

Presentation

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WEEK



POLITICAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND BOUNDARY SPANNING: CHANGING THE RIVER GAME WHEN YOU ARE NOT BOSS

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WHICH BOUNDARIES? (BRESSERS/LULOFS)

Water governance:

- linear when it's straightforward and routine,
- nonlinear when it's multilevel and cross-sectoral

Boundaries of

- Time
- Geography
- Issue-area/Sector
- Administrative jurisdiction
- Discipline



NUANCES ON POWER ASYMMETRY

- From the perspective of the more powerful, keeping control is the central challenge, for the less powerful, being encircled.
- Power asymmetries vary according to dimension (material, ideas, moral authority): probably, no actor is strongest on all aspects
- In bargaining linkage and package deals can alter power balance



TWO VIEWS ON NEED FOR (A)SYMMETRY

Realpolitik

- Leadership and power distance gets things done
- Weaker party benefits more from hegemony than from inequality/inequity, e.g. free-riding
- Coercion, side payments...

Negotiation/mediation theory

- Power parity: Egalitarian power distribution best for legitimacy
- Asymmetrical actors with different time horizons and preferences over issues can make deals
- Argumentative turn: *persuasion* not force



BOUNDARY SPANNING: THINKING ACROSS BOUNDARIES

- Inspiration e.g. G. Hamel -‘Leading the Revolution’ (Organisational theory): how to change things from below
 - Upscaled at different levels and applied to water sector
- Framing issues to mobilise resources and support base for ‘public good’
- Challenging hegemonic arrangement
 - From inside power elite?
 - From outside power elite?



SPACE FOR THE RIVER AS POLITICAL FORMULA

(Borrowing from Mosca, Gramsci and Hajer)

- Framing your interest in terms of the common interests in terms of your own good to stay in (or overtaking) power
- Framing helps increase pie
- Requires coherent alliance and agenda
- This usually means co-opting other's interests and dominant discourses



SPACE FOR THE RIVER... SPACE FOR EVERYTHING

Space for the river as 'transition' in water management
(ecological modernisation: green liberalism)

- Green engineering
- Risk management: Resilience rather than resistance
- Degree of participation
- Development: Seizing economic opportunities of natural values and sale of excavation materials

Often linking up with

- Urban regeneration
 - Cultural heritage
 - Tourism
- Requires: someone making space
 - Agricultural retrenchment
 - Discourse of 'neglected area'
 - Van Hemert: Space for Engineers



HISTORY OF SPACE FOR THE RIVER IN NL

- 1980s Green protests against dikes.
- Green engineers integrated in water managing organisations.
- Rediscovery of positive social and economic values of rivers.
- 1992 McSharry: take agricultural land out of production
- 1993/95/98 River and stormwater floods in Western Europe: Space instead of dikes, retention instead of disposal
- Cases mostly Dutch but France (Middle Loire), Germany (Oberrhein) and UK (Jubilee River) yield similar observations



WHICH TACTIC?

- Drawing attention
- Rhetorical persuasion
- Issue-linkage
- Networking
- Coalition building
 - venue shopping
 - selective activation
- Management of relations
 - trust building
- Game linking
- Changing gears



ROOM FOR POLITICAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP?

Hypothesis: Political entrepreneurship can change organisations/regimes from the inside by 'spreading the revolution'

- Focus on agency, positive leadership
- Leadership: takes personal risk to change things, increasing public good for collective, private benefit for leader
- Unlike transitions literature, no analytical judgment on whether change is beneficial
 - Realism: dog eat dog world, no progress
 - Radicals: state as handmaiden of global capitalism
 - Liberalism: interdependent world, enlightenment



VARIOUS LEVELS

Arena

- Global/regional governance
- Transboundary river regimes
- Domestic transsectoral river management
- Organisational management

Hegemonic actor

- Global/regional hegemon
- Basin hegemon
- National Water Ministry
- Board



MULTIPLE CHESSBOARDS

Internal

- Own constituency: governors, general public, funders

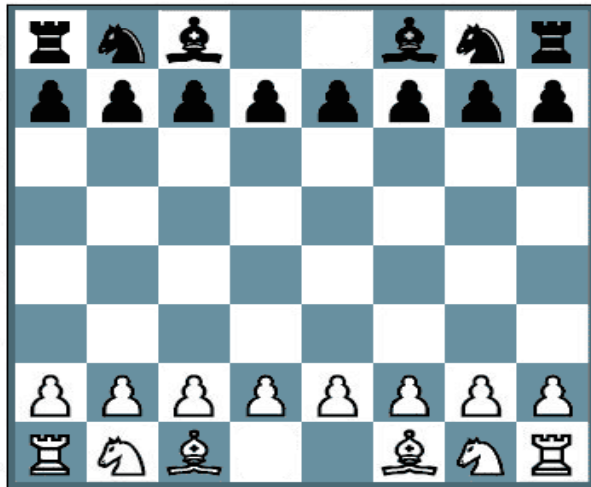
External

- Others in arena
- Other projects
- Other issue-areas

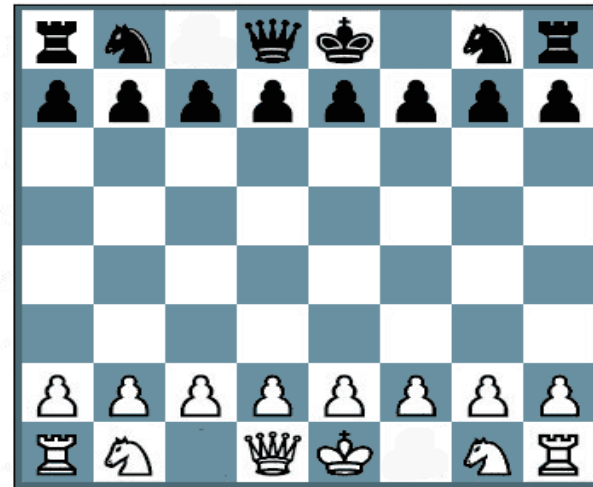
- Often the players are the same



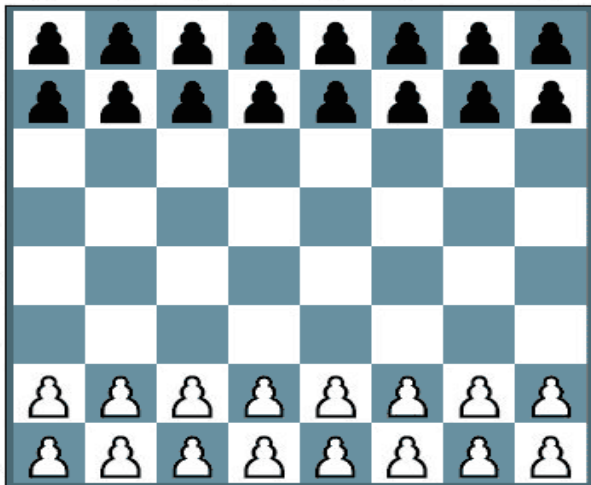
MULTIPLE CHESSBOARDS



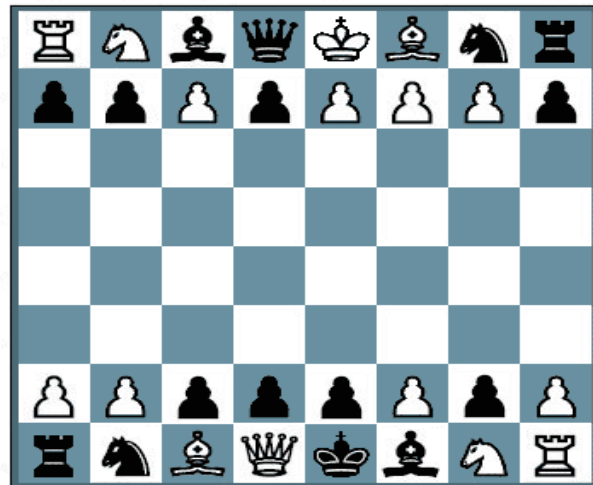
REPUBLICAN CHESS



ATHEIST CHESS



MARXIST CHESS



DESEGREGATED CHESS



PROACTIVE AND REACTIVE LINKAGE

Proactive

- involving others in time, anticipating future opportunities and resistance
- Linkage politics for package deal: win some, lose some

Reactive

- Being coupled by others: late understanding of others' interests or procedural needs
- Linkage politics to delay or frustrate project



RIVER SCHELDT

- 1998 Transboundary Ngo initiative: climate change
- Controversy over deeping of harbour: will it harm natural values?
- Strike balance between safety, security, nature
- Dutch/Flemish Multistakeholder process: science as arbiter?



BRACKETING OUT STAKEHOLDERS

- Affected 'neighbours' and their advocates can rally opposition (NGOs, local authorities) and strike alliances of convenience
- Farmers remain an (enabling or disabling): force to be reckoned with sometimes not or belatedly invited to the table
- Supposed beneficiary citizen groups may suspect rationale for intervention (who benefits?) and oppose development of 'surrogate nature': what's wrong with cows?



DESECURITISATION

Desecuritisation

- Environmental issues as 'low politics' allow transboundary cooperation
- Decentralisation of flood security allows regional / citizen initiatives
- Multiple values of water allow transsectoral coupling

Examples

- Scheldt multi-stakeholder negotiations
- Farmer alternative for Overdiepse polder
- *Breakthrough* channel



THE BREAKTHROUGH CHANNEL CONNECTING WEST AND EAST TWENTE

13 km channel



THE BREAKTHROUGH: PROACTIVE BOUNDARY SPANNING

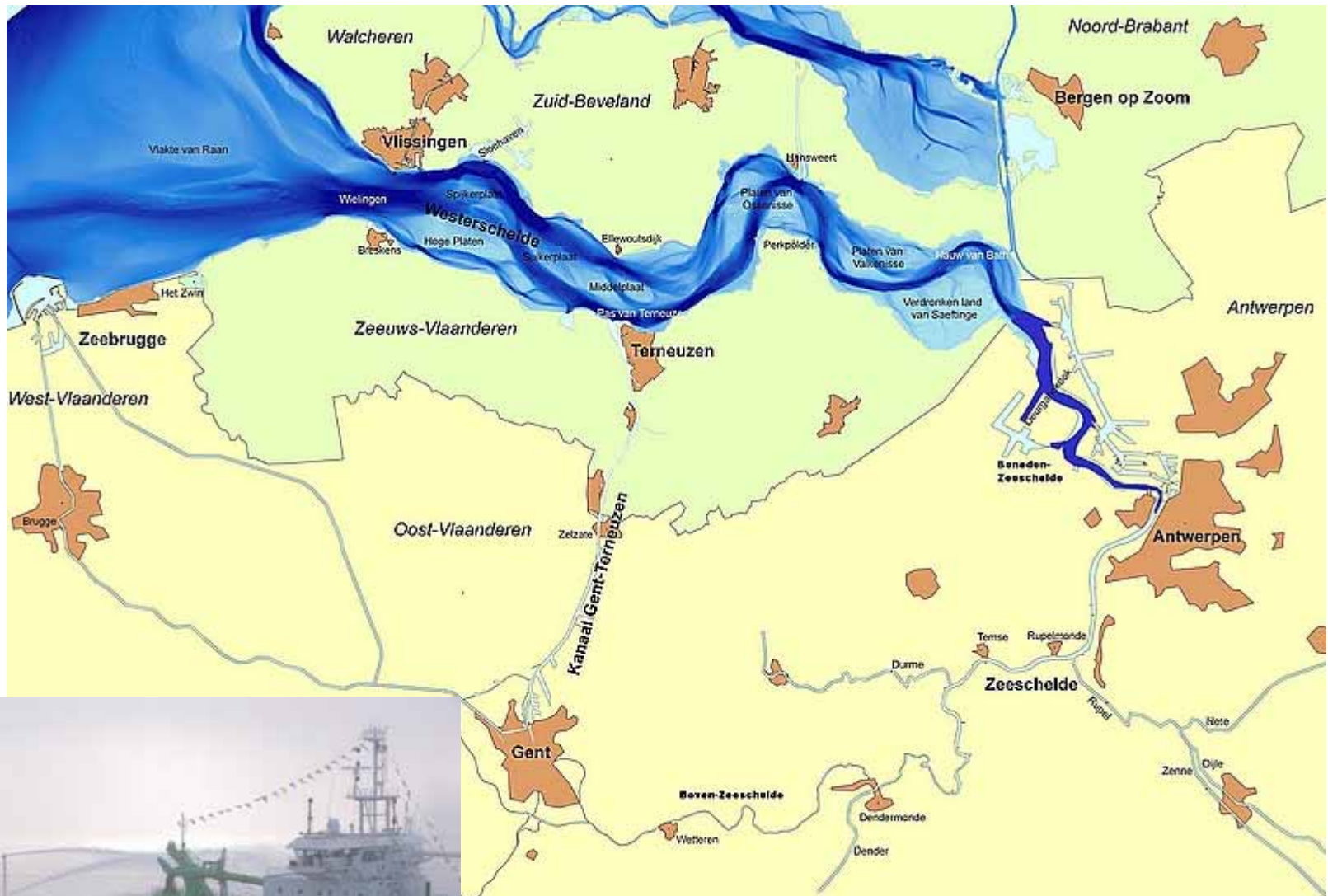
- Initiative: regional water management board
- Connecting urban and rural water management
- Linking early with nonwater interests
 - - Engaging with hegemon, opposition and other parties
 - Linking in with upcoming urban development
- Anticipating helpful national policy changes and funding opportunities



SCHELDT TRANSBOUNDARY MULTISTAKEHOLDER NEGOTIATION

- 17th – 20th century securitised river, competition between harbours
- 1998 Transboundary Ngo coalition (Netherlands and Flanders)
- 2000s Balancing safety (climate change) economic interest (harbour) and natural values (landscape of rare beauty)
 - Deepening upstream vs. Widening downstream





SOVEREIGNTY KICKS IN

- Global: Important countries fail to sign, ratify or implement treaties
- Transboundary: Opponent alliances of convenience manage to take protest up to higher level: Administrative Court, European court
 - Linkage politics
- Domestic: Despite decentralisation, Public Works dept is tempted to 'guide' any larger project



SOME FINDINGS

Velvet revolutions are possible

Changes made by insiders, outsiders coopted

Administrative successes have left important groups out in the cold

Sovereignty issues are always round the corner

Opponents can follow similar strategies as entrepreneurs

