yin, 2003, p. 5). Case studies fit best when the research question is a ‘how’ or ‘why’ question, no control of behavioral events is required, and when the focus lies on contemporary events. Our research question can be typified as a ‘why’ question, because the purpose of this research is to explain why sustainable activities are or are not developed in the rural area. Thereby, the research question refers to a contemporary set of events, over which the investigator has little or no control. Both ‘history’ as a research strategy as well as ‘case study’ are appropriate strategies. The case study is however preferred above the ‘history’ strategy, because of the focus on the current developments in the area and the attention for the process in the past. There is an overlap between case studies and history, but the case study provides the possibility to use more evidence in the form of both documents and interviews, because of the focus on the current interaction process.

In the first chapter we stated a proposition which is formulated in the form of a hypothesis. We assume in this hypothesis that public and private stakeholder involvement and the interaction process have an impact on the extent wherein sustainable activities are developed. There could be many factors which have an impact on sustainable activities, but that would be far too exhaustive to investigate in this research. Therefore, we defined our research question to involvement and the interaction processes in the rural policy field.

2.1.1 Selection of the cases

The research will compare two cases, these are Boven Regge and Azelerbeek. The cases were selected on the base of exploring interviews. Several municipalities within the Twente-region were contacted, and exploring interviews were held with four municipalities. These four municipalities were selected on the base of two criteria. Firstly, the researchers’ expectations about the willingness and motivation of the municipality to provide necessary information. The second criterion was the question whether the research objective links to the proposed area. Boven Regge and Azelerbeek were subsequently selected on some additional criteria in the exploring interviews. These additional criteria were the geographical accessibility of the area, acceptance of the research in the area and the size of the case. The leading criterion was that there is to some extent involvement of private actors besides public actors. One municipality was not appropriate, because of the criterion ‘acceptance of the research’. Much research was done in the countryside of that municipality, so the overload of research in the area could affect this research in a negative way. Another municipality proposed an appropriate area, but here the geographical accessibility was the reason why the proposed areas of the other two municipalities were chosen. Even though the proposed area is too large to investigate, the area Zuidermaten-Elsenerbroek-Bullenaarshoek (ZEB) within the municipalities ‘Hof van Twente’ and ‘Wierden’ is an appropriate area. The case Boven Regge as part of the ZEB-area is in addition to the interview selected on the base of exploring document research in the development vision of the ZEB-area, because of the size.

The second case is part of the program 'De Groene Poort' which is a division of the municipality of Borne. This program contains many interesting projects that are appropriate for this research. The case Azelerbeek is selected on the base of document research in project plans of the diverse projects of the Groene Poort. The other case - Boven Regge - was determining for selecting the Azelerbeek. Both are comparable in their objectives. Both cases are focused on the reconstruction (meandering) of the creek/river, creating nature-areas and water retention possibilities. Thereby, broadening activities or cutting out agricultural activities are means for creating a sustainable rural area.

Desired public interventions are in both cases Green and Blue services and reconsolidation (Dienst Landelijk Gebied, n.d.; Eelerwoude, 2006). Green services contain management of small landscape elements, borders and recreation planning and management in ecological main areas. Blue services contain the management of creeks, banks and areas for water retaining in order to prevent for water floods elsewhere. Also the management of area's focused on clean water for the extraction of drinking water is part of the Blue services. Land owners who develop or manage such services are financially supported (Provincie Overijssel, 2006). Rights of the soil in a certain area are brought together in the case of reconsolidation. These rights are subsequently divided again among those who brought the rights in. An important legal guarantee is that you get back as many grounds as you brought in. Thereby, the rights that you get back will have a similar character as before, so a tenant farmer will stay a tenant farmer and will not become an owner. The 'ruilplan' (exchange plan) is an important document with regard to the procedure of reconsolidation (Ministry of Agriculture Nature and Food quality, 2003).

Also red for red and red is an applied means for creating a sustainable rural area (Dienst Landelijk Gebied, n.d.; Eelerwoude, 2006). The red for red regulation is a compensation regulation focused on other purposes of existing buildings. Existing buildings in rural areas no longer in use, for instance farm buildings and glasshouses, can be used for other purposes, for instance workplaces or sport, nature and recreation (Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment, 2001). There are two forms for compensations. Firstly, farmers can get compensation in the form of money. Secondly, compensation in the form of a land for building, which is subsequently subdivided into four categories. There are compensations for breaking down a part or all agricultural buildings, moving of the farm to another place or trade – but not industrial – activities (Grontmij, 2005).

2.1.2 Level of participation

The involvement of private actors in the area was one of the selection criteria we took into account by the exploring interviews. An interesting point with regard to the degree of participation came out of the exploring interview with the municipalities 'Hof van Twente' and 'Wierden'. Within the ZEB-area itself, there is a high variation of citizen participation between two neighbourhoods. It was shown that there is a very low degree of citizen participation in Zuidermaten and Bullenaarshoek and a high degree of citizen participation in Elsenerbroek (Interview, F. Nije Bijvank and J. Ten Tije, 2009). Important to mention is that the focus of the research is not only on citizen participation, but on the interaction process between various stakeholders: DLG, the waterboard, Municipalities, Province, and the citizens which also includes farmers. So, we focus on the interaction process of public – private stakeholders.

The second case – Azelerbeek – has an area-focused approach whereby citizens, firms, interest groups and governmental bodies cooperate with each other. Users and interest groups related to the case are involved in the Azelerbeek project. Azelerbeek is part of one of the reconstruction plans, which are focussed on enhancement of a good spatial structure with regard to agriculture, nature, landscape, recreation, water, environment and infrastructure. Inhabitants, entrepreneurs (mostly farmers) and governments are involved in the development of the reconstruction plan. The commission of the region Southwest-

Twente composed a work group which is responsible for creating a concrete reconstruction plan for the Azelerbeek area. This had resulted in the reconstruction plan Salland-Twente. (Division Rural Area) (Ministry of Agriculture Nature and Food quality, 2009).

The research investigates in the first place the differences and similarities between the two cases. In the second place, we compare the cases in time with a longitudinal character. How changed the situation during the process? In the third place, we will compare the extent of participation. In the end, we draw conclusions and formulate recommendations on the base of the findings. These recommendations are focused on the interaction process with regard to problems in creating a sustainable rural area. Politicians and public bodies might learn from these recommendations.

2.2. Data collection

Data will be collected by interviews. The interviews will be qualitative interviews. This sort of interview is an interaction between the interviewer and the respondent. The interviewer has a general plan of inquiry with selected topics (Babbie, 2007). Various stakeholders will be interviewed. These stakeholders contain representatives of public bodies, but also private entrepreneurs and citizens related to the case (see appendix A for the list of stakeholders). The objective of the interviews is to gather information about the policy process of the cases Boven Regge and Azelerbeek. The interviews will be used to identify how the interaction process works. We will identify whether the process of the integration of values and resources changed through the time or differs between the two cases with help of the interviews. The interviews can contribute to knowledge about the problem perceptions and interests from the various stakeholders in the case.

In addition to the interviews, research will be done in project plans and in municipal, provincial, national and European policy documents. These documents are helpful for exploring the vision about developments in the case-area. Thereby, these documents are important for identifying to what extent the diverse interests are taken into account in rural policy, which public interventions are applied and what the impact is on the local situation.

3. Contextual interaction analysis

Because of our focus on the interaction process wherein public and private actors are involved, we took the contextual interaction analysis theory as theoretical framework. This theory focuses “on actors and their interaction processes within the implementation problematic” (Bressers, 2003, p. 57). The theory assumes that circumstances in which policy instruments are applied have an impact on the operation of these instruments. In this research we investigate how the interaction process has an impact on sustainable activities. Hereby, we give attention to rural policy and regulation as an instrument for becoming a sustainable rural area.

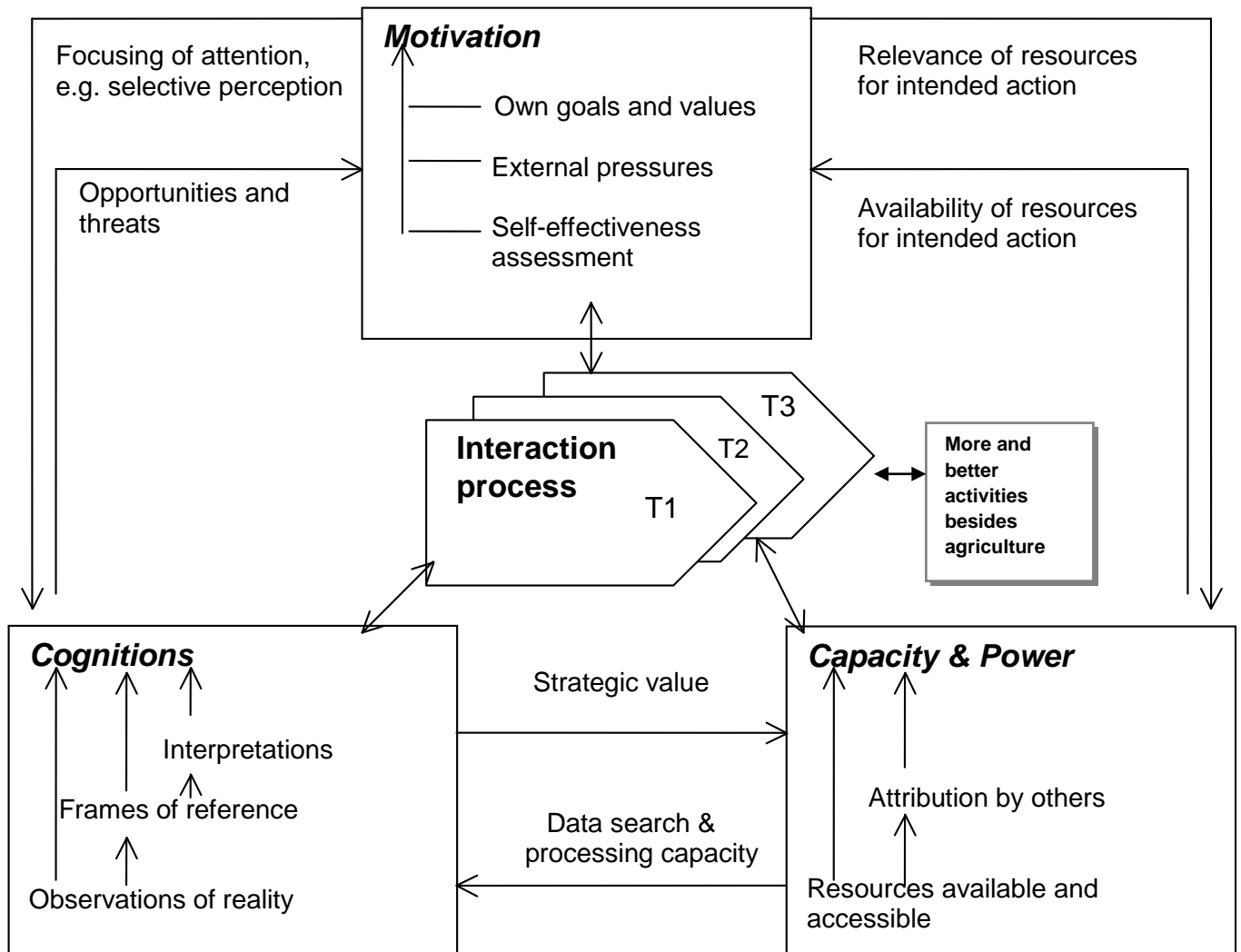


Figure 2: Interaction between actor-characteristics (based on Bressers, 2009).

Bressers (2009) developed a model which is useful for the analysis of interaction processes in a “networked” context (see figure 2). We use this theory to analyse the interaction processes in our case study areas. The model describes three actor characteristics, which are influencing each other. The process is shaped by the characteristics of the actors, but also the other way around. “The “*motivation*” box seeks the origins of motivation for behaviour, including for the positions taken in interaction processes, in first instance in own goals and values. (...) External pressures can be also a motivating force.(...)” The third named factor is ‘self-effectiveness assessment’. “This concept points to the demotivational effect that can occur when an actor perceived its preferred behaviour as beyond its capacity. (...)” The “*cognitions*” box is based on the recognition that the cognitions of actors (...) are not just factual information about, but more interpretations of reality, and that

such interpretations are influenced by filters, frames and interactions with other actors” (Bressers, 2009, pp. 9-10). Bressers argues the following with regard to the capacity and power box: “While resources as an actor characteristic are important to provide capacity to act, in the relational setting of an interaction process they are also relevant as a source of power. (...) The relationship between power and resources is not always direct. (...) The resources that are the root of these powers encompass much more than formal rules, though legal rights and other institutional rules can be an important part of it, next to resources like money, skilled people, time and consensus. Not only the resources of the actors themselves, but moreover the dependency of an actor on the resources of another actor shapes the balance of power.(...) Whether a specific resource contributes to power depends on the action that is intended” (Bressers, 2009, pp. 10-11).

The element ‘activities’ is added to Bressers’ model, because of our hypothesis. We assume namely that the interaction process contributes to better integration of values and resources and to more and better sustainable activities. Therefore, it is most interesting to analyse the arrows from the interaction process to actors’ characteristics. The activities are the dependent variable and the independent variable is the interaction process. The integration of values and resources is part of the process. More related to our hypothesis, the interaction process in the contextual interaction model is seen as the process wherein diverse actors interact with each other and in this way might contribute to the process of integration of values and resources of those actors. We investigate whether motivation, capacity & power, cognitions had changed through the interaction process in time and differ between the two cases. And, in the end, had this lead to more and better activities?

3.1. Contextual layers

The three actor characteristics and the way they are influenced in the course of time are both related to the dynamics in the development of partnerships between actors. Motivation, cognitions and resources of actors are influenced by the multi-level and multi-actor network, institutional and other contexts. The specific context contains previous decisions and specific circumstances of cases and forms a direct input to the process. The structural context is more or less uniform for all actors in the process. Elements out of this context can guide to some extent the motivation of actors and can serve as a pool of resources they can try to get access to and use for their purposes. Around the structural context, there are wider contexts, which might have direct and indirect influences on actors’ characteristics (Bressers, 2009).

4. Azelerbeek

We start with analyzing the interaction process in the Azelerbeek-case. The focus in this chapter lies on the interests that the involved stakeholders in the area have. The characteristics of the actors are not only influenced by the course and experiences in the process, but also from an external context of the governance regime (Bressers, 2009). Rural policy is such a factor that gives context to the process on lower levels. Hence, it is important to take the impact of rural policy on actor's characteristics into account.

4.1. Government's problem perception

Every plan starts with a perception of a problem, so is the case with the area development plan of the Azelerbeek. The government observed that intensive livestock farming caused many environmental problems (cognition) and regarded reducing those problems as her business (motivation). The government implemented strict environmental measures, because of environmental problems as manure, smell and acidification. However, intensive livestock farming was consequently less able to develop (Ministry of Agriculture Nature and Food quality, 2009). The implemented environmental measures found application on all intensive livestock farms and give context for the environmental problems. Therefore, the environmental measures fit within the structural context.

Another factor that had an influence on the characteristics of the Dutch government with regard to intensive livestock farms was the swine fever breakout in 1997. The swine fever had a direct influence on the motivation of the government to act. The Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food quality started with the reconstruction of the countryside with help of the reconstruction law – part of the structural context. The environmental problems were like the swine fever also part of the wider context, but with an indirect influence on the characteristics of the actors in the process. Apart from that, the specific context forms a direct input for the process wherein the characteristics of the actors might change. Development possibilities of the intensive livestock farmers are part of the specific context. Searching for other income opportunities and carrying out other activities is an example of this process wherein actors' characteristics change.

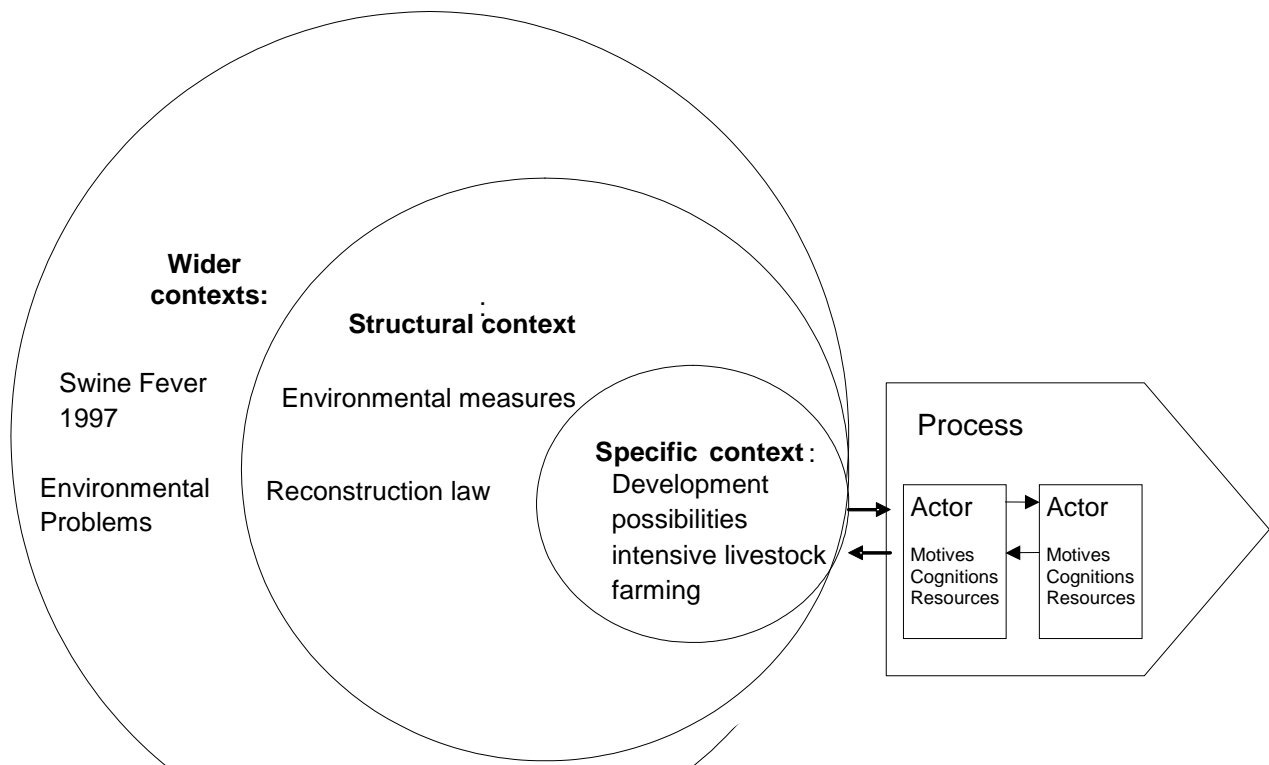


Figure 3: Contextual factors (Based on Bressers, 2009, p. 13)

The government observed that something must be done, because of the swine fever breakout and the environmental problems (cognition). The government was motivated to apply environmental measures and the reconstruction law, because she perceived it as her task (motivation).

4.2. Reconstruction

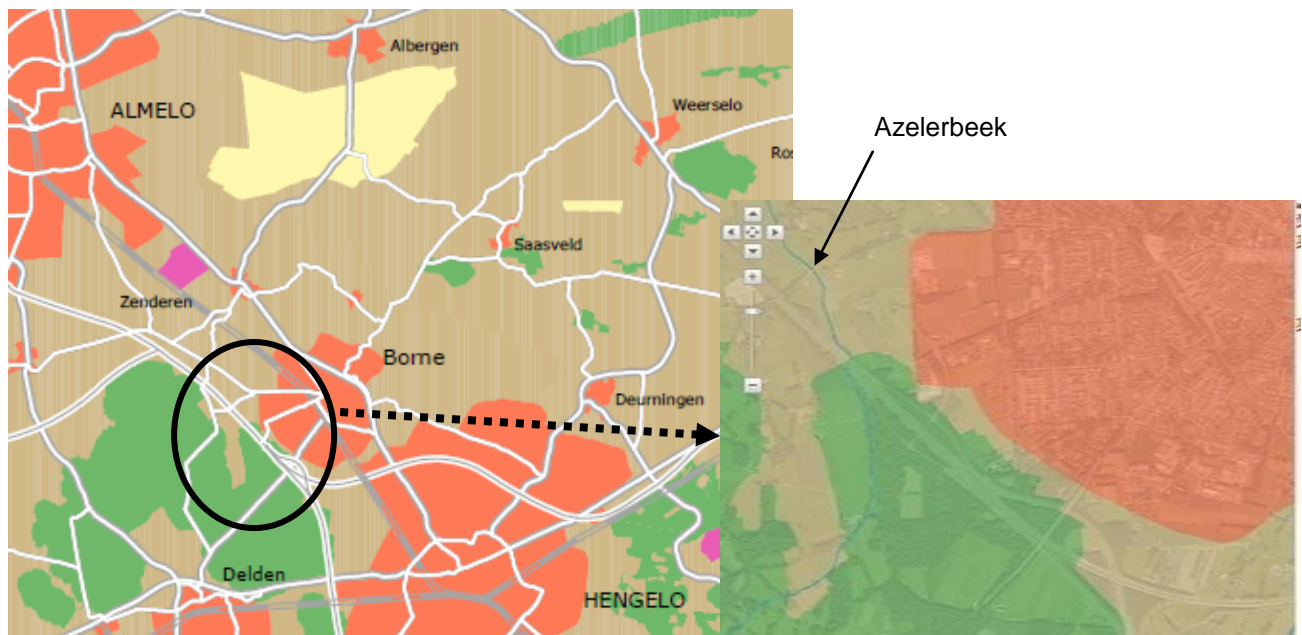
The reconstruction law is a means to handle problems with spatial planning, animal diseases, environment, water, nature and landscape. The law on reconstruction can be seen as a law for spatial planning for concentration areas. The reconstruction has been applied in the East and South of the Netherlands, because many farms with swine are located there. The Province of Overijssel is responsible for developing a reconstruction plan for Overijssel on the base of the reconstruction law. The Azelerbeek became a pilot project under the reconstruction plan of the sandy soils in 2002. The Azelerbeek project existed already, before the law on reconstruction came into force. It was because of the objectives from the Azelerbeek project that the province decided to include the Azelerbeek project in the reconstruction plan (M. Wiefferink, Interview, 3 June 2009). The reconstruction plan has the aim to give new structure to the agricultural sector and reconstruct the rural area. The reconstruction law is thus important for our research, because the reconstruction law is used as the main instrument for the developments in our case study area. Our case study area is part of the reconstruction plan and the developments are according the reconstruction plan. The reconstruction law can be seen as the implementation problematic in terms of Bressers (2003). For our research is it important to investigate whether the reconstruction has an impact on the actors and their interaction processes and whether this lead to sustainable activities. The focus of the reconstruction to take up developments in an integral approach enhances the opportunity for sustainable activities. The operation of the reconstruction is dependent on the circumstances in which it is applied, whereby the reconstruction law as instrument is part of the context of the implementation process that has an influence on the involved actors and their interactions.

The reconstruction areas must be changed in a physical and juridical way. Physical interventions like nature conservation, develop foot –and cycle paths or locating farms elsewhere can only be done if the juridical situation changes. In the legal sense, interventions are reconsolidation of user-and ownership rights, allocation of grounds to governments or nature conservation organisations and imposing tolerance obligations (Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food quality, 2009). In the early stage, the planning key decision must be taken into account by the reconstruction. Since July 2008 the planning key decision has however been replaced by the 'structuurvisie' - a general policy document of the province. Province Overijssel developed the 'omgevingsvisie' wherein diverse plans and laws are integrated as the 'structuurvisie' under the Law on Spatial Planning (Wro) (Provincie Overijssel, 2009^b p. 10). It is allowed that the reconstruction plan differs from a regional plan. Approval of the reconstruction plan is in that case a revision of the regional plan. The reconstruction plan is therefore the leading policy document in the rural area, with legal certainty on the base of the reconstruction law.

4.2.1. Reconstruction plan Salland-Twente

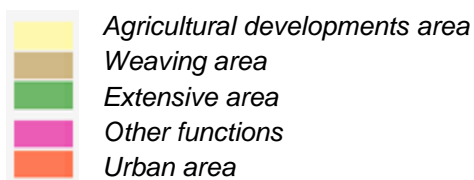
Diverse policy goals are formulated within the reconstruction plan Salland-Twente. The northern part of the Azelerbeek-area is identified as '*verweavingsgebied*' (weaving area) see figure 4a, 4b. Room must be created for multiple functions like agriculture, living, recreation, economy, nature, landscape etc. within this area. These functions should exist in accordance with each other, whereby existing intensive livestock farms must remain able to function well. Re-establishment or extending intensive livestock is possible in the case that spatial quality or functions of the area do not move against it. Only on specific locations may firms cluster. The southern part of the Azelerbeek-area is identified as '*extensiveringsgebied*', with a focus on nature and landscape-developments. In this part, intensive livestock farming must be reorganized in the future. The zoning of the

reconstruction must lead to a decrease in the vulnerability of intensive livestock farms on sandy soils and must lead to vital agriculture (Dienst landelijk Gebied, n.d.). The third zone which is identified by the reconstruction plan is the *agricultural developments zone* with agriculture as its main function. The agricultural interest is seen as more important than other interests as nature or recreation. Agricultural firms can more easily extend compared with the other zones and there are also more possibilities to extend with regard to smell. Agricultural activities take priority over other activities within this type of area. The development possibilities in the area are thus dependent from the reconstruction zoning. The focus of this research for the Azelerbeek-case is marked with the black circle in the map below.



Figuur 4a (Provincie Overijssel, 2005): Reconstruction zoning

Figuur 4b (Provincie Overijssel, 2009): Reconstruction zoning in Azelerbeek case



4.3. Rural Policy

The reconstruction law and environmental measures in the structural context were means to handle environmental problems and the swine fever in the wider context. The activities and developments in the area are dependent from the reconstruction zoning. All interviewed actors named the reconstruction plan as the main document that find application in the Azelerbeek-area. However, there are also other policy documents from both national and European level that have an influence on the area and the interaction process, like the European Water Framework Directive (WFD), Natura-2000 and the water policy 21st century which were named by some of the interviewed actors. The influence of these policies as well as other policy that has an influence on the actors in the Azelerbeek area - but which are not mentioned in the interviews – will be investigated in this section.

4.3.1. Common Agricultural Policy

One of the main European Policy documents that has an influence on the agricultural sector is the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). The CAP was not named in the interviews, but is

certainly important to mention, because of the many agricultural activities in our case study area. The original Common Agricultural Policy (1950) was focused on encouraging better agricultural productivity. Societies had been damaged by war and food supplies could not be guaranteed. Therefore, CAP had to ensure a viable agricultural sector in the EU and thus a stable supply of affordable food for consumers (European Commission, 2007). The war is an exogenous factor (wider context) that had an influence on the structural context - the CAP - and therefore on the agricultural sector. The means to realize a viable agricultural sector were subsidies, systems guaranteeing high prices to farmers and incentives. Through this CAP, the EU moved towards a self-sufficiency community. However, the EU had to deal with almost permanent surpluses - and thus high costs - and became therefore unpopular with consumers and taxpayers.

Reform of the CAP

The surpluses were the cause of the original CAP and form the starting point for the further analysis of the process. The original CAP and the related decisions – applied instruments – are part of the specific context – in the frame of the further process. The government observed that the CAP was unpopular and was motivated to reform the CAP. From 1990 onwards, production limits such as milk quotas or limits on the area of crops for claiming subsidies were applied with reductions in surpluses as a result. Farmers received direct income aid and had to take the public's changing priorities into account and look more to the market place. Competitiveness of European agriculture was promoted by this reform. Besides, rural development policy became a major new element in the CAP. This policy encouraged many rural initiatives and helped farmers to re-structure their farms and to diversify and improve their product marketing. Rural Development policy is focused on helping rural areas respond to economic, social and environmental issues (see 1.2.). The three sustainable pillars are thus taken into account in rural development policy. Taxpayers were assured that the CAP costs would not run out of control by putting a ceiling on the budget (European Commission, 2007). The specific context had thus a direct influence on the process. Hence, the CAP opens the possibility to develop more sustainable activities.

Since the reforming of the CAP in 2003, CAP is demand driven and farmers are no longer paid just to produce food. Farmers still receive direct income payments in order to maintain income stability, but these payments are not linked to production anymore. Farmers will face reductions in their direct income payments when they fail in respecting environmental, food safety, hygiene and animal welfare standards (European Commission, 2007). Therefore, the CAP influences the motivation of the farmers via the cognitions to respect these values. The European Union had the power to change the process with help of the CAP. Farmers respected the various values which were important according to the problem perception (structural context) of the Union. Because of the resource money, the European Union was able to motivate farmers to respect those values. Hence, the CAP has a positive influence on the development of sustainable activities on the rural area.

4.3.2. European Water Framework Directive

Since this research will compare two cases which contain a creek and a river, the Water Framework Directive (WFD) is important to mention. In contrast to the CAP, some interviewed actors did name the WFD as an influencing factor on the developments in the Azelerbeek-area. The Water Framework Directive is an agreement by EU member states with the objective to reach a good status by the year 2015 in the quality of the surface water and groundwater in Europe. The focus is on all inland and coastal waters within defined river basin districts (Unie van Waterschappen, 2008).

The key aims of the WFD are described as follows:

- “to expand water protection to all waters: inland and coastal surface waters and groundwater;
- to achieve ‘good’ status for all waters by 2015;
- to base water management on river basins;

- to combine emission limit values with environmental quality standards;
- to ensure that water prices provide adequate incentives for water users to use water resources efficiently;
- to involve citizens more closely;
- to streamline legislation.”

(Commission of The European Communities, 2007, pp. 2-3).

Most important with regard to the water framework directive is the obligation for the water board Regge and Dinkel¹ to fulfill certain quantitative and qualitative stated goals. The WFD steer therefore the actions of the waterboard. The WFD has an influence on the interaction process and actors, because of the water quality and quantity objectives that must be fulfilled in the watercourses.

4.3.3. European Environmental Policy

The EU Birds and Habitats Directives are two important directives under nature conservation legislation. The Bird Directive is implemented in 1979 with the objective to protect birds and their most important habitats in the EU. The EU Habitats Directive came into force in 1992. This directive is comparable with the EU Bird Directive, but is related to a greater amount of species. These directives are built around an European ecological network of protected zones, the Natura 2000-network. The principle of Natura 2000 is that humans are part of the environment and a partnership between humans and nature will contribute to well functioning of both (European Commission, 2005). It is more attractive for the province to fulfil the goals of the Ecological Main Structure than for the creation of new nature in the Azelerbeek, where provincial objectives are less important (W. Maalderink, interview 16 June 2009). The directives are thus a restriction for developments in the area, but can also contribute to enhanced sustainable activities. These directives can steer actors to fulfill Natura 2000 objectives, so that the ecological pillar is taken into account.

4.3.4. National Policy for the Rural Area

Diverse national policy documents promote combining diverse functions on the countryside. We mentioned the rural development policy already in 1.2 which finds application at the national level in the ‘Agenda for a Living Countryside’. There is a great pressure on space, because of the diverse functions on the countryside – agriculture, forestry, housing, jobs and more infrastructure. The increased demand for space had resulted in a growing perception of the importance of policy integration between diverse policy fields by the Dutch government. Thereby, European policy has an important influence on national policy. The Water Framework Directive and the Ecological Main Structure are important objectives worked out in National Policy. This can be explained by the legitimacy that the European Union gets from the member states. The Dutch government accepts the obligation to fulfill the standards of the WFD.

The Dutch water policy is an aspect of the environmental policy. Therefore, the Dutch government applies three national policy documents which are adapted together: the Fourth National Policy Document on Water Management Government Decision (NW4); the National Environmental Policy Plan (NEPP); National Nature Policy Plan (NNPP) (Rijkswaterstaat Waterdienst, 2008). Environmental quality objectives are described in the NW4² and NEPP³.

¹ From now on we refer to Waterboard Regge and Dinkel if we say ‘Waterboard’.

² The main aim of NW4 is: “to have and maintain a safe and habitable country and to develop and maintain healthy and resilient water systems which will continue to guarantee sustained use” (Ministry of Transport, Public Works and Water Management, 1998, p. 9).

³ The aim of NEPP is: “Environmental policy should contribute towards a safe and healthy life within an attractive living environment and surrounded by dynamic nature areas, without damaging global biodiversity or depleting natural resources, at present, elsewhere and in the future” (Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment, 2001^b, p. 22).

These objectives are partly based on sustainable functioning of ecosystems. The National Nature Policy Plan has more of an area-focused character than the NW4 and NEPP have. The aim of NNPP is sustainably hold, renovate and develop values of nature and landscapes (TK, 1989 -1990, 21 149, nrs. 2 -3).

4.3.5. Water policy 21st century

The Water policy 21st century (WB21) came into force in February 2001. This policy is based on the NW4. The WB21 Commission noticed that the NW4 is not fully applied and, therefore, made some comments in order to enhance the working of the water policy. Besides, the Commission decided that a stronger anticipation on future developments with themes of climate, soil, population and economic value is necessary for water policy, instead of reacting on incidents (Ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat, 2000).

The reconstruction plan and the WB21 both have the policy goal to reconstruct the geo-hydrologic system towards a more natural system. The water management in the Azelerbeek-area must be adapted to grasslands, agriculture and nature. This is in accordance with the WB21, wherein adaptation of water management to various functions is defined. Struggle against droughts is possible through holding water for a longer term. Water courses and creeks must become more natural, what can be reached through the developments of water retention-areas, through the meandering of creeks and through conserving ground water. In the reconstruction plan are also the decrease of manure surpluses and its consequences stated as policy goal (Dienst Landelijk Gebied, n.d.). The WB21 do have an influence on the reconstruction area and consequently in the reconstruction plan there is room for the objectives of WB21. By taking the objectives of the WB21 in the reconstruction plan it is prevented that more objectives are fulfilled alongside each other with the threat that they are counteracting each other. Inter policy cooperation is necessary for effective environmental policy on the long run (Knoepfel, 1995).

The water board can force actors with help of 'De Keur' as legal instrument. De Keur contains rules for actors who live alongside a watercourse or for actors who wants to provide activities alongside or within water (Keur Waterschap, 1997).

4.3.6. National Environmental Policy

Another objective of the reconstruction is to accelerate the realisation of the ecological main structure and ecological linkage zones. The southern part of the A35 belongs to the ecological main structure, while the Azelerbeek in the north of the A35 is identified as ecological linkage zone. The location of new nature and the location of the ecological main structure and ecological linkage zones are defined in the nature area plan of southwest Twente. This policy document forms a frame of reference for compensations with regard to (agricultural) nature management. With regard to the Azelerbeek, 14 hectares of new nature is reserved, which can be realised with help of the compensation regulation Nature management. The compensation regulations for agricultural nature management (SAN) and nature management 2000 (SN) became part of the area investments budget (ILG) in 2007. The SAN and SN are therefore provincial regulations instead of state regulations. These regulations form a resource for the province and can form an incentive for an actor to develop nature management activities.

System Nature and Landscape Management

In January 2010 a new compensation system for nature- and landscape management will come into force. The system will focus on three pillars: integral area-focused approach, less steering on details and a regional base for multiple years and simplified financing. Existing European regulations and national and provincial policy will stay the starting point. In the act of the decentralization of Programma Beheer (Program Management) it was decided to

implement this new and simplified system (SNL). The new system is focussed on the interplay of all involved parties with regard to management of the rural area. Involved parties are agrarian nature managers – entrepreneurs and private individuals who execute nature management on agricultural used soil –, organisations which are administrators of a certain terrain –Natuurmonumenten, Provincial Landscapes and Staatsbosbeheer -, and other nature administrators – unions which are supporting their members to manage nature and/or support in the request of compensations like the Federation Private Landownership or Foundation Twickel (Interprovinciaal Overleg, 2009).

Two environmental laws are implemented in addition to the reconstruction law. These are the law on smell emissions of livestock farms in agricultural developments and weaving areas and the Law ammonia and livestock. There is no adaptation between these laws and the law on reconstruction. However, the success of the first named law is dependent on the reconstruction plan. The law only holds for agricultural development areas, weaving areas and extensive areas with the primate ‘nature’⁴. Therefore, those areas had to be initially identified by the reconstruction plan. The Wav (Law ammonia and livestock) conserves vulnerable areas. It is not permitted to establish new livestock farms within these areas and zones of 250 meters around them. Existing farms may not extend the amount of animals above a certain amount of emissions. Vulnerable areas are those areas which are sensitive for acidification and which are identified as ecological main structure by the province (Ministry of Agriculture, nature conservation and fishery & Ministry of Houses, Spatial Planning and Environment, 2003). Also here becomes clear that the Reconstruction law is a key document in our research area.

Thereby, there is also the influence of Natura 2000. Dutch policy objectives are focused on the enhancement of nature conservation in rural areas and expanding green areas in cities, in order to establish a National Ecological Network (EHS) (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2003, p. 85).

4.3.6. Spatial Policy

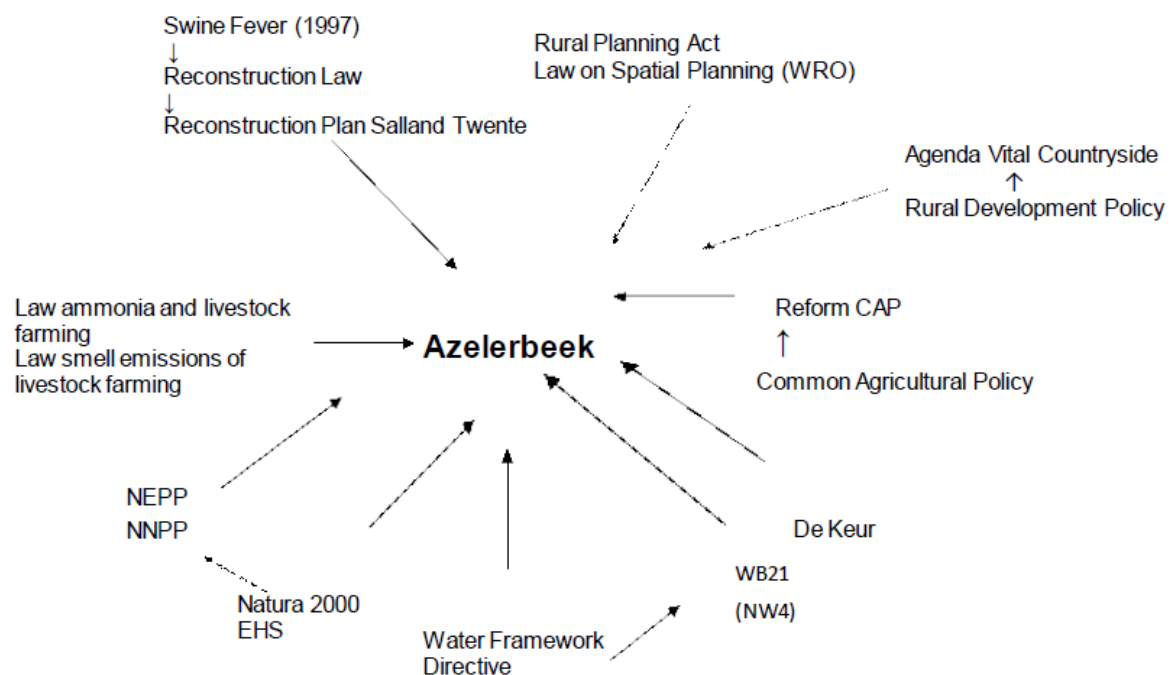
The Dutch government has stated four general objectives: strengthening the international competitive position of the Netherlands, promoting strong cities and a vibrant, dynamic countryside, securing and developing important national and international spatial values, and ensuring public safety (Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food quality, 2005). The Spatial Planning Act and The Rural Planning Act are necessary legal tools for ensuring the proper implementation of the National Spatial Strategy. Those two acts in the structural context have an important influence on the specific context. Developments in the Azelerbeek area are on the one hand limited through the laws, but provide on the other hand possibilities for creating a multifunctional area. Such a possibility is the ‘red for red’ regulation which is part of the ‘space for space’ approach in spatial policy. Thereby, the approach of spatial policy is to combine uses in rural areas (Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment, 2001). This approach broadens the economic base of rural areas, and is in the same time protecting the values of the rural area. This space for space approach found application in the ‘red for red regulation’ as part of the reconstruction plan. We describe this regulation and its influence on the interaction process later on.

4.3.7. The Impact of Policy

It is relevant that we have an insight in the documents for a greater understanding of how the institutional structure is related to the developments on the very local level and - in the end - on the interaction process. The combination of different land uses is proposed by national government. National policy objectives are partly integrated in the reconstruction plan, and thereby have laws as the Rural Planning Act (WILG) a direct influence. Thereby, the government has the responsibility to implement European policy as the European Water

⁴ See 4.2.1. for the definitions of these identified areas.

Framework Directive or Natura 2000. European regulations and legislation can be restrictive; agriculture is for instance limited by the Natura 2000 regulation. Intensive livestock farms are not able to expand, because of the nature goals and the locations of the farms – mostly nearby each other (W. Maalderink, interview, 16 June 2009). On the other hand, policy and regulation provide also the possibility for governmental bodies to act. Natura 2000 forces for instance that actors take the environmental pillar into account. Objectives of the EU are worked out in national policy documents, like the WB21 or Agenda for a Vital Countryside as part of the European Rural Development Policy. The province, water board and municipalities must subsequently take such objectives into account. The province is for instance responsible for the execution of the reconstruction on the base of higher institutional regulation (Reconstruction law). Here we see that there is a wide influence from higher institutional levels on the developments on the local level. The described policy documents and regulations are shown in the figure below. The arrows show that the policy/regulation has an influence on the process or on other policy or regulation. The Azelerbeek-case is the specific context and the policy documents and regulations around it are part of the structural context, except from the swine fever which is part of the wider context. Thereby forms the initial CAP the specific context for the further process after the reform, but we take the perspective of the reformed CAP as part of the structural context in this research.



Figuur 5: The impact of Policy

4.4. Stakeholders

The problem perception of the government is described in section 4.1. Thereby, we investigated the impact of rural policy and regulation on the interaction process. A multifunctional area is promoted by the government. Various regulations give power for certain specific values, whereby the policy strategy is focused on combining those interests. Since it is clear how the Azelerbeek project is related to the problem in the broader context, we can describe the problem perceptions and interests of the other stakeholders in the process on the base of the conducted interviews. The goals of the Azelerbeek plan and the reconstruction are in coherence with each other, but this does not exclude the possibility that the goals within the policy network are divergent.

4.4.1. Policy network

The reconstruction commission formed a work group in 2001, which can be typified as a policy network on the base of the distinction between three forms of coordination: hierarchy, market and networks. Relations in hierarchies are very stable and decisions in common interests are made by authority. The market form is characterized by changing relations, private interests and decisions are based on prices and are made on individual autonomous base. A network is characterized by the stability in relations to some extent, negotiation and consultation among members as the base for decisions and shared interests (Heffen and Klok, 2000). The last coordination form is applied in the Azelerbeek-case, because the decisions are based on the base of negotiation and consultations between the network members. The province is responsible, but has not the authority to make decisions. All actors in the network have an interest in the rural area, but these interests differ in some way. The network is focused on a policy problem – how to reconstruct the area - and is therefore a policy network. The policy network forms a pilot for the reconstruction and has been formed so that the objectives of the reconstruction plan could be fulfilled. This is linked to the structure-agency debate, whereby the agency idea is that the structure is formed, because actors are networking. The other way around, it is also the structure that influences the actions of the actors (Marsh and Smith, 2000). This interrelatedness is also stated by Bressers (2009) in the contextual interaction theory, referring to the two sided relation between the various contextual layers and actors' characteristics.

Marsh and Rhodes (1992) distinguish between two ideal types of policy networks. Hereby is a policy community a closed network with limited entrance. The policy community is further characterized by shared values, symbiotic resource dependency and high consensus and trust. The issue network is in contrast an open access network with different values and less contact. There is a competition between resources and resource exchange is blocked. Disagreement and distrust are other characteristics of this ideal type. The workgroup can be typified as a network between the two ideal types. The workgroup had the task to develop an execution plan focused on the creek valley of the Azelerbeek. The work group contains actors which have an interest in the reconstruction of the area. The municipality of Borne, the municipality Hof van Twente, Province Overijssel, Waterboard Regge and Dinkel, Stichting Twickel, LTO Noord (agricultural organization), two other representatives of agrarians and Dienst Landelijk Gebied are represented in the work group (Dienst landelijk gebied, n.d.). Thereby, the inhabitants were in a later stadium represented by Stichting De Hoff. DLG asked for a representative for the inhabitants, because the perception had risen that it is important to know the desires of the inhabitants (W. Jansen, interview, 11 June 2009). There was thus an open access and different interests were in the network represented. Actors in the network had however a shared interest in the reconstruction of the area and meetings were frequently held. Thereby, the focus is on creating win-win situations, but the resource dependency is not necessarily symbiotic.

The involvement of Stichting De Hoff and LTO changed during the process. The representative of De Hoff left the workgroup later on in the process, because of the leader style of the project leader (W. Jansen, 11 June 2009). The personal characteristics from the project leader (DLG) caused negative feelings by the representative of De Hoff. The approach of the leader was not according the values of De Hoff about how he should work. The leader style was observed (cognition) as inappropriate by the representative of the habitants. The cognition of the representative was thus the underlying factor that influenced the motivation and behavior to leave the work group. He was not dependent from other actors, because the participation was fully voluntary. The degree wherein inhabitants had a voice played hereby a role. The perception (cognition) was that the voice of the inhabitants was not taken into account (W. Jansen, interview, 11 June 2009). The goals changed during the process and LTO had therefore no interest for participating in the workgroup anymore. Re-consolidation and the raise of the water level are not part of the plan anymore. LTO did not have interests in the process, because of the change in goals and therefore left the

workgroup (M. Wiefferink, interview 3 June 2009). A shift had taken place from a policy community with issue network characteristics towards a more policy community network (shown in figure 6). Values were more shared, because there were less controversial goals. Also, the network was more closed, because only actors who had an important interest were involved.



Figure 6: shift towards the policy community pole

Thus, the shift from the position between a policy community and issue network towards the policy community pole was caused by excluding some (conflicting) goals and actors. The latter was because of the change in goals, but also because of conflicting values.

Province

Inhabitants, entrepreneurs (mostly farmers) and governments are involved in the development of the reconstruction plan. The commission of the region Southwest-Twente composed a work group which is responsible for creating a concrete reconstruction plan for the Azelerbeek area. The province of Overijssel is responsible for designing and executing the reconstruction plan (Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food quality, 2009). Hence, the objectives of the Province of Overijssel with regard to the Azelerbeek area are in accordance with the Reconstruction plan Salland-Twente. The province has some tasks with regard to water, create new nature, enhance the agricultural structure and recreation possibilities. The province formulates more concrete policy frames - focused on a certain area - out of these tasks and are described in the reconstruction plan (W. Maalderink, interview 16 June 2009).

Dienst Landelijk Gebied

The projects of the reconstruction are carried out through DLG under the responsibility of the province (Division Rural Area) (Ministry of Agriculture Nature and Food quality, 2009). The reconstruction policy forms the base for DLG. Because of the swine fever, the question raised how a sustainable area can be realized. The area must become in accordance to the reconstruction plan, whereby the area is divided into three zoning areas (see 4.2.1.). DLG plays a coordinating role within the whole process. DLG has the task to bring all parties together and adapt their desires and goals to each other, on the base of the policy goals stated by the province (G. Brouwer, interview 16 June 2009).

Municipality Borne

The Azelerbeek must be reconstructed, because of the reconstruction plan in 2000. Therefore, also municipality Borne has the same problem perception as the government, province and DLG. The interests are in accordance with the goals of the reconstruction plan, but Borne does also have an additional interest which is represented in the regional plan Overijssel. The municipality is against industrial expansion of Borne (Interview, M. Wiefferink, 3 June 2009).

The regional plan from the province of Overijssel is focused on facilitating possibilities for the development of a sustainable, safe and competitive agriculture. Thereby, maintaining and enhancing recreation and tourism, maintaining and developing forests and rural estates and conservation of cultural heritage are aims of the plan.

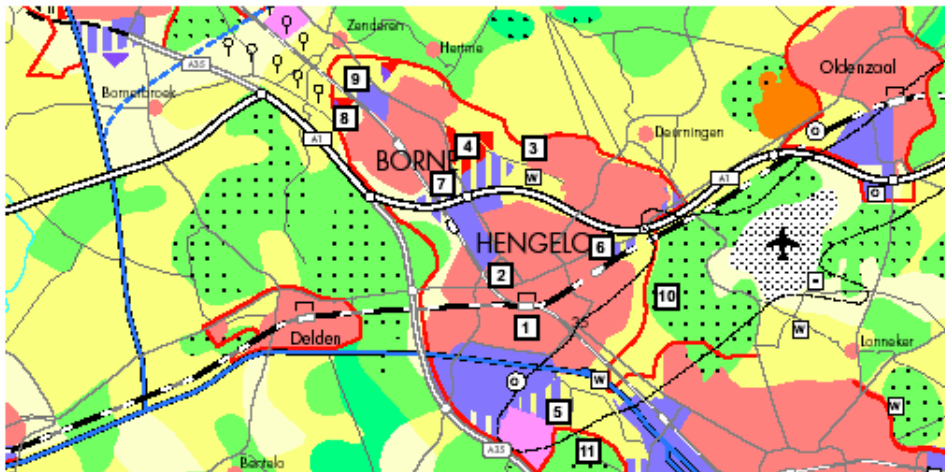


Figure 7: Expansion of the built environment.

The expansion is only allowed within the red lines. (Streekplan Overijssel 2008, p. 133)

Developments in functions as living and working and social facilities will be more and more integrated according the regional plan of Overijssel (2008). The aim is to develop and enhance the green structure in connection to the water structure, within and around Hengelo. The red lines on the map (figure 7) are a boundary for developments of the built environment. Therefore, the interests of the municipality of Borne with regard to the reconstruction of the Azelerbeek and also the struggle against urban expansion (M. Wiefferink, Interview 3 June 2009) are represented within the regional plan of Overijssel. The expansion of the built environment is not identified in the reconstruction plan, but the opportunities for expansion might be limited by the reconstruction zoning. The streekplan is a guideline for province's actions and provides no binding rules. The stated frames can however only be changed by revising the streekplan (Streekplan Overijssel, 2005).

Municipality Hof van Twente

The problem perception of this municipality is that the farms have a poor future perspective with regard to economic developments, because of the diverse (environmental) regulations they must take into account. Investments in their farms are not efficient for the entrepreneurs and the area is therefore in danger of pollution and decay - poor conservation of barns for instance (A. ter Braak, Interview, 10 June 2009). The reconstruction plan is also in this municipality taken as starting point. The focus of the municipality Hof van Twente is on the project 'Vital Azelo', because developments with regard to that project are taken place on the territory of this municipality.

In the project 'Vital Azelo' are several ideas formed which are linked to the reconstruction objectives. Seven intensive livestock farms are positive minded about reorganizing their firms, because of the location of their farms. Other developments are not possible because of circles of smell. Environmental pressure will decrease and smell-circles will disappear through the reorganization. Because of that, new activities like housing, recreation other economic activities and nature facilities can be developed (Dienst Landelijk Gebied, n.d.). Important is hereby that the activities fit in the area and that the landscape is attractive (A. ter Braak, Interview 10 June 2009).

Waterboard Regge and Dinkel

The reconstruction plan as a direct consequence of the swine fever and the related problems, is also named by the waterboard as main objective in the area. The waterboard was focused on a well functioning water system, but with a broad view. The water system must fit every function in the rural area. WFD and WB21 have an important influence on the tasks and focus of the waterboard (W. Wassink, interview 18 June 2009). Her initial interest

in the area was to raise the water level with 30/40 centimeters. Later on she left that goal in favor of a more naturally creek.

Stichting de Hoff

De Hoff represents the desires and interests of the inhabitants in Azelo. De Hoff has the perception that nothing must be done in the area, but the reconstruction has some objectives to fulfill. The meandering of the Azelerbeek and the stated nature goals, is not desired in the eyes of the inhabitants and agrarians. Soil and water levels will change because of that intervention. Inhabitants and agrarians are afraid of the development of retention areas. Thereby, economic development is difficult, because of the small scaled area. It is difficult to cultivate the small scaled land with big machines. Also, there are many hedgerows that make it even more difficult. An important interest of De Hoff is therefore that farmers who spend energy for managing and conservation of nature must be compensated. Farmers must get the chance to continue with their farms and the area must stay livable (W. Jansen, 11 June 2009).

Stichting Twickel

Twickel takes the reconstruction plan also as starting point. Thereby, the threat of the development of the industrial area in Borne had lead to the development of the 'WAT-venster'. Three rural estates – Weleveld, Almelo and Twickel – developed this plan with the aim to create a green zone between the urban area's Borne and Almelo. An open and green corridor between Nordeast Twente and Southwest Twente should be realized. Thereby, enhancing recreation possibilities and the social-economic structure are part of the plan. The main interest of Twickel is the quality of the landscape whereby culture and nature are maintained and the expansion of Borne is stopped (H. Gierveld, interview, 12 June 2009).

4.5. Coherence of the network

There was thus a shift from a position between a policy community and issue network to the policy community pole. This is related to the coherence of the network. Coherence of networks can be characterized with help of the structural variable 'interconnectedness' and the cultural dimension 'cohesion'. The more a policy network is coherent, the easier it is to make policy. Interconnectedness is defined as the intensity of the interaction between actors in the network and is therefore an indicator for the extent of public and private stakeholder involvement. The second characteristic - cohesion – refers to the extent wherein actors sympathize with each other's objectives. These objectives can be conflicting in the case that the realization of one actor's objective obstructs the realization of the objective from the other actor (Bressers, 1998). Whether we can typify the policy network as weakly or strongly interconnected and whether cohesion is weak or strong will be investigated in this section. The degree to which these characteristics are present in this case is especially important to investigate since it refers to our hypothesis. We assume namely a relation between on the one hand public and private involvement – with interconnectedness as an indicator - and the integration of values and resources – which refers to cohesion - , and on the other hand between the integration of values and resources (*cohesion*) and sustainable activities.

4.5.1. Interconnectedness

The interconnectedness can initially be typified as 'strong', because of the frequent interaction between the actors in the Azelerbeek work group. The work group meets six times per year (Interviews, 2009; DLG, n.d.). Beside these meetings, the actors do have other contacts with each other, but also with other actors who are not involved in the policy network. In figure 8 is shown which actors in the policy network are perceived as an actor with whom an actor has the most contact (thick lines) and with whom that actor has less contact (thin lines) beside the workgroup meetings.

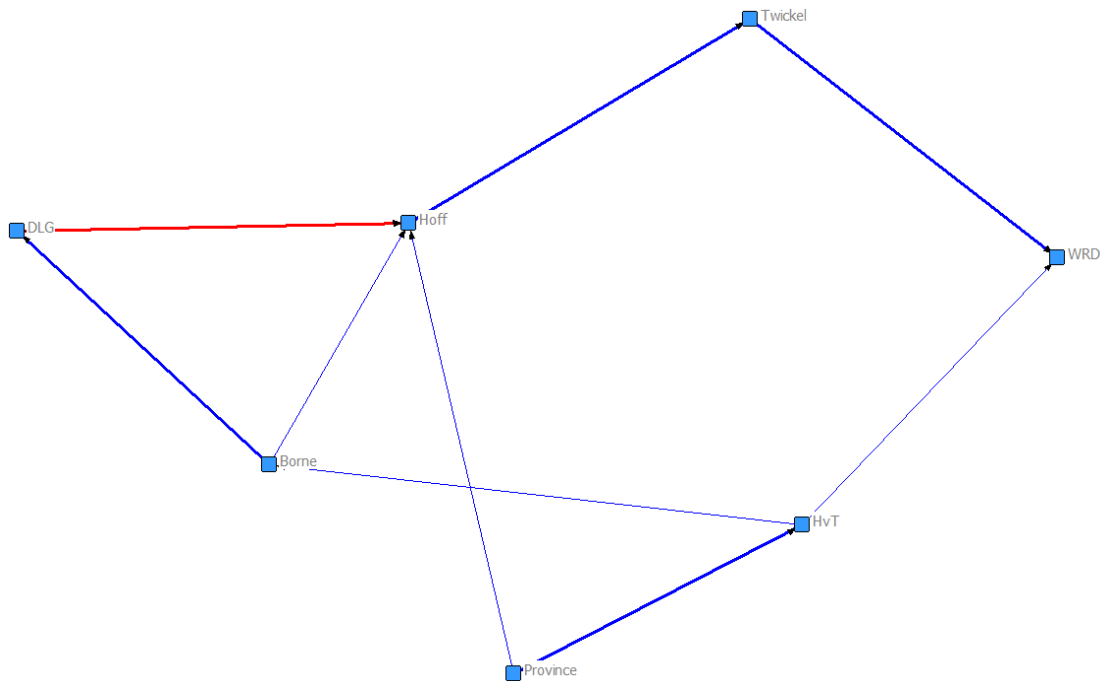


Figure 8: Intensity of the contact Azelerbeek.

the thick lines indicates that the actor is perceived as a most-contact actor whereby the red line is reciprocal and the blue lines are non-reciprocal. A reciprocal tie means that the value according to both actors is perceived as an extreme with regard to contact. The thin lines indicates that the person is perceived as a less-contact actor. The intensity of the contact is valued as more or less the same compared with other actors, if there exists no tie between two actors.

Both DLG as well as Stichting De Hoff value the contact with each other as an extreme. Surprising is however that De Hoff values DLG as a most-contact actor, while DLG values De Hoff as a less-contact actor. Also municipality Borne and the province value De Hoff as a less-contact actor. There is less contact with De Hoff compared with the other actors in the network outside the general meetings in the beginning. After De Hoff left the work group, the interconnectedness became thus more proportional divided within the network and the power was more equally distributed. In order to gain an insight in the underlying factors that cause the degree of interconnectedness - and therefore the extent of public and private involvement - we investigate what explaining factors are for the degree of interconnectedness. After that we explain the non-reciprocal relations on intensity of the contact.

Explaining factors interconnectedness

There came several factors out of the interviews that explain the intensity of the contact. The intensity of the contact outside the workgroup is firstly dependent from the *goals and interests* to realize. DLG and the Water board Regge & Dinkel mention that the contacts are dependent from the subject. The contact with an actor is more intensive if the goal is in the interest of that actor (W. Wassink; G. Brouwer). Stichting De Hoff has the perception that her interest in the area is more or less the same as the interest of Stichting Twickel, namely to represent the interests of the farmers (W. Jansen, interview 3 June 2009). Twickel named that she has the most contact with the water board, because of the necessary negotiations and compromises (H. Gierveld, interview 12 June 2009). On this base, there is not necessarily a positive or negative relation between intensity of the contact and shared values. Goals and interests are also an explaining factor for less contact. Municipality Hof van Twente has the perception (cognition) that the municipality of Borne does not have an interest in developments in a specific project of the Azelerbeek plan – Vital Azelo -, because the area lies for that project outside the borders of Borne. Also, the project Vital Azelo does not include water objectives and the municipality has therefore less contact with the water board.

This is related to the *function* of the organization, which is a second factor that explains the intensity of the contact. The position taken in the interaction process is based on the motivations of the actors (Bressers, 2009). The function of the organization is however not always perceived the same among actors. Actors might have different interpretations about the function or position of other actors in the process. The project Vital Azelo has been started from the initiative of entrepreneurs in the area of Hof van Twente. The municipality feels therefore responsible for the execution of that project of the Azelerbeek plan and is therefore intensely involved in the project. The aim is thereby to convey the administrative execution from the Province to the municipality Hof van Twente, because of the perception that a lower institutional level is better able to anticipate on civilians' issues. The province will however stay responsible (W. Maalderink, interview 16 June 2009). Municipality Borne and Stichting de Hoff - in the past – have/had the most contact with DLG, because of its function as executor and coordinator of the project (M. Wiefferink; W. Jansen). Therefore, there is a relation between the nature of the contact, or administrative necessity, and the intensity of the contact. The third factor is *involvement in the policy network*. The municipality of Borne and the Province named that they have less contact with Stichting De Hoff compared with the other actors, because the representative left the work group (M. Wiefferink, W. Maalderink).

Thus, on the one hand are common goals and interests an explaining factor for more contact, but on the other hand is intensity of the contact also explained through conflicting goals and interests. Not any or less interest or goals in the area explain less intensity of the contact. More interests or goals in the area explain more intensity of the contact. The extent of interests or goals is also related to the function of the organisation.

Non-reciprocal relations explained

The degree of interconnectedness is thus dependent from *goals and interests*, *function* and *involvement in the policy network*. These factors are influenced by the characteristics of the actors. We observe in figure 8 that there exist several non-reciprocal relations in intensity of the contact. Besides that, there is also a negative reciprocal tie. A first non-reciprocal relation on intensity is between Borne and DLG. A negative reciprocal relation exists between Stichting De Hoff and DLG. Both relations can be explained through the execution and coordinating *tasks* of DLG. DLG has with all actors more or less the same intensity of contact except from the inhabitants and agrarians, as we can also see referring to the ties not shown in figure 8.

Other nonreciprocal relations on intensity are more difficult to explain. An explaining factor could be that actors value the contact by comparing with other actors, what might result in a nonreciprocal tie between actor C and actor A, whereby actor C values actor A as a more-contact actor compared with the other actors. It is however possible that actor A has more contact with actor B than actor A with C has. All actors mentioned that they have daily or weekly contact with the most-contact actor. The amount of contact with the less-contact actors was valued by all actors as 'now and then'. It could be that there is a slight difference between the intensity of the contacts, for instance ten times a day or once per week. Another possibility is the *nature* of the contact, which is related to the cognitions. An actor might perceive that he has more contact with an actor compared with other actors, but this interpretation might be influenced by filters, frames and interactions with other actors. When the contact is about a controversial issue, it might be the case that the contact is perceived as more than with an actor whereby some generally contact is necessary about more or less neutral perceived issues, or precisely the other way around. Nonreciprocal ties can thus be explained through the *tasks of the actor in the process* and *interpretations* that actors have about the nature of the contact.

Collaboration

In table 1 (next page) is shown how the actors value the collaboration of the contacts with regard to the goals. This is important to investigate, because of our first hypothesis wherein we assume a relation between involvement and integration of values and resources. The value of the contact with regard to the goals is an indicator of the quality of the contact and refers therefore to the quality of involvement. The table compares the 'value of collaboration with regard to the goals' with the variables 'less contact' and 'more contact' compared with other actors, so only extremes are indicated. Hereby indicate the green boxes that the actor has more contact with that actor - beside the workgroup meetings - compared with other actors. The red boxes show that the actor has less contact - beside the workgroup meetings - with that actor compared with the other actors. So, Borne has less contact with Stichting de Hoff than with the other actors and has more contact with DLG compared with the others. Stichting De Hoff changed the value of the contact with DLG with regard to the goals from 'productive' towards 'very unproductive' as a consequence of the observed characteristics of the changed project leader. In two colourless boxes is the collaboration valued, in spite of our focus on the extremes. Two actors valued the collaboration with regard to the goals less, compared with the collaboration with the other actors. On the base of these two actors, we can say that the value of the collaboration with regard to the goals is not dependent of extremes in intensity of contact.

	Borne	HvT	Hoff	Twickel	Province	DLG	Waterboard
Borne			3			4	
HvT	3						3
Hoff				4		4→1 ⁵	
Twickel						3	4
Province		4	4				
DLG			4				
Waterboard				3			

Table 1: Intensity of contact and value of collaboration with regard to the goals compared.

Green: more contact with the actor, compared with other actors.

Red: less contact with the actor, compared with other actors.

White: contact with that actor is more or less the same as for other actors, except from the coloured boxes.

The collaboration with regard to the goals is valued on a scale from 1 to 5 (very unproductive-very productive).

All actors valued the contact as productive (4) if an actor has more contact with that one specific actor compared with the other actors. The collaboration with regard to the goals is valued as moderately for the low-contact actors, except from the values from the province and DLG. We do however not know how actors value the contact with the other actors, because of our focus on extremes. For only one actors is a positive relation between intensity of the contact and value of collaboration proved. Borne has less contact with the inhabitants after they left the work group and valued the contact as moderate productive. The contact with the most-contact actor DLG is seen as productive. The reason for that is the extent of *involvement* in relation to the *goals*. Borne valued the collaboration as dependent of the nature of the goals, which is related to involvement. The municipality of Borne sees governmental bodies as partners, because of their interests. Agrarians and inhabitants are not really opponents, but their interests must be weighted (M. Wiefferink, interview 3 June 2009).

The values from the other actors are based on values about how the process should work. Twickel valued the contact with DLG as moderate productive, because of the change in

⁵ The perception of Stichting De Hoff with regard to the collaboration changed during the process. Initially the collaboration was valued as productive, but after a new project leader has been appointed, the value of collaboration decreased to 'very unproductive'.

project leaders. Twickel find it very important to talk with the same person and that was not the case (H. Gierveld, interview 12 June 2009). DLG valued the contact with the inhabitants and also agrarians as productive with regard to the goals, but has less contact because of the perception that inhabitants and agrarians do not have to know all details (G. Brouwer, interview 16 June 2009). The water board perceive the collaboration with regard to the goals as moderate with Twickel. Twickel acts conservative, but the water board can understand that because of the history of the estate (W. Wassink, interview 18 June 2009). The waterboard understands Twickels' objective to maintain the estate. There is thus a certain degree of respecting each other's values from the water board towards Twickel. Hence, less valued collaboration does not necessarily say that there is no cohesion. The extent of cohesion will be investigated in the following subsection. In the figure below is the value of collaboration with regard to the goals shown.

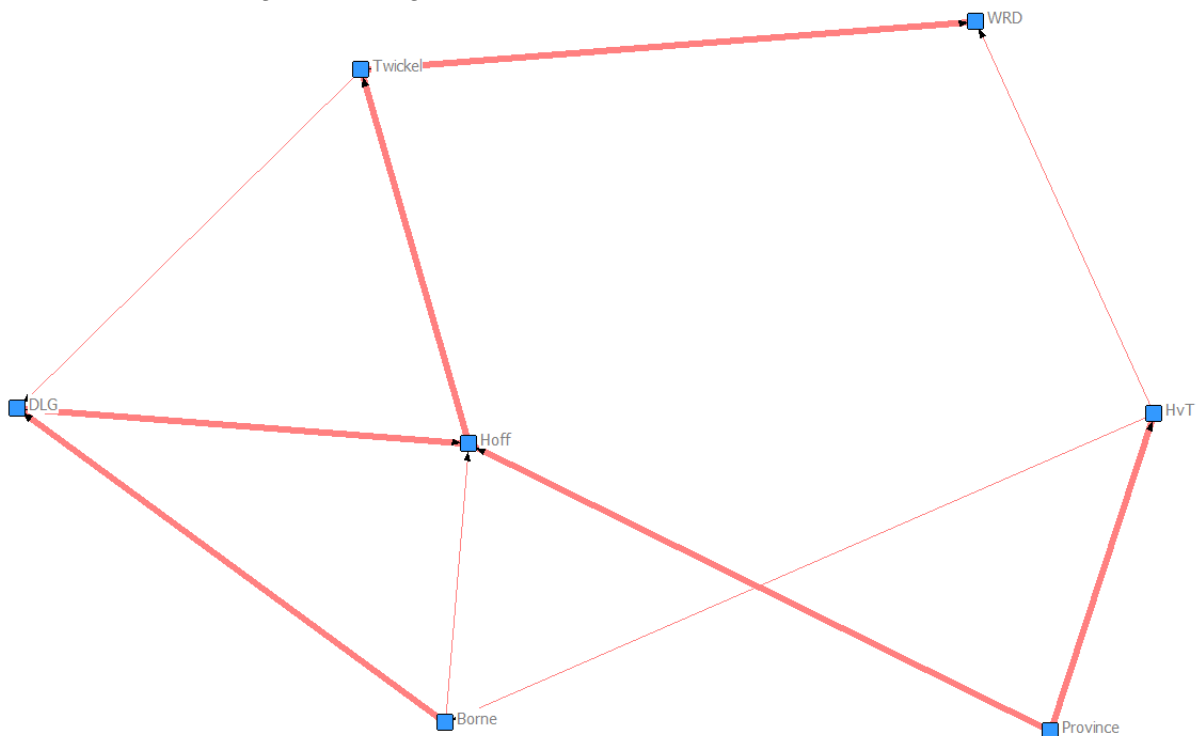


Figure 9: Value of collaboration with regard to the goals in the initial situation.

The thickness of the lines indicates whether the actor perceived the collaboration as 'productive' (the thick lines) or 'moderate productive' (the thin lines). No tie means that collaboration is not valued between those actors, because our focus is on the extremes 'most' and 'less'-contact actors.

In short, we explained that the intensity of the contact is influenced by the cognitions of the actors about their own position in relation to the observed (cognition) position of the other actors. Also their own goals and values (motivation) and the interpretations about goals of the other actors explain the intensity of the contact. A change in involvement in the policy network is the third named explaining factor for intensity of the contact. The value of collaboration is dependent from the goals and values from actors about how the process should work, but also from the nature of the goals itself.

4.5.2. Cohesion

As stated earlier is cohesion related to the part of our hypothesis wherein we refer to the integration of values and resources (see p. 27). Cohesion is a general variable to typify a policy network on the base of how the objectives between the actors in the network are distributed. Cohesion refers to the extent to which actors sympathize with each other's objectives with regard to the policy field (Bressers, 1998). The problem perceptions and interests of the actors are summarized in table 2 on the next page. All actors who have been interviewed share more or less the same problem perception. The reconstruction plan is

through all actors except from Stichting De Hoff seen as common goal that must be achieved in the Azelerbeek area, but the actors have also their own goals. The waterboard strives for a well functioning water system and fulfilling the WFD and objectives of WB21. Twickel is focused on maintaining the quality of the landscape. Recreation, culture, nature and the social-economic structure must be enhanced. Thereby, urban expansion of Borne is not desired by Twickel and the municipality of Borne itself. The municipalities of Borne and Hof van Twente are like Twickel focused on the quality and an attractive landscape. Hof van Twente gives special attention to reorganizing intensive livestock farms. Interesting is that the poor economic perspective of farms is the frame of reference of this municipality, while the other actors except from Stichting De Hof named the Swine fever as reason for the need to reconstruct the area. It is the province and DLG who are focused on fulfilling all goals of the reconstruction. The reconstruction itself is a problem for Stichting De Hoff, but she shares the view that nature conservation is important beside agricultural activity.

	Problem	Interests
Borne	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Swine fever: Reconstruction: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acquisition of grounds 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reconstruct Azelerbeek - Block urban expansion - Quality of the landscape - Economical activity (agriculture, recreation)
Hof van Twente	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reconstruction - Poor economic perspective farms <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pollution and decay of the area 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Possibility for intensive livestock farms to quit. - Create nature and recreation possibilities. - Attractive landscape. - Developments fitting in area.
Stichting de Hoff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intervention with the reconstruction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fear for changing soil and water levels; • Fear for development of retention areas - Small scaled area, difficult to cultivate for world market. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Liveable area; - Farmers must get the chance to continue. - Subsidies for farmers who provide green and blue services (contracts).
Stichting Twickel	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Swine fever: Reconstruction - Industrial expansion Borne 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Open and green corridor between Nord-east Twente and Southwest Twente. - Enhancing recreation possibilities and the social-economic structure - Maintain culture and nature: quality of the landscape. - Stop the expansion of Borne.
Dienst landelijk gebied (DLG)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Swine fever: Reconstruction How to make the area reconstruction-proof? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adapt the desires of the actors to each other. - Satisfy to the requirements of the province.
Province	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Swine fever: Reconstruction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Policy goals of the reconstruction
Waterboard	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Swine fever: Reconstruction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Well functioning water system - WFD, WB21 - Raise water level, later on: natural creek system

Tabel 2: Problem perceptions and interest

The difference between actors is the perception about the way how a sustainable area must be realized. Some parts of the Azelerbeek-plan are therefore for one actor positive and for other actors not. Each actor has its own goals, but all actors share the view that problems must be handled in cooperation with other goals. The cohesion is therefore not strong, because the individuals, groups and organizations do have their own goals, but the cohesion is not weak either, because they sympathize with some of the objectives of the other actors to a certain extent.

The interests of all actors are to a certain extent common, but the perception about the interventions or the focus differs. This is partly attributed to the boundary judgments. Boundary judgments can be seen as the perceived relevance of domains with regard to scales and levels, problem and policy sectors, and time and change. Too narrow boundaries might lead to shutting out of information with a decrease in the resilience of the regime as a consequence. However, boundary judgments which are too wide might lead to such a complexity that process becomes unmanageable with stagnation of the process as a result (Bressers, 2007). Boundary judgments are based on cognitions and we will therefore investigate whether there are boundary judgments by analyzing the characteristics of the actors in chapter 5 and 6.

4.5.3. Change in coherence

The degree of interconnectedness and cohesion changed during the process, firstly because Stichting de Hoff left the work group. The reason therefore was the poor communication (*related to interconnectedness*) towards the inhabitants and the inhabitants felt thereby that their interests were not taken into account by the other actors (*related to cohesion*) (W. Jansen, 3 June 2009). There was thus a perceived unequal interconnectedness and cohesion within the policy network and the policy network became as before through the exclusion of the inhabitants. The interconnectedness and cohesion are on this point positively correlated. Both cohesion and interconnectedness changed towards lower levels. These characteristics go however not necessarily together (Bressers, 1998, p. 89). The inhabitants and also the agricultural organization 'LTO' are still informed with help of newsletters, but they are not part of the policy network anymore. LTO was excluded from the work group, because the goals were not in her interest any more. Agrarians still had an interest, but more on individual level. Therefore, the second change of the characteristics of the policy network was not because of the exclusion of LTO itself. It was because of the change of the goals during the process that the policy network became more coherent. The raise of the water level and the desired reconsolidations were very controversial goals. The initial policy network was therefore much less coherent than the current policy network, because of the exclusion of the controversial goals. The actors in the network did naturally sympathize more with each other's goals than before by excluding the controversial goals to raise the water level and execute reconsolidations.

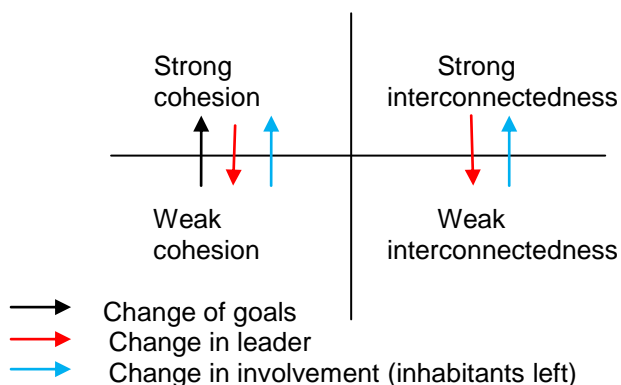


Figure 10: The change in coherence. Only the shift towards poles is indicated. The degree of interconnectedness and cohesion is not taken within this figure.

Thus, the cohesion became stronger as a consequence of a change in goals. The cohesion and interconnectedness decreased to lower levels after the appointment of the new leader. Cohesion and interconnectedness became stronger as a consequence of the change in involvement – the inhabitants left.

4.6. Conclusion

The focus in this chapter was on the first stated sub question for the Azelerbeek-case: *What are public and private interests and resources in the rural area and to what extent are they taken into account in rural policy?* We found that rural policy has an important influence on the interaction process. Rural policy and regulations steer the actors in their actions in a certain way, for instance through the obligation for the province to fulfil Natura 2000 regulation or for the waterboard to fulfil the objectives of the Water Framework Directive. Policy and regulation form thus restrictions, but provide also power and capacity for actors. The water board has for instance more power to fulfil her aims for a well functioning water system because of the WFD. Also national regulations have an impact on the interaction process, for instance the dependency of the rural and spatial planning acts.

All interviewed actors except from the inhabitants share the perception that the reconstruction plan must be achieved in the Azelerbeek area. Stichting De Hoff sees the intervention with the reconstruction itself as a problem, but they share the view that diverse interests in the area must be handled in cooperation with each other. The focus of the different actors lies however on different objectives, which are objectives in the quality of water, agriculture and economy, nature, recreation and an attractive landscape. Only the inhabitants and agrarians felt that their interests are not represented in the reconstruction plan and taken into account in the further process (W. Jansen, interview 11 June 2009). The other actors have the perception that their interests are more or less included in the reconstruction plan. The reconstruction plan itself is a resource for actors in the interaction process to fulfil their interests. Beside this, actors do also have other resources which will be investigated in the following chapters.

We also answered the second sub-question for the Azelerbeek case in this chapter: *To what extent are public and private stakeholders involved in the rural policy process in the Azelerbeek case?* The stakeholders are involved in an area-developments commission. This work group could initially be characterised as a policy network between a policy community and issue network. A shift towards the more ideal type of a policy community had taken place after De Hoff and LTO left the work group. Values became more shared in the network and the network became closer, because only those who had interests were involved. The coherence of the network changed during the process, because of the goals to realize, a change in the leader and the involvement of actors. The cohesion and interconnectedness of the network is nowadays relatively strong, but there are fewer actors involved than in the beginning.

These two sub questions for the Azelerbeek case give a first indication to the extent wherein there is a relation between involvement and integration of values and resources. The decrease in involvement went hand in hand with the increased coherence of the policy network. The change in goals and conflicting characteristics of actors caused the decrease in involvement. The value of collaboration with regard to the goals is dependent from the relation between involvement and goals. We proved however that less valued collaboration does not necessarily mean that cohesion is less strong. The value of collaboration with regard to the goals is thus an indicator for the quality of involvement, but not necessarily for the extent wherein values and resources are integrated, where the goals themselves are related to the involvement.

5. The initial plan

The initial plan from the water board was to raise the water level of the creek with 30/40 centimetres, so that the water system was able to function and adapt better on changing situations. After the plan was made, it has been communicated to the inhabitants of the Azelerbeek area. An enormous resistance under the inhabitants – mostly farmers – had raised and therefore the plan had to change. Hence, civilians' acceptance of any new developments was affected by this first plan (M. Wiefferink; W. Jansen; G. Brouwer; W. Wassink, interviews 2009).

The plan had been changed into creating a natural creek within a zone of 25 meters, so that the creek can meander and that water retention possibilities can be created. With a more natural creek-system, the possibilities for adaption to droughts or water floods would be enhanced. The creek must become more natural and must be reconstructed into the original situation of 1800/1900. The alternative is not an optimal situation, but that is accepted because of waterboards' changed values. Combining water with diverse functions – agriculture, ecology and recreation – became more and more important for the waterboard (motivation) (W. Wassink, interview 18 June 2009). The cognition influenced the motivation, because the waterboard observed an opportunity for the development process through combining functions and make compromises. The perceptions with regard to this approach and also the values of the province and the water board became more congruent. Both province and water board had the interpretation that diverse functions on the countryside could be integrated, so that improvements will happen.

The goals and values of the waterboard had become broader compared with the past. The original water boards were organizations from land owners, with the objective to protect their land against water floods or droughts (Bellekom, Heringa, Velde Verhey, 2002). The vision in the past was that the drainage of water must be done as soon as possible. This had caused a decrease in ground water level in the Azelerbeek-area. The creek is not natural anymore, because of interventions with regard to water management in the creek valley. Thereby, there are no possibilities for holding water and floods take place from time to time (Dienst Landelijk Gebied, n.d.). Waterboards are nowadays responsible for optimal water management and for making a qualitative and quantitative match between the surface and ground water and the way society uses the surface. Public safety, quality of life and sustainability are promoted by the Water Board through cooperation with the environment (Waterschap Regge and Dinkel, 2008). Water boards have three general tasks:

- (1) Management of water barriers, which contains of protection against flooding through dunes, dikes and quays and maintaining these defenses.
 - (2) Water management, as stated above, on a qualitatively and quantitatively way. This means respectively, combating water pollution by purifying sewage water and improving surface water quality and managing water quantities and ensuring a correct water level.
 - (3) Management of waterways and roads.
- (Unie van Waterschappen, 2008^b)

The waterboard should be the executer of the reconstruction of the Azelerbeek and its creek valley. However, the project was such a broad and integral project, that the water board decided not to pull the project (W. Wassink, interview, 18 June 2009). The waterboard might have had a lack of capacity and power to pull the project, or – at least – had the perception that her preferred behavior is under her capacity. The waterboard was not motivated to be the executer of the project, and that might be the consequence of the availability of the required resources. A lack of necessary resources creates a low self-effectiveness assessment and influences therefore the ambition of the actor (Bandura, 1986, in: Bressers, 2009). A clear example in this case is that the ambitions of the waterboard were adjusted,

because of a lack of support for her behavior in the area. The most important interest of the waterboard – a well functioning water system - is taken into account in the process, but it is not optimal. The ambitions are adjusted to ‘a sufficient functioning water system’, with the Water Framework Directive as important objective. On the longer run, the aim is to fulfill also WB21. The situation is still not optimal but it is a good start when the reconstruction of the Azelerbeek is finished. The perception (cognition) is that water retention in accord with WB21 can be realized on the long term (W. Wassink, interview 18 June 2009).

5.1. Change of characteristics: The waterboard

Agrarians had an important influence on the plan. In the later process – after the plan has been communicated – another factor apart from the resistance had an influence on the ability to raise the water level. The case was that the water level within a distance of 1 km from the mill could not even be raised, because of the construction of the monumental Noordmolen in the 14th century. An important condition for the developments of the area is that the wheel of the mill might not stand under water (Dienst Landelijk Gebied, n.d.).

Raise the water level → Communicate to civilians → Not accepted by civilians (agrarians) → Change plan: do not raise the level, but create a zone alongside the creek.

But!

The initial plan could not even be executed, because of the Noordmolen – a culture-historical mill.

Motivation:

The waterboard would like to raise the water level and it has been communicated to the inhabitants after the plan was made. The waterboard changed her goals from the raise of the water level into creating a natural creek within a zone wherein the creek is able to meander.

Capacity and Power:

The inhabitants had the resource ‘support’ and were able to change the behavior of the waterboard. The waterboard changed the plan (see motivation) as a consequence of the resistance (power) of the inhabitants. The waterboard had a lack of resources and/or a low self-effectiveness assessment (motivation) to fulfill the plan. Thereby, the cultural-historical value of the Noordmolen should have been an important external pressure that should form a critical *motivational* factor for the waterboard to change the plan.

Arena:

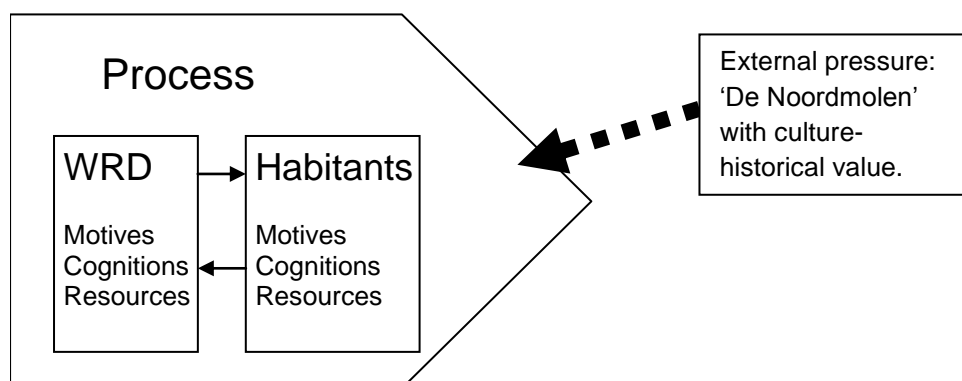


Figure 11: Arena initial plan (Based on Bressers, 2009).

However, this external factor became clear after the waterboard decided not to raise the water level (M. Wiefferink, 3 June 2009). The resistance was thus the factor that changed the characteristics of the waterboard. This process in the early phase of the developments in

the Azelerbeek-area does have an influence on the later process. Cognitions of actors are partly based on earlier experiences. Those cognitions construct a plan to reach a certain goal, after the goals are formulated on the base of the desires (motivations) of the actor. Executing a plan is steered by motivations (Coeterier, 2000, p. 81; Bressers 2009, p. 9). The experience with the raise of the water level will therefore have the consequence that actors are not motivated to participate in any further developments in the area.

Cognitions:

The cognitions of the agrarians and inhabitants were affected through the initial plan. The waterboard observed an opportunity in improving the developments in the area, through combining functions and make compromises. The cultural-historical value of the Noordmolen should have been an external pressure that should have forced the water board to change the plan even if the water board was able to resist the pressure from the agrarians and inhabitants. The cultural-historical value was an issue, although the cultural-historical value did not belong to the boundary judgments of the stakeholders before.

The consequence of this process is that inhabitants are not positive about further developments and plans in the area. They perceive developments in the area as a threat, because of this early experience and are therefore not motivated to participate or accept further developments in the area.

6. The current plan

The negative perception with regard to the waterboard from out the area as a result of the initial plan, but also the broad character of the plan, were the reasons for the perception by the water board that she did not have enough power and capacity to execute the project. The province approached DLG, after the decision of the waterboard not to become the executer of the project (W. Wassink, interview, 18 June 2009). DLG is therefore the executer of the Azelerbeek project under the responsibility of the province.

The aim of the Azelerbeek project is the reconstruction of a natural and flexible creek-system with enhanced values of nature and landscape. Thereby, recreation and economically 'healthy' agriculture are main objectives of the project. However, during the process it became clear that the project must focus on the whole area and not only on reconstruction of the creek-system. The reasons for that were that farmers manage also lands outside the valley and those lands are often higher sand soils which are mainly feeding the valley and its creek. Therefore, the developments are beside the creek valley also focussed on edging soil (Dienst Landelijk Gebied, n.d.). Here it became clear that the project was much broader than only the improvement of the creek system. The extent of the problem became wider and the province and DLG shared the vision that diverse functions must be executed in accordance with each other. Here we see a clear influence from the structural context on the specific context. Objectives of the reconstruction (structural context) are involved in the area-developments plan of the Azelerbeek (specific context). The Azelerbeek program existed already, but was initially not focused on the reconstruction however the objectives showed clear coherence.

6.1. Developments

In the past, many functions on the countryside existed alongside each other. Intensive livestock farmers in the area block other functions, because of the circles of smell. The area is characterized by many owners on many various grounds, and that is what makes it more difficult to provide more diverse functions in the area. Farmers have small scaled pieces of land (W. Jansen, interview 11 June 2009) and the parceling out of the grounds is not optimal, because of the railway and the A1/A35 (M. Wiefferink, interview 3 June 2009). One of the little neighborhoods in the Azelerbeek-area is Azelo. In this place, living and working were interlaced with each other (A. Ter Braak, interview 10 June 2009), which is not an optimal situation with regard to the circles of smell. Except from the project Vital Azelo there is not much executed on this moment with regard to the whole Azelerbeek project. Just after this summer (2009) DLG will start with digging alongside the Azelerbeek, so that the creek can meander. The execution of the Vital Azelo project has been started in the end of May 2009. It was in May that five farmers and the involved exchangers of the lands signed a contract that they agree with the stated conditions. The farmers will cut out their intensive activities and provide other activities – recreation – with help of the red for red regulation. The red for red regulation has the aim to improve the spatial quality. In short, this can be done because of the allowance to build houses in the place of broken down sheds⁶ (Provincie Overijssel, 2006, p. 3).

The possibility to apply the red for red regulation is dependent of certain requirements. One of the criteria is that the building of a new house may not affect agricultural and other interests in the environment. Agricultural developments are for instance limited by the law on smell emissions livestock farms (Provincie Overijssel, 2006). The distance between livestock farms and houses is because of the circles of smell as a leading criterion. This is seen by the municipality Hof van Twente as a limitation for the improvement of the spatial quality in the area (A. Ter Braak, interview 10 June 2009). Red for red cannot be applied if one agrarian in

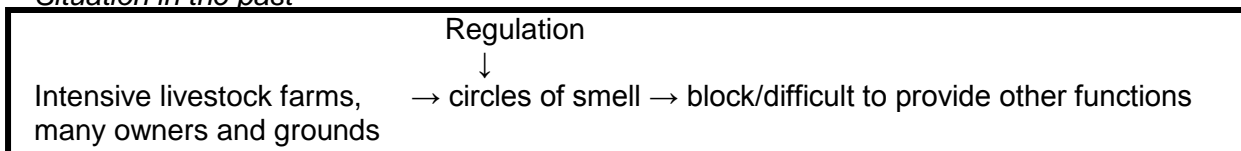
⁶ The red for red regulation is explained in 2.1.1.

the middle of the area is not willing to cooperate. The necessary reconsolidation for the execution of the red for red regulation is on a voluntary basis and is therefore felt as a sticking point within this project (A. ter Braak, interview 10 June 2009). That is because of the diverse problem perceptions of the farmers. Some farmers will continue with their activities, while others will cut out their activities. Some farmers see economic perspective for their firms, others have the perception that other activities are necessary. Therefore, some farmers will not be motivated to participate in the reconsolidations, because it is not in their interest.

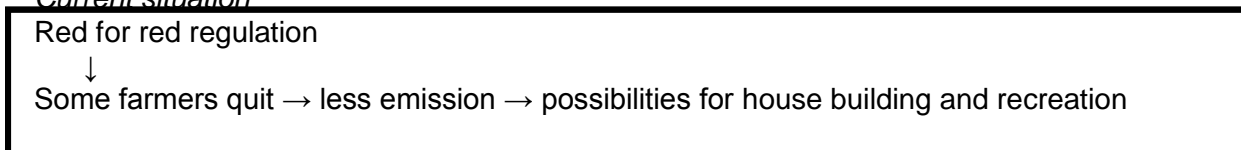
Thereby, there is also an influence from the wider context whether the red for red regulation is attractive to apply. Nowadays, there is a decreased demand for lands because of the recession. Especially in the east of the Netherlands is the supply of lands much larger than the demand (Agrarisch Dagblad, 4 August 2009). It takes consequently much longer time to sell the grounds or it might lead to a decrease in the price of the lands. Beside economic influences from the wider context, there is also an influence from political changes. The Dutch political party 'CDA' (Christian Democratic Appel) strives for so called 'countryside houses'. It should be possible to live in a former farm without limiting – referring to noise and smell regulations - other farms in their activities according to the CDA (Trouw, 12 augustus 2009). If the proposed plan will find application, it will be easier to live in the countryside, but recreation possibilities are still limited.

The situation with regard to the intensive livestock farms was able to change because of the red for red regulation. Nowadays, there are still intensive livestock farms, but some of them will quit their activities so that recreation and house building is able to develop (G. Brouwer, interview, 16 June, 2009). Young cattle will be held, but that will be more on hobby level (A. ter Braak, interview 10 June 2009). The province expects that within five years an area has been risen with other functions (W. Maalderink, interview 16 June 2009). This change in situation is shown in the below schemes.

Situation in the past



Current situation



The house building activities are however a discussion point in the area. The house building developments are not desired by the inhabitants in the neighborhood Azelo (W. Jansen, interview, 11 June 2009). The existing community with only twelve houses will be expanded with six houses and that is seen as a threat for the existing community. Inhabitants⁷ are afraid that expensive houses will be built - because of the high price of the grounds – and that subsequently the more prosperous people will be attracted to the houses (W. Jansen, interview, 11 June 2009). Related to that, the chance exists that Azelo will be divided into an ingroup and an outgroup – the old kern and the new inhabitants – and affects the social cohesion. In this way, the social sustainable pillar is not on all social aspects realized. The current inhabitants of Azelo are not motivated to socialize with the new inhabitants, because of their values. Inhabitants have the cognition that prosperous people will be attracted and therefore affects their interest in a livable area. Developing other activities like recreation is

⁷ Where we say 'inhabitants' in this section we mean the 'inhabitants of the neighborhood Azelo.

seen as positive by the inhabitants (W. Jansen, interview 11 June 2009). Apart from the inhabitants of Azelo, there are also other inhabitants and –mostly tenant- farmers in the Azelerbeek area. Those inhabitants and farmers feel less affected than the inhabitants of the Azelo neighborhood, because the house building activities are not ‘in their backyard’ in terms of the NIMBY-principle. Also Twickel is not positive minded about Vital Azelo, because of her interest in a qualitative good landscape. New houses to build do not meet this interest according to Twickel. However, Twickel is not affected if the developments with regard to the houses will stay within certain borders (H. Gierveld, interview, 12 June, 2009).

Apart from the threat felt by the inhabitants, another important influence for the negative problem perception that exists under the inhabitants is that they did not have a voice in the process. The interests of the inhabitants were not taken into account, though attention was given to nature and agricultural objectives (cognition). In this way, there was a certain integration of values in the process. The various actors took other interests than their own sectoral interests into account, except from the interests of the inhabitants. The inhabitants observed that DLG did not respect their interests. However, this might partly be caused through personal characteristics of the current project leader of DLG. The representative of the inhabitants had the feeling that the previous project leader did take their interests into account (W. Jansen, interview 11 June 2009). The perception of coherence between sectoral interests might therefore be dependent from the characteristics of individual actors rather than from characteristics of the organization. The inhabitants were not able to act, they could only stand in opposition via the destination plan of the Municipality Hof van Twente. Also, the focus of the Azelerbeek came to lie on Vital Azelo. The municipality Hof van Twente steam-rolled the plan through according to the inhabitants (W. Jansen, interview 11 June 2009). Therefore, the feelings became even more negative with regard to project vital Azelo.

Involvement

The project will be executed, though the problem perceptions differ between the actors with regard to this project. We can explain this through the extent of involvement of the actors and their characteristics. The project Vital Azelo has been started because of the initiative of two individual farmers (W. Jansen; A. Ter Braak, interview 2009; DLG, n.d.). The initiative came out the area and the municipality Hof van Twente facilitates the project (A. Ter Braak, interview, 10 June 2009). In the wider context, the project has been started because of economic problems. Farmers do not have development possibilities and it is difficult to continue with their intensive livestock farms. Farmers are therefore more or less forced to develop other activities. The red for red regulation out of the structural context is an opportunity for farmers to develop those sideline activities.

The project Vital Azelo is part of the Azelerbeek area developments plan, though we can distinguish two groups with regard to the Vital Azelo project. The first group contains strongly involved actors, which are the province, DLG, the involved farmers and municipality Hof van Twente. The second group contains actors who are not or moderately involved. These actors are inhabitants and agrarians who do not participate in the project, municipality of Borne, Waterboard Regge and Dinkel, Stichting Twickel. The degree of involvement was influenced by the fact that the Vital Azelo project is outside the area of the municipality of Borne, so Borne does not have own objectives for that area. The perception of the municipality of Borne and the first group is that it is not the task of the municipality of Borne to be involved in the project because of the spatial aspect. Boundary judgments between actors on this spatial point are thus in coherence with each other. The geographical boundaries are embedded for municipalities, so there is an institutional prevention for too wide or too narrow spatial boundaries.

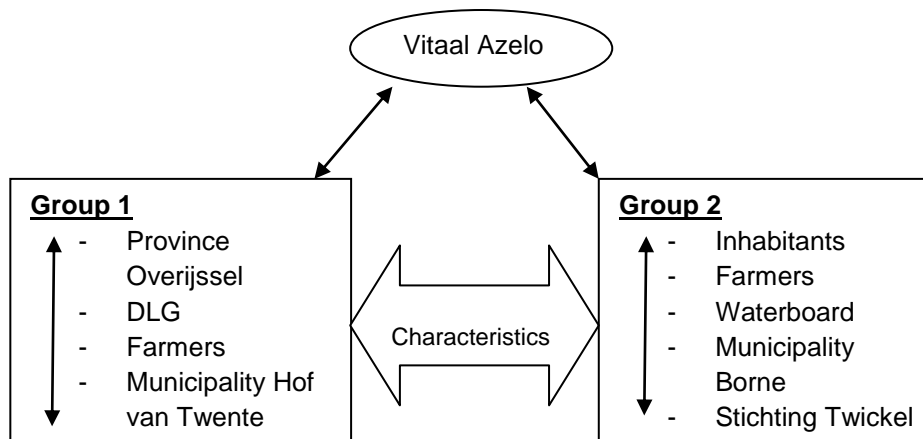


Figure 12: Sub groups in Vital Azelo

Twickel and farmers are only involved with regard to land consolidations. Reconsolidations are necessary in order to realize the red for red regulation, so involvement of many farmers is desired. However, the more farmers participate, the more difficult the process of deliberation (A. ter Braak, interview 10 June 2009). Municipality Hof van Twente has thereby less contact related to Vitaal Azelo with the waterboard. Here, the objectives are the explaining variable that causes this low involvement. The waterboard has less interest in Vitaal Azelo than in the meandering of the Azelerbeek. The relation between involvement and goals is also mentioned in 4.5.1. Each actor has its own sectoral interest, but in this case it is the question to what extent other values are taken into account. In the following section we will give attention to the extent wherein the boundary judgments between the first and second group are in coherence. This will be explained with help of the frame of references of the actors.

Frame of reference and Boundary judgments

The two groups in the Vital Azelo project have another frame of reference. The first group has the perception that intensive livestock farms must be reorganized, because of the poor economic perspective. The two entrepreneurs – the initiators - were therefore motivated to develop other activities. The red for red regulation provided resources that made it possible to act. The actors have different perceptions about the necessity of the extent of involvement of certain actors. Communication with and involvement of inhabitants and agrarians is necessary with regard to the whole Azelerbeek project according to DLG and the Province, but they do not necessarily need to know all the details (G. Brouwer; W. Maalderink, interview). What for DLG and the province is perceived as a detail for the inhabitants, could however be perceived as an important issue for the inhabitants themselves. Therefore, there was a difference in the sectoral aspect of the boundary judgments between the province and DLG on the one hand and the inhabitants on the other hand.

This sectoral boundary is also in the Vital Azelo project, because the inhabitants perceived (cognition) that their interests were not taken into account (W. Jansen, interview 16 June 2009). The inhabitants came into protest through pointing out their interests to the other actors. They were able to change the frame of reference and values of the waterboard into one with more respect of inhabitants' desires (W. Jansen, interview 11 June 2009), but the waterboard itself did not have an interest in the Vital Azelo project because water objectives are not included in this project. The protest of the inhabitants came into the political system – on the local scale - , but there are some thresholds in the converting from input to outputs in the policy making process, so not all public 'wants' become public demands (Easton, 1965). That was the case, because the municipality Hof van Twente did not change her interpretation and values about the approach. The municipality is however aware of the negative perceptions of the inhabitants, but she does not think that there is a problem for the inhabitants (A. ter Braak, interview 10 June 2009). Inhabitants and the municipality have

thus other spatial boundary judgments with regard to the question which actors have an interest in the problem. The public 'wants' did in this project not become public demands, while that did happen in the initial plan. The characteristics between the two sub groups differ (see figure 12), but also within the group referring to the vertical arrows. Factors that had an influence on the difference in involvement are sectoral interests and the spatial aspect.

Beside the influence of the motivation and cognitions on the interaction process, also actors' power and capacity played a role. The inhabitants and also Stichting Twickel had a lack of knowledge in this project. The transparency of information with regard to vital Azelo is judged as moderate/poor by the representative of inhabitants and Twickel (W. Jansen; H. Gierveld, interview). Communication barriers exist because DLG has different perceptions about the relevancy to communicate certain information than the inhabitants have. Mutual learning and understanding is blocked by the communication barrier (Rein and Schön, 1994). Negative feelings about the project can be explained because of the difference of involvement between the actors in the whole Azelerbeek program. Twickel and the inhabitants do not know what is happening, because of the poor/moderate judgement with regard to transparency of information. The actors in the second group could not have such an impact on the interaction process that the characteristics of the other actors changed. The reasons for that were lack of knowledge and lack of opportunity to have a voice in the project.

The two sub groups have other interpretations (cognitions) and values (motivations) about the project Vital Azelo. There was a difference in involvement of the sub groups in the project and the power and capacity differs between the two groups. In line with our findings in 4.5 is that involvement is related to the objectives of the actors, but also to the interpretations (cognition) that actors have about the necessity to involve other actors. The situation was able to change, although there were different problem perceptions between the first and second group. The first group had more power and capacity to execute the project than the second group had to resist the change.

6.2. Resource dependency

We can explain with help of the resource dependency approach why it took so long to begin reconstructing the Azelerbeek. The resource dependency theory posits that power is based on the control of different resources that are considered strategic within organizations (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1977, pp. 2-21). Hereby, power is based on a set of 'legitimizing principles' that are specific to the organization (Weber, 1968). The dependency of the resources – like information, money, rights etc. – lies in the activities you want to perform. Other actors have resources that you need and these resources can therefore be seen as an instrument of power. If organizations pool their resources they are more able to perform certain activities and realize certain goals (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1997). Resource dependency is mostly related to the power and capacity box in terms of the contextual interaction theory, but this box is also influenced by the other characteristics and the interaction process.

Owner rights and Acceptance

A first factor that had an influence on the process of developments is the need for grounds. The acquisition of grounds is often a challenge for the execution of projects. Sometimes expropriation or tolerance permits must be applied. Grounds can be bought, but expropriation is also possible on the base of the reconstruction law (Ministry of Agriculture nature and Food Quality, 2003). Support for the project is a necessary condition for the process of acquisition of grounds. Otherwise, the acquisition will lead to delays in case of expropriation. It is important that acquisition of grounds will not limit the execution of the projects, especially with regard to the WFD related projects because of the stated quantitative requirements. Therefore, the waterboard stated some starting points. One of

these starting points⁸ is that non-voluntary acquisition or tolerance permit of user-rights is applied in the last case. However, non-voluntary acquisition of soil in accordance with the WB-21 is not applied by the waterboard Regge and Dinkel. The Blue services regulation is applied for water retention in situations where water retention areas are to be realised, whereby multifunctional use of soil is applied (Waterschap Regge en Dinkel, 2008).

Reconsolidation as a voluntary instrument is desired, so that support can be created for the meandering of the Azelerbeek within a zone of 25 meters. The voluntary reconsolidation does however not have successes, because of a lack of acceptance from agrarians. The lack of acceptance can be explained through the earlier experiences from the farmers, with regard to the raise of the water level. That earlier experience influences the cognitions of the actors in the further process. The consequence of the lack of acceptance as a resource is that the reconsolidations are skipped from the project. However, business is still done with farmers on individual and voluntary base (M. Wiefferink, interview, 3 June 2009), like we see in the Vital Azelo project.

The acquisition of grounds is also for DLG as an executer of the project a problem. DLG has a lack of capacity and power for executing the project with regard to the acquisition of grounds. The necessary acquisition of grounds is difficult because many grounds in the area belong to Stichting Twickel. Another dependency is that nothing can be enforced, because of the voluntary character of the plan (G. Brouwer, interview, 16 June 2009). Also the municipality of Borne named the acquisition of grounds as a problem. Twickel is the owner of many grounds and the buildings belong to the tenant farmers. Farmers do not perceive that it is their problem, because the ground is from Twickel. So negotiations with regard to land consolidation must be done with both parties (M. Wiefferink, interview, 3 June 2009). Farmers take their farming activities as their frame of reference and do not have the motivation to develop other activities. However, farmers are mostly forced to develop other activities by circumstances as small scaled pieces of lands. Farmers might perceive (cognition) that it is not their problem, but Twickel has the power to force their tenants to take part of the reconsolidations. Twickel has the perception that reconsolidations do have some benefits, because of the new pieces of land which might be better located, for instance connected pieces of lands (H. Gierveld, interview, 12 June 2009). This is possible with help of the exchange of lands, but Twickel states thereby certain conditions. Those conditions can be seen as the goals and values of Twickel which are based on her interests. Twickel will act when the conditions are met through the other actors.

There are certain general conditions which are based on general perceptions from Twickel. Twickel is only willing to do business if her position will not become less and compensation grounds form therefore a first condition (H. Gierveld, 12 June 2009). A second condition is proportionality. Twickel did for instance not agree with the proposal to change the latitude of the zone alongside the Azelerbeek, because of her starting point that different parties must have the same costs with regard to area-developments. The zone should initially be 12.5 metres on both sides. The change of the latitude was proposed, because other parties were unwilling to cooperate (W. Jansen, 11 June 2009). Concrete conditions are stated during the process (H. Gierveld, interview, 12 June 2009). One of these conditions was a delaying factor for the reconsolidation of the lands according to the province. The following example shows us that Twickel has the power with her resource 'grounds' to have such an influence on the process that the process of re-consolidation has been delayed. A certain estate owner would develop a new estate and would thereby realize a country house with a

⁸ The other starting points of the waterboard are: looking in the future and acquisition via a pro-active way; strive for a restricted strategic reserves of soil; parcelling out of land as a tool; less as possible acquisition of soil; multifunctional use of soil; use and management is more important than ownership (Waterschap Regge en Dinkel, 2008).

residence for groups. This could be realized with help of the reconsolidations. However, Twickel stated the condition that it must be guaranteed that this development would not affect Twickel. Twickel would only sign if the province provides a contract, wherein is stated that the residence would not harm the interests of Twickel. However, the province cannot embed that in a contract (W. Maalderink, interview, 16 June 2009). Twickel's cognition that her own estate was in danger of the proposed developments had resulted in the motivation to hold on to her stated condition. Without the involvement of Twickel in the land consolidation process, the project could not be executed because of the powerful resource grounds.

Another factor that had an influence on the reconsolidation process is that Twickel and two other rural estates developed a plan 'WAT-Venster', because of the interests of the estates to have a green corridor between North-East Twente and South-West Twente (H. Gierveld, interview, 12 June 2009). Plan Zendersche Esch Zuid has been developed on the base of certain existing plans - as the WAT-venster, reconstructieplan Salland-Twente and plan Azelerbeek⁹. The desires of the farmers and inhabitants were taken into account in the plan Zendersche Esch Zuid. Conversations with a focus on the improvement of agricultural grounds were initiated between farmers and Stichting Twickel (Provincie Overijssel and Gemeente Borne, 2009). The motivation to develop the plan Zendersche Esch Zuid has been raised, because of Twickels interest in a green zone between Borne and Almelo. Apart from that, Twickel is against urban expansion of Borne. The plan was finished two years ago, but Borne has recently decided to finance the project (H. Gierveld, interview, 12 June 2009). The interests of the farmers and Twickel were represented in the plan they made. The development of the plan can be seen as a strategic value in the area developments process. Twickel has something in her hands wherein her perception with regard to the area is reflected. Twickel was not motivated to participate in other consolidation proposals which did not fulfil her conditions. Twickel gave attention to and referred to the WAT-venster as a frame of reference.

Motivation: Twickel had the motivation to develop a developments plan for the area – plan Zendersche Esch Zuid, so that her interests were represented.

Cognition: Twickel made a map in the developed plan wherein is shown how the area should look like on the base of her problem perception. The map shows what the best situation is according to Twickel.

Power: Twickel had build capacity that she could use in the interaction process. Twickel had the power to refer to her problem perception - which is reflected in the developed plan - because of her resource grounds.

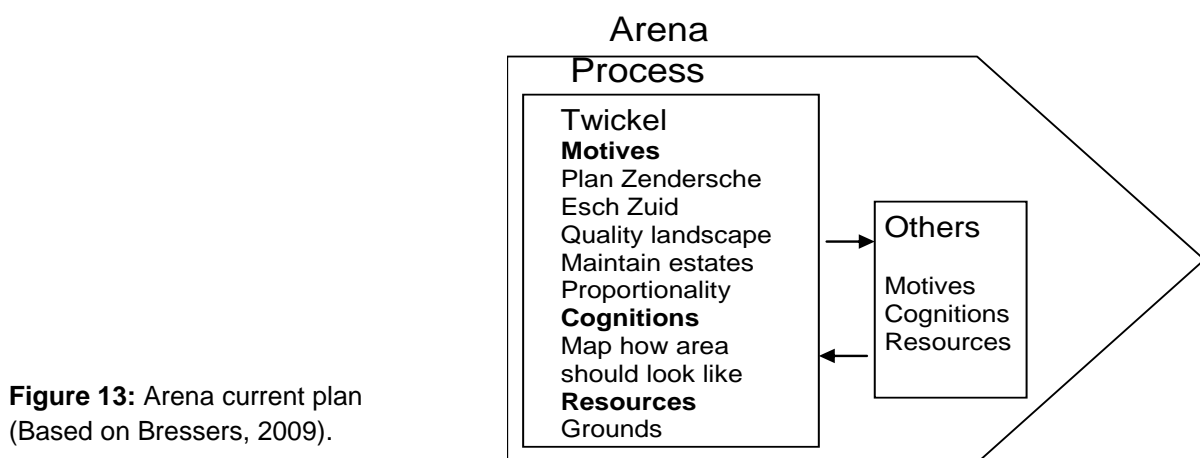


Figure 13: Arena current plan
(Based on Bressers, 2009).

⁹ The other plans are: Landschapspark Zendersche Esch, firm-plans from tenants, Reconstruction plans for Borne-Bornerbroek-Almelo, structureplan Borne, covenant Twickel-Borne (Stichting Twickel, 2006, p. 2).

Thereby, Twickel has the power to state the named general conditions and also the more concrete conditions, because of the resource grounds. Therefore, Twickel is able to fulfil her interests with regard to the quality of the landscape and maintaining the estates.

Twickel has much power in the process, because of the grounds as an important resource. Other actors are therefore dependent from Twickel in the process. It is very difficult to execute the project if Twickel is not willing to act (G. Brouwer; M. Wiefferink; W. Maalderink). Twickel's power and capacity is to some extent perceived as a sticking point, but she uses her power and capacity also for developing sustainable activities. Twickel is searching for other possibilities on individual base with her tenant farmers, because of the circumstances. The desires of the farmer will be explored in case of a decrease in - or cutting out of - agricultural activities. A clear example is that a farmer expected that he had not a good perspective for the future (cognition). The quality of the landscape was therefore in the danger of decay. Twickel provided that farmer a house, so that the land and the farm could be used for other purposes. The current purpose is recreational and economical, there are 'boerderijkamers' – a form of a bed and breakfast on a farm – and there is a store where meat from the area is sold (W. Jansen, 11 June 2009). This is an example whereby Twickel could use her power to gain benefits with regard to her interest for the quality of the landscape. Thereby, Twickel divides the lands of retired farmers under the largest tenant farms. That is interesting for Twickel, because those farmers are economically more powerful and Twickel can therefore ask more rent or is more certain of receiving rent continually. Existing farmers get therefore the possibility to expand their farms. Also, a project has been started in cooperation with farmers to produce Twickeler cheese (H. Gierveld, interview 12 June 2009).

Money

Another resource that had an influence on the process beside the resources support and owner rights is money. All public actors perceive that they have a lack of the resource money (interviews, 2009). Compensations are provided from the province – provincial multiple years program - and the state and provinces – ILG. The financial resource can also be a limitation for actors. Money is mostly linked to certain objectives to reach, and the budget as a resource steers therefore the actions of the actors. A clear example is that the province is dependent from the budget from the state for acquisition and development of nature. Ambitions must be adjusted if the means are not sufficient. The consequence is a focus on quantity, rather than on quality. It is more interesting for the province in political perspective to fulfill the goals of the Ecological Main Structure (EHS) than create new nature in the Azelerbeek. However this might be a strategic choice from political perspective, the perception that it is important to satisfy more actors has also an influence. By realizing other goals – like nature in the Azelerbeek-area - other actors can be satisfied (W. Maalderink, interview 16 June 2009). However, which choices are made is dependent of personal characteristics rather than the characteristics of the organization. Thus, there is an influence of the organization, but the actors of the organizations act.

Resource exchange

It is clear that resource exchange is necessary for realizing certain goals. This is related to the involvement of actors. We go back to the initial plan to explain how involvement is related to resources. The initial plan came out of the desires of the water board. The water board had a goal with regard to the Azelerbeek, but other actors did not share the problem perception of the water board. The water board itself had a lack of resources to fulfill their aims and was not able to resist the impact from others which had lead to the result that the plan must change. In the current plan are more actors involved in the process. Interests of various actors are integrated within the reconstruction and in the Azelerbeek program. The failure of the initial plan is therefore partly explainable by the fact that the waterboard was the only actor who had a goal with regard to the Azelerbeek. Therefore, the water board was dependent of her own resources and could not rely on other actors. The water board did not

have a strong position and was not able to resist the external pressure. Resources are exchanged in the current policy network, in order to reach the goals. The exchange of resources takes place, because the actors are dependent from other actors in realizing their goals. By pooling the resources are actors more able to perform their activities (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1997). Thereby, in the policy network of the Azelerbeek case do actors feel it as a common interest to realize the goals of the reconstruction. The more actors involved in the process, the more resources can be exchanged, with the condition that actors must be motivated to exchange resources. The more that actors share the same interests, the more willing actors are to exchange resources.

6.3. Conclusion

We already drew conclusions in chapter 4 about the extent to which public and private interests in the rural area are taken into account in rural policy. Thereby, we started also with an investigation in public and private resources as is part of sub question 1. We stated that rural policy and regulations itself can be used as a resource in the interaction process, but that it is also a limiting factor. In chapter 5 and 6 we investigated more deeply which resources are applied in the rural policy process.

The first resource – beside rural policy and regulations mentioned in chapter 4 – is ‘support out of the area’. Inhabitants were able to change the behavior of the water board and consequently the plan changed. We mentioned the red for red regulation also in chapter 4, but we gave attention to it in this chapter because it forms a key regulation in the execution of the Vital Azelo project. The red for red regulation out of the structural context is an opportunity for farmers to develop sideline activities or quit their current activities and forms therefore a second resource. However reconsolidations are linked to the resource ‘support’, it is also a resource by itself. Reconsolidations are necessary in order to realize the red for red regulation. Important resources related to reconsolidations are the owner and user rights of the soils. Twickel has for instance much power to steer the process, because she owns many grounds. Also the WAT-venster is used as a resource. Herein is the vision of three estate owners – Twickel included - defined. This document gives capacity in negotiations, but it can only be used because of the resource owner rights. The WAT-venster can thus be seen as an additional resource that makes the resource owner rights more powerful. By all public bodies is a lack of the resource money perceived. The available money is used as a powerful resource in resource exchanges what is helpful for the execution of projects.

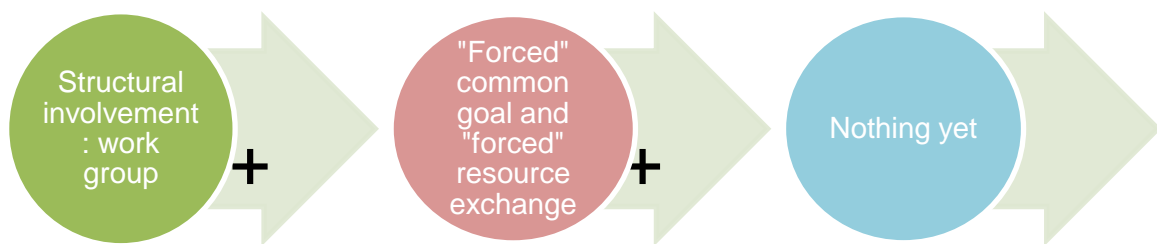
In addition to the answer we gave in chapter 4, we gave attention to sub question two in chapter 5 and 6. We found that two groups can be distinguished with regard to the Vital Azelo project – the only project in the Azelerbeek program whereby the execution has been started. The first group contains strongly involved actors - province, DLG, the involved farmers and municipality Hof van Twente. The second group contains actors who are not or moderately involved - inhabitants and non participating agrarians, municipality of Borne, Waterboard Regge and Dinkel, Stichting Twickel. We explained in line with 4.5 that involvement is firstly related to the objectives of the actors. Secondly, the perception of actors about the necessity of involvement of other actors explains the extent of involvement. The project could be executed, even though the existence of different problem perceptions between the two sub groups. The actors in the second group were less involved, had a lack of knowledge and therefore a lack of capacity to change the characteristics of the actors in the first group.

Thus, shared problem perceptions and involvement are related to each other. Actors are involved in the Azelerbeek case because of the structure – a work group is formed. That workgroup has been subdivided into two groups, because of the actors themselves. It was the farmers who were searching for other resources so that they were able to realize their ideas. This is in line with what we found in chapter 4 referring to the relation of involvement and goals. It is not that involvement necessarily leads to better integration of values and

resources, but it is rather that they go hand in hand. Actors who share more or less the same problem perception are willing to facilitate or exchange resources. The subgroups have been developed because the Azelerbeek program as a whole contains too different problem perceptions. Even though all actors – excluding the inhabitants – see the reconstruction as a goal to realize, interests are more diverse on the local scale. Thus, integrating values and resources is more difficult when the network is characterized by structural involvement with many actors – *the Azelerbeek program* - compared with involvement because actors are networking – *the sub groups*.

The conclusion about the hypothesis for the Azelerbeek case is illustrated below, whereby we distinguished between the whole program and the part that came to execution - Vital Azelo. The reconstruction as a common goal is more or less forced because of the structural involvement (first circle). Therefore, the exchange of resources is also more or less forced (second circle). The Azelerbeek program on the broad scale did not lead to sustainable activities until now. Resources in the Vital Azelo project are exchanged because of shared interests (circle 1, below shown process). Actors are involved on that basis, which leads to sustainable activities. It is because of the shared interests that actors are willing to exchange resources and actors are therefore involved. The relation on the local scale is thus for the first part the reverse compared with what we assumed.

Azelerbeek program – Broad scale



Project Vital Azelo – Local scale

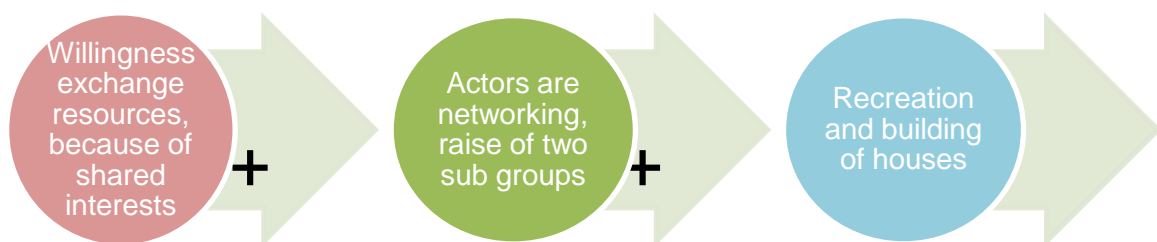


Figure 14: The hypotheses evaluated for the Azelerbeek case.

Note hereby that the circles have different positions (see color). The upper has the form of our stated hypothesis in the beginning. The relation in the vital azelo project is more or less reverse with regard to the first hypothesis.

7. Boven Regge

The problem perception in the Boven Regge case was quite different in the beginning than it was in the Azelerbeek case. There is a difference between the reconstruction and the area developments plan wherein the Boven Regge valley is included. The Boven Regge creek valley is part of the ZEB area (*Zuidermaten-Elsenerbroek-Bullenaarshoek*) which forms the structural context for the developments in the Boven Regge creek valley. To explain this, we will first describe the problem perceptions and interest of the actors.

7.1. Government's problem perception

Also in the Boven Regge case, the law on reconstruction had an influence on the area. However, while the Azelerbeek-case became a pilot project under the reconstruction - because of the objectives - the reconstruction is in the Boven Regge case more seen as a policy to implement rather than it is seen as frame of reference. The problem perceptions of the interviewed actors in the Azelerbeek-area can be summarized as searching for means to realize the reconstruction. Only the inhabitants felt the reconstruction itself as a threat for the area. Before we go in depth and analyze the problem perceptions and interests of the actors in this case, we first describe how the reconstruction intervenes in the Boven Regge area.

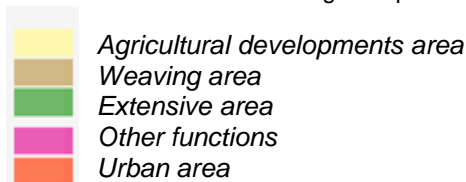
7.2. Reconstruction

Elsenerbroek is situated in the Nord-Westside of Goor and is partly located in an agricultural developments area and partly in a weaving area according to the reconstruction plan. The Regge-zone is defined as a weaving area, with the possibility to create diverse new functions in the west-side of the N347, as shown on figure 15.



Figure 15: The location of the Boven Regge (Provincie Overijssel, 2009).

The location of the Enter - in the middle - and Goor - located in the south - is shown on the map on the left. The N347 is located on the west-side of Enter, the A1 on the south side. The Boven Regge on the eastside of Enter is indicated with an arrow. The right map shows the reconstruction zoning.



7.3. Rural policy

The impact of rural policy in the Boven Regge case is more or less the same as in the Azelerbeek case. The WFD is also in the Boven Regge case an important directive that has an influence on the characteristics of the actors. The focus is also in this case on fulfilling the objectives of WFD. The difference with the Azelerbeek project is that the Ecological Main Structure (EHS) in the Boven Regge case seems to have a greater impact on the interaction process. The impact is on the area around the Boven Regge, rather than the Boven Regge itself. Nature is through the waterboard not seen as a main point with regard to the Boven Regge (H. Gels, interview 19 June 2009). The area around the Boven Regge is indicated as part of the ecological main structure (Provincie Overijssel, 2009b).

The EHS was initially indicated in the north of Elsenerbroek, but that could only be realized if expropriation would be applied (F. Nije Bijvank, interview 8 June 2009). The council of the rural area concluded that expropriation is in very few cases applied for the realization of nature objectives, but application is however more intensively necessary to fulfill the objectives of the EHS. This can be explained with help of certain 'myths' which are identified by the council: the acquisition of grounds should be voluntary based; expropriation is a threat for the agricultural interest; the price of the grounds is influenced by the government; costs to expropriate are too high; other governments should take responsibility; the objectives can also be reached with other grounds; expropriation is problematic ethically (Council of the Rural Area, 2008). These cognitions block the motivation and action to apply expropriation. The province's cognition that expropriation brings high costs with it (F. Nije Bijvank, 8 June 2009), caused the motivation by the province to change the location of the EHS. We do however not know whether other myths had an influence on the motivation for the province not to apply expropriation.

Later on, the EHS should be developed through the neighborhood Elsenerbroek (see figure 17). This is however not desired by the inhabitants and also the municipality Hof van Twente is not positive about this plan (F. Nije Bijvank, 8 June 2009). Also municipality Wierden feels limited by the objectives of the EHS and ecological linkage zone (J. ten Tije, interview 15 June 2009). Not only the undesired location, but also the degree of involvement of the province in the area had lead to negative feelings by the municipality Hof van Twente. Nowadays, the EHS is indicated in the north of Elsenerbroek according the initial plan (see figure 17b). The interests of the Province in the area increased after that the Boven Regge has been identified as an ecological mains structure zone. More support of the province is desired by municipality Hof van Twente (F. Nije Bijvank, interview 8 June 2009) and also the waterboard mentioned that more direction of the province is desired (H. Gels, interview 19 June 2009). The involvement of the province is thus not according the values (*motivation*) of the municipality and waterboard.

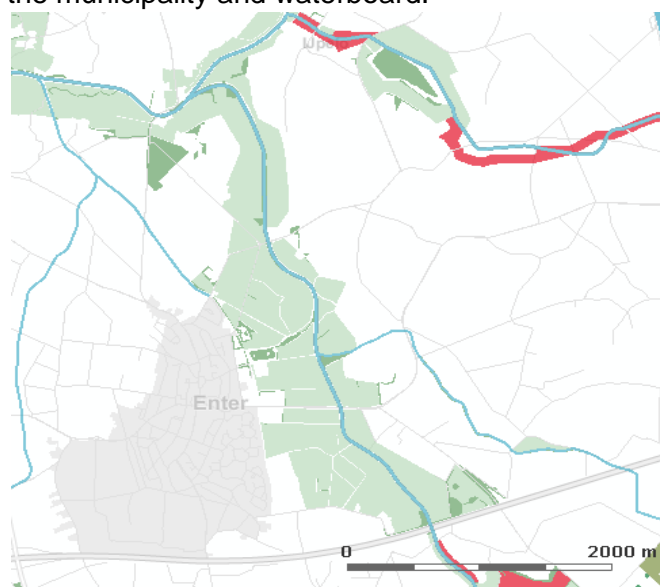


Figure 16: Ecological Main Structure.
The green zone indicates the Ecological Main Structure (Provincie Overijssel, structure vision, 2009).



Figure 17a: Possible location of the ecological main structure →
(Provincie Overijssel, 2009)

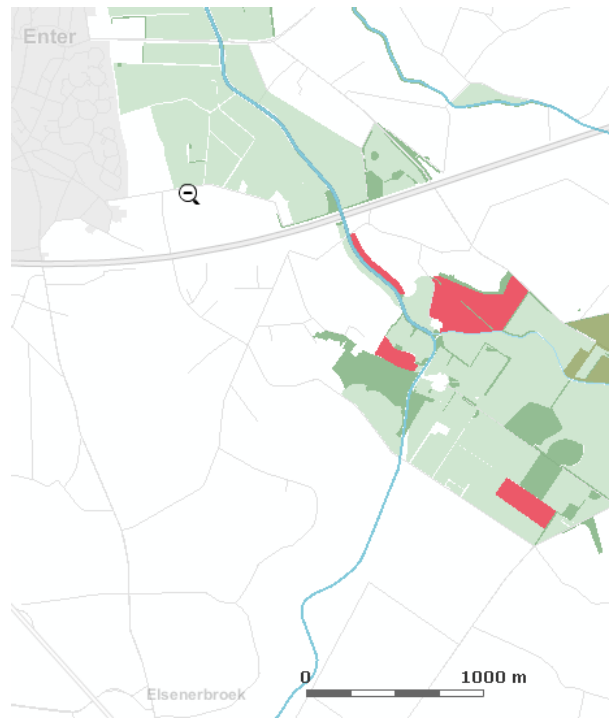


Figure 17b: Location EHS in the north of Elsenerbroek.
(Provincie Overijssel, omgevingsvisie Overijssel, 2009b)

Relation between involvement and status

Ecological Main Structure → Cognition: expropriation too high costs → Change location EHS
 → Negative motivations municipality HvT and inhabitants.
 ↑
 Extent of involvement of the Province decreased.

European policy steers the province to fulfill certain objectives and has therefore an influence on the interaction process. The reconstruction is both perceived as a limitation with regard to the desires of the inhabitants as well as an opportunity for developments in the area. The ecological main structure is perceived as a limitation by the municipality and inhabitants, but that is because of the change in location of the EHS rather than the EHS itself. Nature goals are both by inhabitants and municipality seen as positive (F. Nije Bijvank; R. de Wilde). Also the degree of involvement caused negative perceptions by the municipality Hof van Twente. The interest of the province in the area is dependent from the status of the developments. According the municipality, the involvement of the province decreases when the status of the developments decreases, what is mainly linked to money (F. Nije Bijvank, interview 8 June 2009). The motivations from other actors are thus dependent from the observed way (cognitions) how the province fulfills her objectives.

7.4. Stakeholders

Various public and private parties are involved in the developments in the ZEB-area. Public managers are the Division Rural Area (DLG), Waterboard, Municipalities Wierden and Hof van Twente and Province Overijssel. Private parties are farmers and private individuals who would like to make investments in rural property. Thereby, Stimuland as an independent organization plays a coordinating role in the developments of the area, because they delegated the area manager. The province has also in this case the interest that the policy goals of the reconstruction will be applied.

7.4.1. Policy network

The neighbourhood Elsenerbroek is partly located within the agricultural developments area and weaving area in terms of the Reconstruction Law. Signals came out of the area with regard to the situation about social cohesion and economic support. A group of inhabitants from Elsenerbroek started an initiative group containing eight inhabitants. The municipality Hof van Twente facilitates and leads the process. Stimuland is appointed as confidant and has supporting tasks with regard to reporting and supervising processes. This cooperation had resulted in a project proposal, for identifying and analysing the problems in the area. The proposal was submitted to the province and is financed through contributions from both the province and municipality Hof van Twente. Municipality Hof van Twente and the initiative group had sent a questionnaire to the inhabitants of Elsenerbroek to gain a first overview of the perceived problems. The response was very high, namely 95 %. In addition to this, conversations with seventeen inhabitants were held and feedback was given (Gemeente Hof van Twente, 2004). The interests of the inhabitants were thus taken into account from the beginning.

This policy network has been formed because of the initiative that the inhabitants took, rather than it was composed on institutional base as was more or less the case with the policy network of the Azelerbeek case. The wider contextual layers had a greater influence on the development of the policy network in the Azelerbeek-case than on the network in the Boven Regge case. However agency and structure are interrelated, the development of the policy network was in the Azelerbeek case more structure related rather than agency related as was the case in the Boven Regge area.

We can identify the policy network in the Boven Regge case as a policy community, because of the more or less shared values in the beginning. The problems with regard to social cohesion and economic support were shared by the inhabitants and also municipality Hof van Twente and the Province. The municipality and province were able to facilitate the initiative and could thus provide the necessary resources. There was a symbiotic resource dependency in terms of Fenger and Klok (2001, p. 162), but also a symbiotic outcome dependency, because both inhabitants as well as government gain benefit by resource exchange (acceptance and money) and by the outcomes of the initiative. Because of the high consensus, it was relatively easy to develop policy.

Around the initiative group, there is also a work group formed with a focus on cooperation between the area's Zuidermaten, Elsenerbroek, Bullenaarshoek (ZEB). This work group contains a representative of the province, municipalities Wierden and Hof van Twente, Division Rural Area (DLG), the waterboard and an estate owner of a wetland in the middle of the area. The objective of the workgroup is to develop the ZEB-area to a vital and springy area. The initiative group is represented by the area manager of the Boven Regge-area. It is interesting to see the differences in involvement within the ZEB-area. Where the process in Elsenerbroek has been started from out the initiative of the inhabitants, the involvement of the inhabitants in Zuidermaten and Bullenaarshoek within the municipality Wierden was quite low until now. In the past, the relation between municipality Wierden and inhabitants and private individuals was one to one. There was a lack of information about developments among the inhabitants. Therefore, developments in the area could not count on support. Because of a lack of information (*capacity and power*) among the inhabitants, they were not *motivated* to support the developments. It was also because of incorporation of the Ecological Main Structure and robust ecological linkage zone into spatial developments plans that caused negative feelings among inhabitants and private individuals (J. ten Tije, interview 15 June 2009). We do not know whether the forming of the interest group – which contains inhabitants - in Wierden will lead to more support for developments in the area since the group has been formed only a few weeks ago – in May/June 2009.

We can distinguish between two groups in the Boven Regge case, whereby the reconstruction influences the characteristics of the groups. Compared with the initial policy network containing inhabitants, municipality and province (group 1), the forming of group 2 – containing the other actors of the ZEB-area - caused a broader policy network. The whole policy network in the Boven Regge case had been shifted towards the issue network pole. More values and interests were entering the policy network with more open access.

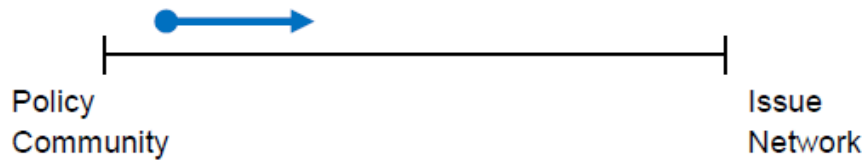


Figure 18: Shift towards issue network pole

Now we will investigate the characteristics of the actors in the two groups. We decided not to interview the province for this case by telephone. The way the province participates in the area developments is more or less the same for the area developments, because of the objectives which are defined in policy documents. Thereby, the focus of the province in the Boven Regge case lies on the reconstruction zoning and the province is not that much involved by the reconstruction of the Boven Regge (Province Overijssel, Telephone conversation, 9 June 2009). We expected therefore that an interview would not add something to what we already know and that we could generalize the general outcomes of the interview with regard to the Azelerbeek case to the Boven Regge case. We expected also to gain enough information for the Boven Regge case on the base of the interview with DLG in the Azelerbeek-case.

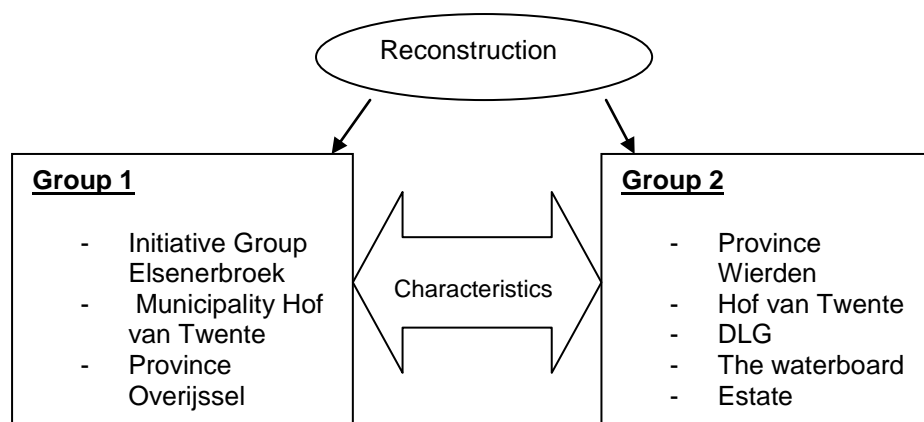


Figure 19: Sub groups in the Boven Regge case.

Initiative group Elsenerbroek

A brainstorm with a delegation of inhabitants and the municipality about the perspective of Elsenerbroek had lead to an impression of the problem perception of the inhabitants. The first problem is ageing with related problems as high living costs, draw away of youth, arise of a generation gap, continuing school is in danger. Secondly, rules cause limitations. An example are the rules for hobby farmers and also insufficient possibilities for involvement in indirect landscape management. Thirdly, safety of roads is insufficient. The fourth problem is the insufficient development possibilities for agriculture, because of high prices of soil, inefficient forms of land, little lands and poor sort of the soil. Fifthly, many farmers continue without any perspective. Farms are broken down and there are several farms which are not used because of poor maintenance. The sixth problem is the decrease in demand for soil and lack of new initiatives (Gemeente Hof van Twente, 2004).

Province

The area is characterized by old typical farms and the soil is of a little scaled structure, because land consolidation was tied up in the sixties. Therefore, there are limitations for agricultural farms with regard to possibilities for extension. The reconstruction contributes to the enhancement of the area with its instruments. There are possibilities for developments in the area like enhancing the function of living, water and landscape management. Thereby, also developments for recreation, the use of cultural heritage therein and the location of the Regge, but also extensive agriculture are possibilities for creating developments in a weaving area (Gemeente Hof van Twente, 2004). The province has an interest in the area with regard to the Ecological Main structure (EHS). The Boven Regge is indicated as Ecological Main Structure zone (Provincie Overijssel, 2009b).

Waterboard Regge & Dinkel

The waterboard has the aim to reconstruct the Regge and thereby improving the drainage in the north of Goor. The acquisition of grounds is necessary for the waterboard, so that there is the ability to hold water and water retention possibilities can be created. Also ecological banks are objectives in accordance to the WFD. Beside the WFD, the WB21 is leading for the water board (H. Gels, interview 19 June 2009). The waterboard Regge & Dinkel would like to make use of lower parts of the area for water retention (and to prevent for water floods in Goor). The aim to develop a dynamic and flexible creek system is in accordance with the WB21 (Waterschap Regge & Dinkel, 2009) and is an objective of the reconstruction plan Salland Twente (Eelerwoude, 2006).

Municipality Hof van Twente

The municipality Hof van Twente facilitates and leads the process. The problem perception of the municipality is that the area has a poor land consolidation situation and that agriculture is dependent of the type of soil. The social-economic structure is therefore less well. Also the composition of the inhabitants does not have perspective for the future, because of many elder people. Not many elder people are motivated to change their activities and younger people prefer to live in another area. The landscape is in danger of poverty and that process has to be turned. The interest of the municipality is to develop a vital landscape with regard to living and working (F. Nije Bijvank, interview 8 June 2009). The reconstruction forms the frame of reference for the municipality Hof van Twente and is leading for developments in the landscape. Developments with regard to agriculture, recreation, water management and rural living are dependent from the zoning of the reconstruction (Ministry of Agriculture Nature and Food Quality, 2003). It is however more formally the case that the reconstruction forms the frame of reference. The municipality Hof van Twente perceives the reconstruction goals more as an obligation to fulfill, however she acknowledge that the reconstruction provides opportunities for certain developments. The municipality forms a connection between the reconstruction and the desires of the inhabitants. Searching for locations for livestock farms is for instance not in the interest of the community, but is necessary. Both reconstruction as well as desires of the inhabitants is thus the frame of reference of the municipality.

Municipality Wierden

In the first instance, the municipality of Wierden does not see a problem. There are however various desires of various actors. Desires and plans have to be combined for reaching profits. The part within the Wierden area was not organized with regard to the developments plan of the ZEB-area. The process has however now been started with the raise of an interest group. The municipality has interests in handling crime, providing possibilities for recreation, safety and economic structure. In addition to her own goals, there are also the goals from the province – the Ecological Main Structure – and the Waterboard with the WB21 and WFD (J. ten Tije, interview 15 June 2009).

Dienst Landelijk Gebied

In the past, the government acquired grounds on the base of legislative exchange of lands. However, these processes were expensive and it took too much time. Therefore the exchange of lands is nowadays on a voluntary basis. DLG has an instrument (resource) with the BBL-grounds to acquire the desired grounds, so that the reconstruction goals can be reached. The office for management of agricultural soils (BBL) is part of Dienst Landelijk Gebied. DLG is executor of the project and plays an important role in the acquisition of grounds (W. Pasman, interview 23 June 2009).

Farmers

The problem perception of the farmers on the whole area is that the area around the Boven Regge fell outside the area where land consolidations had taken place in the past. Therefore, it is seen as important to combine agriculture and tourism, so that the value of the area can be maintained or enhanced (R. de Wilde, interview 11 June 2009). The interests of the farmers themselves are that they are able to continue with their farms and that the area is livable and attractive. The value of the landscape is named as starting point for the developments in the area.

7.5. Coherence of the network

We define the degree of interconnectedness and cohesion for the Boven Regge case in this section, as we did for the Azelerbeek case in 4.5. Meetings within the project-group are held two times per month. Actors have also in this case other contact beside these meetings. Beside the contacts with the actors in the policy network, the waterboard named also LTO and terrain managers as organizations with whom she has contact with regard to the area developments around the Boven Regge. Farmers named also LTO as actor, but they felt not represented by this body. Farmers perceive a contrast in interests. LTO see the agricultural development zone as a positive development, but farmers perceive the indication as a threat (R. de Wilde, interview 11 June 2009).

7.5.1. Interconnectedness

The interconnectedness can be defined as 'strong', because of the frequent meetings with the project-group – two times per month. The interconnectedness is however not proportionally divided. Beside the project meetings there is a central actor with whom most of the actors have most contact compared with the other actors in the project group. The municipality Hof van Twente is through three out of four (excluding the municipality itself) interviewed actors mentioned as the actor with whom the actors have the most contact. The perception of the municipality Hof van Twente that she is like 'a spider in the web' (F. Nije Bijvank, interview 8 June 2009) holds with regard to the intensity of the contact. This spider-position is also shown in figure 20. Note however that the province and DLG were not interviewed, so their perception about the intensity of the contact is not taken into account.

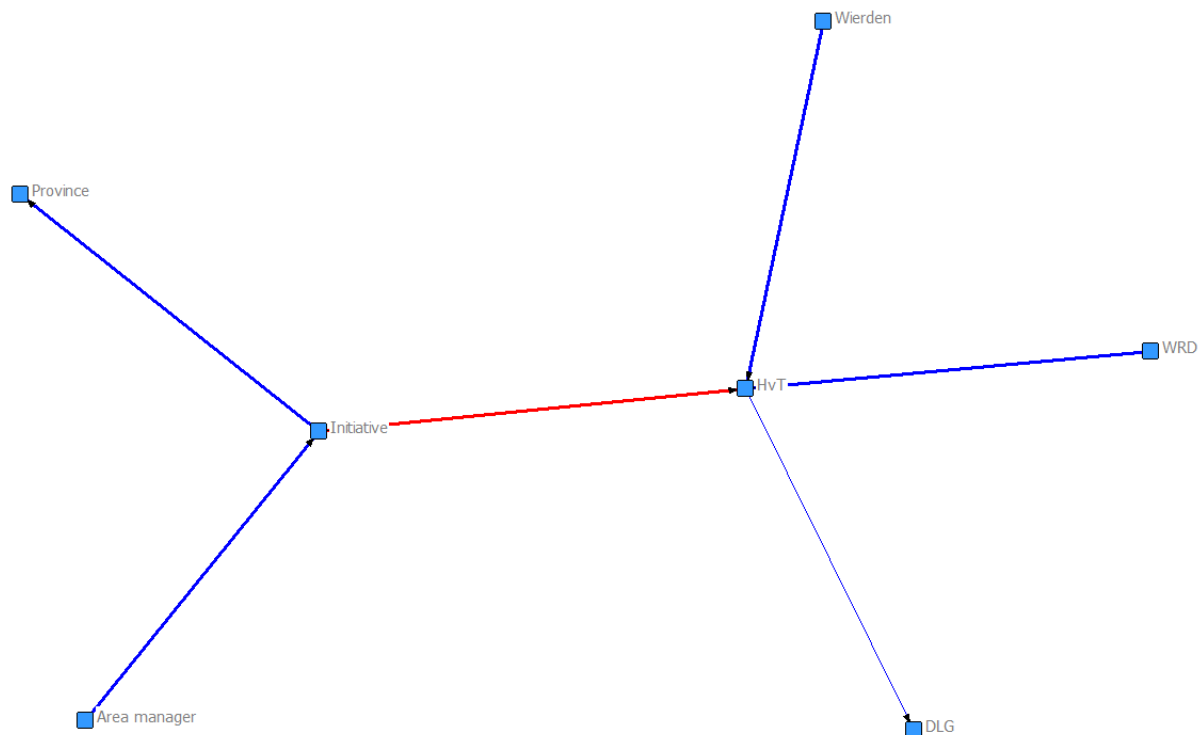


Figure 20: Intensity of the contact Boven Regge.

The thick lines indicate that the actor is perceived as a most-contact actor whereby the red line is reciprocal and the blue lines are non-reciprocal. The province and DLG were however not interviewed in this case, so their perceptions could not be included in this figure. The thin lines indicates that the person is perceived as a less-contact actor. The intensity of the contact is valued as more or less the same compared with other actors, if there exists no tie between two actors.

Collaboration

The collaboration with municipality Hof van Twente is valued as 'productive' by all actors, except from the municipality of Wierden, which values the contact with regard to the goals as 'moderate productive'. The municipality of Wierden has the cognition that it is sometimes more productive to have direct contact with an actor. The municipality Hof van Twente is mainly focused on the process of the area developments according the perception of municipality Wierden, but the content is seen as more important by the municipality of Wierden. It is therefore better in some cases to have contact with the area manager or the direct involved actors (J. ten Tije, interview 15 June 2009). The evaluation of the municipality Wierden is the only exception whereby the value differs from 'productive' with regard to the relation between the value of collaboration and most-contact actor. We can attribute that to the tasks of the organization, referring to the explaining factors of the intensity of the contact in the Azelerbeek-case (see 4.5.1.). Because of the fact that both organizations are municipalities they have more or less the same resources and tasks. The municipality Wierden is however more dependent than municipality Hof van Twente with regard to area developments. Developments in Wierden must namely be in accordance with the plans of Enter, while Hof van Twente can more independently decide about developments (J. ten Tije, interview 15 June 2009).

	Initiatie/ farmers	Water board	HvT	Wierden	Area manager	DLG	Province	LTO	Terrain- manager
Initiative/ Farmers			4				4	2	
Waterboard			3					2	3
Hof van Twente	4					4	2		
Wierden	4		3		4				
Area manager	4								

Table 3: Intensity of contact and value of collaboration with regard to the goals compared.

Green: more contact with the actor, compared with other actors.

Red: less contact with the actor, compared with other actors.

White: contact with that actor is more or less the same as for other actors, except from the coloured boxes.

The collaboration with regard to the goals is valued on a scale from 1 to 5 (very unproductive-very productive).

A surprising result is the difference between the value appointed to the province by the municipality Hof van Twente and the farmers/initiative group. Hof van Twente values the contact with the province as 'not productive' (2 on a scale from 1-5) (F. Nije Bijvank, interview 8 June 2009), but the interviewed farmer who is also member of the initiative group values the contact with the province as 'productive' (4) (R. de Wilde, interview 16 June 2009). More support from the province is desired by the municipality Hof van Twente. Thereby, the approach from the province with regard to the processes is not according to the perception of the municipality about how the process should work. The municipality tries to motivate and convince the province that she could better cooperate so that the approach becomes more made-to-measure¹⁰. The municipality is aware of her resource 'knowledge', which is used in the process of persuasion towards the province. The municipality has the perception (cognition) that the initiative group brings the goals together (F. Nije Bijvank). The initiative group forms a connection between municipality and province with regard to intensity of the contact (see figure 20). The municipality Hof van Twente and province have also contact outside the workgroup, but it shows that the initiative group has with both province and municipality most contact with the same value of collaboration. Therefore, it is not the desires which cause intensity and value of collaboration, but it is the approach how organizations work.

An important resource hereby is information. Cognitions are interpretations of reality held to be true. Those interpretations are influenced by filters, frames and interactions with other actors (Bressers, 2009). The same information can thus be interpreted different among different actors. Understanding of each other's goals is in this case is an important base for the acceptance of each other's values. This is however not the case between the province and Hof van Twente. Hof van Twente has the perception that she should be the broker between province and inhabitants and farmers, but the inhabitants and farmers have more or less the same intensity of contact with province as with the municipality (F. Nije Bijvank; R. de Wilde). The municipality has however more information about the area, because of the area manager who knows the desires of the inhabitants and private individuals. There is thus a gap between the municipality and province about the perception of the tasks. And so we can speak of a wide sectoral boundary judgment. The boundary judgment seems to be too

¹⁰ With made-to-measure is meant that tasks are adapted to the specific situation (in Dutch: maatwerk).

flexible with regard to the interpretations (*cognitions*) of the municipality which might frustrate joint action. More consensus about the tasks of both governmental bodies might therefore be efficient for the working of the development processes.

We can explain that the initiative group values the collaboration with regard to the goals as 'productive', because of her knowledge about the goals and the approach of the governmental bodies. However the reconstruction is not seen as positive by the farmers and inhabitants, the province provides also possibilities. The cognition is that the reconstruction is pulled through, but farmers are aware that the province has the obligation to execute the reconstruction (R. de Wilde, interview 8 June 2009). Legitimacy is here used as a resource for applying the reconstruction. The reconstruction is at the national level a democratically decided instrument, but on lower levels rather perceived as technocratic. The reconstruction is according the values of the actors on national level. There is output-legitimacy in terms of Scharpf (1999), because there is government for the people. Input-legitimacy is however more or less absent, because the will of the people is not reflected in the political choice to apply the reconstruction. There is thus a difference in frame of reference (*cognitions*) about the legitimacy of the applied reconstruction.

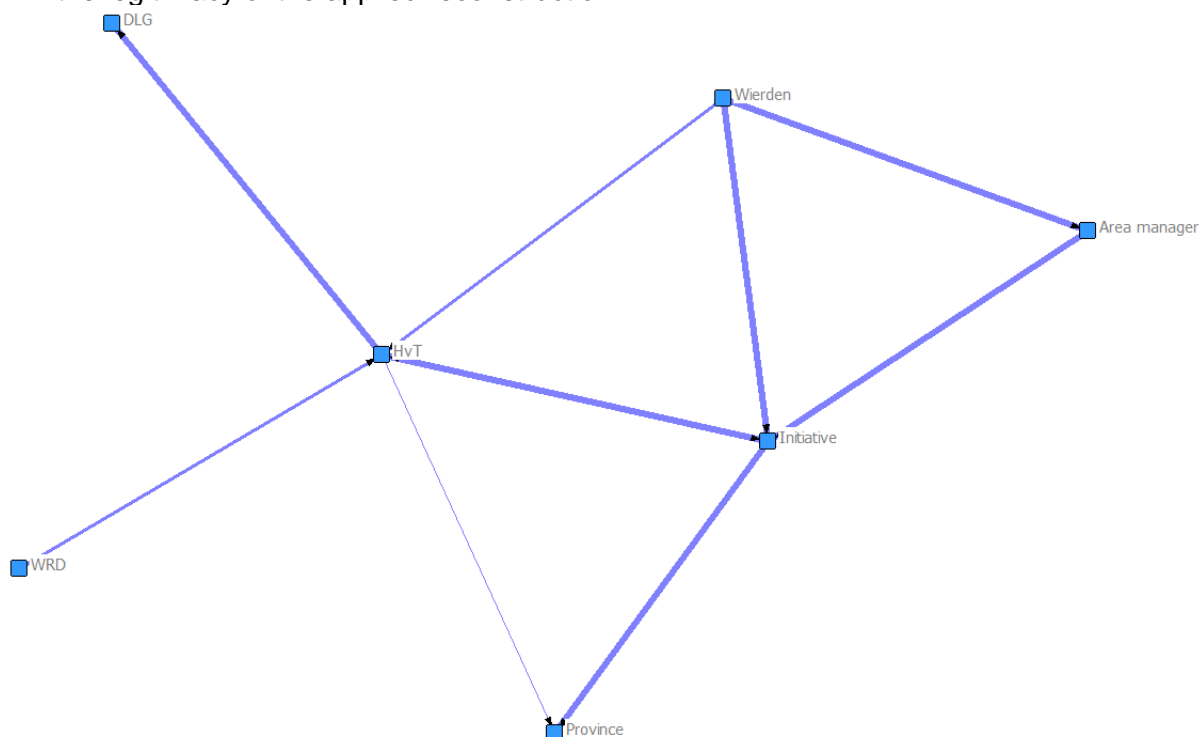


Figure 21: Value of collaboration with regard to the goals.

The thickness of the lines indicates whether the actor perceived the collaboration as 'productive' (the thick lines) or 'moderate productive' (the thin lines). No tie means that collaboration is not valued between those actors, because our focus is on the extremes most and less-contact actors. Note however that DLG and Province are not interviewed in the Boven Regge case.

7.5.2. Cohesion

The involved actors in this case are less focused on the reconstruction compared with the actors in the Azelerbeek-case. The actors in the Boven-Regge case take their own objectives and problem perception as frame of reference, rather than that they perceive their goals as part of the reconstruction. Important to mention here is that the nature of participation plays a role. The participation is more institutionalized in the Azelerbeek plan than in the Boven-Regge case. Actors in the Azelerbeek-case are involved through an area-commission and/or a workgroup, so that the objectives of the reconstruction can be realized. The bottom-up approach in the Boven Regge case explains why the problem perceptions of the actors stand more or less alongside the reconstruction plan, rather than that the desired developments are seen in coherence with the reconstruction plan. Where in the Azelerbeek

case the wider context is taken as frame of reference, in the Boven-Regge case is it more the specific context taken as starting point. The initiative started from out of the problem perceptions of the area itself and on that basis a policy network has been formed.

The cohesion can be valued as moderately towards strong. The perception of a poor social cohesion and poor economic development possibilities formed the starting point. Around this problem perception are other problem perceptions which are more or less related to the initial perception. Actors are willing to deliberate about the goals, because the process in the area is about common interests according to the observation (cognition) of the municipality Hof van Twente (F. Nije Bijvank, interview 8 June 2009). It is therefore relatively easy to take up an integral approach with the values agriculture; water; nature, landscape and culture; social vitality; economy, recreation and tourism. The goals of the municipality Hof van Twente, but also those from municipality Wierden corresponds for a great part to the goals of the initiative group and inhabitants (J. ten Tije, interview 15 June 2009). The reconstruction and especially the zoning of the reconstruction is not perceived as a positive development by the farmers. However, the farmers and also the inhabitants perceive that their interests are nowadays taken into account by the province as a result of the action to present their opinion to institutional bodies (R. de Wilde, interview 16 June 2009). An important resource is that the initiative group was able to form a group and present a common view to the governmental bodies. The initiative group has the feeling (cognition) that the government listens if you present your point of view as a group. Municipality Hof van Twente and the area manager himself perceive (cognition) that the area manager can contribute to bringing interests and values together (F. Nije Bijvank; W. Pasman).

The waterboard mentioned the dependency of the interests. The waterboard is in some cases involved in the early process, but is in other cases not involved at all. With regard to the developments around the Boven Regge and Elsenerbroek is the cooperation with regard to the goals perceived as good. In other cases is the economic interest of the municipality and province not according the goals of the waterboard. An example related to our case study area is the development around the twente-canal. The recreation possibilities that should be developed are not positive for the water system and are especially perceived as a sticking point because many water courses are connected to this canal. The province should take the interest with regard to water retention possibilities into spatial planning documents, but that forms a sensitive point (H. Gels, interview 19 June 2009). Therefore, conflicting interests and involvement are negatively related to each other in this example. That is also the case with regard to the changing status of the Regge. The province was less involved in the period that the Regge was not identified as EHS (2004-2005) (F. Nije Bijvank, interview 8 June 2009). The extent of involvement is dependent from where priority is set. The relation between involvement and goals and interests is also mentioned in 4.5.1 in the Azelerbeek case.

The interconnectedness and cohesion are not proportionally divided within this policy network. The network is divided in two sub groups, whereby the area manager forms a link with the municipality Hof van Twente between the inhabitants and the other actors. This function as a broker can form an important resource in negotiations. The municipality has knowledge about the area and can also count on support from the area. Like we just mentioned, a sticking point is that the tasks of the province and Hof van Twente are not precisely defined or perceived as defined, or – at least - the organisations do not limit themselves to work only in accordance with their tasks, but take a broader perspective. The problem perceptions and interests of the different stakeholders are summarized in table 4.

	Problem	Interests
Inhabitants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ageing - Limitations by rules - Insufficient safety of roads - Insufficient agricultural development possibilities - Landscape in danger of decay - Decrease in demand for soil and lack of new initiatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Liveable area for living & working
Hof van Twente	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Poverty of the landscape - Poor future perspective (many elder people) - Poor social-economic structure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Vital landscape with regard to living and working
Wierden	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No problem, but obligations - Desires must be combined 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Handling crime, providing possibilities for recreation, safety and economic structure
Initiative group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited developments possibilities agriculture - Poor social cohesion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Enhance social cohesion and gain economic support.
Dienst landelijk gebied	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Swine fever: Reconstruction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Acquire grounds
Province	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Swine fever: Reconstruction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Policy goals of the reconstruction
Waterboard	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Droughts and floods - Acquisition of soils for reconstruction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Well functioning water system - Fulfill WFD - Fulfill WB21
Stimuland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reconstruction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Coordinate desires of the area - Combining functions
Farmers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Value of landscape: Poor land consolidation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Continuing firm - Liveable area

Table 4: Problem perceptions and interests in the Boven Regge case.

The problem perceptions are less focused on swine fever and the reconstruction as means to handle the problem compared with those in the Azelerbeek-case. The reconstruction forms the frame of reference for the Province, DLG and Stimuland (the area manager). The other actors are more focused on poor economic and social perspective of the area. Most conflicting is that the area should be attractive for working and living. Agricultural activities could limit living, but also the other way around referring to circles of smell and developing recreation possibilities and nature for an attractive landscape. It is however that almost all actors have more than one interest. Actors have an interest in more goals and adaptation between goals, so it is relatively easy to combine functions. The waterboard has a strong focus on water goals, while other actors have a more broad perspective. It is however that water goals itself can contribute to other goals, but limit also other activities.

7.6. Conclusion

With help of the analysis in this chapter, we can formulate an answer on the first stated sub question for the Boven-Regge case: *What are public and private interests and resources in the rural area and to what extent are they taken into account in rural policy?* The same

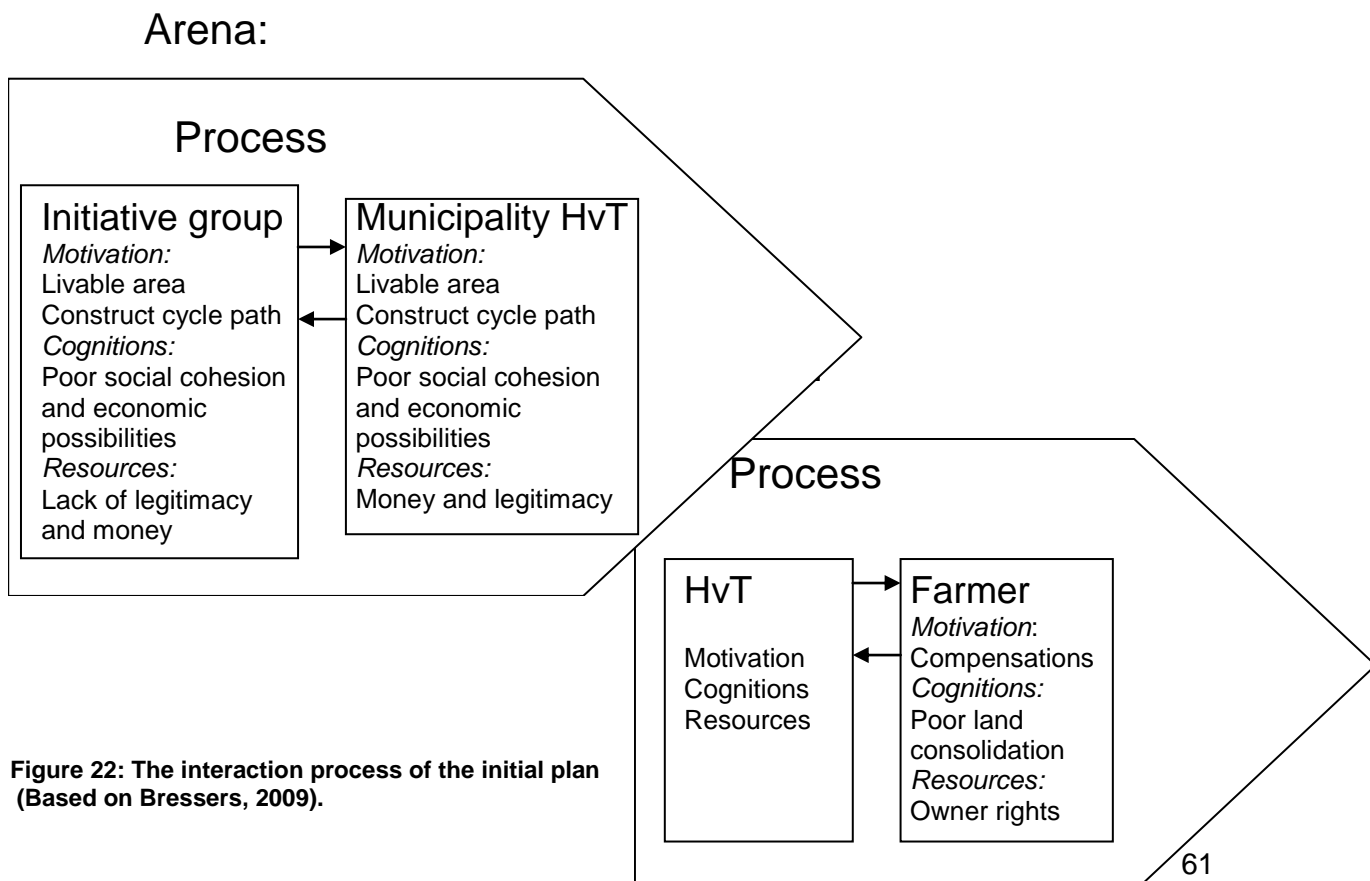
documents that we have described for the Azelerbeek case have an influence on the interaction process in the Boven Regge case. It is however that the focus in this case lies more on nature policy compared with the Azelerbeek case. We explained this through the changing policies and location of the EHS, which caused negative perceptions by both municipality Hof van Twente as well as inhabitants. Also the reconstruction is less taken as a starting point compared with the Azelerbeek-case. The starting point of the developments came out of the area itself in the Boven Regge case and started with more goals, so that many actors were involved and had an interest in the developments from the beginning. The reconstruction goals were later on included in the developments of the area, but the various goals were already in the area. The WFD and WB21 play more or less the same role and have the same influence on both cases, especially with regard to the water board itself. The focus came to lie - and still lies – on the WFD, because of the commitment to reach the stated water objectives. The WFD is also in this case used as a resource through the water board to act, the WFD steers but also forces the water board to focus on fulfilling certain objectives. Knowledge is an important resource in so far that it can result in understanding of each other's goals and therefore in respecting each other's values as was the case with the reconstruction goals of the province and in contrast to that the interests of the inhabitants. Involvement in the form of a group is a resource itself. Presenting a common view to governmental bodies is a resource in negotiations between inhabitants and government. We will describe other resources in the following chapters.

Thereby, this chapter gave an answer on the second sub question: *To what extent are public and private stakeholders involved in the rural policy process in the Boven Regge case?* The policy network could initially be typified as a policy community, but shifted towards the issue network pole. Inhabitants and farmers in municipality Hof van Twente are represented in an initiative group and a process to form an interest group containing inhabitants and private individuals is starting in Wierden. Around that, also governmental institutions are involved in the process and are focused on developments in the area Zuidermaten-Elsenerbroek-Bullenaarshoek. The network as a whole is less coherent than the two subgroups that we defined which is related to amount of actors involved and the inclusion of more goals in the plan. An important outcome in this chapter which is also proved for the Azelerbeek-case is that the involvement is related to the interests and goals of the actors. Less involvement may consequently cause negative perceptions by other actors, as was the case by the municipality Hof van Twente as a result of the change in goals and therefore in the involvement of the province.

8. The initial plan

The initial plan has been started with the forming of the initiative group Elsenerbroek. Her perception was that there were problems in the area with regard to social cohesion and economic possibilities and there was a demand for recreation possibilities (Province Overijssel, April 2009). However the idea came out of the area, other inhabitants were skeptical about the initiative group (F. Nije Bijvank, interview 8 June 2009). The initiative group had the cognition that she must execute something, because she thought that it would contribute to less skepticism. Therefore, the group was motivated to construct a foot –and cycle path through the Boven-Regge area as an impulse for the livability of the area. However, the initiative group had a lack of resources to develop such a path and went therefore to the municipality Hof van Twente. The municipality was willing and able to facilitate the project. Also the province facilitated the project in the form of money. A foot – and cycle path was in coherence with the aim of the municipality to create a vital landscape and formed therefore the motivation to take up the project. Apart from money, the municipality has also the legitimacy to execute or delegate certain projects. The cycle path as a sustainable activity could be realized with those resources and the support of the initiative group out of the area.

The vision of the inhabitants about the initiative group changed after the cycle-path and picnic facilities in the area had been realized. The inhabitants perceive that the initiative group is able to develop activities in the area (cognition). The acquisition of grounds from agrarians was necessary for realizing the cycle-path. Farmers have with their owner rights the power to ask for compensations if a part of their land is used for recreation. The compensations form the motivation to participate in the exchange of lands. An example is that a farmer received another piece of land, because of the lost piece of land as a consequence of the path. Thereby, the farmer is now able to drive with his tractor between his pieces of lands. This additional benefit is the consequence of the constructed bridge over the Schipbeek (linking to the Boven Regge), so that cyclers can cycle through the area (W. Pasman, interview 23 June 2009). Economic activities and recreation are combined in this way. The process is shown in the below figure.



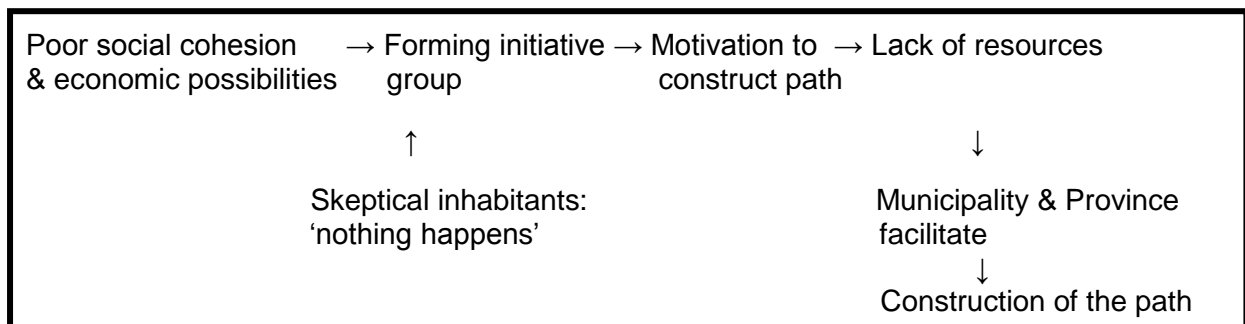
9. The current plan

The foot and cycle path through the Boven Regge area has been constructed, because of the initiators. That initial plan caused a change in the cognitions of the inhabitants, because they perceive the initiative group as adequate for realizing developments. Thereby, other developments in the area had taken place.

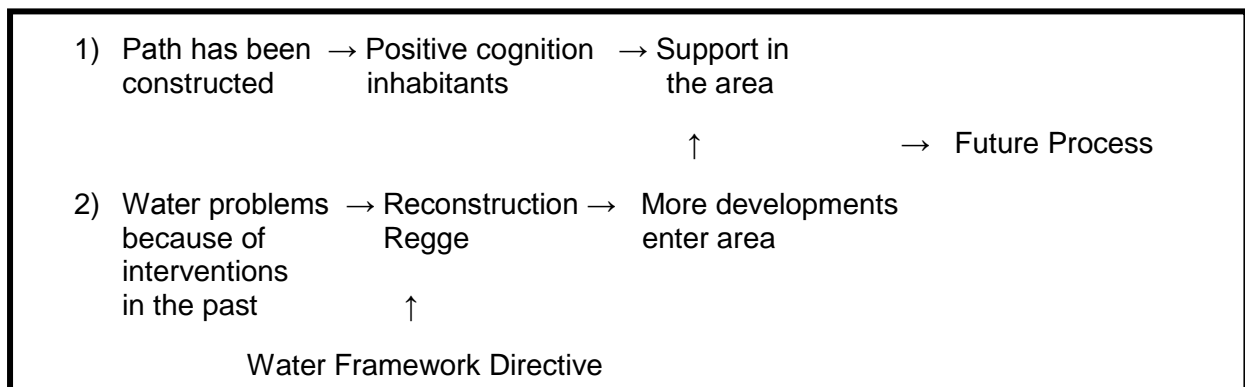
9.1. Developments

The inhabitants became less skeptical about the initiative group, because they saw that the initiators were able to realize certain projects. After the development of the path, the reconstruction of the Regge became part of the developments in the area. The waterboard has been started with certain reconstruction projects of the Regge, because of earlier interventions. Meanders had disappeared, because the Regge had been canalized in the 19th – 20th century. Hence, there was not enough room for natural processes and floods took frequently place. Drainage problems will be reduced through the reconstruction – meandering - of the Regge. The Regge is therefore able to become a robust linkage within the Ecological Main Structure of Overijssel (Waterboard Regge & Dinkel, 2007). With regard to the Boven Regge, the water could be drained very fast because of the deep profile of the river. Hence, this had lead to droughts and insufficient room for nature development. Thereby, the barrages hindered the migration of fish (Provincie Overijssel, april 2009). The water framework directive played an important role in the motivation to reconstruct the Boven Regge. The focus will lie on the WFD in the coming years, because of the obligation to make the water bodies WFD-proof before 2027 (H. Gels, interview 19 June 2009; Waterschap Regge & Dinkel, 2007). Agriculture and recreation are the main points with regard to the developments of the Boven Regge. Nature is not seen as a key point, but is taken into account by the water board (H. Gels, interview 19 June 2009).

Initial situation



Current situation



9.2. Resource dependency

The initiative group was dependent from the municipality Hof van Twente to construct the foot –and cycle path. The plan could be executed, because the municipality and also the Province were willing to provide resources. Their motivation was based on their problem perceptions and interests in the area. Beside money as a necessary resource to execute the project, it was also the legitimacy to construct a path upon which the initiators were dependent. It was however not that easy to develop the path on the base of the resources money, legitimacy and also the support from the initiative group. The execution of the plan was in this case highly dependent from the user and owner rights. Reconsolidation was necessary for realizing the initial plan.

9.2.1. The process of reconsolidation

The path is situated through a piece of land from one individual farmer (W. Pasman, interview 23 June 2009) and therefore negotiations were only necessary between the municipality and one farmer. The reconstruction of the Regge requires involvement of more farmers, because of the larger scale of the developments. In the past, reconsolidations had taken place on legislative base. However, the application of this instrument in practice meant that only a few involved actors must be forced. The reconsolidations had mainly taken place on more or less 'voluntary base' after considerations with the involved actors (Provincies, Dienst Landelijk Gebied, Kadaster 2006). We can explain actors' willingness and motivation to participate in reconsolidations with help of the resource of the government. Owners of the lands thought that they could better participate with the reconsolidations, because they knew that the government had the power to force them and they could be worse off if the legal instrument is applied (cognition). Therefore actors weigh the disadvantages of voluntary participation against those of forced participation. The government influenced the characteristics of the other actors with its legal instrument.

The process changed to reconsolidations on voluntary and project base, because of the perception that the processes took a very long time and brought high costs with it (W. Pasman, interview 23 June 2009). The province and the state decided also that developments in the rural area must become more the responsibility of the province rather than of the state. Nowadays, developments are in accordance with the reconstruction plan. The reconstruction plan will be executed with help of three instruments. Firstly, acquisition of grounds on voluntary base linked to financial incentives for cutting out activities, switch to other activities or moving of the firm. Secondly, reconsolidation and - thirdly – expropriation (Municipality Hof van Twente, 2009). The reconsolidation of the lands is regulated in the WILG (Rural Planning Act) (Interprovinciaal overleg, Dienst Landelijk Gebied, Kadaster, 2008). The meandering of the Boven Regge is dependent from the exchange of lands. The consequence of the unwillingness of a farmer to cooperate is that the Regge is partly not able to meander. The government has the power and capacity to apply expropriation in the extreme case, but that is not desired (motivation) because support for developments is seen as important in such processes (W. Pasman, interview 23 June 2009).

Farmers are only willing to cooperate if the developments are in accordance with their desires (motivation) or, at least, they must have the perception that the process will not lead to unacceptable damages (cognition). As we saw in the initial process, the farmer was motivated to take part in the reconsolidations because he was better off if he took part than if he did not. It is thus necessary for the government that she is able to create benefits for the farmer, or at least the farmer might not be disadvantaged.

An important resource of the government is the ownership of so called BBL-soils, such soils are acquired by the Management Office of Agricultural Grounds (BBL) – a division of DLG. The owner rights of the BBL-grounds are a means that the government can apply as a resource in negotiations. The process starts with an investigation of the desires of the agrarians. Reconsolidation plans are developed on the base of consultations with agrarians.

Developed plans are presented to 'the commission of reconsolidations Diepenheim' which contains three agrarians. The commission reconsolidations Diepenheim has been appointed through the area-commission (Hof van Twente, 2009). The government can count on acceptance from the area if the commission is positive about a proposed plan, because of the trust in the commission that the agrarians and inhabitants have (W. Pasman, interview 23 June 2009). The possibility to execute the plan is dependent from the judgment of the commission, because of the voluntary base. There is thus not a judicial sphere with regard to the reconsolidations and the process is less bureaucratic than before. The process works well, because of the voluntary character in combination with the positive approach to start with an investigation with the desires of the inhabitants.

The knowledge about the desires of the actors is used as a resource by the government. A construction of a cycle path is for instance in farmers' interest if he will quit with his agricultural activities and will start a bed and breakfast. The government can thus anticipate on the desires of the farmer and in this way realizing developments. The municipality and the area-manager are both aware of this resource (F. Nije Bijvank; W. Pasman). Municipality Hof van Twente perceives the collaboration with the province with regard to the goals as moderate. The municipality is dependent on the acceptance of the province with regard to the process and the content of the area. The province is positive about the plan-based exchange of lands, but has also her own goals to search for places where intensive livestock farms fit in. The municipality tries to point out that she has knowledge of the area, and that she must seek cooperatively for room for intensive livestock farms in accordance to the local situation (F. Nije Bijvank, interview 8 June 2009). Intensive livestock farms can be located in agricultural developments zones (LOG), but there are certain conditions. Existing rights as houses and spatial quality of the area must for instance be maintained. Therefore, the province poses some pressure on the municipality and stated the condition that she must acquire a location for intensive livestock farms. Stated objectives, time and space are thus factors that force actors to pose pressure.

Thereby, there are also the desires of the rural estates which have an interest in recreation and nature. Via this way, an attractive landscape will be realized. Important to mention is that the farmers regard nature as important and are therefore positive about the developments of the Regge. Realizing a good ecological situation has however negative consequences with regard to agriculture, industry and buildings (Waterboard Regge & Dinkel, 2008). The objectives of the WFD do have to be fulfilled. SAN and from 2010 SNL compensations can be provided and also compensations via the Green and Blue services instrument are possible in the area, but the instrument is not yet applied (W. Pasman, interview 23 June 2009).

The voluntary character and governments' ownership of BBL-soils are thus important for the success of the reconsolidations so that the Boven Regge is able to meander. Thereby, the focus on the interests in the area and on the benefits of the reconsolidations result in opportunities for further processes in the area.

9.3. Conclusion

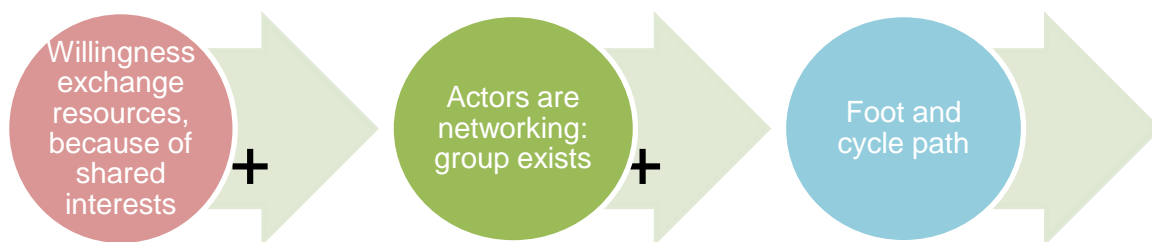
In addition to chapter 7 we concluded that – apart from policy and regulation – support and strategically use of knowledge about the area are important resources in the rural area. Knowledge (*resource*) is strategically used by the government. The knowledge is based on the interpretations (*cognitions*) that the government has about the desires (*motivations*) of the farmers and other inhabitants in the area. The interaction between actors' characteristics is here clearly observed. Interesting are the different cognitions in the beginning between inhabitants and initiative group – containing of inhabitants and farmers. The cognitions of the inhabitants about the success of the initiative group changed after the initiative group had shown her capacity to develop positive perceived activities. There was thus a huge support in the area for developments, because the initiative group could count on support from other

inhabitants. Also the resources money, legitimacy and user and owner rights played an important role. BBL-grounds are for the governmental bodies an important resource with regard to the necessary reconsolidations so that the Boven Regge can meander. Also, the WILG gives the parties legal certainty. Thereby are SAN and SNL in the future, but also the not yet applied Green and Blue services mentioned as a resource that can be used in the interaction process.

Also in this case are actors involved because of shared interests (see figure 23, first circle). The developments started out of the area, and the municipality Hof van Twente and Province Overijssel were willing to facilitate the initial plan, because of the more or less shared problem perceptions. Actors were willing to exchange resources, because they share more or less the same interests and that had resulted in the construction of a foot and cycle path. So, sustainable activities were realized on the local scale, because of the shared interests from the few involved actors.

The network that had been formed because of the actors themselves has been extended because of structure (see figure 23, below shown process). Other goals became part of the developments, and the policy network became larger. The process of reconsolidations in the larger project works well, because of the positive approach – take the desires of the area as starting point. The process compared with the Azelerbeek-case is exactly the reverse. Here the process had been started on local level, while the approach in the Azelerbeek started from broader perspective.

Process Boven Regge - Local scale



Process Boven Regge – Broad Scale

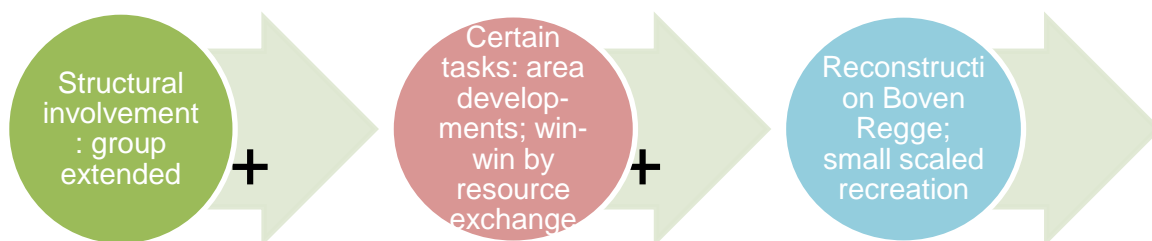


Figure 23: The hypothesis evaluated for the Boven Regge case.

Note hereby that the circles have different positions (see color). The below has the form of our stated hypothesis in the beginning.

10. The cases compared

In this chapter we draw conclusions about the extent wherein involvement as an explaining factor contributes to sustainable activities in the rural area on the base of the previous chapters. The analysis in this chapter will result in an answer on sub question three: *To what extent is the degree of involvement of public and private stakeholders an explaining factor for provided sustainable activities in the rural area?*

10.1. The initial plan

The two cases differ on certain points with regard to the initial plan. In this section we analyze which factors had an influence on the fact that the initial plan in the Boven Regge case did lead to sustainable activities and the initial plan in the Azelerbeek case did not. The processes in both cases are shown in short in the below schemes.

Boven Regge, from idea to sustainable activities:

Create cycle path → lack of resources → Municipality Hof van Twente and Province were willing and able to facilitate → sustainable activities

Azelerbeek, from idea to a change in the plan:

Raise the water level → Communicate to civilians → Not accepted by civilians (agrarians) → Change plan: do not raise the level but create a zone alongside the creek.

But!

The initial plan could not even be executed, because of the Noordmolen – a culture-historical mill.

The initial plan in the Boven Regge case had lead to the construction of a foot-and cycle path and in the Azelerbeek case to a change of the plan. We can explain this firstly through the amount of actors involved. In the Azelerbeek-case, the initial plan came out of the water board. The water board was dependent of its own resources and could not count on resources from other actors in the area. That was because the water board was the only actor who had directly an interest in raising the water level. The water board had a lack of power and capacity to resist the pressure from the area. As a consequence of the resistance, the initial plan had been changed. Involvement of more actors is necessary, so that resources can be exchanged.

In the Boven Regge case, the initial plan came out of the area and has been started with more goals, namely enhance social cohesion and economic possibilities and fulfill the demand for recreation possibilities. More actors had an interest in realizing the plan and actors could therefore count on each other's resources through resource exchange. Thereby, the plan was on a more local scale than was the case in the Azelerbeek-plan. Many farmers would be affected through the raise of the water level, but they were not involved in the decision making process. In contrast, in the Boven Regge case was only one individual farmer directly affected through the foot and cycle path. Agreements with the directly affected people are more easily made if the plan affects only one farmer than that it affects many farmers. It was also that the inhabitants perceived the plan in the Azelerbeek as a threat, while the plan in the Boven Regge case was seen as a positive development.

It was because of the strong cohesion that the municipality, province and initiative group in the Boven Regge case were willing to cooperate in the developments. The actors shared more or less the same problem perception and interests and do therefore sympathize with the objectives of the other actors. The initial plan of the Azelerbeek was not developed in a

policy network. It was only after the first plan that a policy network has been formed. Explaining factors for the degree of sustainable activities in the further process will be discussed in the following section. Explaining factors for the success and failure of the initial plan are summarized in the below table.

	Azelerbeek	Boven Regge
Involvement inhabitants	Late, after the plan was made	Early, inhabitants were initiators
Resources	Lack of support, no resource exchange	Resource exchange
Initial goal	Raise water level	Enhance recreation, economy and social cohesion
Interest in the goal	Waterboard	Inhabitants, farmers, municipality, province
Perception plan	Controversial → resistance	Non controversial → no resistance
Number of affected people	Many	Few
Extent of the impact	Broad	Local scale
Cohesion	Initially no policy network	Strong

Table 5: *The cases compared on the initial plan*

In short, including more goals in the plan from the beginning has the result that more actors have an interest and contributes to resource exchange so that plan has a better opportunity to be realized. Thereby, a positive nature of the plan in terms of goals and approach – early involvement and bottom-up - contributes to realizing sustainable activities. Now we will investigate explaining factors in the later process.

10.2. The processes

The initial plan of the Azelerbeek had changed and the initial plan of the Boven Regge had resulted in a recreation path as sustainable activity, whereby the social and economic pillars are combined. Possibilities for recreation and the enhanced viability of the landscape contribute to the social pillar. The farmer could continue with his agricultural activities and gain benefits, because of the new piece of land and the connection between his pieces of lands. Thereby, ecological aspects are not affected by this development. Soon, more goals were included in the developments in the area, like the reconstruction of the Boven Regge. A few touristic activities are developed in the area, like a bed and breakfast and a picnic place. In the Azelerbeek area is a process starting whereby other activities will be developed in the place of intensive livestock farming, for instance a little shop where local meat will be sold (W. Jansen). Before we analyze explaining factors for those sustainable developments, we focus first on the reconstruction of the Azelerbeek and the Boven Regge as part of the vision for developments.

Reconsolidations

Reconsolidations were in both cases necessary for the reconstruction of the creek and river, but this process has only been started in the Boven Regge case. This can be explained through the characteristics of the actors. On the one hand, the initial process caused negative perceptions by the farmers in the Azelerbeek-case to participate in further area development processes. On the other hand is the un-proportionally divided power and capacity a reason that the reconsolidations did not take place in the Azelerbeek case. Twickel owns many grounds and has therefore an important and large influence on the processes. All actors try to fulfill their objectives, but are dependent from resources of other actors. The process in the Boven Regge case has a voluntary approach. The process starts with an investigation of the desires in the area. On that base is an exchange-plan made and

a commission of reconsolidations decides whether that plan will be executed or not. The process is thus very area-focused with a made-to-measure approach, while the reconsolidation process in the Azelerbeek-case is more forced. The focus in the Azelerbeek case is more on the reconstruction and fulfilling those aims and there is therefore a more negative sphere wherein developments take place.

The reconsolidations in the Azelerbeek program stuck alongside the creek itself, but reconsolidations were applied in the Vital Azelo project. This project has been started through two farmers who would like to quit their current activities. The process is comparable with the reconsolidation process in the Boven Regge, in so far that it was not the government itself who came with the initiative. The government facilitated in both cases the initiative with help of resources as money and legitimacy and the red for red regulation plays an important role in the Azelerbeek-case. There is however a difference between the nature of the objective. Stichting Twickel is not positive about the Vital Azelo project, but it is the inhabitants who are definitely against the project. Diverse values are integrated in the plan, but not those of the inhabitants. The objectives in the Boven Regge are less controversial, especially in the initial plan. The interests are more diverse with regard to the reconstruction of the Boven Regge, because the water level changes as a consequence of the reconstruction and that affects agrarians in the area. The further processes have however a chance to work, because of the positive cognitions and motivations caused by the initial plan.

Involvement

The amount of actors involved is related to the typology of the network: the more actors involved, the more the network is characterized as an issue network. This is important for our research, because of our assumption that the integration of values and resources and the involvement of public and private stakeholders are related to each other. Integration of values and resources is most easy when the policy network is characterized as a policy community.

After the water board changed the plan and the plan was taken as a pilot project of the reconstruction, the policy network in the Azelerbeek case could be typified as a policy network with characteristics between a policy community and an issue network. The policy network in the Boven Regge case could initially be typified as a policy community. This typifying of the networks is related to the more or less shared values in the Boven Regge case and the more different values in the Azelerbeek case. After that the raise of the water level and the reconsolidations were skipped from the execution plan in the Azelerbeek – except from those in the Vital Azelo project-, the network became more or less the same as the initial network in the Boven Regge case. Because of that, fewer actors were involved and values were more shared, or - at least – actors could more sympathize with each other's goals. Cohesion became stronger and also the interconnectedness became stronger after De Hoff left the workgroup as a consequence of the leader style of the project leader. The latter was the case because De Hoff was valued through three actors as a less-contact actor before she left the workgroup. The change in the type of policy network goes hand in hand with the change in involvement, cohesion and interrelatedness. This is also shown in the Boven Regge-case, whereby the network shifted from a policy community towards the middle position. The relation is thus the reverse compared with the situation of the Azelerbeek. More goals were included in the policy network and involvement increased. There were more actors in the policy network and at the same time the cohesion and interconnectedness decreased.

Thus, involvement in the form of a policy community – characterized by few actors- is related to better integration of values/problem perceptions and resources in the network. And, involvement in the form of an issue network – characterized by many actors - does not lead to better integration of values/problem perceptions and resources in the network. However,

involvement in the form of a policy network is not the best option referring to the development of sustainable activities. What we have shown in our research is that the network can develop without losing the possibility to develop sustainable activities. We will come back later on this statement.

10.3. The further process

Developments are starting and have been started which lead or have lead in a certain extent to sustainable activities in both cases. In the below table are the cases compared on certain factors in the further process that came out the analysis of this research.

	Azelerbeek	Boven Regge
Characteristics actors because of initial process	Negative	Positive
Resources	Un-proportional divided Much power and capacity lies by Twickel	More or less proportional divided. Symbiotic resource dependency.
Approach	Top down, focus on reconstruction plan	Bottom up, made to measure
Type policy network	From issue network/policy community towards policy community	From policy community towards policy community/issue network
Cohesion	From moderately towards relatively strong	From relatively strong towards moderately strong
Interconnectedness	From moderately towards relatively strong	From relatively strong towards moderately strong
Means for realizing sustainable activities	Red for red regulation Individual based negotiations	Voluntary reconsolidation BBL-grounds

Table 6: *The cases compared on the further process*

With regard to the comparison, it is important that the plan is broad with various goals, so that various actors have an interest in realizing the plan. Actors are motivated to exchange resources with other actors, because that is also in their interest. Activities will become more sustainable if interests of all three sustainable pillars are involved in the network. The challenge is therefore to find a balance between involvement – more interests - and integration of various values and resources. So, we search for a situation where many interests are involved and values and resources are integrated in such a way that it will lead to sustainable activities.

The benefits of various interests in a network are also stated by others. Public policy can be improved by competing motivations, according to Held and Krieger (1984). Cooperative efforts between competing interests can enhance credibility in the community and the institutional arena (Plein e.a., 1998) and can encourage ‘ownership’ of the plan (Douvere and Pomeroy, 2008) and create trust among the partners whereby conflicts can be reduced through participation and involvement of stakeholders. However, this requires investments in time and resources (Bressers, 2009; Douvere e.a., 2008). The more the cognitions and motivations differ, the more it is difficult to integrate values and resources. Therefore, the policy network should not come too close to the issue network pole.

In terms of Rein and Schön (1993) there are different frames because of the different stakeholders and their cognitions. Framing an issue in a particular way means that facts, values, theories and interests are integrated with each other. The different frames from the local stakeholders lead them to see different things. Besides, the frames cause different interpretations and lead to supporting different courses of action about the questions what is

to be done, by whom and how to realize it? Because of the different interest groups, there is not a common accepted policy frame to handle the problem. Besides that, it is not possible to make a distinction between facts and values, because frames are cultural. In this view it is clear that there is not one solution that is completely acceptable for all actors (Rein & Schön, 1993; 1994).

Plato (1892) stresses that collective reasoning is not efficient, because it is difficult with more people to come to one leading opinion. That is precisely because of the others. Habermas, on the contrary, stresses that we can see what is wrong in the world because of the interaction. So, involvement contributes to gaining knowledge about the different problem perceptions, but that is difficult when power is distributed relatively equally. The government has the legitimacy to apply forcing instruments in common interest. It is however that Twickel has much resources and therefore much power in the Azelerbeek project. The un-proportional distributed power had however not lead to the execution of a project. Scott (1998) stresses that some plans are well intended, but fail by implementing. He attributes the cause to the absence of resistance. That was the case by the initial plan of the waterboard in the Azelerbeek-case. The plan was worked out, but others could only resist after the plan was made. It was however not only the absence of resistance. The waterboard did not have a full overview of possible problems caused by raising the water level referring to the culture historical value of the mill. In that sense, the plan was not worked out completely. It became clear in the Vital Azelo project that it is not necessary that all interest groups have the opportunity to resist. Not all actors and interests were involved – as is proved through the cognitions of the inhabitants - but the project came to execution. Also in the Boven Regge case is proved that a small group was able to realise activities. Important to mention here is that those processes are taken place on the local level and they affect thus few people.

Not only broad goals are important in the beginning, also the desires of the area must be taken as a starting point. The government must facilitate initiatives that come out the area and must be taken up relatively quickly. The importance of early and continued involvement is also mentioned by others. The most effective is to involve citizens early and continued in the issue and policy development process. Thereby, the interaction between citizens and the policymaking process is ideally motivated outside – and might be independent of - established governmental or institutional arrangements (Douvere and Pomeroy, 2008; Plein, e.a., 1998).

Compensation possibilities must be communicated to the area and must be consequent. Farmers must be certain that they can count on compensations for a long term. The focus must however not lie on regulation and the approach must not become compensation-oriented. Compensations in the form of money, but also in the form of exchange of land for instance must be provided by the government. Hereby is the voluntary base an important tool for realizing sustainable activities. Farmers in the Azelerbeek case do for instance have positive motivations about nature conservation. Farmers have expectations about the area, but they are on the other hand skeptical. The expectations lie in the farms that are not dependent from compensations. The skeptical side is because of the change in compensations, for instance compensations for landscape management are not continually available according the perception (cognition) of the farmers (R. de Wilde). Green services are however not applied. In the Boven Regge case are a few examples of Blue services which are applied after conversations between farmer and waterboard, whereby the initiatives sometimes came out of the area and in other cases because the waterboard had an interest in a specific area (H. Gels, interview). This is a clear example that the government should anticipate on the desires (motivation) in the area. Green and Blue

Services are seen as an important form of multifunctional farming by the Dutch government¹¹, but these services are not effectively executed.

10.4. Green and Blue Services

We go more in depth into the compensation regulation Green and Blue Services in this section. The reform of the Common Agricultural Policy – as part the structural context - played an important role for the process of the developments of Green and Blue services in the Netherlands. Stakeholders perceive the state aid procedures namely as a bottleneck rather than a stimulating factor in the process of innovation (Plurel, 2008).

Land owners who develop or manage a landscape element on their land contribute to the maintenance of the landscape of Overijssel and are therefore financially supported. The catalogue Green and Blue services gives an overview of allowed compensations for private landowners by Dutch governments (Catalogus Groen Blauwe diensten, 2007). The catalogue is however perceived as complicated and bureaucratic by both farmers and government officials (Plurel, 2008, p. 11). Green and Blue services as instrument for governmental intervention is an example of passive planning. Proper use of land is left to citizens, whereby action is not obligatory. The government operates indirect by bringing voluntary response of the holders of property power in line with its policies (Denman, 1978 in: Needham, 2006). The catalogue is however very compensation-oriented and place therefore the focus on the damages that farmers will lead, rather than that the focus lie on voluntary response. The way how the green and blue services are presented is apart from the complexity a factor which might have a negative influence on the motivation to provide those services. Important to mention is that farmers in both cases of this research regard nature as an important goal (motivation) and have the perception that it is important to respect that goal (cognition) (W. Jansen, R. de Wilde, W. Pasman). This gives the opportunity to work on the same way as the process of reconsolidations. Start with the desires of the farmers and try to motivate the farmers to maintain or enhance nature on the base of the interpretations of the farmers themselves. A change in motivations of the government is however necessary, not only in the switch to take the local scale instead of scale enlargement as starting point as mentioned by DLG (G. Brouwer, interview), but also in her approach. The government must search for possibilities to change the behavior of the farmers, but must therein also change her own goals and values (motivation). On this moment, farmers and other land owners must deliver too much energy to get compensations. And, these compensations should precisely not form the motivation factor! The compensations possibilities must become easier, or an intermediary must be appointed like the area-manager as coordinator between desires in the area and the translation (information held to be true!) to the municipality so that the municipality can anticipate on the observed desires in the area. And, the focus will come to lie on the Green and Blue services instead of a focus on the compensations.

Change in behavior

In line with the contextual interaction theory (Bressers, 2009) is a change in behaviour of farmers to provide such green and blue services influenced by the various contextual layers. The motivation is thereby also dependent from cognitions and power and capacity of the farmer. Karami and Mansoorabadi (2007) studied the factors that have an influence on attitudes and behaviour of rice growers towards environmental sustainability. Those factors can be seen as the contextual layers that have an influence on actor's characteristics. They differentiated between men and woman and found that 'religious and spiritual beliefs' and 'education' had a significant impact on men's attitude. The same factors and also 'access to information' were determining factors for explaining women's attitude towards sustainable agriculture. Explaining factors for the farmers who had a high level of sustainable agricultural

¹¹ The province of Overijssel started with financial support for Green and Blue services in 2003 (Provincie Overijssel, 2006).

attitudes, but low sustainable behaviour are feasibility of agricultural practices, resources, opportunities and barriers to performing the task (Karami and Mansoorabadi, 2007). A favourable attitude and sufficient degree of actual control over the behaviour provides the possibility for farmers to carry out sustainable agricultural practices.

Farmers cognitions and motivations with regard to nature goals are positive. These cognitions and motivations can be enhanced through education and cultural beliefs. Cultural beliefs are however deeply rooted in society and it is therefore difficult to change. Attention to sustainability can raise awareness and on the long term lead to a change in cultural beliefs. Actors can change the structural context, but they act also in accordance with the network structure (Hay & Richards, 2000). Farmers will follow the norms and values of their cultural beliefs by performing their activities, but can form beliefs by themselves and raise awareness of sustainability by communicating problems within the policy network. That actors form structure became also clear in our research in the Boven Regge case study. Farmers raised awareness of the developments in the area by their colleagues and were able to have an influence on the motivation of the government, because they formed a strong group of farmers. Also the initiative group itself is an example of structure because of the networking of actors. Therefore, cultural beliefs can change because of actors themselves and education and communication can form an incentive for actors to act. Thereby, a focus of the government on the local market instead of the world market contributes to the opportunity to develop sustainable activities. The small scaled character of the landscapes itself is thereby a factor that can contribute to sustainable activities.

Thus, communicating possibilities for sustainable activities is most important, not only directly to farmers but also by politicians so that awareness via media raises. Thereby, government should provide the necessary resources in terms of money, support, certainty and information, so that farmers have enough power and capacity to develop sustainable activities. The government must have the role of a facilitator, whereby the focus must lay on farmers' attitude and not on farmers' behaviour.

10.5. Bottom up vs. Top down

We stated that it is important to work out from the initiative of the area, or at least take the desires of the area as a starting point. By comparing the cases we saw a difference in the number of affected people, which was more extended in the Azelerbeek case compared with the Boven Regge case. There is a difference in the scale of the developments, which is important to take into account.

Diamond (2005) stresses that there are two ways to solve environmental problems: the bottom-up method and the top-down method. This idea was based on research of Kirch on pacific islands of diverse size and a different social organisation. The culture of the little island Tikopia was still sustainable after 3000 years. A culture on a middle-sized island, called Mangaie - went under as a consequence of deforestation. The biggest island of the three analyzed islands – Tonga – has been inhabited more or less sustainable for 3200 years. Kirsch stressed that the little and the big island were able to handle the environmental problems because of their size. All inhabitants of a small community know the whole island and have the knowledge that developments somewhere on the island do have consequences for themselves. Besides, inhabitants of a small community do have a common identity and common interests. Every individual does realize the benefits of environmental regulations (Diamond, 2005).

The top-down approach is suitable for a large community with a centralized political organisation. None of the individual farmers knows the whole archipel or even one of the bigger islands. Something can happen in an outlying part of the archipel that might be fatal for the existence of the farmer, without knowing that. Even if the farmer knows what is

happening, he probably assumes that it makes no sense for him, or that the consequences are visible only in the future. The other way around, the farmer might tend to dramatize the problems in his own area- deforestation for instance- because he assumes that there are many trees elsewhere. However, the head of the archipel, the king, has an overview of the whole archipel. The king will be motivated to take long term interests of the whole archipel into account, because he obtains his wealth from the whole archipel (Diamond 2005).

This explanation for the deforestation on the middle-sized island holds also for our cases. In the Boven Regge was visible what the consequences were from developments. Missing knowledge can be provided through education and information. Actors do however not interpret the same information on the same way. Also, actors will filter information and will therefore not learn, understand or remember the same things of the education succeed. A relation between the capacity and power box and the cognition box is clearly observed in this example. Actors in the Azelerbeek case – especially the inhabitants – did not oversee the problems of the whole area and each actor was more focused on his own interest in his area. Interests were more diverse and not that much shared as was the case by the local processes in the Boven Regge case or in the sub-network Vital Azelo. The reconstruction itself is an example of a top down approach. The zoning of the reconstruction – large scale - has been applied, but the adaptation to development processes – middle-sized scale - does not work well yet. Thus, also here we see that it is important to start in the form of a policy community, or at least there must be a leader in the issue network.

10.6. Conclusion

We can draw a conclusion about the relation between involvement and sustainable activities on the base of the comparison made in this chapter. Involving people opens the possibility to exchange resources, which is necessary to realize the plan if one actor has a lack of resources. Strong cohesion is related to the willingness to exchange resources. Actors are motivated to contribute to the plan if their goals are included. Also early involvement and a bottom-up approach contribute to the realization of sustainable activities. The process of integration of values and resources happens more quickly and easier in a policy community than in an issue network. In an issue network is that process more difficult and did not lead to better integration in our case studies. However, what we have shown is that the policy network can develop. If values and resources are integrated in a policy community, it provides the opportunity to include and integrate more values and resources so that activities become more sustainable. Involvement must not be forced and the focus must therefore be on attitude rather than on behavior. That can be realized through communication and education, which have a positive influence on the motivation to provide sustainable activities.

Sustainable activities are in our cases realized because of the voluntary involvement of actors. Actors choose for involvement, because of shared problem perceptions and are therefore willing to exchange resources. There are more interests in the network by involving more actors and that makes the provided activities in the end more sustainable if all three pillars are represented in more or less the same extent. This is dependent on the way power is distributed. Twickel has for instance much power in the Azelerbeek case and her interests are therefore better represented than the interests of the inhabitants. The government should decide in common interests about the developments made. She should use her imperial power – constitutional basis for decision making - and dominium power – on the base of her property and ownership (Needham, 1996), like the BBL-grounds. This is in line with the post-liberal perspective that networks can be a democratic potential. Networks should supplement electoral institutions, rather than that they replace those institutions (Esmark, 2006).

Thus, the more actors involved the more difficult it is to integrate resources and values. It is easier to integrate values and resources if few actors are involved, but that has the

consequence that you can miss out some essential values and resources. The integration of values and resources – in our cases in a policy community - leads to local sustainable activities. This leads subsequently to positive cognitions and motivations and that opens opportunities for the future. Activities are more sustainable – both in time as in adaptation between the three sustainable pillars - ff more values and resources are integrated. We showed that the policy network can develop and include more values and resources during the process and therefore develop more and better sustainable activities.

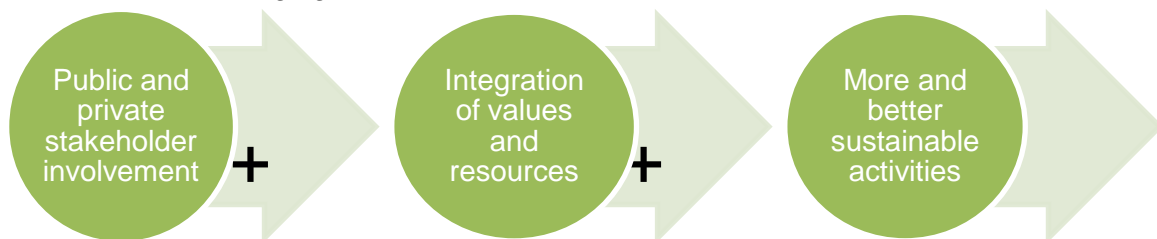
11. Conclusion

In the beginning of this research we posed the following research question: *To what extent does public and private stakeholder involvement and interaction in the rural policy process have impacts on provided sustainable activities in the rural area?*

In this chapter we will conclude whether our stated hypotheses holds and we formulate an answer on the research question. We were able to analyze the processes of the two cases – Azelerbeek and Boven Regge - with help of the contextual interaction theory. Actors' characteristics - cognition, motivation, power and capacity- influence the interaction process and vice versa. Also there is an influence of various contextual layers on the characteristics and the interaction process (Bressers, 2009). Whether sustainable activities are developed is explainable because of the characteristics of the actors and the interaction between actors. The Law on Reconstruction is in our cases an important regulation that has an influence on the activities in our case-study areas. The reconstruction plan formed a common frame of reference in the Azelerbeek case, however the actors had different objectives. The focus was in the Boven Regge case more on the local level and the reconstruction was not the frame of reference, but had an influence on the process. There is an important influence from the European Water Framework Directive, Common Agricultural Policy and Natura 2000 on the processes on the local level. Thereby, national government proposes a multifunctional area in various policy documents. In this way, the sustainability pillars are all three represented in both processes. So, rural policy and regulation gives context to local processes. The processes in our two cases are analyzed with help of the characteristics of the actors. This had resulted in a conclusion about our hypotheses on which we give attention in the coming section.

11.1. Hypothesis

We formulated two hypotheses in the beginning of this research. Both hypotheses are shown in the following figure:



Involvement and integration

Firstly, we analyse our first hypothesis: *public and private stakeholder involvement will lead to a better integration of their values/problem perceptions and resources.*

This hypothesis is not disproved in our research, but there are some conditions for the extent of public and private stakeholder involvement. Actors are involved in the network if they have goals and interests in the area. Both common goals as well as conflicting goals and interests explains the intensity of the contact in the network. Involvement in the form of a policy community opens the possibility for a better integration of values and resources. By comparing the cases in chapter 10 and analyzing the interaction processes with the contextual interaction theory as frame of reference, we concluded that:

Involvement in the form of a policy community – characterized by few actors- is related to better integration of values/problem perceptions and resources in the network.

Involvement in the form of an issue network – characterized by many actors - does not lead to better integration of values/problem perceptions and resources in the network.

Looking to further processes, which is important because of our sustainability focus, actors outside the (sub) network should have the possibility to have a voice so that more or less all interests could be represented in the policy network. This will lead to more values and resources in the network, but leads also to less coherence of the network. This limitation is important to state, because of our research question and second hypothesis.

Actors outside the (sub)network should have the possibility to influence the policy network to a certain extent.

Integration and sustainable activities

This brings us to our second hypothesis: *Integration of values and resources from public and private stakeholders will lead to more and better sustainable activities in the rural area.*

We concluded that several sustainable activities are developed in both cases. In the Azelerbeek case is this on individual base between Twickel and her tenant farmers. Those activities contain sideline activities like producing Twickeler cheese. This is comparable with the approach in the Boven Regge case, where an area manager functions as a confidant and communicates with the farmers about their desires. On that base are activities facilitated by the government.

The initial plan in the Azelerbeek case – the raise of the water level - had lead to a change in the plan and the changed plan became part of the reconstruction plan. The initial plan in the Boven Regge case had lead to the construction of a foot and cycle path. In the Azelerbeek case was the water board the only actor in the initial plan that had an interest and could therefore not count on resources of other actors. The values and resources after the plan had changed were more integrated compared with the initial plan. There were more actors in the policy network and there was a common goal, namely realising the objectives of the reconstruction. Only in one project of the Azelerbeek program a process has been started whereby sustainable activities will be developed. Two farmers took the initiative and are able and motivated to quit with their intensive livestock activities, because of the red for red regulation as a resource which gave their power and capacity. The municipality Hof van Twente, Province and farmers had more or less shared values and resources could therefore relative easily be exchanged. Actors are motivated to exchange resources, because of resource dependency.

The process in the Boven Regge case started from out a policy community and that had resulted in a foot and cycle path. Values and interests were more or less shared among the involved actors and resources were exchanged. On the base of these projects, our hypothesis cannot be disproved. The more values of diverse actors are integrated and resources are exchanged, the more sustainable activities in the rural area are developed. Thereby is the extent of resource exchange within the policy network dependent from the extent wherein interests and values are shared among the involved actors.

The values in the whole Azelerbeek program were more diverse, however resources are exchanged. This is explainable because of the appointed area commission. In the policy community are resources exchanged, while the exchange is blocked in a policy network with the issue network as typology. Therefore, also the nature of participation is an important factor for the exchange of resources. In the Azelerbeek case is participation more structure related than agency related. After LTO and Stichting de Hoff left the work group, the network became more characterised by a policy community and the resources and values became more integrated. This had however only lead to execution of the Vital Azelo project, where the network was subdivided into two groups.

The more values and resources from public and private stakeholders are integrated, the more sustainable activities in the rural area are provided.

So, the opportunity to realise sustainable activities rises if a network is characterised as more or less a policy community. However, more interests are represented in an issue network compared with a policy community. We showed that the network is able to develop. More values and interests entered the network during the process in the Boven Regge case and that had resulted in the reconstruction of the Boven Regge. The policy decisions became more democratic, because more interests were represented in the network. Provided sustainable activities might therefore also on the long term be sustainable, because more interests were represented in the network. The more that the three sustainability pillars are proportionally divided, the more sustainable the provided activities are as a result of the policy made in the network.

A policy community provides the opportunity to start with very local activities, because it is relatively easy to develop policy when values are shared and therefore resources are exchanged. Opportunity is given to realise more and better sustainable activities on the long term by taking some issue network characteristic in the network, so that all three sustainable pillars are represented. The process to sustainable activities is more difficult if it starts with a policy network characterized by an issue network compared with a policy community. Resource exchange is more or less blocked and interests are competing. The process to come to activities takes too long and causes therefore negative motivations in the area, as became clear in our analysis with help of the contextual interaction theory. It is thus about a good balance between goals and involvement of actors.

The more values and resources from public and private stakeholders are integrated, the more sustainable activities in the rural area are provided.

But!

Competing values in the network are necessary to a certain extent, so that activities are sustainable on the long term and more actors have positive cognitions and motivations about the activities. Affected people must not be excluded in the process.

11.2. Research Question

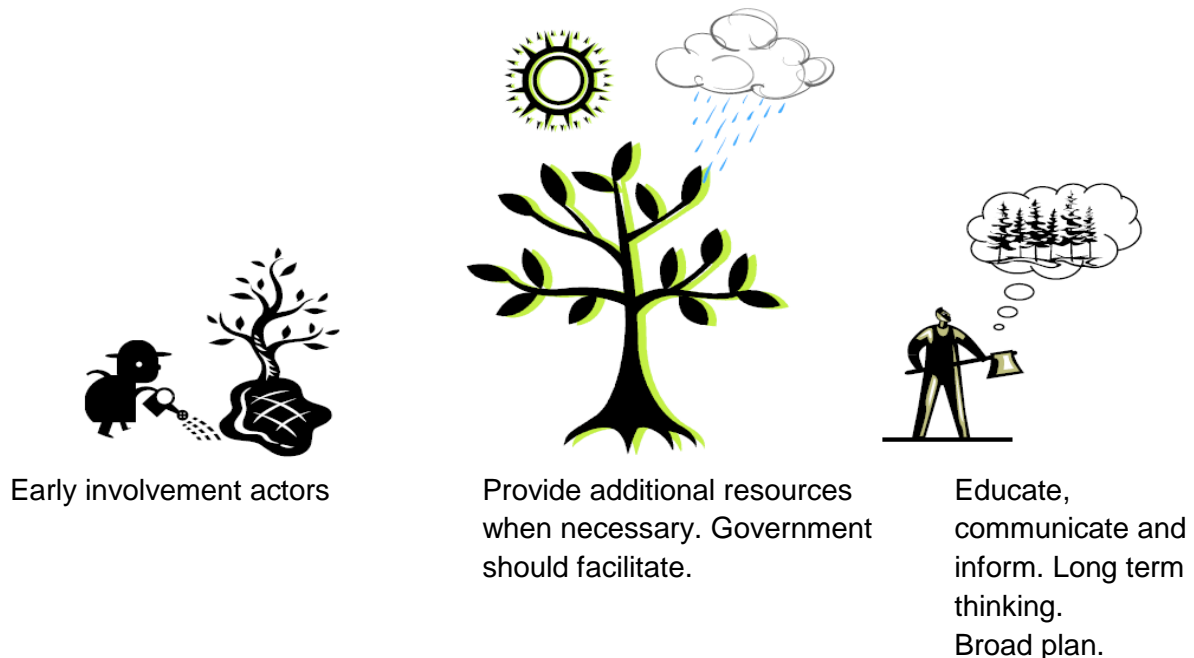
Now we formulated conclusions about two hypotheses, we are able to formulate an answer on the research question. *To what extent does public and private stakeholder involvement and interaction in the rural policy process have impacts on sustainable activities in the rural area?*

Public and private stakeholder involvement does have an impact on sustainable activities in the area. It is dependent from the extent of involvement whether sustainable activities will be provided and thereby how sustainable they are on the long term.

Involvement in the form of a policy community with few involved actors is a basis for the further process. It is proved to be important that the process starts on local scale with early involvement of affected people, whereby actors out of the area take the initiative by themselves. The network is however able to develop through the time, so that activities will become more sustainable.

We also concluded in our research that actors should be involved because actors are networking and not because of the structure. There are however some tasks which will not be fulfilled without governmental intervention, like the reconstruction/meandering of the Azelerbeek or Boven Regge. When governmental intervention is unavoidable, it is important to work from out the desires of the area. Creating a positive sphere and focus on exchange of resources and not on compensations. It is also important to take broad plans. Various goals must be included in the plan, so that more actors have an interest in the fight for their interests and are therefore motivated to exchange resources. It is not necessary to involve all actors by policy making, but actors must be informed via communication tools. Thereby,

providing the resource 'knowledge' in the form of education about possibilities for developing sustainable activities contributes to the motivation to act. Also with the eye on the long term is it important that affected people have the opportunity to have a voice, so that the plan gets more support in the end. The conclusion is summarized in the following illustration:



The tree is able to grow if there are enough roots and if there is enough and consequently nutrient provided. Like this, sustainable activities must start with a strong base which can be reached through stakeholder involvement in an early stage, so that they can contribute to the birth of the tree and create a feeling of responsibility. Stakeholders will therefore be motivated to 'bring up' the tree into a stable mature tree. When the tree is born, and the plan is made, stakeholders must have the chance to feed the tree with their own capacities and resources. Capacities and resources must however be exchanged, because the tree cannot grow on water only but needs some additional nutrients. It is possible to leave it to the market, with sun and rain as natural resources, but in some cases is governmental intervention desired or necessary - the tree needs for instance additional water when it is too sunny. Private individuals can care for the tree, but if they have a lack of water (resource) than the government should facilitate the process. When the tree has grown up to a stable tree, more trees can be born. However, it is important to mention that the tree is in danger of woodcutters because not all actors have the cognition that sustainable activities are necessary. Therefore, the woodcutter must have an interest in that the tree can grow. The cognition of the woodcutter must be changed. He must have the perception that the future is important and be motivated to think and act for the long term. He must have knowledge about the future. More trees (sustainable activities) will grow if he does not cut down that tree. On the base of this knowledge, the woodcutter will have the motivation not to act. It is thus important to educate people, in and outside the network, about sustainable activities. More interests should be included in the plan, so that people have the motivation to contribute to a goal from another actor. Including more goals in the plan causes the motivation to exchange resources. In this way, more sustainable activities will be born and grow up.

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Appendix A

We took interviews with several involved actors in both cases. We list the interviewed actors with their functions, organization and date of interview in this appendix.

Azelerbeek case:

Braak, A. Ter. Allround co-operator spatial planning. Municipality Hof van Twente. Interview on 8 June 2009.

Brouwer, G. Co-operator area developments Dienst Landelijk Gebied. Interview on 16 June 2009.

Gierveld, H. Adjunct rentmeester. Stichting Twickel. Interview on 12 June 2009.

Jansen, W. Habitant and former representative of Stichting de Hoff. Interview on 11 June 2009.

Maalderink, W. Project coordinator. Province Overijssel. Interview on 16 June 2009.

Wassink, W. Former project leader Dienst Landelijk Gebied, since March 2009 account manager and advisor of the Waterboard Regge and Dinkel. Interview on 18 June 2009.

Wiefferink, M. Policy co-operator spatial planning. Municipality of Borne. Interview on 3 June 2009.

Boven Regge case:

Gels, H. Policy co-operator water system management. Water board Regge and Dinkel. Interview on 19 June 2009.

Nije Bijvank, F. Project leader area developments Elsenerbroek. Municipality Hof van Twente. Interview on 8 June 2009.

Pasman, W. Area coordinator. Stichting Stimuland. Interview on 23 June 2009.

Tije, J. Ten. Account manager/ policy co-operator rural area. Municipality Wierden. Interview on 15 June 2009.

Wilde, R. de. Agrarian and inhabitant Boven Regge area. Interview on 11 June 2009.