

Bachelor's Project HGP 2020-2021

Appreciation of the cultural landscape maintenance in the Noardlike Fryske Wâlden in Opeinde, Friesland

Figure 1. Development of housing in De Peinder Mieden between the village of Opeinde and the town of Drachten.



Source: Friesch Dagblad (2018).

Student: Martijn Ras
Student number: 3114899
Organisation: University of Groningen, Faculty of Spatial Sciences
Programme: BSc Human Geography & Urban and Regional Planning
Supervisor: ir. B.M. Boumans
Theme: The Rural Idyll?
Wordcount: 6599
Date: 11-06-2021

Table of content

Summary.....	2
1. Introduction.....	3
1.1. Research problem.....	3
1.2. Main research question.....	3
1.3. Sub-questions.....	3
1.4. Structure of thesis.....	3
2. Theoretical framework.....	4
2.1 The concept of rurality.....	4
2.2 Sense of place.....	4
2.3 Appreciation of landscape preservation.....	5
2.4 Appreciation of the role of farmers.....	5
2.5 Conceptual model.....	5
2.6 Hypotheses.....	6
3. Methods.....	6
3.1. The case of Opeinde.....	6
3.2. Mixed methods.....	10
3.3. Data collection process: survey.....	10
3.4. Data collection process: interview.....	10
3.5. Methods of analysis: survey data.....	10
3.6. Requirements of linear regression.....	11
3.7. Methods of analysis: interview data.....	11
3.8. Representativeness of sample	11
3.8. Ethical considerations.....	12
4. Results.....	13
4.1. Landscape maintenance by farmers.....	13
4.2. Assimilation of attitude towards cultural landscape preservation.....	14
4.3. Sense of place and cultural landscapes.....	17
4.4. Factors determining attitude towards cultural landscape preservation.....	18
5. Conclusions.....	20
References.....	22
Appendix.....	25

Summary

Preserving cultural landscapes poses a host of challenges in an era of urbanisation which causes cities to expand. At the same time, a trend has become visible that works the other way around involving the relocation of urbanites towards the rural. In a time of continuing decentralisation and citizen participation, it is relevant how attitudes might shift with regard to cultural landscape preservation due to these demographic transitions. To this end, both a survey (n=306) and four in-depth interviews were conducted in Opeinde, a village in the North of the Netherlands at the edge of the town of Drachten. The results show a relatively high appreciation of the landscape around the village. No significant differences were found with regard to the appreciation of landscape maintenance between participants with a solely rural residential background and participants with an urban residential background. However, both satisfaction with the landscape and concern with the landscape did significantly influence the perception of maintenance. Furthermore, attitudes towards the role of farmers in landscape maintenance did differ significantly based on residential history. In conclusion, it is recommended that policy makers take demographic changes and residential backgrounds into account when valuating maintenance of cultural landscapes.

1. Introduction

Landscapes in Europe have become subject to massive pressure in recent decades, resulting in a deterioration of landscape quality (Belčáková, Gazzola & Pauditšová, 2018). These pressures have different origins, being it climatological stress, continuing urbanisation or intensive forms of agriculture. Landscape decay can especially be observed in rural-urban and peri-urban regions (Ibid). When assessing the situation in the northern part of the Netherlands, various developments have threatened cultural landscapes. Scale-enlargement in agriculture and the accompanying land consolidation have removed elements of historical landscapes (Schroor & Meijering, 2007; Schroor, 1993). Moreover, development of new residential areas and infrastructure, part of ongoing expansion of cities and towns, seems to poorly match the previous historical landscapes (Schroor & Meijering, 2007). Landscapes, however, do represent a valuable collective capital with regard to the economic, sociocultural and ecological realm, which in turn contributes to human wellbeing and welfare (De Fries, Foley & Asner, 2004). Conservation of cultural landscapes has grown in importance over the last years. It however remains unclear how this has to be seen in the light on counter-urbanisation. As mentioned by Bijker & Haartsen (2012), landscape quality is more of a priority for urban residents than it is for rural residents. When looking at the landscapes of Friesland, De Ruyter (2020) acknowledges that stress on landscapes can be counteracted by cooperation between professionals and the *mienskip* (the community). But it remains unclear what the standpoint of the *mienskip* will be when backgrounds of rural inhabitants differ in times of a moderate urban exodus. This research investigates the attitude towards the preservation and meanings of the landscape based on residential background. It provides a case study of Opeinde, a village in the North of the Netherlands close to the larger town of Drachten. The surroundings of Opeinde provide an example of a landscape that is arguably under substantial stress due to various developments.

1.1. Research problem

The aim of this research is to establish the influence that residential history (i.e., initial rural residents or former urban residents) has on the appreciation of cultural landscapes and their preservation. Possibly, a relation can be found with the trend of counter-urbanisation.

1.2. Main research question

To what extent do the perceptions of local cultural landscape preservation differ between long-time rural residents and more recent rural residents?

1.3. Sub-questions

1. To what extent does the appreciation of landscape maintenance by farmers differ between long-time rural residents and more recent rural residents?
2. Do newcomers assimilate with regard to their opinion on cultural landscape preservation?
3. Do local inhabitants derive a sense of place from cultural landscapes?

1.4. Structure of thesis

This research will first introduce theory on the conceptualisation of the “rural”, the role of the notion of a “sense of place”, appreciation of preservation and the attitude towards the position of farmers. Then, the methods will be explained along with a description of the study area. Next the results are presented. Lastly, this thesis will end with the main conclusions to answer the research question along with suggestions for future research. In the appendix, tables are added.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 *The concept of rurality*

When assessing the different views that rural inhabitants have towards cultural landscape preservation, the demographic composition is relevant in the Dutch rural context. The counter-urbanisation trend shows the in-migration of high-income, highly educated young elderly. While on the other hand there is an out-migration of young people with favourable prospects for education/jobs (Steenbekkers et al., 2008). Consequently, these different socio-economic groups will have different representations and definitions of rurality and what the rural should be like, highlighting the effect of age (Haartsen Groote & Huigen, 2003; Hunziker et al., 2008). The central concept of rurality needs to be addressed first. Since Haartsen Groote and Huigen (2003) investigate which aspects of this concept are prioritised by which age group, a general and clear-cut definition is not provided. This too holds for the research of Hunziker et al. (2008), where the concepts of social constructs and power relations come in. Haartsen, Groote and Huigen (2003) sort associations of respondents on the basis of socio-economic functional, visual-figurative and socio-cultural aspects. Hunziker et al. (2008) use in-depth interviews, mentioning the importance of memories and traces in the evaluation of landscapes. With regard to an urban-rural dichotomy, the image of the rural urbanites have is mostly influenced by morphological elements rather than social-cultural or functional elements (Heins & Van Dam, 2003). As acknowledged by Halfacree (1995) "rural" itself is a social representation, a combination of personal experiences, traditions and communal beliefs. This makes it harder to pin down this concept. This research focuses on the physical elements of rural landscapes, adjusted specifically to the Dutch context. Here rural is defined as "a physical, non-urban environment, characterised by low population density (<1.000 addresses per km²), appointed natural areas and/or agricultural land use". This less than 1.000 addresses per km² limit is chosen in accordance with the CBS classification of urbanity as it involves the classes "little urban" (500-1.000 addresses per km²) and "non-urban" (<500 addresses per km²).

The plurality of rural interpretations can partly be attributed to a dichotomy in landscape usage: initial agricultural use by the "native" rural population and recreational use by new rural migrants. Following Steenbekkers et al. (2008), this research defines "native" rural population as long-time rural residents: the born and raised rural residents and the new residents with a rural residential history. The more recent rural residents comprise the group of inhabitants that have lived in a town or city at some point in time. Within this group, a subdivision can be made. Steenbekkers et al. (2008) chose 5 years as a cut-off value to distinguish between "new newcomers" and "old newcomers", while Völker, Flap & Lindenberg (2007) stress that integration mainly takes place within the first two years of residence. In order to avoid interreference with the newly built residential area De Peinder Mieden (most houses are younger than 2 years), this study follows Gieling et al. (2019). A subdivision is created between urban dwellers in categories: 1) former urban dwellers living less than 10 years in the village, 2) those living between 10 and 30 years in the village and 3) those living more than 30 years in the village.

2.2 *Sense of place*

The preservation of cultural landscapes relates strongly to the notion of a sense of place (Kühne, 2018). Elements of landscapes can be strongly internalised and contribute to a person's identity as well as a sense of community (Barrett, 2015; Greider & Garkovich, 1994), spawning so-called "place identity" (Devine-Wright, 2009). Moreover, in the age of globalisation people might particularly value heritage, such as cultural landscapes, fostering a so-called "reactionary sense of place" (Massey, 1994). This sense of place stresses the authenticity of a *genius loci*, a cultural and historical conditioned qualification (Jive'n & Larkham, 2003). It is this authenticity that possibly creates broad public support for cultural landscape conservation (Alanen & Melnick, 2000). For modern landscapes lack identity and personality due to uniformity (Antrop, 1997). Moreover, based on the dominant perspective that residents have on preservation of cultural landscapes,

policies might divert. This research defines cultural landscapes as: “physical areas with distinctive scenic elements that can be attributed to human interference.” When looking at power relations, establishing which areas can be called “cultural landscapes” also determines which areas deserve to be protected. This research also aims to identify possible conflicting perceptions of cultural landscape conservation based on residential history.

2.3 *Appreciation of landscape preservation*

Bennett (2016) postulates that perception and evaluation of conservation is reciprocally influenced by both individual characteristics (e.g., experiences, beliefs, values, knowledge, preferences, place in group/community) and a wider societal context (e.g., culture, history, socio-economics). Especially interaction with landscapes is vital to appreciation of maintenance. This is exemplified by Kaltenborn & Williams (2002) who provide an example of different experiences of insiders (local inhabitants) and outsiders (tourists) of landscape protection. Actively interacting with landscapes shapes the meaning of the landscape, fostering place attachment, a sense of place and consequently satisfaction (Stedman, 2003; Bell, 2012). This place satisfaction and place attachment in turn lead to a felt responsibility to care for the natural environment (Gobster, 2015). Since the degree of place attachment correlates with the duration of residence, so might the degree to which scenic change is perceived as disruption (Devine-Wright, 2009).

Furthermore, the valuation of landscapes can divert for long-time rural inhabitants and more recent inhabitants. McGranahan (2008) found that counter-urbanites favour rural regions with a mixture of forest, open land, water bodies, topographical variation, and relatively little cropland: landscapes suited for recreational purposes. This can be qualified by what Buijs (2009) calls the “Aesthetic Image of Nature” in which the recreational or aesthetic aspects are most prominent. As highlighted by Gill, Klepeis & Chisholm (2010), so-called “new rural landowners” tend to appreciate rural landscapes for their natural resources rather than their productivity. Furthermore, landscape quality is more of a priority for urban residents than for rural residents (Bijker & Haartsen, 2012).

2.4 *Appreciation of the role of farmers*

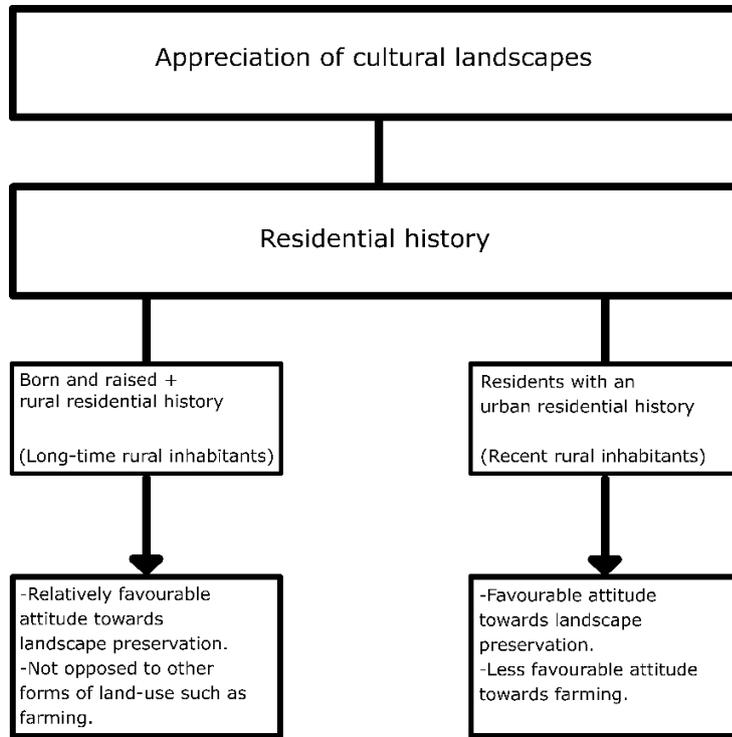
Whereas agricultural land-use is not that prominent economically, it is still dominating the rural scenery. Farmers themselves perceive the cultural landscape as outcome of their work (Stotten, 2016). They favour a “tidy” monocultural landscape whereas the wider population appreciates small-scale scenic elements (Burton, 2012; Daugstad, Ronningen & Skar, 2006). Long-time rural inhabitants may have grown accustomed to agricultural land-use, a difference compared to urban dwellers (Hart, 1998). As Lowenthal (2007) puts it: “They [urbanites] are often damned for knowing nothing of the rural milieus they crave—prizing the scenery while spurning the slurry” (p.644). This is confirmed by Gómez-Limón, Vera-Toscano & Rico-González (2012) who found that rural inhabitants have a stronger preference towards an agricultural function of the countryside compared to urbanites. On the other hand, they also found that rural residents favour the conservation of rural landscapes more strongly (Ibid). In the same vein, Almeida et al. (2016) found that rural residents prefer cultural landscapes while urban residents have a preference for landscapes that show less human interference. This can be related to the misconception that every form of farming assures the conservation of cultural landscapes. Or as Gray (2000) describes it: “farming carried out by family production units is [seen as] the condition for the kinds of landscapes and social life characteristic of rural space and rural space is the condition for, and outcome of, family farming” (p.35). However, conservation is solely done by traditional forms of farming, which need financial support nowadays (Bell, 2012).

2.5 *Conceptual model*

Based on residential history, a dichotomy arises in which long-time rural residents are prone to have a favourable attitude towards preservation of local cultural landscapes, see figure

2. On the other hand, recent rural inhabitants interact differently with the landscape, resulting in a tendency to appreciate landscape quality more. This distinction will be used in the research by focusing on residential history and a possibly related appreciation of conservation.

Figure 2. Conceptual model.



Source: Ras (2021).

2.6. Hypotheses

The favourable attitude that counter-urbanites have towards landscape quality lead to the main hypothesis:

H_{research question}: More recent rural residents will have a more favourable perception of local cultural landscape preservation than long-time rural residents.

H_{sub-question 1}: Long-time rural residents have a more positive attitude towards landscape maintenance by farmers than more recent rural residents.

H_{sub-question 2}: Newcomers assimilate with regard to their opinion on cultural landscape preservation.

H_{sub-question 3}: Local inhabitants derive a sense of place from cultural landscapes.

3. Methods

3.1. The case of Opeinde

Opeinde is a village in the north of the Netherlands, in the municipality Smallingerland, Province of Friesland, see figure 3. The village itself has 1730 inhabitants, as of 1 January 2020 (CBS, 2020a). The built-up area is rather sharply demarcated by the Kommisjeweij in the north and the Hegeweij in the south.

Figure 3. Map of the Netherlands, location of Opeinde within the municipality of Smallingerland.



Source: Map created by author (Ras, 2021).

Opeinde is located in the Dutch landscape Noardlike Fryske Wâlden, characterised by small-scale bocage landscape, dominated by pasture and rows of alder, see figure 4 (Van den Wittenboer et al., 2018). This landscape was assigned the status of national landscape in 2006 although the border of this landscape runs through the village (Tuinstra, Hanenburg & Van der Meer, 2014).

Figure 4. Impression of landscape with rows of alder around the village of Opeinde.



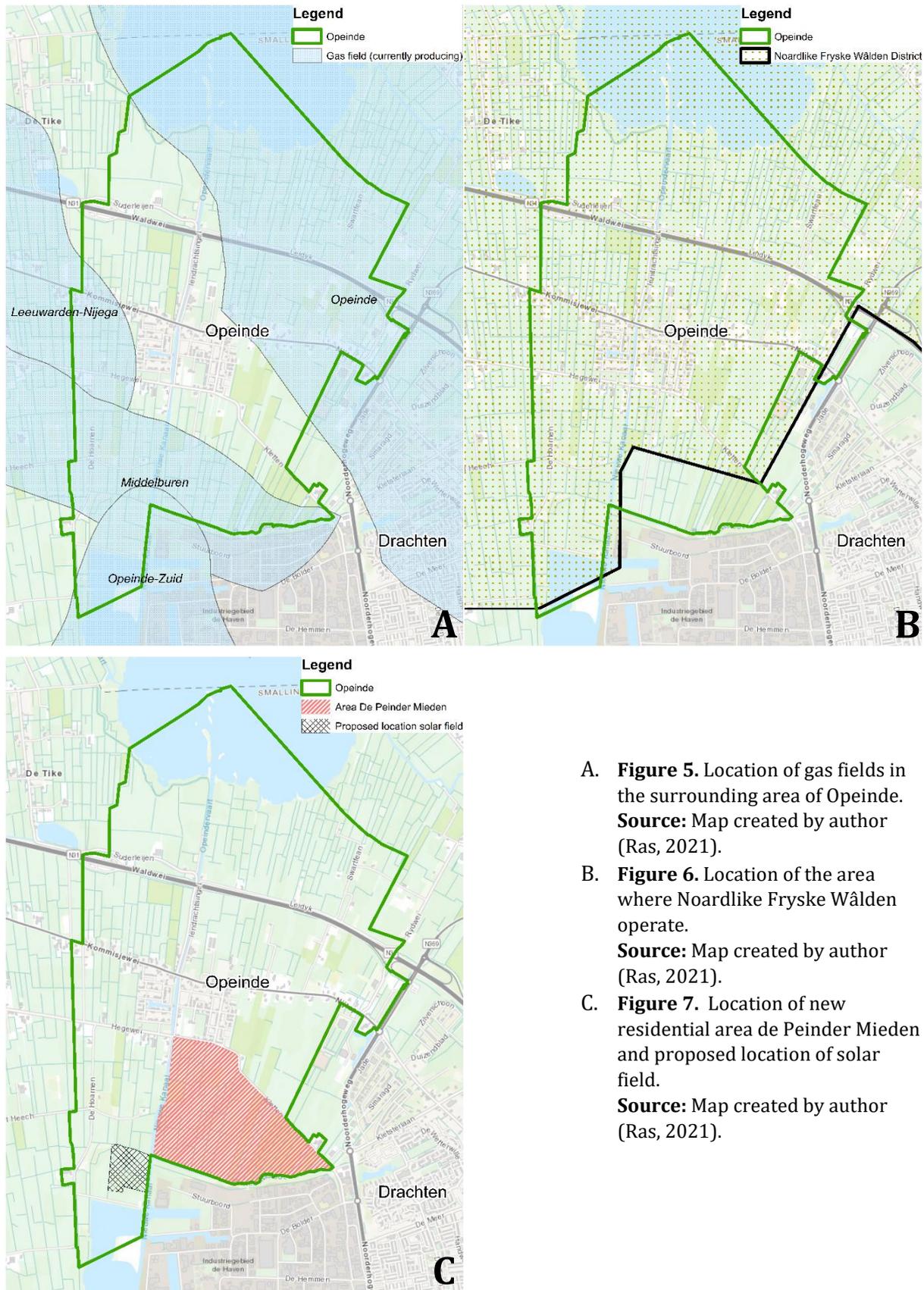
Source: Picture taken by author (Ras, 2021).

It could be argued that the landscape of Opeinde experiences substantial pressure. The nearby town of Drachten advances at the cost of Opeinde. East of the village, a small area was assigned to function as buffer zone between the two places. In the 1970s the trunk road Wâldwei was constructed north of the village connecting Drachten and Leeuwarden. In 2008 the plan was conceived for De Peinder Mieden, a new residential area between Drachten and Opeinde. This would be built on agricultural land that the municipality initially intended for industry (Friesch Dagblad, 2018). After a concept was developed, a “buyers’ cooperation” was established (De Peinder Mieden, 2021a). Interested buyers could purchase plots within the 87 ha of the development at the price of agricultural land. In 2016, phase 1 was completed, resulting in the altering of the zoning plan by the municipality in 2017. The intention is to conserve the cultural landscape and leave it as unaltered as possible (De Peinder Mieden, 2021b). This includes the absence of street lighting and paved roads. As of 2021, the area is maintained by an organic farmer, while grazing cattle can roam freely. In 2024, the municipality will transfer the maintenance of the area to the owner’s association.

In 2019, a plan for a solar field was proposed south of the village, an initiative of a German developer (Friesch Dagblad, 2021). This solar field would operate for 25 years on agricultural land. After this period, it would be removed. This plan was met with criticism in the village due to its possible effects on flora and fauna, the potential archaeological value of the site, the loss of agricultural land and the lack of transparency regarding possible revenues. Furthermore, it remains unclear how 50% co-ownership by the local community will be achieved, a goal set by the province of Fryslân (Drachtster Courant, 2021).

Lastly, in 2020 the extraction of natural gas from smaller fields under Opeinde by the Canadian company Vermilion was increased. Despite more than 200 notices of objection (Toren,

2020). A survey was conducted in April 2021 in order to investigate what the attitude is towards landscape preservation of inhabitants in such a contested area, see figures 5, 6 and 7.



- A. **Figure 5.** Location of gas fields in the surrounding area of Opeinde.
Source: Map created by author (Ras, 2021).
- B. **Figure 6.** Location of the area where Noardlike Fryske Wâlden operate.
Source: Map created by author (Ras, 2021).
- C. **Figure 7.** Location of new residential area de Peinder Mieden and proposed location of solar field.
Source: Map created by author (Ras, 2021).

3.2. *Mixed methods*

To investigate the attitude towards both the landscape and its preservation a questionnaire was conducted among the inhabitants of Opeinde. While this quantitative section can offer generalisability of the findings, it is a qualitative approach that can build understanding of the meaning of the results (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018). Therefore, this study aims to achieve what is called “additional coverage” benefitting from the strengths of surveys and interviews (Morgan, 2014). This strategy will allow for both a general picture of what the inhabitants think of the maintenance as well as the meaning of the landscape to the individual. Moreover, a mixed methods approach strengthens the study’s conclusions (Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017).

3.3. *Data collection process: survey*

Surveys were conducted door to door in a question-answer manner. In order to get a representative sample of the whole of the village, every address was visited. Both within and outside the built-up area. This approach was taken as online surveys tend to have lower response rates (Brown & Weber, 2012). Moreover, personal contact has the benefit of more meaningful answers (McLafferty, 2016). Every address was visited once except for when the researcher was asked back later. During three weeks, the researcher visited every address roughly between 16:00 and 18:30. on weekdays to assure higher response rates. During Saturdays, recruitment took place between 10.00 and 15.00. Households were asked for respondents over 18 who lived in the village, resulting in the absence of minors in the sample. Participation in the survey had no further selection criteria. Of the 688 addresses visited, 306 responded, resulting in a response rate of 44,5%. The researcher read out the exact question to which the participants responded. Answers were then written down by the researcher and afterwards manually inserted in the online survey. Unclarities about the questions or research purposes were addressed by the researcher. The questionnaire consisted of two sections. The first part asked questions about the attitude towards the landscape and landscape maintenance. The second part delved into the participants’ personal characteristics and residential histories. Here, data is gathered to understand the possible dichotomy in residential history as proposed in the conceptual model. The questionnaire structure can be found in Appendix A.

3.4. *Data collection process: interview*

Additionally, interviews were held to allow for more insight in considerations and feelings of the inhabitants towards the landscape. Something that is harder to catch in categories and figures. Interviewees were recruited by either convenience sampling or snowball sampling. Participants were found during the conducting of the questionnaires. Other inhabitants within the social network of previous participants were then approached. The interviews were conducted at the homes of the participants, taking into account the covid measures. Four in-depth semi-structured interviews were held that delved into the ways in which participants felt at home in Opeinde, how the landscape influenced this, how they interacted with the landscape and if/how the landscape should be preserved. Audio recordings of the interviews were made with consent of the participants, see Appendix B. The interview guide can be found in Appendix C.

3.5. *Methods of analysis: survey data*

In order to determine what the effects are of residential history on the attitude towards landscape maintenance, survey data was statistically analysed using SPSS. Data was used to answer the first and second sub-question relating to different perspectives on the role of farmers and to what extent former urbanites assimilate when looking at their perception of landscape maintenance. Analyses included One-Way ANOVA and Kruskal-Wallis. Data from the questionnaire was also employed for regression analysis that established which role various factors have in determining perception of cultural landscape maintenance.

3.6. *Requirements of linear regression*

Based on various test, it may be concluded that there was no collinearity in both models. VIF was below 4 in all three models, tolerances were below critical values and the correlations of the independent variables were below 1,0. Finally, models were checked for homoscedasticity and the absence of autocorrelation.

3.7. *Methods of analysis: interview data*

Interview recordings were translated and transcribed from West Frisian/Dutch to English. Transcripts were coded in ATLAS.ti using descriptive coding. Information that might lead to disclosure of the participants identity was removed from the transcript and indicated by “[personal information]”. Data was used to answer the third sub-question relating the sense of place that inhabitants derive from their interaction with the landscape and their position towards preservation. Characteristics of the interviewees can be found in table 1. The code tree can be found in Appendix D, table 2.

Table 1. Characteristics of interviewees.

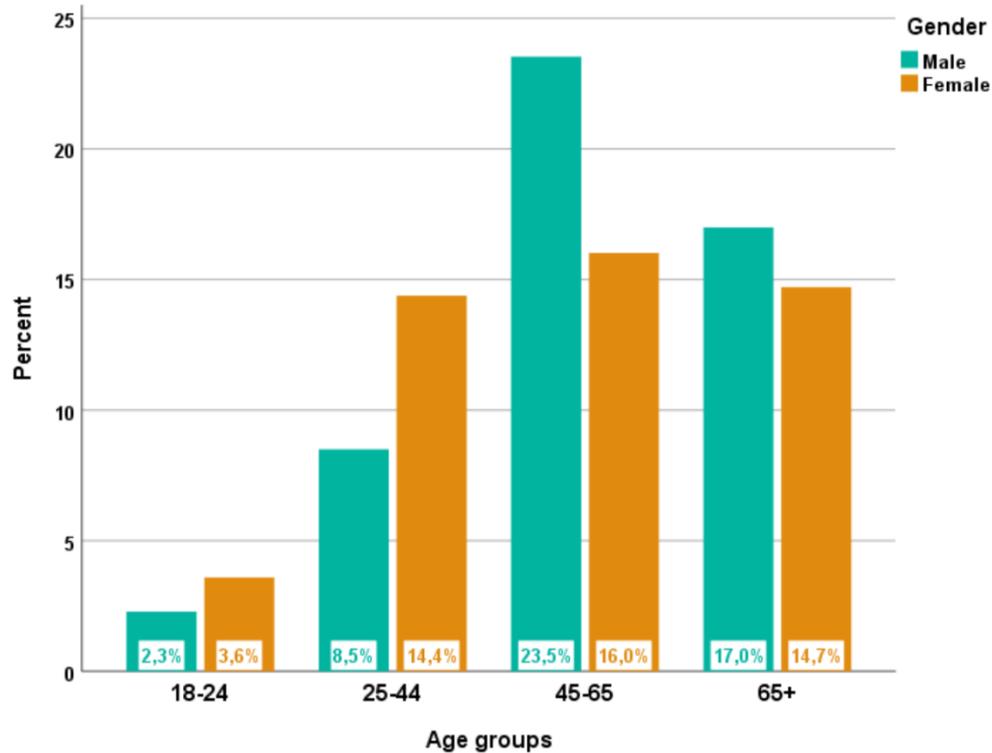
Participant	Date of interview	Gender	Age category	Lived in a town/city	Living in Opeinde in years	Sampling method
1	9 April 2021	male	60-70	Yes	>30	Convenience
2	10 April 2021	male	70-80	Yes	>30	Snowball
3	10 April 2021	female	50-60	Yes	<10	Convenience
4	16 April 2021	male	50-60	No	10-30	Convenience

Source: Ras (2021).

3.8. *Representativeness of sample*

The sample shows an almost equal distribution of both genders (51,3% male and 48,7% female). However, there seems to be an over-representation of the age groups 45-65 and 65+, see figure 8. The age group 0-15 is absent as respondents of under 18 were not recruited. Simultaneously, there seems to be an under-representation of the lower educated and an over-representation of the higher educated. This may create biased responses as education is a factor that influence landscape appreciation (Gammon & Elkington, 2018). This will not hinder the analysis as both age and education are included in the regression as control variables. For an overview of the respondent characteristics see Appendix E, table 3.

Figure 8. Distribution of age groups by gender, percentages of complete sample (n=306).



Source: Ras (2021).

Furthermore, the sample comprises a relatively large share of former inhabitants of the town of Drachten. Of the 266 respondents who have lived in another place than Opeinde, 120 lived in Drachten prior to moving to Opeinde. However, Drachten is difficult to position on the scale village-town-city. By Dutch standards, Drachten could be called a town although it does not attain high urbanity levels like cities as Amsterdam, Groningen or Leeuwarden. (Wolters-Noordhoff, 2007; CBS, 2021).

3.9. Ethical considerations

Ethical behaviour is very relevant when gathering data in a door-to-door manner (Hazel & Clark, 2013). The recruitment of participants already starts with the door-knocking or bell-ringing (Ibid). Especially in interaction with possible participants power relations are prominent. The demeanour of the researcher highly influences the participants' preparedness as well as possible answers. Therefore, the researcher tried not to be pushy. When residents opted not to partake in the research, the researcher only added: "Are you sure, because it would only take 2 to 3 minutes and your answers would really help me".

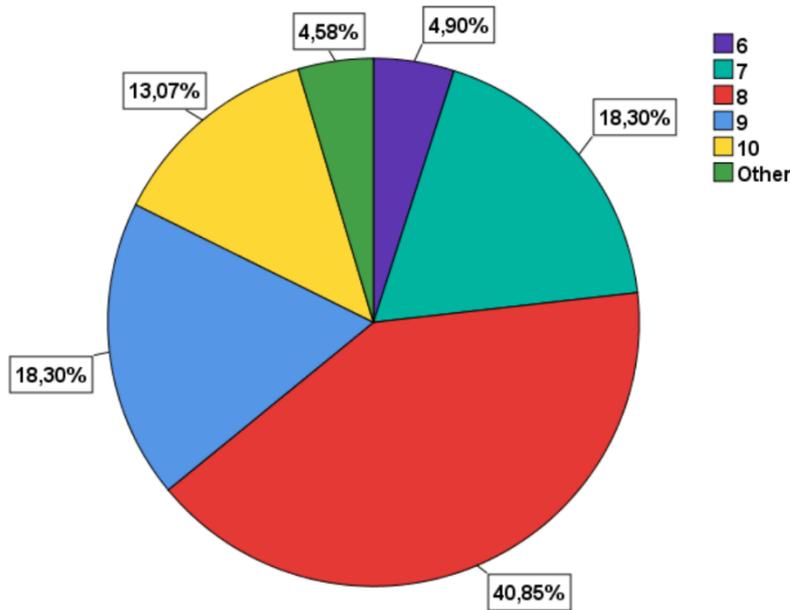
Moreover, when answers are noted down by the researcher instead of participants themselves there is the risk of interviewer-induced bias as well as non-sampling errors (e.g., mistakes in writing down answers). Furthermore, it is important to reflect on the researcher's positionality (Holmes, 2020). The background of the researcher is also shaped by a rural residential background in a somewhat larger village not far from the research area. This helped to employ knowledge of local cultural circumstances. While addressing participants in their mother tongue also helped to build rapport. Before conducting the interviews, participants had to sign an informed consent form declaring to approve the audio recording of the interview and to be aware of the use of answers educational purposes only. Interviews and questionnaire data was stored on password-protected devices.

4. Results

4.1. Landscape maintenance by farmers

In the survey, respondents held a relatively positive attitude towards the role of farmers with regard to landscape maintenance. 95,4% of the respondents ranked their importance with a 6 or higher, see figure 9. The vast majority of respondents (77,8%) stated that landscape maintenance should be carried out by another configuration than solely “government”, “farmers” or “residents themselves”. 89,9% of those who favour another configuration do include farmers in their combination of actors. This results in a total of 78,4% that mentions farmers as one of the actors of choice (8,5% states farmers solely, 69,9% states a combination including farmers).

Figure 9. Importance of farmers for landscape maintenance, scale 1-10 (n=306).

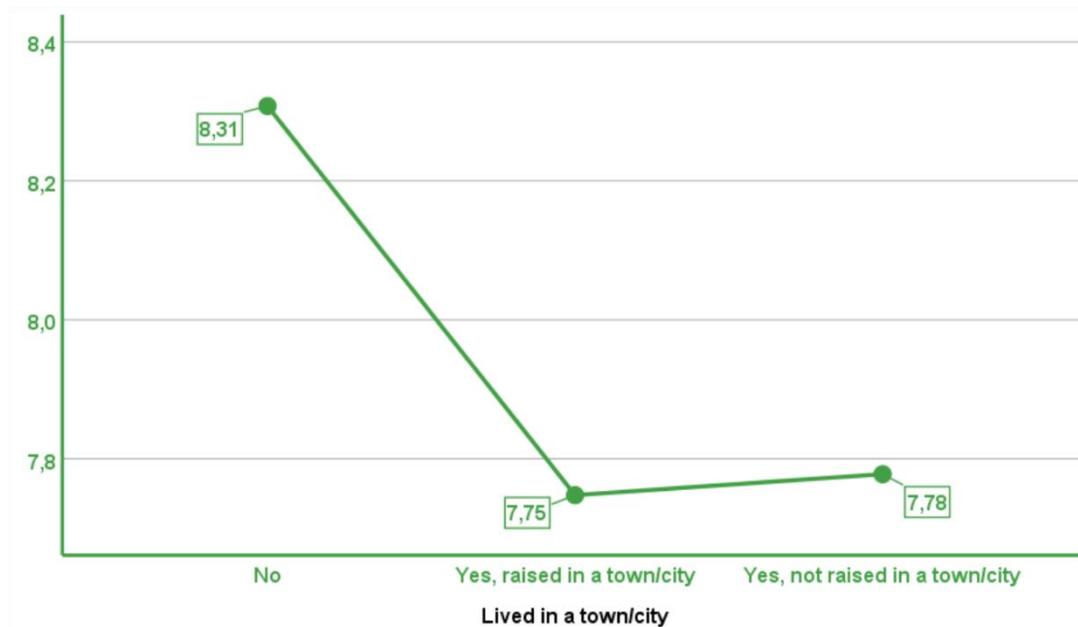


Source: Ras (2021).

A positive attitude towards the role of farmers in landscape management was also found by Stobbelaar & Kuijper (2007) who also investigated the appreciation of the Noardlike Fryske Wâlden in the nearby villages of Twijzel and Buitenpost as well as Drachten. Moreover, their participants stressed that the landscape was a “farmers landscape”. A similar attitude was held by participants in this research although it was often mentioned that there were only a few farmers left around the village. Although the lack of diversity in flower and herb species and the monocultural grassland were not assessed negatively in the research by Stobbelaar & Kuijper (2007). This is not left uncriticised by participants in this research. In this context, respondents also mentioned the decline in soil life, number of meadow birds and hares. This is frequently attributed to intensive forms of farming. A farmer mentioned that working together with the cooperation Noardlike Fryske Wâlden allowed for enough leeway to look after the landscape while still running a business. The decisions of the municipality on the other held were considered to more constraining.

A One-way ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of residential history on the mentioned importance of farmers for landscape maintenance. This analysis of variance showed that the effect of residential history on perceived importance of farmers was significant. Post hoc comparisons indicated that the mean for respondents who have not lived in a town/city was significantly higher compared to those with an urban background, see figure 10 and Appendix F, table 4.

Figure 10. Mean assessed importance of farmers for landscape maintenance, scale 1-10 based on residency of former urbanites compared to solely rural dwellers.

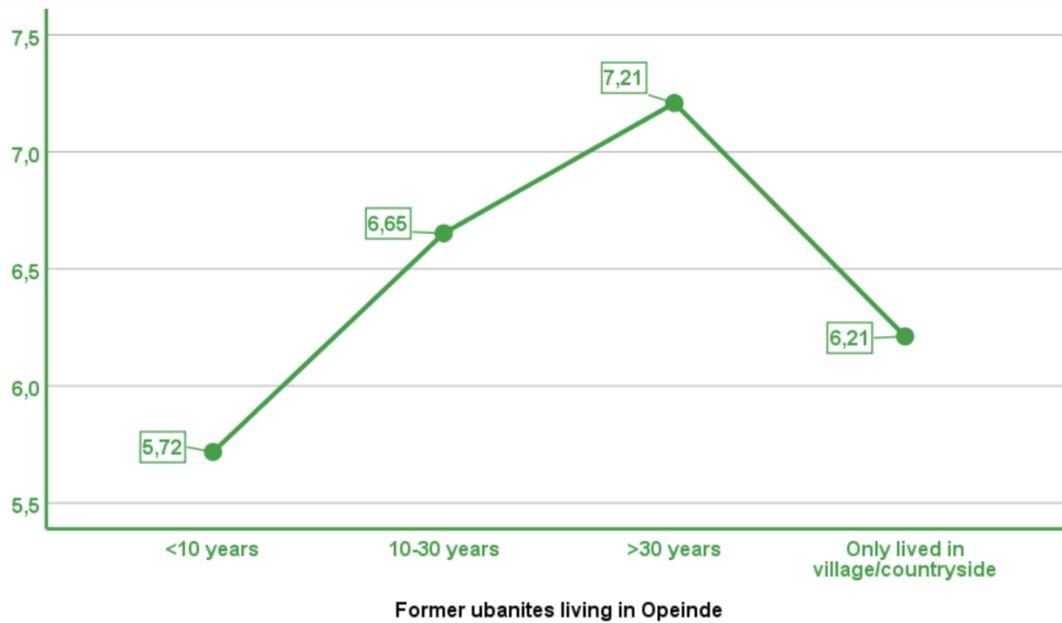


Source: Ras (2021).

4.2. Assimilation of attitude towards cultural landscape preservation

With regard to various aspects, former urban residents seem to assimilate when it comes to appreciation of landscape and its maintenance. One-way ANOVA analyses were conducted to compare the effect of the duration of residency of former urban dwellers and inhabitants who solely lived in a non-urban environment. These analyses of variance included the effect of residential history on 1) satisfaction with landscape, 2) concern about landscape, 3) score of maintenance of landscape, and 4) importance of farmers for landscape maintenance. In the case of “concern about landscape”, the ANOVA was significant. Tukey HSD indicated a significantly higher level of concern among residents who lived in the village for 10 to 30 years or 30 years or more compared to those who live there less than 10 years. Whereas, former urbanites that live in the village for 30 years or more score even higher than residents with a solely non-urban background, see figure 11 and Appendix G, table 5.

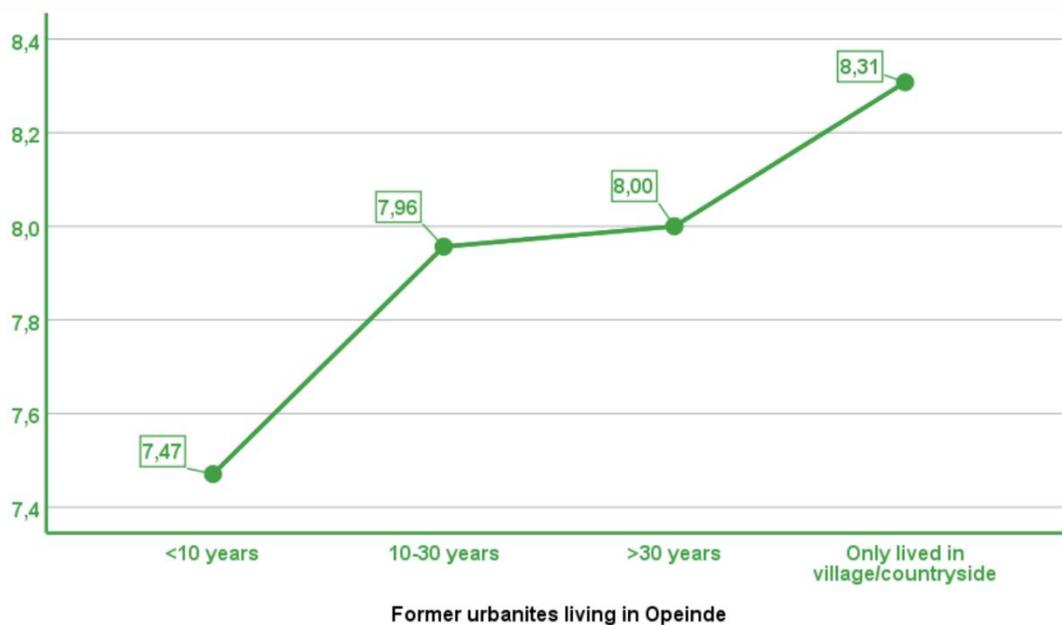
Figure 11. Mean concern about landscape, scale 1-10 based on residency of former urbanites compared to solely rural dwellers.



Source: Ras (2021).

Similarly, there seems to be an increasing appreciation of the importance of farmers with regard to landscape maintenance, see figure 12. The ANOVA was significant, post hoc comparisons pointed at a significantly higher mean level of appreciation of the importance of farmers among rural dwellers compared to former urban inhabitants that live in the village for less than 10 years. While appreciation of farmers gradually approaches the level of residents with a solely rural background, see Appendix H, table 6.

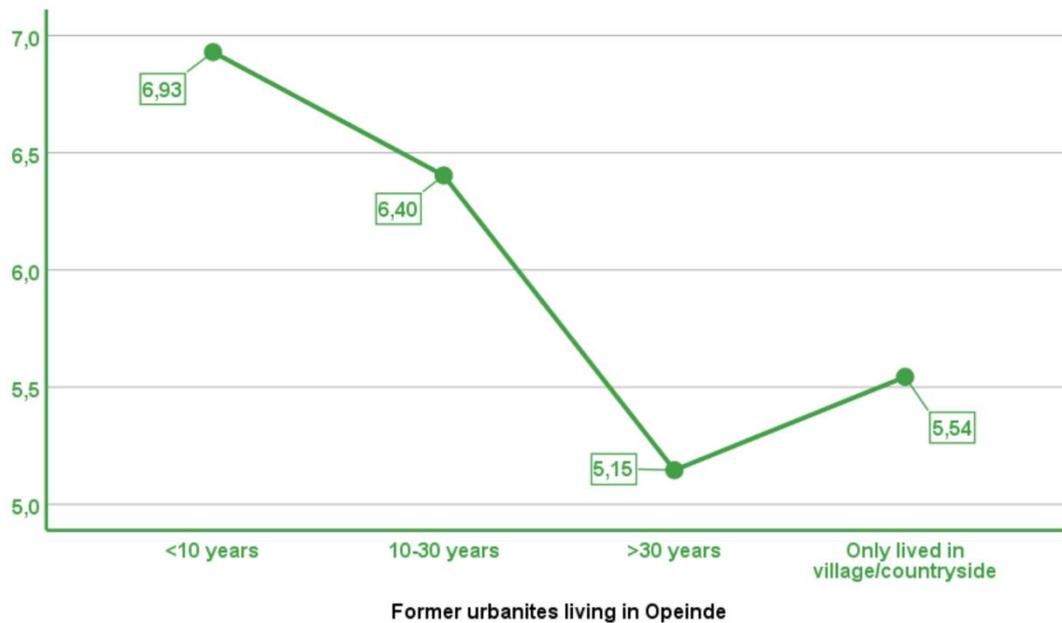
Figure 12. Mean assessed importance of farmers for landscape maintenance, scale 1-10 based on residency of former urbanites compared to solely rural dwellers.



Source: Ras (2021).

However, when looking at the grade given to the project of De Peinder Mieden there is a significant difference based on length of residency. There is a tendency visible in which former urban inhabitants start out higher than the “native” rural population, eventually surpassing the inhabitants with a solely rural residential background, see figures 13 and Appendix I, table 7.

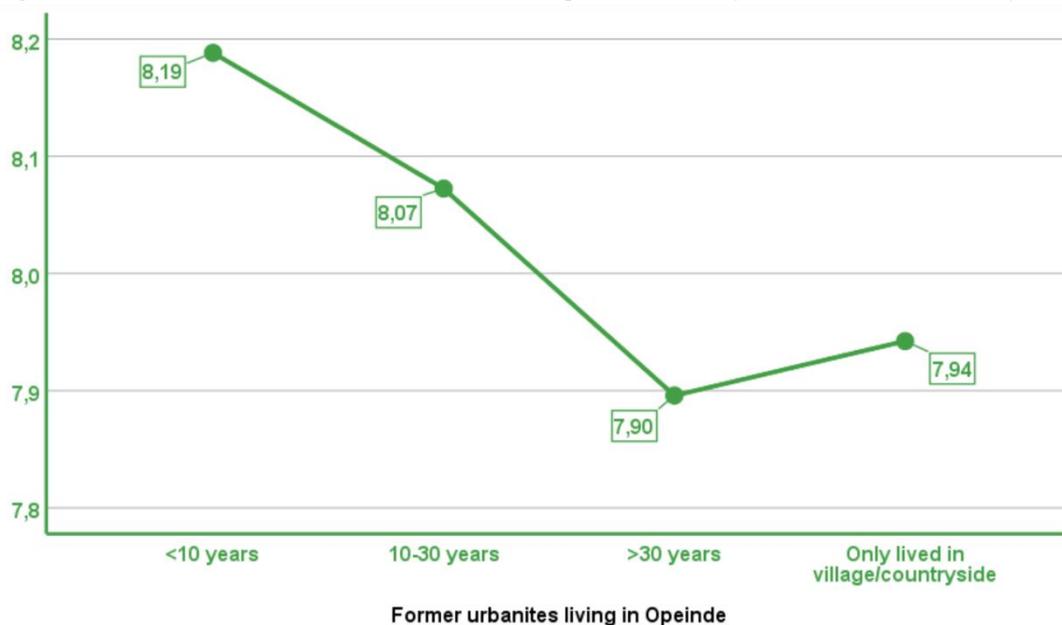
Figure 13. Mean grade of De Peinder Mieden, scale 1-10. (urban vs. rural dwellers).



Source: Ras (2021).

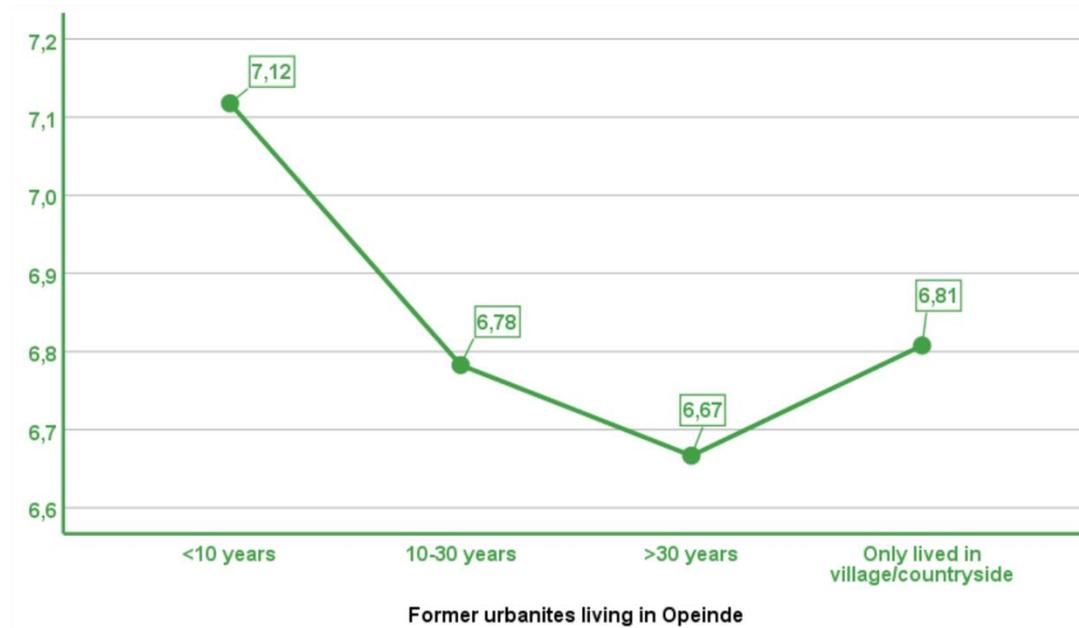
A similar trend is visible when looking at the satisfaction with the landscape and the score on landscape maintenance, there are no significant differences based on length of residency. As can be seen in figures 14 and 15, former urban inhabitants start out higher than the “native” rural population, surpassing the inhabitants with a solely rural residential background.

Figure 14. Mean level of satisfaction with landscape, scale 1-10 (urban vs. rural dwellers).



Source: Ras (2021).

Figure 15. Mean grade of landscape maintenance, scale 1-10 (urban vs. rural dwellers).



Source: Ras (2021).

4.3. Sense of place and cultural landscapes

The transcripts of the interviews can be found in Appendix J. Participants did derive a sense of place from the landscape around Opeinde although it did not specifically influence their feeling of being a genuine “Opeindenaar”.

“Oh it [the landscape] is a gift from heaven. I would give everything for the conservation. And I do it myself as well. And I enjoy it [the landscape] every single day.” (Participant 3)

“Well, I feel at home here, because I grew up here. I couldn’t live in a forest. I can be there, but I wasn’t brought up there.” (Participant 2)

“No, I don’t feel like a true Opeindenaar... I wouldn’t really know what the DNA of a true Opeindenaar is so to say... For that, for that Opeinde is too much a village next to Drachten, through which it has lost its originality.” (Participant 4)

Another feature that was highlighted was the diversity of the landscape, something that was really appreciated as well. However, it was not considered to be unique in Friesland:

“When you look at the Friese Wouden, then you have even more trees. That’s something that I find really amazing. And it stretches all the way to the part in Groningen and there you see more trees. So, it seems that Opeinde or Drachten marks the start of the Wouden area.” (Participant 3)

“There are a lot of comparable landscapes. ... But in Garijp it’s the same thing and in Oudega it’s the same and in a lot of places it’s the same thing.” (Participant 2)

With regard to projects such as De Peinder Mieden, perceptions differed. Although the plan of shared maintenance was praised by some, the actual presence of buildings in the area was not

perceived positively. Especially the different types of houses were not appreciated. Moreover, the paving of the dirt roads was seen as a deviation from initial plans to leave the area as unharmed as possible. Various respondents, both in the survey and the interviews, have mentioned that not all residents in the new project share the same ideological conviction on landscape maintenance. Some residents are considered to be “elitist”, only moving to the area to live on a beautiful spot.

“I really consider it to be a beautiful project. You can easily walk there. It’s very inviting. It’s very pleasant to take a stroll there. And well how it’s going to be in the future, because the residents have to maintain it themselves, we will see. I have heard voices that it will result in debates because there are very different opinions.” (Participant 3)

“Well to be honest, I detest some houses. It’s really a detriment to the landscape. And not only to the landscape but also the nature over there.” (Participant 2)

“Friesland is my land and I have just as much right and when someone comes and he takes a very beautiful part and builds a house there. Well, I find it horrible.” (Participant 1)

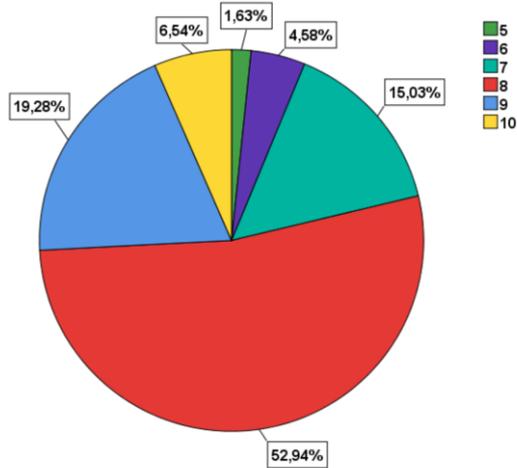
“You can also see houses of which you think, they are really not idealist. They have just selected the nicest spot and preferably two plots and put a house there of 6, 7, 800k.” (Participant 4)

“It was the same for De Peinder Mieden. The people are sceptic. But I think the deer are not bothered by it. They are still frolicking over there so to say. ... There was some movement for a while. And I think those people are against every change instead of a specific change” (Participant 4)

4.4. Factors determining attitude towards cultural landscape preservation

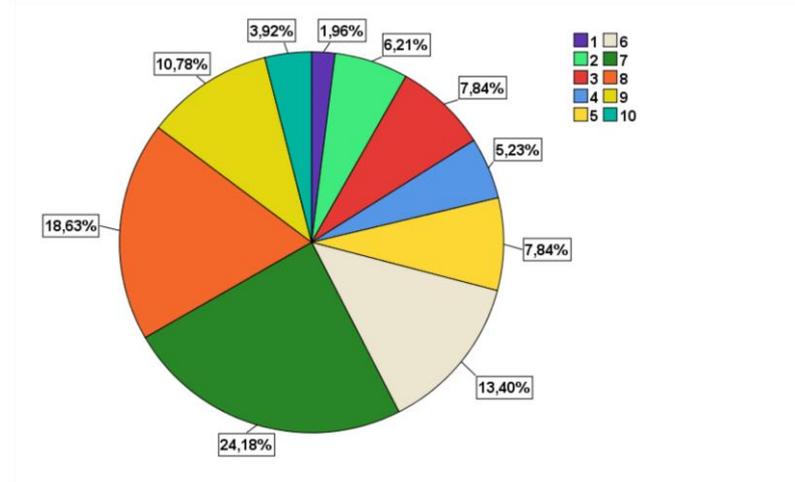
In this segment, the influence of various factors on the attitude towards landscape preservation is investigated. In this survey, 98% of the respondents have rated the surrounding landscape of Opeinde with a “sufficient mark”, the mean being an 8,03 with a mode of 8. On a scale of 1 to 10, respondents rated the importance of the landscape on their residential satisfaction with an 8,49, see figure 16. In the same vein, respondents generally did seem to have a moderate concern with regard to the landscape. Concern about the landscape was rated with a 6,33 on average and mode of 7, see figure 17. Landscape maintenance was given a 6,87 on average with a mode of 7, see figure 18.

Figure 16. Satisfaction with landscape, scale 1-10 (n=306).



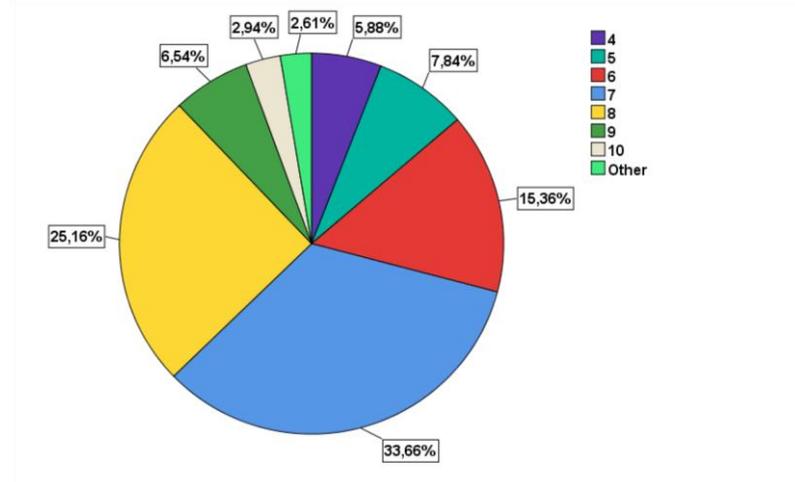
Source: Ras (2021).

Figure 17. Concern about the landscape landscape, scale 1-10 (n=306).



Source: Ras (2021).

Figure 18. Grade landscape maintenance, scale 1-10 (n=306).



Source: Ras (2021).

In order to establish the effect of various characteristics, three linear regressions were carried out to predict the respondents' response to the question "*On a scale from 1 to 10, how would you rate the landscape maintenance around Opeinde?*", see Appendix K, table 8. The first regression included the independent variables: gender, age, education level, duration of residence in Opeinde, and the frequency of using the landscape for leisure activities. An insignificant regression equation was found.

In the second regression, two questions about landscape satisfaction and the importance of the landscape for residential satisfaction were added as explanatory variables. A significant regression equation was found. Here, both satisfaction with the landscape and concern with the landscape turned out to be contributing significantly. Participants' predicted assessment of landscape maintenance goes up with 0,388 on the 1-10 scale for every point a participant rates his/her satisfaction higher. On the other hand, participants' predicted assessment of landscape maintenance goes down with 0,083 the 1-10 scale for every point a participant rates his/her concern higher.

A third regression included three characteristics about the residential background: whether the respondent was raised in town/city, whether the respondent has lived in a town/city at some point, and whether the respondent moved from a town/city to Opeinde. A significant regression equation was found. Again, both satisfaction with the landscape and concern with the landscape turned out to be contributing significantly. Participants' predicted assessment of landscape maintenance goes up with 0,385 on the 1-10 scale for every point a participant rates his/her satisfaction higher. On the other hand, participants' predicted assessment of landscape maintenance goes down with 0,081 the 1-10 scale for every point a participant rates his/her concern higher.

5. Conclusions

In peri-urban environments, landscapes often do experience stress. When this affects cultural landscapes such as the Noardlike Fryske Wâlden, the question is how to preserve while also including local residents. In this paper, the attitude towards the preservation of the landscape around the village was assessed. It became apparent that the inhabitants in general were rather positive with regard to the maintenance of the cultural landscape.

An analysis of the attitude towards maintenance by farmers did result in a significant difference between the "rural natives" and the "former urbanites". In line with the findings of Gómez-Limón, Vera-Toscano & Rico-González (2012), this study found that inhabitants with a solely rural residential background have a significantly more positive attitude towards landscape maintenance by farmers compared to inhabitants with an urban residential background. In this context, respondents also mentioned their concern with intensive forms of farming to which they ascribe a decline in soil life and meadow birds. The role of birds in landscape appreciation is exemplified by Wahyuni & Furuya (2017). This research affirms the function of birds as scenic elements contributing to landscape appreciation.

Similar to the findings of Gieling et al. (2019), this study found that increasing length of residence in the village eventually brings the general opinion of former urbanites up or down to levels of "rural natives". However, this research found an overshoot in which former urbanites living in Opeinde longer than 30 years end up even higher (concern about the landscape) or lower (satisfaction with landscape, assessed maintenance) compared to the "rural natives".

The results from the interviews show that residents do feel attachment to the cultural landscape around Opeinde, praising its diversity. The landscape did play a considerable role in the satisfaction with their residential environment. While participants stated that they did not consider the landscape of Opeinde to be unique within Friesland, their sense of feeling at home was narrowed down to a specific part of the Friese Wouden. However, the project of De Peinder Mieden did evoke some resistance. Although, the image arises that this resistance came from a few while the wider village was only sceptical. This is not to say that they are opposed to changes

to the landscape. This is also reflected by a lion's share of survey respondents who are not against the building of new houses in the village if the landscape is protected as well as possible.

The three regressions showed that the addition of satisfaction with the landscape of Opeinde as well as level of concern meant a notable increase in the model's explanatory power. It is noteworthy that appreciation of the landscape in general also fosters appreciation of the way it is maintained. However, including residential background for a third regression did not result in that big an increase in explanatory power. Here, the dichotomy based on residential background as proposed in the conceptual model was not confirmed. In contrast to what literature suggested, residential history did not prove to contribute significantly to the model. There was no significant addition of "being brought up in a town/city", "having lived in a town/city at some point" or "having moved from a town/city to Opeinde". This is in line with findings of Stobbelaar & Kuijper (2007) who describe their results as "homogenous", few significant differences between participants from Drachten and other villages in the Noardlike Fryske Wâlden.

Furthermore, in the regressions gender did at first appear to be contributing significantly to the model while in the second and third regression it did not. A few other authors have also found gendered differences in landscape appreciation that indicate higher appreciation of rural landscapes among women. Lyons (1983) found that women were prone to appreciate greener landscapes more than men. Bourne et al. (2015) showed that women had a more favourable attitude towards trees and agroforestry. With regard to recreation, Zhou, Koomen & Van Leeuwen (2018) established that women are more likely to travel further from the city centre for leisure activities.

This research exemplifies the need for policy makers to take residential backgrounds and demographic changes into account in developing new plans. These characteristics turn out to be potentially important indicators for perception of not only the plans themselves but also which actors should be involved.

However, this study had some limitations. Although the village of Opeinde was chosen for its contested landscape, interference with the local gas extraction when assessing the degree of concern about the cultural landscape cannot be ruled out. During the conducting of the questionnaires, it was stressed by the researcher that the research was about the cultural landscape. Furthermore, when applying face-to-face interviews consistency is essential. Recreating a similar setting for every interview may have been hindered by limited experience of the researcher. Besides, the recruitment of interviews within social networks can contribute to selection bias. Lastly, the town of Drachten has come forth as a prominent location in residential histories of participants. However, its urbanity is rather contested. Moreover, Drachten directly borders the village of Opeinde, making it more likely that respondents were already accustomed to the landscape before moving.

Future research might address this problematic dichotomy between villages, towns and cities in a Dutch context. Testing for differences between rural inhabitants and former inhabitants of cities with a higher degree of urbanity might result in a different outcome. In order to fully address the assimilation of attitudes towards landscape preservation, a longitudinal study could allow for more insight. Simultaneously, future research might take into account gendered differences in the appreciation of cultural landscapes and its maintenance.

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Appendix

Table of content

Appendix A - Questionnaire.....	26
Appendix B - Consent form.....	28
Appendix C - Interview guide.....	32
Appendix D - Code tree.....	33
Appendix E - Characteristics of respondents.....	33
Appendix F - One-way ANOVA importance of farmers.....	34
Appendix G - One-way ANOVA concern about landscape.....	34
Appendix H - One-way ANOVA importance of farmers assimilation.....	35
Appendix I - Kruskal-Wallis/Mann-Whitney on Grade De Peinder Mieden.....	36
Appendix J - Transcripts.....	37
Appendix K - Linear regression on landscape maintenance appreciation.....	80

Appendix A

Questionnaire

1. On a scale from 1 to 10, how satisfied are you with the landscape surrounding Opeinde?
- [scale 1-10]
2. On a scale from 1 to 10, how important is the landscape for your residential satisfaction?
- [scale 1-10]
3. Before the corona measures, did you use the landscape for leisure activities?
- No
- Yes, daily
- Yes, weekly
- Yes, monthly
4. On a scale from 1 to 10, to what extent do you have concerns about the landscape?
- [scale 1-10]
5. On a scale from 1 to 10, how would you rate the maintenance of the landscape?
- [scale 1-10]
6. How do you think the landscape can be maintained best?
- By a government (municipality, province, national government)
- By farmers
- By residents themselves
- I don't know
- Other:
7. On a scale from 1 to 10, how important are farmers for landscape maintenance according to you?
- [scale 1-10]
8. Would you be against the building of new houses when this comes at the cost of the landscape?
- Yes
- No, if the landscape is preserved as good as possible
- No
9. On a scale from 1 to 10, how would you rate the project of De Peinder Mieden?
- [scale 1-10]
10. On a scale from 1 to 10, how would you rate the plans for a solar park south of Opeinde?
- [scale 1-10]
11. What is your age?
- [age in years]
12. What is your gender?
- Male
- Female
- Other
13. What is your highest achieved level of education? (specified to Dutch context)
- Basisonderwijs / lagere school, LBO (bijv. LTS, LEAO, huishoudschool)
- VMBO, MAVO (MULO)
- HAVO, VWO, Gymnasium (HBS, MULO-B, Lyceum)
- MBO (bijv. MTS, MEAO, UTS)
- HBO, Wetenschappelijk onderwijs (bijv. HTS, HEAO, Sociale Academie, Kweekschool, PABO, HAS, WO-bachelor, WO-master, PhD)
- Other
- I'd rather not say
14. For how long have you been living at his address?
- [duration in years]
15. For how long have you been living in Opeinde?
- [duration in years]

Appreciation of the cultural landscape maintenance

16. In the past, have you lived in a city or town? (For example, Drachten or Heerenveen)
 - No
 - Yes, I was raised in a city/town as well
 - Yes, I was raised outside a city/town
17. What is name of your previous dwelling place?
 - [name]
18. How would you describe your previous dwelling place?
 - City
 - Village
 - Countryside
 - I have always lived here
19. Do you have any remarks?
 - [remarks]
20. In case you wanted to posted on the outcome of this research, you can fill in your email address here.
 - [email address]

Appendix B

Consent form Dutch

Behoud van cultureel landschap.

In het kader van mijn studie, Sociale Geografie & Planologie aan de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, doe ik onderzoek naar de woonhistorie van mensen en hun houding ten opzichte van landschapsbehoud in plattelandsgebieden. Hierbij gaat het mij om uw persoonlijke mening.

Uw deelname is volledig vertrouwelijk: de resultaten kunnen niet naar u persoonlijk herleid worden.

Inhoud van het interview.

Ik zal u vragen stellen over uw ervaringen omtrent het behoud van het landschap, wat de eventuele voor- en nadelen zijn die u ervaart.

Alle data wordt volledig vertrouwelijk verwerkt.

Deelname aan dit interview.

Dit interview zal naar verwachting 30 minuten in beslag nemen. Er zijn geen goede of foute antwoorden. Ik ben geïnteresseerd in uw mening. Uw deelname is volledig vrijwillig. U kunt besluiten niet langer uw medewerking te verlenen op elk moment. Mogelijke vragen die u heeft over dit onderzoek kunt u stellen aan de onderzoeker. Naderhand kunt u contact opnemen met de onderzoeker via: m.ras.1@student.rug.nl.

Formulier voor deelname aan onderzoeksproject "Landschapsbehoud".

Ik heb de bijgaande informatiebrief gelezen over het onderzoeksproject. Ik was in staat vragen te stellen en deze zijn naar believen beantwoord. Ik heb voldoende tijd gehad om te besluiten om deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek. Mijn deelname is geheel vrijwillig. Ik kan besluiten om mij terug te trekken op elk gewenst moment, zonder opgaaf van reden. Ik geef toestemming om mijn interview data voor de volgende doeleinden te gebruiken (e.g. wetenschappelijk artikel en presentaties en/of onderwijsdoeleinden). Ik ga akkoord met deelname aan dit interview. Dit formulier wordt los van uw interviewgegevens bewaard en dient enkel als teken van uw instemming.

Deelnemer

Ik ga akkoord het maken van een geluidsopnamen van dit interview: ja nee

Datum: _____

Plaats: _____

Naam: _____

Handtekening: _____

Onderzoeker

Ik verklaar de deelnemer geïnformeerd te hebben over dit onderzoek. Ik breng de deelnemer op de hoogte van zaken die zijn/haar deelname aan het onderzoek kunnen beïnvloeden.

Datum: _____

Plaats: _____

Naam: _____

Handtekening: _____

Consent form English

Preservation of cultural landscape.

For my study Human Geography & Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Groningen, I am investigating the residential history of people and their attitude towards landscape maintenance in rural areas. I am interested in your personal opinion.

Your participation is completely confidential: the results cannot be traced back to you personally.

Content of the interview.

I will ask you questions about your experiences regarding the preservation of the landscape, what are the possible pros and cons that you experience.

All data is processed completely confidentially.

Participation in this interview.

This interview is expected to last 30 minutes. There are no right or wrong answers. I am interested in your opinion. Your participation is completely voluntary. You can decide you withdraw from participating at any moment. You can ask the researcher possible questions that you might have about this research. Afterwards you can contact the researcher via: m.ras.1@student.rug.nl.

Appendix C

Interview guide

1. For how long have you been living here?
 - Where have you lived before?
 - In what kind of environment were you raised?
2. Why did you decide you stay/move here?
 - Did the landscape play a role in your considerations to stay/move here?
3. Do you feel at home here?
 - Do you feel like a genuine Opeindenaar?
 - Does the landscape affect this as well?
4. How satisfied are you with your residential environment?
5. How satisfied are you with the surrounding landscape?
6. Do you think that the landscape should be preserved?
7. What does the landscape mean to you?
 - Do you feel attached to the landscape?
 - What are the things that you think of when you think of the landscape surrounding Opeinde?
 - Are you involved in projects to maintain the landscape, could be paid, could be as volunteer?
 - Do you think that the landscape surrounding Opeinde is unique compared to the rest of Fryslân?
8. Are you worried about the landscape?
 - Do you notice that landscape quality is something that is a concern among the inhabitants of Opeinde?
 - Do you think that the landscape is sufficiently taken into account in plans?
 - Do you think enough is done to preserve the landscape?
 - How do you think maintenance can be organised best?
9. Are you familiar with the project De Peinder Mieden?
 - What do you think of this project?
 - What could be improved in this project?
10. Are you familiar with the project to place solar panels near the Legauke?
 - What do you think of this project?
 - What could be improved in this project?

Appreciation of the cultural landscape maintenance

Appendix D

Table 2. Code tree.

Subject	Category	Codes
Landscape	Sense of place	Feeling at home
		Uniqueness
		Cultural value
		Upbringing
	Place attachment	Interaction: leisure
	Interaction: other enjoyment	
	Aesthetics	
	Maintenance	
	Attitude towards new project: Peinder Mieden	Positive evaluation
		Negative evaluation
	Attitude towards new project: Solar panels	Positive evaluation
		Negative evaluation
	Other concerns	Gas extraction
		Ecological value
		Flora and fauna

Source: Ras (2021).

Appendix E

Table 3. Characteristics and representativeness of respondents.

Respondent-category:	% respondents Survey Opeinde ^a	Smallerland municipality	Overig Smallerland	Opeinde village
Man	51	50 ^b	52 ^b	51 ^b
Women	49	50 ^b	48 ^b	49 ^b
0-14	0	16 ^b	16 ^b	16 ^b
15-24	6	12 ^b	14 ^b	14 ^b
25-44	23	23 ^b	20 ^b	19 ^b
45-65	40	28 ^b	31 ^b	30 ^b
65+	32	21 ^b	20 ^b	21 ^b
Lower education	16	30 ^c	31 ^c	27 ^c
Medium education	39	46 ^c	46 ^c	52 ^c
Higher education	45	24 ^c	23 ^c	21 ^c
Average duration of residence in years	24	13.6 ^d	18.3 ^d	18.3 (OOV) ^d 15.5 (OBV) ^d

^a n=306. Numbers in valid percent. Households were asked for respondent over 18.

^b Data of 2019, retrieved from CBS (2021).

^c Data of 2019, retrieved from CBS (2020b). Data is provided in exact numbers of age category 15-75. Percentage was calculated by dividing education categories by total numbers.

^d Data of 2017, retrieved from Gemeente Smallerland (2021). Municipal statistics divide Opeinde into Opeinde onder de Vaart (OOV) and Opeinde boven de Vaart (OBV).

Appendix F

Table 4. One-way ANOVA output on Assessed importance of farmers for landscape maintenance.

Test		df	F value	Levene Statistic	p value
Homogeneity of Variances	Based on mean			0,280	0,882
One Way ANOVA	Between groups	2	4,793		0,009
	Within groups	303			
Post Hoc Test: Tukey HSD	Not lived in a town/city / Lived + Raised in a town/city				0,017
	Not lived in a town/city / Lived in a town				0,028
	Lived + Raised in a town/city / Lived in a town/city				0,988

Source: Ras (2021).

Appendix G

Table 5. One-way ANOVA output on Concern about landscape.

Test		df	F value	Levene Statistic	p value
Homogeneity of Variances	Based on mean			1,110	0,345
One Way ANOVA	Between groups	3	5,427		0,001
	Within groups	302			
Post Hoc Test: Tukey HSD	<10 years [=0] / 10-30 years [=1]				0,043
	<10 years [=0] / >30 years [=2]				0,001
	<10 years [=0] / Only lived in village/countryside [=3]				0,410
	10-30 years [=1] / >30 years [=2]				0,528
	10-30 years [=1] / Only lived in village/countryside [=3]				0,563
	>30 years [=2] / Only lived in village/countryside [=3]				0,046

Source: Ras (2021).

Appendix H

Table 6. One-way ANOVA output on Assessed importance of farmers for landscape maintenance.

Test		df	F value	Levene Statistic	p value
Homogeneity of Variances	Based on mean			1,179	0,318
One Way ANOVA	Between groups	3	5,232		0,002
	Within groups	302			
Post Hoc Test: Tukey HSD	<10 years [=0] / 10-30 years [=1]				0,166
	<10 years [=0] / >30 years [=2]				0,182
	<10 years [=0] / Only lived in village/countryside [=3]				0,001
	10-30 years [=1] / >30 years [=2]				0,999
	10-30 years [=1] / Only lived in village/countryside [=3]				0,403
	>30 years [=2] / Only lived in village/countryside [=3]				0,617

Source: Ras (2021).

Appendix I

Table 7. Kruskal-Wallis/Mann-Whitney output on Grade for project De Peinder Mieden.

Test		df	Kruskal-Wallis H	Mann-Whitney U	Levene Statistic	p value
Homogeneity of Variances	Based on mean				4,640	0,003
Kruskal-Wallis	Between groups	3	28,867			0,000
Mann-Whitney	<10 years [=0] / 10-30 years [=1]			2437,000		0,120
	<10 years [=0] / >30 years [=2]			1156,000		0,000
	<10 years [=0] / Only lived in village/countryside [=3]			2718,000		0,000
	10-30 years [=1] / >30 years [=2]			1125,500		0,006
	10-30 years [=1] / Only lived in village/countryside [=3]			2643,000		0,009
	>30 years [=2] / Only lived in village/countryside [=3]			2249,000		0,368

Source: Ras (2021).

Appendix J

Transscript 1

09-04-2021

I = Interviewer

P = Participant

I: Thank you in advance for participating

P: Yes

I: The first question is, you have answered it before, but how long do you live here?

P: [x] year

I: And where have you lived previously? Drachten?

P: We have lived together for half a year, before in Drachten, before we got married.

I: Yes

P: And before we both lived in Drachten as well.

I: And in what kind of environment did you grow up... were you raised?

P: I was raised in [small hamlet in Friesland]. On the field, completely in the countryside. And then we moved to [village in Friesland]. And there we lived for 3 years. And then, when I was 13 years old, we moved to Drachten, with my parents.

I: And why did you decide to move back here, to Opeinde?

P: I did not really have that idea, because my wife was, before she uhm before we met, she was already looking for a home in the countryside. And... yeah then we found this home via some detours. And we bought the parcel, because the house was not that suitable anymore and so we renovated it. We had 3 major renovations. And yeah it was a beautiful spot. The new residential area was not there yet.

I: No

P: We could see. Well the Wâldwei was not there yet. We could almost see De Leien and on the frontside It Djippe Gat, we could see the Drachtster Wiide Ie. The sailboats were sailing in the front and well it was a beautiful spot. The deer were running through our garden.

I: So the landscape did play a role in the decision to move here?

P: Yes, yes

I: A very big role?

P: Yes a very big role. We have uhm... Living outside of the village and all the freedom around your house. And we... she was.... Was was uhm raised in a village and I grew up in a terraced house and yeah well yeah a terraced house, neighbours on both sides and there you not freedom at all. What we have here, oh, it is delightful. [x] years already, it's delightful.

[His wife was saying something in the background]

I: And do you really feel at home here?

P: Yes. This is maybe a fun anecdote. Back when we didn't have children, when we came back from holiday and we saw the boats of Drachten we said: now we are home. Because we always lived in Drachten and when our daughter was born in [year] and when we came back from holiday and we were in Drachten and then we had to travel a short distance and then we saw a boat of Opeinde: now we are home.

I: Yeah

P: Since 1981, it is our home. Really

I: And do you feel like a true "Opeindenaar"?

P: No.

I: Not an Opeindenaar?

P: No. I don't know them either.

I: No you don't have contact with the people in the village?

P: Yes I do, but well...what is... see I have a friend and we go out to take pictures of birds, chasing birds. And I have a friend and he knows all the family ties and he knows, he is a real Opeindenaar. He knows of every house who has lived where. Yeah that. Because we also lived outside the village, a little bit outside. And the village is a little bit, with uhm... uhm a little segregated. We are religious, but not, we do not go to the church in the village but uhm that yeah you have your own clubs and yeah well

[His wife was saying something in the background]

P: When your children leave school, then you don't see the others anymore.

I: And does the landscape also have an influence, that you don't really feel an Opeindenaar?

P: No, the landscape does not

I: So it's not that case that now you live here, that you have the feeling, now I am an Opeindenaar?

P: No, well. I don't really know what a true Opeindenaar is. See Opeinde, the people of Opeine know a lot of people in Oudega and there is a host of mutual influence, Oudega, Nijega, Opeinde, De Tike. It is, yeah, I do feel like a Wâldsjer.

I: Oh, that you do feel? Also a Wâldpyk or solely a Wâldsjer?

P: A Wâldsjer, a Wâldpyk is in the direction of Harkema.

I: Uhm. How satisfied are you with the surrounding and you don't have to answer with grades. Now you have freedom.

P: Now normally. Well see, the newly build area is expanding. And uhm that is a bit less nice. Uhm yeah. But furthermore, when we look out front, it's just pretty.

I: It's pretty.

P: Yes

I: And how satisfied are you with the landscape in general.

P: Well yeah. That is said already, there are few ways to enjoy it actually. Here, it's rows of trees

I: Yes

P: But when you get to Egbertsgaasten, it's bare and all the trees were cut. And yeah, in the early days we could walk across the road and we could walk through the meadows to a small forrest and we could make a stroll.

I: Yes

P: But now we have a neighbour and he says: I don't like people walking on my property. So you cannot walk through the fields and he has cameras everywhere. And in the past, there were farmers everywhere in this neighbourhood. 1...2...3...4, on this street there were four farmers and now there is not a single one left. So.... There were 5. There's not a single farmer anymore. The lands are all in use though. But the whole cosiness of the neighbourhood is gone. Because are either very old or they are at their jobs during the day and that that binding factor is not there anymore.

I: Well, I saw all these stables, so I thought there was still some farming going on...

P: No, [name of neighbour] still has some cattle but these are all farms for living.

I: And the stables are then used for caravans or something like that...

P: [name of neighbour] still has some animals and a horse. And yeah furthermore. A farm down the road as long as we live here, six people have lived there. There's something with that farm.

I: Never closed by the municipality?

P: There was one who has lived a long time at the expense of the state.

I: Uhm. Let me see. Do you think that the landscape should be preserved?

P: Yeah. Preserving. You have to preserve things for the preservation. It has to be functional. Look at the tree rows. There is a reason why they were constructed and ditches. It's there to give the livestock some shelter from the wind. Our neighbour who was a farmer was allergic to trees. When there was a tree on a piece of land, he cut it down. But he did say that when I bring the cattle home to milk and they have been in a meadow where trees are then there are no flies.

I: No

P: When they come from the bare fields and they come inside then I have to, I have something for it. And they I spray with something. Because all those flies are at the belly on the cow and when they come inside all those flies become active. But when they were close to trees he was not bothered by flies.

I: No

P: But why do you then cut down the trees. Yeah it prevents the grass from growing. It prevents the grass from growing. Well. Preserving for the sake of preserving. You cannot preserve forever when it's not functional. You have. There still needs to be a function. Like in Eastermar and in that direction there are beautiful tree rows, those high tree rows. It's beautiful. Well in the early days, farmers used the oak wood for tools and nowadays when you go to a farmer they got tools of plastic. It's more convenient.

I: But you wouldn't say that you would preserve a little piece to show how things used to be and the rest functional.

P: Well, for that we have the Spitkeet [a museum in Harkema]. Yeah, that is fun. But it's fun to see but to keep an entire landscape like that. It would be good if it's beautiful and functional and that everyone... That it's a win-win-win-win-win-win situation.

I: So, preservation is kind of an incidental?

P: Yes. Yes.

[His wife was saying something in the background]

I: Uhm let me see. What does the landscape mean to you? So whether you feel connected to it.

P: Yes, but that is my home. That's my home. My daughter lives in [large town in Netherlands]. Well, I wouldn't...

I: You wouldn't want to live there?

P: No. Besides from that there is a lot of covid-19 infections... No no. This is really. When you're nearing the age of 70 it's about time that it becomes your home.

I: But what you said. I feel like somewhat of a Wâldsjer. Would you feel at home the same way in the direction of Oosterwolde or something like that? That's also the Fryske Wâlden? Do you still have the same feeling there or...?

P: There I have.. no no no less. Garijp, Opeinde, Burgum. Burgum I find truly beautiful. This area I find beautiful. And that does not mean that you cannot live there beautifully. That I wouldn't want to live there. That's something different. But the people of there talk funny.

I: Well, that's true. So, the trees are important but there has to be some water, because that is the environment of Burgum.

P: Yes. There is not a duck to see in that area.

I: Do you feel a true connection to the landscape?

P: Yes.

I: And what comes to mind when you think about the landscape surrounding Opeinde?

P: The tree rows, yes, not that large meadows. When you go to Egbertsgaasten then you have a completely different... And I like to cycle there and to see the horizon that's pretty as well.

I: Yes.

P: There's also a saying: Wâldpyken don't see that far because they always look at tree rows.

I: That's true.

P: There are some who never saw the sun set.

I: And in which ways do you experience the landscape. You said that you used the landscape daily for leisure.

P: Well daily. Sometimes I skip a day when I do other things. I often go to the Leien, to Eernewoude, Egbertsgaasten. Earlier, to the Peinder Mieden which is now poisoned by those houses. That was a beautiful piece of nature. The hares and the deer and the finches flew around there. Kingfishers. Everything. Everything flew around there. And. Well in that sense, I enjoy it.

I: And is it solely the birds, or also strolling or cycling or something?

P: Yes. A short ride around Opeinde or the Leien to Eastermar and back, beautiful.

I: Let me see. Are you also involved in projects, could be paid, could be as volunteer, to maintain the landscape?

P: No.

I: And do you also consider Opeinde to be unique compared to the rest of Fryslân.

P: No. It's tiny. It has no character.

I: And why do you think it has no character?

P: There's nothing. No centre. Well, there's the bridge. But it's bare. But there's no cosiness. In the community centre. It's nice when something is organised there. A nice community centre.

I: And do you think the landscape of Opeinde has something special?

P: Well yeah, the bocage landscape. I find it beautiful. But that's under pressure.

I: So you are a bit worried about the landscape?

P: Yes. There was a farmer who lived in Egbertsgaasten who said, because it became so bare over there: yeah we are in a transitional zone between the Greidhoeke and the Wâlden. But when it comes down to the farmers then the transitional zone moves even further to the north. "Yeah we are in a transitional zone, right right."

I: And do you have the idea the landscape quality is something that the people here care about?

P: Well...

I: Or are the people not that much into it?

P: No, I don't think so. See, at the beginning of De Kletten [a road] there was a farmer who cut down trees, threw them on a heap and set fire to it. And he did this close to the tree rows. So those trees were harmed and then he cut down those as well. That way he removed the tree rows in a couple of years. He then put dirt and whatever in there and he then had a piece of land that was twice as big. De fine for that was €500 when you accidentally cut down a tree without a permit of the municipality or a complete tree row then you have to pay €500 and the next time it was the same thing. So, for the farmer it was fantastic. Because he had a big piece of land. So that way large pieces of land came into existence, by illegal acts. And all the people say: "Well, it's not good. It's a shame." But no one can do anything about it.

I: So, no one did anything about it?

P: No.

I: Do you think that the landscape is sufficiently taken in to account in the current plans?

P: I don't know what plans are there. But when I look at the solar panels. Well, that's done behind bushes so that people are not bothered by it they say. Yeah, but there's a lot of... The farmers have to farm more extensively, it's what they want. There's more land taken from the farmers. Because when a city has an expansion, then the same amount of land has to be compensated for with nature. And the farmers have to work less intensively.

I: Yes

P: Well, then I can image when you add everything up, that the livestock will have to be cut down by half. But when you cut the livestock by half and the farm land is also halved, then it remains as intensive as before. Then we haven't won anything. Then we only have to import more. So I don't know if it is involved in plans.

I: And do you have the feeling that enough is done to preserve it?

P: By the?

I: By the government, municipality?

P: When I want to cut down a tree, I have to get a permit. A perimeter larger than 60cm or a length of 10m...

I: But the municipality it doing enough or are they a little hesitant?

P: I don't know.

I: No.

P: I can't see it. Maybe that's because they are hesitant. I don't know.

I: Well, this question I asked before. How do you think maintenance can be organised best? That was with farmers, how to say it, all the stakeholders, together?

P: Well, it has to be done in good cooperation. In general, it is property of the farmers. And they can create all sorts of rules. I think you have to make it attractive to maintain it well.

I: So, with subsidies or...?

P: There are farmers who don't even have to farm anymore, they can live on subsidies. That is a similar case. I don't know how it should be organised. There are farmers who in It Lege Midden in Fryslân want a swampy meadow area, near Wommels I believe, and it's nothing but godwits and lapwings. I don't know how he organised it. Does he earn money from people who watch birds from bird hides who take pictures that could also earn you some money. I don't know. There has to be a good symbiosis between the government and the farmer and the government is us basically, the citizens themselves.

I: So, everyone has to participate. Well you still have the chance that it becomes a lot of deliberation without anything being done.

P: There's a lot of talking going on.

I: Well, here comes the tricky subject. What do you make of the Peinder Mieden?

P: No no. I find it awful. For those people it's beautiful and we do know some people who live there and they are very proud.

I: Do those people come from Opeinde?

P: No. They come from Drachten. There's no one from Opeinde I think. Well one [name of person].

I: So, one from Opeinde?

P: That I know of. There are 49 houses.

I: Yeah I think so.

P: Well, those that I know of, come from Drachten or Burgum or...

I: So, they come from the larger villages and towns, because Burgum is also already substantial.

P: Yes, there they come from. But those are people with a lot of money. They thought they needed to live in nature. And the roads should be gravel but now there's too much dust. So, now they get some sort of environmentally friendly asphalt because there was too much dust. Then I think, if you got some character then you say: "we live here in nature, I also want to have a sand path". Two years ago, we went to [name of place] and there you can have fun. A big dust cloud behind you. It's beautiful. Now they managed to get the roads paved. And the amount of nature that was sacrificed. What I said, before I often went there early in the morning before sunrise and what kinds of animals that live there. It was beautiful. I don't go there anymore. It's houses everywhere. For me it's ruined. That annoys me. But well, frustration of course. Maybe because I don't have enough money to build a house there myself. Haha

I: Well, you can still walk there. Because I have read that it could be that all of sudden there's a cow beside your car.

P: Yes. That's why they put fences around every plot. And those are very durable fences, I believe they last for five years before they have rotten. They are not treated; they are completely natural. Very good. Haha

I: Because when it started out here, the plan was... it was backed up by the ministry. They said it was the future.

P: Back then already?

I: It was a subordinate of the ministry that said: this is the future. This is what we have to strive towards. But you don't say this is what we have to achieve, this is the future.

P: I don't hope so. I am afraid it will be. But I don't hope so. Because when you hear people about living in nature, building houses in nature. When it is done this way. That great a surface and there are 49 houses. When you need 1000 houses, a million they're talking about. Then you can build houses all over the Netherlands this way. The density of houses. Well, the average person will have to live in a row houses or a flat and they will not live there in the nature. They go... uhm... So yeah that inequality. Friesland is my land and I have just as much right and when someone comes and he takes a very beautiful part and builds a house there. Well, I find it horrible. But that's a communistic idea I think. Very frustrated haha.

I: How would you like to see the development then? How the landscape is then treated?

P: See, we live here wonderfully. So who am I that I don't allow others. I am being hypocrite, and I can do so. Because we live just as nicely as those people over there. Only our roads are paved and we can drive away easily and the people there go over dirt roads. Poor people. Not everyone can live like that. We live here [x] and we made some adjustments to our house. I also had to give in when you live like this. When you live in the city, then the shops are nearby,

everything within reach. So there were also negative sides. But when to enlarge a village, often there are some plots made available and a few houses are added. That's the enlargement.

I: So, you say, it has to continue the way it does. Just the village with sometimes a little addition.

P: Yes, and not only in the large cities but also in the average village. In Opeinde, there are so many young people who want a house but who can't find it in Opeinde. They have to move to Drachten or Leeuwarden. Or houses for rent. There's a need for them. And then they start with a project like that.

I: So, apart from the financial side, you never thought about living there.

P: To the Peinder Mieden?

I: Yes. Apart from the financial side.

P: No. No.

[His wife was saying something in the background]

P: Well, there are hares in front, deer are frolicking around. We live here beautifully. Green woodpeckers.

I: Those are rarer indeed. Uhm let me see. That was it for the Peinder Mieden. Do you have things to say about the Peinder Mieden. What bothers you. Or things you do like about it?

P: No, I don't like anything about it.

I: No, you don't have to like it.

[His wife was saying something in the background]

P: Well, it also wouldn't be nice if all houses were the same.

[His wife was saying something in the background]

[A personal story]

I: The last thing is then the solar field.

P: Isn't that something.

I: What do you think about it?

P: Well, I think solar panels are really good. But they belong on roofs. They don't belong on meadows. But the problem is, the owner of the meadow can earn three times as much money from rent then when a farmer rents it. So, that is... And he is free to do what he wants, because he doesn't use the land. After 25 years, the land will be returned bare, they say. The solar panels are then some percent lower in energy and then they go to Africa because the sun shines brighter there. And I think they can rid of them there. But no, that, like near Leeuwarden and near Oosterwolde, it's terrible. That many acres, 10 or 11 bunder I think, that's removed from nature, that's removed from farm land and solar panels are placed there. And Philips in Drachten, I think that they will place solar panels there. Why not on roofs. There are plenty roofs of farms, let them do it there. In Germany you can see it everywhere, on roofs.

[His wife was saying something in the background]

P: Flat roofs. Well this is a project developer who starts this and who says, I offer that farmer this amount of money and he wants to lose it. And then he tries to organise it. And the municipality has mentioned all sort of requirements. It can't be further than a certain distance from the village and the land over there matches it perfectly. Because the industry stretches until the canal over there and close by there will be... And the cables are there. Everything looks fine. There are settlements over there from the ice age or the iron age or the stone age or something. The whole area will be destroyed with all the poles that will be put in the ground there. And well, some people are against it. I think, in general, that sacrifice land while there are so many roofs where you can place them on. Because, I find it terrible. On roofs it also doesn't look nice. A thatched roof on a farm does look nicer than when they hold solar panels.

[Short digression about solar panels]

I: But apart from where the solar panels would be placed, they belong on roofs so they do not belong on the ground.

P: They shouldn't be on the ground. It's messing with the... It's nice for its prestige. There are places where they put solar panels on slopes alongside highways And you shouldn't come there when it's around 5pm because the sun will be low and you will need sun glasses, that's now really thought out that well. Yeah, you have a piece of land where can't do anything. Or let them put them so high that sheep can walk underneath or so far apart that there is enough light that grass can still grow. But no everything will be closed down completely. Hares and stuff can still come there. But deer cannot go there. It becomes a green desert.

I: And if it were wind turbines. Would you be against that as well?

P: Well, I'd rather not see them. You can hear them a lot. It seems like I'm against everything. That is... I don't know. I think it's terrible when you look at Eastern Groningen, close to the border, based on the wind turbines you can see where the German border is.

I: Yes, that's true.

P: All of a sudden, it's completely full. The nuclear power plant in Belgium is also close to the border.

I: Yeah, they know what they're doing.

P: And we have to have a power plant and that's going to be built in Delfzijl, close to the border, then you have only half the problem. But in the near future, you will be a planner

I: Yeah, everything will be different. Well, that was the last question. Are there things you would like to add. Something that comes to mind.

[A personal story]

Transcript 2**10-04-2021**

I = Interviewer

P = Participant

I: Uhm how would you describe the environment in which you were raised?

P: Beautiful, a beautiful surrounding, beautiful with the water

I: Yes.

P: Not that far from the woods. Beetsterzwaag. Also, not that far from Eernewoude. Beautiful, there are the Alde Feanen and so on. Beautiful swampy areas. A very beautiful environment. We are located on a sandy soil so to say.

I: And that has changed a lot?

P: Yes, it has. When you think about the course of time. Pieces of land have increased in size twofold or threefold. Many tree rows have been cut down.

I: Yes.

P: And a lot of sand was extracted. The sand has disappeared.

I: And where was that, in the Ee?

P: Uhm, for example in De Peinder Mieden.

I: De Peinder Mieden, yes.

P: There they have extracted sand everywhere. So the whole landscape has changed from what it was before.

I: Because what I've seen is that it wasn't the original name of the area.

P: No, they made that up. It also isn't correct. See "mieden" means "common" and it is really not common. Yes, nowadays maybe it is,

I: Yeah now it is.

P: But not how it used to be.

I: No, right.

P: Those are no mieden.

I: So that was all called Legauke or did it have a different name?

P: No, Legauke is a very old name. That is a couple of centuries old.

I: And that was not exactly that area?

P: No, the Legauke is situated at the other side of the canal. It is much more situated on the other side of the canal and in fact here as well in De Peinder Mieden on this side of the canal but more in the back.

I: Yes.

P: It used to be a, so to say, a site for peat extraction with fens and that was the lower part. It is also called "it Leech" and most likely then there was a person called Auke, so the lower part of Auke that name was derived from that.

I: Yes, right.

P: There's also it Heech on the other side, so it Heech and it Leech.

I: And it was not Heechauke?

P: No, haha. Not it Heeck of Auke.

I: No that didn't exist.

P: It is still named it Heech and it Leech. Auke is also an old water name. It could very well be that the name is derived from that.

I: Yes okay.

P: That would also be possible.

I: And why did you decide to move to [location]?

P: Because there we no houses available.

I: No right.

P: We got married and we moved for a short time to [location].

I: And why did you move to here?

P: Yeah My family lives here. I was raised here and my wife as well. So that's why we came back.

I: Yes right. And has the landscape also played a role to come back?

P: Yes. Yes. In [location] you live in the middle of a town and there's no space for the children. Here the children have more space, they can go to the meadows, to the fields. Yes, right. A lot on the water, yes.

I: I could be that you say I live in [location] and it's not that far.

P: Right. That's right. But I like water and everything is here. There were sport clubs and everything.

I: And do you really feel at home here?

P: Yes.

I: Yes.

P: Yes. Yes.

I: And more general, do you feel like a genuine Opeindenaar?

P: Yes, I do think so.

I: And would you also say that there are a lot of people from the Western part of the Netherlands? People from the west who want to live on the countryside and nature around me.

P: Oh I don't have any problem with that, that grows gradually.

- I: But you don't feel...
- P: Well, no.
- I: And do you have the feeling that you feel at home that the landscape is also contributing to that?
- P: Yes.
- I: And would you also feel at home in another part of the Fyske Wâlden?
- P: Yes.
- I: Also in the direction of Oosterwolde or is it completely...
- P: No, I wouldn't go there. That direction... no. But Eastermar for example yes.
- I: Yes.
- P: It's comparable. Also a beautiful environment. Yes.
- I: So where does it end roughly? Eastermar, that direction.
- P: Yes. Look, when you get older, you are also reliant on shops and stuff like that.
- I: That's true.
- P: So you also take that into account. So you might want to live in Earnewâld, but then there is no shop. Maybe there's one, I don't know. But then you don't move there. That does have its influence.
- I: That's true.
- P: And how satisfied are you with the surrounding. Not the landscape in particular, but the village itself.
- P: Oh, I am very satisfied with that. Yes. You contribute to that yourself as well.
- I: Yes that's true. And are you then, in comparison to Opeinde, also more satisfied with the landscape or do you think the village is more beautiful than the landscape?
- P: No, the landscape. The village is... No I never thought about that. It's more the surrounding.
- I: Yes, it's about the surrounding.
- P: Yes.
- I: And would you say that the landscape should always be protected?
- P: Yes, as much as possible. But you can see how much it has changed the last couple of thousand years which you can do nothing about. But that's case for a lot of things.
- I: And Drachten is moving closer.
- P: Drachten is indeed moving closer. The industry is moving closer. That has a lot of influence. Yes.
- I: And what does the landscape mean to you?

P: Well I feel at home here because I was raised here. And yeah, I couldn't like in the forests. I can be there, but I wasn't raised there. Also not in the clay area. In some meadows you can have the holiday feeling that's also nice, but to live there is something different.

I: So you also feel a bit connected to the landscape?

P: Yes.

I: And what do you think of when you think about the landscape around Opeinde? What are the first things that cross your mind?

P: Well, the water, the polder, by that I mean de Leien, the polder of course, and the birds... yeah... the bocage landscape of course. That's also nice.

I: Yes, and in what ways do you experience the landscape? So that is, what are your hobbies, so in what ways do you experience the landscape, what do you in nature?

P: What I do?

I: Yes

P: Well, [personal information]. I'm involved in nature. [personal information] I'm always active. [personal information] I know what has changed and I can see it. I can see then where the sand extraction has taken place and you can see that based on the trees and the same things holds for the peat. Where the peat was extracted and what is left behind. Well you know yourself, all the canals that are there. Maybe where you're from too. Yeah I'm really involved.

I: And can you accept the fact that is has changed so much or is it a shame?

P: I think it's a shame. You can't hold it back. Some things you can't hold back. In a lifetime a lot can change, but that has always been that way.

I: Yes, that's true.

P: But well, how it will be in the future... We try to hold back some things and sometimes we try to help. But well...

I: You can't manage everything.

P: No. No.

[personal information]

I: And do you think that the landscape around Opeinde is unique compared to the rest of Fryslân?

P: No. No. No.

I: No.

P: There are a lot of comparable landscapes. [personal information] But in Garijp it's the same thing and in Oudega it's the same and in a lot of places it's the same thing. [personal information]

I: So, it's unique, but it's a large area that is unique.

P: Yes.

I: This question has been here before, but you worry about the landscape and you don't have to answer in number.

P: Yes, I do have worries.

I: Yes. And what do you worry about?

P: Well, De Peinder Mieden. A large part has disappeared. Of nature. And the industry in Drachten belonged to Opeinde as well. I still remember that when I went there as a child, what a beautiful area it was. Beautiful area. Nice polders. But everything gone. Gone. And now for example with the solar panels. With the construction of the Wâldwei. That way there are a lot of things that disappear. A lot of tree rows have disappeared. Yes. It's shame. And there are more things....

I: And do you think that it is a concern among the inhabitants. That the people do worry about the landscape?

P: Yes. Increasingly so.

I: It's present here?

P: Yes. Yes. Yes. Yes.

I: And do you think that the landscape is sufficiently taken into account in plans for development and ...?

P: They do take it into account, but when a lot of money is involved then it will disappear, then it will change anyway. Then they will... You can see that with the solar things. Then it's a case of... There's so much money involved and they are a few steps ahead. Then we could be against it, but we lost already. So, most of the times. Because they are a few steps ahead. It's so sneaky. You see, we had a very beautiful polder in the early days, there they extracted a lot of sand, it Djippe Gat, it's about 20m deep. Haha. A lot of things have disappeared in there, beautiful things. Beautiful things from the past. Yes. No that will continue, when there are people with, when there's somewhere, it will continue anyway, it can't be stopped. You can think that you can have a say in it. And you can have that, you can conversate, but there's not much attention paid to it.

I: It's a formality or that you...

P: Yes and because they have to. And you can see that with the solar panels and you can see that with the gas. I don't know is that something you will mention?

I: Yes, that too.

P: Okay. I thought so.

I: Do you think enough is done to preserve the landscape as it is now?

P: Difficult. Hmmmm. No.

I: And what are the aspects on the basis on which you say: no, it's enough?

P: Well, what I said earlier, a lot of tree rows have disappeared. Well yeah, it's not just about the trees, it's also about about the, the water table is dropping of course. A beautiful beautiful polder. Behind the woods we had very beautiful field. And when you came there in May then there were orchids flowering there on the lower parts. Well, it was amazing. And there's nothing left. Everything gone. And on De Leien I see many things changing as well. The have for example

the Djippe Gat, the sand extraction, and they can supplement it, and polluted dirt is thrown in there and everything flows through the channel because it all flows in the direction of the Lauwersmeer. And you can see on De Leien, you can see all kinds of water plants, you can see them disappearing and I blame the polluted water. And of course, there's the influence of the temperature rise and there might be other influences. The water becomes cleaner in some places, that will also have its influence. But when I see on De Leien what is disappearing there, well, it's shame. A shame. It's, yeah, it is influenced by that.

I: You already said that the polluted water comes from there. Who would you, it sounds a bit harsh, who would you blame for bad maintenance?

P: In the end, the province. And the people who... others take advantage of it. There's not enough supervision.

I: No indeed.

P: No. When the others have a shipload of polluted dirt, somewhere they're dredging and the dirt is polluted, is put in a ship and that has specific classification, but throw in a lot of water and then all of a sudden it appears to be a different class and then it's possible.

I: Yes.

P: But an equal amount of poison is put in.

I: Yes.

P: And that's all flowing through Opeinde, a lot of it. Yes, that's... The government doesn't supervise... it doesn't want to supervise because they need to get rid of that junk. So, not that, uhm...Haha... Over a couple of years, they will find out.

I: Yeah, uhm... De Peinder Mieden, there is also supervision by Landschapsbeheer Fryslân..

P: Yes.

I: do you also think that they do enough to streamline it?

P: That... I can't say anything about it because I don't go there. In fact, I don't want to go there. Haha So.

I: Well...

P: I can't see that from here. I don't know.

I: There are tracks that run through there.

P: Yes. Yes. That's right.

I: But you don't go there for fun?

P: I went for a stroll there once, yes. But I don't pay attention what is indeed done and what is not done.

I: Right.

P: I deliberately don't want to think about it. But well, Landschapsbeheer has supervision on it. I didn't know that.

I: Yes, it's one of the projects. So,

P: Okay.

I: basically, it's up to the inhabitants themselves. They supervise whether it's done well.

P: And for how long will that last? Because it can be the case that the municipality is involved for another five years for example. But when the five years are over, will Landschapsbeheer still be involved then or?

I: There's not a date given when it will end. It's one of the projects that is carried out by Landschapsbeheer Fryslan.

P: Yes, but that's because of the government has implemented that or do De Peinder Mieden pay for it. By the people

I: That's not present on the website, who organises it.

P: No, because Landschapsbeheer has been here before. When a farmer wants to improve a tree row for example, then Landschapsbeheer will come. [personal information] When they organise it, then I don't have much trust in that. Haha. So we rely on the Peinder Mieden.

I: Right.

P: Although, I have nothing against the people living there, I have to add that.

I: Because do you people living there?

P: Yes. Yes. Yes.

I: And where do they generally come from?

P: I know a few that come from the surroundings [personal information]

I: They come from the villages?

P: From the neighbouring villages. [personal information]

I: Right. Because there were also people who said that many came from Drachten.

P: Oh, could be. I don't know.

I: Oh right.

P: Could be. I don't have a clue. No, I don't know.

I: Yes, in general, what do you think of this project? Of De Peinder...

P: Of De Peinder Mieden?

I: Yes.

P: No, I don't think it's really... No, I'm not... Well to be honest, I detest some houses. It's really a detriment to the landscape. And not only to the landscape but also the nature over there. [personal information] For some things it's not nice of course. Yes. In time, it will adapt.

I: And do you think the execution of the project is not nice but the plan is good or is it the entire plan is wrong that it is there?

P: Yes, I think it's completely wrong. Yes. Yes.

I: It shouldn't have been there?

P: No. No. What I also object to, not object but surprised that they are so close to the industry. I know they have to be at least 1 km from it, those are the rules. But I was there a lot and when I was there in the morning and the wind was south and then there were busy with processing rubble then there was a terrible noise. And when the wind is strong then I can see what's flying through the air and then comes this way. There was a farmer who had mais. It was green in the morning. The wind turned south. A strong wind. And in the evening, it was brown. So much dust is coming from there.

I: So much dusting... Yes.

P: So much dust.

I: Yes.

P: Well, that can't be healthy. Because the rubble processor can try hard but it can contain asbestos and everything and that junk is flying through the air and is dropped at those houses. No doubt about that. I could see the plastic because the plastic was hanging in the trees everywhere when the wind was strong that's also coming from there. And a bit further there's a peat thing which makes a lot of noise. And there's, there's a kind of compost processor well that smells so terrible, you can hardly breath sometimes. And I'm surprised that the houses are allowed to be there and that there's no complaint on that, that can't go well. In a couple of years then there' will be, then there's something. You know, they cannot complain here, they had to sign for that I believe, for the noise and all.

I: That they accept it all or...

P: Yes. They have to accept it.

I: Yes.

P: That is organised by the municipality. But what I just said about the rubble processing, and when there's a piece of asbestos in it, well, it could very well be that at some point, that the rubble processor is shut down. We have seen it in Leeuwarden as well with a waste incineration plant...

I: Yes.

P: With the smoke and this and that. With smoke or what was inside it. So, no, I don't think it's a good project. Absolutely not.

I: But you don't experience nuisance yourself, that it blows all the way here?

P: We experienced it once, and what a noise that is! At night they turned on large blowers at the peat maker to dry, I think. You could shut the windows because of the noise it had.

I: Yes.

P: That was even here. So people there definitely have, they will experience a lot of nuisance.

I: Yes.

P: Yes. But what I said already about the rubble processor with the junk that goes up in the air that could be a nuisance to us too. That you also see with the grass drying in Opeinde. I was never bothered by it, then there would have to be wind from the north-west/north. Well that's not often.

I: No that doesn't happen often.

P: No.

I: Would you say that De Peinder Mieden could be changed for the better, it can become better or...

P: Well, I've accepted it. I don't want to worry about it anymore. But how do you mean better?

I: That it can be changed so that it becomes better than it is right now.

P: Oh the plants will need to grow. The houses. The gardens of the people were constructed and it has to grow. I will become more beautiful. That's something that you also saw with small villages in the clay area with white houses that they put there. You could see them from afar. The "white fungus" they called it. Well you don't see much from that anymore because plants were put there. So you get used to it.

I: Yes.

P: You get used to it of course. Yes.

I: And where there are more plants, would you say: I will now go there for a stroll or something?

P: Sometimes I go there. [personal information]

I: So, you would say, De Peinder Mieden will become more beautiful but...

P: Of course, of course plants will certainly grow there. Yes.

I: But you wouldn't say: that could be improved... That has to be altered...

P: No. I wouldn't know.

I: No. Uhm... Then another project... The solar panels.

P: Yes.

I: What do you think of that project?

P: Well, I'm not against solar panels.

I: No.

P: But not on that location.

I: Not on that location. And why not on that location?

P: Uhm... In Opeinde there is much more land. For example, in De Peinder Mieden, a bit further. They don't use that, it's a wilderness. That's a more beautiful location. Between the tree rows. You don't see them. Close to the industry. But on the other side, where they are put now. That you say where they want them, there are a lot of birds, there's an archaeological site that has to be protected. And when you pass it by, when you come from De Veenhoop and you get to Drachten. They call it the "Waterfront of Drachten" they call it, they would to give an overview. When you come across a corner in the direction of Opeinde and then you see the solar panels. That's a terrible sight instead of beautiful bocage landscape like it has always been. So that's just, that's just horrible. Haha. I don't think it's nice.

I: So, you wouldn't be against a field of solar panels.

P: No, no, no. That is possible, but I do think that first the roofs have to be done first. We have the solar calendar here. Roofs first, then other corners, and at the very last arable land and natural ground. That's not possible.

I: And if it was a wind turbine placed there, would you be against that too?

P: Uhm... They were planning to put place five wind turbines there.

I: Yes.

P: And that plan was shut down.

I: Yes. But were you against that if it was a different form...?

P: Preferably not.

I: Oh. No.

P: But there are wind turbines everywhere, I am not bothered by it anymore.

I: No. It is part of it.

P: Yes. I'm used to it. Those are things that change through time. In the early days, they weren't there, but they come and at last, it's just the way it is, then you're used to it. Yes. I'm not against it, no.

I: So, you would say: there can be a solar park but on another location?

P: Yes, on a different location. Yes.

I: Yes. Yes, then the gas extraction.

P: Yes.

I: What do you think about that, how that is done?

P: Well, I think that the government itself has no say in it anymore. They have likely given permits to everything earlier. For example, to the French cooperation. And they have organised everything very well, they just do what they want, they sometimes don't even have accountability for it I understand. When there is subsidence later on, then they don't have anything to do with it. The Dutch government will have to deal with it. For example in Groningen, you can see with the NAM.

I: Yes.

P: That is uhm...

I: Because the NAM is not involved here. They are separate from this.

P: Yes, I think so.

I: Because when you look at the website of the NAM then this is not a location for extraction.

P: No, no. It's Vermilion? What is it called... the French... a Canadian firm.

I: Yes, Canadian.

P: With a French name. I don't think that we ever get to know what they extract here. Yes, eventually, but not at the moment. What they are doing. We don't get... because there are extraction locations everywhere.

I: Yes.

P: Those things are everywhere. And how much is put in, take out, I don't have a clue. I understand that in Tietjerksteradeel, that there is subsidence of 24/25cm in some places and that it can be doubled, that I understand. And here, I don't know.

I: You haven't heard of anything of subsidence here.

P: No.

I: No.

P: I have not experienced it or something or of... I think if it's a small gas field there will be no problems, I don't know.

I: And are you afraid that things will change here or... that there will consequences here or...?

P: Maybe it will, I don't know.

I: You're not really afraid.

P: No. Not in days.

I: Oh right.

P: I don't worry about that. Haha.

I: That's property of the state, so you don't have a say in it.

P: No, I said that at the beginning. A lot of money is involved. They just do it. You can go against it. You can have a say. But further... The same thing goes for the solar panels, that plan was completely confirmed. [personal information] But the plan was confirmed [personal information].

I: So, they brought in themselves that they would be there for, what was it, 25 years, that they're there. It was the plan that after that...

P: Yes.

I: ...it would disappear.

P: Yes. [personal information] They have, they have most likely calculated that. I don't know. It's all about the subsidies. And the village also gets a bit of money. And that first, let me say, the gas prices will go up first, from that, subsidies are paid and in the end, we paid for it ourselves. The little money that we for... that the village gets as compensation. That little money was not substantial. And we paid for it ourselves already. Double. Haha. We have no influence at all. Nothing. Zero. Do you also know that they now... that they now that the municipal council said: postpone for a while and knowing better how it will be.

I: Yes, at the moment it's postponed, but I have to say the reporting that was not fantastic. Because I really had trouble seeing where they would come exactly.

P: Okay.

I: There was one article in the Actief.

P: Yes.

I: There was a map placed in it.

P: Yes.

I: But furthermore, nowhere it was said there they will be placed exactly. So.

P: Okay.

I: So for an outsider, it was not easy

P: Right no, not clear.

I: to see where they will come, no.

P: No, no. Oh, well, yes, we in the village, we know it exactly of course.

I: I have met people who had no idea that it would be placed there.

P: Really?

I: So not everyone is aware of it.

P: No, but the people. Look, it's a German firm and they want to make money. And they try to push the plans as much as possible. Keep in mind, there are people who have interests. Look, the fields were property of a farmer. No, it wasn't property of a farmer, it was property of a man who rented it out to a farmer. But when you [personal information] when you get €600 per bunder from a farmer for rent, but from those Germans, he can get almost 10 times as much for a bunder.

I: Yes. Yes.

P: Then he will rent it out to the Germans of course.

I: Yes.

P: But when there's a farmer who has the land, a lot of land, and he can rent out a piece to them, then that's a nice gain for the farmer as well.

I: Yes.

P: So, there are also farmers who maybe want to rent out there land to the company, because then they make a lot more money then when they have a few cows grazing there. So in that case [personal information]

I: Yes, they are completely reliant on subsidies.

P: Yes of course. Yes. They can get so much money. Yes, they're really crazy if they do not do it. Then there's another farmer who says: I want to have it here.

I: Yes.

P: So, that will come definitely. But we had at De Peinder Mieden, that's 90 bunder, and the complete area, they can say it's nature, but it not nature, cattle is grazing there, it's just land. But look, there they could be placed, but why, I don't know. But De Peinder Mieden can't have them themselves I believe, the club. They have signed that at the municipality. There are lot of things that the cannot do.

I: Oh right.

P: [personal information] And the municipality has also property there to do it themselves. The municipality itself doesn't do it, it doesn't develop, is likely to have no money for it...

I: No.

P: and they, they can't do it maybe. Yes. So. I'm, I'm really against that it uhm, that it uhm..... not against solar panels, but on that location. Yes.

I: Yes.

P: That uhm... It shouldn't be there. No.

I: Do you have the feeling that Drachten is privileged compared to the other villages of Smallingerland or...

P: No.

I: That you don't feel.

P: No. Well no.

I: It's a bit the case of Drachten and the rest with regard to inhabitants.

P: Yes. Yes.

I: It's such a large place that you would say there are the priorities

P: No, that I have never felt. No.

I: Then I think that was it with regard to questions that I had.

Transcript 3

10-04-2021

I = Interviewer

P = Participant

I: First of all, thank you for your participation. A little bit of repetition of what was filled in in the questionnaire because that is separate from the interview. So first of all, for how long have you been living here?

P: [x] years

I: And in what kind of environment were you raised?

P: I was raised in [location]

I: And how would you describe this location?

P: It's city, but close to meadows. A lot of meadows.

I: A lot of meadows, so a bit of a countryside feeling. But a different kind of countryside

P: Yeah but very different.

I: But was the scene in sight?

P: Yeah we lived next to the city. It is the city itself really.

I: Okay. And why did you decide to... it's a big step actually... why did you decide to move to this address?

P: Uhm, my husband had been working for years in [location] and the distances were too much because we lived in [location]. And at some point after ten years we said we have to make a decision. Either you take a job somewhere else or we move. That has been the reason. So the job of [name of husband]. At this moment he doesn't work there anymore haha. But we really enjoy living here. And we're not moving again.

I: So, what was decisive in saying Opeinde is better than...

P: Opeinde not so much. We were looking for a place close to the city for our children. Not too far from the job. And I work from home, so for me it was not that important [followed by specifications of job]. It's just the ideal setting,

I: Yes, I understand that.

P: ...surrounded by nature.

I: Surrounded by nature. And did the landscape play a part in moving here?

P: Yes, completely.

I: Completely. What is it in the landscape that is so appealing?

P: There are trees, there is space, there is space for animals. [details of house] So it really is, yah, very authentic, uhm, where we, where like to be.

I: Yeah I understand that. Do you really feel at home here?

P: Yes. Lived for 18 years in [location] and there has not been a day that I felt so good as I felt the first day here.

I: And could you explain what that is?

P: That's a difficult question to answer. It's a feeling.

I: A feeling.

P: Yes. And it has a feeling of freedom and yeah, I can't explain it any further.

I: And do you already feel like genuine "Opeindenaar"?

P: No.

I: You don't like one.

P: No completely not. It's not the case that I don't seek social contact. I do know a few people in [location]. But now in covid times completely and we don't live here that long. And this is already, more than a year or something like that.

I: Yes, of course.

P: And then you don't really meet that many people. And we still have to learn Frisian. That does play a role as well. Haha.

I: Yes.

P: There are also a lot of non-Frisian people here in Opeinde. So, it will definitely happen.

[details about location of house]

I: And does the landscape also influence the feeling that you don't feel like a genuine Opeindenaar?

P: That the landscape contributes to that?

I: Look, it can work the other way around. When you truly feel connected to where you live, then you truly feel at home, that you like a real Opeindenaar.

P: No that's separate from the village. Yes. It's also not that kind of a village that has a centre. So, it's not the case that you meet each other at the supermarket or at the bakery. Or, you can also...

I: And do you miss that as well?

P: No, not at all. No because Drachten is very close. But for the contact with the villagers, it would be beneficial. And a bakery I would really appreciate. Haha.

I: Yes, I understand that. Then, how satisfied are you with your residential environment?

P: Yes, really satisfied?

I: So that's separate from the landscape.

[details about location house]

I: Then a bit broader. How satisfied are you with the surrounding landscape?

P: Really, really satisfied.

I: Really satisfied.

P: Yes.

I: I do you think the landscape should be preserved.

P: Yes.

I: And also, at all costs?

P: Well, I do think that it should get a lot of attention. And that it has a financial price tag to carry that care. I do think that the financial picture should meet that.

I: Would you also say that plans for new houses should cancelled for nature preservation?

P: Well, we talked about that. A plan for new houses that provides preservation of nature, I would support. But a new plan, a plan for new houses at the expense of nature, I would not, definitely not stimulate. While it's definitely the case that everyone has the right to a house, but that's possible with preservation of nature... Anyway, people should be more aware of nature. So, when they get involved in those kinds of projects, they become more aware automatically. What it consists of

I: Yes.

P: To live in nature.

I: Definitely. And to you personally, what does the landscape mean to you?

P: "Oh it is a gift from heaven.

I: A gift.

P: Yes. I would give everything for the conservation. And I do it myself as well. And I enjoy it every single day."

I: So, you are also involved as a volunteer?

P: Well, when you look at what I do at my own place, then I've become my own volunteer. Haha.

I: Okay, yes, yes.

P: When someone needs support, or my neighbour asks sometimes, or someone asks sometimes for help. Then of course, I will commit myself.

I: So, not like in a collective with Staatsbosbeheer or something?

P: No, no.

I: And do you already feel attached to the landscape?

P: Yes.

I: And what does make you feel attached?

P: I notice every growth, every change, seasons, the nests, the birds. When something, a little different, I know, oh, there's a bird or an animal or a fox or the horses or the deer that walk between the horses. I notice everything.

I: So, it's really nature that influences that?

P: Yes. Yes. Yes, completely.

I: And what are the first things...

[personal details]

P: It's part of existence.

I: Okay. And what are the first things that you think of when you think of the landscape here?

P: Well, it is diversity. When we moved here people responded: Oh, what do you do in Friesland? It's all flat. But it's uhm it's completely wrong. It's a lot of diversity. There are many different trees. The tree rows are cared for. Uhm. I really like to see that.

I: And that diversity. Did you know that already or did you discover that now that you live here?

P: I have discovered that here really.

I: Okay.

P: Yes, I knew it already when we lived in [location].

[unclear]

I: So that diversity did not play a role in the decision to move here?

P: No.

I: No.

P: No.

I: Because you were not really aware of all the trees.

P: No, the decision to move here has been the commuting distance.

I: Okay, yes. And in what ways do you experience the landscape? So, in what ways do you come in contact with it?

P: Every day.

I: Every day.

P: The seasons. [personal information] We love animals. Whether it is a flower, a plant, a tree, a bird, a sparrow, it doesn't matter.

I: I understand that. Do you think that the landscape of Opeinde is unique compared to the rest of Friesland?

P: No, because when you look at the Friese Wouden, then you have even more trees. That's something that I find really amazing. And the surrounding stretches all the way to the part in Groningen and there you see gradually more trees. So, it seems that Opeinde or Drachten marks border of the start of the Wouden area."

I: Well, you responded positively to well more trees. So that wouldn't be a reason to move away from here?

P: No.

I: This is high enough degree of trees, like I feel good here as well.

P: Yes. I'm really happy here.

I: Uhm. Then, if you, we also discussed in the questionnaire, do you worry about the landscape?

P: Well, what I am concerned about is the gas extraction that they started here and that started out as small tests. In which there has been no feedback to the people who were against it and that it only will become more. And now recently, there was an article in the paper that they again gained permission to increase the gas extraction. Well, I find that scandalous. Well, I find it really bizarre. And then we can talk about the solar panels that are placed everywhere. So that I think, first fill all the roofs before you damage the landscape.

I: So, apart from this location, you wouldn't be in favour of a field with solar panels anyway?

P: No. No. Because I can see it jumping out of the ground. And ah, it's an eyesore. I find it horrible. Yeah, and I think it can be done differently. I truly think so.

I: Yes. Uhm. Do you also think that those worries are present among the villagers?

P: Well... Of... I can share for my close neighbours. And they share the same opinion. But I can't speak for the villagers because for that I have too little contact.

I: Okay. Uhm.

P: But I suspect, suspect that it's the case. Yes

I: Uhm. Do you also think that the landscape is sufficiently taken into account in the plans, like De Peinder Mieden, and what is happening here with the solar panels? Whether the landscape is sufficiently involved in plans.

P: Well, you have to stay alert. You have to constantly react because before you know it when you don't react as an inhabitant then the government continues plans that only have a commercial purpose.

I: So, you have to make your voice heard otherwise they you will be neglected?

P: Yes. Yes. Yes, inhabitants are only taken seriously when they can't resist any harder. And uhm. Well, navigating between all the things that happen is hardly possible anymore, because they don't take it seriously.

I: Uhm, then the projects that are now ongoing. Do you think that enough is done to maintain the landscape?

P: Yes, generally I think what I see that very good things are happening. Very often, I see people of the municipality maintaining the trees and the tracks... So yeah, with regard to that I think that a lot of good work is being done.

I: And how do you think it can be done best? Is doing it this way sufficient or should other agencies be involved?

P: Uhm. There I would... I don't have clear picture on that. From what I see I think that it is sufficient. But I can't with much certainty, because I don't see what needs to happen. You know, maybe behind the scenes, things need to be done that I cannot see.

I: So maybe more openness of affairs of how the landscape...

P: What it needs... More openness is good no matter what... Making people aware of what is happening.

I: Uhm, yeah. Next is the project of De Peinder Mieden in particular. What do you think of this project?

P: Yeah I've said that before. The voices that I heard on the... on the initial plan were, when we first moved here, very negative. So I thought, Oh my God what do we get here? But I have to say that I am very positive about the results and that the houses are gradually more natural. While when we saw the building going at the start we thought: My God! What kind of enormous blocks will they put here? But no, I think it's a really really nice project. You can easily walk there. It's very inviting. It's very pleasant to take a stroll there. And well how it's going to be in the future, because the residents have to maintain it themselves, we will see. I have heard voices that it will result in debates because there are very different opinions. It will have to prove itself.

I: Yeah, when this was developed you did not live here that long. So, has it ever crossed your mind: Oh, I would have liked it too to live in something like that?

P: No.

I: No.

P: No. Absolutely, definitely, a beautiful project, but I am very happy here in, in this house.

I: And what is the reason that you wouldn't choose that?

P: Uhm, because we live here. I, I would definitely if I wouldn't have found this spot, then I would definitely want to live sustainably. Definetely.

I: So also in, that you would have to maintain it together with others?

P: Yes, well, that would really depend on the residents where you end up and how involved those people are in nature. Because sometimes it's a very nice idea, but the execution is the burden

I: Yes.

P: And then it will become a problem when you really have a passion then you really want it.

I: Yes, definitely.

P: And you can't guarantee that for every resident of course.

I: Of course, you don't live there, and you don't experience it in that sense, but what do you think could be improved in that project?

P: I don't know if something is improving. It's still under construction and you know, people only live there. And they have their own board to decide how things should go. But I think the government should monitor whether it is indeed maintained.

I: So, surveillance is necessary otherwise you think it won't go well?

P: I think that otherwise there will be a lot of arguments. But's what I think, right. Maybe it won't be so bad. When everyone has passion for it, it will, it will happen. But there are work horses and lazy horses. And they have to do it together. Interesting.

I: Interesting. And then one more time back to the solar park that would be constructed south of the village. Uhm, what do you think of this project?

P: Well, I'm completely don't agree. I really think it's an eyesore. You know, and when the government wants to rent those fields then they can better rent the roofs of the big warehouses that are next to this place in Drachten. Uhm.. to put panels there.

I: And when it would in the form a wind turbine, would you have been against that as well?

P: No, I don't think I would be against it then, but it's about the amount. Somehow, it's difficult in this country to be moderate. We've found something new and then all of a sudden everything in this country has to adhere to that and then it loses its power and beauty. If there was diversity, a wind turbine and some panels and... without it taking over everything, then there's a big difference.

I: Hmm.

P: So, I'm completely not against solar panels [details about house]. But, I'm also not against wind turbines. But's it's the amount that just hits us hard.

I: Yeah I too heard recently the criticism that a vision is kind of lacking in the Netherlands. That we think: Oh we have to do something sustainable.

P: And then all of sudden, every, every all lights go in one direction.

I: Yes.

P: And then the diversity is far out of sight. Yeah it's bizarre. I truly think so. And then we don't have the brake. We can't be moderate. And what I also think is worrying is where is the energy going. Because when you think about when the energy would really go to the inhabitants then it would be a powerful project. But the energy doesn't go the inhabitants. You have to think: what do we do with the energy that we want to produce. It's all about the money. But can be people in the vicinity benefit from it. Ah, pull the plug, that doesn't happen.

I: So, this should also have a collective side.

P: A lot more. Then you also get more cooperation from your, from your fellow human. But when you make it collective and everyone would benefit from it and you would have the diversity then there could be nice projects with beauty and functionality. That doesn't happen. It's all about the financial side which I notice more and more. And that's also a question of conscience about cattle and farmers, the agricultural sector is far more than what we actually consume ourselves here in our own environment. When you think about the amount of space that is lost on that, then you might wonder if that still ... serves its purpose. I digress, sorry.

I: That's alright. That was my last question really. Are there things that you would like to add resulting from this?

P: Uhm, no

Transcript 4**16-04-2021**

I = Interviewer

P = Participant

I: Yes, there it is. Uhm... First of all, thank you for your participation.

P: Yes.

I: First, it is a bit of repetition of the questionnaire. But for how long have you been living here?

P: That's... What did we say? [personal information]

I: And how would you describe Opeinde in the times of your youth? How was it back then?

P: Yes, back then Opeinde was a bit a bit a village that was divided based on the group to which.... I was a bit of a divided village so to say.

I: Yes.

P: Christian and non-Christian.

I: No right.

P: And that that was very present back then and uhm... well a rather quiet town. That that segregation so to say that, that was present.

I: Yes.

P: You lived in two worlds.

I: Yes right.

P: And on the football pitch you met each other.

I: That you did.

P: Yes indeed.

I: Yes. And why did you decide to stay here?

P: Well just, Opeinde is located, with regard to the surroundings, uhm, when you see where it is, between Drachten and Leeuwarden. When you want to go to Groningen, then you are there quickly, within the hour, you're in Zwolle. And thus, uhm... yes and basically, with regard to the surroundings, we think it's really nice. But also when our children were older, we said, well, when they want to study in [personal information]. Well that, it's also very practical.

I: So a bit of a central location.

P: Yes.

I: Yes. Close to the Wâldwei.

P: Close to the Wâldwei and the highway A7.

I: Yes, that too.

P: And Drachten well, there are a lot of employers there as well. I myself have worked in [personal information] so to say, and you're there very quickly.

I: Yes.

P: So, the location, we like it [personal information]. We both kind of like the Wâlden so to say.

I: Yes right.

P: When we see less trees, we like that for a day, but we feel at home here.

I: Yes, I understand that. So, the landscape did play a role in staying here.

P: Yes, the landscape in general so to say, yes. It's cosy. And yes, you're used to it, so you like it.

I: Well, it's the case that De Wâlden stretch in the direction of Oosterwolde.

P: Yes.

I: Would you feel at home there as well?

P: Well, less. Yes, that's a bit more de Stellingwerven.

I: Yes.

P: So, we are, Drachten is really close, so it's really functional of course. There you also have all the conveniences that you that you.

I: Indeed.

P: that you want to find.

I: So it's really, well... Oosterwolde would be less suitable. It's that... here there's more water, that's it's different.

P: Yes, well, just the combination of... there's woods a bit further, there's water...

I: Yes.

P: When we go to the south, then I think it would stop around Bakkeveen. Yes.

I: Yes. So, there has to be some diversity.

P: Yes.

I: Yes. Uhm. Then. Yes. To what extent do you feel at home at it doesn't have to be in grades, it can just be...

P: We really feel at home here. Yes.

I: Yes. And it has always been this way.

P: Yes, really. Absolutely. [personal information] And for example we rather had our children grow up in an environment like this than in the west or the east of the country.

I: So this has the preference over [personal information]?

P: Yes, absolutely. Yes, well... [personal information].

- I: And do you feel like a true Opeindenaar?
- P: No, I don't feel like a true Opeindenaar... I wouldn't really know what the DNA of a true Opeindenaar is so to say... For that, for that Opeinde is too much a village next to Drachten, through which it has lost its originality.
- I: That was in the beginning... well in the beginning...
- P: Then it were all villages of their own. When you... Oudega for example, Oudega is really a village of its own
- I: Yes.
- P: There's much more going on. And, you can see that when look at the entrepreneurs.
- I: Yes.
- P: Opeinde is just something that is close to Drachten.
- I: Yes.
- P: But for me, that's not negative.
- I: So, it's less of a unity really.
- P: Yes. It's more of an observation.
- I: Yes. And uhm... Does the landscape have an influence that you don't feel like a real Opeindenaar? Because, Drachten is so much advancing...
- P: No, not that it bothers me, it's a quality of Opeinde. Because it's so close to Drachten uhm... Well there's a football club here, coincidentally I read in the newspaper, 40 percent of the football club, of the members are from Drachten.
- I: Oh really.
- P: So to say.
- I: Yes.
- P: And that's not a bad thing. But it's an indication so to say. With respect to that... it's more of an open community than when you have Oudega, when you have De Tieke, that's much more a village on its own.
- I: Yes. But smaller.
- P: Much smaller, but that's something Opeinde doesn't have.
- I: No.
- P: But that's not a bad thing for us.
- I: No, no okay.
- P: To me it isn't
- I: Uhm, next... How satisfied are you with the residential environment. Not completely the landscape, but the village itself?
- P: Yes, I'm really satisfied with it. Well, yes.

I: Because it isn't too packed?

P: It isn't too packed? We have space. [personal information] When you go that way there is woods and when you go somewhere else then there's open space. De Leien is close by when you want to take a walk or cycle.

I: Yes, right.

P: So that makes that it is nice. At the same time, it is poorly supported by the government or the local government, with regard to services

I: With regard to cycle paths and that kind of things?

P: Yes, just with regard to walking paths.

I: Yes.

P: That uhm... We now have the Peinder... De Peinder Mieden. To take a stroll, there's a nice area, but furthermore there are not many beautiful paths so to say.

I: No right. And it doesn't really bother you that the paths are unpaved so that it doesn't really walk that nicely?

P: No, no... that's not bad.

I: It doesn't have to be paved with shells or something?

P: No it doesn't have to be asphalt. Strolling is also nice.

I: And you go there on a regular basis?

P: Yes. Yes. Out of curiosity, what is happening there. But also just to...

I: It's also always the case that another house is built.

P: Yeah, then another house is there. But we also walk to the Kletsterfeart. Across the fields, across De Peinder Mieden.

I: Let me see, the Burmaniasloot?

P: Yes, that's right.

I: Okay.

P: Just a nice stroll. That was not there, but it has come there due to De Peinder Mieden. But not that the municipality creates something different. For example near Nijtap near the greenhouses that something is extended to the Hegewei so that you can... So with respect to walking paths... for example Boornbergum, there's a lot more.

I: Yes.

P: [personal information] There are a lot more nice paths...

I: Yes right. Yes yes.

P: and routes than here... That's just worse here.

I: It's just worse here. Because it's just meadows here or farmers?

P: Yes, when you want to walk across it here and De Peinder Mieden were not there, then you went around the Kommissjewei and the Wâldwei but you stayed on the roads so you say. You get it?

I: Yes. The was... It started with the residential environment. How satisfied are you then with the surroundings, with the landscape in the direct surroundings and you don't have to answer in grades. So...

P: Well, I think the direct surroundings are nice. And... At the same time you can see... when you walk a little further then you see indeed, well... heavily cultivated farmland. And well, I think that's a shame so to say. This morning I left the village and I saw a large piece of land and there was one hare in the middle so to say. And the rest it was all very tidy... Those are things of which you think: it's a shame that that has gotten the upper hand.

I: And apart from the paths and the like, do you think the landscape near Boornburgem is also more beautiful?

P: Yes, in general I think it's nice. That's a bit more diverse. But, well... it's also wilder so to say.

I: So less intensive farmland?

P: Yes, less. Yes. You can see more, well, nature.

I: Yes.

P: And because of De Peinder Mieden so to say, there an area is created of which you can say that that that is maintained in a completely different way.

I: Yes.

P: So that is positive indeed.

I: Yes. You are in favour of the way in which they have organised it?

P: Yes I am, yes.

I: And next, do you think that the landscape should be preserved at all costs?

P: Well not at all costs, because we also have to be real, we all want to do all sorts of things and that's why there's also appreciation for the solar park there.

I: Yes.

P: Yes, we all might want all sorts of things but uhm.... Yeah we don't want uhm uhm new nuclear power plants in the country.

I: No right.

P: Well, we do want to be free of fossil fuel. Yes, then there has to be placed a panel so to say.

I: Yes.

P: We cannot want everything and uhm... uhm... that's just not possible. We have to find a mode somewhere that you say: okay well then there will be a piece with solar panels.

I: Yes.

P: We have to be that real.

I: And uhm... Would you say that extension like De Peinder Mieden is done, that should be done more or would you say extension of the village as it has always gone with this part here?

P: It is a combination, I think. Because see, you mustn't have too many Peinde Mieden

I: No.

P: Because then it becomes a mess of course. Even apart from the question if there is then demand for that. Because when you see who lived in De Peinder Mieden, they are relatively few former inhabitants of Opeinde.

I: Yes.

P: And that's not a bad thing so to say.

I: No. No.

P: But I think that, with respect to residential facilities, you would also have to think more about the current inhabitants. And the youth as well, as, what opportunities do they indeed have to live nicely.

I: Yes.

P: So, then that can be become a new residential area in my opinion. [personal information] There do live some Opeindenaren, but they are not many.

I: Not that many people.

P: No there are very few. And that, like I said, that's not a bad thing.

I: No.

P: But it indicates so to say that they're not amenities or developments that really do the inhabitants themselves a great favour as an alternative for living.

I: No right.

P: It's rather pricy when you want to build something there and the plot. And well, youth and young families so to say do not there.

I: It's not something for the new house owners actually.

P: No, and neither for the the people in their early thirties so to say.

I: Yes.

P: Then you have really amassed something before you can have something there.

I: And apart from the financial aspect, uhm... have you had the idea: oh, I would also like to live there or...

P: Uhm...yeah. [personal information] No, not that I was interested in that, but, well... because we live here very well and lovely.

I: Yes right.

P: That uhm... so, that did not cross our minds.

I: No right. Uhm... then the landscape in general. What does it mean to you?

P: Well yeah, I like walking outside of the village so to say. That uhm...

I: Yes.

P: My favourite route is De Leien and then you have a lot of diversity along the way so to say.

I: Yes.

P: Just, you have a private road, but you can from Eastermar... there are almost solely paths up to the to the viaduct. And the diversity from one period of the year to another period of the year. And well, that that I really like. But also the other direction, Egbertsgaasten, yes, then you have more

I: Yes.

P: More open view and more space. That's also very beautiful.

I: So, it's... Yeah... You really use it, yes, actively.

P: Yes, I use it actively. Yes. Yes. Yes. I don't get in the car first.

I: But you also don't use the car for the for the... to see the landscape, it has to be a bit active.

P: [personal information]

I: And uhm... yes... You also said that you enjoyed living in the Wâlden, do you like like a genuine Wâldtsjer?

P: Yes, I don't know. Someone else can judge that better.

I: Yes.

P: But uhm, yeah, most likely I would also be really satisfied if I was born in Dokkum and I would also have it good. So, it's also a bit where we live, and the family. Yeah, and there you become rooted... Yeah, you learn certain habituations that you have it.

I: Yes, true. And do you feel connected to the landscape?

P: No, not really connected to the landscape.

I: No.

P: That I say... no no no that's not the case.

I: It's not really a a a part of my identity.

P: No no no.

I: And uhm... What do you think of when you think of the landscape surrounding Opeinde? What are the first things that come to mind?

P: Uhm... I think the bocage situation, the bocage landscape and the... De Leien so to say, the canal. Those are really the things... [personal information] A little stroll, a walk alongside the canal, that. [personal information]

I: Let me see, then I had the question in what way do you experience the landscape, but that is walking really.

P: Yes, walking [personal information]

I: Yes.

P: [personal formation]

I: And uhm... Do you think that the landscape of Opeinde or the Wâlden compared to the rest of Friesland?

P: Yes, well, yes. We just talked about the Southwestern part...

I: Yes.

P: And there's frankly something different, somehow.

I: Yes.

P: And there you also have very beautiful areas with trees. Well yes, then you are more in Gaasterland, and that's also different.

I: Yes.

P: And here, it's already different from let's say the direction of Beetsterzwaag. Well yes, I think it's unique. Yes.

I: Yes. And then, yes, again not in grades, but do you have concerns about the landscape? So, what are the things of which you say, that is a bit of a subject to risks.

P: Yeah, well, mostly how farmers deal with it. Yes they...

I: Yes.

P: That I don't think is always positive so to say.

I: Because what do they do of which you say?

P: Well, when I see them injecting slurry with those very big dragged construction so to say, then I think nothing will remain of a nest.

I: No.

P: And, like the biodiversity and just do wild fields where a bee keeper can keep twenty, twenty or so beehives so to say, right.

I: Yes.

P: That's rare around here.

I: Yes. So that should be more stimulated by subsidies and things like that or?

P: Well, really we have to look in the mirror of course, well yes, yes, then we have to pay more for it...

I: Yes.

P: As a, as a society for the farmer so to say

I: Yes. And do you think that was is lost of the landscape, that the farmers are a bit to blame or is that because of other...?

P: No, that's a total complex.

I: Yes.

P: So to say, of farmers and citizens so to say.

I: Yes.

P: When the milk has to be as cheap as possible, and preferably from Germany, because it's even 3 cents cheaper from there...

I: Yes. Uhm... Let me see... Would you say that the quality of the landscape is something that people care about, that there are more people who are worried about quality?

P: Well, I don't hear many people talking about it. Well now you hear some people talking about the solar field and those people are worried about that. Initially, it was the same for De Peinder Mieden. The people are sceptic. But I think the deer are not bothered by it. They are still frolicking over there so to say. Those who were there, it's now at least the same number. And well... That, no. There was some movement for a while. And I think those people are against every change instead of a specific change.

I: So the people who were first against De Peinder Mieden, they know walk there as well? They enjoy it as well?

P: I think so. Yes.

I: Yes.

P: They are equally curious.

I: Yes. And well the solar panels, that is now postponed for a while. Because there were also two hundred notices of objection or something.

P: Yes.

I: So there, that has also triggered a lot of response, really.

P: Yes. Yes. Yes.

I: Yes... And what is your opinion about that project? Would you say it's a good location? Would you say it should have been a different location?

P: See, in general, then I'm very real about it. Like I said, if we don't want nuclear energy uhm... we also don't want large wind turbines because that that, here is also not a suitable location.

I: No.

P: Uhm, then we will have to do something so to say.

I: Yes.

P: That is has to come specifically there, yeah, then I would have preferred it in the direction of the other side of the Egbertsgaasten of the farm the Overwinning so to say.

I: Yes.

P: There you destroy a bit less, I think. But, because it is where the panels would be put, it's a very beautiful spot, also from the water so to say. Yeah, you can shout: it shouldn't be in our neighbourhood. But we all want that our dishwasher and microwave are working.

I: Yes.

P: So, maybe a little bit more small-scale, but well, I had a bit less problems with it.
[personal information] And wind turbines... with that you must not ruin the landscape so to say.

I: No.

P: Then you disturb a lot more.

I: I myself have always the feeling, windmills have been here forever, they are part of the Dutch landscape. But these are a different kind.

P: That's another kind. Yes.

I: Yes.

P: But uhm... and you might have to design that kind of solar fields a bit differently, that uhm... you can make a combination with more nature, right.

I: Yes.

P: Then you say, boys, we take care that it's not completely built up, but built up for 50%

I: Yes right.

P: ...and there a free strip where birds and other things can eat.

I: Yes.

P: Yes, then you do both. And then the profit of an investor will maybe be less, but well that's just the way it is.

I: Well, yes, they were talking about that there would be trees around it.

P: I then get the feeling just make, when you have 10 meter of panels then also make 10 meter of free ground, then you also give nature a chance.

I: Yes... Well, there are also people who say: I'm against these fields in general because the roofs have to be done first and.

P: Yes, and maybe that's a bit short-sighted, because we can do a lot on the roofs first, but at some point, you have to have volume. And what most people ignore is that you, on roofs of companies, at farms it is still possible, but a lot of companies on the business park of Drachten.

I: Yes.

P: Yeah, there solar panels on the roofs are not allowed, because, already there are a lot of companies who cannot insure their buildings anymore due to the solar panels.

I: Because of fire?

P: Yes, the risk of fire.

I: Yes.

P: Thialf, there they're also not allowed to be connected.

I: No right.

P: [personal information]

- I: Yes, they always say that the distance to the roof has to be big, there has to be
- P: Yes, a bit ventilation
- I: Otherwise, it will go wrong.
- P: Yes, and look, when you have ordinary houses, there are roof tiles, so that's not that bad. There are also very big roofs on building of companies and there's bitumen on it
- I: Yes.
- P: And then we all know what's going to happen.
- I: Yes. That won't go well.
- P: Well, so, you can say that, but we won't make it on the basis of that alone.
- I: It's not achievable on roofs alone?
- P: I think that is has to be both.
- I: Yes.
- P: And when you can combine with a bit of space for nature. Trees are beautiful but panels should not come too close to trees, so make paths in between where, where, where birds and animals can be. If needed, then a farmer can go there twice a year through there who.... treats it bit in a biological fashion. Yeah, there's room for that I think.
- I: Yes. And one more time about De Peinder Mieden... Uhm, because I have heard a lot that people thought: this will definitely go wrong. So many people with so many opinions on how it can be maintained. Do you have an idea yourself, that has to be different, that could be better about the project?
- P: Yeah, well... yes yes, for that I'm an outsider so to say, look, there has been a similar project in Drachten at the other side of the water. And that has failed so to say in this way. That association went bankrupt.
- I: Yes.
- P: That that, let's say owner's association, because some... at some point, there will come new generations of residents and uhm... then there was the situation that they didn't want to become member and pay. While there were still contracts for the maintenance and at some point, the association went bankrupt and the municipality had to take over. I don't know if you're familiar with it.
- I: I have read it once in a newspaper, but further...
- P: Well, so, for that, this is too fresh and too nice and the first generation still lives here.
- I: Yes.
- P: The first generation of residents. So, uhm... uhm... In general, it is of course a complex uhm... uhm... uhm... well, a complex model so to say.
- I: Yes.
- P: And you can see that in all owner's associations. Whether it's at a holiday park or a flat, yes, some have different demands than others and other expectations.

I: Yes indeed. So, would say: they still are a bit of idealists of the first...

P: Yes, party they are idealist of the first...

I: Yes.

P: You can also see houses of which you think, they are really not idealist. They have just selected the nicest spot and preferably two plots and put a house there of 6, 7, 800k.

I: Yes.

P: Well, they are not idealist.

I: No.

P: They just went for the nicest spot. So, there's a big diversity in it, so to say.

I: Yes. Because I also heard a lot that people thought that there wasn't enough of a consist pattern. They have put there are sorts of things and it doesn't look nice.

P: Oh, well, I think it's nice.

I: Oh, well, it's nice according to you?

P: Yes, but I'm not bothered by it. Because I, I, well I like it what one does and what the other does. Yes, some choose a house from a catalogue as soon as possible and the other says: yes, I want to work on it for 2 years, because that saves me money. Yeah, basically, I find that interesting.

I: Yes.

P: To, to look at that. But of course, there's no unity in it. When you look at the houses there where all the houses are the exactly same,

I: Yes.

P: Yes that's really a grey mass.

I: Yes. Yes. Indeed.

P: And I think it's well, interesting so to say, there how it...

I: Yes.

P: Yes, I like it.

I: Yes, it looks nice.

P: Yes.

I: And also with the roads, there the municipality had to step in, because it wasn't good, there was too much dusting...

P: Yes, it was dusting too much or it is too wet.

I: Yes.

P: So, yeah, then you see, that's the drawback of idealism.

I: Yes.

P: And uhm... well, those those are beginner's mistakes, I think.

I: You don't think that the project will get out of hand that they say it becomes a regular neighbourhood just like the other...

P: No, I don't think so.

I: It will succeed?

P: Yes, I think so.

I: Well, look, others see this as a first sign that it not completely goes as they thought it would go.

P: No, no, I think that this is more a practical thing that they say: we have had a great idea together,

I: Yes.

P: But, most times of the year we experience more hindrance than uhm... than uhm... more than we had thought.

I: Yes right.

P: And I can understand that, you have to think a bit practical. Do you want another drink?

I: Uhm, no no no. Thank you, thank you, because otherwise I would agree, but this was the last question really.

P: Oh right, that's fine.

I: Good. Uhm, are there things that come to mind, of which you think that can be added?

P: No, no, not really. No, no.

I: Yeah, other people said: I am worried about the gas extraction, do you also have...

P: Yeah, well, the gas extraction is indeed something that you would say, how will that go so to say. But well, then I think, we have to look at more things as well. Most people, with regard to gas extraction, think about the own house. And uhm...

I: Yes.

P: But then we have to more things, like water level maintenance.

I: Yes.

P: That already has its consequences for a while so to say.

I: But you are not really afraid of what is going happen. No?

P: No, in general I'm not afraid. And of course, there are consequences

I: Yes.

P: But I still have a gas meter in my house as well.

I: Yes, that's true.

P: Yes, and that's something I always find conflicting about people. Then you also have to say uhm... I'm against it, then I have to get the gas meter out immediately.

Appreciation of the cultural landscape maintenance

I: Yes.

P: So it's either one or the other. You can't do both and well... well... it can have consequences.

I: Yes.

P: But I'm happy that when it's cold that I can turn on a thing like that and it becomes warm.

I: Yes, I understand that. Yes, I understand that, yes. Yes, then you also have to take the other step of a solar boiler or...

P: Yes, then you have to become electric...

I: thermal heating or things like that you get then...

P: Yes, yes.

I: Yes, well, yes, that was the last question.

Appendix K

Table 8. Linear regression on landscape maintenance appreciation.

Regression on "On a scale from 1 to 10, how would you rate the landscape maintenance?"		Regression 1 B	Regression 2 B	Regression 3 B
Personal characteristics	Gender [0 = male; 1 = female]	0,369*	0,315	0,288
	Age [continuous in years]	0,003	0,005	0,006
	High education [0 = highly educated; 1 = not highly educated]	0,50	0,009	0,031
	Using landscape for leisure [0 = daily; 1 = weekly; 2 = monthly; 3 = never]	-0,024	0,021	0,10
Appreciation of landscape	Satisfaction with landscape [scale 1-10]		0,388**	0,385**
	Importance of landscape for residential satisfaction [scale 1-10]		-0,053	-0,051
	Concern about landscape [scale 1-10]		-0,083*	-0,081*
Residential history	Raised in a town [0 = yes; 1 = no]			-0,192
	Lived in a town in the past [0 = yes; 1 = no]			0,140
	Moved from a city to Opeinde [0 = yes; 1 = no]			-0,320
	Length of residency [0 = <10 years; 1 = 10-30 years; 2 = >30 years; 4 = village-born residents]			0,015
<i>n=305 // *significant for $p < 0.05$ **significant for $p < 0.01$</i>		R²=0,02 <i>n=305</i>	R²=0,10 <i>n=305</i>	R²=0,11 <i>n=305</i>