

Connecting Agriculture and Care at regional level

Contributions from transition theory and institutional entrepreneurship

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Abstract

We analyzed two types of regional cooperation. Regional foundations of care farms and care institutions collaborating with a group of farmers. The initiatives were analyzed with a conceptual framework based on transition sciences and institutional entrepreneurship. The presence of a committed institutional entrepreneur with vision, strategic competences and leadership to develop alliances, institutional support and legitimacy in the agricultural and care sector is important for developing a successful regional foundation of care farms. To establish a successful collaboration between a care institution and a group of farmers, support from the board of directors is crucial. The initiator in the care institution needs this authority to implement it in the organization. History and culture of regions and organizations are important aspects to take into account.

Keywords: Care farming – transition – institutional entrepreneurship - implementation

1. Introduction

1.1 Characteristics of care farms

Care farming is a growing sector that combines agricultural production with health and social services (Hassink et al., 2007; Hine et al., 2008; Elings and Hassink, 2008). It is an interesting phenomenon because the agricultural sector is actively involved in providing care for different client groups. Care farms offer day care, supported workplaces, and/or residential places for clients with a variety of disabilities (Elings and Hassink, 2008). Care farms can be considered as an innovative example of community-based services that can improve the quality of life of clients. The combination of a personal and involved attitude of the farmer, being part of a community, an informal context and useful and diverse activities in a green environment make care farms an appealing facility for different client groups (Hassink et al., 2010). Target groups include people with a mental illness, addiction background, learning disabilities, older persons, children, problem youth, and long-term unemployed persons (Hassink et al., 2007).

1.2 Development of the care farming sector

The number of care farms in the Netherlands has increased rapidly from 75 in 1998 to more than 800 in 2008 (Elings and Hassink, 2008). In 2005, 10 000 clients made use of a care farm in the Netherlands (Hassink et al., 2007). The number of care farms in other European countries is increasing as well (Hassink and van Dijk, 2006; Hine et al., 2008). One of the main problems care farmers are facing is finding adequate financing for the care services they provide (Ketelaars et al., 2002; Hassink et al,

2007). Many care farmers are not recognized as official care institutions and depend for the payment of care services on the willingness and collaboration of care institutions. A positive development was the introduction of the personal budgets of clients (PGB) in 2003 which allows clients to compose their own package of care provisions. The PGB was introduced to diversify the supply of care and to shorten waiting lists. With this PGB the client or the client's representatives can contract a care farm directly without interference from a care institution. This budget has become popular in recent years. Due to a strategic lobby two distinct ministries (Agriculture and Health) decided in 1999 to subsidize a national Support Centre Agriculture and Care. This Support Centre accelerated the development of the sector. Although care farming is seen as a successful and innovative sector, various weaknesses and challenges were identified in a meeting with representatives of the main stakeholders of the care farming sector. The main challenges that were identified are: bridging the gap between the agricultural and care sector, to develop professional regional organizations of care farmers and sustainable financing structures (Blom & Hassink, 2008).

1.3 Importance of developments at regional level

At regional level, organizations of care farmers developed. There were (and still are) different levels of ambition between the regions. Some of them opted for an AWBZ¹ accreditation (formal status of a reimbursable care provision) others restricted themselves to study groups of care farmers. A critical event in the process was the opening for regional foundations to get a collective AWBZ accreditation, which offered opportunities for negotiation with medical insurance companies as official care institutions. Another development that took place in some regions is the collaboration of care institutions with a group of farmers. These regional initiatives of network formation are important for the development of the sector. Identified tasks of regional initiatives are the exchange of knowledge and experiences between the care and agricultural sector, education of care farmers, matching demand and supply, connecting care farms with policies at regional level (Kattenbroek & Hassink, 2003)

1.4 Objectives of this paper

The aims of this paper are to describe and analyse different types of collaboration between the agricultural and care sector at regional level and identify the factors that contribute to a successful development. In a previous paper we described a framework for analyzing initiatives at regional level and we came up with hypotheses which factors affect the development of these regional initiatives in care farming (Hassink et al., 2011). In this paper we test the validity of our framework and hypotheses by comparing them with empirical data. We think that a better understanding of regional initiatives can stimulate a successful development of the sector.

2. Conceptual framework and hypotheses

We will provide a short overview of our framework and hypotheses. We consider the structuration theory of Giddens to be useful as a meta theory for analyzing the development of initiatives in care farming. Giddens stresses the importance of the interdependency of agency and structure (Giddens, 1986). Agriculture and care is a

¹ AWBZ: (Exceptional Medical Expenses Act): a public insurance, which covers exceptional medical expenses that are not part of the regular care insurances.

system innovation: a process in which multiple actors and knowledge domains are interlinked in developing radical new concepts for existing products and services (Grin & Weterings, 2005). An innovation that has to deal with existing structures and regimes in the agricultural and in the care sector.

2.1 Transition theory

Transition theory, especially its central element, the so called multilevel perspective (MLP; Rip and Kemp, 1998; Schot, 1998; Geels, 2005) is helpful in understanding the interaction of agency and structure aspects and initiatives in care farming and existing regimes. The multi level perspective (MLP) distinguishes three levels of heuristic analytical concepts: niche innovations, socio technical regimes and socio technical landscape (Geels, 2002; Geels & Schot, 2007). The socio technical regime refers to shared cognitive routines in a community. There are three dimensions (Raven, 2007): the technical (dominant design), the social network (role and position of actors in network) and the institutional (legislation and policies, defining the space for actors to manoeuvre). It is a conglomerate of structure (institutional setting), culture (prevailing perspective) and practices (rules, routines and habits). The regime's cognitive, normative and regulative institutions act to establish and reinforce stability and cohesion of societal systems, but they also limit innovation to localized, incremental improvements (Geels, 2005). Niches form the micro-level where radical novelties emerge. Niches act as incubation rooms protecting novelties against mainstream market selection (Schot, 1998; Kemp et al., 1998). Niche-innovations are carried and developed by small networks of dedicated actors, often outsiders or fringe actors (Geels & Schot, 2007). The socio technical landscape forms an exogenous environment beyond the direct influence of niche and regime actors (macro-economics, deep cultural patterns, macro-political developments). Changes at the landscape level usually take place slowly (decades).

MLP claims that regime shifts occur through inter-linkage of interaction between multiple developments on the three levels. Actively promoting through multi-actor, and dispersed governance and therefore requires, in addition to the creation of niches also strategic action in the sense of creating linkages to overcome and in spite of the existing regime and its path dependencies by smartly connecting dynamics at the three levels (Grin, 2006; 2010; Smith, 2007). Another insight is that transitions and system innovations involve purposeful, strategic actors and involve normative questions and the need to deal with power issues (Meadowcroft, 2007; Grin, 2009).

Care farming is typically a multi-sector spanning innovation that faces the challenges and opportunities of both agricultural and care regimes. Elzen et al. (2010) argue that there is an urgent need for a theory of good linking. In their view there is an important role of hybrid actors and hybrid forums. Hybrid actors are a category between insiders and outsiders. Until now, studies on this issue are scarce and seem to contradict each other. For instance Raven and Verbong (2007) claim that multi-regime dynamics can be beneficial when a niche innovation becomes linked as a solution to multiple regimes, but it can also create new problems and uncertainties about regulations, definitions, technical linkages and responsibilities (Schot and Geels, 2008).

Change agents are crucial to set a process in motion (Roep et al. 2003; Grin and Weterings, 2005; Geels, 2005; Caniels & Romijn, 2008). It is stated that change agents should be visionaries that are able to make the connection between societal

developments at landscape level, putting pressure on the dominant regime and creating room for manoeuvre at local level (Roep et al., 2003). Building power trust and legitimacy are important challenges for change agents (Grin, 2007; 2010). It demands great skill level on the part of actors to shake loose the constraints posed by the dominant pressures (Yujuioco, 2008; Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007; Di Maggio, 1988). This issue has hitherto hardly been elaborated in transition literature.

In order to fill the gap, we argue additional insight from institutional entrepreneurship is helpful.

2.2. Institutional entrepreneurship

Transition literature hardly distinguishes different types of agents. Literature on entrepreneurship may help us to identify the competences of successful entrepreneurs. We focus on institutional entrepreneurship. Regional initiatives are examples of new or changing organizations. Institutional entrepreneurs play a pivotal role in creating or changing institutions (Levy and Scully, 2007). An institutional entrepreneur is an individual or actor group which not only introduces a discrete innovation, but works to change the broader context so that the innovation has widespread appeal and impact (Maguire et al., 2004). Central topics in institutional entrepreneurship are field structure (implicit power in existing regimes), strategy, legitimacy and power (Levy and Scully, 2007). This institutional entrepreneur should combine strong leadership (determining the direction, bringing people on one track and motivating and inspiring people) with complex skills to be successful in a changing institutional environment. His task partly is to nurture and develop innovative practices (niche experiments), partly to connect them to the incumbent regime and partly to connect to and create regime change. Relevant skills are cultural/cognitive skills like framing and persuading to deal with field power, procedural skills to deal with procedures in the care sector and political and interactional skills to link the initiative with the political agenda and develop alliances (Rao, 1998; DiMaggio, 1998). Institutional entrepreneurs have to overcome structural power by outmanoeuvring field dominants (Barker et al., 2001). Network development is important in entrepreneurial processes. Discovery of opportunities, securing resources and gaining legitimacy are affected by network structure (Elfring and Hulsink, 2003; 2007). Network theory shows the importance of the right mix of strong and weak bonds (Elfring and Hulsink, 2003; Gilsing and Duysters, 2008).

2.3 Hypotheses

Our general hypothesis is that the presence of institutional entrepreneurs with adequate competences is the key factor for success. Such entrepreneurs should have a creative and proactive response to environmental opportunities (Brown and Duguid, 1991).

We hypothesize that for a successful development of regional foundation of care farms the presence of an institutional entrepreneur is crucial. The new organization has to develop legitimacy in the care sector and has to mediate between individual and collective interests of care farmers. The challenge for the foundation of care farmers is to develop a strong organization with sufficient knowledge of the care sector and an adequate profit model (Fig 1).

We hypothesize that for a successful collaboration of a care institution with a group of farmers, an important challenge of the initiator is to implement the collaboration with farmers in the care organization. Studies on implementation and transformation in organizations indicate that strong leadership, formation of a leading coalition, a clear vision how the initiative links with organizational goals and how it offers solutions for problems in the organization, generating short term success and embedding the new approach in the organization are crucial for success (Rosenheck, 2001). In addition this entrepreneur should develop a successful interaction with the environment (especially the farmers).

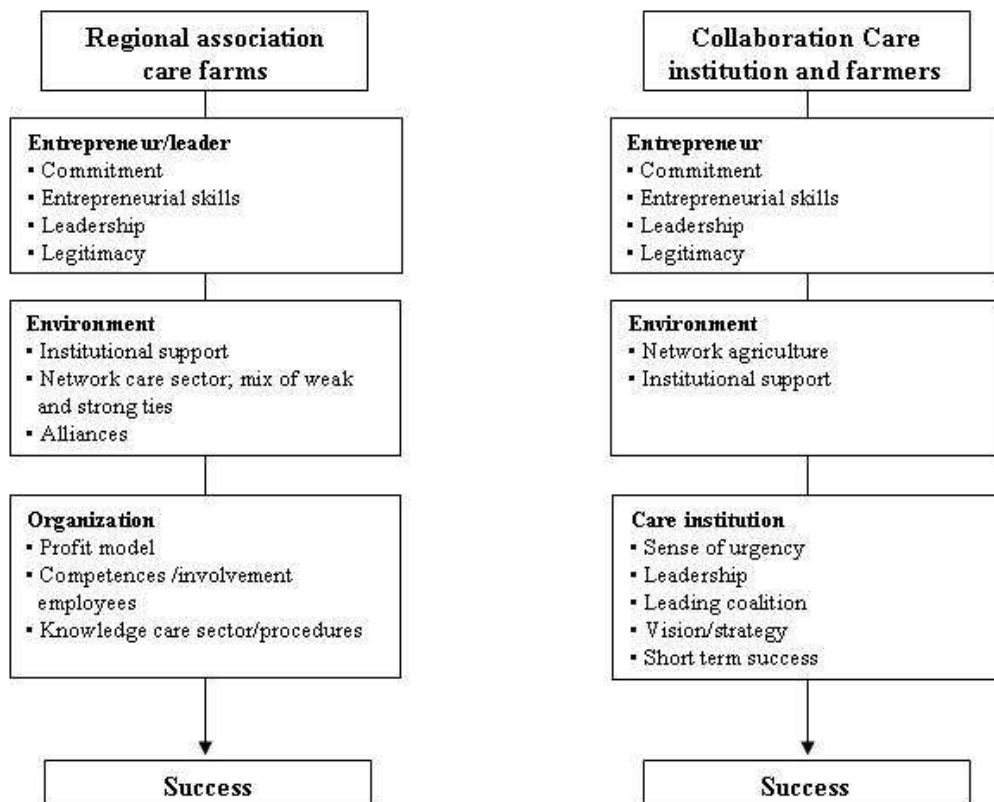


Figure 1. Hypothesis: Aspects determining the success of the two types of regional initiatives in care farming.

3. Methodology

3.1 Data collection

The data were collected in 2009 according to the principles of the case study approach (Yin, 2009).

Case selection

The cases that were selected involved initiatives with which the first author has collaborated in projects during the last few year. The sample consists of:

1. two regional foundations of care farms in different parts of the Netherlands, e.g. Landzijde in the province of Noord Holland and BEZIG in the province of

Gelderland. Landzijde and BEZIG are initiatives from the agricultural sector. These two cases differ in starting conditions and approach to develop a new organization. BEZIG is a collective initiative of care farmers; Landzijde is an individual initiative of one farmer.

2. two initiatives for collaboration between a care institution and a group of farmers. The first initiative (Novafarm) is taken by an employee of an institution for clients with an addiction background in the province of Noord Brabant. The second initiative was started by an advisor of care farms of agricultural organizations in Overijssel, supported by the province and their aim was to develop youth care on farms. This was adopted by a youth care organization (Trias Youth care). A group of employees of this youth care organization developed the initiative. In both initiatives, care institutions have the lead; in the Noord Brabant case, it was developed by an individual employee; in the Overijssel case, by a team (Figure 2).

Agriculture/ Individual Landzijde	Care/Individual Novafarm
Agriculture/Collective BEZIG	Care/Collective Trias Youth care

Figure 2. typology of cases

Procedure for data collection

We followed three main principles of data collection, which are favourable to the validity and reliability of case study findings. They are triangulation of data sources and methods for data collection; development of a case study database; maintenance of a chain of evidence (Yin, 2009).

For each case we interviewed different persons that are involved in the development of the case. In the cases of Landzijde and BEZIG, we interviewed the directors of the foundations, a member of the board of advice and the client manager of the health insurance company with which the foundation has a contract. We also organized a half day session with the employees of the foundations to discuss the development of the foundation.

In the casus of the institute for clients with an addiction, we interviewed the initiator and present director of the initiative and the director of the institute to which the care farm initiatives belongs.

In the casus of the youth care initiative, we interviewed the initiator of the agricultural organizations, the director of the care institution that had adopted the initiative, the employees in the care institution that were in charge of the youth care farms and an employee of the province that had supported the development of the youth care farms. For all cases, we collected all available documents (annual reports, business plans) Interviews were recorded on audiotape and used to make a verbatim report of each interview.

Data analysis

The collected data were compared with the initial framework and hypotheses (pattern matching; Yin, 2009). The data were used to reconstruct processes of decision

making, environmental characteristics for each case separately, in retrospect. The findings were reviewed with the participants to increase validity.

Description of success

We define success as the degree to which an initiative achieves its declared goals, the ability to ensure program/service continuity and sustainability by acquiring the resources necessary to maintain current operations and the measure of resources available for growth and development (Sharir and Lerner, 2006). In addition we consider the degree to which farmers are assisted to be successful and the contribution to changes in the regime as other aspects of success.

4. Results

4.1 Regional foundations of care farms

4.1.1 Short description of the development of the foundations of care farms

The association BEZIG was founded in 2004 by a few care farmers that had met each other in a study club of farmers. Their main motive was sharing of knowledge and experiences and realization of an AWBZ accredited foundation. The province supported the development of the association. The existing care farmers were asked to become a member of BEZIG. In 2005 a foundation was established and the accreditation was obtained in 2006. The members choose some care farmers to become board members. The foundation appointed a part time director and administrative support. In 2009, the members of BEZIG decided to integrate the foundation and association into a cooperation of care farmers. The assumption is that this will increase the involvement of farmers. Decisions are made by the care farmers. The services of BEZIG are exchange of experiences and information among care farmers, administration of AWBZ financed care and organizing education for farmers. BEZIG organizes two-three annual meetings for the care farmers.

The idea for Landzijde emerged in 1999 from two farmers that were involved in a regional agricultural nature organization. They recognized the lack of a matching organization for care services on farms. At that time, there were hardly any care farms in the region. One farmer took the lead and decided to set up a foundation with an AWBZ accreditation, first under the umbrella of the agricultural nature organization and soon as an independent foundation. The AWBZ accreditation was obtained in 2003. Landzijde decided to develop a professional organization with care experts and no farmers in the board. Clients and farmers are represented in an advisory board. The initiator of Landzijde became a full time director. In addition, care coordinators, administrative support and regional coordinators were employed. Landzijde organizes four annual network meetings. The services of Landzijde are matching demand and supply of care services on farms at regional level, supporting and educating of care farmers and clients.

BEZIG and Landzijde have adopted a similar profit model. The foundations made financial agreements with health insurance companies for delivering care services on the farms. Farmers receive 80-85% of the available budget. The remaining is used for the activities of the foundation.

4.1.2 Differences and similarities between BEZIG and Landzijde.

BEZIG and Landzijde are representatives of two different organizational models. The Landzijde model is a subcontractor model, based on entrepreneurship of the director; the BEZIG model is a cooperation model based on consensus and joint entrepreneurship and responsibility. The main differences between Landzijde and BEZIG are summarized in table 1.

The differences between BEZIG and Landzijde originate from their starting point and approach as indicated above. The initial goal of BEZIG was to unite care farmers and develop a organizational structure for the cooperation instead of developing a market oriented organization. The initiators of Landzijde developed a market oriented concept and looked for farmers that were interested to work under the rules of the concept. The focus of BEZIG was directed internally at developing a joint understanding among care farmers. The network in the care sector remained limited. The focus of Landzijde was directed towards meeting the opportunities of the environment and extending the network in the care sector. The turnover of Landzijde increased rapidly. This enabled Landzijde to hire professional employees with knowledge of the care sector and procedures of the insurance companies. Landzijde is a well know organization in the province and has developed a strong position. Landzijde has organized the organization in such a way that it meets all demands of the health insurance companies.

The budget of BEZIG increases more gradually. BEZIG faces the challenge to get out of the starting phase. They are trying to get out of a vicious circle. Due to limited budget contracts with the health insurance companies, available financial resources for the organization are limited. Due to these constraints, it is not possible to hire professionals with adequate knowledge of the care sector and procedures of the health insurance companies. Board members (care farmers) have to invest a lot of time in the organization. This resulted in a heavy work load for the board members and mistakes that were made. Another consequence is that investment in public relation, and networking in the care sector is limited. In the province of Gelderland, BEZIG is not a well known partner for care institutions, client organizations and municipalities. Another handicap is that it does not meet all demands of the health insurance companies. BEZIG has e.g. not initiated the obliged client organization. This results in a deduction of the budget from the health insurance companies.

An important difference in the working method between both organizations is that in the case of Landzijde, clients looking for a care farm, contact the central office of Landzijde. A coordinator of Landzijde visits some of the care farms with the client, and the client can select his favourite farm. In the case of BEZIG, interested clients contact an individual care farm. BEZIG is not involved in the matching process. A farmer can choose whether BEZIG will take care of the financing of the care service. In many cases, a care farmer proposes a client to apply for a personal budget, because this tariff is higher than that paid by BEZIG.

	BEZIG	Landzijde
Background	Care farmers unite and initiate organization	Two entrepreneurs initiate a foundation and search for farmers to work under the umbrella of the foundation

Approach	Development towards joint entrepreneurship of farmers. Focus on consensus	Strong central coordination and leadership
Position of farmers	Owners	Subcontractors, advisors
Entrepreneurship	Distributed among board of farmers. No clear leader	Director; characteristics of institutional entrepreneur
Environment -General attitude -Image of foundation at health insurance company -Network care sector -Alliances with care partners -Being well known	Following developments Positive Limited No Limited	Pro-active Very positive Extensive Yes Yes
Organization - Matching client - farm - Focus -Profit model - Board -Professional organization - Freedom for farmers - Identity	Clients contact individual farms Joint commitment of farmers Yes Farmers Not yet Freedom in degree of involvement For the farmers	Clients contact central organization Effective, competent Yes External experts Yes Strict rules For clients businesslike
Size (in 2009) Number of farmers Number of clients Number of employees (fte) Annual turnover (million euro)	25 100 1.2 570	102 700 5.7 3900

Table 1. Characteristics of BEZIG and Landzijde.

4.1.3. Degree of success of BEZIG and Landzijde

We can conclude that BEZIG is partly successful in achieving its objectives. Due to limited resources, services for the farmers are limited. Although most care farmers in the region are a member of BEZIG, it is a continuous challenge to keep them involved. This is due to the limited added value for most care farmers and their prime focus on their own care farm.

Landzijde is a well known organization in the province, it has developed a good network in the care sector and strong alliances with care partners and is appreciated

by the health insurance companies as an innovative and transparent organization. Landzijde is successful in attracting resources. In its development phase it was subsidized by the province. It has contracts with the health insurance company, the city of Amsterdam and care institutions. It assisted farmers to become a care farmer. Approximately 75% of the care farmers in the province would not have become a care farmer without the support of Landzijde. Landzijde has not changed the structure, culture or practices of the dominant care regime. It has become an accepted partner in the social network, however. Landzijde did challenge the dominant regime in the agricultural sector. It is new for the care farming sector to develop an organization that is not controlled by the farmers themselves, but by external professionals. BEZIG has not become a known player in the care field. In addition it did not challenge the dominant agricultural culture (Table 2).

Success factors	BEZIG	Landzijde
Achievement of goals	Partly	Yes
Availability of resources	Limited	Sufficient
Services for farmer	Limited: education, exchange, financial arrangements	Extensive: 75% of care farmers would not have started care services
Changes in regime	No	Limited in the care sector Larger in the agricultural sector

Table 2. Differences in success between BEZIG and Landzijde.

4.1.4 Success factors for regional foundations of care farms

Based on the interviews with stakeholders involved with Landzijde and BEZIG, the following aspects are found to be important for a successful development of a regional foundation of care farms.

Entrepreneurial/leadership competences:

- Enthusiasm, strong commitment and perseverance
- Vision: the founder of Landzijde had a clear vision that a strong regional organization for agriculture and care was important for the development of the sector.
- Legitimacy: The initiator of Landzijde stimulated legitimacy in the agricultural sector due to the involvement of respected farmers. Legitimacy in the care sector was stimulated by the active support of advisors in the care sector that believed in the concept.
- Strategy: Connecting to stakeholders values: The city of Amsterdam was eager to sustain an open agricultural landscape around Amsterdam. Landzijde indicated that due to their activities, farmers would generate additional income and would be able to continue farming. The province wanted one organization for care farming; the proposal of Landzijde to organize this sector for the whole province was supported
- Unconventional successful strategy towards the insurance company: offering services at costs lower than agreed on

Environment

- Strong institutional support. Landzijde and BEZIG both received support from the province to facilitate the start up of the organization.
- Hybrid network; a hybrid network was developed by making an advisor of the city of Amsterdam enthusiast and involving employees of care institutions and psychologists in the organization
- Sustainable alliances: For Landzijde the collaboration with Streetcornerwork, an organization for homeless people in Amsterdam is important. With their collaboration, they were able to develop an innovative service; day care for homeless people on the farms of Landzijde. This was attractive for both Streetcornerwork as they extended their services and the city of Amsterdam. The municipality wanted to reduce the annoyance of homeless people and offer them more perspective.
- Alliance with innovation programmes and research organizations. The involvement in innovation programmes resulted in additional resources, new insights and a broader network for Landzijde.

Organization

- Strategy to develop an efficient and market oriented organization with a clear business model.
- Hiring of professionals with expertise of (procedures in) the care sector. The experience from both cases is that procedures in the care sector are complex for outsiders.
- Provision of added value for all types of customers: farmers, clients, insurance companies and in the case of Landzijde, the city of Amsterdam, for insurance companies.

4.2 Collaboration of a care institution with several care farmers

These are initiatives where care institutions collaborate with a group of farmers in the region. In many cases these farmers restrict themselves to clients of this institution. We studied two initiatives.

4.2.1 Youth care farms in Overijssel

The initiative for the project youth care on farms was taken by the youth department of the province and the regional organization for agricultural innovation in 2002. The motives were waiting lists in youth care and positive experiences with care farms for other client groups. A pilot project was started with financial support of the European Union and the province. The office for juvenile care and youth care institutions were invited for the project team. They were skeptical about the initiative and mutinous, because the province had not transferred the project to the youth care institutions, but to the agricultural partners. In spite of the skepticism, the number of youth clients placed on farms was above expectation and youth clients, parents and farmers were positive about the effects. A crucial moment was the end of pilot phase. The youth inspection concluded that the project was successful, but that the quality of the services should be guaranteed by incorporating it in a youth care institution. The project leader from the agricultural innovation organization was committed and contacted all youth care institutions to adopt the project. The new director of one of the youth care institutions was interested because he believed in the concept. He had experiences with youth care farms in France and in another region of the Netherlands. He recognized the positive impact of the farm context for youth clients. The concept of collaborating with care farmers fitted with the culture of the youth organization, as they had already experience with foster care. In the youth care institution, a special

unit was developed for the development of youth care farming. Youth care farms became an accepted service, financed by the regular youth care funds of the province. Due to the sudden death of the project leader, the young team members had to develop the new unit themselves. Between 2004 and 2009, the youth care farm project has grown considerably and in 2009 more than 100 youth clients were placed on almost 40 farms (Table 3). The farmers are positive about the project, because they are paid for the services and they are trained by and get support from the youth care institution. The youth care institution organizes two to three annual meetings with the youth care farmers to exchange information.

4.2.2 Novafarm: care farms for clients with an addiction background

Novafarm was developed in 1999 by an employee of care institution Novadict-Kentron in the province of Noord Brabant. It started as a pilot project of Novadict-Kentron, funded by the province and European funds. The aim of Novafarm is to offer clients with an addiction problem work on a farm in order to support their recovery in an environment of their choice. There was a need for working places for this target group in the society. The province had positive experiences with care farms for other client groups. Collaboration with farmers was new for Novadict-Kentron. There was scepticism and opposition in the organization for this initiative. Novafarm was strongly supported by the new director of Novadict-Kentron. A crucial phase was the end of the project in 2000. The results were positive and due to the strong support of the new director of the organization, negotiation resulted in the structural financing of the services by the health insurance companies. A group of clients is guided by a case manager of Novadict-Kentron on the farm. Approximately 25% of the budget is available for the farmer. The rest is used for the organization. Collaborating with independent real productive farmers and paying them for the services is in line with the rehabilitation philosophy of the institution. In their view this also stimulates entrepreneurship in the institution. Since 1999, Novafarm has grown considerably. Novafarm is now a well respected unit in the organization. The discussions focus now on developing a more independent status in order to become more flexible to start activities in other provinces.

4.2.3 Similarities and differences between the two initiatives

Table 3 gives an overview of the similarities and differences between the initiatives. Both Novafarm and the youth care farm initiative in Overijssel have been developed into successful and recognized units in the care organizations. In the youth care case, the province and an agricultural organization took the initiative. The initiative faced skepticism from youth care organizations. The initiator indicated that it was a mistake not to involve them in the set up of the project. The crucial factors for success, was the adoption by a youth care organization. The director recognized the value of the initiative for youth clients and the fit with the aims and culture of the organization. It was helpful that the project leader from the agricultural organization in Overijssel had good knowledge of the youth care sector. In the case of Novafarm, the initiator remained the central person. It was important that the initiator had a strategic position in the organization which enabled him to interest clients for the farm project. Support of the director was also crucial for success.

	Youth care Overijssel	Novafarm
Entrepreneur	Agricultural organization; knowledge	Employee of care

Background	of youth care sector; taken over by the youth care institution	institution
Committment	Committed	Committed
Environment -Network	Good contact farmers	Good contact farmers Direct contact with clients
-Institutional support	Active support Province	Support health insurance company
Care institution	Strong support new director Positive results	Initiator with strategic position in care organization Sense of urgency Strong support director Positive results
Size (in 2009) No. of farmers No. of clients No. of employees Turnover (1000 euro/yr)	37 110 3.5 580	20 125 13 1400

Table 3. Characteristics of the two initiatives

For the youth care institution, relations with the province are important, as the province is responsible for and financer of youth care. For Novadict/Kentron, the relation with the health insurance company is important as the financing organization.

4.2.5 Degree of success of the two initiatives

Success factors	Youth care Overijssel	Novafarm
Achievement of goals	Yes	Yes
Availability of resources	Sufficient	Sufficient

Services for farmer	education, exchange, financial arrangements	education, exchange, financial arrangements; majority of care farmers would not have started care services
Changes in regime	to some extent	to some extent

Table 4. Degree of success of the two initiatives

We can conclude that the youth care initiative and Novafarm have been successful in meeting the original objectives. Both initiatives have resulted into the development of services on farms that have been embedded solidly in the care organizations. In addition, the collaboration with the farmers is successful. Farmers appreciate the education and exchange of experiences provided by the care institution. Novafarm attracted farmers that would not have started delivery of care services without being asked by Novafarm. The majority of the youth care farms in Overijssel had already initiated care activities. In the case of Novafarm, collaboration with independent farmers was new and met skepticism initially inside the care organization.. The successful collaboration took away the opposition. The health insurance company agreed to adapt the regulations slightly, in order to make collaboration with farmers possible. Collaboration with independent farmers was also new for youth care organizations in Overijssel. It has developed into an accepted type of youth care that has been copied to another province. The province of Overijssel has developed a specific indication for youth care farms.

4.2.6 Success factors for cooperation between a care institution and a group of farmers at regional level

Based on the interviews with stakeholders involved with Novafarm and the youth care farm initiative in Overijssel, we conclude that commitment and good knowledge of the sector of the initiator is important for the first phase. To get the initiative implemented in the care institution, strong support of the director is crucial. This is important to develop legitimacy in the organization, to link the initiative to the vision and goals of the organization and to organize structural financing of the services in collaboration with the province or the health insurance company. In addition, access to clients is important. A sufficient number of clients has to enter the farm project.

5. Discussion and conclusions

We hypothesized that system innovations like regional foundations of care farms need purposeful, strategic actors; institutional entrepreneurs, with a creative and proactive response to environmental opportunities. We observed that two different models of regional foundations of care farms evolved. The Landzijde model is characterized as a subcontractor model, based on institutional entrepreneurship of the director; the BEZIG model is a cooperation model based on consensus and joint ownership. The lessons of Landzijde are in line with our hypotheses. Success is due to the interplay between leadership and making optimal use of opportunities in the environment. We showed the importance of committed leadership with vision and political and interactional and procedural competences to generate institutional support, dealing with power and develop a hybrid network that can be used. The initiator of Landzijde made optimal use of the opportunities in the environment. He contacted and generated

support from influential persons to get support from the province, the city of Amsterdam and health insurance companies. This focus on opportunities in the environment, formation of alliances, time investment and a clear vision and strategy how to build a strong and reliable organization is the basis for success. It shows the importance of networks for securing resources, discovery of opportunities and gaining legitimacy in the agricultural and care sector (Elfrig and Hulsink, 2007). In the initial phase Landzijde developed a complete new network in the care sector and used some strong ties in the agricultural sector. It resulted in some strong ties and alliances with care partners (e.g. Streetcornerwork) and contracts. The director of Landzijde had a clear strategy, he only invested in alliances with care institutions that were beneficial for Landzijde. At the same time Landzijde continued to invest in new ties, such as research organizations and innovation programmes that contributed to legitimacy and resources. The availability of resources enabled Landzijde to develop a professional organization. This was an important issue for the health insurance company. We can see some resemblance with the notion of regional innovation systems. The province and the city of Amsterdam stimulated the development of Landzijde to a great extent. One of the reasons was that collaboration would stimulate innovation and would enable farmers to survive. In contrast with most regional innovation systems, care farms did not cluster because of the proximity of knowledge centers or to execute joint research activities (Cooke, 2002). The main reason for collaboration was to get access to funds of the care sector.

BEZIG had no clear institutional entrepreneur as a leading person. In the BEZIG model, the development is more by fits and starts and board members face the challenges of getting care farmers involved and responsible. Risks in this model are the (too) high demands on board members, ineffective use of resources due to changing objectives, limited interaction with the environment and limited progress due to the focus on consulting members and reaching consensus and lack of professional support. The cases showed that this resulted in attracting insufficient resources and problems with developing a professional organization. It learns us that institutional entrepreneurship is important in situations where changes are needed at institutional level. This requires a pro-active and strategic approach and dealing with power.

Although the development of Landzijde is a success story in most regions, care farmers do not want to copy this model. The general opinion is that a foundation of care farms should be a cooperative type of organization owned by the care farmers themselves. The Landzijde model was also criticized, because it would suppress real entrepreneurship among care farmers. Most of the Landzijde farmers would never have started a care farm without the support of Landzijde. For these care farmers, Landzijde has been crucial to make the step. It was suggested by representatives of other regions that real entrepreneurs do not need an organization like Landzijde and can even be hindered by it. The health insurance company indicated that they discourage other care farmers to apply for an AWBZ accreditation. It shows how a strong organization as Landzijde prevents other initiatives from getting an AWBZ accreditation. We hypothesize that the emergence of the Landzijde model in Noord Holland is due to the fact that in this area farmers have a long tradition in broadening activities and collaboration. It resulted in the establishment of a agricultural nature association. This organization was the basis for establishing a new organization focussing on agriculture and care. In the region of BEZIG, the collaboration of farmers was a new development. It remains to be seen whether BEZIG will stick to this democratic form of cooperation. Many cooperatives evolve towards organizations

with delegated democracy and finally towards organizations where appointed professionals are in charge (Meister, 1974).

From the two initiatives of collaboration between a care institution and a group of farmers, it became clear that support by the director in the care institution, linking the initiative to legitimize organizational goals and values, monitoring success (e.g. positive response from the clients) are the crucial factors for success. This is in line with our hypotheses and lessons of implementation studies (e.g. Rosenheck, 2001). In all cases, farmers were motivated to collaborate. The youth care farm initiative in Overijssel faced two challenges. First the initiator of the agricultural organization had to find a youth care organization that was willing to adopt the pilot project. She had the procedural, political and interactional skills to achieve this task. The youth inspection demanded the pilot project to be adopted by a youth care organization. She managed to deal with this demand of the youth care regime. It appeared to be helpful that she knew the youth care sector. It gave her legitimacy. Once it was adopted by the youth care institution, the second challenge was to develop the project after the sudden death of the project leader. Their experience shows that with sufficient support from the management and without strong opposing forces in the organization, a few committed and enthusiastic young employees manage to develop a new initiative successfully.

The successful initiatives show the specific challenges of a multi spanning innovation like care farming. They show the importance of developing a network with hybrid actors. Due to the development and good use of weak and strong ties in both the agricultural and the care sector, they obtained legitimacy in both domains. This enabled them to benefit from multi-regime dynamics. The initiatives were supported because they are thought to offer solutions to the health care (socialization of care, reduction of waiting lists) and the agricultural regime to (survival of farm enterprises and the agricultural landscape). In this case care farming benefited from opportunities in both regimes. This is in line with findings of Raven and Verbong (2007).

We argue that it is a greater challenge to develop a successful foundation of care farms than collaboration between a care institution and a group of farmers. Initiators of regional foundations of care farms have to pre-invest a considerable amount of their own time. Initiators of care institutions can do it as part of their job. In addition the initiators of regional foundations face greater problems of legitimacy and power in the care sector, because they are new organizations without a track record and not well known among clients and other stakeholders in the care sector. They have to build a completely new network and organization. This is in line with the notion that new organizational communities face two main problems: lack of legitimacy for the new activity and lack of effective organizational knowledge (Aldrich and Ruef, 2006). Finally, they have the challenge to find a balance between the interests of an individual farmer and the interests of the foundation. In this respect distinction between radical and incremental innovation is useful. Landzijde can be considered as a radical innovation. An innovation that disrupts the existing economic conditions and requires change in the business context, instigated by a persuasive entrepreneur (Schumpeter, 1934; Elfring and Hulsink, 2003). BEZIG and the collaborations between a care institution and a group of farmers are more incremental innovations. They are far less disruptive. They enable entrepreneurs to build on existing routines and skills (Kirzner, 1997; Elfring and Hulsink, 2003). The initiator of Landzijde is a

real institutional entrepreneur; an entrepreneur that plays a pivotal role in creating or changing institutions and the broader context (Maguire et al., 2004). The initiator of Landzijde was aware of the central issues of institutional entrepreneurship like overcoming lack of legitimacy and overcoming field stability by a strategic face of power (Levy and Scully, 2007).

Integrating transition theory and its multi level perspective with institutional entrepreneurship enriched our theoretical framework. We think that the analyzed initiatives give a good picture of the diversity of initiatives and the factors that lead to success. They provide useful information that can stimulate a further successful development of the sector.

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