

Name: Joost Vreeken

Supervisor: dr. Maria Kaufmann

Date: 25-08-2021

Word count: 15178

# Nature Development in the Krimpenerwaard: A Policy Arrangement Analysis

### **Some Words of Thanks**

A thank you to my supervisor Maria Kaufmann for her guidance

A thank you to the interviewees for their knowledge of and their perspective on the project

A thank you to my family and friends that supported me throughout writing my thesis

And a thank you to you, the reader, for reading my thesis.

## Contents

1. Introduction.....	5
1.1 Project framework.....	5
1.1.1 Natura 2000.....	5
1.1.2 Wildlife Corridor .....	5
1.2 Research Goal .....	5
1.3 Scientific Relevance.....	6
1.4 Societal Relevance.....	6
1.5 Research Design .....	7
1.6 Research Questions.....	7
1.7 Reader's Guide .....	7
2. Theory.....	8
2.1 Theoretical framework.....	8
2.2 Conceptual model .....	10
2.3 Operationalisation.....	10
3. Methodology .....	13
3.1 Research strategy .....	13
3.1.1 Case description .....	14
3.2 Research material.....	16
3.2.1 Policy documents .....	16
3.2.2 Interviews .....	16
3.2.3 Media analysis .....	17
4. Results .....	18
4.1 Actors.....	18
4.1.1 Province.....	18
4.1.2 Municipality .....	18
4.1.3 Regional water authority.....	18
4.1.4 Nature organisations.....	19
4.1.5 Agrarian sector .....	19
4.1.6 Others.....	20
4.1.7 In Conclusion .....	20
4.2 Discourse .....	20
4.2.1 Norms & Values.....	20
4.2.2 Problem Definitions.....	21

4.2.3 Approaches to Solutions.....	21
4.2.4 In Conclusion .....	22
4.3 Rules .....	22
4.3.1 Land consolidation .....	22
4.3.2 Subsidies .....	23
4.3.3 Water Framework Directive .....	23
4.3.4 Nature Network Netherlands.....	24
4.3.5 In Conclusion .....	24
4.4 Resources .....	24
4.4.1 Physical resources .....	24
4.4.2 Influence .....	25
4.4.3 Knowledge .....	26
4.4.4 Power.....	26
4.4.5 In Conclusion .....	27
5. Conclusion .....	28
5.1 Province .....	28
5.2 Municipality.....	28
5.3 Regional water authority.....	28
5.4 Nature organisations .....	28
5.5 Agrarian sector .....	29
5.6 In Conclusion .....	29
6. Discussion .....	31
References.....	33
Figures .....	35
Pictures.....	36
Appendix.....	37

## 1. Introduction

Building With Nature. It was already relevant before the emergence and subsequent global outbreak of COVID-19. Now this outbreak has made it more relevant than ever (Conservation International, n.d. & Daszak et al., 2001 & Everard et al., 2001). To ensure that historical habitats and species in Europe are protected from further encroachment by civilization the European Union has set up the Natura 2000 network, originating from the Habitats Directive and Birds Directive (European Council, 1992). The resulting continental network of protected nature areas gives species a place to live. To facilitate their natural migration, the separate areas are to be connected. One such connection is in the Krimpenerwaard. The project in the Krimpenerwaard forms the connection between the Natura 2000 locations of Broekvelden, Vettenbroek & Polder Stein and the river Lek, south of which is the Biesbosch (Natura 2000, n.d. b). This research aims to find out how this project came to be and, in doing so, how different interests were weighed in the final decision making.

### 1.1 Project framework

#### 1.1.1 Natura 2000

Natura 2000 is a policy by the European Union that aims to preserve certain types of habitats and species home to one or more member states. For the Netherlands, it functions on an international, national, and provincial level. On the international level, the Habitats Directive (European Council, 1992) designates the habitat types and the animal and plant species that must be protected. On a national level, the government selects the areas that will be protected. The national government is also responsible for creating a management plan of the protected area (Natura 2000, n.d. a). The protection of land areas is managed on a provincial level. The protection of protected areas in national waters is managed by Rijkswaterstaat (BIJ12, 2020). An important aspect of the Natura 2000 policy is connectivity of protected areas. This can be achieved via various forms of wildlife corridors.

#### 1.1.2 Wildlife Corridor

A wildlife corridor is a measure often used to overcome grey infrastructure barriers (Glista et al., 2009) or connect two or more wildlife areas (European Commission et al., 2013; de la Fuente et al., 2018). A wildlife corridor is a spatial measure that is used to maintain a connection between two wildlife habitats separated by areas developed for human use, allowing wildlife to move between habitats (Beier et al., 2008). These corridors come in a wide variety of forms, accommodating different groups of animals ranging from large mammals (Rathore et al., 2012) to small rodents (Caryl et al., 2012) and reptiles (Ng et al., 2004) to insects and birds. To allow for safe passage through developed areas, planners commonly will have to make use of one or more types of wildlife crossings. Glista et al. (2009) discuss several different crossings as a measure to mitigate vehicle collisions, these include wildlife underpasses, tunnels, culverts, and several combinations of these. These measures are limited in the way that they only facilitate connectivity by crossing grey infrastructure that separates a single habitat or two adjacent habitats. It does not provide connectivity between spatially separate habitats.

### 1.2 Research Goal

The goal of this research aims to acquire insights in the development of nature in the Netherlands as part of the Nature Network Netherlands (NNN). These kinds of projects happen all over the Netherlands and are face opposition by locals. The NNN project in the Krimpenerwaard has gone through this same process and, with the drafting of the land use plan, has managed to persist. With that as a case study, this research will analyse the process and see whether there are lessons for other NNN projects.

### 1.3 Scientific Relevance

There is little literature available about the use of the PAA for NNN projects in the Netherlands as well as how different actor's interests are managed when implementing such a solution. A search on Web of Science shows that the case in the Krimpenerwaard has not yet been investigated from a GPE point of view. The Policy Arrangement Approach (PAA) has been applied on several papers located in the Netherlands.

One such paper is Veenman et al. (2009). Veenman et al. uses the PAA to describe a short history of Dutch forest policy. What they found was a change in the Dutch forest policy arrangement due to changes in several of the dimensions, both internal and external changes. The overall change they found was a shift from forest as an economic resource of timber independence to preserving forests for their nature values. This came to be internally as the ministry that oversaw the forests added nature management to its main activities. Externally, new actors entered the stage, namely environmental and nature organisations, and "the argument for timber autarky" (Veenman et al., 2009, p. 207) was no longer very meaningful as part of Dutch economic policy. The paper then goes on to conclude that both these internal and external changes in the arrangement are caused by a discursive shift as seen in the broader green movement.

Another example of the PAA being applied in the Netherlands is Arnouts et al. (2011). This paper discusses governance from the point of view that governance has no concrete typology, which it argues hinders the analysis of governance. It takes a range of four governance arrangements, from hierarchical governance to self-governance, and operationalise these along the organisational lines of the PAA. To illustrate these four new governance arrangements, Arnouts et al. takes the case of nature policy in the region Utrechtse Heuvelrug between the early seventies and late eighties. Earlier research found that there would be interesting changes around that time due to shifts in forest and nature policy. Taking the three organisational dimensions, a governance arrangement was identified for the early seventies and late eighties. This shift is described as a shift from "unintended" self-governance to closed co-governance. The self-governance as a result of a lack of government actors is explained as "unintended" because the government actors were merely not involved for the reason that they had no funds to get involved. There was no intentional self-governance. Once the shift in forest and nature policy was starting to take shape, the government re-entered the governance arrangement with the introduction of a new governmental actor called the Provincial Nature Department.

These two do look at Dutch nature development and conservation policy, which relates to this research. There is however a large gap between the studied cases in these papers and the case that will be studied in this thesis. This gap is of a temporal nature, both papers happened to look at cases dating back to the seventies and eighties. Back then, all PAA dimensions were significantly different from what they are today. The most defining difference is that in the seventies and eighties the Ecological Main Structure, the predecessor of the NNN, had not yet been introduced.

Additionally, all other research which utilizes the PAA can be roughly split into the management of nature areas and reserves and urban greening or urban green growth. The transformation of agricultural lands into wildlife areas does not come up.

### 1.4 Societal Relevance

Projects like the nature development in the Krimpenerwaard happen all over the Netherlands, and Europe as well. The intention is to connect all the Natura 2000 protected areas into one complete network. In accordance with the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity (UN, 1992), which the European Union has signed, and the Aichi targets (CBD, 2011), specifically 11, the European

Union has pledged to create “a connected system of protected areas”. The creation of these corridors especially is likely to impact a lot of people and will require large amounts of money and manpower to complete. Therefore, better knowledge on how to manage this process will be able to lessen the impact on the people involved and curb excessive spending.

With the emergence of the nitrogen crisis over the last several years, nature development and agriculture are on poor terms. The introduction of more nature in an area with livestock farming is likely to introduce more tension. This is not just happening in the Krimpenerwaard but in other parts of the country as well. That makes Krimpenerwaard is an interesting case because the management of the nature development project was moved to a more local governmental level to allow for better cooperation with the actors in the area. This thesis can provide lessons on how to strengthen the support base for these nature developments near areas with livestock farming.

### 1.5 Research Design

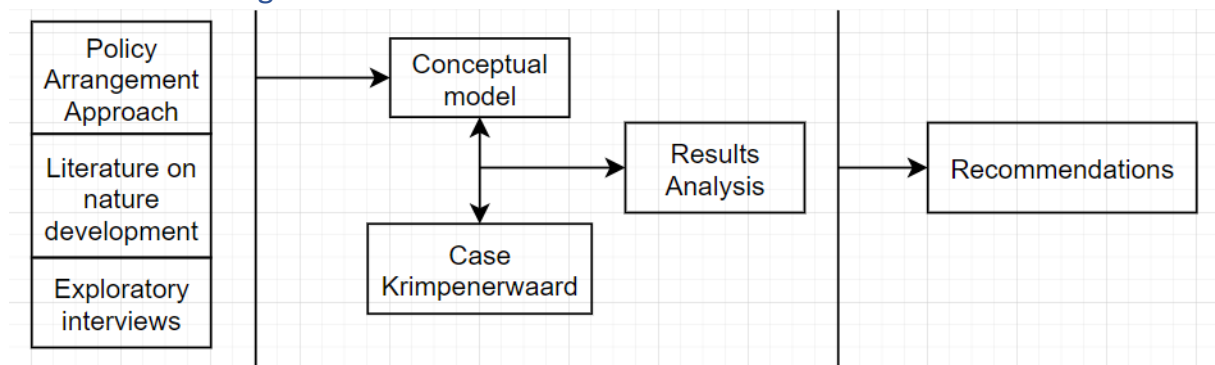


Figure 1: Research design in three stages: exploratory stage, gathering and analysis stage, and recommendations

### 1.6 Research Questions

Main question:

*How have the resources, rules of the game, and discourse dimensions affected the actor dimension in Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard?*

Sub question 1: *Which actors are the most involved in the Krimpenerwaard?*

Sub question 2: *What discursive practices are most guiding in the Krimpenerwaard?*

Sub question 3: *Which rules of the game are the most influential in the Krimpenerwaard?*

Sub question 4: *How are the resources and power distributed in the Krimpenerwaard?*

### 1.7 Reader's Guide

Chapter 2 will lay out the theoretical framework of this thesis and how that will be operationalised for the analysis. Chapter 3 will discuss the research design, research material, and the Krimpenerwaard case that is used in this thesis. Chapter 4 will the results based on the sub questions provided in this chapter. Chapter 5 will answer the main question. Finally, chapter 6 will feature a discussion about the insights gathered during this research and potential avenues for future research.

## 2. Theory

### 2.1 Theoretical framework

The research questions already indicate that the entirety of the policy arrangement regarding the Krimpenerwaard will be looked at. For this the Policy Arrangement Approach (PAA) will be utilised. The PAA draws from all aspects of the policy arrangement to give an as complete as possible view of the case at hand. Van Tatenhove et al. (2000, p. 54) define a policy arrangement as “the temporary stabilisation of the content and organisation of a particular policy domain”. This means that a policy arrangement is a snapshot that only exists for a limited period of time. Before and after that snapshot is a period of instability in either the content or organisation of the policy domain, or both. This quote also explains what a policy arrangement consists of, namely organisation and content which is also sometimes called substance. These two exist together in a duality similar to the ‘duality of structure’ by Giddens that is discussed in the next paragraph. Policy cannot exist without both organisation or substance. The PAA does not use organisation or substance as dimensions. Rather, it takes Discourse as the dimension representing substance; and it uses Actors, Rules of the Game, and Resources as the dimensions to describe organisation. Liefferink (2006) emphasizes that the four dimensions are not new; they have been in use for some time by discourse analysis and by network theory.

The PAA finds itself standing on the shoulders of structuration theory by Anthony Giddens. Giddens’ theory fills the gap that existed in sociology where previously sociologists attempted to explain the social systems through either individuals and their actions or social forces, institutions, and structures (Schatzki, 1997). This is also described as the debate between structure and agency. Marx (2000 [1852]) wrote “People make history but not in the conditions of their own choosing”. This idea is important for Giddens who, unlike Marx who concerned himself with structure, took on both structure and agency in his ‘duality of structure’ (Giddens, 1979). The way Giddens sees it, these two concepts are not separate, but rather elements from a single process called the ‘constitution of society’ (Giddens, 1984). Any structure that exists needs to be continually reproduced by individuals. An example of this is that if nobody takes part in a war, there is no war. Here it is clear that the structure that is war only can exist due to the action of individuals. However, it is also important to state that Giddens sees no action in a vacuum. There is always a structure that acts as the vessel for an action.

The four dimensions can be separated in two domains: organisation, which includes the actors, the resources, and the formal part of the rules dimension; and substance, which includes discourses and the informal part of the rules dimension. For the definition of organisation, we once again turn to Giddens’ structuration theory (Giddens, 1984) and define organisation as social systems consisting of actors, bound by (formal) rules and resources. With substance, we look at the combination of discourses and the informal part of the rules dimensions as ‘policy discourse’. As will be apparent after the operationalisation of discourses in Chapter 2.3, discourses, or rather the language that defines discourses, is guided by the political culture. This culture is made up of various unwritten, fluid rules that inform how interactions take place.

It is with this that we relate to the PAA. Just as with structure and action, the four dimensions are totally intermingled (Liefferink, 2006, p. 48) with the discourse dimension and part of the rules dimension representing the substance and the resources, actors, and the other part of the rules dimension representing organisation. None of the dimensions can be seen without taking their relation with the other dimensions into consideration. This is visualized by the tetrahedron (Figure 1),



a shape with four corners. Each corner represents one of the dimensions and each of the vertices represents the relation between two dimensions.

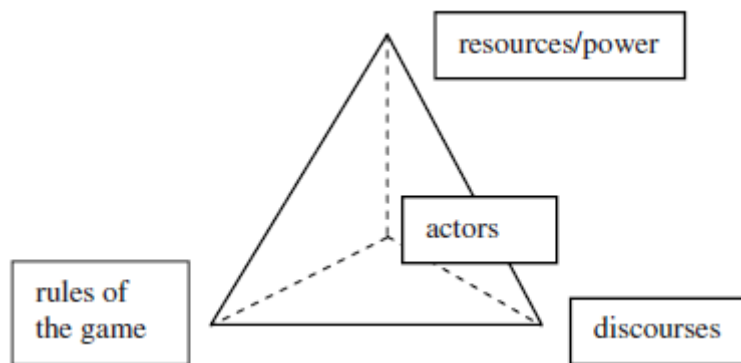


Figure 2: The tetrahedron of the Policy Arrangement Approach (Liefferink, 2006, p. 48)

Policy arrangements as a whole cannot be taken in a void. There are always external pressures and relaxations that move any or all of the dimensions around. External factors can introduce new discourses or change the rules of the game through trends that permeate through society. Coalitions of actors can be influenced externally and the total amount or the distribution of resources and the power that comes with them can likewise be altered from outside the policy arrangement.

The tetrahedron can be entered from all four dimensions. However, every starting point is better suited to certain kinds of research questions and goals. Entering through the actor dimensions is most suitable if one focuses on the role and position of actors in a policy arrangement. Resources and power are a good starting point if the research focuses on the distribution of these resources and power and changes therein. As for the rules dimension, starting here is a good choice if the research focuses on the influence of institutional change on a particular policy area. Lastly, entering from the discourses dimension is most appropriate if one does research on the topic of political modernisation (Liefferink, 2006).

Given the research goal of this research, the choice of starting dimensions is between that of the actors and the discourses dimensions. These two dimensions will likely have the most importance of the four in the case of Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard. Of particular interest is the discourse dimension. This is because discourses exist on two different levels. There is the policy specific discourse and the broader society wide discourse (Liefferink, 2006, p. 58). The interrelation between these two is the most fitting starting point for this study, as the case is the local consequence of laws from Brussels.

## 2.2 Conceptual model

The theory of the PAA can be summarized in the model below. It takes the four corners of the tetrahedron as the independent variables that have an effect on the dependent variable. For this research, where the question is how the actor dimension is affected by the three others, the conceptual model looks as follows:

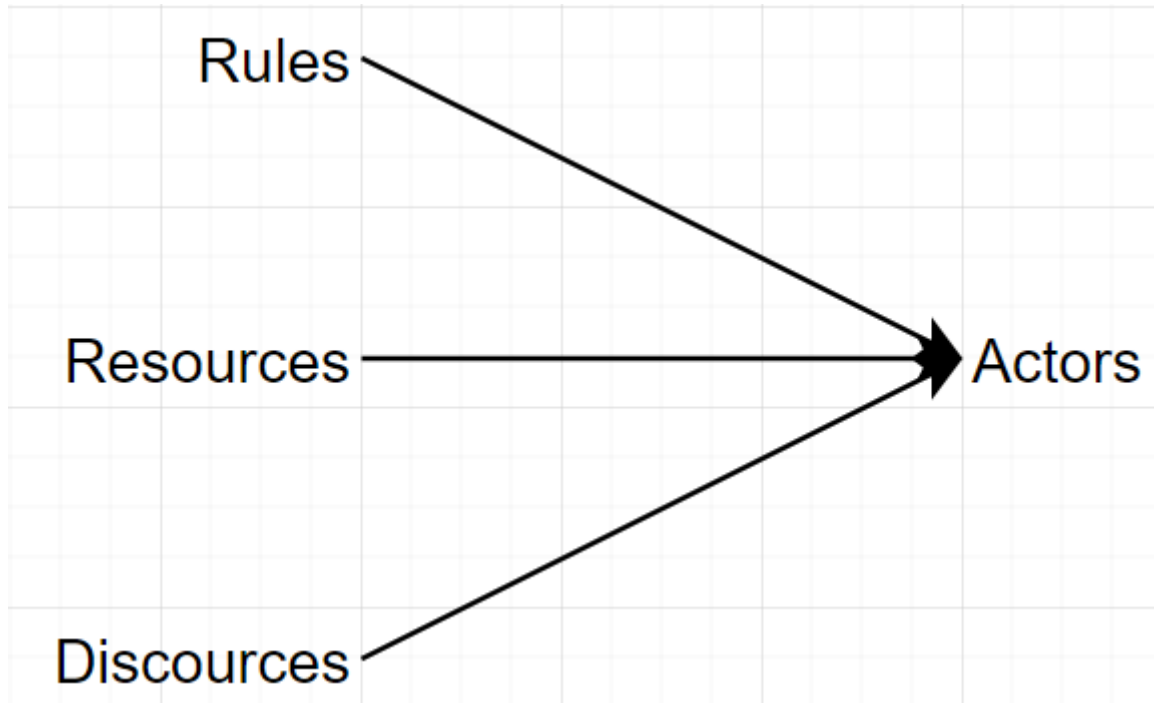


Figure 3: Conceptual model

## 2.3 Operationalisation

This research does not look at change and as such empirical indicators are not of much use. However, in order to get the right information out of the research material, it is important to properly operationalise what the four dimensions of the PAA mean and how they can be used. The dimensions can be grouped in two groups: content/substance, which concerns the discourse dimension; and organisation which includes actors, resources, and rules (Van Tatenhove et al., 2000).

### **Actors**

Oxford Dictionary gives the formal definition for actor as “a participant in an action or process” (Oxford University Press, n.d.). In a policy arrangement, the actors can exist as individuals or collectives. The participants group themselves into coalitions of opposition and support. In these coalitions the actors do not necessarily agree on everything, but it is a strategic choice made by actors to get closer to achieving their goals (Tatenhove, 2000).

A good way to group actors is by using figure 2. This figure organizes actors based on two questions. Are they at the centre or near the periphery of the problem? What group do they belong to: state, market, expert system, or interest (Liefferink, 2006)?

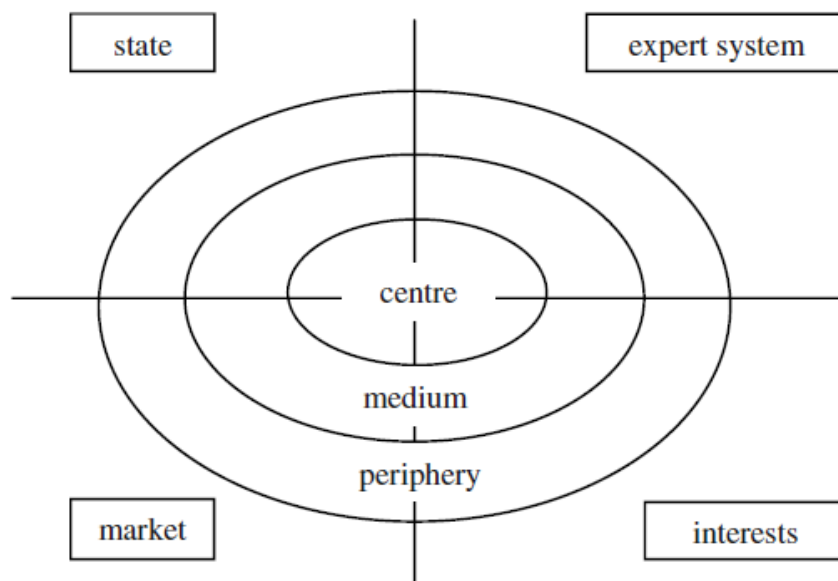


Figure 4: Map for actors and their relative position in a policy arrangement (Lieverink, 2006, p. 52)

As a policy arrangement progresses, the line-up of actors can change. New interests can be introduced into the discourse, resulting in new interest groups, market players, experts, or governmental agencies joining. Likewise, the discourse can abandon interests and as a result current actors can find themselves shifting further from the centre. A good example of this is the energy transition, where with the shift from fossil fuels to clean energy new actors will join and current actors will leave the policy arrangement to do with energy. A shift in actors can also happen if rules include new or exclude current actors or when a shift in resources causes actors to shift in or out of relevance.

### Resources & Power

Power is the asymmetrical distribution of resources which shows itself in relations of dependency and autonomy. This unequal ability for actors to mobilise resources creates (in)dependencies between actors. Through these relations, actors are able to move others towards a point of view that aligns better with their own (Tatenhove, 2000). This does not mean that this always happens out in the unconcealed or consciously (Giddens, 1981) and power is not always attributed to the correct actor in a given relationship. The latter can be attributed to the potentially incorrect perception of involved actors on who is dominant in the spread of resources. For the former can occur when actors themselves either are not aware of how dominant they are perceived to be by other actors or that they are trying to appear less dominant than they actually are. This can also occur due to changes in resources from outside the policy arrangement. A resource can increase or decrease in value and resources can be removed or get introduced into the policy arrangement. After such an event it can take time before the policy arrangement has reached its new equilibrium.

### Rules of the Game

Rules define the possibilities and constraints for policy agents within the policy domain. Rules delineate who is in the policy arrangement and who is not, how one enters the PAA, how issues can be brought up for discussion (Tatenhove, 2000). Moreover, the rules define every step of the policy cycle, from raising issues and setting the agenda to the implementation and evaluation of measures, determining every step of the process (Giddens, 1984). Rules can be divided in formal and informal

rules. The formal rules belong to the organisation side of the PAA and the informal to the substance side. The difference between the two is clear, formal rules are rules as certified in legal texts and documents. The informal rules, being part of the substance side of the PAA, come a lot closer to discourses, in the form of the prevailing, though dynamic, political culture (Tatenhove, 2000). Both the formal and informal rules are constantly changing. The reproduction of practices changes practices and that demands modifications to the boundaries of the policy domain, both formal and informal. One such change is how politics moved from a nation state model to one where the civil society and market have a much larger say. These changes, both on the formal and the informal side, often come from outside the policy arrangement.

### Discourses

The Cambridge Dictionary (Cambridge University Press, 2021) defines discourse as “communication in speech or writing”. A definition that better suits the PAA comes from Hajer (2006, p. 66): “argumentative structures in documents and other written or spoken statements as well as the practices through which these utterances are made”. Liefferink (2006, p. 47) further sums these up to “norms, values, definitions of problems, and approaches to solutions”.

In any policy arrangement there is usually one dominant policy discourse. This dominant discourse is continuously challenged by competing discourses, both from within the policy arrangement and on a broader societal level (Tatenhove et al., 2000). A feature of discourses is that they do not have to be strictly defined and therefore can be open to multiple interpretations (Hajer, 1996). Where this could be detrimental for example, the rules dimension, discourses do not have to suffer from vagueness. A discourse that can be open to multiple interpretations can allow for a larger mobilising capability and more consensus-building ability (Tatenhove et al., 2000).

All this comes together in the following table:

PAA	Organisation	Actors	Interests Obligations Coalitions
		Resources & Power	Physical wealth Formal and informal knowledge Influence in media or politics
		Rules (formal)	Laws and regulations on all levels
	Substance	Rules (informal)	Informal rules
		Discourses	Norms & values Problem definitions (Approaches to) solutions

The placement of all but one of the dimensions is very clear-cut. The dimension for which that is not the case is the rules dimension. Parts of the rule dimension can be found on both the substance and the organisation side, depending on the type of rules it refers to.

## 3. Methodology

### 3.1 Research strategy

I have chosen to conduct a qualitative study, because in-depth information is required to answer the research question and qualitative research will yield that information best. To make sure that the validity of this research is high enough, three different research methods will be used. These are the analysis of policy documents, interviews, and a media analysis. This is known as triangulation (Denzin, 1978). Qualitative methods like in-depth interviews are necessary to get enough information as not all stakeholders of this case have the same knowledge background (Vennix, 2016).

In order to make sure that enough data will be gathered, saturation has to be reached. To achieve that, every time a new data point is gathered, the researcher must ask themselves if there are still points of view that have not been taken into consideration. This cycle of observation, analysis, and reflection continues until there are no more points of view to take into consideration (Vennix, 2016).

There are several different ways to perform qualitative research. Creswell (2017) mentions five different approaches that are in their observations the most frequently used in social science. These five are narrative research, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and case study. For this thesis, the case study approach is selected. One key argument for choosing the case study approach with this thesis is Creswell's answer to the question regarding data collection: "what is traditionally studied (sites or individuals)?" Where the narrative research, phenomenology, grounded theory, and ethnography all study individuals or members of a group, the case studies "A bounded system, such as a process, an activity, an event, a program, or multiple individuals" (Creswell, 2017, p. 150). This eliminates all approaches except for the case study. That description does highlight a downside of the case study approach for research that uses the PAA. Because the case study studies a bounded system, the researcher is limited in the influences that can be researched. As stated in Chapter 2, the four dimensions of the PAA experience influences from outside of the PAA, as well as between dimensions. These outside influences cannot receive as much attention as perhaps would be prudent. While the inability to research the outside influences is a loss, the bounded system of the case study helps focus the research on the most influential forces. This leaves the case study as the optimal choice for the kind of research that this thesis is about.

Due to the explorative nature of this research, a single case will be studied. The uncertainty of what kind of results will be found, and simultaneously the lack of past relevant research on this topic, does not give us a specific aspect for which a comparative collective case study can be carried out.

Once all the data is gathered, it will be analysed using Atlas.TI. This analysis takes a deductive approach (Vennix, 2016). This means that I will start my analysis with all codes already determined. For the analysis I have used the following codes in accordance with the operationalisation of the PAA:

- Actors – Coalitions
- Actors – Interests
- Actors – Obligations
- Discourse – Norms & Values
- Discourse – Problem Definitions
- Discourse – Solutions
- Resources – Influence
- Resources – Knowledge

- Resources – Physical
- Rules – Informal
- Rules – Laws and Regulations

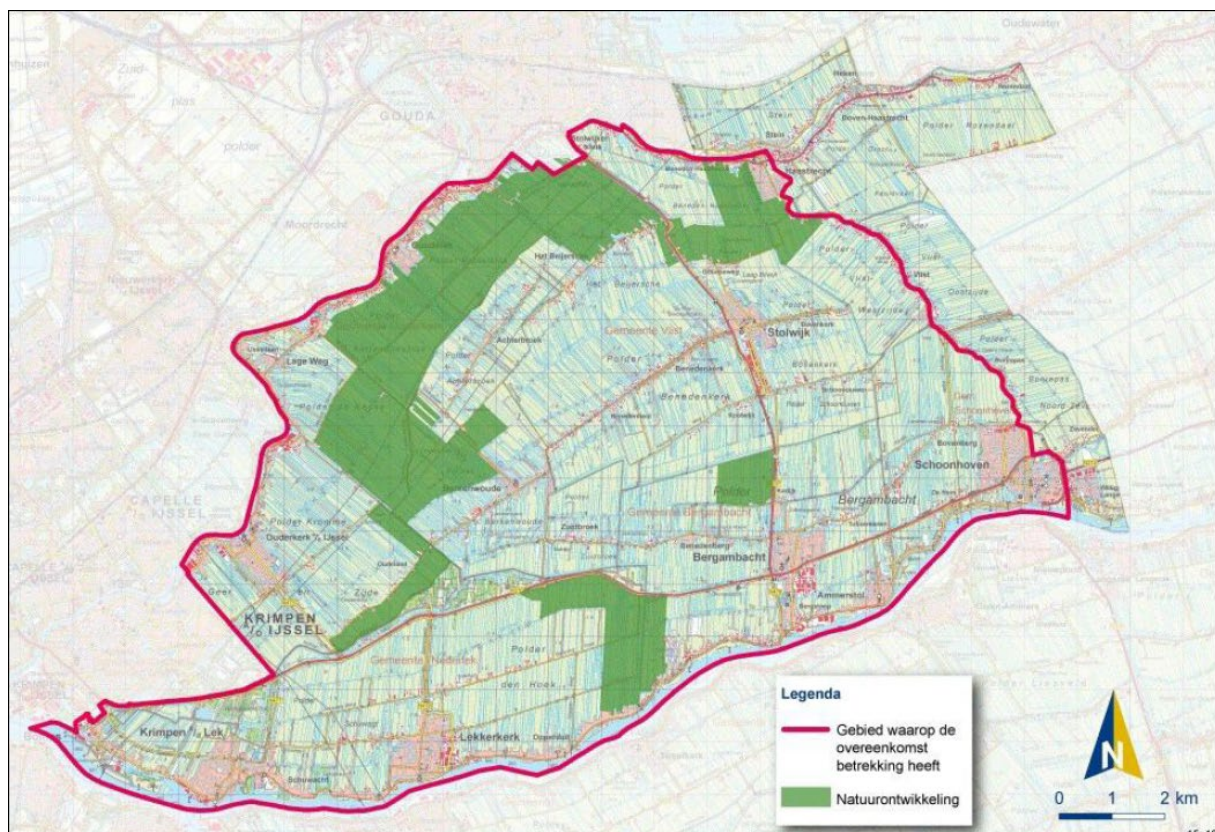
During the analysis I have added one more code because of the importance of past iterations of this project and laws relating the project and to discern the current laws and regulations from past ones:

- Rules – History

### 3.1.1 Case description

The Krimpenerwaard is municipality in the Groene Hart, just south of Gouda. It was formed on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 2015 with the merger of five municipalities: Nederlek, Ouderker, Vlist, Bergambacht and Schoonhoven. The Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard's project area is demarcated by the River Lek on the south side and the Hollandsche IJssel on the north and western side, with the exception of everything within the city limits of Krimpen aan den IJssel. The eastern border is the river Vlist.

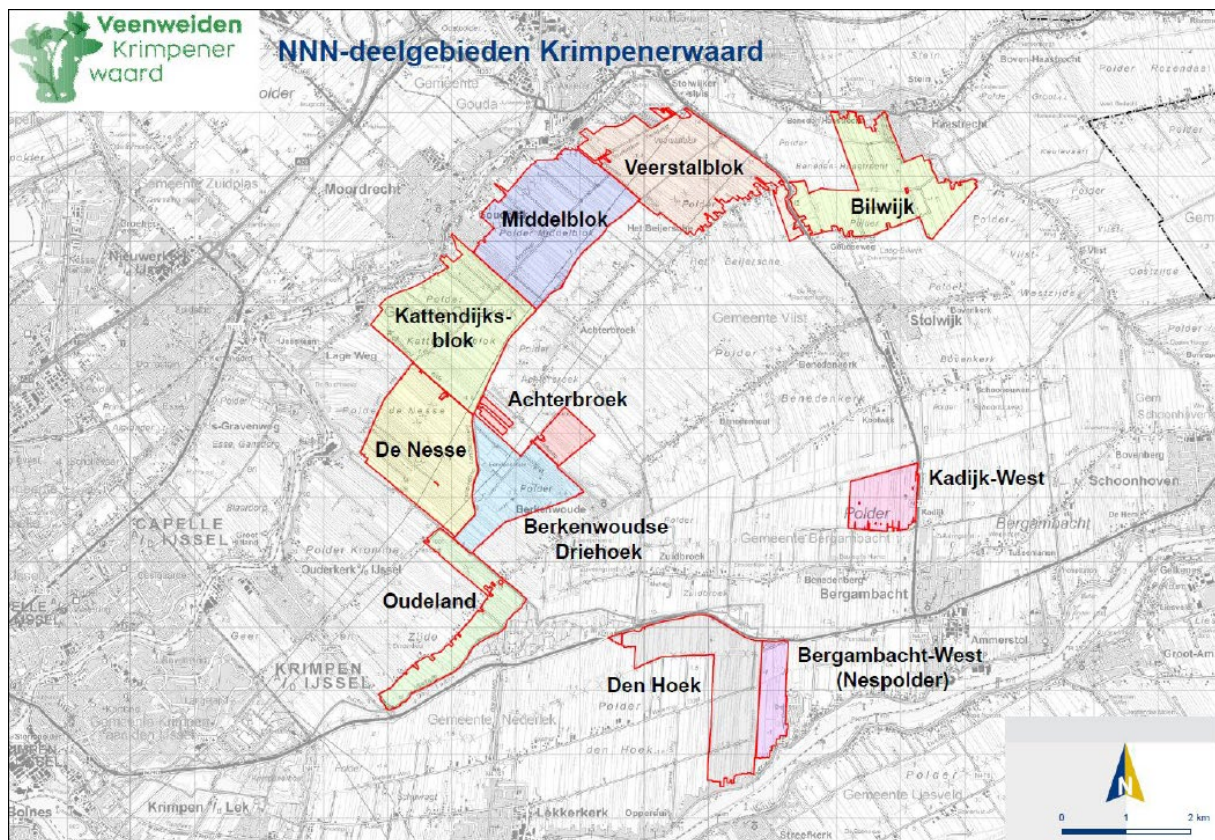
The nature development project has been running since 2014 (Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard, 2015) and is planned to be finished in 2021 (Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard, 2018). It covers 2250 hectares (Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard, n.d.). The total area that is involved with the project measures about 2250 hectares in total. While the purpose of this extension of the NNN is to act as a partial connection the Reeuwijkse Plassen and the Biesbosch (interview nature management collective), the areas where nature is going to be developed do not follow a straight line from A to B. Rather, the path in the North of the Krimpenerwaard follows areas with the areas where there is the most subsidence, with the aim of minimizing future subsidence (interview regional water authority). The Southern portion bordering the Lek is located there because it is the area along the Southern border of the project area with the least development and because there is already a facility of the regional water authority located there (interview regional water authority).





Picture 1: The red line indicates the borders of the project area, and the dark green areas indicate where nature is to be developed (Gemeente Krimpenerwaard, 2019).

The development of the project involves 11 subareas as shown on the map below.



Picture 2: the location and demarcation of the subareas (Gemeente Krimpenerwaard, 2019)

Of these 11 subareas, the development of 3 is complete, these areas are De Nesse, Oudeland, and Berkenwoudse Driehoek.

On the borders of the NNN it is common to see the kinds of views like in the picture below, with farm animals right next to the NNN.



Picture 3: Taken from inside the NNN in De Nesse, it shows how nature and agriculture exist side by side (Own work, 2021)

### 3.2 Research material

Because of the current situation with COVID-19 and social distancing, some previously considered research methods like observations had to be disregarded.

#### 3.2.1 Policy documents

To start with the research, policy documents are studied to get a broad overview of the goings-on. Policy documents give an insight in the timeline of policy creation that is followed, the involved stakeholders, levels of citizen participation, case-specific rules, financing, and present discourses. In the Appendix an overview of the analysed policy documents can be found.

#### 3.2.2 Interviews

To get the most specific information out of the interviewees I make use of semi-structured interviews. This involves using an interview guide with a set of open-ended questions that leave room for follow-up questions (Vennix, 2016). While the questions have a predetermined order, it is possible that during the interview this order is not be adhered to fully if it benefits the interview. I have held 1 exploratory interview to get the lay of the land. A further 5 interviews were held until saturation was reached.

Because of the social distancing, I have not met with the interviewees in person. Instead, I have phoned the interviewees. The option to use any Voice over IP program that has the interviewee's preference, like Skype, Discord, Google Hangouts, Teams or Zoom was also available, but a phone call was the most convenient. This choice was made because this was the mode of communication that everybody had access to and was familiar with.



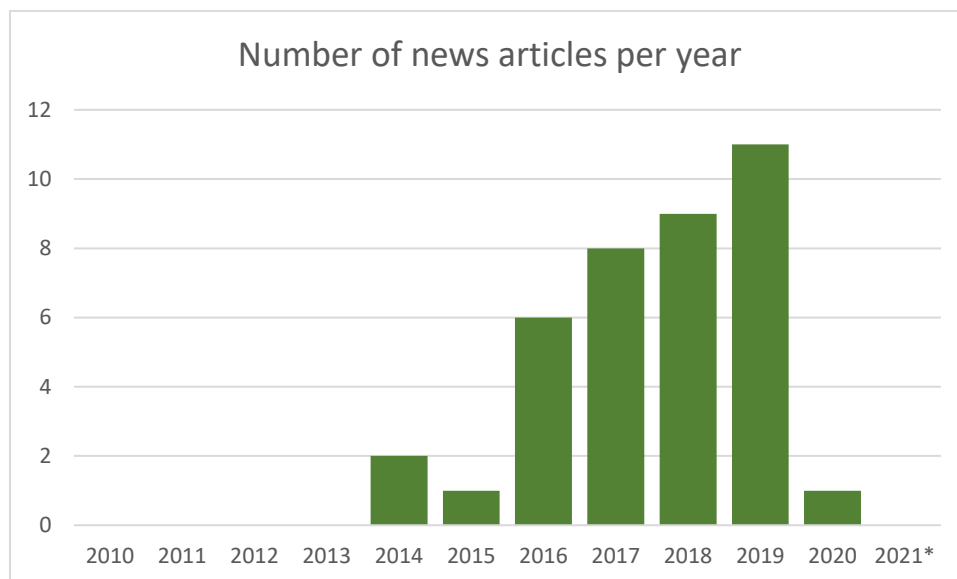
For this research, I have conducted 6 interviews in total with the following organisations: municipality (2x), regional water authority, Zuid-Hollands Landschap, program bureau, and the Nature Management Collective. These interviews have been recorded and transcribed for analysis.

### 3.2.3 Media analysis

The third research method used is media analysis. A media analysis can give a good overview of relevant discourses and their interrelations. For this, I have used several sources, focusing on local and regional newspapers, including Het Kontakt Krimpener- en Lopikerwaard and AD Groene Hart Gouda. The local supplements of other national news sources were originally considered, but ultimately rejected when they yielded no result. Het Kontakt Krimpener- en Lopikerwaard is the local paper and AD Groene Hart is a regional paper. These two give the best overview of the local news. Het Kontakt is a newspaper without much in the way of a political leaning. The AD is considered a newspaper for the workers and the normal people. However, the regional supplements of the AD were previously independent regional newspapers and as such did not have much in the way of a political leaning.

The range for the articles is from the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 2010 until the 31<sup>st</sup> of March 2021. In 2014 the Gebiedsovereenkomst was signed, and the plans first got into motion and the project is still ongoing to this day. To make sure to catch as much of the news coverage that occurred before the signing of the Gebiedsovereenkomst articles will be gathered from 2010 onwards.

The search term is “Veenweiden”, as this is the project name and will therefore yield the most accurate results. This search term yielded 33 results with Het Kontakt, 1 of which was not included due to nonrelevance to the case. A search for AD Groene Hart using Nexis Uni yielded 10 results. During analysis a further 4 articles have been discarded for nonrelevance, 1 article by AD Groene Hart and 3 articles by Het Kontakt. The graph below shows the spread of articles by year of publication.



\*: until the 31<sup>st</sup> of March

## 4. Results

In this chapter the sub questions of this thesis will be answered. The sub questions are as follows:

Sub question 1: *Which actors are the most involved in the Krimpenerwaard?*

Sub question 2: *What discursive practices are most guiding in the Krimpenerwaard?*

Sub question 3: *Which rules of the game are the most influential in the Krimpenerwaard?*

Sub question 4: *How are the resources and power distributed in the Krimpenerwaard?*

### 4.1 Actors

#### 4.1.1 Province

The province is the client and the initial executor of the project. Before budget reallocations by State Secretary of Economic Affairs Henk Bleker, the province had the directive to develop the 2250 hectares of nature in the Krimpenerwaard itself (Interview municipality 1). After these budget reallocations, the lower-level governments, namely the municipality and the regional water authority, let the Ministry (of Economic Affairs) know that they would like to take over (interview municipality 1, interview regional water authority). This did not leave the province without any obligations. While the lower-level governments would go and implement the project, the province would still pay for almost everything and have final say in the implementation (Interview municipality 1, interview program bureau). The province keeps a seat at the table by seconding several employees to the program bureau (interview regional water authority). The responsibilities within the project are split, the province being responsible for nature and the municipality for agriculture and recreation (Interview municipality 1).

#### 4.1.2 Municipality

For a long time, the municipalities were not represented in discussions of previous iterations of the current Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard project, even though the project was happening in their backyard. At that time, in the '90s and early 2000s, the municipalities lacked both funding and knowledge and were not very active with anything that happened outside of their city limits (interview regional water authority).

The municipality has now joint implementation obligations alongside the regional water authority for this project. As a lower-level body of government, the municipalities that now make up the Krimpenerwaard made the case that because they were closer to their constituents that they would be able to better create support among the citizens (interview municipality 1). At that time there was also criticism by local aldermen towards the province for the lack of progress on the project (interview regional water authority). They would be better at taking the wants and needs of the stakeholders into consideration and the negotiations for cooperation or land sale would be easier because of that. Working together with the regional water authority was a given, as they had, at that point in time, much more knowledge of the state of nature in the region. Given the political nature of the municipal executive, it was in their best interest to keep the opinions of the citizens in mind when making the plans, as the political parties want to get re-elected. Just like the province, the municipality has seconded several employees to the program bureau (interview regional water authority).

#### 4.1.3 Regional water authority

In one form or another, the regional water authority has been involved with this project and its previous iterations for many decades, previously as the regional water authority of Krimpenerwaard

and as of 2005 as the regional water authority of Schieland and Krimpenerwaard (interview regional water authority). The regional water authority's main responsibility is managing and improving the water quality, which is currently expressed in the Water Framework Directive. Many of the plans in the Krimpenerwaard for the last thirty years have been heavily influenced by the regional water authority. Because much of the use of the polders is dependent on the water level, other parties were obligated to keep them involved (interview regional water authority). The regional water authority works with any party that has an interest in the water, which ultimately means they work with everybody. Given how the agrarian sector and nature organisations both have specific and regularly conflicting preferences when it comes to water levels, the former requiring a low water level while the latter requires a high water level.

#### 4.1.4 Nature organisations

In this nature development project, the nature organisations are of much importance. In the Krimpenerwaard several nature organisations are active and have been intimately involved with the plans over the last few decades. The most involved nature organisations are the Streekfonds Krimpenerwaard, a local organisation that helps finance small nature projects in the Krimpenerwaard, the Natuur- en Vogelwerkgroep Krimpenerwaard (Nature and Bird Work Group Krimpenerwaard), a volunteer-based organisation with more than 700 volunteers that monitor and protect the flora and fauna in the Krimpenerwaard and its natural environment (interview nature management collective), and lastly Zuid-Hollands Landschap (ZHL), which is a province wide nature preservation organisation that owns nearly half of the lands of this NNN project (interview ZHL, interview nature organisation). Nature organisations, along with the province, regional water authority and the agrarian sector, have been part of this project and previous plans for decades. These nature organisations are private organisations and thus depend on donors for most of their funding, the rest coming from subsidies. Their obligations lie with what has been written down in their Articles of Association. ZHL works closely with agrarians to manage their lands. They do not have the means to manage the lands themselves, the subsidies they get cannot pay for equipment and labour costs (interview nature management collective), so they lease their lands to agrarians, preferably local agrarians. These agrarians get to use the land for agriculture providing that they abide by the limits imposed by ZHL. Hence, these agrarians are often of the more nature-minded sort. As expected, there is a lot of cooperation between nature organisations when it comes to managing the nature values of the Krimpenerwaard (interview ZHL).

#### 4.1.5 Agrarian sector

Of all actors, the agrarian sector is the most heterogeneous. There are agrarians that are entirely against the project and do not want to work with the program bureau in any way. When asked to sit down for negotiations or perhaps even self-realisation on their land, some have replied that they will see the program bureau in the courthouse for the expropriation case (interview municipality 1). This does not apply to all farmers. Just as there are fierce opponents to the project, there are also proponents among the agrarians of the Krimpenerwaard. These either actively work with the program bureau in the sale of their lands or even work with the program bureau to self-realise the nature development (interview municipality 1). There are also several agrarian interest groups active in the area. There is LTO-Noord, a subdivision of the national LTO organisation, Agrarisch Jongeren Kontakt (AJK), an agrarian group with a focus on young agrarians and agrarians to be (Het Kontakt 16-01-2019), Weidehof Krimpenerwaard, an agrarian organisation that is also concerns itself with nature management, and DWLK, the agrarian organisation most opposed to the Veenweiden program. Along with nature organisations, some of these agrarian organisations are also represented in the Nature Management Collective (Interview program bureau, interview nature management collective).

#### 4.1.6 Others

One group of actors that is not mentioned yet are the recreation operators that wish to make use of the new possibilities that the NNN will bring to the Krimpenerwaard. This group is left out, because the project does not have an economic focus (interview municipality 1). Their influence on the project is therefore minimal.

#### 4.1.7 In Conclusion

With all actors lined up, Liefferink (2006) provides us with a map to classify these actors in two different ways seen as Figure 4 in Chapter 2. Firstly, categorising the five most involved actors in the four quadrants of the map is not straightforward. The actors that are most involved in the Krimpenerwaard do not automatically belong in just one quadrant. Of course, the province, municipality, and regional water authority belong in the State quadrant, because all three are government organisations. The nature organisations belong in the Interests quadrant, as they exist solely to further the interest of nature conservation, without a profit motive. The Interest quadrant is also the place where part of the agrarian sector belongs, specifically the agrarian interest groups active in the Krimpenerwaard. The other part of the agrarian sector, the farmers themselves, populate the Market quadrant. However, the Expert System quadrant is comprised of all five main actors, as will become more apparent in Chapter 4.4.3. Each actor brings an integral piece of knowledge to the project. The other aspect, categorising the actors based on their proximity to the project, is equally unresolved. At the current stage of the project the municipality and the regional water authority are at the centre of the project. The province, nature organisations, and agrarian sectors find themselves in the medium range, with none of the five actors in the periphery. Nonetheless, this is not the situation throughout the whole project. Each actor has moments that they are less or more involved. At the start of the project the province was at the centre. As the project developed, they have been handing off obligations and responsibilities to other actors, mainly to the other two State actors. On the other hand, the nature organisations and the agrarian sector are slowly moving towards the centre. This move towards the centre will be finalised once the Nature Management Collective's one stop shop function is fully operational.

### 4.2 Discourse

#### 4.2.1 Norms & Values

The different actors naturally have different norms & values, this is not just limited to differences between the above-mentioned groups, but also within the groups themselves, and these norms & values can change as well. An example of such a change is how the SGP became much more critical of the project when they were no longer in the municipal council after elections (interview municipality 1). The broadest range of norms & values within a single group can be found in the agrarian sector. The agrarian interest groups DWLK and LTO-Noord are clear opponents of how the Veenweiden program is being developed, with DWLK being against the Veenweiden program entirely (interview municipality 1). AJK's stance is one of hesitancy towards the project because it is unclear what the effect is on the future of agriculture in the Krimpenerwaard (Het Kontakt, 16-01-2019). On the other hand, there is also the Weidehof, which has a much more positive stance towards the plans and what that would mean for farmers in the Krimpenerwaard. Several competing norms & values here are a self-interest, in a business-sense, for the farmers, naturally they want to keep their business running as well as they can (Het Kontakt, 16-01-2019), for a farmer their business is a considerable part of their retirement. This is compounded by that many of these farms have been in operation for many generations (interview nature management collective), sometimes going back well over a hundred years. Ever since the Hunger Winter, farmers have had a drive to make sure that the Netherlands could feed itself with its own agricultural output (interview nature management collective).

In the interview with the nature management collective, the Christian and conservative nature of the Krimpenerwaard came up when talking about the sizes of farms and farming practices in the Krimpenerwaard, because on some farms certain old-fashioned practices, like milking the cattle in the field with a mobile milk station, were still used to this day. That, in addition to the observation that some farms were very small, with as few as 20 farm animals, persisted even though a business like that is not economically viable on its own.

While these norms & values are not explicitly against the Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard project, except for DWLK which is very explicit about their stance towards the project, they often stand in contrast to the farmers that see the NNN project as an opportunity for new and different forms of agriculture (Het Kontakt, 18-12-2018). Some farmers, rather than wanting to continue their farms the way it has been operated in the past, take this as a convenience to move to a different kind of livestock like sheep, which are more adapted to extensive agricultural co-use of the NNN lands, or instead, they move to grow crops like typha or duck potatoes (Het Kontakt, 25-08-2017).

#### 4.2.2 Problem Definitions

The decision to create the Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard extension to the NNN and its specific approach was based on several problem definitions that were identified in the region. The first and most important of these is the nature values of the region have seen a decrease in the last several decades (Het Kontakt, 17-01-2014, Het Kontakt 19-11-2014, interview program bureau). The Krimpenerwaard had gradually become less habitable for the meadow birds that made it their home. With its wide open and wet grasslands, it was ideal as their habitat (interview ZHL).

The second important problem definition that has decided much of how the path of the NNN is fitted within the Krimpenerwaard is that, because of hundreds of years of farming on peat lands and the water drainage that is required for that, several areas are experiencing severe subsidence (interview regional water authority). To perform agriculture on peat land, the water level cannot be too high, if it was, the land would simply not support livestock or farming equipment. However, when the water level is lowered, peat starts to degrade and subside, requiring more drainage to keep the land usable for agriculture (interview regional water authority).

The land subsidence presents another problem. When peat degrades it emits a lot of greenhouse gasses as well as nitrogen. This presents problems in the form of global warming as well as a threat to pre-existing conservation areas due to extra nitrogen that will transfer from these degrading peat lands, enriching the soil which has a negative effect on nature (interview nature management collective).

Broadly the problem of subsidence is accepted in the Krimpenerwaard which probably has something to do with the visibility of the issue. The nature values are not as widely accepted, not all inhabitants see the need in replacing agriculture with nature (interview nature management collective). As for the emissions, this is the least visible issue, which hinders its wider adoption as a problem to be solved, something that can be seen as a broader issue in society.

#### 4.2.3 Approaches to Solutions

There are two ways of looking at this. The first is that the NNN project is happening because it needs to happen (interview regional water authority, interview program bureau). The other way is how people deal with the reality that it is going to happen.

There have been some plans in the past where the location of nature was going to be different as well as a different distribution of water levels (interview regional water authority). This was before the subsidence was taken into consideration, as one of the original plans, called “building on the

past” focused more on expanding nature where nature already was in the region and the other, called “new phase” would give both farmers and nature small scale water level changes that would be tailored to their specific needs (interview regional water authority). The new phase was chosen, and while it would result in a higher expense for the regional water authority, the offer by the government to foot 50% of the bill had been introduced, so the regional water authority went along with the plan. Once subsidence was taken into consideration, the lands along the North side of the Krimpenerwaard were chosen, with a turn to the South to connect the NNN to the Lek. This in the long term turned out to be a very fortunate choice, as this was also the solution that was best able to tackle greenhouse gas emissions due to degrading peat (interview regional water authority).

How individuals deal with the solutions is different. On the one hand, there are a significant group of farmers and landowners that simply opts to sell their land. They have no interest in self-realisation and know that this project will happen with or without their cooperation when their land will be expropriated if they do not sell. They use that money to leave the agrarian sector or set up their farm in a different part of the Netherlands or even abroad, by migrating to a place like Canada (interview nature management collective). On the other hand, there is a group of farmers, as stated earlier, that sees this as an opportunity to shift their business towards a different kind of farming, whether it is through a different kind of livestock or by farming different crops that can more easily add to nature values of the Krimpenerwaard (Het Kontakt, 17-01-2014, Het Kontakt 19-11-2014).

#### 4.2.4 In Conclusion

Both within and between groups there are different discursive practices. Based on how it has other dimensions of the PAA, it is fair to say that the somewhat conservative nature of the Krimpenerwaard has guided. It has impacted the history over the last half a century as in many other parts of the Netherlands depillarised, as will be apparent in Chapter 4.3.1, creating a disparity. This could not stop the project from being initiated and once it was approved by the municipal council in 2019, for many their norms and values changed from opposition to at least acceptance if not cooperation. Between that vote and today, gradually more landowners have come to terms with either having to sell their land or take part in self-realisation.

The Krimpenerwaard always had a certain level of acceptance. All actors were aware of one problem definition that generally was agreed upon. This is the land subsidence problem. This problem definition has never been up for debate because it is a visible problem that affects everyone in the region. That acceptance of subsidence as a problem has worked out well for today. Those same measures that tackle subsidence also help decrease the amount of greenhouse gasses that are emitted by the peat degradation that causes subsidence.

There was never much leeway for the plans in the Krimpenerwaard, because of the nationally imposed duty to realise NNN in the Krimpenerwaard. There was no possibility that there would not be nature development in some form, simply because the province did not have final say. However, with the two options presented in the nineties, the chosen option of “new phase” seem to tackle the problem definitions well. It does not go well with the conservative norms and values, as the “new phase”, compared to “building on the past”, requires more change in the Krimpenerwaard. Nonetheless, it was the more popular with the executive agencies. The conservative norms and values only got involved in the further elaboration of the plans.

### 4.3 Rules

#### 4.3.1 Land consolidation

Land consolidation has been a practice in the Netherlands going back centuries. After the Second World War and the Hunger Winter there was an increased sense that the Netherlands should be self-



sufficient in food production. The results of this can still be seen in global food export statistics (Rintoul, 2020). One measure that was used to increase productivity was land consolidation, the idea being that if farmers could have less spread-out farmland, their productivity would go up as their travel time would go down. The Krimpenerwaard had initiatives for land consolidations going back to at least the fifties, but the plans kept on getting voted down (interview regional water authority). Only recently there have been some successful attempts at land consolidation (Het Kontakt, 18-05-2018). The result of this is that the Krimpenerwaard was not going to be ahead of the rest of the country when it came to land consolidation. Rather, it was near the back as ultimately land consolidation only happened much later in the nineties and not to the extent that neighbouring areas have experienced (interview municipality 1, interview nature management collective). The result of this is that the road system is less developed than it could have been, as with land consolidation every other farm is pushed back to the backend of the plot. That would have led to new roads that had to be constructed to service those farms (interview nature management collective). That is an issue that currently needs to be worked around, because improving the road system is not part of the project. There are still many smaller farms in the Krimpenerwaard that can be seen as relics of “the way it used to be” (interview nature management collective).

#### 4.3.2 Subsidies

Many different subsidies involved with making this project come to fruition. There is the POP3 (Plattelandsontwikkelingsprogramma3), which offers farmers committed to self-realisation with significant lands within the NNN a subsidy of 40% of the costs required to modify their operation to use less liquid manure. There is currently an application for 6 or 7 farmers for in total over 2 million euros waiting for approval (interview nature management collective).

As mentioned before, site managing organisations like ZHL, but also Staatsbosbeheer and Natuurmonumenten, get a subsidy by the name of SNL (subsidiestelsel Natuur en Landschap) for every hectare of land that they own and manage, but as said before, this is not sufficient to pay for equipment and labour entirely (interview ZHL, interview nature management collective).

Landowners that have signed an agreement committing themselves to self-realisation are entitled to SKNL (Subsidie Kwaliteitsimpuls Natuur en Landschap) (interview nature management collective). Self-realising landowners have until the 1<sup>st</sup> of October to sign up for this subsidy, as by then all negotiations with landowners have been completed or have ceased (interview municipality 2).

The ministry and province offered the then recently formed regional water authority a land-use subsidy of 50% on all water management measures like new pumping stations in the Krimpenerwaard. This offer was on the condition that they would wait with implementing all their new plans until the ministry and province could satisfy their nature goals. This offer was accepted by the regional water authority, as their locality had few inhabitants that would otherwise have to pay for all the measures themselves through taxation.

A subsidy that is being looked at for the acquisition and installation of future water management innovation in the form of underwater drainage. This is a European subsidy that would be paid through the regional water authority (interview nature management collective).

#### 4.3.3 Water Framework Directive

The Water Framework Directive is an important reason for why this project is still happening in the first place. Back during the economic crisis of 2008 and the budget cuts by State Secretary for Economic Affairs, Agriculture, and Innovation Henk Bleker all nature development projects were put on hold, including the one in the Krimpenerwaard. It was decided that the only nature that was allowed to be

developed was nature that satisfied international obligations, either Natura 2000 or the Water Framework Directive. As the Krimpenerwaard was not part of Natura 2000, should the project be able to continue to be developed, the argument had to be made that it was necessary for the Water Framework Directive. The regional water authority took the lead in this argument, but it was offered to the Ministry under the joint responsibility of the regional water authority, the municipality, and the province. This led to the Krimpenerwaard being appointed as one of the areas where nature was still allowed to be developed (interview regional water authority).

#### 4.3.4 Nature Network Netherlands

The NNN is the most essential set of rules of the game of this whole project. As the successor of the Ecological Main Structure, the NNN is the reason that this nature development project is happening (interview nature management collective). While the Krimpenerwaard is not part of the NNN as set out by Brussel as part of the EU Birds and Habitats Directives, the Dutch government decided that it should also be part of it (interview nature management collective). The NNN has always experienced pushing and pulling from the sides of nature organisations and the agrarian sector, both trying to get the NNN to move more in the direction that they favour (interview ZHL, interview nature management collective).

#### 4.3.5 In Conclusion

There are several sets of rules of the game that have been instrumental to the instigation and progress of the project in the Krimpenerwaard. While the subsidies for the various actors are important on the small scale, they are the least important of the four mentioned above. The past of the Krimpenerwaard is in a large part shaped by the history of land consolidation over the last 50 to 70 years. There would not be many smaller actors and a fractured ownership of the whole area if the Krimpenerwaard followed the same trend of land consolidation as, for example, the Alblasserwaard and others have. Additionally, it would also have led to an improvement in the road system, an improvement that would have been useful for the project, as it would make transportation much faster and easier throughout the Krimpenerwaard.

Yet, the two most important rules of the game, without which this project would not have been where it is today, are the Water Framework Directive and Nature Network Netherlands. It is safe to say that nature development in the Krimpenerwaard would not have been considered, had the Ministry not decided to add the Krimpenerwaard to the NNN. The water and subsidence problems would have been solved by other measures. Furthermore, after the budget reallocations following the 2008 economic crisis, the Water Framework Directive was the catalyst that allowed for the continued development of nature in the Krimpenerwaard. This was because Natura 2000 and the Water Framework Directive were the only two reasons any nature development project was allowed to continue, and the latter applied to the Krimpenerwaard.

### 4.4 Resources

#### 4.4.1 Physical resources

The province, since it is footing most of the bill, including half of the bill of the regional water authority (interview regional water authority), has a lot of the available physical resources in this project (interview municipality). The party that is footing the rest of the bill is the regional water authority. They pay specifically for the measures that have to do with their goals as an organisation; to maintain a good water quantity, quality, and level (interview regional water authority). Even though the province has allowed the duration of the project to be extended, no extra funds will be made available for the extra 5 years that the project is allowed to take (interview program bureau). Besides footing the bill, the province also has ownership of about 600 hectares of NNN land, part of



which has always been owned by the province to lease out to farmers, another part of which the province has acquired over the last 15-20 years in earlier stages of the project (interview program bureau).

Another party with a large share of the physical resources in the region is the nature organisation Zuid-Hollands Landschap. They own almost half of the 2250 hectares that encompass the project. However, they do not pay for any of the nature development (interview ZHL).

The regional water authority has ownership of many waterfronts in the Krimpenerwaard, of which there are many. This has been a bargaining chip in the past through which they have acquired additional funding for their projects in the Krimpenerwaard (interview regional water authority).

Lastly the agrarian sector has some physical resources in the form of land within the NNN. This land is a combination of land that is going to be used for self-realisation and land that is still being negotiated about. That second category will ultimately change hands with the province, either through a regular sale or expropriation, or it will move to the self-realisation category (interview municipality 2).

#### 4.4.2 Influence

While the province has lost some of its influence when the implementation shifted from them to the combination of the municipality and regional water authority, it did not lose it all (interview municipality 1). Their influence remained by the power of the program bureau, to which the province seconded several employees (interview regional water authority). This has since diminished as the program bureau has become more independent from the province (interview regional water authority, interview program bureau). Their main influence remains by way of funding. They are responsible for the bill and can use that to nudge the implementation in the direction of their preference (interview regional water authority).

Through politics, the citizens of the Krimpenerwaard have had their chance to influence the process. In the council meeting in which the land-use plan was voted on, citizens had the opportunity to make cases that the plan needed to be amended for their specific situations (council meeting 05-03-2019), which appears to be the most effective way to have their voices heard. This was the most direct influence that citizens have had in the entire project. Ultimately the land-use plan was passed with a majority vote (interview municipality 1). After that, the influence of citizens as a collective has waned.

Through the large amount of land that ZHL owns, they also hold considerable influence in politics. The land they own is mostly used by farmers in a tenant construction (interview ZHL). Because of the amount of land ZHL owns in combination with the low subsidy that the government pays per hectare it is not feasible for them to properly maintain their land (interview nature management collective). Instead, they lease the land to farmers. In exchange for use of the land, the farmers pay a low lease price and must maintain the land based on the requirements given by ZHL (interview ZHL). As it can be a challenge to find land elsewhere if these requirements do not suit the farmer, it can be easier to change their business model to fit the requirements.

Both the agrarian sector and nature organisations are able to get influence in another way as well. Once the nature development is finalised, they will take over all management together through the Nature Management Collective. With its one stop shop function for all management queries, the Nature Management Collective has considerable influence over the future of nature in the Krimpenerwaard.

#### 4.4.3 Knowledge

The regional water authority has been involved with this project and its predecessors for at least 30 years (interview regional water authority). This brings with it a lot of knowledge of exactly how water in the region is affecting nature, agriculture, and subsidence (Interview regional water authority).

During most of those 30 years, the municipality Krimpenerwaard existed as five separate municipalities, merging only in 2015. Because of the small size of these five municipalities, they did not all have civil servants that had expertise on this matter (interview regional water authority).

During that time, the knowledge lay with the regional water authority and the province. Nowadays that knowledge is concentrated in the program bureau's innovation centre (interview program bureau, interview municipality). This centre helps the program bureau guide the landowners that have opted for self-realisation. Before the innovation centre, the regional water authority used to have an almost exclusive ownership of all technical knowledge, which allowed them to alter the plans based on substantiated arguments (interview regional water authority).

Once the program bureau is done with the 2250 hectares of nature, it is given back to those that opted for self-realisation and the ZHL for management. The rest of the management, about half of the total area, will be done by a newly established organisation called the Nature Management Collective. This organisation takes knowledge from both agrarian and nature organisations, including ZHL in order to keep the region in the loop (interview program bureau, interview nature management collective).

#### 4.4.4 Power

Many actors in this project can derive some amount of power from either physical resources, influence, or knowledge.

Individual landowners, whether farmers or other citizens, have the least power of all. Their small amount of physical resources gave them a foot in the door early on. They also had the opportunity to speak on their own behalf at the council meeting during which the land-use plan was voted on, but the plan passed with a majority, individual landowners could no longer derive power from those physical resources and their citizen participation (council meeting 05-03-2019).

On the other hand, Zuid-Hollands Landschap has a lot of power through their ownership of large amounts of physical resources. With aligned goals of nature development, they can use their power to make sure that the project's nature development goals align more closely with their own for higher nature values (interview ZHL). As stated earlier, ZHL does not manage all this land themselves. They lease it out to farmer for a small fee on the condition that the farmers will align their business model as best as they can with the ZHL nature values (interview ZHL, interview nature management collective).

The municipality does not have a lot of power. While they can derive some amount of power from having seconded some employees to the program bureau (interview program bureau) and the fact that this whole project takes place within their municipal borders, because they used to be several smaller municipalities and only really joined in on the project over the last decade unlike most other parties (interview ZHL), they do not have as much institutional knowledge as for example the regional water authority and province (interview regional water authority).

As just mentioned, the regional water authority has been involved with the project and its predecessors for decades. This history affords them much power though the knowledge they have built up and the influence that that gave them on detailed development of the plans over the

decades (interview regional water authority). In combination with their authority on the water levels and the amount of land they own on the waterfronts, they are certainly a party with a lot of power.

The party that unquestionably has the most power is the province, even now that the project management has shifted down to the municipality and regional water authority. They have been with this project from the beginning. They own about a quarter of all the land of the NNN in the Krimpenerwaard and they pay for almost everything (interview municipality). This, in combination with the employees they have seconded to the program bureau, gives them a large amount of power in this project and the most of all actors involved.

#### 4.4.5 In Conclusion

The different actors each have their selection of resources, between physical, influence, and knowledge, resulting in each actor having a certain amount of power. No definitive answer can be given on the distribution of resources and power since neither resources nor power is stagnant. The distribution of both has changed during the project up until now and this will likely continue at least until 2026 when the project is set to be finished. The most evident example of this change is how land has changed hands in the Krimpenerwaard. Landowners have sold their land, ZHL has traded land with farmers in the Krimpenerwaard to acquire more land within the NNN, and the municipality and province have been working on buying lands and expropriating if necessary. Influence has shifted and specifically political influence of non-government parties has diminished once the political decision making was over. Knowledge for all parties has increased through practice and through the Veenweiden Innovation Centre, but it is difficult say with certainty whether the distribution of knowledge has changed.

The aspect that has changed the most is power, and this will continue to change until at least the end of the project in 2026. This is because not only has the distribution of resources between the actors in the Krimpenerwaard changed, the amount of use that the actors can get out of their resources has also changed. Like how ZHL manages to project power in the process by using their land to impact the plans. This is something that they are only able to do while the plans are still being completed. Once all nature within the project is developed, they lose some of that power that came with their resources, even though they retain their lands. That is counterweighed by the Nature Management Collective that they are part of, and its one stop shop function. As a result of this collective, it is inevitable that the agrarian sector and the nature organisations will see their power rise as this project reaches its completion.

## 5. Conclusion

This chapter will answer the main research question of this thesis:

*How have the resources, rules of the game, and discourse dimensions affected the actor dimension in Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard?*

The actors have been influenced, guided, and influenced by the distribution of the various resources, the rules of the game, and discourse. Because of the diverse nature of the actors, there cannot be a general answer on “how the actor dimension is affected”. Therefore, this conclusion will be split among the same lines as the actor dimension sub questions was split, with a separate answer for the province, municipality, regional water authority, nature organisations, and agrarian sector. At the end there will be a section discussing how the complete actor dimension has been affected by the other dimensions.

### 5.1 Province

Throughout the NNN, and previously EHS, project, the province has remained mostly unchanged by everything. Their main transformation is to do with how the project changed after the budget cuts in 2010 by Henk Bleker. With the local administrative bodies being unhappy with the progress that the province has made on the project over the years prior, their offer to take over the lead in 2010, which ultimately lead the program to where it is now, has reshaped the position of the province significantly. Because the province is a higher administrative body and further removed from the goings-on in the Krimpenerwaard itself, much of what has changed there has not made it far enough up the chain to affect the province.

### 5.2 Municipality

From the start up until now, the municipality perhaps has changed the most in form. It went from 11 separate towns up until 1985 to five separate towns up until 2015 to a single town today. These changes are unrelated to the NNN project but have changed the position of the municipality in the project. With these mergers, the municipality acquired more resources, more knowledge, and was better able to get its voice heard. Because of this, the municipality was able to actively take part in the shaping and development of the NNN in the Krimpenerwaard.

### 5.3 Regional water authority

The regional water authority has been there throughout the entire history of this nature development project. One instance which has affected the regional water authority in their doings is when the Ministry and province offered to pay 50% of the costs of water management measures in the Krimpenerwaard on the condition that they would hold off on developing them for now. This has ultimately allowed them to implement the measures they want to, while not eroding their support from the local population because taxes did not have to be raised. Now that the NNN plans are in motion, the regional water authority has also been able to start the implementation of their water management measures. Another dimension that has had a considerable effect on the regional water authority is the rules dimension. Through the Water Framework Directive, the regional water authority was able to keep the project going, and therefore was able to make their water management measures a reality even though the Ministry had to make spending cuts in the nature development budget.

### 5.4 Nature organisations

The introduction of the nature development plans in the Krimpenerwaard has allowed the nature organisation ZHL to further its interests. Where before they before they leased out their land to

farmers under nature friendly conditions, now once the NNN is in place, the land they will be leasing out will be of a much higher nature value than before. An additional change that ZHL has experienced with this project, is that they will also be partly responsible of the management of the lands of the province, through their seat in the Nature Management Collective. While this seat has an effect on the influence of the ZHL, that changed influence will not change the ZHL.

### 5.5 Agrarian sector

Of all major actors involved with the project, the agrarian sector arguably has been affected the most by the other three dimensions. Most likely this can be attributed to the size of this actor. Not so much the agrarian sector together, but rather the individual agrarians. Due to the heterogenous nature of the agrarian sector in the Krimpenerwaard, the same three dimensions that affected the other actors have a much larger effect on the agrarian sector. A metaphor that comes closest to describing the difference would be that rather than a hand pushing against a pile of bricks, it pushes to just a couple of them. The pushing has most certainly more effect in the latter situation compared to the former. One major effect on the farmers by the rules dimension comes from land consolidation. Because land consolidation never fully took place like it did in many other places in the Netherlands, farms remain small and stretched out in the Krimpenerwaard. This has had an impact on the influence of the agrarian sector altogether, as it was too divided. Many voices ultimately lead to many different voices. This leads to the other aspect of the rules dimension that has had a huge effect on the agrarian sector and that is the introduction of the NNN, or rather the EHS before that. Because of the division among farmers, they were never able to build a considerable opposition or have collective bargaining with regards to nature development in the Krimpenerwaard.

### 5.6 In Conclusion

All five main actors have been differently influenced in this process. This has to do in part with how each has experienced a change of power during the project. This change of power is caused by changes in the usefulness of the resources from which they draw their power.

The actor dimension has been particularly influenced by the rules dimension, especially Europe's rules. One of the pieces of legislation that is key to this case is the NNN. The other key piece of legislation is the Water Framework Directive. While the NNN in the Krimpenerwaard is not a part of the NNN as laid out by Brussel, it would not be there without the broader Dutch NNN. Along with the Water Framework Directive, these two pieces of legislation have decided much of the margin that the actor dimension has within the policy arrangement. The vertical distance between the actors in the Krimpenerwaard and actors in Brussels and The Hague is too large for the local actors to influence the legislation that binds them. The limited margins left local actors with little space to introduce alternative solutions.

This created a certain feeling of helplessness among younger farmers and farmers to be. Their inability to ensure future profitability of their family farms, whether due to uncertainty or lack of concessions granted by the executive agencies, has made some abandon and sell their farms. How this will affect the Krimpenerwaard is yet to be seen. Potentially there will not be enough farmers to manage the NNN. The Nature Management Collective would have to entice farmers that are more amenable to combine farming and nature management from in- and outside the Krimpenerwaard. It would not be the first instance of this, and it would certainly not be a hopeless situation, but in the short-term problems could arise.

A broader societal change that has helped expedite this project cannot go unmentioned. Going back several decades, peat lands like the Krimpenerwaard were primarily appreciated for their agricultural value. Just like how Veenman et al. (2009) found that between the early seventies and late eighties a

discursive shift had taken place, from “forests for the economy” to “nature conservation”, but instead of “forests for the economy” there was a “peat lands for the economy” discourse. This is reflected in how even today the nature conservation problem definition is not shared among all actors and specifically the agrarian sector. Nonetheless, it has become mainstream enough to allow projects like this one in the Krimpenerwaard to happen. This research has not primarily been about this discursive shift, but the parallel is present.

## 6. Discussion

that, reflections on this research provides me with two major points of improvement. With how the actor dimension appears to be of such importance, it is perhaps interesting to flip the main research question for future research. Rather than *“How have the resources, rules of the game, and discourse dimensions affected the actor dimension in Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard?”* the research question *“How has the actor dimension affected the resources, rules of the game, and discourse dimensions in Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard?”*. The main reason for this reflection is that logically, the effect that three, in this project, small dimensions have on one large dimension would be smaller than if it would be the other way around, the effect of one large dimension on three smaller dimensions. If someone were to take a look at this case, using the research question *“How has the actor dimension affected the resources, rules of the game, and discourse dimensions in Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard?”* would likely yield more interesting results.

A second point of improvement would be in the theoretical framework. Because of the assumed importance of the actor dimension, a better theoretical separation of “the actor” and “the action” would help the researcher.

This case lends itself well for a potential comparative case study, where someone would compare this case with a case where the implementation was never given up by the province. Alternatively, a case where land consolidation happened like it did in most of the Netherlands, resulting in fewer small farms. A difference like that could alter the power dynamic, as each farmer would have more bargaining power even if the total area would stay the same.

A potential last follow up research that would be worthwhile, would be looking at how this increase in agriculture will ultimately turn out. Will agrarians be able to make a living under these new conditions in the NNN? How will the nature values improve depending on which kind of organic farming is employed? This is an interesting question to ask because of something that Herman Wijffels, former chair of the Economic and Social Council (SER), has recently said on television (Claessens, 2021, 24 July). To him the development of organic farming in the Netherlands needs to get a boost. Besides the fact that the European Commission wants the Netherlands to produce 25% of its food organically by 2030, to him it also has additional value because organic, local produce connects people to the land on which they live. Where in other countries agriculture is focused on quality, in the Netherlands it is focused on quantity. Furthermore, an increase in organic farming would also result in an improvement to the health of the soil, the health of nature, increased biodiversity, and the healthiness of the food that is produced in the Netherlands.

I have several policy recommendations based on my conclusions:

Firstly, moving the executive power from the province to the lower-level governments is something that similar projects should replicate. Because of the shift to the lower-level governments, local actors have been better able to make a case for their interests and have been less distrustful of the executive agencies in this project. It is easier for them to take up their grievances with the municipality or the regional water authority than with the province or any higher-level government. Additionally, the lower-level governments are more able to help local actors to adapt the plans to their needs.

There is one caveat that must be taken into consideration and that is the second recommendation. While the executive agencies are lower-level, more approachable governments, the plans for the NNN have come from higher up. In the future, these plans must be more flexible to suit the local situation. While it makes sense that certain goals must be achieved, the counter-pressure that comes

with the small margins come with the static top-down plans can be more inconvenience than it is worth.

Finally, the last recommendation is that future projects should consider creating a similar management organisation as the Nature Management Collective. By bringing both the nature organisations and the agrarian sector together in one organisation, with an independent chair, helps to create support for the organisation. Because both parties are equally involved, both parties are emancipated to trust that such a management collective does not forsake their personal interests. What it also does is bring knowledge together. The nature organisations know thoroughly what is needed to manage the nature values and the agrarian sector brings in the knowledge of farming practices. Together they can chart the course to keep the nature values in such an area at a high level, while maintaining a sufficiently good business climate for affected farmers. Seeing that there must be an organisation that manages the nature afterwards, creating such an organisation like the Nature Management Collective with its one stop shop function also allows government bodies to take their hands off the project and focus their resources elsewhere.



## References

- Arnouts, R., van der Zouwen, M., & Arts, B. (2012). Analysing governance modes and shifts — Governance arrangements in Dutch nature policy. *Forest Policy and Economics*, 16, 43–50. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2011.04.001>
- Beier, P., Majka, D. R., & Spencer, W. D. (2008). Forks in the Road: Choices in Procedures for Designing Wildland Linkages. *Conservation Biology*, 22(4), 836–851. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1523-1739.2008.00942.x>
- BIJ12. (2020, September 30). *Natura 2000 beheerplannen*. <https://www.bij12.nl/onderwerpen/natuur-en-landschap/natura-2000-beheerplannen/>
- Cambridge University Press. (2021). Discourse. In *Cambridge Dictionary*. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/discourse>
- Caryl, F. M., Thomson, K., & van der Ree, R. (2012). Permeability of the urban matrix to arboreal gliding mammals: Sugar gliders in Melbourne, Australia. *Austral Ecology*, 38(6), 609–616. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aec.12006>
- Conservation International. (n.d.). *Impact of COVID-19 on Nature*. Retrieved 23 March 2021, from <https://www.conservation.org/stories/impact-of-covid-19-on-nature>
- CBD. (2011). *Aichi Biodiversity Targets*. Convention on Biological Diversity. <https://www.cbd.int/sp/targets/>
- Claessens, A. (2021, 24 juli). *Nederland loopt achter wat biologisch boeren betreft: zo kan het anders volgens oud-SER-topman Herman Wijffels*. Geraadpleegd op 13 augustus 2021, van <https://eenvandaag.avrotros.nl/item/nederland-loopt-achter-wat-biologisch-boeren-betreft-zo-kan-het-anders-volgens-oud-ser-topman-herman-wijffels/>
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2017). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design (International Student Edition)* (4<sup>th</sup> edition). Thousand Oaks, Canada: SAGE Publications.
- Daszak, P., Cunningham, A., & Hyatt, A. (2001). Anthropogenic environmental change and the emergence of infectious diseases in wildlife. *Acta Tropica*, 78(2), 103–116. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0001-706X\(00\)00179-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0001-706X(00)00179-0)
- Denzin, N. K. (1987). *The Research Act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) New York etc.: McGraw-Hill.
- European Commission, Estreguil, C., Caudullo, G., & Miguel, J. S. (2013). *Connectivity of Natura 2000 Forest Sites*. Publications Office of the European Union. <https://doi.org/10.2788/95065>
- European Council. (1992, May). *Council Directive 92/43/EEC on the conservation of natural habitats and of wild fauna and flora* (Nr. 206/7). Official Journal of the European Communities. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:31992L0043&from=EN>
- Everard, M., Johnston, P., Santillo, D., & Staddon, C. (2020). The role of ecosystems in mitigation and management of Covid-19 and other zoonoses. *Environmental Science & Policy*, 111, 7–17. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envsci.2020.05.017>
- de la Fuente, B., Mateo-Sánchez, M. C., Rodríguez, G., Gastón, A., Pérez de Ayala, R., Colomina-Pérez, D., Melero, M., & Saura, S. (2018). Natura 2000 sites, public forests and riparian

corridors: The connectivity backbone of forest green infrastructure. *Land Use Policy*, 75, 429–441. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2018.04.002>

Giddens, A. (1979). *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis* (First Edition). Palgrave Macmillan.

Giddens, A. (1981). *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*. Amsterdam University Press.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (UK ed.). University of California Press.

Glista, D. J., DeVault, T. L., & DeWoody, J. A. (2009). A review of mitigation measures for reducing wildlife mortality on roadways. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 91(1), 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2008.11.001>

Hajer, M. A. (1996). *The Politics of Environmental Discourse: Ecological Modernization and the Policy Process* (Revised ed.). Clarendon Press.

Hajer, M. A. (2003). Policy without polity? Policy analysis and the institutional void. *Policy sciences*, 36(2), 175–195.

Hajer, M. A. (2006). Doing discourse analysis: coalitions, practices, meaning. In Brink, M. (Ed.), Metze, T. (Ed.), van den Brink, M., Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, & Netherlands Graduate School of Housing and Urban Research. *Words Matter in Policy and Planning*. Utrecht, Netherlands: Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap.

Hemes, K. S., Chamberlain, S. D., Eichelmann, E., Anthony, T., Valach, A., Kasak, K., ... Baldocchi, D. D. (2019). Assessing the carbon and climate benefit of restoring degraded agricultural peat soils to managed wetlands. *Agricultural and Forest Meteorology*, 268, 202–214. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.agrformet.2019.01.017>

Holden, J., Chapman, P. J., & Labadz, J. C. (2004). Artificial drainage of peatlands: hydrological and hydrochemical process and wetland restoration. *Progress in Physical Geography: Earth and Environment*, 28(1), 95–123. <https://doi.org/10.1191/0309133304pp403ra>

Hoogheemraadschap van Schieland en de Krimpenerwaard, (n.d.). *GEBIEDSOVEREENKOMST VEENWEIDEN KRIMPENERWAARD*. <https://www.schielandendekrimpenerwaard.nl/werk-in-uitvoering/waar-gaan-we-wonen-werken-en-recreëren/gebiedsovereenkomst-veenweiden-krimpenerwaard>

Inglis, D., & Thorpe, C. (2018). *An Invitation to Social Theory* (2nd ed.). Polity.

Liefferink, D. (2006). The Dynamics of Policy Arrangements: Turning Round the Tetrahedron. In P. Leroy & B. Arts (Eds.), *Institutional Dynamics in Environmental Governance* (pp. 45–68). Springer Publishing.

Marx, K. (2000). *Karl Marx: Selected Writings, 2nd Edition* (D. McLellan, Ed.; 2nd ed.). Oxford University Press.

Natura 2000. (n.d. a). *Procedure Natura 2000 | natura 2000*. Procedure Natura 2000. Retrieved 22 March 2021, from <https://www.natura2000.nl/procedure-natura-2000>

Natura 2000. (n.d. b). *Zuid-Holland | natura 2000*. Retrieved 24 March 2021, from <https://www.natura2000.nl/gebieden/zuid-holland>

Ng, S. J., Dole, J. W., Sauvajot, R. M., Riley, S. P. D., & Valone, T. J. (2004). Use of highway undercrossings by wildlife in southern California. *Biological Conservation*, 115(3), 499–507. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s0006-3207\(03\)00166-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/s0006-3207(03)00166-6)

Oxford University Press. (n.d.). *actor noun - Definition, pictures, pronunciation and usage notes* | Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary at OxfordLearnersDictionaries.com. <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/Definition/English/Actor?Q=actor>. Retrieved 4 May 2021, from <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/actor?q=actor>

Rathore, C. S., Dubey, Y., Shrivastava, A., Pathak, P., & Patil, V. (2012). Opportunities of Habitat Connectivity for Tiger (*Panthera tigris*) between Kanha and Pench National Parks in Madhya Pradesh, India. *PLoS ONE*, 7(7), e39996. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0039996>

Rintoul, J. (2020, 21 augustus). *Farming for the future: why the Netherlands is the 2nd largest food exporter in the world*. Geraadpleegd op 13 augustus 2021, van <https://dutchreview.com/culture/innovation/second-largest-agriculture-exporter/>

Schatzki, T. R. (1997). Practices and Actions A Wittgensteinian Critique of Bourdieu and Giddens. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 27(3), 283–308. <https://doi.org/10.1177/004839319702700301>

Tatenhove, J., & Arts, B. (2000). *Political Modernisation and the Environment* (2000 ed.). Springer Publishing.

UN. (1992). *Convention on Biological Diversity*. <https://www.cbd.int/doc/legal/cbd-en.pdf>

Veenman, S., Liefferink, D., & Arts, B. (2009). A short history of Dutch forest policy: The 'de-institutionalisation' of a policy arrangement. *Forest Policy and Economics*, 11(3), 202–208. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2009.03.001>

Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard, (2015). *Veenweiden Nieuwsbrief*. Volume 1.

Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard, (2018). *Veenweiden Nieuwsbrief*. Volume 6.

Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard, (n. d.). *Natuur, koeien én beleving*. <https://www.veenweidenkrimpenerwaard.nl/actueel/natuur-koeien-en-beleving>

Vennix, J. (2016). *Onderzoeks- en interventiemethodologie* (6th edition). Amsterdam, Netherlands: Pearson Benelux B.V.

## Figures

Figure 1:

Own work. (17-05-2021)

Figure 2:

Liefferink, D. (2006, p. 48). The Dynamics of Policy Arrangements: Turning Round the Tetrahedron. In P. Leroy & B. Arts (Eds.), *Institutional Dynamics in Environmental Governance* (pp. 45–68). Springer Publishing.

Figure 3:

Own work. (17-07-2021)

Figure 4:

Liefferink, D. (2006, p. 52). The Dynamics of Policy Arrangements: Turning Round the Tetrahedron. In P. Leroy & B. Arts (Eds.), *Institutional Dynamics in Environmental Governance* (pp. 45–68). Springer Publishing.

## Pictures

Picture 1:

Gemeente Krimpenerwaard. (2019, p. 8). *Bestemmingsplan Natuurgebieden Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard*. Auteur. Geraadpleegd van [https://www.ruimtelijkeplannen.nl/documents/NL.IMRO.1931.BP1804BG008-VG01/t\\_NL.IMRO.1931.BP1804BG008-VG01.pdf](https://www.ruimtelijkeplannen.nl/documents/NL.IMRO.1931.BP1804BG008-VG01/t_NL.IMRO.1931.BP1804BG008-VG01.pdf)

Picture 2:

Gemeente Krimpenerwaard. (2019, p. 8). *Bestemmingsplan Natuurgebieden Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard*. Auteur. Geraadpleegd van [https://www.ruimtelijkeplannen.nl/documents/NL.IMRO.1931.BP1804BG008-VG01/t\\_NL.IMRO.1931.BP1804BG008-VG01.pdf](https://www.ruimtelijkeplannen.nl/documents/NL.IMRO.1931.BP1804BG008-VG01/t_NL.IMRO.1931.BP1804BG008-VG01.pdf)

Picture 3:

Own work. (16-06-2021)

## Appendix

Policy documents overview:

Title	Origin	Date
Gebiedsovereenkomst Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard 2014-2021	Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard	25-11-2014
Uitvoeringsovereenkomst Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard	Program Bureau	25-11-2015
Verslag raadsvergadering gemeente Krimpenerwaard (council meeting) 05-03-19	Municipality Krimpenerwaard	05-03-2019
Bestemmingsplan Natuurgebieden Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard	Municipality Krimpenerwaard	05-03-2019
Verslag raadsvergadering gemeente Krimpenerwaard (council meeting) 02-04-19	Municipality Krimpenerwaard	02-04-2019
Verslag raadsvergadering gemeente Krimpenerwaard (council meeting) 11-06-19	Municipality Krimpenerwaard	11-06-2019
Tweede Addendum Gebiedsovereenkomst Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard	Province of Zuid-Holland	04-01-2021

Interview overview (anonimized):

Interviewee	Date
Municipality 1	19-05-2020
Municipality 2	31-05-2021
Zuid-Hollands Landschap (ZHL)	15-06-2021
Regional water authority	22-06-2021
Program bureau	30-06-2021
Nature management collective	13-07-2021
Follow-up e-mail nature management collective	14-07-2021

Article overview:

News outlet	Title	Date	Link
AD Groene Hart	Onwetende wandelaar jaagt vogels de stuipen op het lijf	16-04-2020	<a href="https://advance.lexis.com/api/permalink/09170703-b2e6-4f20-9aa7-403cc4888289/?context=1516831">https://advance.lexis.com/api/permalink/09170703-b2e6-4f20-9aa7-403cc4888289/?context=1516831</a>
AD Groene Hart	Boeren vangen bot met verzet tegen natuurplan	13-09-2019	<a href="https://advance.lexis.com/api/permalink/43473d2b-5cef-4562-a29c-d6d0f1a50f1e/?context=1516831">https://advance.lexis.com/api/permalink/43473d2b-5cef-4562-a29c-d6d0f1a50f1e/?context=1516831</a>
AD Groene Hart	Weg vrij voor aanleg natuur	07-03-2019	<a href="https://advance.lexis.com/api/permalink/94caa528-f1a0-4b0e-963d-c2d388177b09/?context=1516831">https://advance.lexis.com/api/permalink/94caa528-f1a0-4b0e-963d-c2d388177b09/?context=1516831</a>
AD Groene Hart	Natuurplan is aangepast	12-12-2018	<a href="https://advance.lexis.com/api/permalink/62503f73-05b4-41fc-adf8-26a6e5a38b7c/?context=1516831">https://advance.lexis.com/api/permalink/62503f73-05b4-41fc-adf8-26a6e5a38b7c/?context=1516831</a>
AD Groene Hart	'Chaos bij gesprekken over compensatie	21-08-2018	<a href="https://advance.lexis.com/api/permalink/2ca04b42-2907-4efc-8393-59892fd8b2e3/?context=1516831">https://advance.lexis.com/api/permalink/2ca04b42-2907-4efc-8393-59892fd8b2e3/?context=1516831</a>

	grondbezitters'		
AD Groene Hart	24,4 miljoen voor boeren die natuur aanleggen	12-10-2017	<a href="https://advance.lexis.com/api/permalink/2eeff3e5-e407-43c7-b16e-169bb3f97345/?context=1516831">https://advance.lexis.com/api/permalink/2eeff3e5-e407-43c7-b16e-169bb3f97345/?context=1516831</a>
AD Groene Hart	'Samengaan van economie en ecologie'	20-06-2017	<a href="https://advance.lexis.com/api/permalink/d031904a-e002-4246-93b4-411a61784ed9/?context=1516831">https://advance.lexis.com/api/permalink/d031904a-e002-4246-93b4-411a61784ed9/?context=1516831</a>
AD Groene Hart	Koeien grazen voortaan 100 meter verderop	23-12-2016	<a href="https://advance.lexis.com/api/permalink/ddd52df6-98dd-43b1-bc79-9a9d52ffa642/?context=1516831">https://advance.lexis.com/api/permalink/ddd52df6-98dd-43b1-bc79-9a9d52ffa642/?context=1516831</a>
AD Groene Hart	Aanleg van 500 hectare natuur start morgen	02-06-2016	<a href="https://advance.lexis.com/api/permalink/e4116592-16a0-475c-9a31-df6dbfe61d48/?context=1516831">https://advance.lexis.com/api/permalink/e4116592-16a0-475c-9a31-df6dbfe61d48/?context=1516831</a>
Het Kontakt	Gouderak: 'Meepraten over bestemmingsplan'	07-11-2019	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/214229/gouderak-meepraten-over-bestemmingsplan-">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/214229/gouderak-meepraten-over-bestemmingsplan-</a>
Het Kontakt	'Wachten tot otters tocht naar Krimpenerwaard maken'	05-11-2019	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/214133/-wachten-tot-otters-tocht-naar-krimpenerwaard-maken-">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/214133/-wachten-tot-otters-tocht-naar-krimpenerwaard-maken-</a>
Het Kontakt	Veenweiden: boeren tonen weinig animo voor natuurbeheer	23-09-2019	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/210200/veenweiden-boeren-tonen-weinig-animo-voor-natuurbeheer-">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/210200/veenweiden-boeren-tonen-weinig-animo-voor-natuurbeheer-</a>
Het Kontakt	Wisselende reacties vanuit regio op 'brugbesluit'	17-07-2019	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/206169/wisselende-reacties-vanuit-regio-op-brugbesluit-">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/206169/wisselende-reacties-vanuit-regio-op-brugbesluit-</a>
Het Kontakt	Veenweidenprogramma : onteigening landbouwgrond mogelijk	21-03-2019	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/190447/veenweidenprogramma-onteienging-landbouwgrond-mogelijk-">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/190447/veenweidenprogramma-onteienging-landbouwgrond-mogelijk-</a>
Het Kontakt	'Populatie weidevogels zo ontzettend kwetsbaar'	05-03-2019	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/189083/-populatie-weidevogels-zo-ontzettend-kwetsbaar-">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/189083/-populatie-weidevogels-zo-ontzettend-kwetsbaar-</a>
Het Kontakt	Nieuw natuurgebied Krimpenerwaard trekt meer weidevogels	23-01-2019	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/183645/nieuw-natuurgebied-krimpenerwaard-trekt-meer-weidevogels">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/183645/nieuw-natuurgebied-krimpenerwaard-trekt-meer-weidevogels</a>
Het Kontakt	Bestemmingsplan Veenweiden vastgesteld na marathonzitting	06-03-2019	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/189174/bestemmingsplan-veenweiden-vastgesteld-na-marathonzitting">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/189174/bestemmingsplan-veenweiden-vastgesteld-na-marathonzitting</a>
Het Kontakt	Jonge boeren in discussie Veenweiden: 'Onze toekomst staat op het spel'	16-01-2019	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/182057/jonge-boeren-in-discussie-veenweiden-onze-toekomst-staat-op-het-spel-">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/182057/jonge-boeren-in-discussie-veenweiden-onze-toekomst-staat-op-het-spel-</a>
Het Kontakt	Overeenkomst met eerste natuurboer Krimpenerwaard	18-12-2018	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/167980/overeenkomst-met-eerste-natuurboer-krimpenerwaard">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/167980/overeenkomst-met-eerste-natuurboer-krimpenerwaard</a>
Het Kontakt	Bestemmingsplan natuurverbinding Krimpenerwaard klaar	11-12-2018	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/167490/bestemmingsplan-natuurverbinding-krimpenerwaard-klaar">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/167490/bestemmingsplan-natuurverbinding-krimpenerwaard-klaar</a>
Het Kontakt	Miljoenen voor Proeftuin Krimpenerwaard	24-07-2018	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/156437/miljoenen-voor-proeftuin-krimpenerwaard-">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/156437/miljoenen-voor-proeftuin-krimpenerwaard-</a>
Het Kontakt	Miljoenen beschikbaar voor Proeftuin	19-07-2018	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/156127/miljoenen-beschikbaar-voor-proeftuin-">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/156127/miljoenen-beschikbaar-voor-proeftuin-</a>

	Krimpenerwaard		<a href="#">krimpenerwaard-</a>
Het Kontakt	Kavelruil polder Den Hoek afgerond	18-05-2018	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/150611/kavelruil-polder-den-hoed-afgerond">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/150611/kavelruil-polder-den-hoed-afgerond</a>
Het Kontakt	Waar komt welk type natuur?	10-04-2018	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/147017/waar-komt-welk-type-natuur-">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/147017/waar-komt-welk-type-natuur-</a>
Het Kontakt	Proeftuin Krimpenerwaard: projecten voor innovatieve landbouw	31-01-2018	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/141362/proeftuin-krimpenerwaard-projecten-voor-innovatieve-landbouw">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/141362/proeftuin-krimpenerwaard-projecten-voor-innovatieve-landbouw</a>
Het Kontakt	In 2021 ligt de nieuwe natuur er in de Krimpenerwaard	02-12-2017	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/135917/in-2021-ligt-de-nieuwe-natuur-er-in-de-krimpenerwaard">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/135917/in-2021-ligt-de-nieuwe-natuur-er-in-de-krimpenerwaard</a>
Het Kontakt	Boeren voelen zich belemmerd door nieuw natuurbeleid veenweidegebied	18-10-2017	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/visserij/132007/boeren-voelen-zich-belemmerd-door-nieuw-natuurbeleid-veenweidegebied">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/visserij/132007/boeren-voelen-zich-belemmerd-door-nieuw-natuurbeleid-veenweidegebied</a>
Het Kontakt	Miljoenen extra voor realisatie Natuurnetwerk Krimpenerwaard	11-10-2017	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/131481/miljoenen-extra-voor-realisatie-natuurnetwerk-krimpenerwaard">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/131481/miljoenen-extra-voor-realisatie-natuurnetwerk-krimpenerwaard</a>
Het Kontakt	'Natuurbeheer met schapen is prima te combineren'	02-10-2017	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/129781/-natuurbeheer-met-schapen-is-prima-te-combineren-">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/129781/-natuurbeheer-met-schapen-is-prima-te-combineren-</a>
Het Kontakt	Proefveld 'Natte Teelten' in Ouderkerk aan den IJssel	25-08-2017	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/126270/proefveld-natte-teelten-in-ouderkerk-aan-den-ijssel-">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/126270/proefveld-natte-teelten-in-ouderkerk-aan-den-ijssel-</a>
Het Kontakt	Oplevering drie natuurgebieden in Krimpenerwaard	20-06-2017	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/122821/oplevering-drie-natuurgebieden-in-krimpenerwaard">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/122821/oplevering-drie-natuurgebieden-in-krimpenerwaard</a>
Het Kontakt	'Ze laten de boel hier gewoon verpauperen'	23-12-2016	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/110333/-ze-laten-de-boel-hier-gewoon-verpauperen-">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/110333/-ze-laten-de-boel-hier-gewoon-verpauperen-</a>
Het Kontakt	'Natuur laat zich niet leiden'	28-11-2016	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/108440/-natuur-laat-zich-niet-leiden-">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/108440/-natuur-laat-zich-niet-leiden-</a>
Het Kontakt	Volop kansen voor boeren in Krimpenerwaard	21-07-2016	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/98588/volop-kansen-voor-boeren-in-krimpenerwaard">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/98588/volop-kansen-voor-boeren-in-krimpenerwaard</a>
Het Kontakt	Start inrichting nieuwe natuurgebieden	03-06-2016	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/95840/start-inrichting-nieuwe-natuurgebieden-">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/95840/start-inrichting-nieuwe-natuurgebieden-</a>
Het Kontakt	ZHL verwerft percelen polder De Nesse	19-01-2015	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/38737/zhl-verwerft-percelen-polder-de-nesse">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/38737/zhl-verwerft-percelen-polder-de-nesse</a>
Het Kontakt	Samenwerking Veenweiden Krimpenerwaard bezegeld	19-11-2014	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/62871/samenwerking-veenweiden-krimpenerwaard-bezegeld">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/62871/samenwerking-veenweiden-krimpenerwaard-bezegeld</a>
Het Kontakt	'Boeren blijven nodig in Krimpenerwaard'	17-01-2014	<a href="https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/41294/boeren-bl-jven-nodig-in-krimpenerwaard">https://www.hetkontakt.nl/regio/krimpenerwaard/41294/boeren-bl-jven-nodig-in-krimpenerwaard</a>