

Cross-border Governance

Regionalization through public-private collaboration in tourism development projects.

Jelte van 't Foort

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Public-Private partnerships develop the region through cross-border tourism projects. This research provides an in-depth look into these cross-border collaborations at the border between Germany and the Netherlands, the EUREGIO and gives an understanding of the barriers and opportunities these multi – actor relations create.

Master Thesis

Cross-border governance - Regionalization through public-private collaboration in tourism development projects.



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|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| University: | Wageningen University |
| Group: | Social sciences group |
| Faculty: | Knowledge, Technology and Innovation |
| Master programme: | Rural development and Innovation |
| Supervisor: | Rico Lie |
| Student: | Jelte van 't Foort |
| Studentnumber: | 860906243210 |
| Place and Date: | Enschede, 13-11-2018 |

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Abstract

This research focuses on cross-border cooperation in tourism development between public – private sector actors in Germany and the Netherlands in the administrative euro-region EUREGIO under the INTERREG V-A programme. Cross-border studies often have a very specific focus on a part of cross-border collaboration and do not incorporate the whole process from drives for collaboration towards the outputs that are delivered through collaborations in tourism projects in these euro-regions. Cross-border partners try to find each other in cooperation while there is a complex balance between the European agenda and regional objectives and interests on both sides of the border. The research therefore provides understanding of the drives for cross-border collaboration, how the conditions for collaboration (contextual, stakeholder, decision making and partnership operation) influence the partnership and how this finally results in general regionalization outcomes. In order to provide answers, partners in the GTI and LIVING Vecht-Dinkel projects, policy makers, an expert and project developers have been interviewed using social constructivism as methodological philosophy. Actors have different roles and interpretations of the world, which are used to provide understanding of the context in which cross-border collaboration takes place. Through flexible in-depth interviews respondents were given much freedom to communicate their views on the collaboration in the two projects. Coding, based on a theoretical foundation, was used to make sensible interpretations from the empirical data. This led to some interesting results, which are quite specific for this case study area. In the first place the Netherlands ‘degovernmentalized’ much of their tourism development. The private sector became active in co-financing of projects and even started to take over policy planning and implementation in Overijssel. The network organization GastvrijOverijssel was given mandate by the province to take this responsibility. This however led to a further split between the tourism boards in Germany and the Netherlands, whereas the German public sector does not include the private sector much in participation. Adaptation to this new ‘internal audience’ – the private sector – however led to organizational changes in the Netherlands, which also had major implications for the roles and relations in the cross-border collaboration. During the period in which Dutch organizations needed time to re-establish themselves, the EUREGIO took over some implementation tasks, which until now is still in their hands. This does not encourage the gap to be closed between cross-border partners. Dutch organizations have stabilized and it is therefore time for the EUREGIO to hand over implementing responsibilities to the cross-border partners again and focus their attention primarily on facilitation between cross-border partners. Facilitation is needed to rebuild relations, gain increased understanding of the differences in approach between the public and private sector, bridge cultural and language differences and start to think of a common approach in which unity is sought. Uniting cross-border partners is however difficult whereas the border still divides the two destinations ‘Das Andere Holland’ and ‘Geheim over de Grens’. Only some route connections have been realized, but no structural common destination has been created to force cross-border partners to work together in tourism development. The growing international tourist numbers however create opportunities to turn the inward perspective around into a focus on a common ‘external audience’ in which a single destination is created which crosses the border.

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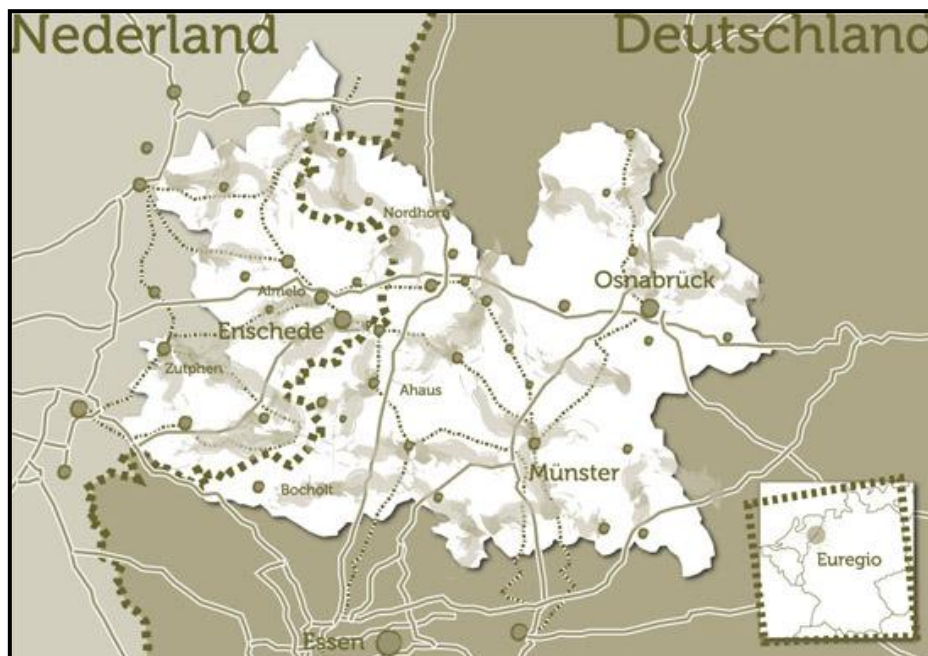
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1. Introduction

1.1. Scope of the research

Cross- Border Tourism is currently an important component as strategy in regional economic development and in the process of regionalization (Urry 1990, Brouwer, 1999, Prokkola, 2011). The importance of tourism in regional development has been officially recognized by the European Commission in the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992 (Prokkola, 2011). The role of tourism in the process of regionalization has been given little attention in scientific literature, whereas most studies on cross – border regionalization focus on politico- administrative and economic processes. Regional integration of cross- border actors as partners in tourism projects and programmes (governance) is interlinked with tourism development, but received little attention in studies. This research focuses specifically on the cooperation between public – private sector actors in the cross- border administrative region EUREGIO, which also houses the current INTERREG V-A programme management. The EUREGIO is a euro-region which has the function to bind two cross-border regions in order to increase fluxes across the border, enhance socio-economic opportunities and create European citizenship amongst citizens in the area. INTERREG is a European programme which stimulates cooperation between stakeholders across the border. The main regional development priorities of the INTERREG V-A programme are (1) innovation and (2) socio- cultural and territorial cohesion. Although tourism isn't named explicitly in the development agenda, tourism projects do fall under the scope of the two priorities in the INTERREG V- A scheme. Tourism as regional development tool, thus, remains relevant for the study area of this research, the Dutch – German EUREGIO (See picture 1).



Picture 1: EUREGIO Area (Grenswerte, 2010)

Through new ambitious administrative initiatives in cross border regions, such as EUREGIO, the border is given new significance within material and symbolic reproduction processes. This can be

seen in cross- border initiatives which are aimed at eliminating both material and symbolic borders. Tourism is a sector that can help realize this goal. Administrators assume that by erasing borders a boost can be given to traffic, accessibility, uniform signposting and route structures and enhanced co-operation between tourism bureaus. These aspects should deliver good prospects for economic growth and employment in the peripheral cross-border region (Brouwer, 1999). Vinke, Tonk and Hoek (2016) state that pursuing cross- border co-operation by policy makers is done in an effort to mitigate the effects of declining population numbers in the hinterlands of the EUREGIO cross- border regions.

Re-enacting strong interlinkages between cross-border economic sectors in this EUREGIO area is most relevant at this moment according Vinke, Tonk and Hoek (2016). They state that NordRhein Westfalen is the largest shareholder of the German GDP, but financially suffers from the huge economic transition in its largest industrial sector, coal and steel production. Incomes from the sector have been in decline in recent years due to the transition in today's energy production agenda. Therefore the region needs to make a shift from being oriented on industry towards orientation on knowledge. This will cause employees to also shift from jobs, in which "de-borderization" can open up more job opportunities even across national borders.

Interestingly, the industrial sector with its coal and steel production also stood at the very beginning of cross- border co-operation in Europe as Robert Schumann, French Minister of foreign affairs in 1950, proposed cross- border co-operation for the French-German coal and steel industry. In 1952, six West European countries (the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, France, Germany and Italy) united themselves in the single European Coal and Steel Community (Wastl- Walter and Kofler; 2011). Since this Post-WWII period, the unity of Europe has been further strengthened through the forming of numerous transnational organizations, such as the EEC, EAC and of course the European Union.

Policy implementers have, in the context of upscaling (globalization) and downscaling (decentralization/regionalization), sought broader policy co-operation in order to map out regional economic development. Although globalization and regionalization have opposite connotations, both are key for tourism development in regional cross- border settings, such as in INTERREG programmes (Prokkola; 2011). European integration and economic restructuring are part of the globalization process, but regional integration is rooted in regional cross- border partnerships, which lead to its own 'territorial logic' in which regional cross-border activism and identity building have gained new strength. In order for policy planners to co-operate with cross- border partners, new regional administrative bodies have been found to develop regional strategies. A partnership in the framework of INTERREG is, as Perkmann (1999) states, "a process of institution building". Partnerships involve complex networks of actors, which vary from regional authorities, municipalities, institutions, associations to public and private enterprises. It is this last category on which the research is focussed, since it is argued that "the establishment of close private – public partnerships is one the most important factors in the success of tourism" (Papoutsis, 1996). Cross-border studies on tourism development however show little involvement from private actors, especially in active project management roles, which would create more value and continuity in the process (Prokkola, 2011). In order to bridge this scientific gap it is relevant to explore cases where the private sector is included as partners in tourism development projects in cross-border co-operations. Partnerships aren't restricted to within national border structures, but transbound

borders. These partnerships are referred to as cross-border co-operations. Tourism development in cross-border regions, however, need to be aligned with national tourism development frameworks (Cooper et al. 2008). Prokkola (2011) adds that project implementation must also be in line with both EU policies and agendas alongside national norms and regulations.

The focus of this research is on cross- border co-operation in tourism projects and the impact it has on the regionalization process. Co-operation means that various actors across the Dutch- German EUREGIO border are involved in the planning and implementation process of a tourism project. In these governed projects, the main focus is on the influence of the public and private sector in the process of tourism development. From a macro-view the research uses the governance approach. B. Jessop (1995) and Goodwin & Painter (1996) state (as quoted from Prokkola; 2011) that governance is about “the linkages between various actors and the authorities, the multiplicity and more dispersed nature of politico- economic practices, the relations of liability between public and private organizations and actors, global-local interconnectedness and networking”. The governance approach is useful in the sense that the co-operating body can be placed in perspective of the outside context, and with the four conditions for collaboration, namely the contextual condition, the stakeholder condition, the decision-making condition and the partnership operation condition the focus is on the interfaces between actors themselves.

In conclusion, tourism is a relevant sector which power lies in the strong interconnectedness with other sectors. Tourism development is therefore used as tool for cross- border regionalization, which strives to develop the region functionally and imaginary. Functional regionalization refers to economic development such as infrastructural development or information sharing. Imaginary regionalization on the other hand refers to the development of symbols and identity and the imaginary creation of a region as marketing tool. Programmes and projects that have actors on both sides of the Dutch- German border can be approved in the INTERREG programme when they fit European policy standards and agenda as well as suffice national norms and regulations. Actors form cross- border partnerships, who govern their own projects, transfer state-centred power to regions, which is referred to as governance. This research looks at how, through the governance approach, cross- border co operations shape regionalization through tourism projects, while the actor oriented approach is used to look at interests, perspectives and the use of private actors’ agency in these cross- border co operations.

1.2. Problem Statement

Extensive exploration of the European policy agenda around tourism development is available, but little attention in scientific literature has been given to the process of establishing cross-border collaborations in tourism projects, the interfaces between partners in these complex partnership networks in euro-regions and the effects they have on regionalization and deborderization. Cross-border studies often have a very specific focus on a part of cross-border collaboration and do not incorporate the whole process from drives for collaboration towards the outputs that are delivered through collaborations in tourism projects in these euro-regions. In the context of upscaling (globalization) and downscaling (decentralization) cross-border partners need to find each other in cooperation while there is constant movement in the European agenda which needs to be aligned with regional objectives and interests on both sides of the border. Governance, thus, - as complex partnership network – is established between various stakeholders from both the public and private sector in which regional interests differ and need aligning.

1.3. Research Objective

This case study therefore incorporates the many facets of different case studies that have been conducted in other European border regions. This is done in order to provide new scientific and practical evidence for the drives for cross-border co-operation in tourism development projects under the INTERREG programme and how it leads to regionalization outcomes through cross-border interactions in cross-border collaborations. The first objective of this research is thus to explore the contextual drives that lead cross-border partners to cooperate. The goal is to get an understanding how economic, geographic, cultural identity and political leadership drives lead to collaboration, within the context of regional and European integration forces. Secondly, the governance approach - as unique research tool in this study domain provides in-depth understanding of the four conditions that influence collaboration. Interactions between partners are influenced by contextual, stakeholder, decision- making and partnership conditions, in which interest, power, facilitation and common approach are among the features that influence good governance. In cross-border co-operation numerous intersectoral grass-root actors can be identified, in which the focus in this research is on public-private sector actors and their collaboration in the tourism development process (from planning to implementation) in the Dutch-German EUREGIO.

In short: The objective of the research is in the first place to provide understanding how the drives for cross-border collaboration in INTERREG projects in the EUREGIO area lead German and Dutch public-private partners to collaborate in the development of tourism projects. Subsequently the research provides understanding of how the four conditions for collaboration (contextual, stakeholder, decision making and partnership operation) influence the actual partnership and how this results in general regionalization outcomes, both imaginary and functional.

1.4. Main Research Question

What are the drives for collaboration in tourism projects, where public-private sector stakeholders collaborate and how is tourism development shaped through the interaction between cross-border partners within the Dutch-German EUREGIO, under the INTERREG programme? Subsequently, which functional and imaginary regionalization outcomes do these tourism development projects produce in the research area?

1.5. Relevance and Positioning

This research positions itself within the scope of tourism development and the role tourism development has on functional and imaginary regionalization. The focus is on cross- border co-operations between private and public actors who form partnerships in tourism development projects under the INTERREG IV and V (A) programme. Whereas much attention in cross-border studies is given to politico – administrative regionalization processes, this research focuses on tourism development as catalyst in the regionalization process. This is a process which representation in scientific literature is minimal (Prokkola, 2011). Although much attention is given in literature on cross-border partnerships, little attention has been given to the role of the private sector, especially in tourism development projects. This research therefore focuses solely on these public-private relations. The governance approach is used, which functions to shed light on the role the private sector has in the negotiation process of tourism project development. The governance approach allows collecting in- depth data, not only on the roles private – public relations inhibit, but also includes data on the motives, interests and power that is brought to the negotiation table. The

research digs deeper into the partnership relations and has a more narrow scope than most studies in the cross-border domain. This case study, thus, peels away the last layer of the onion and exposes the core of the tourism development process, specifically focussed on the public-private relations in cross-border co-operations. Ideally, more of these case studies will be conducted to add to the robustness of the findings drawn from this specific case between partners in the Dutch-German EUREGIO area.

2.Theoretical and conceptual framework

2.1. Introduction

This thesis draws on theoretical literature about 'Regionalization' in the first place. Euro – regions emerged partly as bottom-up processes of cooperating local cross-border actors who shared mutual needs, but later and more often top-down European Integration policy stood at the start of newly created Euro-regions. Whether created from beneath or bestowed upon, the cross-border regionalization process started. This is described further in chapter 2.2. Herrschel (2007) first describes how territoriality is dealt with under 'old' and 'new' regionalism and secondly he describes how external and internal audiences are served under 'old' and 'new' regionalism by the cross-border partners, which is described in chapter 2.2.1. and 2.2.2. Cross-border regions developed in functional as well as in imaginary ways (chapter 2.2.3.), in which tourism development has increasingly gained weight as tool to prosper these regionalization aspects (chapter 2.2.4.). Cross-border regionalization is formed through cross-border cooperation, theoretically referred to as 'governance' and described in chapter 2.3. Governance refers to the multi-stakeholder cooperation across the border in which the various actors negotiate outcomes in interfaces. In chapter 2.3.1. the four focal types of collaborating stakeholder is described in the cross-border context and chapter 2.3.2. describes the involvement and influences of the public and private sector on cross-border collaboration. The actors are brought together forced by economical, political and geographical drives in which a mismatch of cultural identities may work as barrier for fluid cooperation. Since the border still divides actors on both sides quite significantly it is argued that some condition for collaborations need to be in place. Greer (2002) talks the contextual condition, the stakeholder condition, the decision making condition and finally the partnership condition, which is further described in chapter 2.3.3. Chapter 2.4. links the overarching theoretical concepts which are used as frame for this research. Finally the chapter ends with the sub-research questions, which needed theoretical explanation before introduction. The Main Research question is therefore repeated first in chapter 2.5. which is followed by the Sub-Research Questions in chapter 2.6.

2.2. Regionalization

European Integration and the breakdown of barriers

Divided border regions have started to merge as national barriers have softened and cross-border euro-regions were created. The forces behind the creation of these euro-regions are twofold. In the first place the European Union attempts to encapsulate cross-border regions in the European Agenda as a means to create a single European market in which the meaning of national borders slowly fade away. In times where global economies and Continental Trade Unions became big and strong, the European Union needed to compete on this global level and has been urged to function as a United Europe, with penetrable borders. On the other hand regions on both side of the border often seek collaboration from the other side as a means to overcome socio-economic difficulties. De Sousa (2013) speaks of Regional Integration as opposed to European integration, in which the underlying thought is that cross-border collaboration and the softening of the border stems from bottom-up needs. De Sousa (2013) speaks of a voluntary process in which states of sub-national authors seek collaboration with same level polities (*see Chapter 2.3.1. The four focal types of collaboration*) on the other side of the border in order to work on common objectives without sacrificing state sovereignty to the 'supranational body' – alias the EU. Border regions often are far away from national urban

centres, which attract economic growth and employment, which subsequently results in the main focus for development in national agendas (political focus). Peripheral border areas often remain with dwindling population numbers, especially when looking at the younger workforce. In times of economic crisis these peripheral areas take the hardest hits with harsh economic decline, whereas in periods of prosperity, peripheral areas keep behind in GDP growth (Prokkola 2011). The Committee of Regions (2009) lists a number of factors for cross-border cooperation. The first is an overlap of interests, followed by having a shared historical memory, strong interdependence of both geographical and economic factors and finally a political objective for joint future action.

The creation of the first euro – region stems from 1958 as a collaboration between Germany and The Netherlands, The EUREGIO. There was recognition in these peripheral border regions that softening of the border would be beneficial for the cross-border region as a whole. As the first euro – region was created on the foundation of mutual internal needs, many more euro – regions followed, but many were created externally by the European Union as tool for European integration (Keating, 1998; Perkmann, 2002). European Integration broke down the internal European borders significantly through the establishment of the single market, the introduction of a single currency and the abolishment of border controls in Schengen countries. With downsizing the role and significance of the border the flow of capital, services, goods and labour across these borders would increase (Committee of the Regions, 2007). Cross – border cooperation at the same time had to be increased with the successful implementation of European integration to foster the four freedoms as De Sousa (2013) calls them (capital, services, goods and labour).

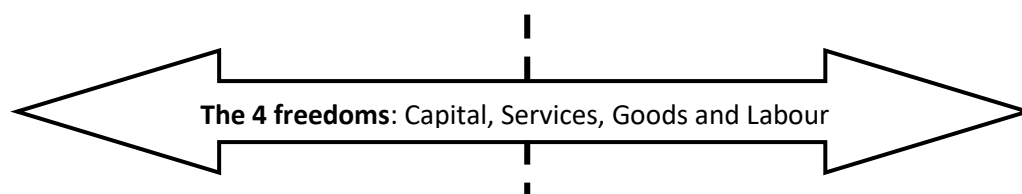


Figure 1: Cross-border flow of 'the 4 freedoms'.

De Sousa (2013) talks about 4 levels of engagement. The first two levels (Awareness Raising cooperation and Mutual Aid cooperation) are lower levels of cooperation and are of less structural basis. Most euro-regions have a slightly higher level of engagement, the 3rd level engagement, which is called the functional cooperation. In this thesis the focus will be on this level of engagement, since it refers to a more permanent cooperation. Collaborating border regions at this level aim at solving problems together, create business opportunities, exchange culture and reduce barriers for labour exchange. Working together on these topics is often done through the implementation of projects, such as INTERREG. De Sousa (2013) speaks of a 4th level of engagement, which goes beyond the implementation of EU projects and funds even to a level of joint organization and management of 'the four freedoms' capital, goods, services and labour. Promoters of European Integration often speak of a bottom-up approach to Europe (Pasi, 2007 (in De Sousa, 2013)), but EU funds often is another major driver next to the functional drive for cross-border cooperation. Heddebout (2004) and Caramelo (2007) argue that INTERREG programmes are often designed by the European Commission and Member States and do not necessarily represent the interests of the euro-regions themselves. Euro – regions however depend on these EU funds quite heavily, since INTERREG secretariats and administrative bodies are often integrated in the euro – region bodies. This European administrative body often requires involvement on national political level, despite the

autonomy the euro-regions have in their national jurisdictions. Although the European Unification led cross – border regions to collaborate more and more (see chapter 4.3 on Governance), borders still function as barriers for European citizens to work, trade, live and study across the border. Many factors still cause the border to function as barrier, both in symbolic and functional terms.

2.2.1. Territoriality

Within regional integration regions are becoming understood as policy defined areas rather than territories per se (Herrschel, 2007). This also means that where policy agenda's change, the regional definition changes with it, thus changing the 'regional borders'. The regional definition changes constantly whereas the policy focus shifts and actors within and outside the statutorily fixed boundaries get involved in the governance of policy implementation. Herrschel (2007) refers to the virtual area, where regional boundaries are constantly re-defined by the cross-border parties involved. Conventional statutory and governmental structures however remain the backbone for actual policy implementation under the new governance approach.

2.2.2. Internal and External audiences

Governing a region through the perceived mutual needs and as response to global challenges is done as MacLeod (2001) writes to set a common regional agenda as response to external global audiences, referred to as the EXTROVERT perspective (Herrschel 2007). Regional authors and those who govern regional policies, however have obligations and responsibilities towards their constituent members. They need to justify policy planning and implementation according to local needs and interests, which according Herrschel (2007) refers to the INTROVERT perspective. For the applied governance model in the region this has the implication that the more formalized and institutionalized the cross-border cooperation becomes, the more threatening it becomes as their 'way out' becomes more difficult while the local governing actors may feel that they can't meet local needs and interests. It is therefore argued that cooperation on a more ad-hoc basis is less threatening. On the other hand good governance is the business card for extrovert global investments into the area as it shows competence in functional and imaginary development of the region.

Matrix: Old and New Regionalism and their strategic implications for internal and external audiences.

According to Herrschel (2007) there are two forms of regionalism, and two audiences to focus regionalization image on. The inside audience in the first place (local actors in the region) and the outside audience (global actors outside the region) secondly . There is 'old' regionalism and 'new' regionalism. Old regionalism is formal, institutionalized, technocratic and has a focus on physical planning (fixed territorial borders). New regionalism on the contrary is informal, purpose specific, opportunity driven and focuses policies strategically (actor based). For the global audiences (EXTROVERT) the emphasis in old regionalism is to 'defend' regional interests following fixed channels of communication. It also has the territory as base of power and responsibility, and operates as spatial container for higher tier policies. In the scope of new regionalism on the other hand, the outside audiences are served by area marketing where regional authors seek pragmatic alliances with other regions. They use marketing organizations which focuses on projecting an all regional image and on the competitive advantages of business opportunities. For local constituents (INTROVERT) in old regionalism, the focus is on top-down control of local government within the governmental hierarchy. The emphasis is on planning and control, the need to justify policies and

existence to other policy makers and it is government focused rather than governance (strategic partnering) focused. The same local constituents in new regionalism are targeted through lobbying for cooperation in the first place. They are targeted through service provision by single purpose bodies, they compete with localities for policy responsibilities and resources and seek legitimacy through successful initiatives.

| | OLD regionalism <i>formal, institutionalized, technocratic, physical planning focused</i> | NEW regionalism <i>Informal, purpose-specific, opportunity driven, strategic policy focused.</i> |
|---------------------------|--|---|
| EXTROVERT audience | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - emphasis is upscale 'defence' of regional interests - following fixed, formal channels of communication - territory as base power and responsibility - operating as spatial container for higher tier policies. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - area marketing to outside (corporate) audiences - seeking pragmatic alliances with other regions - using marketing organisations (regional development agencies) - projecting an all-region image - emphasis on business opportunities, competitive advantage |
| INTROVERT audience | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exercising statutory downscale control of local government within government hierarchy - Emphasis on planning and control - No need to justify policies and existence to other policy makers - Government focused | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lobbying for co-operation - Service provision through single purpose bodies - Competing with localities for policy responsibility and resources - Seeking legitimacy and support through 'successful' initiatives. |

Figure 2. Determinants of Regionalism: Multi-scalar representation and differences in operationalization of regions (T. Herrschel, 2007)

2.2.3. Functional and Imaginary Regionalization

De Sousa (2013) quotes Keating (1998) when he writes that cross-border 'cooperation requires a degree of complementarity and an observable opportunity to exploit these'. The authors refer to the functional logic of cross-border cooperation. There are a couple of drives for cross-border cooperation which lead to functional or imaginary regionalization. De Sousa (2013) speaks of four drives for cross-border cooperation. The economic drive, the political leadership drive, the cultural identity or state formation drive and the geographical drive. Economically, local and SME entrepreneurs often are in favour of cross-border connections as cross-border markets provide valuable business opportunities. Large firms often are more indifferent to these cross-border connections, as they are focused on global markets 'and do not depend on external economies of scale provided by proximity' (Keating 1998). It is argued that successful cooperation in certain programmes would lead to a spill-over in the urge for cooperation in other domains. It is believed that a more intense cross-border cooperation in its turn would lead to a breakdown of symbolic borders, which would bring local populations on both sides of the border closer together. De Sousa (2013) states that this is not the reality. He writes that 'exchanges pass through the filter of

institutions and the culture and interests of actors.’ This means that functional integration often does not lead to social or political integration. Keating (1998) blames the domination of cross-border linkages by public officials and their priorities as factor for the lack of integration from functional to social and political integration. Political leadership however is one the drivers for cross-border cooperation and to certain degree political involvement is needed to acquire resources and provide an adequate and stable organizational structure to carry out cross-border projects. This in turn may lead to cross-border business initiatives and lead to further functional integration. Politically led projects are top-down cross-border cooperations. This means that there is no automatic ‘involvement of citizens in the process of micro and macro integration’ (Pasi, 2007). De Sousa (2013) however states that once functional integration has become part of the daily routines of cross-border populations, this helps to diffuse the European way of thinking. Political actors often find themselves in the midst of very divergent interests, both extra- and interregional. In the first place they are responsible to respond to their own national clients and constituencies, which sometimes may be contesting or threatening to oppose border actors. Political actors thus, and often with the use of European compensation, try to find balances to cooperate across the border and keep actors satisfied on both sides of the border (also see EXT and INT audiences). De Sousa (2013) states that cross-border cooperation works on top of very fragile balances and compromises and has implications in terms of public spending. Keating (1998) puts it as ‘joint programmes that amount to little more than parallel efforts, separately mounted, or the relabeling of existing activities. Only in specific projects, such as a river crossing or an environmental cleanup, is genuinely joint action commonly found’. The last important political leadership factor depends heavily on individual political leaders who have a continued interest and the power to mobilize local support for cross-border cooperation. The third factor for cross-border cooperation lies in the identity of the border, but often is a reason which does not favour cross-border linkages. European borders often are the scars of wars inherited by nation states. Local populations at the border therefore still see ‘the other side’ as terra incognita. Velde and Houtum (2004) for example state that the low level of cross-border labour mobility ‘is not merely a matter of failing to recognize opportunities because of existing differences’ but ‘a matter of indifference towards the other side, the market across the border’. Territorial heterogeneity within state borders is often created through common cultural identity, language, value systems, jurisdiction etcetera, which also function as barrier for cooperation across the border. Finding common ground across the border, will erase some imaginary barriers and therefore find it easier to cooperate. Finally, the geographical drive is one of the most pronounced factors for functional cooperation. Cooperation is sought in projects to work on geographical issues and objects that bind the opposite borders, such as infrastructure (roads, railroads), rivers, environmental issues (water use, water/air pollution) and judicial issues (crime, terrorism).

2.2.4. Tourism development: Tool for Cross-sector Regionalization

Regional tourism development in border regions became a tool for cross-border regionalization in the European Integration agenda. In the first decades of the Euro-regions tourism hardly played any role of significance, but the European Committee acknowledged the role of tourism as catalyst for cross-border regionalization increasingly. The first official recognition was given by the Committee in 1992, in the treaty of Maastricht, where tourism gained a distinct subdivision in the European administration. In 2005 further recognition was given to the role of tourism in the treaty of Lisbon. The treaty stated the importance of tourism development as catalyst for economic development and the creation of a European Identity. As mentioned earlier, border regions which are the destinations

for euro-regions, often are peripheries. As these areas often are behind in national economic development, they can use tourism to boost the regional economic development. And on the plus side these peripheral areas have the potential to attract numerous tourists, because of their 'off-the-beaten-path' characteristics (Timothy 2001). Timothy (2001) also writes that divergent political, economical and cultural system need tourism development and cooperation especially in the areas of natural and cultural protection, infrastructural development, human resources, joint marketing and in lowering border formalities. Prokkola (2011) however writes that policy makers 'face questions on whether a border region could be considered a destination itself, and how to market it as a competitive destination unit'. Tourism as tool for regionalization thus results in cooperative tourism projects that lead to functional regionalization on the one hand and the strengthening of the regional identity on the other, creating an imaginary region. In reverse, functional regionalization, with the establishment of cross-border physical (f.e. infrastructure) and social connections (f.e. networking) also creates opportunities for tourism development of clusters, information sharing, tourist routes and transportation. This phenomenon is earlier referred to as the 'spill-over' effect from functional regionalization. Chang (2001) refers to the 'touristic production of space' in which the border regions can now reorganize their space transforming national images into regional images.

2.3. Governance

In order for the Euro-regions to have their own power to coordinate activities, create relations and manage resources, political power shifted 'from government to governance' (Prokkola 2011). These cross-border regions thus adopted cross-border cooperation to govern their transboundary territory. In the scalar shift from the national to the regional level, political authority in the region has now allowed non-governmental public and private actors to join governmental local authorities in governing on this regional scale. 'In operational terms, cross-border co-operation can be defined as any type of concerted action between public and/or private institutions of the border regions of two (or more) states, driven by geographical, economic, cultural/identity, political/leadership factors, with the objective of reinforcing the (good) neighbourhood relations, solving common problems or managing jointly resources between communities through any co-operation mechanisms available (De Sousa 2013).' The governance model has been implemented in order to distribute economic responsibilities among different actors from the public and private sector. Associations, institutions, government owned organizations and enterprises, municipalities, regional authors and the private sector all contribute in responding to common regional problems and work together in an effort to develop the region socio-economically, culturally and politically. Goymen (2000) states that the governance implementation has been introduced in tourism development as economic and technological complexities required a more inclusive development strategy. The approach seems more democratic and efficient and stimulates dialogue between different interest groups. Hall (2000) writes that the development of networks and partnerships between actors across the border eventually result in formalized partnerships in which the goal is to maintain mutual interest. Timothy (1999) adds that these cross-border relations are likely to be more diverse when the opposite border regions are more integrated (culture, language etc.). The shift from government to governance however does not mean that states abdicates control over their regions, but their function and role has changed. States now set the rules for governance and through 'meta-steering-activities' they ensure that different regions strive towards mutual national goals (Jessop, 2000).

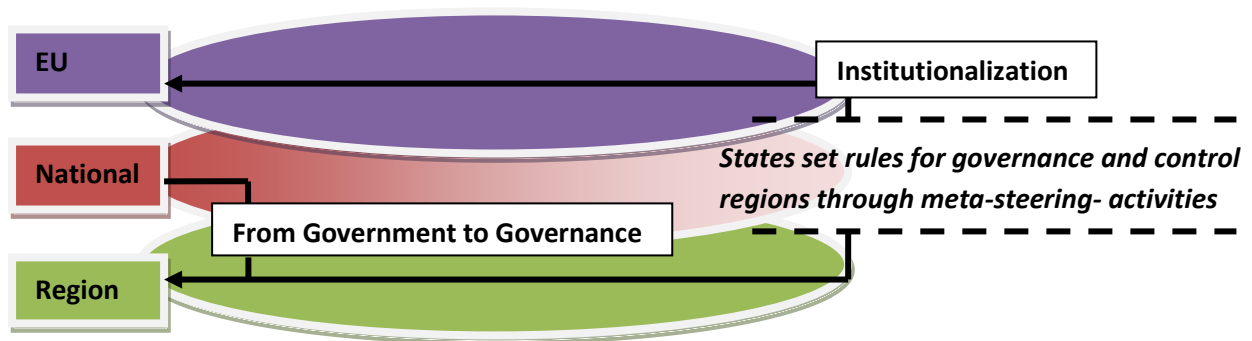


Figure 3. The shift from National to Supranational Development in Cross-Border Regions

2.3.1. The four focal types of collaboration

To be able to understand the role of public-private partnerships, it is important to see the broader picture of the various cross – border cooperations that can be formed in tourism development. Timothy (1998) identifies four focal types of partnership for tourism planning and cooperation. Next to public-private partnerships, three more types of collaboration are identified, namely partnerships between governmental agencies, partnerships between administrative levels and partnerships between same-level polities.

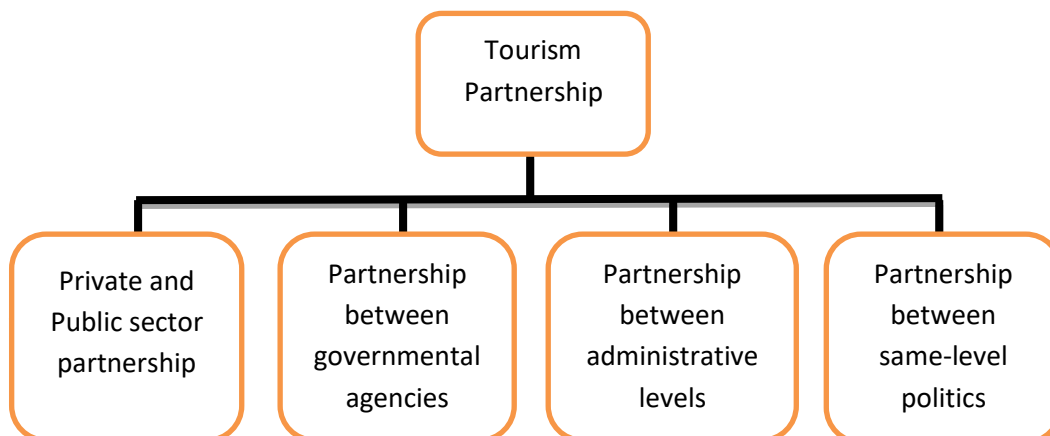


Figure 4. Focal partnerships in Tourism co-operation (Timothy, 2001)

Governmental agencies vertically and horizontally collaborate with other governmental agencies. Horizontal relations often involve same-level actors across the border, while vertical relations ensure integrated policy agenda's. Partnerships between organizations at the same level are particularly important across the border in order to protect natural and cultural resources. Finally, the importance of collaboration between all actors, whether from the private sector, or whether from the public sector, are involved together to ensure that all perspectives and interests have been taken into consideration before rolling out a tourism development agenda. Cross-sectoral partnerships in this sense ensures reduction of confusion or conflict and lead to sustainable tourism development. Partnership in tourism is particularly important in the areas of natural and cultural protection, infrastructural development, human resources (professionals, knowledge), joint marketing and in the aspects of lowering border formalities and regulations. Figure 5 shows the connections between different actors up and down the hierarchical scale. This vertical aligning between actors takes place

primarily within state border. Cross-border connections are often only made with parties who operate on the same level on the opposite border side. Collaboration on national scale involve state governments, large enterprises who work on the global scale or other authorities or organizations who work on the national scale such as the Dutch Water board or The National Marketing Bureau. Lower levels involve parties who operate on province or Bundesrepublik scale. And as cross-border collaborations reach a lower hierarchical scale, the spatial scale also narrows (Keating, 1998). This means that municipalities and SME's for example often only work together with cross-border equals closer to the border.

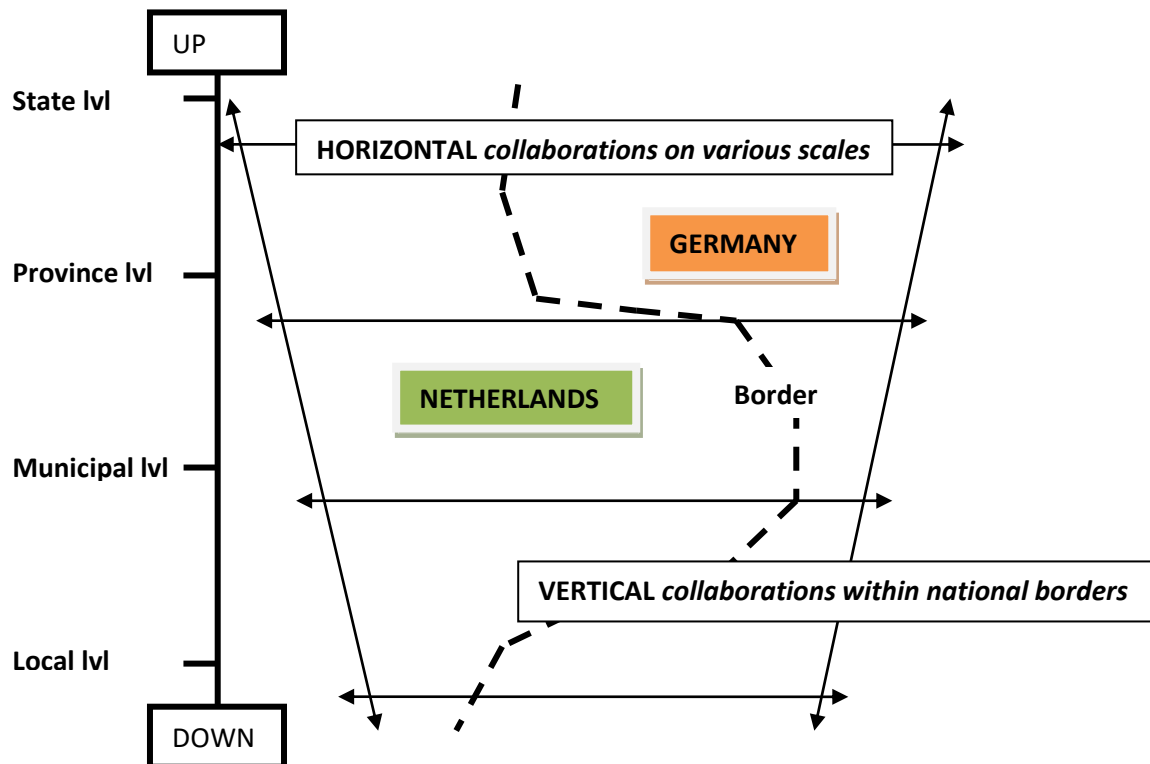


Figure 5. Vertical and Horizontal collaborations and cross-border scale.

2.3.2. Focus on Public - Private links

As stated before, the shift from state – centred government to regional governance means that the gap between the public and private sector has been bridged. Partnerships can involve active roles for private actors in the governance of projects that lead to regional development and the regionalization process. When looking at tourism development, Timothy (1998) emphasizes the importance of public- private initiatives, because the public sector provides approval and basic infrastructure for the private sector whereas the private sector invests in the construction of tourist attractions and services (and by this means ensures economic growth). Gaps between public and private sector may lead to weak development of the tourism industry in the region. Holder (1992) writes that “punitive, unnecessarily bureaucratic and poorly thought out fiscal measures are likely to not only deny a profit to the private sector, but to defeat the very purpose of government, which can earn little or no revenue from unsuccessful businesses.” This is a bold statement, derived from the Caribbean and can't be completely copied to the European context, but gives a strong image of the importance for public-private cooperation in the tourism development agenda. In the Dutch –

German context Regional Tourism Bureaus often bring the public and private sector interests and needs together and align them with multi-scalar agendas.

2.3.3. Conditions influencing cooperation

Out of the many citings, Greer (2002) grouped and categorized the influencing conditions for partnerships. He mentions four influencing conditions, the contextual condition, the stakeholder condition, the decision making condition and the operational condition. In the first place the partnership environment needs cooperating parties to believe that working together is favourable for all, thus create a win-win situations. Parties should have the believe that working together is more efficient, economically and operationally and will improve service delivery. The contextual framework in which the various stakeholder cooperate should exist of mutual understanding and respect. Parties should respect the traditions and values of the others in order to soften the barriers between each other. Historical, political and cultural tensions have negative impacts on cooperating stakeholders and will force the opposite sides to withdraw back into their own camps. Secondly, stakeholder conditions refer to the balance of power between the partners. Bramwell and Sharmann (1999) state that an unequal balance of power may lead to partnership failure. The more powerful stakeholder may see the weaker one as irrelevant. Working together may be viewed a losing autonomy. Vice versa the weaker stakeholder may view the stronger one as a threat, which may lead to a loss of authority and possible fragmentation of their organization. It is therefore important for parties to all realize that working together benefit them in some way, and European funding sometimes gives the extra stimulus to keep working together. Networking and partnership, as stated before by Hall (2000), can be developed, but partners need to be mutually determined, committed and have a long stamina. If these factors aren't distributed equally, conflict in the partnership may arise. Thirdly, Greer (2002) talks about the decision-making condition, which focuses on the relations and interaction between the various parties. Facilitation of the partnership should encourage consensus decision making. Parties need to find common ground in their approach and facilitation ensures that no parties feel isolated. Internally, partners feel that they are more equal to each other through proper facilitation and externally the partnership propagate fair representation, according Mattessich and Monsey, 1992). These authors together with Forester (1993) also argue that partnerships should be open and informal in order to encourage participation from individuals and organizations and to stimulate building of relationships between cooperating stakeholders. Barriers for consensual decision making are language, culture and working practices. The transmission of communications than becomes tenuous and different parties may adopt different interpretations of how to deal with problems. Different stakeholders should therefore make an effort to understand each other's agendas. Finally, Greer (2002) uses the work of Mattessich and Monsey (1992) to explain that it is important for partnerships to develop a clear strategy as operational condition. Partnerships should start off with a clear idea of what the scope of their collaboration is and what the aims and objectives of the partnership are. The partnership needs clear understanding of the processes and procedures and all participating stakeholders should be involved in the decision making process. This creates on the one hand a sense of equality and on the other a sense of ownership in the formulation and implementation of the policy.

2.4. Integration of theories: Input – Output model for Regionalization

The model as shown in *figure 6* shows the simplified input-output model which is composed from various theoretical backgrounds from former cross-border studies. The model first aims at developing a frame which helps in tracing back contextual drives for collaboration. The regionalization drives as put forward by De Sousa (2013) entail economic drives, political leadership drives, cultural identity drives and geographical drives. The last two drives are important in the distinction between functional- and imaginary regionalization. The various contextual conditions thus motivate cross-border stakeholders to collaborate and 'govern' the cross-border region. Greer (2002) developed a frame which helps to get understanding of the different collaboration conditions. Greer (2002) categorized four conditions for collaboration, namely the contextual condition, the stakeholder condition, the decision making condition and the operational condition. The cross-border partners are further influenced and restricted by the European agenda and the rules of the INTERREG programme, which is also referred to as European Integration. On the other hand cross-border stakeholders deal with issues and problems from the cross-border region, which is referred to as Regional Integration. Cross-border partners strive to develop tourism projects based on the needs of external and internal audiences. Development approaches between cross-border stakeholders can be either 'old' or 'new', as Hersschel (2007) puts it. Old Regionalism refers to a more bureaucratic and state centric policy development process, whereas New Regionalism refers to a more decentralized and bottom-up policy development process. See next page.

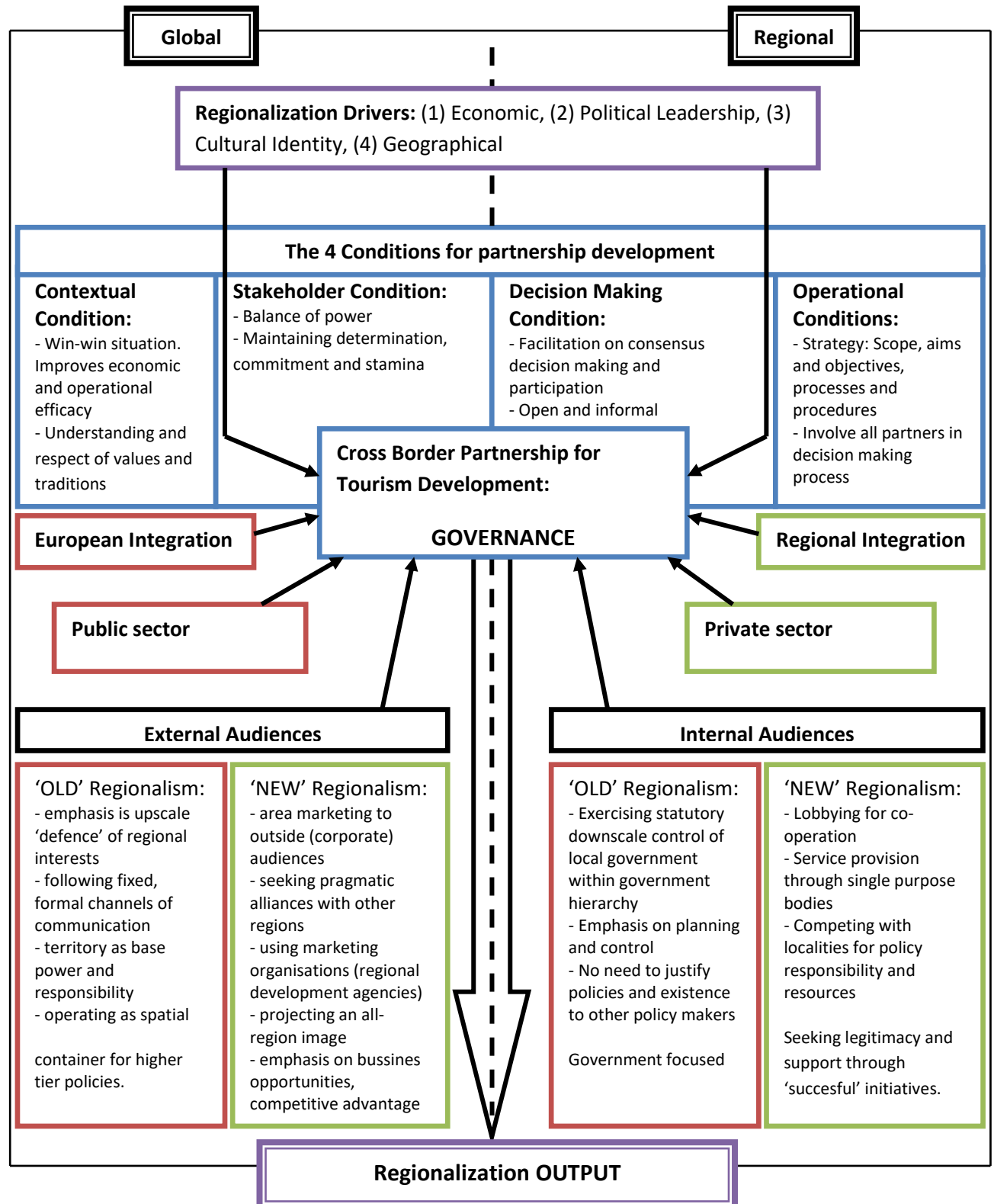


Figure 6. Input – Output model for Cross – Border Cooperation

2.5. Repeating the Main Research Question

In order to understand the sub-research questions, it was needed to first introduce the theory of the research. The sub-research questions follow from the main research question which has been phrased in chapter 1.4. as follows:

“What are the drives for collaboration in tourism projects, where public-private sector stakeholders collaborate and how is development shaped through the interaction between cross-border partners within the Dutch-German EUREGIO, under the INTERREG programme? Subsequently, which functional and imaginary regionalization outcomes do these tourism development projects produce in the research area?”

2.6. Sub Research Questions

1. (A) Which cross-border co-operations under the INTERREG V-A sub-programme in the EUREGIO involve tourism development and; (B) stimulates SME involvement in governance of cross-border regionalization?
2. What are the drives for cross-border cooperation in the EUREGIO area, under the current INTERREG V-A programme in tourism development?
3. How do the public and private sector influence cross-border collaboration in these tourism development projects?
4. How does European and Regional integration drive cross-border collaboration in these tourism development projects?
5. How do the internal and external audiences influence cross-border collaboration in tourism development under ‘old’ and ‘new’ regionalism?
6. Which conditions for collaboration, as put forward by J. Greer (2002), influence cross-border collaboration?
7. And finally, how does tourism development shape cross- border regionalization in the Dutch-German EUREGIO.

3. Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter starts with the description of the methodological philosophy, which explains why the empirical research is conducted as it is done in this research (chapter 3.2.). In chapter 3.3. and 3.4. a short review is given concerning the scope and framework of the case study and how it has been developed. Chapter 3.5. describes how the research has been conducted in the data collection phase. In chapter 3.6. a description is given of how the data is analyzed. Chapter 3.7. describes the limitations of this research which is followed by chapter 3.8. which finally introduces the partners and the respondents who have contributed in the creation of the research narrative.

3.2. Research philosophy

This research, which is focused around a case study area, uses social constructivism as methodological ground to establish findings. The research philosophy contains assumptions about the way the researcher looks at the world and in which interpretations of the researcher are important for constructing research findings. Social constructivism philosophers argue that it is necessary to be able to distinguish the differing roles of social actors. Whereas actors can be objects or persons, the distinction is that persons make interpretations of the social world around them. These interpretations give meaning to world and behaviour of others. The researcher needs to be able to be empathic in order to understand how respondents interpret the world around them and give meaning to it. Whereas the focus of this research is on cross-border collaboration, the drives for cross-border collaboration and the outcomes they produce, this research philosophy fits best as methodological ground.

3.3. Establishing the research framework

This research focuses specifically on structural tourism development projects which fall under the scope of the INTERREG (A). The current INTERREG programme is INTERREG V (A) which started in 2014 and will end in 2020. Partnerships in the form of cross- border co-operations are formed around tourism development projects. These projects can be found in the database of the Dutch-German INTERREG project databank. Short descriptions of the projects can be found in the databank as well as the main applicants, regions involved, EU funding, and total financing of the projects. In the first phase of data collection the aim was to explore the projects in order to find projects that deal with tourism development and has the goal to include the private sector. The Dutch-German INTERREG programme database does not specifically prioritize tourism as category, but labels it under other 'regionalization' categories, which makes it easier to understand the role of the project in the process of regionalization.

3.4. Finding case study project

The first phase of two weeks were mainly used to dig into the online databases of the Dutch- German INTERREG website in search of relevant projects. Next to the documents found, EUREGIO and the INTERREG managing teams have been called, being gatekeepers for the projects and helped to focus on interesting cases of cross – border co-operation. With these activities answers have been generated to answer the first sub- question: (1) A) Which cross-border co-operations under the

INTERREG V(A) sub-programme in the EUREGIO involve tourism development and; B) stimulates SME involvement in governance of cross-border regionalization?

3.5. Data collection

In order to answer Sub-Research Questions two to seven it was first required to conduct empirical research, which has been the most time-consuming part of the data collection phase. Eventually it took three weeks since the start of the data collection period to set a meeting with the gatekeeper, a coordinator of cross-border collaboration at the EUREGIO. The gatekeeper helped to identify cross-border partners for further investigation and it was helpful to have a first reference in the telephone and e-mail contacts with potential respondents. The project that had the most structural and strategic tourism development agenda, was the GTI project, which would also become the first focus for further investigation. In the weeks after the first interview the schedules of the respondents were still full, which led to a slow start, but as time progressed more interviews were done within a shorter timeframe. The planned time for data collection was eight weeks and eventually took around twelve weeks. The first contacts with the respondents were made by telephone, in which the goal was to briefly explain the scope and importance of the research in order to schedule an interview. The respondents then received an e-mail in which the research proposal was sent, together with the brief explanation of the scope and goal of the interview. The e-mail also contained the question whether respondents wanted to remain anonymous and informed them about the audio recording of the interview. The interviews were planned at the preferred location of the respondents in order to save their time and have them comfortable for the in-depth interview that was prepared. Accordingly, in-depth interviews were used to retrieve empirical data, which fits the social constructivism research philosophy in which social actors construct the world around them and in which the researchers' interpretation creates reality of the constructed world. Questions were prepared beforehand, which can be found in *Annex 1*, but was only used as guideline during the interview. During the interview the goal was to probe whenever a respondent needed a small incentive to go into further detail about a specific subject, which led to differences in questioning between the respondents. The probing technique required sensitivity skills and quick analytical thinking, in which not only words, but also emotions needed to be taken into account. In this way it was possible to read what respondents said without using words. This interpretative part of the interviews is very valuable for the research which deals with sensitivities in the collaboration conditions, see *theory page 20*, which is about power, interests, trust and understanding, things that need sensing next to phrasing. During the interviews, use was made of an audio-recorder, which was then used to transcribe the interviews afterwards. The written statements have been used for data analysis. The respondents for the GTI project were persons who work at the tourism bureaus in The Netherlands and Germany and are involved in the cross-border partnership. Other respondents involve policy planners, a regional author, an expert of an education institute and project developers who work at a project bureau, see *page 30, table 1*. The diversity and number of respondents was limited to 16 respondents in 15 interviews, whereas one interview was done with two members of a project bureau. Although the number and diversity is somewhat limited, the depth of the interviews and the similarities found in the answers were solid to answer the research questions and draw significant conclusions. Although the aim of the research was to focus on the roles of the public and private sector in cross-border governance, the respondents are mainly actors from the public or semi-public domain, since these actors are currently involved in the cross-border collaboration and have knowledge about the cross-border projects. Recent developments however show that there is a wish to pass the governance

stick along to the private sector and there are some interesting private sector parties who may become interesting partners in future cross-border governance, but until now these stakeholders are not directly involved in the cross-border partnerships. Content wise the actors were asked to reflect on the history and context in which the cross-border collaboration took place, which role they had themselves in the cross-border governance, which role the private sector, and more specifically the SME's, had in the projects and how these SME's influence cross-border partnerships. The answers given were used in the interpretative frame to discuss and answer sub-questions. In the final part of the interview respondents needed to reflect on the effects of the projects and cross-border governance in tourism development had for regional development, either functional or imaginary. Here respondents were asked on a more macro-level to look at the regionalization process and how their projects produced certain regionalization outcomes. Respondent perspectives on the wider regionalization context and how they see tourism as connection with other sectors that all influence the regionalization process have been included as well. Together with the content analysis part of the empirical data (see data analysis) *sub- question 7: How does tourism development shape cross-border regionalization in the EUREGIO?* has been answered.

3.6. Data analysis

After the all empirical data was collected and transcribed, all the documents, together with the theory documents were imported into the Atlas.ti program. In order to make connection between various parts in the text of the respondents and the theory, it was needed to make codes. The basis for the codes derived directly from the theory, which as result had the advantage of connecting statements of respondents with the deeper underlying theory, which was needed for interpretation. The first draft of text was therefore a mix of narratives and direct interpretation, which then later on needed shifting, which as result led to a narrative where raw results, without interpretation was written in chapter 6, Results (see page 30). The interpretation part of the research was used for discussing how the statements connect to the theory, which on one hand functions as theory-testing mechanism and on the other answering the research questions. This interpretive part is found on page 63 with the title 'Discussion'. Finally the main answers have been taken in order to draw conclusion and this is found in the final chapter of this thesis, on page 77, under the title 'Conclusions'.

3.7. Limitations

In the first place the narrow scope of the research is a limitation. A master research has limited time and money to spend on collecting empirical data and therefore a number of possible interesting actors, such as municipalities, entrepreneurs and associations are missing.

A case study is very dependent on contextual issues. Comparison was therefore made with a couple of other cases in Europe, which was found in literature, but there were no other case studies in the Dutch-German border. More cases could deliver higher validity.

3.8. Projects, Partners and Respondents

In this chapter the projects, partners and respondents of the research are introduced. Not all respondents are partners. Some are coordinators, experts or policy makers that deal with the cross-border collaboration in some way and have a certain vision on the topic. *Table 1* first gives an overview of the respondents in the research. The project names in the first column is abbreviated with 'ALL', 'GTI' and 'LVD'. GTI is the abbreviation for 'Grenzeloze Toeristische Innovatie' which

translates into Borderless Touristic Innovation. LVD is the abbreviation for LIVING Vecht Dinkel and ALL is not an abbreviation but means that all respondents reflect on cross-border collaboration in general.

3.8.1. The projects

The thesis focuses its main attention on the two main tourism development projects in the EUREGIO area which are GTI and LVD. The Borderless Touristic Innovation (GTI) in the first place and the LIVING Vecht – Dinkel (LVD) project in the second place. Both projects are implemented under the INTERREG V-A programme in the EUREGIO area. The INTERREG V-A period runs from 2014 up to 2020, but the projects have a longer history to them and the cross-border collaboration is thus more structural compared to many loose projects. The first project involves Tourism Bureaus on both sides of the border in which the Tourism Steering group of the EUREGIO facilitates the collaboration on one hand and implements some activities on the other hand. The collaboration was created as a means to develop tourism in the entire EUREGIO region more structurally involving the regional Tourism bureaus across the border. The second project is about the development of the river the Vecht and the Dinkel. Tourism is an integral part of the river development plan, which strongly puts its intersectoral character forward. Vechtdal Marketing and MarketingOost (also one of the tourism bureaus in the GTI project) and the Municipality of Hardenberg are dominant tourism players in the tourism development plans on the Dutch side, whereas the Germans have the municipality of Emlichheim and a couple of Kreise (statutory name for a region in Germany) as collaborating parties in this project. In the GTI project, nine regional tourism bureaus (in further reading referred to as RBT's) collaborate across the border of which four German bureaus and five Dutch bureaus collaborate. The LIVING Vecht – Dinkel also has a longer history of cross-sectoral collaboration in developing the Vecht in which tourism development is thus integrated in the wider development strategy of the Vecht development. Only the cross-border component is relatively new in this project. Content of the projects will be discovered throughout further reading in the following chapters.

| Project | Name | Organizational background | Location | Role |
|---------|------------------------|---------------------------|------------|------------------------|
| 1 ALL | Edwin Kok | EUREGIO | EUREGIO | Coordinator |
| 2 GTI | Wendy Weijdemä | RBT MarketingOost | Overijssel | Partner |
| 3 GTI | Cis van Beers | RBT Rivierenland | Gelderland | Partner |
| 4 GTI | Bastiaan Overeem | RBT Visit Veluwe | Gelderland | Partner |
| 5 GTI | Erwin Akkerman | RBT Arnhem Nijmegen | Gelderland | Partner |
| 6 GTI | Bjorn de Voer | RBT Achterhoek | Gelderland | Partner |
| 7 GTI | Sonja Scherder | RBT Graftschaft Bentheim | Germany | Partner |
| 8 GTI | Michael Koesters | RBT Munsterland | Germany | Partner |
| 9 GTI | Katja Lampe | RBT Emsland | Germany | Partner |
| 10 ALL | Michiel Flooren | Saxion Deventer | EUREGIO | Expert (Regional dev.) |
| 11 ALL | Michael ten Holde | Province Gelderland | Gelderland | Policy maker |
| 12 ALL | Jan van Oene | Province Overijssel | Overijssel | Policy maker |
| 13 LVD | Adri Ooms | Vechtdal Marketing | Overijssel | Coordinator |
| 14 LVD | Daniela Koesters | Mayor of Emlichheim | Germany | Partner |
| 15 ALL | Katharina Brinkschmidt | Projectbureau Jaegt | Germany | Project developer |
| 16 ALL | Lioba Galliet | Projectbureau Jaegt | Germany | Project developer |

Table 1. Respondents of the case study

Structuring the organizational landscape on the basis of '*location*' is based on the distinction between respondents in Overijssel, Gelderland and Germany. Although these three location categories have distinctions within their own sub-regions, they also have commonalities, which for the sake of this research puts them together in the same camp.

3.8.2. The partners and respondents

EUREGIO

Edwin Kok is a coordinator of the steering group at the EUREGIO. He facilitates and drives cross-border governance as employee of the EUREGIO. Edwin Kok knows much of the Dutch organizational landscape since his long involvement in the sector.

Netherlands

Michiel Flooren is an external expert on the subject. He works at Saxion University for Applied Sciences and reviews on the cross-border governance in the EUREGIO. He is also involved in a project for knowledge and information gathering to support RBT's.

Overijssel

Wendy Weijdemá is partner in the cross-border project GTI and works for RBT MarketingOost. She strongly advocates the interests of Overijssel in the cross-border governance. Jan van Oene is policy planner at province Overijssel and reviews on the subject from the perspective of Overijssel as province. Adri Ooms is coordinator for Vechtdal Marketing in the province Overijssel and is involved with strategic tourism development in the province especially in the LVD project and reviews on cross-border collaboration from the perspective of Overijssel.

Gelderland

Cis van Beers is partner in the GTI project and works for RBT Rivierenland, which is a region in Gelderland. He is part of the four regions who are involved in the GTI project together. RBT Rivierenland is a small RBT which is located far from the epicentre of the EUREGIO. Erwin Akkerman is also partner for Gelderland in the GTI project and works for RBT Arnhem-Nijmegen. RBT Arnhem-Nijmegen has a leading role for the RBT's in this province as it is the largest RBT in the province. Arnhem-Nijmegen is however located between two euro-regions, which effects the priority they give to the partnership in the EUREGIO. Bjorn de Voer works for RBT Achterhoek and is also partner in the GTI project. Achterhoek as region borders partner Munsterland for a large part, which makes involvement a higher priority, but the RBT is recovering from a reorganization in 2013 and is still focusing much of their attention on their own constituents. The last partner in the GTI project for Gelderland is Bastiaan Overeem who works for RBT Visit Veluwe. This RBT has also been reorganized with much inward focus, but is part of the RBT Arnhem-Nijmegen Holding, which empowers their position in Gelderland. Michael ten Holde, finally, is a policy planner at province Gelderland and reviews on the subject from the perspective of Gelderland as province.

Germany

Sonja Scherder works at RBT Grafschaft Bentheim, the region which is bordering a large part of Overijssel. RBT Grafschaft Bentheim relies on Dutch tourists heavily, but does not have much SME's which take part in the GTI project. Michael Koesters works at RBT Munsterland, the largest partner on the German side with the most SME's involved in the GTI project. Munsterland borders Achterhoek. Katja Lampe works for RBT Emsland, a region which is split in half due to statutory euro-region borders. They are also partner in the GTI project. Daniela Koesters is mayor of the

'Samtgemeinde' (statutory name for joint municipalities) Emmlichheim. She reflects on the developments in the LVD project from a German perspective. Katharina Brinkschmidt and Lioba Galliet work for projectbureau Jaegt, which deals with cross-border tourism development projects such as LVD. They reflect on cross-border cooperation from a German perspective as external respondents.

4. Results I – Drives for Collaboration

4.1. Introduction

This chapter follows the model as shown in *figure 6, the input-output model for cross border cooperation*, found on page 22 and is focused on the input for cross border cooperation. Chapter 4.2. however starts with an in-depth description of the organizational landscape in order to get an understanding of the background of the collaborating partners. Chapter 4.3 looks at the role of the EUREGIO. The EUREGIO was established concerning bottom-up needs across the border between German and Dutch regional policy makers, who wanted to deal with especially social dilemma's in the cross-border region, and it has evolved into an association which became an instrument for European integration with the incorporation of the INTERREG secretariat. The chapter thus deals with the local versus intercontinental drives for development. Chapter 4.4. describes the four drives for collaboration as put forward by De Sousa (2013). The subchapters deal with the economic drive, the political leadership drive, the cultural identity drive and the geographic drives from the perspective of the cross-border respondents in this research and triangulates with perspectives put forward in the theoretical frame.

4.2. Organizational Landscape

4.2.1. The Netherlands – Organizational restructuring

Edwin Kok, coordinator at the EUREGIO tourism board says that in the Netherlands there has been little organizational stability. The GOBT (Gelders Overijssels Bureau voor Toerisme) fell apart in 2012 after decentralization efforts have been imposed by the provinces of Overijssel and Gelderland. The GOBT was the cross-border partner until 2012 and acted as single stakeholder on the Dutch side. The provinces however had the feeling that the board had too little links with the small and medium enterprises (further abbreviated as 'SME's'). Michiel Flooren adds that the GOBT for example had its own booking office through which they made their own profit. The provinces decided that the task could not be in the hands of the public sector anymore and was then handed over to the private sector. This overarching Bureau was then replaced by RBT's who all had their own organizational structure. These bureaus were market driven on the one hand and financially supported by province and municipalities on the other hand. Some of these regional bureaus existed only for a couple of years and failed to deliver, which lead to their bankruptcy. Erwin Akkerman from the RBT Arnhem Nijmegen says that the organizational landscape in the Netherlands is created because of coincidences. *"If you could organize the whole organizational landscape from zero, it might have been very different, but the existing organizations already have name and fame in the public and the private sector, which leads us to continue the way we do."*

Bjorn de Voer from the RBT Achterhoek says that the RBT's in the Netherlands are public-private organizations, which means that the government is retreating more and more as head financier in the development of tourism projects. The role has been taken up increasingly by the private sector. This is different in Germany where the public sector is in control of the RBT's and where it is more difficult to get the SME's to actively take up roles and co-finance in projects. The private sector in Germany is used to a government who takes this responsibility.

4.2.2. Overijssel

MarketingOost: MarketingOost is the RBT in Overijssel who is partner in the GTI project for Overijssel. According to Wendy Weijdemá, MarketingOost was established because regional bureaus in Overijssel collapsed and merged into a single Tourism Bureau in Overijssel. The collaboration initially started in the border regions of the Netherlands, In Twente and the Vechtdal, but as the regions abdicated control to the Province Bureau, all regions in Overijssel have been included in the EUREGIO tourism development since 2012, changing the EUREGIO landscape on the Dutch side significantly. The reorganizations led the EUREGIO region to expand from only including the Achterhoek, Twente and Vechtdal as Dutch border regions, to the inclusion of the total provinces of Overijssel and Gelderland. Erwin Akkerman from RBT Arnhem Nijmegen says that MarketingOost was the Overijssels Bureau for Tourism before the name changed. After the RBT's in Twente and Salland got bankrupted, all the bureaus merged into one bureau in the province, which is now centrally organized in Zwolle. Jan van Oene, policy maker in Overijssel adds that MarketingOost is a unity of all the regional bureaus with on the plus side that it can work on themes that overarch the different regions. This is more difficult for the RBT's in Gelderland who all have their own separate organizations. In the collaboration between partners it would be more effective if the Gelderse parties were united. "If you are in a meeting and the four Gelderse parties still have to discuss their own things.. that could be done more effectively".

Vechtdal Marketing: Vechtdal Marketing is the partner in Overijssel who is involved in the LIVING Vecht Dinkel tourism development. The collaboration involves cross-sector linkages with for example water boards, who are also housed in Overijssel, but not relevant to describe in this theses. Before the LIVING Vecht-Dinkel project started the development of the Vecht was done in the Netherlands under the former project name 'Ruimte voor de Vecht'. Tourism has always been an integral part of the development in the Dutch Vecht side. Because the Vecht originates in Germany the Dutch parties wanted to collaborate with the Germans around the development of the Vecht in order to be able to tackle themes such as water safety. The new project is therefore an INTERREG project in which cross-border parties collaborate.

GastvrijOverijssel: Adri Ooms, coordinator for Vechtdal Marketing, says that the development of the Vecht is part of the tourism development agenda which has been brought under the roof of GastvrijOverijssel, which means that the project is embedded in the structural tourism development plans of an official governing body.

4.2.3. Gelderland

Erwin Akkerman from RBT Arnhem Nijmegen starts by saying that the situation in Gelderland is somewhat different from the one in Overijssel. The province is divided into four regions. Rivierenland, Arnhem-Nijmegen, Achterhoek and the Veluwe. After the tourism board, the VBT in the Veluwe, collapsed in 2014, the municipalities in that area asked RBT Arnhem Nijmegen to take over the role of the bankrupted organization. Since they picked it up well, the situation continued to exist, which means that the regions Arnhem-Nijmegen and the Veluwe are part of one holding.

VisitVeluwe: Bastiaan Overeem is partner and representative for RBT VisitVeluwe. He says that the RBT has been developed as business unit under the flag of RBT Arnhem Nijmegen initially in 2014. They took over the role from the bankrupt VBT (Veluws Bureau voor Toerisme). VisitVeluwe and RBT

Arnhem Nijmegen are thus officially the same organization who have two sub regions under their control. VisitVeluwe is therefore also one of the youngest players in the GTI partnership. The constituents under VisitVeluwe therefore were not familiar with the GTI marketing campaigns, because of the malfunction of the previous VBT. It means that VisitVeluwe has a lag in the GTI campaign. However, they became aware of the opportunities and potential the German market have and intensively started to participate in the INTERREG programme. Bastiaan Overeem further stresses the importance of marketing in the first place and knowledge and innovation in the second place, which are in line with the programme objectives. This means that courses and trainings are offered to the constituents/SME's under VisitVeluwe to get acquainted with the German culture and language.

Rivierenland: Rivierenland promotes their own projects across the border, but does not develop projects across their own boundaries. The RBT does participate in the 'Das Andere Holland' campaign as partner within the 'Gelderse Streken' group and pays money to promote the four sub-regions as a whole. Their own involvement in the cross-border partnership however is more on the background. RBT Arnhem Nijmegen makes the cross-border negotiations and Rivierenland seems somewhat suspicious of the outcomes it gives for their own sub-region. Does Rivierenland also get enough visitors from Germany? Rivierenland therefore wants to see numbers and figures. Achterhoek and Arnhem-Nijmegen, who are close to the border have the feeling that more Germans are coming their way, and Cis van Beers says *"we do feel it, but you can't prove it based on quantitative facts."* Cis van Beers also says that the role of their RBT has changed. *"We are often seen as marketing organization primarily, but that is only one of the things we do. In order to survive as organization we need to serve our constituents, the municipalities, the province and the SME's. And we serve them by providing them with the necessary information and knowledge. We are organizing meetings where people in the tourism sector can meet and network. The active role of marketing and making bookings available should not be in our hands, but in the hands of the stakeholders we serve."*

Arnhem-Nijmegen: The RBT of Arnhem-Nijmegen is the largest organization in Gelderland. The board already exist 20 years, which means that the board is a stable factor in the region. The board was created 20 years ago after the province decided to decentralize tasks. Tourism was one of the sectors that needed to be organized more in the realms of the private sector. It is also needed to make better connection with the private sector. (This is true when you look at the difference between the Netherlands and Germany). 40 Municipalities support the Board. Some of the municipalities have chosen to support RBT Arnhem Nijmegen because they are the bigger and experienced organization although they officially belong to another bureaucratic unit. The municipality Kranenburg in Germany is a constituent of RBT Arnhem Nijmegen. The municipality Mook-Middelaar in the province of Limburg is constituent of RBT Arnhem Nijmegen. On the edge between Achterhoek and Arnhem – Nijmegen the municipality of Doesburg chose to be involved with both Tourism Boards and at the edges of Rivierenland some municipalities chose the side of Arnhem-Nijmegen. The basis costs such as the building and the secretariat are subsidized by the public sector. The rest of the costs all need to be earned by making commercial projects and products. The money can be earned by using subsidy funds, such as the INTERREG funds, but the SME's also need to invest money in the projects developed by the board. This is called co-financing. The board also sells products to tourists. The Board has a research team, a marketing team and an academy team for example. The main goal of the board is to develop products to involve SME's in the tourism sector. In the GTI project the teams for example work on websites and language courses

and the product development is negotiated with the partners in the project, especially the Dutch partners. The German partners are organized differently.

Tourism in Arnhem-Nijmegen amounts for 6% to the overall employment and that is average for the Netherlands. 90% of the private enterprises under RBT Arnhem Nijmegen are SME's who need the board for marketing and product development. The larger enterprises such as Burgers Zoo can do their own branding and marketing and don't need the Board much. But these larger firms are great attractors for the region which makes them interesting parties to relate with in order make arrangements for example.

Achterhoek: Bjorn de Voer of RBT Achterhoek says that the board had to build up everything from the bottom up since 2013, since the previous RBT failed their responsibilities and got bankrupt. RBT Achterhoek organized themselves somewhat different from the other RBT's in Gelderland in the sense that they work with regional coordinators who work on municipal level. These coordinators organize activities on the local level, but because of their connection with the RBT they fit in with the Regional and interregional approach. In the first 2 years there was no time to actively participate much in the GTI campaign, although the region was part of the ongoing cross-border project. The main goal of the RBT was to gain renewed trust from the SME's in their own sub-region because the previous RBT failed and some investments from entrepreneurs went down the drain. Currently the RBT tries to support SME's who have ideas and link them with others in the same sector. There is a project where museums are collaborating within Achterhoek. There is a project for children as well and the RBT supports projects that are in line with what they want to represent as region.

4.2.4. Germany

In Germany the Tourism Bureaus have been very stable and are under the control of the 'Kreise'. They are thus much more in the realms of the public sector and their links with the private sector are weaker. Katja Lampe from RBT Emsland says that the organizational structure in Germany is much more linked to politics. She says that this is good, because tourism development is seen as part of the destination development as a whole. The vertical link in Germany is well established and clear. On the other hand, the decision making takes longer in Germany as it has to go through the political decision making process. In that sense, she adds, for quicker decision making it would be good that the RBT's in Germany also have higher authority in decision making.

Munsterland: Munsterland is the 'large' partner with many SME's in their region who collaborate in the cross-border partnership. Michael Koester says that Munsterland e.v. is organized somewhat different from the other tourism bureaus in Germany. The bureau is part of marketing and employment. It is not just an RBT. The bureau is thus more integrated with other sectors in the region.

Emsland: Katja Lampe says that there are fiftythousand overstays annually by Dutch visitors compared to two million German stayovers. Dutch stayovers thus only supplement to 2.5% compared to the German overstays in the same region. Emsland has a lot of industry and most of the German overstays in the area are work related. It is difficult to measure the economic effects caused by tourism, especially when looking at intersectoral effects. But the many work related visitors in Emsland are good for the tourism sector in this region, the restaurants, the hotels and create jobs in the sector. *"So, industry serves tourism here."*

Sammtgemeinde Emlichheim: Daniela Koesters says that the cluster of four municipalities, which is called Sammtgemeinde Emlichheim, has been involved in the collaboration around the development of the Vecht since 2008. Together with Hardenberg in the Netherlands the two are the only municipalities in the cross-border cooperation that are involved on this scale. The other parties are of higher organizational scale, such as LandKreise (regions), provinces and parties such as the water board in the Netherlands, which in the Netherlands is also public sector.

4.3. Regional and European Integration – EUREGIO and INTERREG

The EUREGIO has been established in 1958 as first European cross-border association in which there was a need and desire to develop the cross-border area. This led to cross-border cooperation. In both the Netherlands and Germany the cross-border regions often are not able to equally profit from national social-economic developments, because of its peripheral location. By working together actively municipalities in the cross-border region empower their position. Whereas cooperation in the first decennia was mainly focused on easy and widely supported national policy issues such as stimulating encounters of cross-border citizens through art, culture and sport events or the creation of cross-border cycling routes. Today both countries have found each other in the collaboration around accessibility and the down-breaking of the physical and mental border and stimulation of the economy. Currently the EUREGIO has 129 members. The members are cities, municipalities, landkreise and water boards (<https://www.euregio.eu/nl/over-euregio/geschiedenis>).

As stated by Jan van Oene, policy maker at the province of Overijssel the EUREGIO started to exist with cross-border municipalities who wanted to work together with each other across the border. The EUREGIO officially is an association. In the earlier years of the EUREGIO, around the 1970's, there were tensions between the Netherlands and Germany, especially in certain domains, such as criminality. On the other hand there must have been some attempts to approach each other. In that context there were some parties who had the ability to bind the two countries and develop the association. Adri Ooms replies: *"I believe in the formula that people who work in the area for a longer period are the ones who are the binding factors"*. Jan van Oene however notifies that this is not based on facts, but on how cross-border collaboration possibly may have started. In the beginning the collaboration between Germany and the Netherlands in the EUREGIO was purely around social matters. Eventually some economic exchanges took place in order to employ cross-border citizens across the border. It leads to acknowledging each other's paperwork. Some 30 to 35 years ago the status of the EUREGIO changed as it became the implementing body for the first INTERREG programme. This happened somewhere in the 1980' as top-down implementation of European Integration agenda put forward by the European Union.

According to the official website of the EUREGIO, the first joint secretary was established in 1985 on the border between Gronau and Enschede, which shortly after its establishment accommodated the INTERREG secretary. This is in line with what is stated by the province policy maker.

Whereas for tourism development, cross- border cooperation has always been there, says Edwin Kok. Since the start of the EUREGIO in 1958 until 1998 it was fragmented and unstructured. Some municipalities or local tourism bureaus worked together with their counterparts across the border, but there was no overall strategic plan. In 1998 the EUREGIO implemented a steering group for tourism. Their role was to judge project proposals, but there was no genuine feeling that the projects amounted to an increase of fluxes over the border. Therefore the steering group initiated a research

with the Tourism Bureaus in both Germany and the Netherlands to explore what the needs and interests on both sides of the border were. The findings led to the first euro-region strategic plan in the form of an INTERREG project proposal for cross-border cooperation between Tourism bureaus on the regional level. That research showed that there was little information in Germany about the Netherlands and vice versa. Edwin Kok adds that of the four euro-regions between the Netherlands and Germany, The EUREGIO has the most structural collaboration in tourism development.

Michel Flooren, regional development expert at Saxion University says that European Integration is the future. Many nations in the EU can't make political changes on their own when looking at global themes such as climate change, safety, mobility, employment and so forth. Connecting nation states to each other and having European programmes in place, such as INTERREG stimulates countries to work together on continental themes. Take the water systems for example. Countries need to work together to solve problems. If something happens in the Rhine in Germany, the problems will automatically affect the Rhine in the Netherlands, such as contamination or floodings. There is not tax on Kerosene for airplanes for example and it is impossible as single country to change these policies, since air traffic will move away to cross-border countries, which does not affect climate conditions on the global scale and disturbs economic balances between countries. The same is true for households who make use of natural gas. Those are all themes that need to be dealt with on a European level and therefore the euro-regions are great 'regional hubs' where countries are tied. In order to collaborate together on such big themes require the Netherlands and Germany to take the collaboration to the next level as stated by De Sousa (2013).

Jan van Oene describes the history of the collaboration in tourism development under INTERREG. The current INTERREG period is INTERREG V and in the previous thirtyfive years there have been developments in the focus points of the INTERREG programmes. The first programmes were focused mainly on infrastructure development between the two countries. As it developed further the economic collaboration became more important with the focus on innovation and sustainability. And the red line in the EUREGIO collaboration is the constant focus on the social sector. Tourism development followed the same strategic course. The first INTERREG years were used to create cross-border route structures and develop infrastructure. Then it gradually shifted away towards economic functions. Product development and marketing, of which marketing was very important in the previous INTERREG period (INTERREG IV) and where the current INTERREG V period is focused on learning to understand the cross-border market and the facilitation of SME's. Brussels decides what the conditions are in which the cross-border partners have to work and within that European framework the tourism development programmes can be developed by the partners, such as the provinces, the tourism bureaus and the experts. The new INTERREG VI programme will be launched somewhere around 2022 and the first contours of the European agenda is starting to become visible.

4.4. The four drives for collaboration

De Sousa (2013) puts four drives for collaboration forward. The four drives are the economic drive, the political leadership drive, the cultural identity drive and the geographical drive.

4.4.1. The economic drive

4.4.1.1. Employment in Hospitality sector and the multiplier effect

Michiel Flooren, regional development expert at Saxion says that data in the Netherlands is not clear. It is known that 6% of the employment in the Netherlands is 100% in the hospitality sector. But many suppliers for the enterprises in the hospitality industry should also be included in the sector, which is not done at the moment in the Netherlands, whereas economists agree that suppliers for the hospitality industry should be accounted in the industry. A bicycle shop who provides bicycles which are mainly used for recreation should be included in the sector for example. A canoe builder who sells his canoes create incentive for opening up a port which is a place where boat trainings can be given and so forth. The connections in the tourism industry have great multipliers, which is called the multiplier effects as Cooper et al. (2008) puts it. Wendy Weijdemá further states that everyone is part of the leisure economy. Everyone takes a hike, shops or goes for a swim. That makes that the sector is binding. Tourism and recreation often is a solution in rural areas to bring some dynamics and economy to the region. It is a soft sector which includes everyone and from which connections with other branches can easily be made. Wendy Weijdemá says: *“But then it is important to see it from the perspective of leisure economy and not as sector tourism or sector recreation. That is too small.”*

4.4.1.2. Tourism as tool for regionalization

Katja Lampe says that tourism is important for future development as it involves people who have time to enjoy the region, who have time to learn from the other culture and to, for example, see what sustainability is in the Nature park Moor. This is a cross-border national park between Germany and the Netherlands. In this sense tourism is a space for raising awareness and it integrates different economic sectors. Sonja Scherder adds that tourism development is also good for the livelihood of the citizens in the region. When cycling routes are developed for tourists, the citizens also make use of it, because the people in this part of Germany also like to travel with the bicycle. It's also good for employment. Michael Koesters says that Munsterland does not have much unemployment and because of its thriving industry. But in order to attract people to the region who want to work and live in Munsterland, a good environment helps to attract employees. Tourism development helps to develop infrastructure and create opportunities for citizens to spend their free time. The various respondents said that tourism helps to mitigate problems with aging in the cross-border periphery as well as creating opportunities for public transportation, the liveliness of the region and keeping supermarkets open. Bastiaan Overeem says that tourism is needed for the regional viability as it creates an attractive environment for the citizens who live in the area. It keeps services at a stable level. It brings employment. Bastiaan Overeem on the other hand says that the citizens in the area can also see tourism as a threat, especially in the areas where the capacity has been reached. In the case of the Veluwe there is extra restriction for entering some parts of the national parks, which also restrict own citizens from entering the park, because of the pressure on the natural habitat, such as the woodpecker.

4.4.1.3. Tourism Development

Tourism in the Netherlands from the internal market has reached its capacity, according to Erwin Akkerman. 50% of the Dutch spend their holiday in the Netherlands. This means that in order to achieve growth, there is a need to get more tourists from abroad. Germany is close to the border and when the offer is adapted to the needs and wishes of the German tourists, they will come. Bastiaan Overeem adds that cross-border visits add to the complementarity in holiday periods. The Dutch and German holidays and special weekends aren't the same, although there is some overlap. This is good for the seasonal spread of tourists and is beneficial for the tourism providers. Jan van Oene says that especially early in the season the Dutch and the Germans have many long weekends and different Easter holidays. The Germans for example have two weeks with Easter, which complements the Dutch week. Campsites can thus rely on more customers over the year because of the different free days and weeks between the Dutch and the Germans. Michael ten Hole confirms that the internal Dutch market is satisfied. It is difficult to let the internal market grow. Jan van Oene adds that Overijssel has worked hard to reach internal growth as well. In the past five years the market share of Overijssel grew from 9 to 10%. This took much effort and much more effort needs to be done if Overijssel wants to grow from 10 to 11% of the internal market share. Therefore it is obvious to look at the international market where it is much easier to reach growth. Currently 6% of the total tourism share in Overijssel are foreigners, of which Germans form 57%. There is enormous potential if you look at the German market. 28 million Germans live within 200km distance from the border, which is a significantly higher number than the internal market potential. Jan van Oene thus states: *"If you want economic growth, you need to look at cross-border markets, but the question is whether you need to attract more tourists into the region."* There are examples in the Netherlands where the carrying capacity have been reached or even exceeded, such as Amsterdam or Giethoorn. Michael ten Holde says that the provinces therefore need to be prepared to figure out how they want to deal with this phenomenon. *"In these times it is possible to get very sudden and very big incoming flows of tourists, which can damage the quality of pristine places."*

4.4.1.4. Current trends and development

Diversion Top

Michael ten Holde, policy maker at province Gelderland says that the international flow of tourists into the Netherlands is expected to grow with 50% until 2030. Wendy Weijdemans adds that tourism is still a booming sector if you look at it from the global perspective. Many countries are reaching an economic and political level which allow their citizens to travel. These new 1st and 2nd world countries such as China, India, Saudi Arabia, Israel and countries in South America for example have billions of potential new tourists. There is movement and people are starting to travel. This influences the carrying capacity in many European cities such as Amsterdam, Barcelona and for example Bergen in Norway. Wendy Weijdemans states: *"Dutch and Germans don't want to visit Bergen anymore because of the many Asians and Israeli's. But also in Giethoorn there are many women in burkas which frightens the Dutch and Germans who avoid these places."* As Amsterdam already has problems with hosting the current amount of tourists, the need to disperse international tourists over the country becomes evident. Edwin Kok confirms that the carrying capacity has been reached in Amsterdam and Giethoorn. Provinces and regions thus have to join forces and are thereby forced to work together to attract tourists away from Amsterdam. Edwin Kok says that in the past there has been

many congresses on tourism development which were all focused on Amsterdam, the coastal area, the big cities and water sports. With the 'Spreidingstop' (diversion top) the Dutch national agenda changed dramatically, in which the focus now is to divert tourists all over the country. Especially in national circles, the public authorities want to take measures to spread the tourists out more equally over the country, but tourists who want to see Amsterdam will certainly go there. The EUREGIO wants to attract tourists on the one hand, but is cautious because of textbook tourist overloads in for example Giethoorn. Wendy Weijdemans says that in the national dispersion top many national and regional tourism stakeholders come together to talk about lifting the pressure from places where the carrying capacity has been reached. Within the Netherlands these parties will look at how tourists can be spread more equally across the country and diverted away from the 'hubs'. The international tourist should have the image of the Netherlands as 'one big Amsterdam'. In this vision Enschede is a possibility to have the overnight stay for a visit to Amsterdam. This perception has to be adopted by Dutch parties who now have to work together instead of viewing the other as competitor. Bjorn de Voer says that although it might be possible for the future to attract more international tourists from Amsterdam into the peripheral east, the infrastructural development has to be firmly established. At the moment the frequency of trains to the east and back to the west is low and stops far before midnight. It does not attract international tourists in that sense. But there have been some interesting themes like Mondriaan and van Gogh in the east of the country which attracted some international tourists from for example the United States. This is something that also needs to be further developed and there is much interest in it from different parties, such as Amsterdam who has problems with their carrying capacity and thus want to spread out tourists more equally over the country. Jan van Oene says that one of the strategies that can work is to divert tourists into the country by moving tourist attractions, such as the van Gogh museum, away from Amsterdam and establish it elsewhere. Michael ten Holde adds that The NBTC (the Dutch Bureau for Tourism and Congresses), which is the national marketing bureau in the Netherlands, in this sense puts forward the idea of Holland City. In this scenario the big bulk of tourists that overwhelm Amsterdam can be dispersed over the Netherlands through the creation of theme lines. *"In the case of German tourists you can look at the Hanze cities where you connect attractions in Zwolle with attractions in lesser known Hanze cities such as Kampen or Elburg."*

Focus on the German market

Michiel Flooren however says that there is a lot of talking about the numbers and mass tourism that will cause capacity problems in the Netherlands, but he says: *"I do not believe it. Even if the Asian market will grow exponentially in the coming five to six years, their numbers will still be lower than the number of tourists the Netherlands get from Germany and Belgium."* INTERREG is therefore great to keep the focus on Germany, because the cultural differences aren't too big. It is possible to work together with German counterparts. The cultural differences with the Chinese tourists are much bigger. Adri Ooms says that the current trend in the Netherlands and Germany is that tourists have more holidays, but for a shorter period of time, which also means that they travel shorter distances. In that sense some of the German holidays to the Turkish coast have been replaced by holidays to the Netherlands. Some aspects play a role, such as safety and the threat of terrorism. The successful and innovative enterprises stimulate the stream of Germans into the Netherlands. In the first place the visitors who go back to Germany share the good experience they had in the Netherlands and secondly, the enterprises with high quality get good reviews and classifications by

the German ADAC, which is important for Germans who prepare their holidays based on good reviews.

4.4.2. The political Leadership drive

4.4.2.1. The political Leaders...

The EUREGIO

Edwin Kok says that the INTERREG projects are meant to bind German and Dutch parties together and that it is needed that the EUREGIO tourism board takes a lead in bringing cross-border stakeholders together in the EUREGIO area in order to develop cross-border tourist attractions. In the case of route structures, for example, the Dutch and German Tourism Bureaus would not quickly think of developing routes across the national border. Through the INTERREG programme Dutch and German Tourism Bureaus have been brought together through facilitation by the EUREGIO tourism board. The Tourism Bureaus' first assignment therefore was to create a cross-border map in order to make cross-border routes. Currently there are more than thousand places across the Dutch-German border (This includes all four euro-regions) with border crossings. Between the different euro-regions between the Netherlands and Germany there are slight differences in approach. The EUREGIO has its own tourism board where structural development agenda is developed, whereas other euro-regions, such as euro-region Rijn-Waal works on ad-hoc basis and handles project proposals independently.

The Policy planners – From public to private

National policy planning: On national level the Netherlands does not have a ministry for tourism or hospitality, Michiel Flooren says. Tourism is subdivided under various ministries, which makes it difficult to create a strong national strategy on tourism development. Regions, provinces and municipalities are therefore free to choose their own direction for tourism development. Tourism Boards in the Netherlands thus work much more in the realms of market incentives, in which short-term goals need to be met, where entrepreneurs can profit and goals are less straightforward to use tourism as lever for regional development, such as in Germany.

Provincial policy planning: When looking at the provincial level, Province Overijssel stimulates cross-sector partnerships in tourism. The province subsidizes enterprises who make links with other enterprises in the tourism industry. The province tries to create clusters in which transport, accommodation, attraction and HORECA are connected. These clusters are formed in the tourism sector, but the province also stimulates partnerships where cross-overs are made between tourism and healthcare and tourism and sports. An example is the four generations hotel in Ootmarsum, where an old grandma of 92 can get healthcare and enjoy a holiday together with her children, grandchildren and grand-grandchildren. This is innovation which is stimulated in Overijssel on a structural basis because there is a long-term policy on tourism development, which does not exist on such a strategic and structural level in the province of Gelderland. There were many switches of policy makers who dealt with tourism and recreation. This is somewhat confirmed by the policy planner in Gelderland Michael ten Holde who said: *"I am one of the policy makers who deals with tourism and recreation and am involved with various 'fun' things in the province and every now and then I do something with cross-border promotion and campaigns, but that is mainly the task of the RBT's".* There is someone else who deals with INTERREG." Michiel Flooren continues by saying that especially Germany is completely behind 'degovernmentalizing'. The government in Germany

decides which policies are made and the private sector needs to sort out their own developments according to the policies put in place by the public sector. The links between the public and the private sector are weak.

Private sector policy planning: Erwin Akkerman from the RBT Arnhem-Nijmegen talks about sector networks, which is the economic drive for regional development. Sectors work with clusters in which collaboration works vertically and horizontally. Clusters in the tourism sector have almost not been identified, but there are some existing clusters in which hotels for example work together with cities and booking offices. If the public sector, government and research institutes are linked to the private sector, vertical clusters are created. Michiel Flooren continues with the development in the Netherlands that the private sector is given higher responsibility in tourism development policy planning. One of the cross-sector partnerships that have been developed recently in Overijssel is GastvrijOverijssel. In further reading these cross-sector partnerships are referred to as 'clusters'. GastvrijOverijssel is a cluster in which umbrella organizations for the HORECA (ISWA), Staatbosbeheer, ANWB, research institutes and municipalities form a network as cross-over partnerships and make policy, which is presented from the bottom up, the private sector to the province, the public sector. Jan van Oene says that this cluster is a new phenomenon in the tourism sector and that it was established in 2011. In order for parties to collaborate well they needed to know each other, trust each other and work on common goals. In 2015 GastvrijOverijssel presented a manifest to the Province. The province was so impressed with the developed policy programme which was presented by this cluster that the province decided that the cluster could continue with the implementation of their own developed programme. The province would then support the cluster in their efforts. In Gelderland the same cluster has been built, but the province of Gelderland did not see the cluster as an important player for tourism development. Michael ten Holde, policy planner at the province of Gelderland confirms this. He says that 'Overijssel has dropped its complete tourism and recreation programme into the hands of GastvrijOverijssel. The cluster in Gelderland, with the name GastvrijGelderland, tried to do the same in the province Gelderland, but did not get a foothold. Michael ten Holde further states that individuals in the sector are a bit arrogant. They may see the opportunities in Overijssel as sign to grab power and then the RBT's are forced into programmes of the cluster, which may be somewhat complicated with the four boards in Gelderland. The different actors in the field have different roles, but there is a certain amount of overlap in their activities, which results in fear of competition. For example GastvrijOverijssel and GastvrijGelderland have product development and innovation as implementation tasks, but the RBT's also work on product development. Both have entrepreneurs as constituents, but there may be a conflict of interest. Michael ten Holde however also says that the main strategy for the province at the moment is to establish closer linkages with the private sector by providing subsidies to innovate and improve the sector. This is in line with the strategy of the EUREGIO. Another objective is to establish cross-sector linkages. Katharina Brinksmchmidt also says that there have been developments in this area over the past ten years. She says that for example, there is a group that call themselves, "borderhoppers". This is an initiative between Kreis Borken and municipalities in the Achterhoek who work together on a smaller cross-border scale. In collaboration they develop ideas for the hospitality industry as part of the broader economic development in the cross-border area. These initiatives are created as bottom-up initiatives (regional integration), whereas the EUREGIO and INTERREG may have become too bureaucratic and seen as the long arm of the EU.

To conclude. The public sector made policy for tourism development in the past, but now there is a shift to 'degovernmentalize', which is a step further then 'decentralizing' policy making and implementation, which means that policy planning is partly handed over to the private sector.

4.4.2.2. ... And their scope.

Internal and External Audiences

Edwin Kok states that projects often come together when parties make compromises on themes that they find important from their own regional background. If all parties feel that they serve their constituents well and still gain from cross-border collaboration, the project proposal can be drawn. Directors of the regions co-determine the intra-regional approach and set the limits for consensus making in the cross-border partnership in order to serve their own stakeholders and constituents well. RBT's in the Netherlands function as link between the public and private sector and need to serve the interests of both sectors. Bastiaan Overeem from the RBT VisitVeluwe states that they have to help the SME's in their development goals and can only give them advice to do something with the German market. The RBT thus has to serve their constituents. Wendy Weijdemá from the RBT MarketingOost confirms the previous statements by replying that working together as RBT's still remains difficult as regions see the others as competitors for the same German market. The RBT's in the Netherlands are still in the process of adaptation. They are learning to see that collaboration is about win – win. Regions remain thinking that they need to be distinctive from the other regions in order to attract the visitors to their own intra-regional area. But looking at the future the inward perspective has to be converted into an outward perspective in which the euro-region looks at international markets. The scope of the destination unit will then also change from the local or intra-regional level to the extra-regional level. But for now collaboration on that level has just started within the Netherlands. It's very ambitious to think that one can adopt that approach in the cross-border setting, because of cultural differences and organizational differences, Wendy Weijdemá says.

Territoriality

German and Dutch tourism boards approach the territory differently. The Dutch see collaboration as functional delimitations of their working terrain. Overijssel for example works together with Gelderland in a project which is applied for in the euro-region Rijn – Waal. Overijssel does not belong to this euro – region, but is included because collaboration is formed over a common policy domain. Germans on the other hand see the region as 'spatial container for higher tier policy implementation'. This means that Emsland is split in half and only the localities that fall within the EUREGION borders can be included in projects for that euro – region. Wendy Weijdemá says that Emsland and Gelderland are split by the EUREGIO borders. But the two sub-regions in the EUREGIO deal with these technocratic barriers very differently. In the Netherlands the Tourism Boards do not care about the technocratic borders which split them in half, meaning that part of Gelderland belongs to the EUREGIO and another part belongs to the euro region Rijn – Waal. The Gelderse parties see Gelderland as a whole and make use of both euro-region possibilities. Edwin Akkerman from RBT Arnhem-Nijmegen for example says that their region is in the middle of two euro-regions and thus make use of both. He says: *"We work on themes and topics and try to find a budget to finance the development of the theme. If we can't get it at EUREGIO we can try to get it from the euro-region Rijn-Waal. This is how the Dutch organizations function. They need to find budget in the market and can not merely rely on public funding from there region. This is very different from*

Germany.” Wendy Weijdemans confirms this statement by saying that Emsland in Germany adheres strictly to the technocratic euro-region borders and only includes the localities in Emsland who officially belong within the EUREGIO borders. The northern part of Emsland is part of the euro region Ems – Dollard and these localities participate in collaboration with the northern provinces of the Netherlands. Katharina Brinkschmidt continues: *“The EUREGIO houses the administration of INTERREG projects. The partners in the project do not all fall in the institutional boundaries of the EUREGIO, but are part of the INTERREG project. Falling within the institutional boundaries of the EUREGIO is not a requirement under INTERREG. The only requirement is that the projects involve cross-border parties.”*

4.4.3. The cultural identity drive

Michiel Flooren starts by saying that European citizenship is created through cross-border fluxes across the border. Citizens see the other culture and interact with it. It does not mean that the own national identity is lost, but it creates understanding of the cross-border citizen and lowers the barriers to interact, trade, work and live with the neighbours across the border. For the Dutch who are and have been trade people it is beneficial to lower the physical and imaginary borders in order to understand the cross-border neighbours and be able to make better value propositions to them. Creating a shared identity can bind the citizens of the cross-border region significantly. The eighty years war for example is something that binds Germany and the Netherlands historically. In that time the borders were penetrable between The Netherlands and the splintered states in Germany. The Spaniards have done great damage in the Netherlands, but also the cross-border German area was hit hard. This shared memory can bind the two countries. But the first and second world war have created deep scars between the countries, resulting in a border which reminds of war and hate between the two countries. The memory still lives in the oldest generation and is inherited by their children. It has blocked activities between the two countries, but with the eighty years war both countries have a shared trauma which creates brotherhood and binds them. It is therefore needed to look for the historical themes that bind the cross-border regions. It is called the strategic narrative. The stories can be traced back to specific physical places, traditions, museums and the landscape. This cultural heritage can be made consumable and create a destination around a theme which does not reflect current borders. And this shared historical identity can be used to promote the destination towards the international audience – the Chinese, the Americans, the Canadians who come to Europe to find old historical stories in places. It is something that is rapidly disappearing in China with the fast urban expansions where much historical identity is being lost. In the Netherlands the historical picture is still very complete and you can imagine how it would be to live in the Netherlands during the golden age. The Hanze cities and Amsterdam are still full of merchant houses, which mentally take the tourists back a couple of hundred years in history. Adri Ooms states that also in the LIVING Vecht – Dinkel the imaginary region is developed through narratives, through showing and telling about historical events, by placing objects in the coulisse near the river – the so-called ten towers - and by placing some historical ‘zomps’ – the traditional ship that sailed on the Vecht – where tourists can enjoy the scenery of the Vecht and its surroundings. This tourism development takes place primarily on the Dutch side of the border. The last ‘tower’, which is not a real tower, but a natural viewpoint over the river, has two art objects of a man and a woman who are placed on either side of the river, the one in Germany and the other in the Netherlands. In this way the destination unit is brought across the border. The zomps also travel between Germany and the Netherlands in which the two countries both have quay’s for the ships. One is in Laar in Germany and

the other is in Gramsbergen in the Netherlands. Further development of the 'towers' can be developed in Germany all the way to the source of the river. Daniela Koesters, mayor of the sammtgemeinde Emlichheim creates a vivid picture of the project. She says that the zomps are part of excavating a lost identity of the river the Vecht. In the middle ages these sailboats, the so-called zomps, sailed on the Vecht from around Nordhorn, where the river becomes broader, all the way up to Zwolle, where at that time there was a connection with the open sea. Nowadays the IJsselmeer is however shut off from the open sea. In the heydays, which was around 1850, there must have been hundreds of these zomps on the Vecht, which were mainly used to transport Bentheimer Sandstein. This has been seen as quality sandstone, which was preferred by Dutch architects, and was even used for the construction of the palace in the Netherlands. This is why the sandstone is also referred to as 'Bentheimer gold'. One of the cherished memories is the story of the famous ship the Batavia. This was one of the big VOC ships that sailed around the world with the end destination Jakarta. While rounding Australia the ship sunk. When people wanted to salvage the ship they found a Bentheimer Sandstone arch in the ship, which was loaded onto the Batavia and which parts were brought into the Netherlands by these Vechtezomps. This identity of the Vecht, with active sailing as transportation route between Germany and the Netherlands is lost in the memories of the local populations. Almost no one remembers this history of the river. Daniela Koesters continues by saying that there are various smaller projects as well, such as the art project. These smaller tourist projects exist next to the bigger touristic developments along the Vecht, which is great for tourists, but also for the citizens who live in the area. They also become more aware about the identity of their own region and thus of themselves. Adri Ooms says that the river flows across the border, but that there still are significant differences between the German side of the Vecht and the Dutch side. In the Netherlands the Vecht has the logo of the 'anjer', a flower which represents the Vecht. The flower has five petals, which represents the image of the region. Nature and Water, landscape and estates, sustainability and 'neighbourness', culture and history. There are information points about the themes and for the future the German side may also create information points on their side of the Vecht in order to make a complete river story and not just the river from the border to the estuary. The Vecht as 'product', however, isn't strong on the German side. Especially near the source, the river isn't much more than a brook, which is not exiting as tourist destination. Grafschaft Bentheim and Munsterland have other and more attractive localities in their region to develop. The goal for collaboration however is to develop a destination unit which crosses the border and leads to the creation of an imaginary whole for the people who live in the cross-border regions.

Creating of a destination Unit

Edwin Kok says that there is no awareness of the regional names within the EUREGIO across the border. Dutch tourists weren't familiar with the German Kreise regions and German tourists on the other side unfamiliar with the Dutch regions such as Twente or the Achterhoek. It was therefore possible for the RBT's to create a new marketable space on euro regional scale, which in the Netherlands resulted in the name "Das Andere Holland" (The Other Holland) and in Germany "Geheim over de Grens" (Secret across the border). The aim of the names was to specifically emphasize that the Netherlands, internationally better known as 'Holland' had an 'other', more peripheral region, which is also worth to discover. Michael Koesters adds that the EUREGIO by itself is not a destination scale. It is only a bureaucratic destination unit, which is used to get funding for projects. The regions such as Munsterland are somewhat small in cross-border marketing, which lead to the creation of 'Geheim over de Grens' in Germany, which combines several regions in Germany

to create a destination unit on the German side. Bastiaan Overeem says that with creating a single destination unit it is wise to make thematic connections or routes which bind sub regions to each other. The regions that have been tied together in governance than have a single story to tell, which creates the imaginary whole of the region. Bastiaan Overeem however questions whether it is worth the energy to try and tie the cross-border regions to each. He says that there are many obstacles to govern the cross-border area as a whole. Bastiaan Overeem adds that destinations need to have a propositions which are unique from what is available on the other side of the border. Germans who cross the border for a visit in the Netherlands look for something else than what they have at home. That's a matter of supply and demand. Lioba Galliet on the other hand says that the focus for Munsterland for example is on the development of cycling routes in the German border regions. In order to increase the fluxes across the border it is necessary to link the Dutch and German route system and route signing to each other. The main tourist market for Munsterland is the Ruhr area which is also an increasingly important market for the Netherlands. Jan van Oene says that German tourists are attracted by keeping it simple. The German customer wants rest, space, cycling, hiking, good quality of tourist provisions and no unnecessary difficulties. These are the qualities that fit with the east of the Netherlands. On the other hand do Germans love water. It is a reason for travel. Most Germans therefore pass the east of the Netherlands and go directly to the coastal regions, which means that the east of the Netherlands needs to create proper quality tourist attractions.

Stimulation of cross-border fluxes: The creation of an imaginary region

Michiel Flooren makes the link between natural object and the identity it gives the region. He says that it is easy to work around functional themes such as road infrastructural development or collaborate around tackling problems in the water systems together. Those are functional themes which benefit both sides of the border. It is more difficult to collaborate around sensitive historical themes such as wars. Adri Ooms adds that the functional themes are used in the cross-border strategy. Bastiaan Overeem and Wendy Weijdema also talked about lines which can be drawn to connect regions to each other, but mainly referred to connections within the national boundaries. Adri Ooms continues by saying that tourism development around various cross-border rivers and brooks can connect private enterprises along such lines. Functional natural objects which bind the two nations are thus integrated in the cross-border approach of the Netherlands and also integrates the private sector in the 'Das Andere Holland' or east-Netherlands strategy. Bjorn de Voer says that the border isn't the border as it was before. It is open and you can travel across easily, which is good for both sides. *"Within an hour or half an hour you are across the border and you can go shopping in a cross-border town. In the border town and cities such as Winterswijk and Enschede you can see the hordes of Germans who are shopping there."* Michiel Flooren adds: *"In Enschede the Saturday market attracts more than 1000 day visitors, because the Germans have the feeling that what they can buy in the Netherlands is slightly different from what they can buy in Germany, for example fish. But this also works the other way around. Dutch like to go to Germany to do groceries at the Aldi, because of price differences, especially on liquors. When they go, they often fill their tanks at the gas station, because the prices of gas are lower in Germany."* These kind of complementary 'goods' create cross-border fluxes. Universities and colleges across the border also attract cross-border students. Dutch students go to German colleges or Universities and Germans go to the Netherlands. The increasing number of students have effects on the provision of study material and teaching. Saxion Deventer for example first started to give Dutch language courses to German students, but as their annual number grew to 50 – 70 students, the University of Applied Sciences created an English stream, which also

opened up opportunities for other foreign students to come and study in Deventer. Also for citizens there are a lot of cross-border opportunities in these border regions. Many Dutch people live across the border because of the cheaper houses and the advantageous taxes on automobiles. But often these Dutch people live together in 'enclaves' and do not really mingle well with the German citizens in the cross-border towns, such as in Uelsen or Gronau. Michiel Flooren continues by saying that work, trade, knowledge and residence are all items which create cross-border fluxes, while maintaining the own identity as Dutch or German citizen, but both are also part of the single European identity. That is what INTERREG is about. It is about creating European citizenship. Katja Lampe says that the route structures that cross the border between Emsland and Drenthe have been adjusted in such a way that they fit together. Tourists in for example the Bourtanger – Moor nature reserve can walk across the border without being aware of it and just enjoy the nature reserve as a single destination unit, in which the border does not operate/function as physical or mental barriers anymore. Michael Koesters says that the cycling route system in Munsterland is different from the route system across the border in the Netherlands. But since Dutch routes have been connected with German routes, Munsterland wants to use the Dutch cycling route system. Bjorn de Voer confirms this by saying that cycling routes go across the border, but adds that the quality of routes in Germany aren't as good as they are in the Netherlands. And also the route system is different in Germany. That keeps tourists from crossing the border from the Netherlands into Germany, because they want quality roads and road signing. The same applies for the hiking network. There is no overarching system, but it is in development. Another barrier for fluxes across the border is language. Katja Lampe says that the menu's in restaurants or websites for overstays are often not translated into German or Dutch, which prevent tourists from crossing the border. Adri Ooms adds that if Dutch tourist providers have German menu's, German newspapers and a receptionist for example who can help customers either at the desk or the telephone in their own language, this stimulates Germans to come across the border. Katharina Brinkschmidt says that the Dutch aren't very good in the German language anymore. This was better in the past. The whole society became more focused on English. This means that there is higher priority to translate German websites and information into Dutch. On the other hand, where the Dutch become better in English, so does the younger generation in Germany.

4.4.4. The Geographical drive

In order to get an understanding of the position the various regions have in the cross-border collaboration it is needed to sketch the geography briefly. There is a total of nine collaborating partners and their geographic regions are statutorily different. In Germany, four 'LandKreise' collaborate in the GTI partnership. They all have their own RBT's. The LandKreise are Osnabruckerland, Munsterland, Grafschaft Bentheim and a part of Emsland. Emsland is however divided between the northern and southern part, which officially belongs to two separate euro-regions. The southern part belongs to the EUREGIO and the northern part, which includes the capital city of the LandKreis belongs to the euro-region Ems-Dollard. The LandKreise Munsterland and Grafschaft Bentheim are close to the border with Dutch EUREGIO counterparts. There are no big cities in Grafschaft Bentheim. There is little industry and the area is mainly rural. Therefore tourism is an important sector which can contribute to employment. Because the whole region is close to the Dutch border, it has much interest in close collaboration with the Netherlands. The main tourist attraction is Bad Bentheim for the region. It has 500.000 overstays on the total of 750.000 overstays per year. Emsland also borders with the Netherlands, but functional collaboration around for

example a cross-border nature reserve is done in the northern euro-region. Osnabruckerland does not share borders with the Netherlands, but is included in the cross-border campaign. In the Netherlands there are two provinces in which the organizational landscape is built up differently. Gelderland has four RBT's and Overijssel only one. Overijssel however does have smaller regional bureaus, but they are not included in the development of structural cross-border plans and are not included as partners in the GTI project. Vechtdal marketing as region in Overijssel however is partner in the LIVING Vecht-Dinkel development. Gelderland in the first place has the Achterhoek, Rivierenland, the Veluwe and Arnhem-Nijmegen. The Achterhoek neighbours for a big part with German municipalities in the LandKreis Munsterland. Arnhem-Nijmegen also borders with Germany and is official partner in the EUREGIO, but mainly borders German LandKreise who are part of the euro-region Rijn-Waal. Rivierenland and the Veluwe do not have direct regional borders with Germany, but are included in the cross-border campaign. Rivierenland has no big cities, such as Arnhem or Nijmegen. They have a strong brand with the 'Betuwe'. This area is known for its fruit and agriculture and is therefore strongly linked to tourism in the area. But Rivierenland is in close proximity to Nijmegen and Arnhem and can profit from visitors in these cities as they make daytrips to Rivierenland area. Arnhem-Nijmegen is an agglomeration with many work visitors who primarily stay in hotels. This is different from the overnights in the Veluwe, where most overnights are spent in campings and bungalows. Overijssel also is divided in different sub-regions, of which Twente and the Vechtdal have direct borders with Grafschaft Bentheim and Munsterland. IJsseldelta, Weerribben Wieden and Salland are the regions without direct borders with Germany.

Achterhoek and Twente: These areas are close to the border and the EUREGIO collaboration on the Dutch side first only included these two regions. The Dutch EUREGIO side has widened with the shift of policy focus from infrastructure development towards marketing development.

Periphery: Link between Geography and Economy

Edwin Kok says that the EUREGIO is a peripheral area. Population numbers are dwindling and there is aging. Michiel Flooren adds that the border area indeed has demographic decline. It was believed that the regions without cities suffered from the demographic decline and that the cities did not have this problem, but according to Michiel Flooren, recent studies have shown that even in the cities in the border area there is demographic decline. Tourism development can help to create cross-border job opportunities. Tourism in that way can stimulate employment fluxes across the border and create an imaginary whole of the region. An example of the cross-border fluxes in the EUREGIO is the unemployment on the Dutch side of the border and the demand of employees in the technical sector on the German side of the border. If better connections are made between the cross-border regions, problems can be solved together. Tourism can play a role in stimulating foreign traffic across the border, because entrepreneurs work together and receive each other on the terrace. This is where cultural and language barriers can be bridged on a relaxed level. Edwin Kok continues and confirms that tourism is one of the important sectors to stimulate regional development next to the sectors healthcare and public services. In the past, the border region acted only as transit route and was not marketed as tourism destination itself. The only funds for development, before the European Union started to subsidize projects, came from the provinces of Overijssel and Gelderland. Edwin Kok says that the EUREGIO, however, is a unique destination, which breathes peace and quietness, as opposite from the busy west of the Netherlands. The area is still fairly untouched in terms of tourism density, but it has beautiful cycling and hiking possibilities.

Bastiaan Overeem says that the Veluwe for example has a unique and exciting geography. He says: *“Within five to ten kilometres you can cycle from a riverbed into a dense forest, while in the meantime you have been going through a valley.”* He continues by saying that in order to keep the area calm and quiet, tourism development needs to obey the Natura2000 guidelines. This restricts more visitors to come into the Veluwe.

5. Results II - Governance

5.1. Introduction

This chapter describes governance. The first part of the chapter describes the types of collaborations that take place in the cross-border context, which is found in chapter 5.2. Chapter 5.2.1. handles the links between the public and the private sector and chapter 5.2.2. describes the developments the private sector makes in the cross-border context. Chapter 5.3 continues with the conditions for collaborations in which chapter 5.3.1 to 5.3.4. deal with the contextual condition for cooperation, the stakeholder condition, the consensual decision making condition and finally the partnership operation condition. In these conditions the case study presents result about the interests, power balances, visions and interfaces between the collaborating partners.

5.2. The four focal types of cooperation

Edwin Kok starts by saying that Lead- and project partners in many occasions are large institutions or local governments, such as municipalities, chambers of commerce, universities or colleges, because the trajectory for proposing a project is often too difficult and time consuming for SME's and commercial enterprises. About 80% of all project proposals come from that side. The whole region must profit from the project implementation and that requires 'higher tier' politics. Private enterprises may attract the money only for their own development and not for the development of the region as a whole. Michiel Flooren says that the public sector with the Provinces, municipalities and INTERREG have a long-term vision and strategize their regionalization goals for the coming ten years, while entrepreneurs have a short term vision and want to make profits as soon as possible. Adri Ooms however says that the current trend in the Netherlands is that the private sector is taking more responsibility in governance and implementation of tourism projects. If this is not the case in Germany it may be difficult to collaborate. If the private sector in the Netherlands has to collaborate with the public sector in Germany it may be very difficult. Private sector parties need same level parties on the other side of the border to cooperate with. In that sense the LIVING Vecht – Dinkel as project is also an exploration which has potential. The current objective is to stimulate information sharing between entrepreneurs across the border. German entrepreneurs are invited to get acquainted with the Dutch entrepreneurs and vice versa.

5.2.1. Public-Private link

The Netherlands: The growing number of tourists in the Netherlands require policy makers to work together, but the implementation is in hands of the private sector Michael ten Holde says. They will need to find each other and cooperate based on themes such as 'castles and country houses'. Based on these themes, a link is made between entrepreneurs from accommodations to tourist attractions with transportation. Michiel Flooren says that regional clusters in the tourism sector is under development at the moment in which information sharing is an important component. See also

under *chapter 4.4.2. 'Political Leadership'*. In the agro-sector the clusters have been developed well. In the 1950's the phenomenon was that farmers looked at each other, but did not talk to each other, which still often is the case in the tourism sector. The agro-sector has developed significantly in information sharing, where Wageningen University for example takes a lead in the development and research of agro-technologies and inform farmers accordingly and is supported structurally by the public sector. This is new in the tourism industry, where managers of campgrounds often work on their own without sharing information with others. Together they can solve problems or share information about the customer journey. These are examples in which cross-overs between sectors can stimulate tourist spending and stimulate regional development among various sectors. Jan van Oene says that the regional cluster in Overijssel, GastvrijOverijssel, has the ownership over policy making and implementation, which means that governance has mainly fallen into the hands of the private sector. The public sector has the role to facilitate this governance process and makes paperwork ready for public funding of the programme. Michiel Flooren says that regional clusters can be used to solve cross-border problems on the grassroots level. Micheal ten Holde says: *"It is the role of us as province to regulate tourism well in order not to get an overload of tourists and spread tourists well over the province, and there you want to stimulate entrepreneurs to find each other in specific projects"*. Bastiaan Overeem from RBT VisitVeluwe says that the public sector expects that projects will be taken over by the private sector when the project period is over, but this is not a durable solution. The public sector needs to facilitate salaries for the people who facilitate SME's in creating a viable network, which needs time to function on its own. The public sector keeps the responsibility for the basic infrastructure. But since the INTERREG system functions with shorter time periods, the RBT already informs their constituents that after the project period is over, courses, trainings, translations of menu's and so forth need to be financed by themselves. The goal of the project partners, the RBT's, is to create awareness under their own clienteles that investments in adapting to the cross-border market will be beneficial. Cis van Beers says that the RBT's facilitate between the different ambitions of the province, the diverse municipalities and the private sector. They need to develop tourism projects financed by all parties in which compromises have been reached between all internal parties on the sub-regional level.

Germany: Michiel Flooren however says that in Germany the regional problem solving and policy making is still firmly in the hands of the public sector, while the private sector in Germany is involved minimal in regional development policy making. Daniela Koesters however says that it is their wish to include the private sector more in co-financing of projects. At the moment the link between tourism development and the private sector is missing, which means that the link between the public and private sector is missing. Katharina Brinkschmidt says that the RBT's in Germany want to have a provision for bookings, which means that Dutch tourists have to book accommodations through the RBT's. In the Netherlands the bookings are made directly at the accommodation. But this model where bureaus gain money through provisions is old. *"The Dutch are ahead of us and I think Germany will eventually also move away from the provisions model."* The younger generation can easily access and find accommodations with the help of internet. Digitalization is the catalyst of a changing system, but the change won't be made very soon. The older generation of 50 plus still use travel bureaus and hesitate to look accommodations up themselves, but the shift is slowly taking place.

5.2.2. The Private sector

The Netherlands: Jan van Oene says that the SME's are becoming more aware that the cross-border market is important and that the German market is growing. *"Until four or five years ago it was like*

shouting into the desert if you talked about the awareness of SME's for the German market." Now the SME's are starting to realize the potential of the German market and become active to focus their attention on this market. Erwin Akkerman confirms that SME's are indeed becoming aware that they need to invest in innovation and adapt their business for the German tourists. But this is something that is slowly being adopted now. Erwin Akkerman says that in the region Arnhem-Nijmegen about 40-45% of the HORECA businesses have started to use the innovation trainings and for campings and bungalow parks the percentage is about 30%. A total of 6000 courses have been followed by 1700 entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurs start to see that the Germans are coming and are coming back continuously. Germans are loyal customers. The figures also verify the growth of the German market in the Netherlands. There were 24% more overnights from Germans between 2015 and 2016. In 2017 that growth in relation to 2016 was even 43%. These numbers correspond to the growth numbers in Overijssel. 57% of all foreign tourists in the Netherlands in 2017 were Germans. These numbers signify the importance of the German market for tourism development in the Netherlands. Michiel Flooren however says that entrepreneurs in the tourism sector do not have the traditional educational background. Many enterprises have been developed as a 'mom-dad' enterprise with some land and money that has perhaps been inherited or a farm that has been changed into a campground. Some entrepreneurs did great and others did not. This is quite similar to the agricultural sector in recent Dutch history. *"Some farmers were good businessman and others were good in keeping animals"*, Michiel Flooren says. They managed their enterprise based on tacit knowledge. Bastiaan Overeem confirms this picture of the current Dutch private SME's. He says that the first entrepreneurs in the Veluwe were farmers who transformed their stables or henhouses into something that would be suitable for tourists, but the standards and quality was low. The younger generation often has higher education than their parents and it is easier to take them along towards the international market which has higher qualitative demands. The Veluwe slowly transforms into an area that offers high quality accommodation. On the other hand Bastiaan Overeem is surprised that even some of the most profound tourism attractors like Paleis het Loo still are at the very beginning of adapting to the German tourist. Jan van Oene says that a shift needed to take place. Cross-border customers have become more critical. Where farmers in the past built some gypsum walls and gave a key to the visitor saying "see you around", the customers now want a quality stay, where complete interior designs need to match the expectations of the customers. Customers also want more attention. The farmer needs to be a host and the customer needs to feel the hospitality in the accommodation. Jan van Oene continues by saying that the quality of accommodations have increased significantly over the past 15 years. Big campsites and smaller bed and breakfasts have all invested much to increase the quality of their accommodations. The increased quality of 'products' can be taken into the marketing campaigns, which broadens the availability of accommodations that are customized for the needs of the cross-border market. Bastiaan Overeem agrees that the east of the Netherlands has been making serious progress, but he adds that still a lot of awareness needs to be created under the entrepreneurs. Michiel Flooren says that for entrepreneurs to be able to understand why tourists come or do not come to their campsites, data is needed about the customer. Research is done to get to know the customer, which is referred to as the customer journey.

Germany: Katja Lampe says that in Emsland there are only nine private enterprises who collaborate in cross-border cooperations under the RBT Emsland. These entrepreneurs do not see the need to invest in cross-border marketing as they have enough customers from their internal German market.

German entrepreneurs seem to be less open for networking and learning in comparison to their Dutch counterparts. They have a different mentality towards opening up their minds for cultural exchange. German entrepreneurs are more stiff and traditional, while the Dutch are more innovative she says. Germans can learn a lot about the innovative business ideas put forward by the Dutch, especially the SME's in for example workshops and network meetings. Sonja Scherder says that German entrepreneurs aren't used to pay co-financing in projects. This means that it is difficult to let them participate in the GTI programme. The RBT of Graftschaft Bentheim does not see many SME's who are willing to contribute their own money to adapt towards the Dutch tourist. They expect that the RBT provides services such as information and innovation courses and such for free. The RBT acknowledges that indeed the Dutch standards of online booking and marketing is ahead of that in Germany. Sonja Scherder continues with saying that entrepreneurs in Graftschaft Bentheim increasingly have shown interest in the Dutch market. The RBT gets more questions about the Dutch market from the entrepreneurs, but it is still difficult to motivate the entrepreneurs to make investments to adapt to the Dutch tourists. Bjorn de Voer says that the need to adjust or adapt to the Dutch visitor is much less for German entrepreneurs than vice versa. The Germans don't read Dutch and English often is a problem too. *"So, if the Dutch entrepreneurs don't adjust to the German visitor, they won't come. If you look at the Dutch visitor in Germany it is different. The Dutch visitor will read the German website or English. It won't stop the Dutch visitor from going to the German entrepreneur. In that sense the need for the German entrepreneur to adjust to the Dutch visitor is much less needed. So, why would they invest?"* Dutch entrepreneurs have much more to gain when they translate menu's or have someone at the reception who can answer the telephone in German. Bjorn de Voer continues with saying that the cultural differences between Dutch and German entrepreneurs are big. The Germans want a firm basis before they would dare to invest their money in a new project, while Dutch entrepreneurs take more risks. Germans also work in a more hierarchical way. *"The gap between the mayor and the normal citizen is big and in the Netherlands the mayor is in the community and everyone can make an appointment with the mayor."* In that sense German entrepreneurs are waiting for the public sector or the German RBT to take the incentive before doing something in regional or interregional projects.

5.3. Cross-border Governance in GTI and LIVING Vecht – Dinkel

5.3.1. Contextual condition

Edwin Kok says that partnerships are all about people and relations. Everyone needs to have something to gain from the collaboration and the gains aren't always equally distributed. One region can take more profit than the other and regions need to be able to cope with the imbalances. Michael Koesters says that the collaboration started in 2002. In the beginning the four German RBT's worked from their own perspective, but now the boards work together in the cross-border partnership, because they understand that it is much more efficient to do marketing together. The Dutch tourists do not see the differences between the different regions. Michael Koesters therefore says: *"Why not make marketing campaigns together"*. Bastiaan Overeem says that the exchange of knowledge between German and Dutch partners is beneficial. He uses the example of the city marketing cluster which can be used to learn how cross-border tourists value tourist provision aspects in the city. Sonja Scherder agrees by saying that collaboration with Dutch partners is good because of information sharing. Cis van Beers adds that it is good to bundle the powers of the different regions. He says that if everyone does the same thing for their own region, the efficacy is

low. When you work together it will eventually bring in money. Cis van Beers continues by saying: *"We profit from visitors in the cities in our close proximity, Arnhem and Nijmegen. If RBT Arnhem Nijmegen attracts visitors to their area, they may flow into our area."* Bjorn de Voer says that it is easier to make promotions on the German market when working together. Localities don't have the capacity and financial instruments to do it alone. As sub-region there are more possibilities to promote the Achterhoek as region when working with other regional partners. It is beneficial to reach the wider European market. Partners however can have long discussions about the amount of photos they have in the marketing campaign for example. It shows that the basis for collaboration is wrong. The partners aren't collaborating because of a mutual need to collaborate, but because they want to have EU funding. On the other hand cross-border cooperation is appreciated well in spite of its barriers. It does have added value for the SME's the RBT's serve. So, it is all about determination and commitment. Edwin Kok says that sometimes Dutch partners make an effort to present something in German and that is highly appreciated by the German parties.

5.3.2. The Stakeholder condition

5.3.2.1. Balance of power

Edwin Kok starts by saying that as the organizational landscape in the Netherlands changed significantly over the last six years, there has been a high circulation of participating faces in the cross-border collaboration on the Dutch side. This is frustrating for the German parties who have been stable ever since the start of the collaboration. Wendy Weijdema says: *"I doubt whether the German parties have been informed properly about the organizational changes in Overijssel, because Overijssel is now centrally organized in Zwolle."* Katharina Brinkschmidt confirms this by saying: *"I have never understood why the GOBT was closed on the Dutch side"*. This is a statement of someone who worked at the EUREGIO at the time. Wendy Weijdema continues by saying that there is strong sympathy with Twente in which it is argued that Twente needs a representative in the board, which is not the interest of the Province of Overijssel. It is difficult when the organizational structure is being portrayed differently towards the opposite border partners than actually is the case. Jan van Oene says that when the GOBT ceased to exist in 2012 the INTERREG programme needed to continue without one of the collaborating parties. The EUREGIO therefore offered to take up the responsibilities of the GOBT. This was meant as temporary solution, but the EUREGIO continued in the next EUREGIO period to take on these extra tasks. Katharina Brinkschmidt says that through mediation between cross-border partners some tasks are created and it is easy to directly work on these tasks in the EUREGIO office with EUREGIO employees who know the Dutch and German language and markets. The cross-border partners often have less knowledge. The situation however is not ideal, Jan van Oene continues. He says that the regular RBT's should be given the lead in the collaboration and EUREGIO should withdraw implementation tasks and focus on their task to facilitate the RBT's on their compliance with European rules. The current situation is also very confusing for the private sector. One day the RBT informs the entrepreneur about their programme and the other day the EUREGIO informs the same entrepreneur about the cross-border programme. This role should be in the hands of the RBTs. At the moment the situation is strange, Jan van Oene says. The EUREGIO, which is an association of collaborating municipalities, is implementing a tourism programme. It does not fit in with the current trend of handing over implementing responsibilities to the private sector. Adri Ooms adds that the organizational landscape in the Netherlands has taken form and is structural now. *"We should not wait too long with making a transition where the power comes back into the hands of the collaborating parties and where EUREGIO retreats. If the workgroup*

at the EUREGIO takes on all kinds of activities the cross-border parties stand back and don't see the urgency to seek cross-border relations themselves."

Jan van Oene says that if you know what the contours of the European framework are, it is possible to develop actions to give substance to the programme. There are complaints in which it is said that The EUREGIO is very bureaucratic and there is little transparency in the aspirations the EUREGIO has for the regionalization of the area. The EUREGIO has been highly institutionalized because of European money. Wendy Weijdemá says that she would like the RBT's to work on market-driven problems. The focus of the INTERREG programmes thus change and the RBT's have to move along with the evolution of these programmes. Katja Lampe from the RBT Emsland says that the EUREGIO is a strong institution through which cross-border parties are able to work together with European funding. *"Much can be realized through the INTERREG projects. The GTI project thus is a great cooperation in which the EUREGIO helps to market the two marketing campaigns 'Das Andere Holland' and 'Geheim over de Grens'."* However, there is less funds available for marketing in the current INTERREG programme, which means a decline in tourism development funding. The scope of this INTERREG period is to develop Innovation and Networking for SME's in the cross-border region. That is now the main emphasis of the EU. Wendy Weijdemá says that the emotions are often fund-driven and most of the RBT's are willing to change the objectives slightly in order to get hold of the money. For example, the aim of MarketingOost could have been to keep the focus on the development of route structures, but the new INTERREG programme only allows innovation for SME's. Wendy Weijdemá says that MarketingOost might say *"all right.. That's a good idea, but it doesn't necessarily mean that it was part of the initial plan."* Adri Ooms says that the current problem with EUREGIO is that projects are seen as separate arrangements and not as instrument which can be used in a structural programme. Cross-border parties are always attracted by the EU subsidies, but if the rules are too constraining for the structural east-Netherlands approach, INTERREG may not be the way to go. Michiel Flooren, expert at Saxion says that the former project period under INTERREG IV, which ran from 2008 to 2015, was focused primarily on marketing, but marketing does not really belong in the strategic regional development of the EUREGIO. He says that there is a strong focus on marketing at the EUREGIO, because there is expertise in the board on that terrain. The EUREGIO has many connections in the tourism industry, so it is normal that the focus is on marketing. But there is little focus on the strategic points. There are marketing organizations who can deal with marketing much better than the EUREGIO. The current focus of the INTERREG programme is on Knowledge and Innovation. That is a good choice he says, *"although it is a pity that the budget for tourism in this programme period is lower."* Michiel Flooren further advises to create cross-border activities and find the operational and tactical parties to join these activities and inform them about the customer journey. What are their wishes, interests are and which aspects do they value negative? That should be the basis for regional integration as bottom up approach.

5.3.2.2. Regional interests and power

Gelderland

Veluwe: Bastiaan Overeem says that in the partnership the Veluwe has the highest density of tourist attractions. The Veluwe has the highest density of castles and landhouses in the Netherlands, there are national parks and Hanzesteden at the borders of our region.

Rivierenland: Cis van Beers replies that Rivierenland in the first place focus their attention on their own area and work together with the other RBT's in Gelderland to do cross-border promotions. But Rivierenland is suspicious of the results for their own region. Therefore they focus their main attention on developing instruments to collect numbers and figures to know how much they profit from the GTI campaign themselves. There are some documents with quantitative facts about foreign tourists in the Netherlands, but Cis van Beers does not completely trust the outcomes of these documents, which he refers to as *"nattevinger werk"*, since measuring instruments are absent for a big part. So, how do you establish these numbers? And he says: *"Is the increase of the Germans in our province the result of what we have done in our campaign or is the increase part of a natural trend and would the Germans also come without doing any campaigns?"* Cis van Beers says that Rivierenland wants to give continuation to the GTI project and see a future for the cross-border programme in the EUREGIO, but the focus should be less on marketing and more on knowledge and information. Our RBT's stand on four pillars. Marketing is only one of them and is the last pillar. Before you work on marketing, you want to know who the tourist is. You want to understand what the customer journey looks like in order to develop the right tourism attractions for the visitors you attract. And you can only know what the customer journey looks like when you measure where they go, what they do and how they spend their money, when you have the measuring instruments in place to get an understanding of the visitor journey. The last step is to promote a qualitative and unforgettable stay to the German visitor.

Achterhoek: Bjorn de Voer says that they want to know more about the visitor journey for which they need quantitative data about their visitors. Achterhoek also shares the opinion that current research lacks complete insight. They can only say something about visitor numbers and economic spin-off in general, but do not give much insight in the customer journey. Visitor numbers and economic spin-off also do not say anything about the relation between the promotion campaign and its effects. Global trends, such as terrorism and the national economic trends can also have huge effects in tourism.

Arnhem-Nijmegen: Erwin Akkerman says that RBT Arnhem-Nijmegen is the largest RBT of the four in Gelderland. *"We have fourty people employed at RBT-KAN, while Achterhoek has eight employees and Rivierenland only four. This means that many of the coordinating tasks came in our hands and that we are the main partner in the GTI collaboration. We than play it forward to the RBT's in the Achterhoek and Rivierenland."* He continues with saying that the involvement of Rivierenland is very low, because of the distance. He further adds that RBT Arnhem-Nijmegen is the first talking partner of the province. *"A delegate from the province is here almost on a weekly basis."* Michael ten Holde confirms when he said: *"The RBT's are the main actors for promotion campaigns across the border and are the ones who have the cross-border contacts, did you speak to someone from the RBT's? Well, I mean RBT-Arnhem Nijmegen?"*. Erwin Akkerman continues by saying that RBT Arnhem-Nijmegen tries to involve the other RBT's as well, but he says that the province view their RBT as their first talking partner. RBT Arnhem Nijmegen works fast and if something needs to be done you can put a team together who works on the product development and it is fixed quickly. The other organizations may not have time to work on the same product developments. *"It does sometimes create some frustration, but that is part of how it is."*

Germany

Sonja Scherder says that the amount of SME's that participate in the collaboration varies much from region to region in Germany. Graftschaft Bentheim for example does not have many SME's who actively participate in the GTI cross-border programme compared to for example Munsterland. This means that the interest of Graftschaft Bentheim to focus on innovation is low. They do not have many SME's to support with the EU funds. Graftschaft Bentheim rather receives more money to invest in further marketing. SME's in Graftschaft Bentheim simply do not want to invest their own money, which is obligatory in the cross-border programme. They are used to a government who provides the services for them without paying. Michael Koesters says that Munsterland is bigger than all three other regions combined in the partnership and it is therefore normal that SME's in Munsterland see the need to invest in cross-border marketing. In the other regions it is hard to convince the SME's when for example Graftschaft Bentheim only has five entrepreneurs in the programme, he says. *"Every region pays for their size and we thus pay most money in the programme and we also help other regions because of our bigger investments."* Sonja Scherder however says that the German partners know each other very well and have been in the cross-border programme together from the beginning. They see each other as equal partners in the cross-border programme.

The Netherlands

Wendy Weijdemma states that partners in the Netherlands have the perception that they are ahead of Germans in (online) Marketing and research.

5.3.3. Consensual decision making

5.3.3.1. Relations and networking

Whereas the Germans are frustrated by the instable organization in the Netherlands, the Dutch players are frustrated by the Germans and the lack of participation by the private sector in tourism development. Katja Lampe says that it is hard to constantly keep repeating the message of what the collaboration is all about, because the partners are changing rapidly on the Dutch side and often there are new people in the collaboration which need to hear the whole story again. Sonja Scherder adds that it is more difficult to work together with the Dutch because of the organizational differences and the constant change of partners in the Netherlands who you cooperate with. Michael Koesters however says that German organizations also sometimes have struggles to align their own ideas. *"Together with the Dutch organizations we are with 8 or 9 partners, which obviously makes it more difficult to reach consensus than when we work alone."*

Edwin Kok says that in general the Dutch are more focused on relationships, which has its roots in the trade history of our nation. The Dutch are more flexible with rules as well. Germans on the other hand want rules and obey rules more because of their industrial history. It's called 'Grundlichkeit'. It can be seen in the organizational practice and work mentality that Germans want to be very precise and work with high qualitative standards, whereas the Dutch people work on relations and innovation, in which quality is inferior to experimentation and innovation. Germans take more time to make a fixed decision, but when the decision is made, it is 'Grundlich' - thorough. The Dutch on the other hand make quick or informal decisions which they might change in a later stadium when they gather more insights. Germans can be frustrated (*"get nervous"*) by this continuous remoulding in the decision making process. Edwin Kok continues by saying that Germans like to keep their work

and private life as two separate components, whereas the Dutch openly invite work relations into their houses and mix work and private life. This also means that it is easier for Dutch people to make work relations. Sonja Scherder however says that Dutch need more time to get acquainted, whereas Germans get to work more quickly and have more stable relations. Germans tend to work in hierarchical working relations. They don't make decisions without having permission from their boss. Their *communications* are more formal. They for example tend to use 'thee or 'thou' when speaking with another work relation while the Dutch are more informal and use 'you'. The Dutch don't wait for permission or approval from their bosses, but make decisions in the field of their authority and discuss things with their boss. The organizational hierarchy is more horizontal. Lioba Galliet says that if you want to do something or decide something in Germany you must first ask if you're allowed to. Katharina Brinkschmidt adds: *"When I worked at the EUREGIO it was very interesting to see. The Germans arrived at work around 08:15 and directly went to their offices to work, while the Dutch arrived, went to the kitchen and first drank a cup of coffee, while talking about their weekend."* Wendy Weijdemans says that the Dutch communicate things differently to each other than the Germans do. In meetings with Dutch parties the Germans are very formal and neat, but when they are together alone, they can clash heavily. Edwin Kok says that in the cross-border setting the cultural differences can be a barrier. An example he uses is when the Germans and the Dutch have representatives for an opening of an event, the Germans see it as a lack of respect when the Dutch send a 'lower' representative than they do. The Dutch don't care about it much and look at time availability of their employees. They look at work efficiency, while the Germans here are tight on formality, Edwin Kok says. Erwin Akkerman says that *"there is not only a border that divides our Tourism Boards in the cross-border collaboration. It's a whole ravine. The Germans have another culture, another organizational structure, the people are different, their roles are different. It's a different world."* Lioba Galliet uses two words describe the difference between the Dutch and Germans. She says that the Dutch are process oriented and the Germans are goal oriented. Lioba Galliet and Katharina Brinkschmidt sketch an interesting train of thought. *"The Dutch are in the moment and creative with ideas while the Germans on the other end of the table think, well.. what is the purpose and what are the possibilities and what will we have at the end? The Dutch on the other hand think, oh, it will be all right... while the Germans see the problem. The Germans think point one, point two.. and everything has to be well organized and the Dutch on the contrary think that it's just a process and next time we'll see and maybe have other thoughts."* Lioba Galliet says that in order to facilitate these cultural differences in the collaboration between Dutch and Germans it is important to find common ground. *"Make time to talk about ideas, but also comfort the Germans by making the step to look at the results it will bring and if the ideas are plausible."* Katharina Brinkschmidt says that although language and culture are obstacles in collaboration, it also creates chances. The Dutch for example are more creative and the Germans well organized. Both can learn from each other. She adds that it is very important that cross-border partners are open to each other and that they want to understand the perspective of the cross-border partner even though it may take time. Adri Ooms says that on the German side there are some people who understand Dutch and on the Dutch side the German language is often understood. He says that it is unique in the Vechtdal area, which makes the collaboration around the LIVING Vecht – Dinkel project easier. In most cross-border regions between the Netherlands and Germany this is not the case. Daniela Koesters, who is involved in the LIVING Vecht Dinkel project replies to this from her German perspective and says that for future cooperation it is important that the different parties regularly come together and meet each other. It is also very important to have steering groups and workgroups who meet each other on a

regular basis and talk about content. *“It does not help to have meetings where there is a bunch of chit-chat. We need to make concrete goals.”* It is therefore needed to have an administrative body who sets the agenda, informs the partners well about the agenda and that partners come to the meetings. Katharina Brinkschmidt confirms that the Germans want an agenda.

5.3.3.2. Facilitation

GTI

Edwin Kok says that the EUREGIO steering group facilitates the cross-border partners and assist them with tasks. In the first place the steering group helps to make research information available by providing brochures with quantitative data about visitors. Secondly the steering group provides courses such as online courses, workshops and invite expert speakers to share information. The steering group further stimulates exchange of experiences between SME's. The board tries to make links between entrepreneurs who have cross-border experience and those who are new to the cross-border formula. The board also supports in marketing activities. Hereby the steering group focuses their attention especially on decreasing anxiety towards the cross-border market and lowering the cultural barrier. The steering group also assists stakeholders in networking across the border. The industrial Heritage club for example wanted to create a cross-border network and the EUREGIO tries to involve more parties in collaboration. In order to create good relations the steering group also assists in establishing good communications. They try to create mutual understanding of the cultural differences between the Dutch and German parties. Communication malfunction however may cause difficulties in the relations. The steering group has a very important role to play in creating understanding and endurance when dealing with differences in organizational structures. The Dutch need to understand and respect that the German RBT's are closely linked to public sector, while the Germans need to be patient with the changing structures in the Netherlands. Wendy Weijdema however says that there is a language barrier. She says that the EUREGIO steering group does not help to overcome the language barrier. *“There is no translator or translation box. German partners sit on one side of the table and Dutch on the other side. There is no mixture. This causes Dutch and German partners to have inside discussions in their own language on their own side of the table. There are no rules for example to use one universal language. So.. this frustrates the communications.”* Edwin Kok continues by saying that partners have to meet each other regularly to align their strategy, scope and aims. The cultural barriers are being lowered where cross-border parties create cross-border relations. A very good example is the Dutch – German football team. When collaborating parties for example talk about sports the *conversation gets more easy and open*, which is good for the relations. In the past the RBT's were looking at how many photo's they had in the marketing campaign for example. If the one had more photo's than the other they would be dissatisfied. Only by building the relations and gaining trust in the common strategic approach parties started not to begrudge other regions when they were slightly more in the picture than themselves.

Cis van Beers says that there are many RBT's which are organized differently. Edwin Kok explains the interests of the Dutch partners towards the German partners in order to keep it simple for the German cross-border partners. Wendy Weijdema however doubts whether this is done properly. See also *chapter 5.3.2.1. Balance of power*.

LIVING Vecht - Dinkel

Adri Ooms says that in the LIVING Vecht – Dinkel there is a steering group and various workgroups. The people who sit together in the tourism workgroup decided to meet each other frequently in order to build the relation and together have the feeling that the Vecht is a common goal to work on. The relation needs to be strengthened in a way that parties don't walk away when there are tensions or obstacles. Daniela Koesters says that the relation in the steering group with the deputy on the Dutch side was very good. *"We worked together a lot and understood each other on a human level which led us to create the idea for the current project with the zomps that sail between Gramsbergen and Laar. It is helpful that with INTERREG the project partners who are all involved in the development of the Vecht, from all the different sectors, already know each other well. That leads to a faster conversion of new project proposals."*

5.3.4. Partnership operation

5.3.4.1. German Aims and Objectives

Sonja Scherder says that the focus in earlier programme periods of the cross-border collaboration was about infrastructural development, but that the focus has shifted. In the previous INTERREG period much more EU funds was available for marketing. According to Sonja Scherder of RBT Graftschaft Bentheim it is a pity that it is becoming harder to get funds for marketing in the current programme period. The German RBT's are more focused on marketing than the Dutch bureaus, because they have don't depend much on money from the SME's. The RBT's want to shift more towards a model in which the SME's have more responsibility in the projects, but for now the SME's don't have to invest much themselves. Michael Koesters says that the opinions between the German Tourism Boards are divergent concerning co-financing of SME's. Munsterland acknowledges that it might be harder in Germany to let the SME's pay for incorporation of their business in the GTI programme, but Munsterland finds it worth the effort for the SME's to make investments, because the programme is partly based on developing their enterprises. It is therefore hard to understand that other German regions do not want to include the SME's and their co-finance in the programme. Katja Lampe says that Emsland's goal for collaboration is to attract more Dutch visitors to their region. *"Und es ist fur uns in Tourismus noch wirklich potenzial Niederlander hier in die region zu hohlen"*. It is the interest of Emsland to further strengthen the two brands 'Das Andere Holland' and 'Geheim over de Grens' in the GTI project and not to create new brand names. *"You will have to start from scratch."* Jan van Oene, policy maker in the Netherlands however says that the term 'DAS ANDERE HOLLAND' is a dusty title. He says that it should be changed. Katja Lampe says that a lot of energy and money already has been invested in the two brands, and the hope for the future is to get funding for the brand development in the next INTERREG period. Graftschaft Bentheim shares the ambition to have marketing as focus point in the next programme period. The interest for Graftschaft Bentheim is to attract more Dutch tourists into their region. Katja Lampe continues by saying that future collaboration depends highly on the subsidies retrieved through INTERREG funding. Projects need to be financed and without these funds the collaboration within the EUREGIO in the GTI project will be impossible. Emsland however does have other good cross-border relations with for example Recreatieschap Drenthe, which will also continue without external European funding as there is the goal to jointly develop the cross-border nature reserves and maintain route structures as they have been developed yet. Michael Koesters says that the goals of the RBT's in the Netherlands and Germany are different. The RBT's in Germany have as goal to attract more tourists, to have more

overnights from Dutch visitors in Germany and to have more foreign spending in the region. The Dutch argue that there are too many factors that can influence tourist numbers and their cross-border spending. They therefore have other goals. The Dutch therefore have as goal to have fifty entrepreneurs included in the project for example. Adri Ooms confirms this by saying that the group of entrepreneurs in Overijssel who focus their attention on the German market is below thirty and that the expectation is that this number grows to maybe forty in the coming years.

5.3.4.2. Dutch Aims and Objectives

Wendy Weijdemma says that the main objective for MarketingOost is to get tourists in Overijssel and to create jobs in Overijssel. The main objective for MarketingOost is to attract visitors to Overijssel and not necessarily to the EUREGIO. The EUREGIO is no brand and has no identity. Wendy Weijdemma however says that collaboration should not include, as Keating (1998) states, 'joint programmes that amount to little more than parallel efforts, separately mounted, or the relabeling of existing activities'. Germany should promote their own region in the Netherlands and the Netherlands should do the same the other way around and from there you can start collaborating. But the two brands 'Geheim over de Grens' and 'Das Andere Holland' should not be part of the cross-border collaboration. Make cross-overs through for example tourism arrangements. That is what should be included in the project. *"The main focus of the different partners in our collaboration is to get European funding for marketing purposes of their own region."* Wendy Weijdemma continues with saying that the different partners do not have the mindset to think what could make the EUREGIO stronger. She says that there is one marketing campaign that rightly belongs in the GTI programme and that is GrenzErlebnisse or Grensbelevenissen (BorderExperiences). Wendy Weijdemma further says that the Dutch RBT's are "semi-public" organizations. This means that they get financial support from the public sector, but that half of the money has to be found elsewhere. This binds the Dutch organizations to the market. They have to earn money where they can fill gaps in the market. But this is difficult in the collaboration with the Germans who don't have the freedom to operate as semi-private stakeholder and are tied almost completely to public funding. They don't have to earn money by filling gaps in the market or making profitable projects. German partners need to make projects that are in line with the public agenda and regional development plans, whether profitable or not. Wendy Weijdemma says that the scope for German and Dutch partners are often very different. There are definition differences, knowledge differences and financing differences. Over the whole line there are many barriers for cross-border cooperation. The question is whether everyone knows how the cross-border cooperation creates greater economic and operational efficacy. *"I think that at the moment we are just trying to fill our pockets"*. Bjorn de Voer says that the shift from infrastructural development towards marketing development in the cross-border region has made the collaboration more complex because the political backgrounds need to be aligned. Where decisions are more rapidly made in the Netherlands, it takes time for the Germans to make decisions. Bastiaan Overeem says that the Veluwe first has to work on their foundation, the quality of their tourism product, before marketing is done. In that sense both sides of the border need to professionalize their tourism product before a common proposition can be promoted to an external audience. This vision is very strong in the Veluwe, because the carrying capacity of tourists has been reached. The sub – region needs to obey Natura2000 guidelines which restrict them to attract more visitors into the area. Therefore the Veluwe wants to enhance the quality and profits for the enterprises who are there in order for them to innovate and return bad holiday parks back to nature. The INTERREG IV programme focused on marketing and now it is time for innovation. *"It should have been the other*

way around. That is not at all logical.” He uses some examples to explain why innovation is needed before cross-border marketing is done. In the first place it was not possible to make a booking and secondly when a German tourist called for information nobody could help him in his own language. Bastiaan Overeem further says that the employees at RBT Veluwe need much of their time and capacity for their own constituents. They have to attend many occasions and meeting within their sub – regional scale. On the Dutch cross-regional scale the RBT also needs to invest time. The cross-border collaboration and communication with Germany is the last priority. *“There isn’t much we can learn from the Germans, but there is European funding.”* And the advantage we take from the GTI project is the stronger collaboration we have with Overijssel. That’s something we would like to continue.” Bastiaan Overeem further says that the collaboration is not about the border. It is about themes that create a unique proposition. *“That’s why we like to work together with Overijssel and maybe even Drenthe. We have shared Hanze steden, we have Castles and Land houses. That is something that binds us as a region.”* Bjorn de Voer from RBT Achterhoek says that it is important to have figures about what tourism does for the local economy and which projects and marketing campaigns have worked. It is still difficult to make a distinction between what our own efforts in the GTI project are on visitor numbers and how it should be distinguished from the natural trend. *“You want to show your constituents, both the public and private sector what you have done to attract visitors. Dutch RBT’s have to prove themselves.”* Achterhoek and Rivierenland prioritize gathering information about visitors and get insight in the customer journey. This data is needed to know whether the GTI programme delivers for their own sub-region. Erwin Akkerman of RBT Arnhem Nijmegen confirms that research has shown that there is an increase of the number of Germans who spent time in the Netherlands, but that it is difficult to measure. *“It is unclear whether the incline of tourist numbers is caused by our campaigns.”* The incline however is a given and it means that the RBT needs develop their tourist offer for the German tourists to keep them in the region and that requires innovation. Bjorn de Voer says that the Achterhoek however also focus their attention on making the enterprises ready for the German market. They therefore also focus on Innovation. *“The quality of the Dutch offers need to be better if you want to keep the cross-border tourist in the region and attract more cross-border visitors.”* That is very much needed on the Dutch side, since the internal Dutch market is saturated. If the Dutch regions want growth, they need to attract visitors from across the border. And this external approach gives incentive to collaborate with partners across the own regional borders. *“When we look at the Dutch dispersion top, all regions in the Netherlands have to stick their heads together to find a solution for the capacity problems in Amsterdam. It serves partnerships well,”* says Bjorn de Voer. The Achterhoek also see the GTI programme as opportunity. They would otherwise not be able to promote their region on the cross-border market. Marketing is thus a valuable aspect next to the innovation of their own constituents to make them ready for the German visitors.

Adri Ooms says that the five goals for tourism development for the east-Netherland approach are the following:

- 1) Entrepreneur and product development. The private enterprises (SME’s) are the host and face of the sector. It is important that the quality of the product is good and connected to the target audience.
- 2) Environment and infrastructure. Nature is environment but it is also a tourism product and it the nature sector needs to be more aware of the fact that they have a product that is and can be attractive for tourism. With tourism development nature can be sustained

economically, raise social (extracurricular) support. Infrastructural development in tourism development is not so much focused on construction, but more on the development of routes, signing for hike and cycle trails.

- 3) Marketing and Information. The tourism bureaus are important in this focus point, whereas they do promotion.
- 4) Knowledge and research. Research institutes are important in the collaboration of the network organization. Data needs to be collected in order to understand the customer and its interests. But the tourist sector also needs to look at ways to attract employment in the sector. The HORECA for example struggles to find chefs and employees in the sector need to be trained and educated in order to be good hosts for the sector.
- 5) Coordination and facilitation. This is done by the province and the various steering groups, organizations or committees.

5.3.4.3. Scope and strategy

Edwin Kok says that after collaborating parties have reached agreement over a project theme, the roles and responsibilities need to be assigned. The projects however often fail to continue operating after the INTERREG funds and the EUREGIO coordination disappears. Projects often do not reach the stadium of maturity to function according the normal market mechanism without subsidies. The partners who were involved than often drop their responsibilities. This is partly due to the fact that every four years new public administrators get regional power and have different interests which may not be compliant with standing projects. They tend to drop the responsibility for a project financially supported by their predecessors. Only if the project has been rewarding enough for the private sector, they will take responsibility for the finished project and give continuation to it. Wendy Weijdemma however says that there are many people with political power in the EUREGIO who can veto project proposals. The EUREGIO should therefore take a serious look at their role as organization she says. Evaluation takes place at the wrong levels and the wrong people conduct these evaluations. Someone from a municipality should not evaluate at province scale and an expert from the EUREGIO should not evaluate projects, because of his or her job dependency. Evaluation does not include the successes of projects. Looking at the success rate of implemented projects the score is about 10%. This low success rate is because of the cultural differences between the collaborating parties. Having in mind the long-term effectiveness of future programmes one should therefore invest in bridging the cultural differences between the cross-border partners.

Durability and embedding of INTERREG projects

Erwin Akkerman says that the EUREGIO and Euregio Rijn – Waal work differently. In the EUREGIO there is a long-term strategy where the different RBT's need to reach consensus around the line of development. In the Euregio Rijn – Waal on the other hand the RBT's can make projects around themes and topics and can collaborate with parties on the other side of the border if they see the same possibilities. That is more ad-hoc, but it is more difficult to reach structural collaboration. The projects are funded by the EU and the public sector for 75%. When the project period is over the private sector needs to take over, but often can't afford to pay the additional costs themselves. The projects often have not reached the stadium of maturity. The projects thus often collapse after the project period is over. Projects are often meant to give a boost to a certain tourism sector. But where physical promotions such as billboards with QR-codes are made they need to be maintained. The QR-code must be kept online. Online marketing is less of a problem. If the project period is over you just

take it offline. But *“it is important to reach understanding over who maintains certain physical objects when the project is over. If it is not done by the private sector, which public party will be held responsible for the costs?”* Lioba Galliet adds that at the end of a project period she often see people saying: *“Oh well, that was a nice project, that was it”*. It is therefore necessary to make a plan for when the project is finalized. Katharina Brinkschmidt uses an example of a project she worked on when she worked at the EUREGIO. *“We had a project, which was about holidays for children, under the name ‘Urlaub fur Kinder’*. In the project period there was money and staff to develop a website and keep the website online. At the end of the project however no one looked after the website anymore. Where tourist attractions were easy to find in the project period, because the website was the first hit in Google, this position is now lost because no one maintains the project website. Adri Ooms reflects on this matter from the perspective of the LIVING Vecht Dinkel project. *“We also do not have a separate project website. We integrate this within Graftschaft Bentheim and Vechtdal Marketing”*. Katharina Brinkschmidt says that it is important to think forward. *“What will happen with the website when the project is finished?”* Therefore it is decided in the collaboration around the development of the Vecht to integrate the website in the current organizational structures of Graftschaft Bentheim and Vechtdal Marketing. Adri Ooms adds that INTERREG projects may be created independent from the east-Netherlands strategy, but *“it than needs to be included in the programme as soon as possible, otherwise it’s just a ‘losse flodder’ (find a mare’s nest) which is confusing for entrepreneurs”*. Bastiaan Overeem adds that the problem with many projects is the durability. Beforehand you need to think about how you want to embed the project in the region. I do find it problematic that no one really cares what will happen after the project period ends.

5.4. Cross-border collaboration: A future perspective

Edwin Kok highly doubts whether cross-border parties will still meet each other without the INTERREG programme. *“Maybe if there is a certain mutual interest.”* Wendy Weijdemá from RBT MarketingOost says that *“this is the project period which we question the most. Does it bring us what we want? Aren’t we too much tied to the rules of the EUREGIO?”* If the bag of EU money would not be there Gelderland and Overijssel will probably continue cooperation, but whether the German parties will still collaborate is very questionable. The cross-border cooperation however will certainly end. Wendy Weijdemá says that *“I have the feeling that we are working towards ‘new regionalism’.”* Collaborations and cross-border relations have been formed. Parties can work around problems, but the EUREGIO rules and cumbersome institution makes it static and ‘old’. The rules and money need to be less visible in order for parties to work around policy implementation instead of working around a bag of money. Wendy Weijdemá talks about a future vision which has been put forward by Peter Savelberg. He talks about the Tri-State-City in which he creates a regional image that connects peripheral areas even across the border to the regional centre, which in his story is Amsterdam. This all-regional picture creates an image to the international audience of an economic whole, which imposes the need for collaboration between parties of all branches of which leisure economy is also an important part. In this vision, which includes Hamburg in the Amsterdam ‘region’, Germany and the Netherlands will also be economically tied to each other. The political border will still be there, but the economical border will then be ignored. Sonja Scherder however says that the cross-border cooperation is already difficult at the moment, so talking about bigger ideas does not fit in the future vision of Graftschaft Bentheim. Bastiaan Overeem also says that connections and relationships have been made. *“At the moment I am working together with people from other organizations to work on themes and projects.”* Different experts come from different organizations and regions, but act as

team. That is something that bind people from fragile different regions to each other. That should also happen in cross-border collaboration, but at the moment everyone works and thinks as representatives from their own region. Bjorn de Voer says that there is still a long road ahead for future development and collaboration, but entrepreneurs and the government finally see the potential of the cross-border market, at least on the Dutch side. This will create extra incentive for the Dutch partners to seek further collaboration in the future. Erwin Akkerman adds that the political will to invest in tourism development is the main driver in order for new cross-border programmes to exist. At the moment the political will is there and the public sector acknowledges the significance of the sector. It is however possible that political parties for example value nature conservation higher in another programme period and that may cause tourism development to decrease in policy importance. Erwin Akkerman continues by saying that the main markets for the future will probably remain Germany and Belgium. Most foreign tourists come from these countries and these tourists aren't much different from the Dutch. Adaptation to Chinese tourists for example is much more different.

6. Discussion

6.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses how practical outcomes in the case study link different theories of scientific literature on cross-border collaboration in tourism development in the first place. The complexities in the case study also reveal some weaknesses in literature to date and adds new insights, which can be used in further cross-border studies. Chapter 6.2. discusses how regional integration initiatives have been institutionalized and turned into European integration, in which current grass-root drives ask for new regional integration collaborations. Chapter 6.3. discusses the interrelations of the four drives, as described by De Sousa (2013), the economic, the political leadership, the cultural identity and the geographic drives and how the conditions for collaboration as categorized by Greer (2002) influence the partnerships.

6.2. From Regional to European Integration

The EUREGIO has been established as first euro-region in Europe. The foundations of the cross-border collaboration was mutual interest of policy makers on both sides of the border to develop their peripheries further. There were mutual socio-economic needs in which cross-border collaboration could benefit the cross-border region. The EUREGIO has thus been established as bottom-up process. De Sousa (2013) speaks of a regional integration process, in which cross-border actors seek each other to solve socio-economic problems together. Europe copied the idea of the euro regions in the 1970's as tool to integrate nations into the European framework. This led to the establishment of INTERREG and in 1985 the EUREGIO also started to house an INTERREG secretariat. More funds became available and the EUREGIO was further institutionalized. The EUREGIO has been incorporated into the European agenda which is a more top-down implementation of the European agenda. It is important to strengthen Europe by tying cross-border countries in order to solve problems together. Countries are unable to solve global problems alone. Michiel Flooren uses the example of rivers which flow across borders such as the Rhine, in which countries need to work together on themes such as water safety or water flooding. There are many global themes which need a European approach and euro-regions thus act as 'hubs' which tie countries together. De Sousa (2013) claims that in order to compete on a global level, the European Union attempts to unite its countries. Keating (1998) and Perkmann (2002) state that European Integration resulted in the softening of borders with the introduction of the single currency, the establishment of the single market and the abolishment of border controls. The softening of the border resulted in a stimulus of cross-border fluxes of capital, goods, labour and services, referred to as the 'four freedoms' according to the Committee of the Regions (2007). European Integration however means that INTERREG programs need to be aligned across Europe, which sometimes give friction with national development goals and processes between cross-border regions which are not at the same level. The case study shows this friction of interests between Europe and the cross-border regions in which the main focus currently is on innovation of SME's. The cross-border countries suffer to get their agenda's aligned. Whereas Germany develops tourism mainly in the realms of the public sector, this is different in the Netherlands where tourism development is gradually handed over to the private sector. In Germany the SME's thus mainly rely on policy development from the public sector whereas in the Netherlands the SME's are asked to participate actively in co-financing and implementation in the program. The current trend in the Netherlands is that the private sector is taking more

responsibility in governance and implementation of tourism projects. If this is not the case in Germany it may be difficult to collaborate, Adri Ooms says. If the private sector in the Netherlands has to collaborate with the public sector in Germany it may be very difficult. Private sector parties need same level parties on the other side of the border to cooperate with. European Integration thus has been good to soften the borders between countries on major themes, but doesn't necessarily further connect cross-border regions to each other with INTERREG programmes, which have specific focus points. Heddebout (2004) and Caramelo (2007) argue that INTERREG programmes are often designed by the European Commission and Member States and do not necessarily represent the interests of the Euro-regions themselves as seen in the GTI programme in this case study. Euro – regions however depend on EU funding quite heavily, since INTERREG secretariats and administrative bodies are often integrated in the Euro – region bodies. The European administrative body often requires involvement on national political level, despite the autonomy the Euro-regions have in their national jurisdictions. The current shift in the Netherlands where governance of tourism development is gradually handed over the private sector however indicates that tourism development in the Euro-region is becoming less dependent of INTERREG. The Dutch partners, such as GastvrijOverijssel seek durable market driven opportunities and partners. If INTERREG programmes do not fit with regional development agenda's of these regional partners, INTERREG may be left aside. Adri Ooms says that cross-border parties are always attracted by the EU subsidies, but if the rules are too constraining for the structural east-Netherlands approach, INTERREG may not be the way to go. This thus contrast the theory that political involvement is required for cross-border collaboration and policy implementation at the grass-roots level. At the moment however partners on both sides of the border are still collaborating because there is European stimulation funds, but cross-border partners have difficulty finding each other in developing a common approach to innovate the SME's. This is in line with De Sousa's (2013) statement that EU funds often is another major driver next to the functional drive for cross-border cooperation. The focus of INTERREG at the moment results in hardening the border again, as partners start to question the cross-border collaboration because they do not find common ground.

6.3. The four drives for collaboration

6.3.1. Introduction

De Sousa (2013) looks beyond regional and European integration as forces for collaboration. He states that there are four important drives for collaboration. There is the economic drive, the political leadership drive, the cultural identity drive and the geographical drive. The Committee of the regions (2009) state that one reason for collaboration is strong interdependency of both economic and geographic factors, which according to Prokkola (2011) refers to functional regionalization. The cultural identity drive on the other hand leads to imaginary regionalization. In this discussion the categorization of L. de Sousa is used, as it specifies the functional and imaginary drives put forward by Prokkola (2011), in which the four drives for collaboration are interrelated and triangulate with theories on internal and external audiences, new and old regionalism from the scope of public and private sector.

6.3.2. Drives for collaboration

6.3.2.1. Role of tourism development

Various respondents in the research started by defining the economic value of tourism since it is not always clear for policy makers what the actual importance of the sector seems to be. Michiel Flooren strongly states that the Netherlands does not even have a ministry for tourism or the leisure economy, whereas most European countries do have such a ministry. Tourism is a binding sector which is very well capable of making connections with other economic sectors. Respondents confirm the statements of authors who compose the theory of this research. In the treaty of Maastricht recognition was given to the role of tourism as catalyst for economic development and the creation of a European identity. Timothy (2001) goes further and says that amongst others divergent economical systems need tourism development and cooperation in the areas of infrastructural development, human resource, joint marketing and in the lowering of border formalities. This will be discussed in the final paragraph of this chapter, after in-depth discussion of the practical complexities shed more light on the matter.

6.3.2.2. Roles of the Public sector in Germany and the Netherlands

Several German respondents focused especially on the infrastructural development of touristic routes, which attracts employees to industrial areas in the peripheries of Germany where employment is needed. This is tourism development that can be realized by the public sector. Timothy (1998) emphasizes the importance of public- private initiatives, because the public sector provides approval and basic infrastructures for the private sector whereas the private sector invests in the construction of tourist attractions and services. The German RBT's are thus basically public sector parties who see their main roles in providing basic infrastructure for the private sector. Tourism development helps to keep public transportation routes open, stimulates the liveliness in areas where population numbers are dwindling, helps to keep supermarket doors open and thereby create employment in various economic sectors. Tourism development therefore is called a catalyst for economic development as also stated in the Treaty of Lisbon in 2005. It is however difficult to reach growth of incoming tourists when looking at the own national market. This is highlighted more by Dutch respondents than by the German respondents. Jan van Oene, policy maker at province Overijssel says that the internal market has almost grown to its maximum. When Overijssel wants to have growing incoming tourist numbers, they will need to focus their attention on the international market. In order to reach growth, the public sector in the Netherlands, in contrast with the German public sector, takes on the role of supporting the private sector to innovate and thereby develop their tourist attractions and services, which can be used in marketing across the border. Germany also has a strong focus on cross-border marketing, but does not see investment in the private sector as their role to develop tourism. Infrastructural development has been done in earlier INTERREG periods and the Dutch RBT's and provinces therefore want to shift their focus on stimulation of SME development. The role of the public sector between the Netherlands and Germany is thus diverging. Timothy (1998) makes generalizations of the role the public sector and private sector have, but practical evidence of the case study show that the roles of the public and private sector in the development of tourism can be very different between nation states.

6.3.2.3. Carrying capacity

Gelderland also looks across the border, but is especially careful with attracting international tourists since Amsterdam has problems with its carrying capacity of tourists. Other smaller localities in the Netherlands, such as Giethoorn, also seem to get problems with their carrying capacity, which makes Gelderland aware of the threats international fame can have on pristine places and their cultural identity. This is a new phenomenon in cross-border peripheries, which literature to date neglect. Timothy (2001) states that peripheries have natural characteristics to attract numerous tourists, because of its pristine and off-the beaten paths, which can create economic growth. Giethoorn however is a very important example for the euro – regions and peripheral areas that these characteristics may be endangered by attracting too many tourists. There is awareness that if the national priority is to promote the hinterlands of the Netherlands more profoundly towards the international market, the tourist streams may cause capacity problems and damage the pristine, peaceful and quiet identity of the EUREGIO. This new phenomenon creates new questions for the peripheral areas how to deal with potential booming numbers of tourists in areas that have peripheral characteristics and are attractive for that reason. The case study thus adds a new dilemma of trying to find balances between attracting tourists on the one hand and keeping the area attractive because of its 'quiet' characteristics.

6.3.2.4. Creation of a destination

In the Netherlands there is thus deliberation around diverting international tourists into the country, away from Amsterdam. In this 'diversion top' there is the view that an economic destination unit could be created which crosses the border and of which the centre would be Amsterdam, as one of the scenario's. The EUREGIO, as cross-border unit could in that scenario be included in a single destination scale. This outward perspective, as referred to by Herrschel (2007) as 'external audience' can transform national images into regional images as touristic production of space (Chang, 2001). There is common agreement that international tourist numbers are growing, but believe that many of these international tourists will affect the east of the Netherlands – the EUREGIO area – is low. Michiel Flooren puts it this way: *"Even if the Asian market will grow exponentially in the coming five to six years, their numbers will still be lower than the number of tourists the Netherlands get from Germany and Belgium."* Cross-border partners however mainly focus on their internal audiences and have defensive agendas, because of the cultural, language and working practice differences between the countries. This does not stimulate the creation of a cross-border destination unit. In that sense there is no significant breakdown of the border. The current focus thus remains on the cross-border tourism campaigns 'Das Andere Holland' and 'Geheim over de Grens', which does not stimulate the creation of a single cross-border destination. This results in two destination units, which are divided by the border. There is a distinction between the ideal situation sketched by Herrschel (2007) and Chang (2001) and the complex reality as observed also by Prokkola (2011) who doubts whether cross-border areas can be portrayed as single destination units. Sociological exploration of the drives for collaboration thus reveals much of the complexities underlying cross-border cooperation.

6.3.2.5. Complementarity and commonality

Several respondents commented that a certain degree of commonality and complementarity is needed to stimulate cross-border fluxes. Differences between the nations are attractive for people who visit and live in the EUREGIO area – the internal audience, but the commonalities, such as the

peaceful, quite peripheral environment are attractive elements for the external tourist, for whom the cross-border area can be a single destination to enjoy a visit depending on the connections that are made around themes by cross-border partners. Cross-border RBT's say that the main economic advantage of cross-border tourists is the complementarity of holiday periods. Germans have slightly different holiday weeks and weekends than the Dutch which makes it very attractive to attract both markets. That makes it very interesting for tourism providers. Economically, local and SME entrepreneurs therefore often are in favour of cross-border connections as cross-border markets provide valuable business opportunities (De Sousa, 2013), which may lead to regional integration.

6.3.2.6. From Functional integration to Political integration

It is believed that economic spill-overs would automatically lead to the symbolic breakdown of barriers, but this is questioned by De Sousa (2013). It would mean that functional integration would in turn lead to social and political integration. This is not true in the cross-border setting of this case study, which underlines the doubt of De Sousa (2013). Where economic alliances are made and successful projects indeed lead to development of the tourism sector on both sides of the border, the political landscape on both sides of the border did not get closer to each other. As stated earlier, tourism in the Netherlands is thus subdivided and spread under various ministries who have tourism as sub-subject under different development goals. Provinces, municipalities and regions thus have the freedom to choose their own direction for tourism development in which RBT's work much more in the realms of market incentives with short term goals. Tourism development in the Netherlands is thus much less planned as regional development tool, such as is done in Germany where tourism development is planned by the public sector and is used as tool for regional development. D. Timothy (2001) states that cross-border relations often involve same level actors and that vertical collaboration or collaborations between the public and private sector occur within national boundaries. It is therefore theorized that collaboration between the Dutch private sector and the German public sector will be difficult to establish. The EUREGIO however attempts to bring parties in Germany and the Netherlands together in order to develop tourism under INTERREG projects strategically and needs to understand the complexities between the different roles the public sector of Overijssel, Gelderland and Germany are taking. Overijssel accommodates structural tourism development in which the goal is to stimulate the private sector in creating cross-overs with other sectors in the first place. Secondly, Overijssel adopted a new approach to tourism development, which goes further than is known anywhere else. The province handed policy making and implementation completely over to the private sector, in which the cluster GastvrijOverijssel decides which direction Overijssel will take in developing tourism in the province. Gelderland also has such a cluster, but the province of Gelderland does not yet withdraw their position of policy planning to the cluster. The province of Gelderland however recently adopted a more structural approach towards tourism development, but for a long while tourism development in Gelderland was quite unstructured. Gelderland sees a big role for the RBT's to promote and make tourism campaigns in which the province facilitates projects that fit their development views. Germany is behind in handing over governance of tourism development to the private sector. Policy making is firmly in the hands of the public sector and the link with the private sector is weak. Where the Netherlands has made big steps in 'degovernmentalizing' tourism development, Germany has not yet even started with the process and there is no evidence that Germany will follow the Dutch tourism development model, which makes cross-border collaboration more difficult. The case study shows that joint planning and implementation of tourism projects does not automatically lead to political integration

of cross-border partners. RBT's on both sides of the border are tied to the political structure in their own countries, which despite of functional cooperation does not bring them closer to each other as public-private sector stakeholders.

6.3.2.7. Adaptation to a new Internal Audience

In the process of 'degovernmentalizing' in the Netherlands many RBT's did not survive, because they failed to deliver to their internal audiences – their constituents they needed to serve. The Dutch RBT's needed time to adapt to their new internal constituents – the private sector – who also had demands the RBT's needed to deliver. This had big implications for the organizational landscape in the Netherlands. In the past five years a paradigm shift needed to be made in the Netherlands to understand how important it is to deliver for the own internal audience, both the public and the private sector. In Germany the RBT's do not have to 'justify' successful implementation of projects to the private sector and the private sector does not actively engage in co-financing of tourism development projects. Literature talks about delivering to the internal audiences, but the internal audiences are thus different for German and Dutch RBT's.

6.3.2.8. Public – Private collaboration under 'new' and 'old' Regionalism

Timothy (2000) states that collaborations between the public and private sector are hard to establish on a cross-border scale. Cross-border connections are often only made with parties who operate on the same level on the opposite side of the border. Keating (1998) states that collaborations vary from a national to a local scale. As cross-border collaborations reach a lower hierarchical scale, the spatial scale also narrows. RBT's in Germany and the Netherlands work on the same hierarchical scale, namely the regional scale. In the Netherlands however 'degovernmentalizing' means that RBT's more and more diverge from the German RBT's which are still operating in the spheres of the public sector. This has major implications for collaboration and regionalization. The implications for regionalization have to do with scope and territoriality in which the German RBT's use the 'old regionalism' approach to tourism development and the Dutch RBT's the 'new regionalism' approach. Herrschel (2006) describes the two forms of regionalism as follows. 'Old' regionalism is formal, institutionalized, technocratic and has a focus on physical planning (fixed territorial borders). 'New' regionalism on the other hand is informal, purpose specific, opportunity driven and focuses policies strategically. This also means that German and Dutch RBT's approach territoriality differently. Dutch RBT's look at themes and policy areas as functional delimitations of their border, whereas German RBT's look at the technocratic borders of their region. Herrschel (2007) states that with regional integration regions are understood as policy defined areas, rather than as territories per se. The regional definition changes constantly whereas the policy focus shifts. Herrschel (2007) refers to this as the virtual area in which regional boundaries are under constant redefinition through the governance by cross-border partners. Government structures however remain the backbone for policy implementation. In this case study this becomes less evident when looking at Tourism Development in Overijssel, where the government handed over policy planning and implementation to the private sector. Policy implementation in Overijssel thus seem less dependent on government structures. The German RBT Emsland on the other hand has one part of their technocratic terrain in the euro-region EUREGIO and the other part in the northern euro-region Ems-Dollard. They therefore only include localities that fall within the technocratic border of the EUREGIO in the cross-border programme in that euro-region. The Dutch partners do not look at

these technocratic borders and look for market opportunities. The Dutch RBT's are only funded and backed by the public sector in part and thus have to find funding elsewhere. This means that the Dutch RBT's sometimes, through partnerships with others involve themselves in projects which do not belong to their formal, technocratic terrain. Erwin Akkerman states that the various euro-regions create multiple opportunities for their RBT's. *"We work on themes and topics and try to find a budget to finance the development of the theme. If we can't get it at EUREGIO we can try to get it from the euro-region Rijn-Waal. This is how the Dutch organizations function. They need to find budget in the market and can not merely rely on public funding from there region. This is very different from Germany."* Katharina Brinkschmidt says that INTERREG does not require partners to belong to a specific euro-region, it only requires parties to collaborate with cross-border partners. This means that INTERREG allows for new regionalism approaches, which state that partners can make pragmatic alliances in which the emphasis is on business opportunities, alias 'new regionalism'. German partners however are still tied to the public sector in which the territory is fixed and are under statutory downscale control of the government. The emphasis of German RBT's is thus on planning and control in which there is no need to justify policies and existence to other policy makers and it is also government focused. The link with the private sector is weak and policy decisions are made at local government level in which there is no need to include the private sector in decision making. This is different in the Netherlands where RBT's have to work with co-funding of the private sector and thus need to deliver successful projects. The shift that has been made in the Netherlands thus now include the private sector as internal constituent that needs to be served next to the public sector. The theories of Herrschel (2007), Timothy (2001) and Keating (1998) need to be linked to understand the complexities in practical situations. As Keating (1998) states the RBT's in the Netherlands and Germany work on the same spatial scale. However, through degovernmentalizing trends in the Netherlands the RBT's in the Netherlands shifted away from the RBT's in Germany as the internal audiences, as Herrschel (2007) refers to, changed in the Netherlands. This means that the horizontal relation between public sectors across the border tilted towards a vertical public – private relation across the border, which as stated by Timothy (2001) is hard to establish. The case study confirms and shows that vertical relations across the border make collaboration more complex. Keating (1998) therefore rightfully says that political actors (RBT's in this case) often find themselves in the midst of very divergent interests, both extra and interregional. They have the responsibility to respond to their own national clients and constituencies, which sometimes may be contesting or threatening to opposite border actors. Political actors thus, and often with the use of European compensation, try to find balances to cooperate across the border and keep actors satisfied on both sides of the border.

6.3.2.9. External Audience focus needed to create single destination

Whereas the internal audiences for Dutch and German RBT's differ, this is different for the external audiences. As collaboration between the opposite borders is still fragile, partly because of the changing organizational landscape in the Netherlands and partly because of the differences between public-private policy planning and implementation, it is difficult to jointly focus on an external audience. Regions in the Netherlands remain thinking that they need to be distinctive from the other regions in order to attract visitors to their own intra-regional area. Looking at the future the inward perspective has to be converted into an outward perspective in which euro-region partners start to look at international markets. The scope of the destination unit will then also change from the local or intra-regional level to the extra-regional level. Cross-border partners however need to work on the conditions for collaboration in which trust, relations, respect and understanding – amongst others –

are built, which is further discussed in the section 'governance'. Within the cross-border campaigns 'Das Andere Holland' and 'Geheim over de Grens' the euro-region is not portrayed as a single destination unit, as stated before. The combined regions in Germany created a single destination unit on their side of the border and the Dutch did the same on their side. But even within the two separate destination units sub-regions find it hard to jointly focus their attention on the extra regional scale. They however try to find competitive advantages of their own sub-region over others to attract tourists. A combined cross-border destination unit at this moment is thus unthinkable, taking into account the extra barriers the border brings to the collaboration. This somewhat answers the question Prokkola (2011) asked earlier, whether a cross-border area could be promoted a single destination. Strong cross-border relations are needed to be able to jointly focus on an external audience, which in turn is needed to create a single destination unit. .. Keating (1998) questions whether the current cross-border collaboration with their campaigns 'Das Andere Holland' and 'Geheim over de Grens' aren't just joint programmes in which parallel efforts, separately mounted, are the relabeling of existing activities on both sides of the border. Wendy Weijdemans shares this view of Keating, in which she indeed questions whether the marketing campaigns actually belong in the cross-border programme of the EUREGIO.

6.3.2.10. From Functional to Social Integration

Earlier on De Sousa (2013) stated that functional integration does not automatically lead to social and political integration. When looking at social integration it is needed to look at the identity of the border. European borders are the scars of wars which are inherited by nation states. Local populations at the border therefore still do not look across the border (Velde and Houtum, 2004). These authors also state that territorial heterogeneity within state borders is often created through common cultural identity, language, value systems, jurisdiction etcetera, which also function as barrier for cooperation across the border. Finding common ground across the border, will erase some imaginary barriers. Michiel Flooren says that cross-border fluxes of citizens create understanding of citizens on the other side of the border and thereby lowers the barriers to interact, trade, work and live with the cross-border neighbours. With the creation of a shared identity citizens on both sides of the border can be tied in which citizens maintain their own national identity, but also get an increased sense of European citizenship, which is one of the goals of the European Integration agenda. Michiel Flooren and Daniela Koesters tell about wars and events that divided nations on the one hand, but bound them on the other. Recent history with the first and second world war created deep 'scars' with a painful memory. This blocked activities between the two countries. The Netherlands and Germany have thus been strongly divided by these wars. Other events and wars such as the eighty years war on the other hand tied the Dutch and German citizens as they had a common enemy. In an effort to further strengthen the bond between Germany and the Netherlands it is needed to focus on these historical themes that bind the two nations, Michiel Flooren says. The cultural heritage can be made consumable and create destinations around themes that neglect national borders. The shared historical identity can be promoted towards the international – external – audience. Various other developments of creating a cultural identity are named by respondents in the empirical study and all lead to the creation of an imaginary region. Tourism development can play a big role in the creation of the cultural identity since local citizens often did not inherit stories about the history of the region. So, although tourism development as Michiel Flooren states can be used to attract international tourists by marketing the area based on these themes, Daniela Koesters add that these developments also create a shared identity amongst

cross-border citizens – the internal audience. One of the goals for collaboration in the EUREGIO is to create a destination unit which crosses the border and leads to the creation of an imaginary whole for the internal audience – the people who live in the cross-border area. Cross-border partners and the EUREGIO thus need to understand that social integration does not necessarily automatically follows functional integration, which means that current cross-border tourism development is meagre with only the creation of some cross-overs between the two separate destination units ‘Geheim over de Grens’ and ‘Das Andere Holland’. Bastiaan Overeem says that in order to create a destination unit, regions have to be tied to each other based on thematic connections. The tied regions then have a combined narrative to tell and show their audiences. This creates an imaginary whole. Bastiaan Overeem however questions – as stated earlier – whether it is worth to tie the cross-border regions in that way, in the first place because governance is more difficult with cross-border partner and secondly because the Netherlands need to have unique propositions from the Germans. Lioba Galliet argues against this opinion and looks at German tourists who come from the ruhr area. This ‘external’ audience comes to the German border area because of its cycling and hiking propositions and these are not so different from the propositions the Dutch border region has to offer. There is thus a clear distinction between the ideal picture in which respondents picture potential opportunities to create a single destination unit, which crosses the border and partners who deal with barriers posed by the border, which make it difficult in practice to collaborate and create this single destination. Timothy (2001) states that the peripheral areas have the potential to attract numerous tourists because of their ‘off-the-beaten-path’ characteristics. The statement of Bastiaan Overeem however confirms the statement of Velde and Houtum (2004), in which they argue that cultural identity, language, value systems and jurisdiction are often barriers for cooperation. The more common these elements are, the easier partners will find it to cooperate.

6.3.2.11. Embedded functional integration leads to regional integration

Timothy (2001) however argues that the divergent political and economical systems therefore need tourism development and cooperation in the areas of natural protection, infrastructural development, human resources, joint marketing and lowering of border formalities. Michiel Flooren indeed says that it is difficult to work around certain historical and sensitive themes, but that it is easier to collaborate around functional objects, such as infrastructural development or the development of a river. Adri Ooms adds that functional themes can be used to make connections across the border between cross-border private sector actors. Functional objects which bind the two nations are thus integrated in the cross-border approach of the Netherlands and also integrate the private sector in the ‘DAS ANDERE HOLLAND’ strategy and works to break down the mental and physical border. Functional geographical themes, such as cooperation around rivers, infrastructure, environmental issues and judicial issues are the most profound reason to collaborate, says De Sousa (2013). The geography of the EUREGIO is thus important for cross-border collaboration. The most highlighted functional collaboration in tourism development in the EUREGIO is currently the LIVING Vecht-Dinkel project in which collaboration is formed around the development of the rivers the Vecht and Dinkel, which connect Dutch and German regions to each other. Infrastructural – and thus functional – development has tied RBT’s to each other in the past INTERREG periods, but the focus of the INTERREG periods shifted towards knowledge and innovation, which are less tangible regionalization themes and thus makes collaboration more difficult to align. Economic development also counts as functional development and regionalization efforts, which in the current knowledge and innovation programme is given more attention. The many barriers have been discussed, but the

development in which projects are embedded and absorbed by the market – the private sector – create opportunities to make durable cross-border business relations. Whereas the private sector is given more responsibility in the planning and implementation of projects they want to create profitable and durable businesses in which cross-overs with cross-border partners on the same level fit in a durable programme. The shift from public to private policy planning implementation thus creates chances to let social integration follow on functional integration. Keating (1998) blames the domination of cross-border linkages by public officials and their priorities as factor for the lack of integration from functional to social and political integration. This means that when cross-border linkages shift away from the domination by public officials and is handed over to the private sector, functional integration can indeed lead to social and political integration.

6.4. Governance

In this sub-chapter the conditions that influence collaboration are discussed along the same lines as categorized by Greer (2002). Chapter 6.4.1.1. discusses the contextual conditions. Chapter 6.4.1.2. discusses the stakeholder conditions. Chapter 6.4.1.3. discusses the consensus decision making condition and chapter 6.4.1.4. finally discusses the operational condition.

6.4.1. The four conditions for collaboration

6.4.1.1. The contextual condition

Greer (2002) states that the contextual condition for collaboration is in the first place about acknowledging that working together is beneficial for all the collaborating partners. Partners need to have the idea that working together is more efficient economically and operationally. Partners however need to understand and respect each others' traditions and values. Historical and political tensions may lead to withdrawal of partners out of the collaboration. In the case of the GTI programme the RBT's say that they value cross-border cooperation in the first place because cross-border marketing can be done more efficiently together than alone. In cross-border marketing the sub-regions are too small to efficiently promote across the border and financially it is more efficient to promote the east of the Netherlands or the merged Kreises in Germany towards the cross-border market. In the second place the exchange of information is seen as beneficial in cross-border cooperation. Dutch partners learn from their German counterparts and vice versa about the wishes and needs of the cross-border tourists and therefore understand which developments and innovations they need to focus on. Edwin Kok and Wendy Weijdemá say that although partners understand that they all gain something from the collaboration it is sometimes hard to grant other partners more benefits than themselves. In the past there have been arguments about the amount of photo's that were marketed from the various regions. It requires an amount of trust and relationship building to allow unequal distribution of benefits. Currently the political differences – diverging public-private backing between RBT's – start to create more and more misunderstandings about the benefit to work together. Dutch partners have as operational goal to include more SME's in the cross-border cooperation and to develop the private sector firmly, whereas the German partners still have the operational goal to develop tourism from the top down and use tourism development as tool for regional development. Another barrier for understanding how cross-border collaboration is beneficial for cross-border partners is that the cross-border area merely functions as a single destination unit. Infrastructural developments, such as linking cycling routes between the Netherlands and Germany and synchronizing route systems favour cross-border collaboration and

the need to work together functionally, but the partners could strengthen mutual dependency much more when further developing the cross-border region as single destination unit around multiple functional and imaginary themes.

6.4.1.2. The stakeholder condition

Greer (2002) states that the stakeholder condition is about the balance of power between partners in cross-border collaborations. Partners who are strong or see themselves as strong partners in the collaboration may view other partners as irrelevant in which they may lose their autonomy when joining the partnership. Weaker partners on the other hand may view stronger partners as a threat in which they may lose their own authority. Losing authority may in turn lead to fragmentation of the own organization. Networking can develop the partnership, but partners have to be mutually determined, committed and have a long stamina.

The role of the EUREGIO

The situation in the case study area is somewhat unusual. Because the GOBT ceased to exist in 2012, in the midst of a project period, the EUREGIO steering group took over some of the implementing roles of the Dutch RBT's. It gave the Dutch partners time to rearrange their organizational landscape and become structural partners again. The EUREGIO however continued to play an active role in the partnership and has become a partner on the one hand and pertains their role as facilitator on the other hand. These are two roles that do not fit together. Respondents argue that the RBT's in this situation do not feel the urge to work on cross-border relationships themselves, which according to Greer (2002) is needed to bridge power gaps between partners. With EUREGIO as active partner, the RBT's are pushed back into their own camps and relate with the EUREGIO more than they would need to do with their cross-border partners. Respondents in Gelderland and Germany say that the EUREGIO is a strong institution in which parties are able to cooperate with European funding. The European INTERREG programme, which is housed in the EUREGIO, however is very bureaucratic and not very transparent. Dutch partners, who need to find funding in the market, see the European budgets as opportunity and therefore collaborate with cross-border RBT's. European funding and the strict rules and guidelines for the programme however lead Dutch partners to use the INTERREG programme as separate arrangements and is thus not seen as instrument for structural tourism development. Michiel Flooren advises the EUREGIO to create cross-border activities in which operational and tactical partners are included to take on responsible roles. This matches with the 'new regionalism' approach which has been put forward by Hersschel (2007) who says that "single purpose bodies are used to deliver services". Michiel Flooren says that there are organizations who can do marketing much better than the EUREGIO can do and have done in the previous programme period.

Power balances in the Netherlands and Germany

As stated in the previous paragraph, the Dutch organizational landscape has changed significantly in the past years. In Overijssel it resolved in the merging of all the RBT's under one provincial RBT, MarketingOost. In Gelderland the province has four separate regions and all the regions have their own RBT. The Veluwe however is organizationally part of the same holding as Arnhem Nijmegen, as Arnhem Nijmegen took over the responsibilities after the collapse of the previous RBT in that region. The two RBT's in Arnhem-Nijmegen and the Veluwe thus became the more powerful RBT's in Gelderland while Rivierenland and the Achterhoek are much smaller. This also means that these RBT's are less involved in the cross-border partnership and often do not have the manpower to

attend meetings at the cross-border level. RBT Arhem Nijmegen is the main partner for Gelderland in the cross-border cooperation and that the involvement of Rivierenland is very low. It is acknowledged that this sometimes creates frustrations among the smaller RBT's. Rivierenland and the Achterhoek are suspicious of the outcomes for their region, since they do not have the control in the decision making process in the cross-border partnership. They therefore refer to the importance of gathering data and try to establish good communication of their goals towards the province. Hereby they try to take back authority. It is clear that the smaller RBT's in Gelderland fear that they lose control and authority over tourism development in the cross-border programme. They do not withdraw from the cross-border programme however, since the European funding is attractive and the own investments that are required are relatively low. In that sense it helps that the cross-border programme is seen as separate arrangement and not as structural development goal by the RBT's. In the cross-border collaboration the Dutch partners in general see themselves as more progressed than their German counterparts. In Germany there are big differences between the RBT's as well. Munsterland is the most profound partner in the cross-border collaboration on the German side with the most SME's enrolled in the programme. The other Kreises do not have many SME's involved in the programme, which means that the RBT's find it hard to convince them to actively invest their own money into the programme. This gives some friction between Munsterland and the other RBT's. The German RBT's on the other hand have a longstanding history of collaboration. Sonja Scherder says that the German partners know each other very well and have been in the cross-border collaboration since the beginning. They have all been committed to the cross-border programme for a long time, which gives an increased sense of equality among the German RBT's. As stated in literature, networking can develop partnership, but their needs to be equal determination, commitment and stamina. This is difficult in the EUREGIO as some partners feel more committed and have more interest in cross-border development. Rivierenland for example does not border Germany, while Gelderland does border Germany. Overijssel does not have this problem, since the RBT's in the province merged into one provincial partner. As Gelderland and Germany have more regional fragmentation it is more difficult to align power and mutual determination in the partnership. Redesigning the organizational landscape however is unthinkable, which leaves an increased focus on networking and relationship building as only option to reduce sense of inequality.

6.4.1.3. The consensual decision making condition

The consensual decision making condition focuses on the relationships and interactions between the partners in cross-border collaboration, Greer (2002) states. Facilitation should encourage consensus decision making in order to find common ground in their approach. Mattesich and Monsey (1992) state that internally facilitation should lead to an increased sense of equality while it externally should propagate fair representation. Partnerships should be open and informal in their communications in order to allow relationships to be built between the cooperating partners. J. Greer (2002) however states that culture, language and working practice differences lead to tenuous transmission of communications in which different interpretations are formed as how to deal with problems. It is therefore important that partners make an effort to understand each others' agendas. In the case of the EUREGIO there are many of such cultural and working practice differences. Facilitation is therefore needed to find common ground. Lioba Galliet says that it is therefore important to allow time to discuss ideas, in which the Dutch partners are comforted, but it is also important to make the following step and look at the plausibility of the ideas and the results they may bring in order to comfort the German partners. Katharina Brinkschmidt says that facilitation in

this way turns around the view of cultural barriers around in viewing it as complementary to each other. The EUREGIO steering group facilitates the cross-border cooperation of the GTI project. The steering group thus has a very important role in creating understanding and endurance between the partners. The steering group however does not facilitate the language barrier. There is no translator at the meetings, there are no hearing boxes and there are no rules to speak one language for example. This frustrates the communications. Edwin Kok says that the regular meetings are needed to align operational decision making and that cultural barriers are lowered through the creation of good relations, partly through informality in meetings. The EUREGIO thus makes good efforts to facilitate in the GTI project, but has to drop some of their active tasks, which create passiveness amongst partners. The steering group takes over some of the marketing tasks for example, which does not create less anxiety towards the cross-border market, but decreases the need for the RBT's to work on cross-border marketing and relations. It was indeed needed that in the vacuum of existing Dutch partners, the EUREGIO steering group took a more leading role, but since the Dutch organizational landscape has stabilized the role of the EUREGIO steering group should become less active and more facilitative. In the LIVING Vecht-Dinkel there is a steering group and various work groups of which one is the tourism development work group. Adri Ooms says that it is unique in this project that there are various Germans who understand or even speak Dutch and that it is very helpful in the communications and strongly benefits the collaboration. It shows respect and a will to understand the cross-border partner. Daniela Koesters, who is member in the steering group says that she highly values the structural collaboration in the development of the Vecht. The regular meetings are helpful and the relations as well. Despite that Daniela Koesters speaks and understands Dutch and can collaborate well with Dutch partners, she still strongly embodies the German culture and work practice. She says that it is important for future collaboration that meetings are about content and that 'chit-chat' is minimized in meetings and that there is a fixed agenda. The LIVING Vecht – Dinkel project shows that bridging the language barrier therefore is very important for creating strong collaborations. The EUREGIO steering group focuses much of their attention on bridging cultural and working practice differences, but can advance cross-border collaboration much by increasing their focus on the language barrier in the GTI project. The case study thus shows how crucial good facilitation is for the cross-border partnership and that all barriers between partners need to be addressed well in order to create good relationships.

6.4.1.4. The operational condition

Mattesich and Monsey (1992) state that the operational condition is about developing a common strategy in the first place. Partners in the cross-border collaboration need to have a clear understanding of the scope, aims and objectives of the cross-border collaboration. They also need to understand the processes and procedures in the collaboration. All partners need to be involved in the decision making process since it creates a sense of equality in the first place and a sense of ownership over the formulation and implementation of policies in the second place. In the GTI project the German and Dutch RBT's however have divergent goals and interests, which makes it difficult to collaborate. The German RBT's say that they want to keep their focus on marketing since much time and energy has already been invested in marketing in the previous project period. Marketing is important for the German RBT's as they have as main goal to attract Dutch tourists across the border in order to achieve regional development. It is therefore important to understand the backgrounds of the Dutch and German RBT's to understand how the public sector has different aims and objectives than the private sector. As the German RBT's are public sector bureaus, the goal

is to use tourism development as instrument to achieve regional development in which the private sector is seen as less important in planning and implementation. In the Netherlands the private sector is seen as host for cross-border tourists and the main focus is therefore to innovate and stimulate the private sector in policy implementation in the first place, but more and more into policy planning as well. Marketing is not the main objective for the Dutch RBT's. The Dutch RBT's however acknowledge that eventually the target is to attract more German visitors into the Dutch regions in order to also achieve regional development. The steering group attracted much of the marketing activities to themselves. This is not in line with the 'new regionalism' ideal in which single purpose bodies (marketing bureaus) takes responsibility over marketing activities and is connected in the cross-border collaboration. Bastiaan Overeem also comments on marketing as goal in the cross-border collaboration and says that it is not at all logic to make a marketing campaign for the cross-border market if the hosts of the cross-border tourists are not ready to accommodate them. He therefore states that the first priority currently is to make the private sector, the hosts, ready for the cross-border market – the German tourists. German RBT's have more difficulty with the current focus on knowledge and innovation as it is harder for them to involve SME's in the cross-border programme. German RBT's therefore seem less satisfied with the current goals to stimulate knowledge and innovation amongst the private sector. Wendy Weijdemans says that cross-border collaboration should be about making cross-border connections by making cross-overs for example with tourism arrangements. In this way German and Dutch partners and SME's are linked to each other which may lead to a more structural basis for collaboration. Partners should have the mindset to think about a common approach, but currently all partners are mainly looking how the cross-border collaboration can deliver for their own sub-region. The partners should be in the collaboration with the mindset how they can strengthen the EUREGIO. Establishing commonality in approach is difficult as Dutch partners need to make profitable projects which can be taken over by the private sector after project funding stops. Germans on the other hand do not have to make profitable projects, but use projects to stimulate the regional developments in the area. Many respondents therefore question the current cross-border collaboration and do not know if it has a future. European funding is the glue that still ties the partners to each other, the operational approach however does not tie partners at the moment.

7. Conclusion

The conclusion provides answers to the questions asked in the research. The main research question was: *“What are the drives for collaboration in tourism projects, where public-private sector stakeholders collaborate and how is development shaped through the interaction between cross-border partners within the Dutch-German EUREGIO, under the INTERREG programme? Subsequently, which functional and imaginary regionalization outcomes do these tourism development projects produce in the research area?”* The main research question is long and has therefore been broken down into seven sub-questions, which are answered in the consecutive paragraphs.

Cross-border collaboration in INTERREG programmes is done in the form of projects. In this study there was a specific one on tourism development in which the private and public sectors were included in policy planning and implementation. This led to the first question of the research. Which cross-border cooperations in the EUREGIO involve tourism development and stimulates SME's to be involved in the governance of cross-border regionalization? Two projects were selected as case study material, whereas both had a longer history of cross-border collaboration and involve the private sector in governance. The projects GTI (Borderless Touristic Innovation) involves collaboration of tourism bureaus across the border and the LIVING Vecht-Dinkel project integrates tourism development within the river development, in which various public and private sector partners are involved.

It is a given that cross-border collaborations have been created, but throughout Europe the drives for collaboration may differ whereas contextual differences arise. So, What are the drives for cross-border collaboration in the EUREGIO under the current INTERREG V-A programme in tourism development? To answer this question it is important to distinguish between two different types of drives. The first drive distinguishes between the European Integration agenda and Regional integration. The second set of drives looks at the regional contextual drives namely; the regional economy, political leadership, cultural identity and the geography of the area.

The EUREGIO has been established as first euro-region in Europe in 1958 whereas cross-border stakeholders started to collaborate around mutual needs, which in literature is referred to as regional integration. In the 1980's the EUREGIO housed the INTERREG secretariat which needed to stimulate European integration of the EUREGIO. European integration softened the borders significantly through their structural uniting programme in which a single European market was created, border controls abolished and a single currency implemented. European integration however also made the EUREGIO more bureaucratic. The top-down planning resulted in complex rules and regulations which made it harder for regional integration initiatives from the bottom-up. The European agenda has to be followed, which does not always fit with national development agendas on both sides of the border. Whereas Germany works within the realms of the public sector, the Netherlands started to 'degovernmentalize' their policy planning and implementation. This resulted in diverging interests in the current INTERREG programme, where there is a focus on product development. This is now interpreted differently between the countries. This confirms what Heddebout (2004) and Caramelo (2007) state in which they argue that INTERREG programmes are often designed by the European Commission and Member States and do not necessarily represent the interests of the Euro-regions themselves. These authors also argue that The European administrative body (the EUREGIO) often requires involvement on national political level, despite the

autonomy the Euro-regions have in their national jurisdictions. This is conflicted by the case study, where the Netherlands does not have a clear national political agenda on tourism development and where policy planning and implementation is gradually handed over to the private sector. When INTERREG is not in line with regional interest of governing partners in cross-border cooperations, they may work around the European Integration agenda and form alliances aside from the EUREGIO and INTERREG, in which additional European funding is neglected. This leads to new incentives of Regional Integration.

Next to the European and Regional integration drives De Sousa (2013) speaks of four contextual drives for cross-border collaboration. The economic, political, cultural identity and geographic drive. Economically cross-border collaboration is driven by the fact that the EUREGIO exists of peripheral regions on both side of the border. Certain German regions however have striving industries, where employees need to be attracted. Tourism development in this regions can uplift the attractiveness of the regions in order to attract work force. Most cross-border regions however suffer from declining population numbers, disappearing shops, supermarkets and public transportation. This threatens the livelihoods of citizens in these peripheral cross-border regions. Tourism development can also stimulate the socio-economic development in these hinterlands. Cross-border tourists are seen as increasingly important for the economical development in the cross-border region as it highly enlarges the market and adds to the complementarity the border region has to offer in holiday periods, attractions and prices. Politically, collaboration is in the first place driven through the EUREGIO tourism steering board with the implementation of INTERREG projects. INTERREG programmes allow partners to make use of European funding for the development of tourism projects and the steering board helps in the facilitation between partners. Project proposals need to be aligned with the European agenda, but the EUREGIO tries to balance cross-border political interests, which differ between the Netherlands and Germany. The current GTI project period however allows for some funding for cross-border marketing activities, which is the main interest of German partners and also financially supports development of SME's and product development, which is currently the main political focus in the Netherlands. Thirdly, the main cultural identity drive lies in the development of stimulating cross-border fluxes across the border. Whereas cultural differences on the one hand impose complexities in collaboration, it also creates valuable chances. In the first place socio-economic complementariness stimulate cross-border citizens to work, live, trade, study and shop across the border. This enhances the need for policy implementers on both sides of the border to lower border formalities and thereby lower the imaginary border. Cultural, language and working practice differences within cross-border collaborations also create chances of learning from each other. The combined punctuality of Germans and creativity of the Dutch result in potential innovative and successful projects in cross-border tourism development. Finally the geography of the border region is an important drive for collaboration, in which amongst others rivers, nature reserves and route systems require collaboration in which tourism development can give extra impulse in lowering border differences. One of the main examples in the case study is the development of aligning route signing of hiking and cycling routes between the border.

In these cross-border collaborations it is theorized that the public and private sectors influence collaboration. But how do these sectors influence cross-border collaboration in tourism development projects? In the first place the roles the public and private sector play are diverging between the Netherlands and Germany. The main difference between the public sectors across the border is the stimulation to involve the private sector more in policy planning and implementation. The case study

thus shows that practical situations are more complex than stated by Timothy (2001) in which he makes generalizations about the roles the public and private sectors play. Cross-border collaborations to date are dominated, as Keating (1998) states, by 'higher tier polities'. This is currently also true for the EUREGIO. One of the main reasons is that it is very hard for the private sector to work with and understand the bureaucratic procedures of the structural European programme INTERREG. Whereas the public sector is in control of cross-border relations, functional integration of implemented projects will not lead to social or political integration, as argued by Keating (1998). Respondents in the case study argued that it is currently hard to embed projects in the market and that 80% of projects are not taken over by the private sector, as it is imposed into the cross-border region from the top down. In order to embed projects in the market, the private sector needs to be more involved from the start. In the past five years Dutch tourism development has made big steps in 'degovernmentalizing' tourism development and handing policy planning and implementation over to the private sector. Respondents however say that the situation in the Netherlands is unique. Nowhere else is policy planning and implementation so profoundly handed over to the private sector as in Overijssel, where the network organization GastvrijOverijssel is mainly in charge of planning and implementing tourism development. This however is not the case in Germany. Timothy (2001) argues that private-public collaborations across the border are hard to establish. The current situation in the EUREGIO confirms that the diverging cross-border public-private sectors inhibited by the RBT's increased the complexity of collaborating across the border. Mainly the commonality in approach differ, which leads to diverging tourism development objectives. Whereas German 'public' partners seek to use INTERREG projects as tool for regional development, Dutch 'public-private' partners need successful projects which are integrated in the market in which development of the private sector and SME's is goal.

Herrschel (2004) speaks of internal and external audiences, which means that internally the RBT's in the EUREGIO have to serve their constituents and justify policies, whereas the focus on the external audience is used to propagate the region to the outside audience, which for the case study varies between international tourists on the one hand, to tourists from just outside the EUREGIO, such as the Ruhr area in Germany. The question that arises is how these internal and external audiences influence cross-border collaboration in tourism development under 'old' and 'new' regionalism. With the Dutch shift from the public to the private sector, RBT's now also have to deliver and justify project planning and implementation directly to their 'new' internal audience, the private sector and SME's who invest their own money in the cross-border projects. In the process of adaptation to the private sector, many RBT's in the Netherlands failed to deliver and eventually ceased to exist, because of bankruptcies. The organizational landscape thus changed significantly in the Netherlands, but the current RBT's have reached maturity in their adaptation towards the new internal constituent. The German RBT's however do not have to justify successful implementation of projects to the private sector as the private sector does not co-finance in cross-border projects. Through degovernmentalizing trends in the Netherlands the RBT's in the Netherlands thus shifted away from the RBT's in Germany as the internal audiences changed in the Netherlands. This means that the horizontal relation between public sectors across the border tilted towards a vertical public – private relation across the border, which as stated by Timothy (2001) is hard to establish. As collaboration between the opposite borders is still fragile, partly because of the changing organizational landscape in the Netherlands and partly because of the differences between public-private policy planning and implementation, it is difficult to jointly focus on an external audience. Some thematic connections

between the Netherlands and Germany have been made, but in order to further strengthen the EUREGIO area and portray the cross-border area as single destination unit to the external audience, relations have to be rebuilt. To date, the border divides the two separate destination units 'Geheim over de Grens' (Secret across the border) and 'Das Andere Holland' (the other Netherlands). According to Keating (1998) this does not amount to more than joint programmes in which parallel efforts, separately mounted, are the relabeling of existing activities on both sides of the border.

In cross-border collaboration, Greer (2002) speaks of conditions that influence collaboration. The questions in this case study is; Which conditions for collaboration influence cross-border collaboration? The author talks about four conditions for collaboration, in which he distinguishes between the contextual condition, the stakeholder condition, the decision making condition and the operational condition. In the first place the contextual decision is primarily based on understanding the benefits of working together. Respondents in the first place stated that it is financially efficient to jointly promote the destination units 'Das Andere Holland' and 'Geheim over de Grens' across the border, although cross-border collaboration is less valuable as the two destinations are separated by the border. The creation of a single destination unit would demand enhanced cross-border collaboration as cross-border partners would develop a single tourism destination. Respondents however value the exchange of information across the border. Whereas the RBT's in the Netherlands have gained a new internal audience with the private sector, their goals also diverted away from the development goals of the German public sector RBT's, which makes it difficult to see how collaboration benefits the operational goals of the RBT's on both sides of the border. Besides, the INTERREG programme shifted their focus from infrastructural development towards product development, which also decreases the need to collaborate across the border. Product development is mostly an internal affair and does not need much fine-tuning with cross-border partners, such as is needed in cross-border infrastructural development. The stakeholder condition, secondly, is about power balances. the EUREGIO is taking a very prominent role in the cross-border collaboration at the moment, which does not further tie cross-border partners to each other, but stands in between them. The EUREGIO actively takes part in project implementation, which they take out of the hands of the RBT's, which decreases the necessity to establish communications with cross border partners. Whereas INTERREG is strongly tied to the European agenda it is difficult to develop grass-root project proposals from regional demands. Regional development interests may not comply with the European agenda. INTERREG is also very bureaucratic and not transparent, which requires the lead of the EUREGIO to plan new project proposals. Power between cross-border partners is also not distributed equally. In Gelderland there are four regions, in which the main power is in the hands of the RBT Arnhem Nijmegen holding, which also has a separate unit in the Veluwe. This creates a sense of loss of authority in the cross-border partnership amongst the smaller RBT's in the Achterhoek and Rivierenland. This is evident from the fact that these two smaller RBT's have a more defensive stance towards cross-border developments, in which they want to see data of incoming tourist numbers for example. These smaller RBT's ask themselves the question if they are equally benefitting from the cross-border collaboration? They have no control over cross-border policy making and implementation. The regions in Overijssel are merged under one umbrella organization MarketingOost, which decreases this internal provincial dilemma. German RBT's are stable and have worked together for a long time, which enhances the sense of equality, although Munsterland has the majority of SME's who participate in the cross-border programme, which also results in a more progressive stance. It is frustrating for them to have to pull other RBT's to develop along the same

paths. Bramwell and Sharmann (1999) state that the more powerful stakeholders therefore may see the weaker partner as irrelevant in which working together may feel as losing autonomy. It is therefore crucial, as Greer (2002) states that partners within the partnership need clear understanding of the processes and procedures. All participating stakeholders should be involved in the decision making process. This creates on the one hand a sense of equality and on the other a sense of ownership in the formulation and implementation of the policy. Greer (2002) talks about the consensus decision making condition in the third place, in which culture, language and working practice pose barriers for cross-border collaboration. Respondents however argue that with good facilitation barriers can be turned around into opportunities as organizational differences can be complementary to each other. This is in line with Keating's (1998) statement in which he writes that cross-border 'cooperation requires a degree of complementarity and an observable opportunity to exploit these'. Respondents however said that the language barrier is hardly bridged through facilitation by the EUREGIO. There are no strict rules to speak one language or translation boxes in order to make it easier to understand each other. Cross-border partners therefore do not mingle well, which does not serve relationship building. The facilitation board at the EUREGIO may learn from successes in the LIVING Vecht-Dinkel project, where much effort has been made by partners to bridge the language barriers, where even German partners understand or even speak Dutch. Cross-border partners highly appreciate this, as it shows determination and commitment towards the cross-border partner in the first place and a will to learn to understand the cross-border partners, culturally, communicatively and with respect of the working practice across the border. Finally, Greer (2002) speaks of the operational condition in which a common strategy and approach drives cross-border collaboration. As Dutch and German RBT's shift away from each other as public and public-private sector partners, it is more difficult to reach commonality in approach and strategy. German RBT's still want to focus on marketing, which they see as their public sector role, whereas product development is the responsibility of the private sector themselves. In the Netherlands the public sector is more linked to the private sector, which means that they actively strategize to stimulate product development from the private sector in the INTERREG V-A programme. There is a strong focus on delivering for the internal audiences and a lack of common focus on an external audience, which does not serve the operational condition to flourish in the current cross-border collaboration.

The final question in this study is; How did tourism development in the projects shape cross-border regionalization in the EUREGIO? Currently many partners in the GTI project, both in the Netherlands and in Germany question the cross-border collaboration and say that it will end if there is no more money available through INTERREG funding. The Dutch shift from public to private tilted the horizontal relation between the RBT's, which lead to the hardening of the imaginary border. Relations have however been made and connections established. It is particularly the role of the EUREGIO that makes collaboration static. With the EUREGIO and the INTERREG programme, partners are strongly tied to the rules of the European integration agenda. Europe attracts the partners with a big bag of money, but collaboration should be formed around common problems and policy implementation. Currently the market is pressing partners to collaborate around practical problems, which drive partners to collaborate around themes, such as the pressing carrying capacity in the Netherlands which leads to new incentives for regional integration. The EUREGIO needs to look at their own role critically and can facilitate regional integration incentives well, such as can be seen in the LIVING Vecht-Dinkel project, but should allow partners to be more actively engaged with one another. With the pressing numbers of international tourists in Amsterdam and the wish to disperse

them over the Netherlands a vision has been created of an all-regional destination, which may include the cross-border region. The creation of an all-regional image in which there is a collaborate focus on the 'external audience' will create incentive for 'real collaboration' from the bottom-up, as regional integration approach. Partners in the GTI project however collaborate on the top of very fragile balances and compromises in which responsibility (De Sousa, 2013) to the internal audience seem to weigh heavy and in which relationship building in cross-border collaborations requires much time to really see how cross-border collaboration can mutually benefit all parties involved. Within the national border, connections have been strengthened. This means that RBT's are adapting towards a more 'external' view which creates potential for cross-border collaboration as well. Barriers posed by the border however still seem hard to bridge. The awareness that have been raised among the private sector partners also creates great hope for a future focus on the cross-border market and give potential for further collaboration in the future. Erwin Akkerman finally says that there must be political will and support for cross-border tourism development, which to date is present and means that some of the drives for collaboration, as De Sousa (2013) categorizes, provides hope for future cross-border collaboration.

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ANNEX:

Annex 1: In depth-interview (Dutch version)

In depth-Interview: 10-04-2018

Respondent: _____

1. HISTORISCHE RELEVANTIE:

A) Historisch gezien, wat voor regio is de EUREGIO? En wat zijn de verschillen tussen de Nederlandse en Duitse zijde?

- Economisch vlak
- Sociaal cultureel vlak
- Toeristisch vlak (natuur/cultuur)

B) Waarom is het volgens u nodig dat Nederland en Duitsland samenwerking zoeken? Vooral gezien het grensgebied perifeer is?

C) Hoe is de EUREGIO begonnen? Was dit gebaseerd op specifieke beleidsonderwerpen of ontstaan als gevolg van de Europese eenwording? (Dus regionale bottom-up druk of Europees/Globale Top-down druk)

2. TOERISME ONTWIKKELING:

A) Wat voor rol heeft toerisme ontwikkeling in het proces van regionalisatie? Ook in de zin dat het volgens de literatuur sterke intersectorale lijntjes heeft?

B) Wat zijn de sterktes en zwaktes van de grens voor het regionalisatie proces in het ontwikkelen van toerisme in de eerste plaats en ten tweede voor het regionalisatie proces in het algemeen?

C) Hoe vormt toerisme de regio in de eerste plaats in functioneel opzicht (economisch, werkgelegenheid, infrastructuur etc.) en in de tweede plaats symbolisch?

D) Speelt toerisme ontwikkeling een rol in de integratie van de regio binnen de EU/Globale setting?

E) En anderzijds, is er ruimte voor lokale initiatieven om de toerisme ontwikkeling mede te bepalen? (Als antwoord op de vraagkant van onderaf?)

3. INTERFACE:

A) Ik ben erg geïnteresseerd in de partnerschappen die toerisme ontwikkelen in het grensoverschrijdende EUREGIO gebied. Voor zover ik via online databases heb kunnen ontdekken zijn er niet veel actoren vanuit de private sector betrokken in het ontwikkelen van toerisme in partnerschappen? Is dat zo? En zo ja, waarom is dat dan zo?

B) Is dat anders in andere sectoren denkt u?

C) En is dat anders in andere Euregio's? (Niet per se geldend voor de Duits-Nederlandse context)

D) Heeft de private sector wel een grotere rol in de implementatie van projecten/programmas?

- E) En hoe is de communicatie met 'partners' binnen de private sector? Voeren ze slechts uit of hebben ze ook bepaalde invloed in de uitkomsten van projecten? En hebben ze suggesties, commentaar als blijkt van wat hun interesses zijn?

- F) Wie zijn dan deze actoren vanuit de private sector?

4. GOVERNANCE:

- A) Terwijl ik wat aan het rondzoeken was naar projecten binnen het INTERREG IV programma zag ik het faillissement van het Twents Bureau voor Toerisme, tevens partner in het voorgaande marketing project onder INTERREG. Wat was volgens u het probleem in dit geval? Is het volgens u waar dat een nauwere verbinding tussen de private- en publieke sector (als dit er überhaupt iets mee te maken heeft) een meerwaarde heeft voor de continuïteit van beleidsontwikkeling (met name in de toerisme sector)?

- B) Is het moeilijk om projecten te stroomlijnen omdat:

- Er ten eerste verschillende wetten en regelgeving is in Duitsland en Nederland?

- Er ten tweede verschillende organisatie structuren zijn in gemeenten, overheden en dergelijke waardoor verantwoordelijkheidsniveaus verschillend liggen?

- C) Onder 'Nieuwe regionalisatie' wordt verstaan dat beleid meer 'ad-hoc' wordt vormgegeven, inspringend op recent ontstane vraagstukken, wat betekent dat beleidsvorming minder geïnstitutionaliseerd is, flexibeler, informeler en doelgericht is. Maar is de EUREGIO niet erg geïnstitutionaliseerd? Bijvoorbeeld door de even aantallen raadsleden aan beide kanten van

de grens, of staat het EUREGIO bestuur los van beleidsontwikkeling in partnerschappen in bijvoorbeeld toerisme ontwikkeling?

5. TOEKOMST:

A) Als u kijkt naar het image van de EUREGIO:

- Is er een visie voor de toekomst (of was die er?) om de EUREGIO echt als 1 regio te 'vermarkten' (toeristisch)

- Of is hebben de imago's van Twente en bijvoorbeeld Teutoburgerwald een te sterke identiteit om ze op te laten gaan onder een grotere noemer? En wat zijn daar dan de voor- en nadelen van volgens u? (sterkte/zwaktes)

B) Als sluitstuk. Hoe ziet u de toeristische ontwikkeling van de EUREGIO voor u in de komende pakweg 10 jaar of verdere toekomst?

C) En heeft toerisme volgens u een significante rol in de toekomstige ontwikkeling van het regionalisatieproces? Economisch, Sociaal-Cultureel en natuurbehoud en milieuvriendelijkheid?

Bedankt!

