UNDERSTANDING HOW PRIVATE ESTATE OWNERS IN THE NETHERLANDS FEEL CONNECTED WITH THEIR LAND

UNDERSTANDING HOW PRIVATE ESTATE OWNERS IN THE NETHERLANDS FEEL CONNECTED WITH THEIR LAND

MSc Thesis

Elsbeth Wefers Bettink

Student number: 1045001
Institution: Wageningen University
Chair group: Forest and Nature Conservation Policy Group
Program: MSc Thesis Forest and Nature Conservation FNP-80436
Supervisor: Dr. ir. M.A. Hoogstra-Klein
August 2022

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis report marks the end of realizing a long-time dream of going back to University to work towards a career change in conservation and management of natural resources. It also marks the end of a Masters in Forest and Nature Conservation at Wageningen University. It has been an inspiring journey that started in 2019 when I quit my job at the Erasmus MC. I am proud of accomplishing this goal, as I never imagined it to be a realistic goal.

I am very grateful to everyone that has helped me on this journey. First of all, I would like to thank everyone that has helped me make this thesis possible. I would like to thank the estate owners and estate-agents that allowed me to interview them for this research. I am very grateful to your openness, honesty, hospitality, and willingness to participate. I enjoyed each of our conversations about private estates. Furthermore, I would like to thank my supervisor, Marjanke Hoogstra – Klein, for her support, guidance, and unlimited enthusiasm for this research on private estates. I am also very grateful to my family, Jon, and Toon for helping me with practicalities, language, and graphics.

Most importantly, I would like to sincerely thank those that have helped me in my decision to change my career and life by quitting my job and going back to University. You helped me believe in myself and allowed me to switch to a life that better suits who I am. For this I would like to thank my family, friends, former colleagues, job coach, and of course, my partner Annette. Annette, thank you for supporting me all the way during my studies in Wageningen.

ABSTRACT

Private owners of natural resources play an important role in their conservation and management. In the Netherlands, estate owners form a specific group among these private owners as they manage at least 4% of the country and 16% of forested land. However, despite their importance little is known about these private estate owners and their connections to their estates. Using the concepts of psychological ownership and psychological distance this research creates a better understanding of private estate owners and the ways they feel connected to their estates. This can help policy makers to better consider private estates and their owners. It also adds to the knowledge on psychological ownership and psychological distance in relation to natural resources, as well as the connection between both concepts. Qualitative research using semi-structured interviews was done among 13 private estate owners and 3 estate-agents. The results show that even though private estate owners have a sense of control, intimately know their estates, and invest time and effort into them, most owners have a low feeling of psychological ownership. Next to that, the results show low psychological distances to estate, which essentially means that the owners are emotionally close to their estates. Owners feel very strong connections to their estates and regard them as extremely important. This research also found a third concept: responsibility, which is closely related to both psychological ownership and psychological distance. Estate owners feel a responsibility to past and future generations, but also to society to manage the estate and its natural resources in the best way possible. All in all, this research found strong connections between private estate owners and their estates.

Keywords: Psychological Ownership, Psychological Distance, Private Estate Owners, Case study, Natural Resources, Responsibility

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE IMPORTANCE OF NATURAL RESOURCES

Nature including biodiversity are crucial for the survival of humankind on earth (Díaz et al., 2006; Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, 2005). Nature affects human well-being by providing vital necessities like water and oxygen, but also by delivering benefits that make life worthwhile (Díaz et al., 2006). These necessities and benefits provided by nature are called Ecosystem Services (ES) (Díaz et al., 2006; Mace et al., 2012). However, world-wide increasing urbanization (The World Bank, 2020), and the intensification of agriculture and recreation have caused a decline in biodiversity and natural resources (Dudley & Alexander, 2017; Elmqvist et al., 2015; Liddle, 1991). A decline in biodiversity negatively impacts the provision of Ecosystem Services and hence has a negative impact on human life (Díaz et al., 2006). It is estimated that approximately USD 10 – 33 trillion in Ecosystem Services have been lost every year between 1997 and 2011 (OECD, 2019). In the Netherlands biodiversity has declined with approximately 62% in the last two centuries (CBS et al., 2016). This is not too surprising considering the high population pressure (CBS, 2020), the high urbanization rate (The World Bank, 2020) and the importance of the agricultural sector (CBS, 2020). Data for Ecosystem Services in the Netherlands seem to be unavailable.

Measures to conserve natural resources and biodiversity, and to address climate change, are becoming increasingly important (European Commission, 2019; VVD et al., 2021). An example of this that affects the Netherlands is the European Green Deal, which aims to create a climate-neural European economy by 2050 that is entirely circular and has zero emissions of greenhouse gasses, is an example of this (European Commission, 2019). Essential elements of the European Green Deal for natural resources are the EU Biodiversity Strategy for 2030, with the goal to have Europe's biodiversity on the road to restoration by 2030 (European Commission, 2020) and the New EU Forest Strategy for 2030, with the goal to improve and increase Europe's forests (European Commission, 2021). Biodiversity will be restored by creating a European Nature Network with ecological corridors and at least 30% of European land under protection (European Commission, 2020). Forests will be restored by planting 3 billion trees, by focusing on sustainable forest management, and by creating programs to pay forest owners for providing ES (European Commission, 2021). The Dutch government has the ambition to be the frontrunner in Europe when it comes to the European Green Deal and reducing global warming and (VVD et al., 2021).

1.2 THE IMPORTANCE OF PRIVATE (ESTATE) OWNERS

Managers of natural resources play a crucial role in managing, monitoring, protecting and improving biodiversity, and providing Ecosystem Services (Tooren & Lucas, 2010). Since many forests and other natural resources are privately owned and managed (Aertsen, 2012; Matilainen et al., 2019), private owners have an important role in the restoration and maintenance of biodiversity, as recognized by the European Commission (Houwelingen, 2021b). Private owners were responsible for the management and conservation of natural areas in the Netherlands, long before the introduction of nature conservation policy (Aertsen, 2012; Thomassen & Jans, 2012). Today, almost half of European forested land is privately owned (Forest Europe, 2020), as well as 60% of Natura-2000 areas (Houwelingen, 2021b). Of these, most have owners that are not part of the forest industry and for whom other goals than timber production may be more important (Matilainen et al., 2019). In some European countries, estate owners are an important category of forest owners. Of the privately owned forests in the Netherlands about 16% is part of private estates (Schelhaas & Clerkx, 2015). Private owners are thus very important. In the context of this research private estates are estates that are owned by an individual or family (Jans, 2012).

Private estates are generally considered as properties with a combination of forest or nature, residences and in most cases farm land (Jans, 2012). Some estates can trace their history back to the feudal system of the middle ages (Tengbergen & Tengbergen, 1988). Other estates were created in the 17th and 18th centuries by rich citizens as a place to escape city life (Storms-Smeets, 2012). To make sure estates were self-supporting or even profitable if possible, production forests were created (Aertsen, 2012). The most important goal for estates was, however, a place for relaxation and recreation where activities like horseback riding, walking and hunting could be done (Storms-Smeets, 2012). Therefore, natural areas and forests on private estates were mostly spared from deforestation and have been conserved for generations (Aertsen, 2012). In the 19th century the Dutch government sold most of its undeveloped land for the development of agricultural land and forests, some of which was used for the creation of estates (Aertsen, 2012). This stopped at the end of the 19th century, and this together with a combination of decreasing timber prices and increasing maintenance costs resulted in a decline of private estates in the 20th century, especially in the period after the war (Aertsen, 2012). With the creation of subsidies for private nature conservation and the possibility of creating new estates with the intention to protect natural resources, the number of private estates has increased since the beginning of the 21st century and continues today (Aertsen, 2012; RVO, 2021b).

Private estate owners are a diverse group, with diverse management strategies that can generally be considered conservative and often have a historical base (Jans, 2012; Thomassen & Jans, 2012). Due to this conservative management, private owners have been accused of low knowledge and ambition when it comes to nature conservation (Jans et al., 2012). This seems a bit harsh however, as often these privately owned estates have been faithfully managed by the same owners for generations with the intention of preserving their natural and cultural heritage (Jans, 2012; Kloeze, 1973). It is therefore not surprising that these estates can have a high ecological value (Aertsen, 2012; Jans et al., 2012; Thomassen & Jans, 2012). Unlike other conservation or terrain managing organizations, most estates focus on optimizing a combination of functions and a long-term economic, ecological as well as social and cultural return (Welle & Pastoor, 2017), are financially viable and self-supporting (Aertsen, 2012; Jans, 2012) and are not dependent on external grants or donations (Jans et al., 2012). Many private estate owners feel a connection with their property and a responsibility to maintain and preserve it as a heritage from their ancestors to keep within their family (Aertsen, 2012; Jans, 2012; Thomassen & Jans, 2012).

1.3 CONNECTIONS OF PRIVATE ESTATE OWNERS TO THEIR ESTATE

Considering the importance of this group of private owners, it is important to know more about their behavior, attitudes, and values (Matilainen et al., 2019). Many studies have been carried out on private forest owners (e.g. Andersson & Keskitalo, 2021; Bjärstig & Kvastegård, 2016; Eriksson & Fries, 2020) but it seems, save for a few exceptions (Jans, 2012; Kloeze, 1973), very little research has been done on private estate owners. This study, therefore, contributes to research by focusing on this group. The starting point of this research is the perception of estate owners on estate ownership as such. Ownership can be more than the legal possession of something but can also be a feeling or something in the mind of people (Etzioni, 1991) and can be experienced in different ways by different people (Andabaka et al., 2021).

Psychological ownership is the feeling of ownership of something (e.g. an object, a piece of land) and is not necessarily related to legal ownership (Andabaka et al., 2021; Matilainen, 2019). This means that people can experience a feeling of ownership to something they do not legally possess themselves. Psychological ownership is a personal feeling of an emotional connection to something and does not need to be validated by others (Andabaka et al., 2021; Matilainen et al., 2019). Ownership can be felt towards land, for example the land people live on, but also towards land used for forest or nature (Eriksson & Fries, 2020; Matilainen et al., 2017). Research shows for example that putting effort into a forest creates higher sense of ownership, but also that owners that feel highly connected to their land are less likely to sell their forest (Andabaka et al., 2021; Matilainen, 2019). Most research on this topic has been done in organizational studies (e.g. O'Driscoll et al., 2006; Pierce et al., 2001), but some research has been done on psychological ownership in relation to forests (e.g. Andabaka et al., 2021; Lähdesmäki & Matilainen, 2014). These studies show that psychological ownership can lead to higher feelings of responsibility (Pierce et al., 2001), loyalty (Matilainen, 2019), and commitment (O'Driscoll et al., 2006). It seems no research has been done on psychological ownership among Dutch private owners of natural areas, nor on private estates owners specifically.

This research is not limited to ownership however, but also to a related subject: distance. The perceived distance between something and the present self can be described as psychological distance (McDonald et al., 2015). This perceived distance is not automatically related to the physical distance between someone and an object or another person (Liberman & Trope, 2014). For example, my niece that I see once every five years might feel closer to me than my neighbors child that I see daily. Most research on this topic has been done in psychological studies (Bar-Anan et al., 2006; Trope & Liberman, 2010). These studies show that low distance is associated with a higher importance and a stronger emotional connection (Liberman et al., 2007; Trope & Liberman, 2010). Research on psychological distance among forest owners shows that a low psychological distance is experienced by people that live in their woodland or have owned their forest for a long time (Huff et al., 2017). No research on psychological distance among private estate owners or Dutch owners of natural resources has been found.

It seems likely that a high feeling of psychological ownership towards a certain object, correlates with a low psychological distance towards this object (Matilainen, 2019). So far very little research has been done on the connection between both concepts however (Claus et al., 2020; Claus et al., 2012) and none within the context of natural resources (Matilainen, 2019). This study, therefore, also contributes to research by studying the relationship between psychological ownership and psychological distance among owners of natural resources.

1.4 OBJECTIVE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on the description above, the objective of this research is to create a better understanding of private owners of estates in the Netherlands by examining in what way these private estate owners feel connected with their land. The research question to be answered is: *In what way do private estate owners in the Netherlands feel connected to their estate?*

To examine the connections between private estate owners and their estates, the concepts of psychological ownership and psychological distance, and the relationship between both concepts were explored in a theoretical framework. Based on this theoretical framework, specific research questions were designed. This research fills some of the knowledge gap on the relationship between psychological ownership and psychological distance. On top of that, a better understanding of estate owners and the connection to their estate might provide insight into how owners of private estates make decisions about their estate and their contribution to the conservation of natural areas in the Netherlands.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH

Chapter two provides an overview of the term *connection* and of the relevant theory on psychological ownership and psychological distance, followed by the conceptual framework for this research. Chapter three will first of all describe the approach to this research, and next the methodology used to collect and analyze data to help answer the research questions. Followed by the results of this research in chapter four. Theory, results, and methodology are discussed in chapter five. Finally, conclusions and answers to the research questions are presented in chapter six.

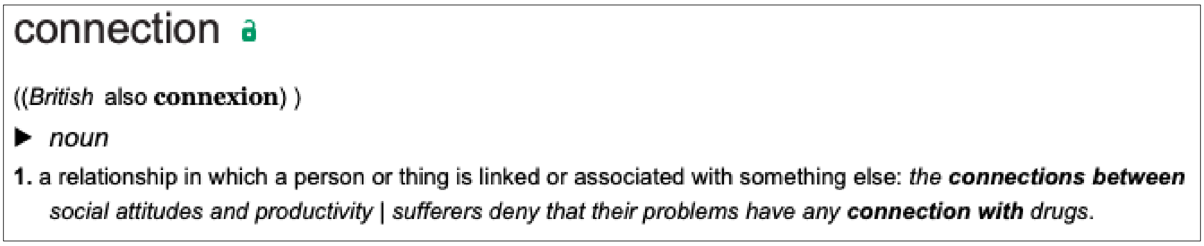
2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter presents the theoretical framework underlying this research. The chapter starts with the concept of connection (2.1) and is followed by the definition and description of the concepts of psychological ownership (2.2), psychological distance (2.3), and the relationship between these last two concepts (2.4). The final section (2.5) incorporates the concepts into a conceptual framework for this research.

2.1 CONNECTION

The objective of this research is to create a better understanding of private estate owners in the Netherlands by examining the ways in which they feel connected to their land. *Connection* is thus the first concept of this study. It is, however, hard to describe exactly what connection means, because it used in a lot of different ways and fields. A search in Google Scholar for example, provides close to 5,5 million results with the word *connection* in the title. A quick scan of the first 10 results shows results from very different fields, but none result in an explanation of the concept *connection* (e.g. Barr, 1983; Cohn & Varzi, 2003; Johnson, 1996).

The Oxford University Press (2015, p. connection) in the online Oxford Dictionary of English gives several meanings for the word *connection*. Without taking an informal and historical meaning into consideration, *connection* points to a relationship or link between two or more things or people (see Figure 2-1).


connection

((*British* also **connexion**))

▶ *noun*

1. a relationship in which a person or thing is linked or associated with something else: *the* ***connections between*** *social attitudes and productivity | sufferers deny that their problems have any* ***connection with*** *drugs.*

Figure 2-1 Meanings of the word connection in the online Oxford Dictionary of English (Oxford University Press, 2015, p. connection)

In this research, the focus is on estate owners, which means that the main connection lies in the term ownership. Ownership can be defined as "the legal right to possession, the privilege of use, and the power to convey those rights and privileges" (Donahue & Alexander, 2018, p. 4). However, as the definition of connection shows, a connection can be broader than a legal connection. The need to own is deep-rooted in many people (Pierce et al., 2001), especially so in 'western' societies (Pierce et al., 2003). It is not uncommon for people to develop feelings around or even towards their possessions and deem them important (Pierce et al., 2001, 2003). People can for example feel happiness when getting a brand-new car or phone and feel sadness when this phone or car is lost or damaged. Ownership is thus also something that people can feel or experience and that exists in their mind (Etzioni, 1991). Possession can even influence how people behave (Pierce et al., 2003). This feeling of ownership is called psychological ownership (Matilainen, 2019; Pierce et al., 2001).

As suggested by the definition of connection, people can experience different types of connections to objects or events (Andabaka et al., 2021). Apart from feelings of ownership, someone can feel closeness between themselves and an object or another person, such as feeling close to a partner (Huff et al., 2017). This distance is not necessarily related to physical distance (Liberman & Trope, 2014). It is possible, for example, to feel close to someone sitting next to me, but also to someone on the other side of the world and even to someone who has already passed away. This feeling of closeness depends on how it is created in one's mind (Jones et al., 2017) and is called psychological distance (McDonald et al., 2015).

2.2 PSYCHOLOGICAL OWNERSHIP

As stated before, psychological ownership is the feeling or experiencing of ownership (Matilainen, 2019; Pierce et al., 2001). Pierce et al. (2003, p. 86) defined psychological ownership as "the state in which individuals feel as though the target of ownership or a piece of that target is "theirs" (i.e., "It is *mine*")". Psychological ownership was first developed by Pierce et al. (1991) to explain ownership feelings among employees and has been mostly studied in the context of organizational science (e.g. O'Driscoll et al., 2006; Pierce et al., 2004). An exploration of the literature shows that the definition of psychological ownership originated in the research of Pierce et al. (e.g. Bernhard & O'Driscoll, 2011; Olckers, 2013).

The attachment to something can be felt so strongly, that this possession becomes part of someone's identity (O'Driscoll et al., 2006; Pierce et al., 2001). It is important to note that people can have feelings of ownership not just to physical things, but also to ideas, creations, other people, etc. (Pierce et al., 2001, 2003).

Psychological ownership is at its root the feeling of possession of something and of the psychological connection to this possession (Pierce et al., 2001). It is thus an individual mental feeling of an emotional connection to something (Lähdesmäki & Matilainen, 2014; Matilainen, 2019), that does not need to be validated by others (Andabaka et al., 2021). It is important to note that legal and psychological ownership are not the same thing nor are they necessarily interdependent (Andabaka et al., 2021; Matilainen, 2019). This means that legal and psychological ownership can coincide, but this is not always the case. People can feel ownership towards something they do not legally own, and it is also possible that feelings of ownership are absent towards something they do legally possess (Matilainen, 2019). The most important difference between legal and psychological ownership lies in recognition. Where legal ownership is recognized by society, psychological ownership is mainly recognized by oneself (Pierce et al., 2001). Rights and responsibilities that come with legal ownership are secured in laws, but these maybe absent for psychological ownership (Pierce et al., 2003).

Pierce et al. (2001, 2003) introduced three reasons people form a feeling of ownership towards certain possessions: (1) efficacy and effectance, (2) self-identity and (3) "having a place". These reasons are intertwined and are most likely social-biological in nature (Matilainen, 2019; Pierce et al., 2003).

(1) Efficacy and Effectance are associated with control (Matilainen, 2019). People shape their environment as ways of controlling this environment. Having control results in feeling competent and effective and provides an experience of happiness (Pierce et al., 2001, 2003). As possession creates the opportunity of control, possession can lead to feeling competent, effective and happiness (Pierce et al., 2001).

People create a sense of who they are, a self-identity (2), through looking at themselves and at how they are seen by others (Pierce et al., 2001). As people form a bond with their possessions, they discover, determine, and remember who they are to themselves and to others. Hence, possession helps define their self-identity (Belk, 1988; Pierce et al., 2003).

(3) Having a place, or feeling at home, is considered a necessity for people, as it creates the feeling of being included and belonging somewhere (Matilainen, 2019). In the most literal sense, people create a feeling of ownership towards the place they live (Pierce et al., 2001). The feeling of having a place is however not restricted to an actual home; people can also attach special meaning to other possessions that help create a secure and familiar feeling (Pierce et al., 2003).

Three ways or paths through which psychological ownership develops have been identified by Pierce et al. (2001, 2003): (1) controlling the target, (2) intimately coming to know the target and (3) investing oneself into the target. These paths are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, it has been suggested that the use of multiple paths creates a stronger feeling of ownership (Pierce et al., 2003). As stated before, (1) controlling the target of ownership creates feelings of ownership towards that target as it creates the opportunity to feel competent and effective (Pierce et al., 2001, 2003). The more control someone has over an object, the higher the feelings of ownership (O'Driscoll et al., 2006). (2) Intimately coming to know the target of ownership creates a connection with, and an attachment to, this target (Pierce et al., 2003). The relationship with an object becomes more intimate as someone spend more time with and gets to know an object, thus creating a feeling of ownership (O'Driscoll et al., 2006; Pierce et al., 2001). As people invest more of themselves (e.g. time and effort) into a target (3) they get to know the target better and create a connection to the target (Andabaka et al., 2021; Pierce et al., 2003). Responsibility or the feeling of responsibility towards something develops the need to invest time and effort into that something, which in turn also leads to a connection between oneself and this something (Pierce et al., 2003). This connection increases their feelings of ownership (O'Driscoll et al., 2006; Pierce et al., 2001).

People feel a higher responsibility towards something they have formed psychological ownership to (Pierce et al., 2001). Other positive effects of psychological ownership include loyalty (Matilainen et al., 2017), commitment (O'Driscoll et al., 2006), and being prepared to take risk or make sacrifices towards the target of ownership (Pierce et al., 2003). Psychological ownership may also have negative effects, for example when people create over-possessive feelings of ownership (Pierce et al., 2003). This can result in feelings of stress and frustration (Lähdesmäki & Matilainen, 2014), resistance to forced changes (O'Driscoll et al., 2006), and can go as far as showing dysfunctional behavior, like unwillingness to cooperate and even sabotage (Pierce et al., 2003). Some examples include demonstrations to save “our” forest in the dunes at Schoorl (Bouma, 2016), and even threats to hurt or kill an ecologist of the natural area Oostvaardersplassen by activists who disagree with his ideas (Hotse Smit, 2020).

This does not mean however that dysfunctional or even negative behavior is always presented when psychological ownership is experienced, but it might be the case under certain circumstances (Pierce et al., 2003). Both positive and negative effects might indicate that there is a threshold for the amount of psychological ownership experienced that could be considered “healthy” (Pierce et al., 2003).

2.3 PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTANCE

Psychological distance is the perceived distance between something and the present self (McDonald et al., 2015). Whatever is not happening right here and right now is at a distance from here and now (Liberman et al., 2007). For example, something happening in a faraway place or something happening in the past or future is happening at a distance from here and now. Trope and Liberman (2010) have defined psychological distance as “a subjective experience that something is close or far away from the self, here, and now” (p.440). Psychological distance is therefore, subjective and self-centered, as the reference point is the self at this time and in this place (Liberman & Trope, 2014). Psychological distance was first developed by the psychologist Kurt Lewin in the first half of the 20th century (Trope & Liberman, 2003) and has been mostly studied in the field of psychology (Bar-Anan et al., 2006; Trope & Liberman, 2010).

Four elements or dimensions are generally used to explain psychological distance: (1) a temporal or time dimension, (2) a geographic or spatial dimension, (3) a social dimension, and (4) a hypothetical or uncertainty dimension (Huff et al., 2017; Liberman et al., 2007).

(1) Time or temporal distance represents the distance in time, hence how far in the past or the future something is. This means that people feel a higher psychological distance to something that happened

a long time, than to something that happened yesterday (Jones et al., 2017). For example, someone might feel upset about a forest that was cut down last week but have no feelings about major deforestation happening 500 years ago. Psychological distance also tends to decrease over time (Huff et al., 2017). This means people feel a lower psychological distance to something they have been connected to for a long time in comparison to something new. (2) Geographic or spatial distance is the physical distance experienced, or how far away something is. Psychological distance increases when something is further away (Raja & Carrico, 2021). People feel closer, for example, to the forest they live in, than to a forest on the other side of the country (Huff et al., 2017). (3) Social distance is about the distance between the self and the other, so similarities, familiarity, etc. (Liberman & Trope, 2014). People feel a lower psychological distance to someone who feels similar or familiar to themselves (Huff et al., 2017). For example, judging by the welcoming of Ukrainian refugees compared to other war refugees in the Netherlands, a stronger connection or lower psychological distance is felt to Ukrainian refugees than to Syrian war refugees, as Ukrainian refugees are considered more similar to the Dutch as they look more like an average European than do Syrian refugees (Lange & Bos, 2022). Finally, (4) hypothetical distance or uncertainty explains the perceived probability that something will happen (Henderson, 2009; Raja & Carrico, 2021). Psychological distance increases with a higher uncertainty about what might happen. For example, a lot of people feel a high psychological distance to climate change, as it is very unclear what exactly is going to happen (McDonald et al., 2015).

2.4 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PSYCHOLOGICAL OWNERSHIP AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTANCE

Psychological ownership and psychological distance seem to be closely related concepts (Claus et al., 2020; Claus et al., 2012; Matilainen, 2019). Identity is one of the reasons psychological ownership can form, as people use possessions to understand who they are and hence create their self-identity (Pierce et al., 2001). The self is the reference point for psychological distance, as it is from the present self that distance is felt (Trope & Liberman, 2010). This means both psychological ownership and psychological distance are self-centered, have the self as starting point (Claus et al., 2020) and both can be felt not only towards objects, but also towards people, ideas, memories, etc. (Pierce et al., 2003; Trope & Liberman, 2010). Both psychological distance and psychological ownership are individual constructions of the mind, in the sense that both are about feelings people have towards something (Claus et al., 2020). Psychological ownership is the feeling of possessing something and the degree of this feeling (Pierce et al., 2003). Psychological distance is the feeling of distance between the present self and something (McDonald et al., 2015). This would suggest that a lower psychological distance to a possession also means a higher feeling of ownership to this possession (Matilainen, 2019), as confirmed by Claus et al. (2012) in their research on consumer behavior.

Even though both concepts are closely related, they are not the same. Psychological ownership is the feeling of possession of a target, while psychological distance is the distance felt between the self and a target (McDonald et al., 2015; Pierce et al., 2001). Distance can be experienced to anything, including events and experiences, that are harder to feel ownership of, making psychological distance a broader concept then psychological ownership (Claus et al., 2020).

A higher feeling of ownership indicates a closer distance to the self, this means the level of ownership experienced can be seen as the distance between the possession and the self (Claus et al., 2020). Psychological distance can thus be used to describe the level of psychological ownership experienced and psychological ownership can be used to understand the psychological distance experienced towards a possession. Therefore, both concepts in its interaction can be used to get an understanding of an experienced connection.

2.5 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This research will explore both psychological ownership and psychological distance, and the relations between the two in order to get a better understanding of the connection owners of private estates experience with their estates. Based on the description of the concepts presented above, a visual representation of the framework underlying this research is presented in Figure 2-2.

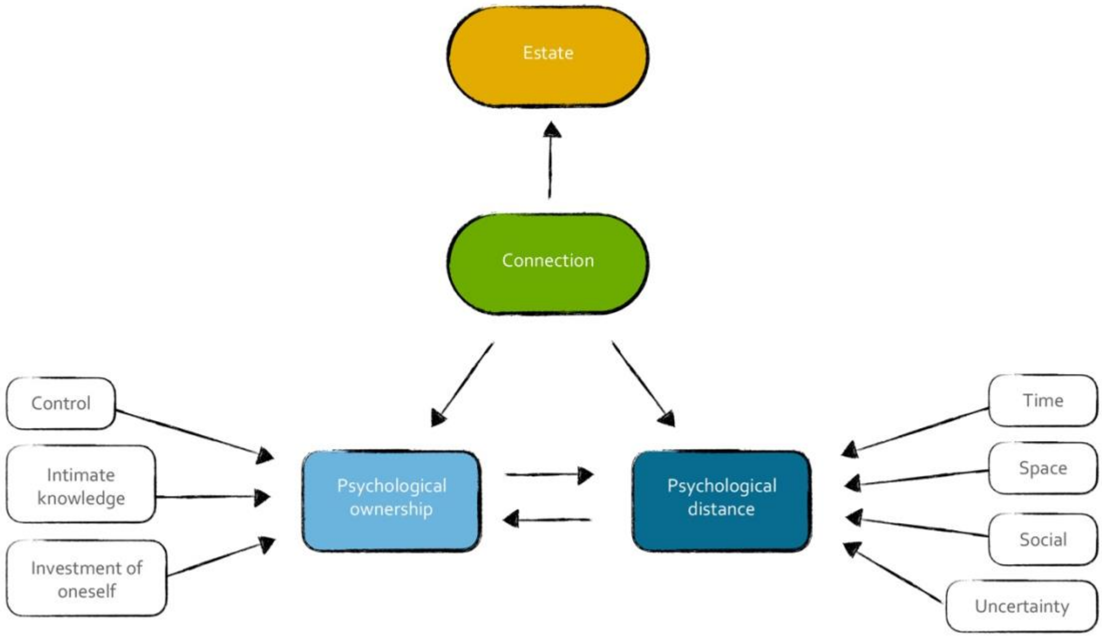


Figure 2-2 Visual representation of the relationship between the concepts of psychological ownership and psychological distance and the experienced connection.

Based on this framework, the following research questions will be explored in this study:

1. To what extent do private estate owners exhibit feelings of psychological ownership toward their estate and how strong are these feelings?
2. To what extent do private estate owners experience psychological distance towards their estate and how large is this distance?
3. What is the relationship between psychological ownership and psychological distance among private estate owners in the Netherlands?

3 METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methodology used in this study. The first section (3.1) describes the research approach. The next paragraphs describe how data was collected (3.2) and how it was analyzed (3.3).

3.1 RESEARCH APPROACH

The objective of this research is to create a better understanding of private estate owners in the Netherlands by examining how they feel connected to their land. To explore and describe how private estate owners experience the connections with their estates and how they experience ownership of an estate a descriptive approach was used (Elliott & Timulak, 2005). As qualitative research aims to study how individuals or groups experience certain phenomena, a qualitative approach is appropriate for this research (Mills & Birks, 2014).

3.2 DATA-COLLECTION METHOD

3.2.1 METHOD: INTERVIEWS

In qualitative research a range of different methods can be used to collect data (Mills & Birks, 2014). Interviews are a crucial method to collect data about people and their experiences (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006; Roulston, 2018), and can be used as the only data-collection method if the purpose is to create an understanding of these experiences (Flick, 2018). Through interviews, comprehensive knowledge about a topic or experience can be collected (deMarrais & Lapan, 2003).

Different types of interviews can be used to collect data in qualitative research (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006; Roulston, 2018). In semi-structured interviews the researcher uses a few open-ended questions on main topics to guide the conversation (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006; Kumar, 2019). Semi-structured interviews are more like a conversation or discussion, than a face-to-face questionnaire (Kumar, 2019; Matilainen, 2019). Respondents should feel free to express their feelings and define subjects they deem important (Baarda et al., 2001). This also means the questions used to guide the conversation (interview guide) are flexible and can change depending on the respondent (deMarrais & Lapan, 2003; Elliott & Timulak, 2005). Due to this flexibility it is however more difficult to compare the results of a semi-structured interview (Schober, 2008). Standardized questions are designed to be compared easily (Schober, 2008), but restrict respondents, as they have to choose a provided answer and cannot express their feelings beyond the provided answers or define new subjects (Langley, 2004). 'Questerviews' combine qualitative interviews methods (e.g. semi-structured interviews) and standardized questions (Adamson et al., 2004). In a 'questerview' respondents are asked to explain their answer to a standardized question (Langley, 2004), prompting them to think about their answer and discuss this answer (Adamson et al., 2004). This combination can create valuable data, especially regarding subjects that are meaningful or emotional to respondents (Adamson et al., 2004; Langley, 2004). Therefore, both 'questerviews' and semi-structured interviews were used to collect data for this research.

'Questerviews' were used to interview private estate owners. Semi-structured interviews were however used to interview estate-agents, as they were interviewed about the connection between private estate owners and their estates and not about their personal connection to an estate. From here on, the term interview is used to include both questerviews and semi-structured interviews.

To make sure that the initial questions are clear and easily understood (Kumar, 2019) a test interview was conducted and the questions were adjusted accordingly. Even though semi-structured interviews are similar to conversations, these interviews are different from conversations between friends, as the researcher has the intention of gathering specific data and will guide the conversation in a way that the topic of interest is discussed (deMarrais & Lapan, 2003).

3.2.2 INTERVIEW SET UP

Before starting the interview, the process of the interview was explained and respondents were asked to provide informed consent to being interviewed, to the researcher's recording the interview and taking notes, and to the use of anonymized data from the interview in this research (Flick, 2018; Roulston, 2018). All respondents provided consent.

Private estate owners were interviewed about the way they feel connected to their estates. Respondents were asked a few basic questions about themselves and their estate, such as their age and the size of their estate. Next, respondents were asked questions about topics related to psychological ownership and psychological distance. Both open-ended and standardized questions were included. For all standardized questions used, respondents were asked to rate a certain statement on a scale of 1-10, with 1 being the lowest option and 10 the highest. This rating system with a scale of 1-10 was used, because it is very common in the Netherlands as it is used in the education system (Nuffic, n.d.) and by the government to measure satisfaction (CBS, 2022).

Table 3-1 gives an overview of the topics that were used to gain insight into the routes of psychological ownership and dimensions of psychological distance as shown in Figure 2-2 and the corresponding interview questions. Estate-agents were asked about the ways that the owners they work for feel connected to their respective estates. The general interview guides can be found in appendix I.

Table 3-1 Overview of interview topics and questions in relation to routes and dimensions of psychological ownership and distance

Routes psychological ownership	Topic	Corresponding questions
Control	Management Number of owners	9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 25
Intimate knowledge	Job Distance to estate Time spent Personal history	4, 6, 17, 18, 19, 24, 25
Investment of oneself	Distance to estate Time spent Personal history Meaning	6, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25
Dimensions psychological distance	**Topic**	**Corresponding questions**
Time	History Future Personal history	8, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18
Space	Distance to estate Time spent	2, 5, 6, 17, 18
Social	Management Number of owners Personal history Meaning	9, 10, 11, 18, 19, 20, 21
Uncertainty	Management Future Uncertainty	12, 13, 14, 15, 16

3.2.3 QUALITY OF INTERVIEWS

Even though interviews are a suitable data collection method for this research, this method has some limitations. For example, the quality of data from an interview depends on the connection between researcher and respondent; i.e. does the respondent feel there is a safe environment to share information (Rapley, 2004)? Another potential risk is the importance of interpretation by the researcher, who might misinterpret information shared by the respondent, creating a different meaning to the data (deMarrais & Lapan, 2003). To minimize the negative impacts of the limitations of interviews as a data collection method, these limitations are considered in the design of the interview procedure (Hays, 2003). The following elements of the interview procedure are important to improve the quality of data collected through interviews:

1. ensuring anonymity of the respondents
2. recording and transcribing the interviews
3. having respondents revise an overview of the most important conclusions from the interview
4. interviewing both owners and estate-agents to get a broader perspective.

(1) To create a safe environment for respondents to share information freely, their anonymity is ensured as much as possible. This means real names of respondents and of their estates are not used in the transcripts or in the final report. Potentially identifying information about these estates, such as their exact locations, is not mentioned in the transcripts or the final report either. All interviews were conducted one-on-one, to give respondents the opportunity to share information freely, without worrying about how this makes others feel (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). In some cases, the respondent asked a partner or other family member to be present for the interview. The feeling that others might have an opinion of the information you have shared, can sometimes create obstacles in sharing information freely (Adams, 2015). By ensuring anonymity and speaking one-on-one these obstacles can sometimes be removed (Adams, 2015).

(2) All interviews were recorded and transcribed. Recording an interview creates the opportunity for the researcher to focus on the conversation and interact with the respondent (Rapley, 2004) and to focus on making sure all questions are asked instead of on trying to write everything down (Adams, 2015). A transcription is an exact written version of the interview (Elliott & Timulak, 2005). A more precise documentation of the interview is created with the transcription of a recording, especially when compared to notes taken during an interview (Rapley, 2004). Therefore, recording, and transcribing interviews will improve the quality of the data (Adams, 2015; Rapley, 2004).

(3) To avoid misinterpreting the meaning of information given by respondents, an overview of the most important conclusions based on the interview was sent to the respondents after the interview. Respondents were asked to review and confirm the representation of ideas and interpretations in this overview. Respondents were also free to add information or clarify something they had said before. Having respondents check on overview of the most important conclusions based on the interview can reduce misinterpretations and hence improve the quality of the data (Elliott & Timulak, 2005).

(4) Another way to reduce the chance of misinterpreting information and reducing the possibility of only collecting socially desired answers is by also interviewing estate-agents. Estate-agents hired by private estate owners might be able to give an insight in the connections experienced by private estate owners from an outsider perspective, this way confirming or contradicting the data collected from private owners. Using multiple data sources to gather similar data increases the quality of the data (Hays, 2003; Kumar, 2019).

3.2.4 RESEARCH POPULATION

A research population consists of all individuals that are the main focus of a study (Explorable.com, 2009). In this study the research population consists of all private owners of estates in the Netherlands that are registered as estates under the law for the protection of private estates (known in the Netherlands as NSW). As it was impossible to interview every private estate owner in the Netherlands, a sample was drawn (Explorable.com, 2009).

DEFINING ESTATES

Before introducing private estate owners, it is important to give a short description of estates in the Netherlands. Many diverse definitions exist for estates in the Netherlands (e.g. Albers & Haartsen, 2011; Brummen, n.d.; Velden & Bastiaans, 2009). Most of these definitions are created for specific projects or policy reasons (e.g. Albers & Haartsen, 2011; Brummen, n.d.). It seems no one definition fits all and is agreed upon in the field of estates in the Netherlands. In this research the definition of estates used in the law for the protection of estates as part of natural beauty (NSW) is used. In this law, an estate is defined as “A real property occupied wholly or partly with nature reserves, forests, or other timber stands - including those on which a country house or other buildings appropriate to the character of the estate are present - insofar as the continued existence of that real property, in its characteristic appearance, is desirable for the conservation of natural beauty” (NSW, 2021 Article 1). This means an estate is a property that is at least partly covered in nature or forest, may contain buildings, and should be conserved for its natural beauty. To be considered an estate according to this law, the property should generally be at least 5 ha in size, of which at least 30% is forested or nature (RVO, 2021a). To fully benefit from tax reductions related to the NSW at least parts of the estate have to be open to the public (RVO, 2021a). A property smaller than 5 ha must include at least one building constructed before 1950 to be considered an estate (RVO, 2021a). Private estates are estates that are privately owned by individuals or families. In the last few decades, the legal status for some private estates has changed to a foundation or private corporation with shareholders in order to preserve the estate as a whole (Kloeze, 1973). These estates are generally still managed by the same families that have historically managed them however (Kloeze, 1973), and are also included in this study.

The number of private estates and the total acreage of these estates in the Netherlands is unclear. Landgoederen.net (n.d.) lists over 1500 private estates on their website. According to Particulier Grondbezit (2018), in 2017, 5900 private estates totaling 147.395 ha were registered as estates under NSW; the law for the protection of estates as part of natural beauty. The usefulness of this number as an indicator of the number of estates is however unclear. The registration of an estate under NSW creates several fiscal benefits for the owners as a way of helping owners maintain the historical value of these estates, but is by no means obligatory (RVO, 2021a). Once registered however, it is financially extremely unattractive to deregister (NSW, 2021). This means not all estates fitting the definition are registered and some estates not fitting the definition are registered, for example because they are owned by a terrain managing organization. Some estates on the other hand are registered multiple times, as sometimes properties using a ground lease construction on an estate are registered as separate estates (RVO, 2021b).

Based on available data, one can assume that the private estates in the Netherlands cover at least 147.395 ha, which amounts to at least 4% of the land surface (Particulier Grondbezit, 2018). The total number of estates is unclear as some estates are registered multiple times and others are not registered at all. It seems likely however that the total size of an estate registered multiple times can be calculated by adding the size of all separate registration. And because some estates are not registered under NSW, the size of those estates is not included in the total acreage provided by Particulier Grondbezit (2018).

PRIVATE ESTATE OWNERS

Private estate owners in the Netherlands are, as their name suggests, owners of a (part of a) private estate in the Netherlands. Ownership of private estates can take on different legal forms, such as traditional private property[1], private corporation (with shareholders)[2] or a foundation[3]. In this research all of these legal forms are included as long as these are managed or owned privately by individuals or families and not by a terrain managing organization such as Natuurmonumenten or Provinciale Landschappen. This means an estate that is owned by a family foundation and has been managed by a private family for years is included, but an estate managed by the organization Natuurmonumenten is not.

For this research, private estate owners are limited to owners that own historical estates which have been registered as private estates (NSW). This means estates should be registered, and at least part of the estate should be managed as such since at least 1950. 1950 is used as the upper limit as this is the limit used by the NSW. This way only estates with forested or natural areas and a considerable history are included.

As with the number of estates, the number of private estate owners is unclear. Apart from the number of estates being unclear, private estate can have multiple owners. This is especially the case for those private estates that use the legal construction of private corporation with shareholders. The number of shareholders can vary from a single owner to a couple of hundred owners, and potentially a lot more as shares can be split.

As explained before (in paragraph 3.2.3), estate-agents were also interviewed to improve the quality of the data. Estate-agents or managing directors are professionals in the field of managing estates and are used by private estate owners to assist them in the management of their estate. Estate-agents may be used for advice on specific projects, for day-to-day management (managing director) of an estate, or any variation in between. Estate-agents and managing directors of estates are considered equivalent for this research and are both referred to as estate-agents.

3.2.5 SAMPLE

For this research 16 interviews were conducted.

PRIVATE ESTATE OWNERS

Private estate owners were recruited using a combination of snowball and judgmental sampling. This means respondents were asked to mention other potential respondents. From these potential respondents, a selection was made to include a variety of estate owners with different characteristics. This way a diverse group of private estate owners was included in the research. The goal was to have

[1] Traditional private properties generally have a single owner but can have multiple owners for example when an inheritance is still undivided.

[2] These private corporations with shareholders (BV's) are registered under NSW and hence meets the requirements of the NSW. Due to this these BV's can benefit from the tax benefits associated with NSW registration. The BV is the owner of the estate, and the shareholders own the BV. It is possible for the BV to make profit distributions to shareholders.

[3] A foundation is a legal entity that mast have a charitable cause and must continue to keep that charitable cause. The foundation is the owner of the estate, and the family no longer has a legal claim to the estate. There are no shareholders and profit distributions are not possible.

variety in the duration of ownership, the size of estates, the number of owners (i.e., single owner vs multiple shareholders) and number of previous generations that have owned the same estate. In total 13 respondents were included. The first private owners were recruited through my private network.

Table 3-2 provides an overview of the basic characteristics of the owners interviewed for this research and their estates.

Table 3-2 Overview of owners and their estates

Number	Size	Age	Gender	Legal	Owners[4]
1	< 50	55 - 70	f	Private property	1
2	51 - 250	55 - 70	f	Private property	2 - 40
3	51 - 250	> 70	f	BV	2 - 40
4	51 - 250	> 70	m	BV	2 - 40
5	51 - 250	> 70	m	Foundation	Foundation
6	251 - 900	< 40	f	Foundation	Foundation
7	251 - 900	40 - 55	m	Foundation	Foundation
8	251 - 900	55 - 70	f	BV	> 40
9	251 - 900	55 - 70	m	BV	2 - 40
10	251 - 900	> 70	m	BV	2 - 40
11	> 900	< 40	f	Private property	1
12	> 900	40 - 55	m	BV	1
13	> 900	> 70	f	BV	> 40

Due to anonymization of the results in this research, statements made by owners cannot be traced to individual owners. The numbers used in Table 3-2 do not match the coding used for owners in the results. This means that the owner that is coded with the number one is not necessarily the owner of the estate coded with number one in Table 3-2. In case of doubt about the scientific integrity of this research, coding used for owners and estates used in this research can be requested from the author.

Apart from the above characteristics, estate owners in this research are also diverse in job, education, living situation, personal history with the estate, and the management construction of the estate. Day-to-day management is either done by the owner themselves or by an estate-agent hired for that specific purpose. For some owners managing (part of) the estate is a fulltime job; others have or had (before retirement) other employment. Some owners have received formal education related to estate-management. Most owners live on their estate and have a long personal history with it. The personal history of owners in this research can be categorized by their experiences with the estate while growing up. Some grew up on the estate, others visited the estate as children, while some only got to know the estate as an adult. An overview of these differences between owners is found in Table 3-3.

[4] Estates that use the legal construction of a foundation, have a single owner: the foundation. To distinguish these estates from those that have a single private owner, the term foundation is used for the number of owners.

Table 3-3 Overview of differences between estate owners

Estate owners						
Management	Self	8	Agent	5		
Job	Estate	6	Other	7		
Education	Related	4	Non-related	9		
Live	Estate	10	Other	3		
Personal history	Grew up on estate	5	Childhood experience	4	Adult only	4
Combinations	Related education	+	Self-management	3		
	Related education	+	Fulltime job	2		
	Self-Management	+	Fulltime job	4		
	Lives on the estate	+	Grew up on estate	5		
	Lives on the estate	+	Childhood experience	3		
	Lives on the estate	+	Adult only	2		
	Lives elsewhere	+	Childhood experience	1		
	Lives elsewhere	+	Adult only	2	Of which 1 moved away recently	

ESTATE AGENTS

Estate-agents were recruited using snowball sampling. This means the respondents were asked to provide the name(s) of other potential respondents. The first estate-agent was recruited through my private network. A total of 3 estate-agents were included in the research. All estate-agents represent multiple estates, and, in some cases, estates included in this research are represented by these estate-agents.

3.3 DATA-ANALYSIS

Figure 3-1 gives a schematic overview of the steps taken during data-analysis.

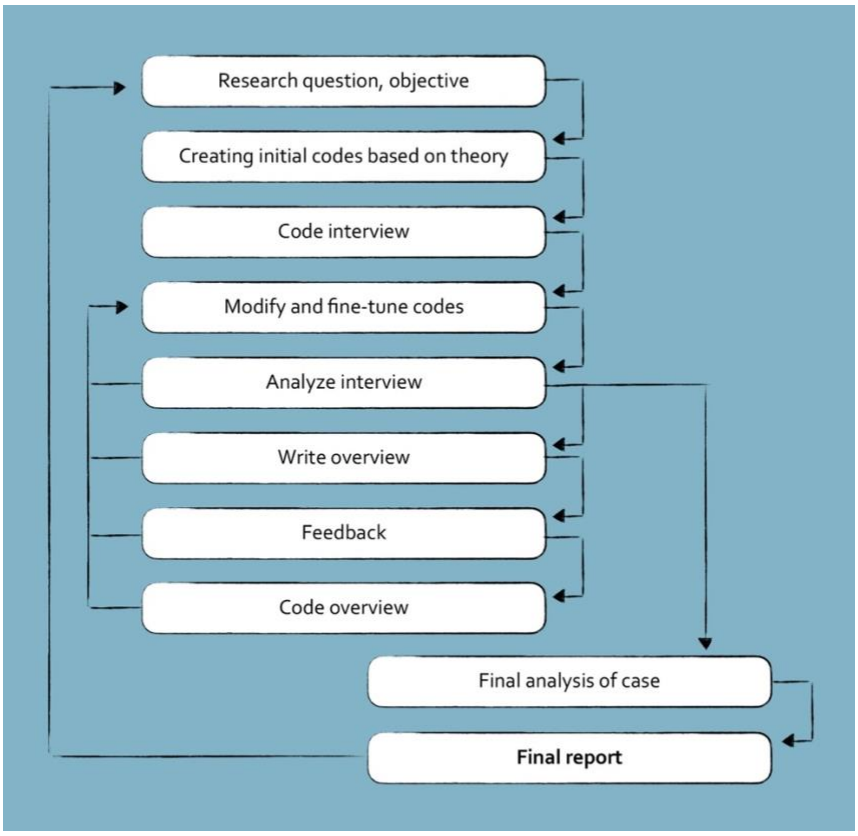


Figure 3-1 Schematic overview of the analysis, adjusted from Mayring (2000)

To be able to draw conclusions from the data retrieved from these interviews, the data was analyzed. Establishing categories and codes permits the sorting of data and facilitates comprehensive analysis (Hays, 2003; Mills & Birks, 2014). Categories and codes can be created based on theory (i.e. deductive coding) or derived from the data itself (i.e. inductive coding) (Mayring, 2000). In this research deductive categories and codes were defined in advance. Initial categories were psychological ownership and psychological distance. The routes to psychological ownership and the dimensions of psychological distance were the initial codes.

For analysis the interviews were first transcribed and then coded, as a transcription gives a more precise documentation of the interview (Rapley, 2004) and makes it easier to analyze (Nascimento & Steinbruch, 2019). A variety approaches to transcription are recognized, with naturalized and denaturalized transcription indicating the extremities of the spectrum (Nascimento & Steinbruch, 2019). Naturalized transcriptions are kept as close to the spoken text as possible and include details like pauses, safe words (e.g. 'ehm', 'so', 'yes') and, incomplete sentences (Nascimento & Steinbruch, 2019). In denaturalized transcriptions however, the text is "cleaned up" by correcting grammar and using written customs over oral customs (Nascimento & Steinbruch, 2019). In this research I use an approach close to the naturalized approach in the transcription of the interviews. I kept incomplete sentences and informal language, but removed pauses in speech and sounds or words that seemed irrelevant for the meaning of the text (e.g. 'ah' and safe words), to make the transcripts easier to read (Nascimento & Steinbruch, 2019).

The transcriptions were then coded using software for qualitative analysis: Atlas.ti (Mayring, 2000). As the research progressed new insights were gained that created the necessity to modify codes and finetune categories, thus applying inductive coding during the analysis of the data (Elliott & Timulak, 2005; Mayring, 2000). The coded transcription of each interview was used for a first analysis from which the most important conclusions were derived. An overview of the most important conclusions was then created for each interview and sent to its respondent for review.

The overview was then adjusted and completed based on the respondent's feedback, thus improving the completeness and quality of the data (Elliott & Timulak, 2005; Hays, 2003). The overviews were then coded and used for the final analysis. Throughout the process, codes were continuously added, modified, and fine-tuned as needed.

It is important to note that the interviews, transcription, and analysis were conducted in Dutch, as were the overviews sent to respondents for review. The results are however written in English, making it necessary to translate quotes by respondents into English. Since words can be translated in multiple ways, decisions and assumptions were made about the intended meaning of the text (Temple & Young, 2004). While, I have tried to translate as close to the meaning of the respondent as possible, the translations can never be fully objective (Temple & Young, 2004). The original Dutch quotes can be found in appendix II.

A code co-occurrence table and a code-document table, in the software Atlas.ti, were used to aid the final analysis (Mayring, 2000). A code co-occurrence table creates the opportunity to see in which documents certain codes co-occur. It is for example possible to see in which documents the same text is coded with both the code 'high self-investment' and 'high ownership' and to see what part of the text is coded this way. The code-document table creates the opportunity to see in what documents or categories of documents certain codes occur. After having created document categories for each legal construction for example, it was possible to see how often the code control was used for each legal construction and subsequently see the specific coded texts. Based on this analysis the preliminary results were written. Because the original categories and codes correspond to the theoretical concepts used, it was quite straightforward to generate the preliminary results for these concepts as well as for the relationships between these concepts. During the research some new themes that are important to understand the connection between estate owners and their estates were found. Codes and categories were created for these themes. Some of the (new) codes were modified and moved to other categories during the writing of the preliminary results. In the last step the preliminary results were again compared to the coded overviews of each interview before deriving to the final results.

4 RESULTS

This chapter describes the results of this study. This chapter starts with providing general data on estate management in paragraph 4.1. The next three sections describe the results for each of the specific research questions: psychological ownership (4.2), psychological distance (4.3), and the relationship between the two (4.4). The final section (4.5) describes an important concept related to both psychological ownership and psychological distance in more detail, i.e., the responsibility experienced by estate owners in relation to their estate.

4.1 GENERAL DATA ON ESTATE MANAGEMENT

This first section explores the opinions of estate owners about certain aspect of estate management, in order to get a better understanding of the influence this opinion has on the connections between owners and their estates. In other words, the way an owner feels about certain aspects of management might explain the way this owner responds to certain questions.

Overall, the estate owners in this research are quite satisfied with the management of their estates. Owners were asked their opinion on the legal construction, the manager and how well they feel the estate is currently managed. They were asked to rate each item on a scale of 1 – 10, with 1 being extremely dissatisfied and 10 being extremely satisfied. A summary of these scores can be found in Table 4-1.

Table 4-1 Opinion with aspects of estate management on a scale of 1 – 10, with 1 being extremely dissatisfied and 10 satisfied

Opinion	Average score	Median	Lowest score	Highest score
Legal construction (N = 12)	8,3	9	1	10
Manager (N = 12)	8,2	8	5	10
How well the estate is currently managed (N = 13)	7,7	8	5	10

Table 4-1 clearly shows that opinions are overall very high on all three aspects, all average scores being above 7,5.

Most owners are very satisfied with the legal construction of their estate. Single owners for whom the estate is a private property, are the happiest with the legal construction; the two single owners in this study both rated the legal construction 10 out of 10. The owner of the private property with multiple owners on the other hand is the least satisfied with the legal construction and has rated this construction 1 out of 10. This low score is related to "issues" within the family and uncertainty as a consequence of this legal construction.

Satisfaction with the estate manager (i.e., the person responsible for daily management, for example an estate-agent) is quite high as well. Some owners found it difficult to score the manager however, as they manage the estate themselves, which essentially means that they had to evaluate themselves. For some this meant rating the manager 10 out of 10, for others it meant rating themselves 5 out of 10, because there is always room for improvement. One decided not to provide a score at all. None of the owners are however unhappy about the manager running the estate as illustrated by the following quote:

"We are very satisfied with the estate-agent and consider ourselves lucky to have him. He is worth his weight in gold. He has been our agent for a long time, and it is just going really well." (15. Female, agent-managed)

It is not surprising, considering the positive outcomes of the manager of the estate, that the opinion on how well the estate is currently managed is also positive. These are not entirely the same thing however. It is possible for example to be positive about the manager, but not about how well the estate is currently managed as this might be influenced by other aspects, like the relationship with family members or laws and regulations. Some owners have rated the manager up to two points higher than how well the estate is currently managed and vice versa. Owners are overall also quite satisfied with how the estate is currently managed. For owners that manage the estate it was easier to score how well the estate is currently managed than to score themselves as managers. Most owners mentioned that there are always some things that could be improved, but also that certain things are just not possible due to restrictions that they experience, like finances and laws and regulations.

4.2 FEELINGS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL OWNERSHIP

In the theoretical framework psychological ownership is explained as the feeling of ownership of something, thus the feeling of something being "mine". The theory also describes that psychological ownership could develop trough three paths, i.e., (1) controlling the target (control), (2) intimately coming to know the target (intimate knowledge) and (3) investing oneself into the target (self-investment). These three paths will be described in this paragraph.

4.2.1 CONTROL

People shape their environment as a way of controlling this environment. Having control over a target creates feelings of ownership over that target as it creates the opportunity to feel competent and effective. Almost all owners feel they have control over aspects of their estates and have the opportunity to decide what is happening there. Certain factors, like laws and regulation and an agent managing the estate, can lower the feeling of control for certain aspects of an estate. Several owners also indicated that this feeling of control is closely related to the possibility to have an impact or make changes:

"Because you are really in control. If you want to have an impact or do something to make a change, there are so many opportunities on an estate." (6. Female)

Several factors might be of influence on the sense of control, both internal (including who is responsible for the daily management and the number of owners) and external (e.g., laws and regulations). In the following, these factors will be discussed in more detail.

MANAGEMENT: SELF VS. AGENT

A higher sense of control is experienced by owners who manage the estate themselves in contrast to those that hire an estate-agent for the day-to-day management. More control is also experienced by owners whose job is related to the management of the estate, like partially or fully managing the estate. Some owners are involved in managing (parts of) the estate fulltime, but also use an estate-agent for (certain) day-to-day management tasks. For example, because managing an estate is a lot of work, or because expertise is needed for specific tasks. This is especially the case for large estates with a lot of farmer tenants and a large historical building that needs to be maintained. For instance, one of the owners in this research manages the historical buildings on the estate and the park surrounding these buildings, but an estate-agent manages other aspects of the estate, like forests, contract with farmer tenants and is a first point of contact for governments and other outsiders. In most cases where estates are managed by the owners themselves, an estate-agent is hired for specific tasks. This way owners feel they keep control, while hiring external expertise:

"When things are complicated, there is an estate-agent that works for us on commission, let's put it that way." (2. Female, self-managed)

NUMBER OF OWNERS: SINGLE VS. MULTIPLE

Although the sense of control is independent of the number of owners, it seems to be especially high among single owners. Single owners are the sole decision-makers for their estates and have to sign off on everything that is happening on the estate. On estates with multiple owners the detailed knowledge and control of most owners decreases with the increase of shareholders:

"Well, yes, the higher the number of shareholders, the higher the focus on main issues instead of on details. The discussion is no longer about whether that specific tree should be felled or not. That is something I have to avoid in my position." (5. estate-agent)

It seems, however, that control experienced by shareholders of estates with multiple owners is similar for all owners and independent of the number of other shareholders.

In estates with multiple owners, especially in those estates in which the number of owners is still relatively low, owners feel a sense of control in how and when to pass on (part of) their shares to the next generation of owners. On several estates in this study, owners passed on a part of their shares to the next generation in their family, but also kept part of their shares, leaving the older generation with some control over the estate:

"We just passed on part of our shares to the next generation, but we are still the largest shareholders. [...] We were not ready yet to pass on all of our shares to them." (1. Male, BV, 2 – 40 owners)

EXTERNAL FACTORS INFLUENCING CONTROL

Most owners mentioned the government as a negative influence on the control they have on their estates, as they feel restricted in managing their estates in the way they see fit. Examples include introducing difficult laws and regulations or forcing estates into a certain conservation regime:

"For example, the law for land-lease. It is essentially legislation that strangulates the owners. As you cannot create creative or innovative activities with your main asset, the land." (7. Male)

"We are Natura-2000 [...] We were forced into it; it is not ideal at all. Sometimes we want to do things, but cannot, because we are not allowed to." (2. Female)

Summarizing, the results show that internally it is not so much the number of owners, but who is making the decisions that is important for the sense of control. Externally, the government seems to have the highest impact on the sense of control owners have towards their estate.

4.2.2 INTIMATE KNOWLEDGE AND SELF-INVESTMENT

Intimate knowledge of a target creates a connection with this target, and people become attached to something they know intimately. By investing more of oneself (e.g., time and effort) into a target, someone gets to know the target better and hence creates a connection to the target. This indicates a strong relationship between both routes to psychological ownership, this is confirmed by the results of this research. The two concepts will, therefore, also be discussed in the same paragraph.

Spending time on the estate creates the opportunity to get to know the estate intimately and invest more of oneself into the estate. By being active on the estate or making decisions that influences one's personal life as a result of an estate are ways to invest part of oneself into the estate and to get to know the estate better. Most respondents in this research have a high intimate knowledge and high self-investment into the estate. In the following, certain factors that seem to influence the self-investment and intimate knowledge of the estate are discussed, like the amount of time spend on the estate, the number of owners and the impact estates have on the daily lives of the owners.

SPENDING TIME ON THE ESTATE

Estate-agents mention that the intimate knowledge of estates by their owners is highest for owners that live on their estates and for those that have childhood experiences there (e.g., as they grew up on the estate or came to the estate to visit their grandparents). An example:

"I've you lived here [on the estate] since '93, you sort of become one with it." (3. Female, lives on the estate).

"I grew up here [on the estate]. I think that has great value, because when you grow up here and ride horses for example, like I did, you know every pasture, because you have walked through it with your horse and you know where it is wet, you know where it is dry. You know the woods, because you have crawled through them during hunting days, and you know the people that live here." (4. Female, childhood experience).

One of the owners explained how living on the estate increases the investment of time and effort into the estate:

"For me being here [on the estate] is what increases my involvement, which makes sense of course. But I couldn't be as involved as I am now if I weren't living here." (1. Male, lives on the estate)

NUMBER OF OWNERS

The number of owners does not seem to influence the investment of oneself by estate owners. This suggests that, even on estates with a lot of owners, opportunities to invest oneself into the estate exist. Estate-agents and owners of estates with multiple owners confirm these opportunities by explaining the efforts made by these estates to actively work on creating a connection between the estate and its owners. One of the estate owners explains this as follows:

"While I was a student, I was also always very involved in the estate, and I helped with the family foundation that we have. Or at least it is called a foundation, but what they do is organize family activities. Like activities for children and tennis games. Here we also regularly ask a committee of shareholders to take a look at a certain subject or part of the estate. […] they can hire professionals if needed and make recommendations." (12. Female, > 40 owners)

On these estates, owners that are willing to invest more are given the opportunity to do so. For example, by organizing activities or by being part of a committee or board to prepare a subject for a shareholders meeting. For most estates voluntary investments of time and expertise are crucial for the survival of that estate.

Most respondents mentioned that, due to estate ownership, they have had to make decisions that have impacted their lives. For several owners it meant moving across the country with their family to be able to manage the estate, leaving a life and friends behind. Sometimes this included having to find a new job near the estate for themselves and/or for their partner:

"The estate didn't provide an income for us, so I had to have a regular job on the side. The idea was for us to do take over the management of the estate and find a job near the estate. We would move to the estate after I had found a job. I started with half job here and half a job back in the city, so it was like a step-by-step procedure to get here. It was a very conscious decision to move here to manage the estate and secure the estate's future." (7. Male, lives on the estate, self-managed)

For some this meant delaying personal affairs or investments in favor of investing into the estate:

"Well, that cost around €65.000 and we had wanted to buy a new RV but decided not to at that time. I would like to pass the estate on properly. […] I live for the estate and sometimes I don't' do something because of it." (2. Female, self-managed)

And for others it meant signing away a large part of their financial assets to secure the estates future in one piece. As estates can be quite large, the total net worth of an estate can be quite high. This means that in an estate with multiple shareholders, shares held by one individual can represent a large financial capital. Several estates, especially those with a large number of owners, have made it very difficult for individual shareholders to cash in on this financial capital, by establishing strict rules on selling shares and prices of those shares in their by-laws and other legal agreements:

"They take that very serious here [on this estate], the by-laws state that owners first have to offer their shares to the other shareholders. This is fairly common practice, but a shareholders' agreement was subsequently drawn up stating the price at which shares can be sold. A formula was created to come to a price and this formula has actually been devised in such a way that the price is always very low. When the shareholders signed this agreement, the actually signed away a large part of their financial assets. This gives a good indication of the connection felt by the owners and the desire to keep it the estate in the family. Because due to this low price, chances are that other shareholders can and will buy the shares if someone wants out. That is the idea behind it." (5. Estate-agent)

Estate-agents mentioned that self-investment can be very different among owners, especially on estates with multiple owners, but this is also the case for foundations. Some owners mentioned that other family members are less involved and invest less into the estate. This is sometimes seen as a risk to safeguarding the estate for the future, especially for those that also manage the estate:

"I sometimes worry too, because I was raised with the estate, and I genuinely enjoy managing it. But what if I am not able to do that anymore, I sometimes wonder if someone in the family would really want to take over. I am not sure. I think it might be quite difficult. You cannot take that for granted, I think." (11. Male, self-managed)

Investing time and effort into an estate is something that never stops. The estate is always there and on the minds of owners - day and night, and this continues after retirement. Ownership is felt as a commitment and an obligation that never stops; it is not carefree (see also paragraph 4.5.1 for further explanation). One of the estate owners explained this as follows:

"Well, yes. I'm busy with for the state pretty much day and night. But that is because of my position [in the management of the estate]." (12. Female, self-managed)

Only one owner explained how the self-investment into their estate has decreased overtime as the legal situation became more complicated and the relationship with the other owners deteriorated.

Summarizing it seems that spending time on their estates has a larger influence on the intimate knowledge and self-investment of owners than the number of owners. Most estate owners in this research have explained how they have made decisions that had a large impact on their lives, due to estate ownership and this way investing into the estates.

4.2.3 PSYCHOLOGICAL OWNERSHIP: MORE THAN THE SUM OF CONTROL, KNOWLEDGE, AND INVESTMENT?

Almost all owners in this research have a high sense of control, an intimate knowledge of the estate and invest a lot into their estate. This would suggest high psychological ownership, i.e., a high feeling of ownership. However, this does not seem to be the case; the feeling of ownership seems to be quite low for most owners in this research:

"Nothing is mine, maybe it is because I grew up with so many sisters, but nothing is mine. […] I am employed by the estate, and this is a service residence." (4. Female, foundation)

The feelings of ownership seem to be slightly higher among owners that manage the estate themselves fulltime and among estates that are legally a foundation. In the legal construction of a foundation, the legal owner of the estate is the foundation itself. The feelings of ownership also seem to be slightly higher for men then for women, especially for men over the age of 70:

"It is not even mine, but if someone does something to harm the estate, for example, it feels like they are harming my personal property. […] That's what it feels like [like I am the owner]. I believe my involvement is the same as if I would be the owner. […] So, I might be a kind of owner on the sideline. Maybe I should describe it that way, that is how it feels. The responsibility I feel is that of an owner." (11. Male, foundation)

It is important to note however that even though feelings of ownership seem to be slightly higher for these categories, these feelings are generally quite low. As illustrated by one of the owners:

"Well, I do not really feel like an owner no, but I feel responsible, let's put it that way. But not ownership, because that is sort of like this is my land, here is the fence and I'm rolling out the cannons." (6. Female, BV)

This feeling of ownership is closely linked to an obligation that owners feel towards safeguarding the estate for the future. Most owners mention they feel more like a custodian or caretaker than an owner. They feel they are just one generation of custodians/caretakers in a long chain of generations before and after them. This is considered a privilege, but also a responsibility (for further explanation see paragraph 4.5.1). Two of the owners explained this as follows:

"It is more a feeling of having to manage it [the estate] now and make sure it's doing well, and I have to make sure I can pass it on to the next generation, preferably in a better condition than I got it in." (9. Male, BV)

"Do I feel ownership? This touches upon the root of the question what ownership actually is. It contains the word 'own', and it does not feel like that. It is on a higher, more abstract level. In the end, I am the one that has to formally sign, but the decision is not made for me, but is made while constantly keeping

the previous, current, and future generations in mind. Although I obviously have to decide with the current circumstance. I do not decide on my own, but with the help of the estate-agent and depending on the project, the gardener, carpenter, or painter and of course always with the support of my husband. The word custodian better represents how I feel." (15. Female, single owner)

This feeling of custodianship is not just felt by owners of estates however. Others that are involved in the estate also tend to feel a responsibility and a more emotional connection to estates. Employees can even create feelings of ownership towards the estate:

"What always amazes me about estates, is that everyone involved, whether that be the painter, the contractor, the estate-agent or the accountant, everyone grows attached to it at some point. It goes much deeper than a mere business relationship, it is just the emotion that is in those estates, you get infected by that, so to speak. It is because of the estates, because of everything that goes on there, that there is a sort of sympathy factor involved. That is special to see. Anyway, I also have that myself, it gets close to your heart sometimes. If it goes well, it's great, if it goes bad, you're disappointed and you make sure everything will be okay. So, it's a lot more than just selling a product." (10. Estate-agent)

"All employees that work here, when they talk about the estate, they say things like 'on our estate' or 'on my estate'. Nothing on the estate is mine or ours, but that is how I and the employees talk about the estate. I think it is a positive sign of commitment." (5. Estate-agent)

4.3 FEELINGS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTANCE

Psychological distance is explained in the theoretical framework as the perceived distance between something and the present self. The theory also described the four elements or dimensions that are generally used to explain psychological distance. These are (1) a temporal or time dimension, (2) a geographic or spatial dimension, (3) a social dimension, and (4) a hypothetical or uncertainty dimension. In the following text these four dimensions will be described.

4.3.1 TIME OR TEMPORAL DISTANCE

Temporal distance or time is about how far something is in time, thus how far in the past or future something is. Most estates have a very long history; some owners can even trace the history of their estate back as far as the Middle Ages. Two estates have even been owned (or "managed" as stated by owners) by the same family since around 1400. It is important to owners for this family history to continue into the future. As explained by this owner:

"Like I said, it [the estate] has been in my family for 650 years, and I would love for it to continue like this for a while. So yeah, that puts a certain pressure on." (9. Male)

Most estates have been managed by the same family for at least a couple of generations, only one was bought by the current owners. That estate does however have a long history. The most recently created estates are around 100 years old and have been in the same family ever since:

"This estate is not even that old historically. [...] It is sort of two parts, two estates that are connected. One of these estates was bought around 1985, not the castle, but the land. The other estate was accumulated piece by piece by a great-uncle of mine." (11. Male)

Many of the owners in this research have a long personal history with the estate. They have childhood experiences on the state, for example, because they grew up on the estate or came to the estate as children to visit their grandparents. As explained in paragraph 4.2.2 this is also closely related to the route intimate knowledge of psychological ownership. For a few respondents their history with the estate started as an adult. One of the estate-agents mentioned that spending time on the estate as a child is important in creating a strong connection to the estate:

"It is essential I think, that is, it is my experience that spending time on the estate as a child is very important." (5. Estate-agent)

Most estates have a long history and came into the family of the current owners a long time ago and have been continuously managed by the same family. As the estates are being managed by the current owners, although the family history is very long, the current owners are managing the estate today. This has resulted in a low distance on the temporal dimension between the owners and the estate. The historical connection is however important to most owners:

"It is the history, the historical roots that are there. It is the fact that all of those generations before me have walked the same paths, have enjoyed the same trees, and sat on the same benches. Yes, there is a very deep historical connection." (12. Female)

"The connection [to the estate] is that you just know that other people have been busy for the estate and that you continue with that and that more people will come and continue with the estates after you're gone. That is nice. You are connected to both previous and future generations. But you also enjoy it yourself and you do what you want to do. It is a nice obligation. You are sort of a link in a larger part. A few things you'll change. My grandfather planted a lot of Douglas and Norway Spruce for example, and then you think about whether this what you want, well no, so then you change that. But you know those choices in the past were made consciously, so it's not easy to change, but you can make some changes. There are also a lot of things that you can see were designed in a certain way and that you continue. Like the way this whole view has been designed, it is fantastic how that works and yes, you want to continue that" (4. Female)

Summarizing, it seems a distinction can be made between personal history and family history with the estate. It seems a long family history has a higher influence on reducing temporal distance than personal history.

4.3.2 SPACE OR SPATIAL DISTANCE

Spatial distance is the physical distance experienced. Most owners in this research live on the estate and/or have lived there in the past. Ten owners currently live on the estate, of which five also grew up there. The three owners that live elsewhere spend at least two days a week on the estate. Of these three owners, one moved away recently, one has been coming to the estate since childhood and only one owner has a short personal history with the estate and lives far way. The spatial distance to the estate seems to be higher for this last owner that has never lived on the estate, nor has childhood memories there and hence has not been able to spend as much time on the estate. Overall, the spatial distance to the estate is however very low and seems to be enhanced with growing up on the estate and spending time there later:

"There is a great privilege in growing up [on an estate], I see that as something important. That you have had the chance to let a space be intertwined with childhood memories that you can retrieve at a later time. When my son comes here [to the estate] from the city there are three things that I notice; he says, 'oh the water is wonderful here, and the air' and he observes the badger's burrow. He has lost that, and I see a connection in him through those childhood memories." (8. Female, lives on the estate)

One owner that lives on the estate, mentioned that she feels a lower distance towards the estate because she lives there compared to the other owners that do not live on the estate:

"Especially because I'm here [on the estate], it is different for me than for example for my mother who lives in the city and is at a distance." (3. Female, lives on the estate)

The importance of spatial distance is recognized at several estates as, especially for estates with a lot of owners, time and effort is put into creating opportunities for owners to spend time on their estates to create a connection to the estate. These opportunities can include family activities like having a drink together or a day or week to do voluntary work on the estate, but also vacation homes that can be rented cheaply. As explained by one of the estate-agents:

"But of course, we invest in the involvement [of the shareholders] in many other ways, it is not just the shareholders meetings. Here they have a vacation home for example, they [the shareholders] can take turns to stay there for next to nothing" (5. Estate-agent)

It is clear from this description that spending time on the estate decreases the spatial distance to the estate.

4.3.3 SOCIAL DISTANCE

Social distance is the distance between the self and others. The social distance seems to be low for most owners, as illustrated by one of the owners as follows:

"The estate is doing well, I mean financially. By well I also mean the atmosphere at the estate is really good." (15. Female)

Social distance might be affected by different relationships between the owner and others. In addition to the relationship between multiple owners, the relationship with others that are connected to the estate also seems to be important. In the next section these relationships will be discussed.

THE SELF AND OTHER OWNERS

Social distance seems to be independent of the number of owners or the legal construction. Only the owner of the estate that is a private property with multiple owners has a higher social distance, due to the bad relationship between owners. For all other estates in this research with multiple owners, the relationship between owners is very good:

"We have a very strong relationship, so I could decide everything without her [the other shareholder] because I own 2/3 of the shares, but I would never do that of course." (7. Male, 2 – 40 owners)

The relationship between owners is very important to owners as it is considered the only true way to safeguard an estate for the future. An owner of an estate with multiple shareholders explains the importance of a healthy relationship between shareholders so shareholders do not want to sell their shares and the estate does not fall apart because of it:

"In the end it is about getting along. That is the most important. All kinds of technical solutions can be thought off, but you have to get along and allow others something too. And sooner or later there is this critical phase, all estates [with shareholders] get there, when it is difficult for a bit and then everyone should have the wisdom to consider the importance of the estate, because it is something special to be part of." (6. Female, > 40 owners)

On estates with multiple owners a lot of effort is put in to actively creating a connection between the estate and its owners and between the owners themselves, as mentioned in paragraph 4.3.2 social activities, like having a drink, summer camps for kids and planting trees are organized to better get to know the estate and each other:

“An important part of all plans is always the events that invest in creating a connection among the shareholders and between the shareholders and the estate. […] [On one estate] there is a cultural-historical vacation home […] There [another estate] one day a year shareholders come and help out for example by picking berries.” (13. Estate-agent)

RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHERS

Social relations among owners are not the only aspect of social distance among private estate owners. The relationship with other people, such as people living and working on the estates is also important. Some of these families, like tenant farmers, have been on the estate for generations as well, creating a long relationship between these families and the owners:

“I sometimes think estates get too much attention. If you compare with one of the tenant farmers, for example, I think their family also goes a long way back.” (15. Female, single owner)

Investing in this relationship to keep it healthy is considered very important. This is considered to be an important difference between private estates and other organizations managing land. In comparison with organizations managing land, private owners are generally willing to be more social towards, for example, farmer tenants on their estates:

“I think it is also a good thing, you know, the give and take, and the emotions that play a rather important role in decision-making. Especially if you compare it to terrain managing organizations. … Estates are more stable, with more respect for the people that live and use the estate” (10. Estate-agent)

Next to this relationship, there is also a relationship with the local community around the estate. It is important to invest time and effort into these relationships as there is an interdependence with the community around the estate and the people on the estate:

“In the end, if we do well so do the communities around us and if the communities do well, so do we. We also just need each other” (13. Estate-agent)

“Over the years you have to create a large network around they estate in order to avert the many dangers that affect it.” (14. Male, 2 – 40 owners)

Estate owners feel they have an important public and social responsibility towards the communities around them, but also to the broader public. This will be explained in more detail in paragraph 4.5.2.

Summarizing, it seems that good relationships with others, both other owners and others related to the estate, are important to decrease social distance.

4.3.4 UNCERTAINTY OR HYPOTHETICAL DISTANCE

Uncertainty or hypothetical distance explains the perceived probability something will happen. Overall uncertainty towards the future of the estate is very low. Owners were asked to rate how certain they feel about the future of the estate. A summary of the scores given can be found in Table 4-2.

Table 4-2 Certainty about the future of the estate on a scale of 1 – 10, with 1 being extremely uncertain and 10 extremely certain (N= 13)

	Average score	Median	Lowest score	Highest score
'How certain do you feel about the future of the estate?'	8	9	1	10

All but one estate, are quite certain about the continued existence of the estate:

"So, in that sense, I think the future of the estate is quite safe, yes". (14. Male)

"It is a private property; it is still undivided. It makes for a very uncertain future". (3. Female)

Certainty lies in that all estates are financially sound, and that almost all are satisfied with the way they are organized and have a next generation willing to continue the estate or that has just (partially) taken over ownership. This creates a feeling of certainty towards the future of the estate:

"We are financially sound; we got the structure figured out. So yes, I'm very positive about that [the future]." (1. Male)

For the one estate with a low score on certainty, the legal construction is unclear and the relationship between some of the owners is not great. Because of this uncertainty the owner does not want to involve her children in what is happening on the estate as not to burden them with this high uncertainty. The uncertainty threatens the (continued) existence of the estate as a private estate or at least within this family:

"I understand very well that if you want to pass it [the estate] on, then of course there needs to be a certain solid base. And if that were not possible due to the mess were in, then this family just does not deserve it. Then it is not meant to be." (3. Female)

Even though most estate owners in this research feel the continued existence of the estate is secure, almost all owners mention risks that could potentially threaten their estates:

"The estate, well it is not going to disappear into a big hole or anything, but there are threats." (4. Female)

The most important risks identified by estate owners are (1) environmental issues (specifically climate change), (2) government (like policy issues), and (3) organizational issues (mostly, the critical phase for estates that as a legal construction are a private corporation with shareholders). In the following, these three risks will be described in more detail.

(1) ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

As the changing climate is considered a threat to estates, most estate owners actively work on creating climate-proof estates to safeguard their future. Efforts are made to decrease the footprint of the estate by making the estate more sustainable, for example by limiting the amount of fuel used in maintenance, by creating awareness among tenant farmers about the importance of working towards a more sustainable future or by improving the sustainability of the main house and other buildings on the estate:

"We do not know what could happen, well, we do now big changes can happen all of a sudden, these days. The biggest threat is climate change, and we are working hard on how to best adapt ourselves to that. […] This year we have planted a lot of sessile oak for the first time, as it should be a little more drought resistant. But who knows, it might get wet, you really do not know." (4. Female)

Some estates go quite far in their efforts to work towards a sustainable future, for example, by creating (pilot)projects with tenant farmers, the communities surrounding the estate and/or government organizations. Some examples include creating the opportunity for farmers to try new ways to improve the quality of the soil or by finding ways to pay for more nature-inclusive farming or ecosystem services (PES-schemes):

"We were shocked by the poor quality of the soil after it had been used for intensive farming. We did not realize how bad it was until we bought farmland from a relative. Now we are working with farmers that focus on soil improvement to see how the soil can be improved." (8. Female)

There is a hope among estate owners that the current affairs (like climate change, COVID and the issues around nitrogen emissions in the Netherlands) will help society recognize the importance of nature and help the government get into action. This might create a momentum that estates can benefit from:

"I think with everything that is going on at the moment and especially because of climate change, I think estates are on to a good thing and that society is now indeed going to recognize the importance of nature." (14. Male)

(2) GOVERNMENT

Almost all estate owners mention governments as an unreliable partner and one of the biggest threats to their estate:

"The biggest threats for us as a smaller estate are the government (laws and regulations) and politics." (16. Male)

Unclear and everchanging policies are an important cause of uncertainty among owners, as is the influence of individual government officials that are unwilling to cooperate or even boycott plans. For some estates this influence can have such a big impact that they consider selling the estate and leaving the area, for others it means putting plans on hold until the specific official is no longer in office:

"The greatest strength estate owners and estates have is that they have time on their side. If a plan gets shot down [by a civil servant], we just put it in a drawer and when someone new gets that position, we pull it out again and just try again. So that is a strength you need to remember. You just have to hold on to that very long time span and use that for your estate, because even the farmers do not think in such long-terms." (9. Male)

This owner also mentions the extreme long-term thinking that estate owners tend to use, it is way longer than any other organization or government. This considered a great strength and a necessity to be able to manage an estate over generations. Something most private owners have been doing for centuries. This long-term thinking does not mean however that estates are at a standstill. It does mean that estate owners are less susceptible to political hypes and that they only tend to move with mayor changes in society:

"It also means that you should not cover it [the estate] and manage it like a museum. So, you have to move with the major changes in society and not be swayed by the issues of the day". (6. Female)

In addition, government officials can be quite ignorant when it comes to how estates are managed and what is important to them:

"The province had drawn up a, let's say a private contract [for a pilot project] that describes our obligations in maintaining forest edges. In the introduction it stated 'the province wants to work with its partners, being Natuurmonumenten, Provincial Landscape and Staatsbosbeheer, to achieve certain goals'. So, I said, well, now you are here with us, and you want to do this pilot with us as a partner and you cannot even name us as a partner on the contract you enter with us? This shows what is going on, governments can be very ignorant when it comes to how estates work. I think that is a real shame." (10. Estate-agent)

Expropriation of land due to the construction of infrastructure or the expansion of neighboring towns, as well as changes to zoning plans on estates are considered a big threat and something owners are willing to fight long and hard for to prevent:

"As it turned out, the municipality had made changes to the zoning plan for the farmland we bought and had changed the use to a special nature purpose. No one knew exactly what this meant and what the grounds for this purpose were. It took a lot of effort to regain the agricultural purpose on the land. We had to go to court and fight all the way up to the Raad van State [Council of State] to regain the purpose, but we succeeded in the end." (8. Female)

Another uncertainty or threat related to governments is the very compartmentalized ways of working by governments and government institutions and the failure to be able to look at a wide spectrum.

"That is my biggest concern in relation to the new environmental law, the law in itself also provides a huge opportunity, because the law looks for balance, for optimization [as do estates]. But the government itself is so deeply sectorial organized, that it will be a very big challenge to succeed. I believe that is the biggest threat there is, but on the other hand, it is also a very big opportunity" (13. Estate-agent)

(3) ORGANIZATIONAL ISSUES

As described in paragraph 4.3.3 a critical phase exists for estates with multiple shareholders. In this critical phase the financial value of shares owned by individual shareholders can be extremely high for estates with few shareholders. This presents a risk in case a shareholder wants to sell its shares, as it might be impossible for the private corporation (i.e., the estate) or other shareholders to buy these shares. This might mean that (parts of) an estate needs to be sold to meet financial obligations. Several owners have addressed this critical phase of the private corporation as a legal construction for estates. As illustrated by one of the estate owners:

"It [share ownership] has become so fragmented that it no longer has any real financial value for anyone. So, we have passed that critical phase. Ownership now has a much more important emotional value". (12. Female, BV)

Summarizing, most owners are quite certain about the continued existence of the estate. There are however several factors that are considered a risk (i.e., environmental issues, government, and organizational issues) and create uncertainty toward the future. These do not seem to influence the certainty about the continued existence of the estate in the long run too much however, but rather create an uncertainty of how to deal with certain aspects in the short run.

4.3.5 PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTANCE TO THE ESTATE

This research shows a low distance for estate owners towards their estates on all four dimensions of psychological distance; time, space, social and uncertainty. Owners feel a very strong connection to their estates and the places they represent:

"I feel very good here [on the estate]. Of course, it is beautiful everywhere, but there's no need to leave. … It's really a feeling, it's part of who I am. … It comforts me, it gives me energy, it gives me worries, it frustrates me sometimes, it humors me, it provides coziness. So, in that sense it really determines my mood. Sometimes while walking the dog, I think 'it is so beautiful here' and sometimes while walking I think 'how are we going to solve this problem'. But above all it gives me a sense of security, yes, I think that is the word I'm looking for. I really feel secure here, very safe." (15. Female, lives on the estate)

Owners were also asked to rate the importance of their estates to them and how much their estates are part of who they are, in order to get an idea of how close the estate is to owners. As something that is important to someone or is part of someone is very close to this person. A summary of the scores given can be found in Table 4-3.

Table 4-3 Importance of the estate on a scale of 1 – 10, with 1 being not (important) at all and 10 very important or totally

	Average score	Median	Lowest score	Highest score
'How important is the estate to you?' (N=13)	9.6	10	8	10
'How much do you think the estate is part of who you are?' (N=12)	8.7	8.5	6	10

This confirms that the estates are very important to their owners and are very much part of who they are at this moment in time. Overall, the distance to the estates is very low among all owners and the estates are very important to them as it is a large part of their daily lives:

"Of course, it [the estate] is part or who I am, but I could also be perfectly happy without an estate, that would not be a problem. It is a very important part of my life, but again, at this moment in my life. If I were not to live here anymore in the future, it will become less important to me and that is totally fine." (1. Male, lives on the estate)

"The importance of the estate to me? It is just something you breathe." (11. Male)

4.4 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PSYCHOLOGICAL OWNERSHIP AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTANCE

The feelings of psychological ownership and psychological distance are overall low in this study. This means, overall, that owners do not feel ownership but do feel close to the estate. A summary of the feelings of psychological ownership and psychological distance for each respondent can be found in Table 4-4.

Table 4-4 Summary of psychological ownership and psychological distance for each respondent (N=13, + = high, - = low, +/- = neutral)

Number	Control	Intimate Knowledge	Self-Investment	Psychological Ownership	Psychological Distance
1	+	+	+	+	-
2	-	+	+/-	-	-
3	+	+	+	-	-
4	+	+	+	+	-
5	+	+/-	+/-	+	-
6	+	+	+	-	-
7	+	+	+	+	-
8	+	+	+	-	-
9	+	+	+	-	-
10	+	+	+	-	-
11	+/-	+	+	-	-
12	+/-	+	+	-	-
13	+/-	+	+	-	-

This would suggest lower ownership to be related to low distance, as most owners have low ownership feelings and a low distance to the estate. However, when considering the routes to psychological ownership instead of psychological ownership itself, high control, intimate knowledge, and self-investment are related to low psychological distance. This suggests that potentially high psychological ownership is related to low psychological distance.

To understand the connection between private estate owners and their estates, apart from psychological ownership and psychological distance, it is important to understand the responsibility they experience. Even though psychological ownership seems to be low, private estate owners in this research feel a high responsibility towards their estates. A high responsibility seems to be related to potentially high psychological ownership and low psychological distance.

4.5 RESPONSIBILITY

4.5.1 RESPONSIBILITY TOWARDS THE ESTATE AND FAMILY

Owners feel a strong responsibility and obligation to safeguard their estates for the future. It is important that future generations will also have the opportunity to enjoy the estate:

"Because ownership comes with a responsibility, independent of what it is you own. Whether you have a big bag of money, some land, a factory, whatever, it gives you the responsibility to do something. And I hope most people decide to do something good, instead of going astray, as that is of course also a possibility. But I see it as having a responsibility, as an obligation to do something good. And on the other hand, preserving is also very important, so making sure it is future-proof." (6. Female)

This responsibility is however not only to future generations, but also towards past generations. No owner wants to be the one generation that messes up and has to sell the estate:

"The estate is important to me in the sense that it is important to my family. Right now, and I am saying this, just after my father passed away, from an emotional background, this is especially true for my

father, but also for his parents. They moved from East-Germany with nothing and put all their energy and love into the estate. For them, I think it is important that I continue it, the best I can. That is the beauty of it, that in the end you know you are doing this for something deeper and greater. You are not doing this for yourself, you're doing this for the past and future generations. For the next generation to have just as wonderful childhood, like I had here. At the same time, it is very difficult to truly describe the obligation and responsibility I feel." (15. Female)

*"Nobody wants to be **that** generation that messes up and has to sell to Natuurmonumenten for example. That would be the worst possible scenario of course." (10. Estate-agent)*

An important aspect of the responsibility experienced by estate owners in this research is a financial aspect. Owners feel a responsibility to pass on an estate that is financially healthy and preferably in a stronger and better condition, to the next generations:

"I see it as an obligation to pass it [the estate] on to the next generation in a financially healthy condition. There have been so many generations before me who, through ups and downs, have ensured the estates survival. That is why we are all able to enjoy it together and I hope the future generations will get that opportunity as well." (12. Female)

Private ownership of an estate is a responsibility that does not end, it is a constant part of the owner's life. It does not end at the end of a workday or at retirement but is a constant in one's life. As explained by one of the owners as follows:

"It never stops however, you are always busy [for the estate], weekends and evenings and I well I don't know. […] No, you cannot let go. And you are always there too. At eight a.m. people come into the house and they are here, it is a working entity. There is someone who works in the office, and the gardener, and the caretaker, and all those people that work here, they are all part of our lives. Well yeah, it's always on your mind, there is no separation between work and home, the office comes to us." (4. Female)

Even though estate ownership is considered a large responsibility it is also considered a privilege. This privilege was mentioned by all estate owners in this research when talking about the responsibilities they feel. It is considered a privilege to have such a responsibility. Most owners consider themselves lucky to be able to be part of an estate and have the opportunity to care for it:

"Basically, it is pretty simple. This sort of possession is amazing and a privilege and beautiful to walk through, but at the same time it is also quite a responsibility." (9. Male)

"So, it [the estate] means a lot, because I think that was the question, but you could also say that it comes with a large responsibility. Yes, it just energizes me. That is really just what it is, so you do this with great pleasure. […] The welfare of the estate is the most important part of the life you lead. We really enjoy it here, we've got to lead a life with the estate, with everything that comes with it, but also the joys, yes, we enjoy it thoroughly." (7. Male)

4.5.2 SOCIAL AND PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY

In the Netherlands private owners have managed estates for centuries, this way managing land and natural resources. This has resulted in protection of a specific mixed landscape of smaller scale agriculture with wooded banks and ditches mixed with forested land. This type of smaller scale landscape was destroyed in other parts of the country due to land consolidation and intensification of agriculture:

“What estate owners have preserved over the centuries, they have protected the landscape, so to speak. That has simply been extremely important for the Netherlands. That is why so much of it still exists, thanks to estate owners. In other parts, those that have had to deal with land consolidation, nothing is left, so to say, those parts have been completely destroyed. And I think a lot of estate owners, and I’m just an estate-agent but I feel the same thing, we just manage all these natural areas, it is natural to us, we don’t even notice it anymore. […] I also think those TBO’s [terrain managing organizations] are mostly purely nature focused. Where estates have always been, of course estates with just forest or nature also exist, but most estates have a mix of all kinds of functions, and they can control more aspects because of it. In fact, estates are much better parties to be in business with, because for TBO’s everything is about nature and that has to be paid for. The Netherlands without agriculture is inconceivable. On estates you have the ability to mix both nature and agriculture and coordinate those functions way better.” (10. Estate-agent)

As mentioned by this estate-agent, to most owners protecting and preserving their estates is obvious, that is just something you do. By preserving an estate, the landscape is also preserved for society however. Most owners do feel they have an important responsibility to society:

“We are constantly working on what the social contribution of the estate is. This is extra important for us as the estate is not open to the public.” (8. Female)

This social responsibility had an important role on estates in the distant past, but in time disappeared on most estates. It is considered important to return this societal role back to estates:

“It [the estate] had an important function in society and that function has disappeared due to our economic model in which we started importing more products from abroad and no longer noticed what our country was producing. And this is something I have kept in mind from the beginning, how good it would be to involve the community again in the estate. And I think we are on the right track, because we now have a lot of volunteers.” (14. Male)

Estate owners use different approaches to fulfill their social responsibility. For some estates this means opening up the estate for cultural activities, like concerts. For others it means creating working towards are more sustainable future through projects or through opportunities given to people to try new things on the estate. And for some it means using the estate for (nature) education:

“I also see a social role for estates, and I think it is important for all estate owners to take up this role. Whether it concerns direct services to society or whether it is improving biodiversity or generating energy, you name it, I think that role that estate owners really should take up.” (1. Male)

In summary, a high responsibility is felt by estate owners towards past and future generations and to society at large and seems to be in important motivator for the way estate owners manage their estates.

5 DISCUSSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter the results, theory, and methodology of this research are discussed. It starts with a reflection on the results of this research in paragraph 5.1. Next a reflection (5.2) on the theory of psychological ownership and psychological distance and a reflection on the methodology used in this research (5.3). And finally, recommendations for science and practice are presented in paragraph 5.4.

5.1 REFLECTION ON RESULTS

5.1.1 PSYCHOLOGICAL OWNERSHIP

The results of this study show that most owners have a low feeling of ownership of their estates, even though most owners score high on all routes to psychological ownership. In the following, the results on the different routes will be discussed in more detail.

CONTROL

Similar to previous results among forest owners, almost all owners in this research have a sense of control over their estates (Lähdesmäki & Matilainen, 2014; Matilainen, 2019). A slightly higher feeling of control is experienced by single owners in comparison to those that have to share ownership with others. This also matches results from the research of Matilainen et al. (2019), who found that it was important for single owners to be able to make their own decisions, but also that for those that share ownership, this shared ownership did not necessarily diminish feelings of control. Next to that, similar to the studies of Lähdesmäki and Matilainen (2014) and Matilainen et al. (2017), having a sense of control and being part of the decision-making process is considered important by the owners. However, control is sometimes diminished by governments, for example, through the introduction of laws and regulations, which was observed in this study, but for example also in the study of Matilainen et al. (2019). Overall, it seems that, in terms of control, the estate owners in this study do not differ from private forest owners in other studies.

INTIMATE KNOWLEDGE AND SELF-INVESTMENT

As mentioned in the results, the routes intimate knowledge and self-investment are very closely related. Spending time and investing time into the estate create the opportunity to get to know the estate more intimately. Previous research by Andabaka et al. (2021) and Lähdesmäki and Matilainen (2014) among forest owners have found similar results. Self-investment is quite high among all owners in this research, as all owners spend a lot of time on the estate and take care of aspects of the estate, and so is the intimate knowledge. For most owners this has resulted in that their estates are an important part of who they are, i.e., part of their identity. This is comparable to results from prior research among forest owners in Finland and Croatia (Andabaka et al., 2021; Lähdesmäki & Matilainen, 2014), those studies also found that for owners that spend more time in their forests, their forests became part of their identity.

OVERALL PSYCHOLOGICAL OWNERSHIP OF THE ESTATE

Despite that all three elements of psychological ownership are high, which could be considered as indicating high psychological ownership, most estate owners themselves did not experience a high feeling of ownership. This is in contrast to previous research among forest owners in Europe (Andabaka et al., 2021; Matilainen, 2019). It is however unclear whether respondents in these studies specifically responded to having feelings of ownership or whether high psychological ownership is assumed by the researchers as respondents scored high on all routes to psychological ownership. Even though feelings of ownership seem to be low for most private estate owners, similar to prior studies among forest owners by Andabaka et al. (2021) and Matilainen (2019) their attachment to the estate is quite high and the estate is very important to them.

Attachment to and importance of the estate is not limited to the owners. Others, like employees and estate-agents, also form a strong attachment and even feelings of ownership towards estate. This is similar to results from research among forest owners. In their studies Andabaka et al. (2021) and Matilainen et al. (2017) show that others, like tourists, can create feelings of ownership towards a forest.

5.1.2 PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTANCE

The results show there is a low psychological distance between estate owners and their estate for all dimensions, indicating a low overall distance to the estate. This means that the estates are very close to estate owners in this study. Very little research has been done on psychological distance in connection to ownership of natural resources. An exception is the study by Huff et al. (2017) in the United States, which explores psychological distance among private owners of woodlands, specifically on the influence of psychological distance on the decision to harvest timber and how to influence that decision by using psychological distance. In the following, the three dimensions of psychological ownership are discussed in more detail.

TIME OR TEMPORAL DISTANCE

This research found that temporal distance is very low for most owners. Research among private woodland owners in the United States suggests that the psychological distance for owners decreases as the duration of ownership increases (Huff et al., 2017). This would suggest that newer and younger owners have a higher psychological distance. These results can only be partially observed in this study. The estate owner that has bought the estate and hence has both a short personal and family history to the estate seems to feel a higher distance to his estate in comparison with the other owners in this research. However, duration of ownership seems to be of no influence when a long family history is present. This is shown by one owner with a low psychological ownership despite a relatively short personal history with the estate of about 10 years. The long family history of over 600 years seems to be a relevant factor here, replacing the short personal history. The importance of the family history is supported by the fact that the young estate owners in this research also show a low psychological distance, to be attributed to a long family history. Even though family history is hypothesized by Huff et al. (2017) as associated with low temporal distance, no mention of family history is made in the results of their research. Prior research on the relationship of the next generation to the family business by Bjornberg and Nicholson (2012) however, shows that a long family history indicates a strong attachment and short distance to the family business, which this research confirms also to be the case for estate owners.

SPACE OR SPATIAL DISTANCE

In this research spatial distance is very low for almost all owners. The study of Huff et al. (2017) found that low spatial distance experienced is mostly associated with owners living on their land. The results of this research also indicate that psychological distance is low for estate owners that live on the estate. However, the results also suggest that spending time on the estate decreases spatial distance as well. This might indicate that it is not necessarily where one lives that relates to the spatial distance experienced as much as it is the time spent physically close to the land. This matches the results of research on the next generation in the family business (Ceja & Tàpies, 2011), which shows that spending time at the family business is important for the connection with that family business. Owners of estates with multiple shareholders seem to realize the importance of spending time on the estate, as effort is put into creating opportunities for shareholders to spend time on the estate through activities and vacation homes. This way investing in decreasing the psychological distance between owners and the estate. Bjornberg and Nicholson (2012) found similar results for family business, for example, by parents taking their children to the family business.

SOCIAL DISTANCE

Social distance is quite low for most estate owners in this study. On estates with multiple owners in this research, the relationship between owners is generally very good and several owners have commented on this good relationship being something special. Just like prior research on family businesses, the results of this research show that a good relationship between owners is associated with a strong attachment and low distance (Bjornberg & Nicholson, 2012). In line with these results, Huff et al. (2017) in their research among private woodland owners in the United States, found a decrease in social distance for woodlands that are co-owned with family members. Contrary to the results of that study however, this study as well as the study on family businesses by Bjornberg and Nicholson (2012), show that a bad relationship between owners on the other hand, is associated with a high distance.

Social distance is, however, also low for those that do not share ownership with family members or others. Even though these sole owners do not share the responsibility of ownership with others, they do discuss the estate and the decisions to be made with others, like a spouse or estate-agent. Owners also have a relationship with others related to their estates like tenant farmers and neighbors living on the estates. This relationship is considered very important. This suggests that a good relationship with others on and around the estate also decreases social distance. This matches a decrease in social distance found by Huff et al. (2017) and Joa and Schraml (2020) for forest owners with a relationship to their neighbors or peers.

HYPOTHETICAL DISTANCE OR UNCERTAINTY

Uncertainty about the continued existence of the estate is quite low among owners in this research. This might be because the estates in this research are quite stable (financially and socially), which might not always be the case. Bentinck van Schoonheten (2022), for example, explains that she has found that serious problems among owners that can threaten the survival of an estate, are not uncommon. This is confirmed by one estate in the current study, where problems among owners threaten the continued existence of the estate and create a large feeling of uncertainty for the owners and hence a higher distance. It seems however that very little research has been done on this topic.

The largest external threats identified by owners in this study are climate change and government. Climate change is considered a large threat to estates as the impact on estates due to climate change is uncertain. Previous research shows a large distance towards climate change by a large part of society (Jones et al., 2017; McDonald et al., 2015), but this does not seem to be the case for estate owners in this research however. Owners do not feel a high distance to climate change itself, but they are uncertain how their estate is affected it. This difference might be explained due to estate owners already experiencing changes in weather conditions and its effects on the estates. This is similar to forest owners that have a low distance to climate change as they can see the effects on their forest (Blennow & Persson, 2009; Hengst-Ehrhart, 2019).

This research has found that, in addition to climate change, governments can be a source of uncertainty for private estate owners. Judging by other literature, this is not only the case for estate owners. In their literature among small forest owners for example, Joa and Schraml (2020) also found that governments can be quite ignorant when it comes to owners and what is important to them. Other causes for uncertainty due to governments include short time policy changes and overall short time thinking. Similar results have been found for other industries, for example by Daneshmandi et al. (2022) in bioenergy supply chain management. This can create the feeling of the government being an unreliable partner.

OVERALL PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTANCE TO THE ESTATE

The dimensions of psychological ownership are interrelated and influence each other, thus a low distance on one dimension is usually related to low distance on the other dimensions (Liberman & Trope, 2014). Hence, it is not surprising that psychological distance is low on almost all dimensions for the owners in this research. The overall distance to the estate is therefore quite low for all owners in this research. Huff et al. (2017) in their research found diverse levels of psychological distance among forest owners however. This discrepancy between forest owners in the United States and estate owners in this research might be explained by cultural differences, family traditions and/or the low number of participants in this study, as it is the first explorative study using psychological distance among estate owners in the Netherlands.

5.1.3 RESPONSIBILITY

The results show that estate owners feel a large responsibility when it comes to the estate. Besides psychological ownership and psychological distance, understanding this responsibility is important in order to understand the connection between private estate owners and their estate. Previous research on psychological ownership in the workplace shows that people tend to feel a higher responsibility towards something they have ownership feelings to (Pierce et al., 2001, 2003). Even though psychological ownership seems to be low for most estate owners in this research, they do feel a high responsibility towards their estates. It seems the most important reasons for owners to manage their estates include maintaining it for future generations and for society as a whole to enjoy their estates and their natural resources.

They feel a responsibility to make sure their estates survive for future generations to enjoy, but also a responsibility to past generations that have managed the estates for so long before them. Previous research among forest owners shows similar results (e.g. Bjärstig & Kvastegård, 2016; Joa & Schraml, 2020; Matilainen et al., 2019), as does research on private management of natural resources in the Netherlands (Aertsen, 2012; Jans, 2012). Considering how important estates are to their owners, it is not surprising owners feel a high responsibility towards them. The strong social responsibility also matches results from research among forest owners in parts of Sweden (Bjärstig & Kvastegård, 2016).

The strong historical responsibility might imply a resistance to change, as it might be hard to change aspects that were implemented by an ancestor or because owners have a feeling it has 'always' been done a certain way. However, it also suggests a willingness to protect natural resources and work towards conservation goals among private estate owners, as private estate owners have been doing for centuries (Aertsen, 2012; Jans, 2012; Kloeze, 1973). Taking into consideration that most estates are financially viable and self-supporting, unlike other conservation or terrain managing organizations (Aertsen, 2012; Jans, 2012), estates could contribute efficiently and 'cheaply' toward nature conservation. This way they can be part of the solution for the current climate-related challenges governments are facing. Owners want to be part of the decision-making process however and stay in control on their own estate (Houwelingen, 2021a; Joa & Schraml, 2020).

5.2 REFLECTION ON THEORY

5.2.1 PSYCHOLOGICAL OWNERSHIP

In this study psychological ownership was conceptualized using three paths through which psychological ownership can be developed: i.e. (1) controlling the target, (2) intimately coming to know the target and (3) investing oneself into the target. There is a close relationship between the last two paths. On top of that, although most estate owners scored high on all three paths, when directly asked, psychological ownership is rather low. This raises the question to what extent the three paths form a good conceptualization and reflection of psychological ownership at all. In the following, the three paths will be discussed, first independently and then in relation with the main concept of psychological ownership.

As mentioned in the results, the paths intimate knowledge and self-investment are very closely related. By investing time into the estate for example, an owner also gets to know the estate better and more intimately (Matilainen, 2019). This makes it difficult to distinguish between both paths and therefore both paths were merged in this research. It could be argued that two paths exist instead of three. As by investing more of oneself into the target a higher intimate knowledge is created and psychological ownership can developed this way (Matilainen, 2019). On the other hand, self-investment suggests a more hands-on connection to the target, while intimate knowledge could also be obtained in a more theoretical way. The use of both paths in theory could then call attention to this distinction.

Even though private estate owners in this research feel a high responsibility towards their estates and a higher responsibility is felt towards something people have formed psychological ownership (Pierce et al., 2001), most owners in this research seem to lack feelings of psychological ownership towards their estates. Although, all routes to psychological ownership are present among the estate owners in this research, this does not guarantee that psychological ownership is formed (Matilainen, 2019). A high sense of control, high intimate knowledge and a high investment of oneself could on the other hand be considered a high feeling of psychological ownership, as the routes to psychological ownership lead to a connection between oneself and the target of ownership (Pierce et al., 2003). A connection in turn increases feelings of ownership (O'Driscoll et al., 2006). However, psychological ownership is defined as "the state in which individuals feel as though the target of ownership or a piece of that target is "theirs" (i.e., "It is *mine*")" (Pierce et al., 2003, p. 86). This feeling of "it is *mine*" is exactly what is lacking among most owners of this research, some even go as far as to state "it is ***not*** mine". Therefore, even though a strong connection exists between owners and their estates, psychological ownership of their estate is very low among most owners. In this case it seems the potential for high psychological ownership is more important in understanding the connection between owners and their estates then the actual existence of psychological ownership itself.

The routes to psychological ownership seem to especially give an understanding of the engagement of owners in their estates. This seems to create a better understanding of the importance of the estates to its owners, as one could argue that someone is more actively involved into something that is important to them (Matilainen, 2019). This could point to a strong connection between the owners and their estates. In this research the feeling of psychological ownership seems to be less relevant, because the routes to psychological ownership give a good idea of the connection between private estate owners and their estates. In this case it seems the potential for high psychological ownership is more important in understanding this connection then the actual existence of psychological ownership itself. This in turn suggests that psychological ownership might not be the correct term for private estate ownership in the Netherlands. It seems among this specific population estate ownership is not so much about the feeling of their estates being theirs, but more about being part of these estates and belonging to them. The sense of belonging to or being part of an estate seems to be a more appropriate way to explain the connection between private estate owners and their estates.

5.2.2 PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTANCE

The conceptualization of the second main concept of this research, i.e., psychological distance, was done using four dimensions, i.e. (1) a temporal or time dimension, (2) a geographic or spatial dimension, (3) a social dimension, and (4) a hypothetical or uncertainty dimension. In this research low distance on the dimensions is related to low overall distance. Psychological distance seems to give a reasonably good representation of the connection between private estate owners and their estates. There are however two aspects that could help improve the concept of psychological ownership to represent this connection between owners and their estates: (1) adding a family component to temporal distance and (2) adding a dimension of active involvement.

The temporal dimension seems to be made of two components, i.e., (1) a personal component and (2) a family component. Temporal distance represents the distance in time, hence how far something is in the past or the future (Jones et al., 2017). As all dimensions are about the distance from the present self (McDonald et al., 2015), this would suggest that someone that has a long personal history with the estate has a low distance to the estate and someone with a short personal history a higher distance. This does not always seem to be the case however. In this research, owners with a (relative) short personal history, but a long family history also have a low distance to their estates. This would suggest the existence of both a personal and a family component for temporal distance among estate owners, as it seems a low distance to the estate can be related to a long personal and/or long family history.

On top of the existing dimensions to psychological ownership, active involvement in the estate, for example in management or by investing time and energy into the estate also seems to lower the distance between the owner and the estate. This is similar to the route of self-investment of psychological ownership. It can be argued that part of the active involvement into a target is measured through the spatial dimension. Spending time on the estate, creates more opportunities to be actively involved in the estate, but this is not automatically the case. One of the owners in this research lives on the estate for example but is not actively involved in many aspects of the estate. Other owners on the other hand are very actively involved in the management of their estates, but do not live there or spend every day on the estate. Some of the work done for their estates is done remotely. This indicates that it is possible to be very actively involved in the estate, without spending a lot of time on it. Therefore, it would be interesting to add a dimension of active involvement or investment to the concept of psychological distance.

5.2.3 PSYCHOLOGICAL OWNERSHIP AND DISTANCE

The routes to psychological ownership and the dimensions of psychological distance seem to be very closely related. Figure 5-1 gives a visual representation of these relationships. The route of control is very closely related to the dimension of uncertainty. Higher levels of control result in lower uncertainty and vice versa. For example, laws and regulations created by governments are seen to have a negative impact on the control owners have on their estates and as a cause for uncertainty as they can be unclear and everchanging. In this study a lower sense of control is related to higher uncertainty and a lower uncertainty is related to a higher sense of control. There also seems to be a relationship between the paths of intimate knowledge and self-investment and the dimensions space, time and social. The opportunity to get an intimate knowledge of an estate or invest more of oneself into that estate increase with spending a lot of time on that estate. This is also the case for the dimension of time. Having a longer personal history with the estate, for example by having childhood experiences on the estate, creates more opportunities to get to know the estate intimately and invest more of oneself into it. This means that in this study, high intimate knowledge or self-investment is generally related to a low distance in space and/or time. Especially for estates with multiple owners, owners that are willing to invest more of themselves are given the opportunity to do so, for example, by organizing social activities. This means that for these activities higher self-investment and intimate knowledge result in a lower social distance.

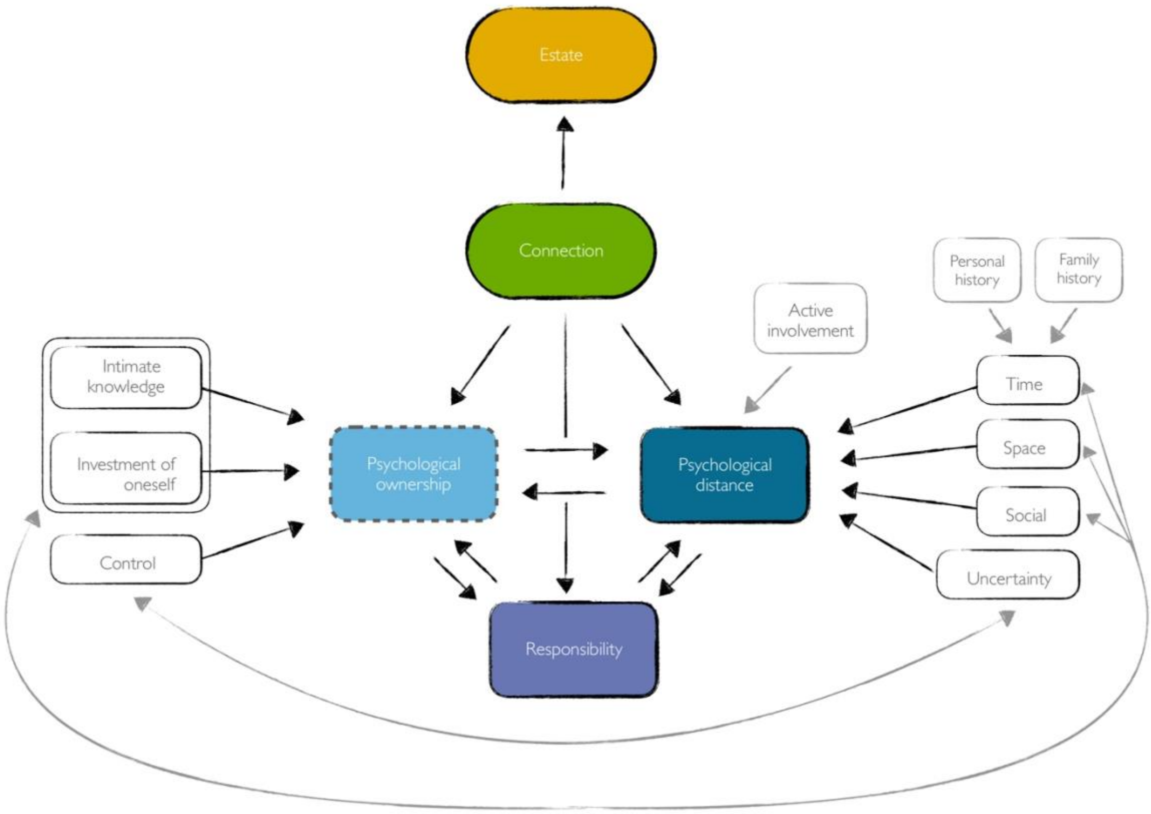


Figure 5-1 Visual representation of the relationship between the different concepts in this study

Overall, both psychological ownership and psychological distance in relation to their estates are quite low for estate owners in this research. This would suggest a relationship between low psychological ownership and low psychological distance. There seems to be a close relationship between some of the paths to psychological ownership and the dimensions of psychological distance however, that would suggest high feelings on the paths to psychological ownership to be related to a low psychological distance and vice versa. It is therefore not possible to draw any conclusions on the relationship between psychological ownership and psychological distance from this study.

This research however shows that the responsibility experienced by private estate owners is important to understand the connection between them and their estates. A high responsibility seems to be related to potentially high psychological ownership and low psychological distance. The relationship between these three aspects is visualized in Figure 5-1.

5.3 REFLECTION ON METHODOLOGY

5.3.1 SAMPLE

Private estate owners were recruited using a combination of snowball and judgmental sampling. A small, but diverse group in age, gender, education, profession, legal form of the estate, size of the estate and number of owners was included in this research. However, the group of respondents is not large and diverse enough to represent the whole population of Dutch estate owners. For example, some factors that could potentially influence the levels of psychological ownership and psychological distance, like living arrangements, active involvement, and how the estates were obtained were quite similar for most owners in this research.

The sample is also biased in the sense that all estate owners are very actively involved in the estates, putting a lot of time and effort into the (daily) management of the estate. This could result in a higher score on the routes to psychological ownership (e.g., self-investment and intimate knowledge) and lower psychological distance (e.g., space and time) if compared to other private estate owners that were not included in this research.

Next to that, the sample is biased as most of the estate owners have inherited the estate and have a relatively long family history with the estate. This could result in a higher feeling of responsibility towards previous generations. It is very difficult however, to find owners that have bought an existing estate, as very little estates come up for sale and for a long time those that do came up for sale were mostly sold to subsidized terrain managing organizations (Hakkenes, 2020).

Nevertheless, the interviews have provided an interesting first insight into the connection between private estate owners and their land and future research could explore differences in psychological ownership and distance between different types of owners further.

5.3.2 QUALITY OF INTERVIEWS (QUESTERVIEWS) AS DATA COLLECTION METHOD

The inherent limitations of interviews have been accounted for as much as possible in the design of the interview procedure. One way to improve the quality of the data was by interviewing both private estate owners and estate-agents (Kumar, 2019). Estate-agents work for private estate owners and generally work very closely with (some of) the owners. As estate-agents tend to work for multiple estates, it gives them the opportunity to compare these different estates and its owners. Interviewing estate-agents provided the opportunity to check for socially desirable answers provided by estate owners (Adams, 2015; Kumar, 2019). Estate-agents mostly confirmed data provided by estate owners, but also provided a valuable addition on the importance of estates to their owners from an outsider perspective. This, for example, created a better insight in how much the estate is part of the owner's identity, as estate-agents mentioned that this not always realized by owners.

Another way to improve the quality of the data was to ensure anonymity and to have respondents read an overview of the most important conclusions from the interview. This way making sure the interpretation of the interviews was correct and creating the opportunity for respondents to check the anonymization of the overview. Several respondents mentioned the importance of anonymity for their participation in this research his research would not have been possible without providing this anonymity. Anonymity created the opportunity to speak more freely during the interview (Adams, 2015), without having to worry about sharing information that could damage their position (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006).

Questerviews, a combination of standard questions and interviews, were used to collect data in this research. Overall adding standardized questions to the interviews and asking respondents to explain their answer prompted respondents to think about why they rated items as they did. Several respondents mentioned that they rated the standardized items based on a gut feeling and had to think about why they had given this particular score. This provided the opportunity to ask questions about the significance of certain aspects to respondents without being too bold. Some respondents had difficulty answering certain standardized questions however, for example when this meant judging themselves. In three cases this meant no score was recorded, the explanation about why it was not possible to rate did however provide a useful insight. Therefore, I would recommend using questerviews in future qualitative research, especially when researching emotional or meaningful subjects. It is, however, very important to consider which questions to ask open-ended and which in a standardized way. In this research some open-ended questions about the estate (e.g., about the history) could have been asked in a more standardized or less open-ended way, which would have provided a shorter, more to the point answers to these questions, this way likely also providing all relevant information. For some interviews, certain questions about the estate resulted in very in-depth answers that were not entirely relevant to the main research questions of this research.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

5.4.1 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SCIENCE

By exploring psychological ownership and psychological distance among private estate owners in the Netherlands this research contributes to the current state of knowledge. So far very little research has been done on private estate owners in the Netherlands. No other research on the connection between estate owners and their estates has been found. This research was a first exploration using psychological ownership and psychological distance to get a better understanding of the connection between private estate owners and their estates. Future research on this subject could benefit from Construal Level Theory (CLT) as a way to measure psychological ownership and psychological distance. Construal Level Theory explains how different levels of abstraction can be used to explain the same thing, experience or phenomenon (Bar-Anan et al., 2006). Research has shown that the level of abstraction used to interpret something (construal) can be linked to psychological ownership (Claus & Warlop, 2017) and to psychological distance (Henderson, 2009; Liberman & Trope, 2014). To describe the overall significance of something a high abstraction level is used and more detail and specifics are used for concrete descriptions (or a low abstraction level) (Trope & Liberman, 2010). This means that various abstract descriptions can be used to explain the same concrete thing or experience (Trope & Liberman, 2010). A high level of abstraction, a broad overview, is generally related to low psychological ownership and a high psychological distance (Claus et al., 2012; McDonald et al., 2015). Whereas more details are used and hence a lower level of abstraction to describe something close to the self and thus with a high psychological ownership and a low psychological distance (Claus et al., 2012; Henderson, 2009). The construal level or the level of abstraction can thus be used to measure psychological ownership and psychological distance (Claus & Warlop, 2017; Huff et al., 2017; Trope & Liberman, 2010).

Another interesting theory that could be used in future research on the connection between owners and their land is Emotional Ownership, a combination of psychological ownership and psychological distance. Emotional Ownership was created in the context of next generations in family businesses to describe the connection between the individual and the family business and is based on psychologic ownership (Nicholson & Björnberg, 2008). It is, however, also closely related to psychological distance as it uses the concept of attachment to measure the level of ownership (Nicholson & Björnberg, 2008). Attachment is described as answering the question “How close do I feel in relation to the target (family business)?” (Nicholson & Björnberg, 2008, p. 33) and hence is about the distance between the individual and the target, in other words it is about the psychological distance to the target. Emotional ownership is about heritage, emotional connection and family, but focusses on family business (Bjornberg & Nicholson, 2012). Even though differences between estates and traditional family businesses also exist, very few estates provide the opportunity for family members to manage the estate as a fulltime paid job for example, there also seem to be similarities. Estates are generally managed as a business, are passed on from one generation to the next and sometimes even have shareholders. As most estates are considered a business by their owners, private estates could be considered a family business. Therefore, emotional ownership could be an interesting theory to get a better understanding of the connection between private estate owners and their estate. Furthermore, considering private estates as family businesses with a long history and future could provide a different perspective for future research.

5.4.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRACTICE

For policy to be effective and for government institutions to work with private estate owners, it is important they understand estate owners and their connection to their estates to be able to understand the importance of the estates to them. This gives an insight in why estate owners respond in certain ways and where they are coming from. Estate owners generally do not have a feeling of ownership, they do not feel like owners of their estate. Rather, they feel like keepers or custodians that have the privilege and the responsibility to maintain the estate. Private estates could be considered family businesses that generally have a long family history and potentially a long family future. For policy purposes and by government officials, private estate owners should be considered keepers or managers of a family business (with one or multiple owners). This is a completely different perspective from that of rich property owner, for example.

Comparable to any other family business, safeguarding the state for future generations is only possible by conserving the estate and the natural resources on it, in a viable way. A stable revenue from the estate is crucial for the continued existence, as estates are generally mostly self-supporting and receive a limited amount of government funding. Owners consider it their responsibility to pass on a natural, viable, self-supporting estate to the next generation. Understanding and acknowledging this strong responsibility felt by private estate owners towards past and future generations is thus very important, as it is at the core of decisions made about the estate. As is recognition and respect for the willingness of estate owners to conserve natural resources and work towards a sustainable future as part of the responsibility felt by estate owners. Most estate owners also feel a responsibility to society and are generally open to use the estate for benefit of society (Houwelingen, 2021a). This social responsibility and its fulfillment can take different shapes for different estates though, like conservation, education, and water retention.

Private estates could prove to be invaluable in reaching Dutch climate goals. Private estate owners do not just manage natural resources in the Netherlands, one of their most important goals is safeguarding these natural resources for future generations and society at large. Estates constantly optimize different functions, without one function impacting others, this way supporting forests, natural areas, and agriculture. In addition, most estates are financially self-supporting and do not heavily rely on subsidies and other external funding. Private estate owners and their estates could thus be valuable partners in reaching climate goals. It is however important that owners are acknowledged and part of the decision-making process about what is happening on their estate (Houwelingen, 2021a).

6 CONCLUSION

This research has explored the connection between private estate owners and their estates in the Netherlands. The main research question was ***"In what way do private estate owners in the Netherlands feel connected to their estate?"*** To get a better understanding of this connection the theoretical concepts psychological ownership and psychological distance were measured among private estate owners and estate-agents using interviews, and three sub questions were used to address the main question, based on these concepts.

The first sub question is ***"To what extend do private estate owners exhibit feelings of psychological ownership toward their estate and how strong are these feelings?"***

Overall feelings of ownership are low for most owners. The feeling of control, intimate knowledge, and the investment of oneself into the estate are however high for all owners, suggesting that psychological ownership could potentially be high for most owners. It seems to be more complicated though. Most owners do not feel the estate to be theirs, they feel more like a custodian that has the responsibility to take care of the estate for a while. Even though psychological ownership is low for most owners, a strong connection exists between owners and their estate. For understanding the connection between owners and their estate a potentially high psychological ownership seems to be more important than the presence of psychological ownership itself.

The second sub question is ***"To what extend do private estate owners experience psychological distance towards their estate and how large is this distance?"***

The psychological distance for most owners is low on every dimension as well as overall. This means the estate is emotionally very close to the owners and points to a strong connection between the owner and their estate.

The third sub question is "What is the relationship between psychological ownership and psychological distance among private estate owners in the Netherlands?"

This question is a bit harder to answer as there is a difference in the routes to psychological ownership and the feelings of psychological ownership itself. At a first glance it would seem that low psychological ownership is related to low psychological distance. Some of the routes to psychological ownership and psychological distance show a different relationship however. E.g., high intimate knowledge is related to low spatial distance. From this research it is difficult to conclude a clear relationship between psychological ownership and psychological distance, it is possible to conclude that both concepts are highly intertwined.

Concluding, this research showed that private estate owners in the Netherlands feel a strong connection to their estate. The connection is very strong for all owners in this research and is independent from factors like the number of owners, the duration of ownership, gender, and age. The estate is very important to them, and owners feel a large responsibility towards past and future generations to preserve the estate.

REFERENCES

Adams, W. C. (2015). Conducting semi-structured interviews. In K. E. Newcomer, H. P. Hatry, & J. S. Wholey (Eds.), *Handbook of practical program evaluation* (Fourth edition. ed.). Jossey-Bass & Pfeiffer Imprints, Wiley. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119171386

Adamson, J., Gooberman-Hill, R., & Woolhead, G. (2004). 'Questerviews': using questionnaires in qualitative interviews as a method of integrating qualitative and quantitative health services research. *Journal of Health Services Research & Policy*, *9*(3), 139-145. https://doi.org/10.1258/1355819041403268

Aertsen, E. J. M. (2012). Particulier natuurbeheer : wat is dat? *levende natuur*, *113*(5), 199 - 202. https://edepot.wur.nl/365829

Albers, L., & Haartsen, A. (2011). *Inventarisatie van landgoederen in Overijssel*. Albers Adviezen en Lantschap. https://edepot.wur.nl/184027

Andabaka, M., Teslak, K., & Ficko, A. (2021). Private forest owners' sense of landownership: Motives, influential factors and landscape context. *Landscape and urban planning*, *215*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2021.104200

Andersson, E., & Keskitalo, E. C. H. (2021). Constructing forest owner identities and governing decisions and relationships: the owner as distant consumer in Swedish forestry. *Journal of environmental planning and management*, *64*(11), 1963-1984. https://doi.org/10.1080/09640568.2020.1852395

Baarda, B., Goede, M. P. M. d., & Teunissen, J. (2001). *Basisboek kwalitatief onderzoek : praktische handleiding voor het opzetten en uitvoeren van kwalitatief onderzoek*. Stenfert Kroese.

Bar-Anan, Y., Liberman, N., & Trope, Y. (2006). The association between psychological distance and construal level: evidence from an implicit association test. *Journal of experimental psychology*, *135*(4), 609-622. https://doi.org/10.1037/0096-3445.135.4.609

Barr, M. E. (1983). The Ascomycete Connection. *Mycologia*, *75*(1), 1-13. https://doi.org/10.1080/00275514.1983.12021631

Belk, R. W. (1988). Possessions and the Extended Self. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *15*(2), 139-168. https://doi.org/10.1086/209154

Bentinck van Schoonheten, B. E. J. (2022). Dilemma's bij de overdracht van een landgoed. *De landeigenaar*, *68*(1), 20-22.

Bernhard, F., & O'Driscoll, M. (2011). Psychological Ownership in Small Family-Owned Businesses: Leadership Style and Nonfamily-Employees' Work Attitudes and Behaviors. *Group & Organization Management*, *36*(3), 345-384. https://doi.org/10.1177/1059601111402684

Bjärstig, T., & Kvastegård, E. (2016). Forest social values in a Swedish rural context: The private forest owners' perspective. *Forest policy and Economics*, *65*, 17-24. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2016.01.007

Bjornberg, A., & Nicholson, N. (2012). Emotional Ownership: The Next Generation's Relationship With the Family Firm. *Family Business Review*, *25*(4), 374-390. https://doi.org/10.1177/0894486511432471

Blennow, K., & Persson, J. (2009). Climate change: Motivation for taking measure to adapt. *Global Environmental Change*, *19*(1), 100-104. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2008.10.003

Bouma, J. (2016, 21 December 2016). Wie gaat het Schoorlse bos redden? *Trouw*. https://advance-lexis-com.ezproxy.library.wur.nl/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5MFC-DRM1-JC8X-60GJ-00000-00&context=1516831.

Brummen, G. (n.d.). Landgoed zonder grenzen. https://www.brummen.nl/fileadmin/user_upload/Plannen_en_Projecten/Landgoederen/Visie_Landgoederen_Gemeente_Brummen_Landgoed_zonder_Grenzen.pdf

CBS. (2020). *Nederland in cijfers: aan de hand van 38 vragen verbeeld*. Den Haag: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek Retrieved from https://longreads.cbs.nl/nederland-in-cijfers-2020/hoe-wordt-de-nederlandse-bodem-gebruikt/

CBS. (2022). *Welzijn; kerncijfers, persoonskenmerken*. Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. Retrieved 19 June 2022 from https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/cijfers/detail/82634NED?q=tevredenheid

CBS, PBL, RIVM, & WUR. (2016, June 10, 2016). *Verlies natuurlijkheid in Nederland, Europa en de wereld*. Retrieved February 11, 2022 from https://www.clo.nl/indicatoren/nl1440-ontwikkeling-biodiversiteit-msa

Ceja, L., & Tàpies, J. (2011). A model of psychological ownership in next-generation members of family-owned firms: A qualitative study. *IESE Business School Working Paper*(No. 929). https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1928639

Claus, B., Eelen, J., & Warlop, L. (2020). A Bird in the Hand Is Yours: the Relationship Between Psychological Ownership and Psychological Distance. *ACR North American Advances*, *48*. https://www.acrwebsite.org/volumes/v48/acr_vol48_2661089.pdf

Claus, B., Vanhouche, W., Dewitte, S., & Warlop, L. (2012). Walk a mile in my shoes: Psychological ownership and psychological distance. *Advances in Consumer Research*, *40*, 1067-1068. https://www.acrwebsite.org/volumes/v40/acr_v40_13014.pdf

Claus, B., & Warlop, L. (2017). The Tree Is Mine, The Forest Isn't: An Extended Abstract on the Construal Level of Possessions. In *Marketing at the Confluence between Entertainment and Analytics* (pp. 1301-1305). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-47331-4_255

Cohn, A. G., & Varzi, A. C. (2003). Mereotopological connection. *Journal of Philosophical Logic*, *32*(4), 357-390. https://philarchive.org/archive/COHMC

Daneshmandi, M., Sahebi, H., & Ashayeri, J. (2022). The incorporated environmental policies and regulations into bioenergy supply chain management: A literature review. *Science of The Total Environment*, *820*, 153202. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scitotenv.2022.153202

deMarrais, K. B., & Lapan, S. D. (2003). Qualitative interview studies: Learning through experience. In *Foundations for research* (pp. 67-84). Routledge. https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781410609373-8/qualitative-interview-studies-learning-experience

Díaz, S., Fargione, J., Chapin, F. S., 3rd, & Tilman, D. (2006). Biodiversity loss threatens human well-being. *PLoS biology*, *4*(8), e277. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pbio.0040277

DiCicco-Bloom, B., & Crabtree, B. F. (2006). The qualitative research interview. *Medical Education*, *40*(4), 314-321. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2929.2006.02418.x

Donahue, C., & Alexander, G. (2018). Property law: Objects, subjects, and types of possessory interests in property. In *Encylopedia Britannica*.

Dudley, N., & Alexander, S. (2017). Agriculture and biodiversity: a review. *Biodiversity*, *18*(2-3), 45-49. https://doi.org/10.1080/14888386.2017.1351892

Elliott, R., & Timulak, L. (2005). Descriptive and interpretive approaches to qualitative research. *A handbook of research methods for clinical and health psychology*, *1*(7), 147-159. http://www.mkc.ac.in/pdf/study-material/sociology/4thSem/Methods-Tradition-2.pdf

Elmqvist, T., Zipperer, W. C., & Güneralp, B. (2015). Urbanization, habitat loss and biodiversity decline: solution pathways to break the cycle. In K. Seto, W. Solecki, & C. Griffith (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Urbanization and Global Environmental Change* (pp. 163-175). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315849256

Eriksson, L., & Fries, C. (2020). The Knowledge and Value Basis of Private Forest Management in Sweden: Actual Knowledge, Confidence, and Value Priorities. *Environmental Management*, 1-15. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00267-020-01328-y

Etzioni, A. (1991). The socio-economics of property. *Journal of social behavior and personality*, *6*(6), 465-468. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/235363137_The_Socio-Economics_of_Property

European Commission. (2019). *The European Green Deal*. Brussels European Commission Retrieved from https://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:b828d165-1c22-11ea-8c1f-01aa75ed71a1.0002.02/DOC_1&format=PDF
European Commission. (2020). *EU Biodiversity Strategy for 2030: Bringing nature back into our lives*. Brussels: European Commission Retrieved from https://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:a3c806a6-9ab3-11ea-9d2d-01aa75ed71a1.0001.02/DOC_1&format=PDF
European Commission. (2021). *New EU Forest Strategy for 2030*. Brussels: European Commission Retrieved from https://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:0d918e07-e610-11eb-a1a5-01aa75ed71a1.0001.02/DOC_1&format=PDF
Explorable.com. (2009, November 15). *Research Population*. Retrieved July 1, 2022 from https://explorable.com/research-population
Flick, U. (2018). *The Sage handbook of qualitative data collection*. Sage Reference. https://methods.sagepub.com/book/the-sage-handbook-of-qualitative-data-collection
Forest Europe. (2020). *State of Europe's Forests 2020*. https://foresteurope.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/SoEF_2020.pdf
Hakkenes, E. (2020, 12 September 2020). Het grote gevecht om grond, geld en gerechtigheid. *Trouw*, 4-5. https://www.trouw.nl/duurzaamheid-natuur/het-grote-gevecht-om-grond-geld-en-gerechtigheid~b14a1865/
Hays, P. A. (2003). Case Study Research. In *Foundations for research* (pp. 67-84). Routledge. https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781410609373-17/case-study-research-patricia-hays
Henderson, M. (2009). Psychological Distance and Group Judgments: The Effect of Physical Distance on Beliefs about Common Goals. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *35*(10), 1330-1341. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167209340905
Hengst-Ehrhart, Y. (2019). Knowing is not enough: exploring the missing link between climate change knowledge and action of German forest owners and managers. *Annals of Forest Science : Official journal of the Institut National de la Recherche Agronomique (INRA)*, *76*(4). https://doi.org/10.1007/s13595-019-0878-z
Hotse Smit, P. (2020, 25 January 2020). Frans Vera kan niet langer zwijgen over 'zijn' Oostvaardersplassen: 'Schande dat de politiek is gezwicht'. *De Volkskrant*. https://advance-lexis-com.ezproxy.library.wur.nl/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y27-C821-DY0X-9028-00000-00&context=1516831.
Houwelingen, P. v. (2021a). 'Het landgoedmodel werkt al eeuwen'. *De landeigenaar*, *67*(1), 6-9.
Houwelingen, P. v. (2021b). 'Particulier eigenaar onmisbaar voor herstel biodiverisiteit in EU'. *De landeigenaar*, *67*(1), 27.
Huff, E. S., Leahy, J. E., Kittredge, D. B., Noblet, C. L., & Weiskittel, A. R. (2017). Psychological distance of timber harvesting for private woodland owners. *Forest policy and Economics*, *81*, 48-56. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2017.04.007
Jans, M. F. F. W. (2012). Particulier natuurbeheer in de praktijk. *levende natuur 113 (5): 203 - 206*. https://edepot.wur.nl/365828
Jans, M. F. F. W., Sanders, M. E., Reest, P. J. v. d., & Schimmel-ten Kate, H. L. (2012). Themanummer particulier natuurbeheer. *levende natuur 113 (5): 196 - 197*. https://edepot.wur.nl/365833
Joa, B., & Schraml, U. (2020). Conservation practiced by private forest owners in Southwest Germany - The role of values, perceptions and local forest knowledge. *Forest policy and Economics*, *115*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2020.102141
Johnson, S. M. (1996). Creating connection. *The Practice of Emotionally Focused*. https://conservationtools-production.s3.amazonaws.com/library_item_files/192/229/creatingconnections.pdf?AWSAccessKeyId=AKIAIQFJLILYGVDR4AMQ&Expires=1645028211&Signature=AruEQzfwuwAaAFcUwCDzzyZBlw0%3D

Jones, C., Hine, D. W., & Marks, A. D. G. (2017). The Future is Now: Reducing Psychological Distance to Increase Public Engagement with Climate Change. *Risk Analysis*, *37*(2), 331-341. https://doi.org/10.1111/risa.12601

Kloeze, J. W. t. (1973). particuliere landgoed, uit de tijd of in "the picture"? *Nederlands bosbouwtijdschrift 45 (2): 54 - 57*. https://edepot.wur.nl/268956

Kumar, R. (2019). *Research methodology : a step-by-step guide for beginners* (Fifth edition. ed.). SAGE.

Lähdesmäki, M., & Matilainen, A. (2014). Born to be a forest owner? An empirical study of the aspects of psychological ownership in the context of inherited forests in Finland. *Scandinavian Journal of Forest Research*, *29*(2), 101-110. https://doi.org/10.1080/02827581.2013.869348

Landgoederen.net. (n.d.). *Landgoed overzicht*. Retrieved 18 february 2022 from http://www.landgoederen.net/landgoed_bestaand/

Lange, P. v., & Bos, K. v. d. (2022, 12 March 2022). Opinie: 'Empathie is vluchtig, wat doen we op de lange termijn voor Oekraïne?'. . *Het Parool*. https://advance-lexis-com.ezproxy.library.wur.nl/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6502-28V1-JBHV-K1VR-00000-00&context=1516831.

Langley, A. (2004). Using questionnaires in qualitative interviews. *9*(3), 130-131. https://doi.org/10.1258/1355819041403187

Liberman, N., & Trope, Y. (2014). Traversing psychological distance. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, *18*(7), 364-369. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2014.03.001

Liberman, N., Trope, Y., & Stephan, E. (2007). Psychological distance. In A. W. Kruglanski & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *Social psychology: Handbook of basic principles* (2 ed., pp. 353-383). Guilford Press. https://d1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net/55514866/Arie_W._Kruglanski__E._Tory_Higgins-Social_Psychology__Handbook_of_Basic_Principles__2nd_edition_2007-with-cover-page-v2.pdf?Expires=1659432523&Signature=VeffY-Dt~jCCmNpY~exoXeTM99xEtMkKsThit9lJ95qiGcwSmz9cDcfjBloUp5ut0LvtwbRH4Ip3QJy05FeR44QzPm~4HLEumTldvMrMB7Hi1yZSrF0wqhiUa6jJkVGi4zFg1e1Y8DqcUU9hqdYwrKXOO5qD1XZG2Umk~H87RglqEnjQNSxmZqGa2Q7jhn566DwDOOdtzZGLc3CdpfLMkYkAKdnDtysMLeh4NUz8eR4lRQQjKcV5OktOjjeuDW0udDdiJ0GGWuEisdQYlLJ9RkQXpFI3L1nJHunqlsq~pc3gK1mZ6JDjqBcpnz7woYjt8Vfdqya38lMEl2tiAU4Mzw__&Key-Pair-Id=APKAJLOHF5GGSLRBV4ZA#page=367

Liddle, M. J. (1991). Recreation ecology: Effects of trampling on plants and corals. *Trends in ecology & evolution*, *6*(1), 13-17. https://doi.org/10.1016/0169-5347(91)90141-J

Mace, G. M., Norris, K., & Fitter, A. H. (2012). Biodiversity and ecosystem services: a multilayered relationship. *Trends in ecology & evolution*, *27*(1), 19-26. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tree.2011.08.006

Matilainen, A. (2019). *Feelings of psychological ownership towards private forests* [Doctoral Dissertation, University of Helsinki Ruralia Institute]. Helsinki. http://hdl.handle.net/10138/300861

Matilainen, A., Koch, M., Zivojinovic, I., Lähdesmäki, M., Lidestav, G., Karppinen, H., Didolot, F., Jarsky, V., Põllumäe, P., Colson, V., Hricova, Z., Glavonjic, P., & Scriban, R. E. (2019). Perceptions of ownership among new forest owners - A qualitative study in European context. *Forest policy and Economics*, *99*, 43-51. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2018.06.002

Matilainen, A., Pohja-Mykrä, M., Lähdesmäki, M., & Kurki, S. (2017). "I feel it is mine!" - Psychological ownership in relation to natural resources. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, *51*, 31-45. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2017.03.002

Mayring, P. (2000). Qualitative Content Analysis. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *1*(2). https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-1.2.1089

McDonald, R. I., Chai, H. Y., & Newell, B. R. (2015). Personal experience and the 'psychological distance'of climate change: An integrative review. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, *44*, 109-118. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2015.10.003

Millennium Ecosystem Assessment. (2005). *Ecosystems and Human Well-being: Synthesis*. https://www.millenniumassessment.org/documents/document.356.aspx.pdf

Mills, J., & Birks, M. (2014). *Qualitative methodology : a practical guide*. SAGE Publications Ltd. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473920163

Nascimento, L. d. S., & Steinbruch, F. K. (2019). "The interviews were transcribed", but how? Reflections on management research. *RAUSP Management Journal*, *54*(4), 413-429. https://doi.org/10.1108/RAUSP-05-2019-0092

Nicholson, N., & Björnberg, Å. (2008). The shape of things to come—Emotional ownership and the next generation in the family firm. In J. Tapies & J. Ward (Eds.), *Family values and value creation* (pp. 29-52). Palgrave Macmillan. http://196.190.117.157:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/80491/27.%20J.%20Tàpies.pdf?sequence=1#page=45

Natuurschoonwet 1928, NSW (2021). https://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0001939/2021-01-01#Opschrift

Nuffic. (n.d.). *Beoordelingssystemen: Bekijk hoe studieresultaten worden beoordeeld in het Nederlandse voortgezet en hoger onderwijs*. Nuffic; De Nederlandse organisatie voor internationalisering in het onderwijs. Retrieved 19 June 2022 from https://www.nuffic.nl/onderwijssystemen/nederland/beoordelingssystemen

O'Driscoll, M. P., Pierce, J., & Coghlan, A.-M. (2006). The Psychology of Ownership. *Group & Organization Management*, *31*(3), 388-416. https://doi.org/10.1177/1059601104273066

OECD. (2019). *Biodiversity: Finance and the Economic and Business Case for Action*. -. M. report prepared for the G7 Environment Ministers' Meeting. https://www.oecd.org/environment/resources/biodiversity/Executive-Summary-and-Synthesis-Biodiversity-Finance-and-the-Economic-and-Business-Case-for-Action.pdf

Olckers, C. (2013). Psychological ownership : development of an instrument : original research. *SA Journal of Industrial Psychology*, *39*(2), 1-13. https://doi.org/10.4102/sajip.v39i2.1105

Oxford University Press. (2015). *Oxford dictionary of English*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 17 February 2022 from http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199571123.001.0001/acref-9780199571123

Particulier Grondbezit, F. (2018). *Geschiedenis van het natuurbezit*. Federatie Particulier Grondbezit. Retrieved 14 January 2022 from https://www.grondbezit.nl/verdienmodellen.html

Pierce, J. L., Kostova, T., & Dirks, K. T. (2001). Toward a theory of psychological ownership in organizations. *Academy of Management. The Academy of Management Review*, *26*(2), 298-310. https://doi.org/10.2307/259124.

Pierce, J. L., Kostova, T., & Dirks, K. T. (2003). The State of Psychological Ownership: Integrating and Extending a Century of Research. *Review of General Psychology*, *7*(1), 84-107. https://doi.org/10.1037/1089-2680.7.1.84

Pierce, J. L., O'Driscoll, M. P., & Coghlan, A.-M. (2004). Work Environment Structure and Psychological Ownership: The Mediating Effects of Control. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, *144*(5), 507-534. https://doi.org/10.3200/SOCP.144.5.507-534

Pierce, J. L., Rubenfeld, S. A., & Morgan, S. (1991). Employee Ownership: A Conceptual Model of Process and Effects. *The Academy of Management Review*, *16*(1), 121-144. https://doi.org/10.2307/258609

Raja, U. S., & Carrico, A. R. (2021). A Qualitative Exploration of Individual Experiences of Environmental Virtual Reality Through the Lens of Psychological Distance. *Environmental Communication: A Journal of Nature and Culture*, *15*(5), 594-609. https://doi.org/10.1080/17524032.2020.1871052

Rapley, T. (2004). Interviews. In C. Seale (Ed.), *Qualitative research practice*. SAGE. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781848608191.d5

Roulston, K. (2018). Qualitative interviewing and epistemics. *Qualitative Research*, *18*(3), 322-341. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794117721738

RVO. (2021a). *Landgoed als natuurschoon: Natuurschoonwet 1928*. Zwolle: Rijksdienst voor Ondernemend Nederland Retrieved from https://www.rvo.nl/sites/default/files/2020/12/Langdgoed-als-natuurschoon.pdf
RVO. (2021b). *Rangschikking als landgoed: Natuurschoonwet 1928 voorwaarden*. Zwolle: Rijksdienst voor Ondernemend Nederland Retrieved from https://www.rvo.nl/sites/default/files/2020/12/Rangschikking-als-landgoed-Voorwaarden_0.pdf
Schelhaas, M. J., & Clerkx, S. (2015). Nederlandse bos in cijfers : resultaten van de 6e Nederlandse Bosinventarisatie. *Vakblad natuur bos landschap / Stichting Vakblad Natuur Bos Landschap 12 (111): 23 - 27*. https://edepot.wur.nl/329049
Schober, M. F. (2008). Standardized Survey Interviewing. In P. J. Lavrakas (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of survey research methods* (pp. 840-842). SAGE Publications. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412963947.n546
Storms-Smeets, E. (2012). Het DNA van Gelderland. In A. Kaper, Werkgroep Oral History, & Stichting Landschapsbeheer Gelderland (Eds.), *Verhalen over landgoederen en buitenplaatsen in Gelderland*. Blauwdruk.
Temple, B., & Young, A. (2004). Qualitative Research and Translation Dilemmas. *Qualitative Research*, *4*(2), 161-178. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794104044430
Tengbergen, A., & Tengbergen, E. J. (1988). *De acht kastelen van Vorden* (3e verm. dr. ed.). De Walburg Pers.
The World Bank. (2020). *Urban population (% of total population) - European Union, Netherlands, World*. United Nations Populations Division. Retrieved January 12, 2022 from https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.URB.TOTL.IN.ZS?locations=EU-NL-1W
Thomassen, E. A. H., & Jans, M. F. F. W. (2012). Particulier natuurbeheer en bos. *levende natuur 113 (5): 247 - 251*. https://edepot.wur.nl/365831
Tooren, B. v., & Lucas, B. (2010). Biodiversiteit en de terreinbeherende organisaties. In J. Noordijk, R. M. J. C. Kleukers, E. J. van Nieukerken, & A. J. van Loon (Eds.), *Nederlandse Fauna: De Nederlandse Biodiversiteit* (Vol. 10, pp. 367-377). Nederlands Centrum voor Biodiversiteit Naturalis & European Invertebrate Survey - Nederland. https://natuurtijdschriften.nl/pub/1019077
Trope, Y., & Liberman, N. (2003). Temporal construal. *Psychological Review*, *110*(3), 403-421. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.110.3.403
Trope, Y., & Liberman, N. (2010). Construal-level theory of psychological distance. *Psychological Review*, *117*(2), 440-463. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0018963
Velden, P. v. d., & Bastiaans, T. (2009). *Onderzoeksrapport : "ruimtelijke inpassing van nieuwe gebouwen op bestaande landgoederen"*. [s.n.]. http://edepot.wur.nl/135560
VVD, D66, CDA, & Unie, C. (2021). *Omzien naar elkaar, vooruitkijken naar de toekomst*. Den Haag Retrieved from https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/regering/documenten/publicaties/2022/01/10/coalitieakkoord-omzien-naar-elkaar-vooruitkijken-naar-de-toekomst
Welle, N., & Pastoor, B. (2017). landgoedmodel: succesformule als inspiratiebron. *Vakblad natuur bos landschap / Stichting Vakblad Natuur Bos Landschap*, (137), 36 - 37. https://edepot.wur.nl/428538

APPENDIX I: GENERAL INTERVIEW GUIDES

This appendix contains a translated version of the general interview guides**.** Sub questions specified with each question could be used for probing if necessary.

ESTATE OWNERS

INTRODUCTION

- ☐ Introducing myself: My name is Elsbeth Wefers Bettink. I am a student at Wageningen University. I study Forest and Nature Conservation (specialization Management). I am finishing my studies by working on my master's thesis.
- ☐ Introducing my research: My research focusses on private estate owners in the Netherlands. A little researched, but important group of private owners of natural resources
- ☐ How does it work: I expect this interview to take about an hour. I see this interview as a conversation between the two of us, in which together we try to get a better understanding about what it means to own an estate in the Netherlands. As it is a conversation, feel free to bring up anything you feel is relevant for us to get this understanding. I would like to emphasize that wrong answers are not possible.
- ☐ After this interview, I will make an overview of the most important results from this interview. I will send you overview and would like you to let me know if I understood and interpreted our conversation correctly and if there is anything you would like to clarify or add. I might even add a question in the summary that I would like you to answer.
- ☐ To make this overview and later analyze the interview, I would like to record it. No one but me will hear the recording and I will delete it as soon as I am finished with my thesis. For analysis I will however make a transcript of the interview. This is a written version of the interview that I will use for analysis. This transcript will be saved by the University because it is part of the raw data of this research but will not be published. Your name and the name of your estate will be anonymized in the transcript.
- ☐ After making the transcript, I will use it to analyze this interview. I will use this analysis to write my thesis and maybe in the future another article. This could for example be in a scientific journal. My final thesis report will be published at the website of Wageningen University and is open access.
- ☐ If you like I can also send you my final thesis report once it is completed.
- ☐ Informed consent: Do you have any questions before we start? Do you understand everything that I have explained so far? It is important to ask you, now that I have explained how the interview will go, that it will be recorded and how the information will be processed, if you still agree on doing this interview. So, do you agree on doing this interview? [If the respondent confirms, I will start the recording and the interview].

THE BASICS

We'll start the interview with some questions about you and the estate.

THE BASICS: WHO ARE YOU?

1. If you don't mind me asking, what is your age?
2. Where do you live? Is this an urban or more rural area? [only if interview not done from home]
3. What is your education? (level and field)
4. What is/was your job?

THE ESTATE

Now that we have talked about the basics, let's move on to the estate.

5. Where is your estate located? [only if interview not done from estate]
6. How far away do you live/is the estate? [only if not living on estate]
7. What is the size of the estate?
8. Can you tell me something about the history of the estate? [Probing] a. How long has it been in your family? b. How many generations have owned this estate before you?
9. What is the legal structure of the estate?
10. How many people, including yourself, own this estate?
11. Can you tell me something about the management of the estate? [Probing] a. How is the day-to-day management organized? b. How are decisions made?
12. On a scale of 1-10, how do you feel about the following aspects of the management? 1 not good at all – 10 very good [use answering sheet] a. The legal construction of the estate? b. The manager of the estate? c. How well is management going at the moment? 13. For each question, can you elaborate on that?
14. On a scale of 1-10, how certain do you feel about the future of the estate? 1 not certain at all – 10 very certain [use answering sheet] 15. Can you elaborate on that?
16. Can you tell me something about the future of the estate? [Probing] a. What plans are there? b. Is there a new generation?

YOU AND THE ESTATE

Let's move on to the next part, I would like to talk about you and the estate.

17. Can you tell me something about you and the estate? [Probing] a. How long have you owned the estate? b. How did you come to own the estate? c. How much time do you spend there? d. What do you do when you are there? e. Do you stay the night? f. Where do you stay the night? g. How often do you stay the night?
18. Can you tell me something about your history with the estate? [only ask if not first generation] [Probing] a. How long have you come here? b. How much time did you spend here growing up?

MEANING

Let's move on to the final part of this interview, about the meaning of the estate.

19. On a scale of 1-10, how important is the estate to you? 1 unimportant – 10 very important [use answering sheet] 20. Can you elaborate on that?
21. Can you tell me something about what the estate means to you? [Probing] a. Do you have friends with private estates? b. Do you talk about the estate with family and friends? c. Do you like to talk about it?
22. On a scale of 1-10, how much do you think the estate defines who you are? 1 not at all – 10 completely [use answering sheet] 23. Can you elaborate on that?
24. In what way do you feel connected to the estate? [Probing] a. Why? b. What does this connection mean to you?
25. To what extend do you feel you own the estate?
26. Is there anything you would like to add? Did I forget to ask anything?

CONCLUSION

I think we have discussed and answered most of my questions. This means we're coming to the end of this interview. I will stop the recording. I just have one final question.

27. Do you know any other private estate owners that I could interview for this research?

I would like to thank you very much for participating in this interview and helping me with my research.

ANSWERING SHEET

On a scale of 1-10, how do you feel about the following aspects of the **management**?
1 extremely dissatisfied – 10 extremely satisfied

The legal construction of the estate?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

The manager of the estate?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

How well the current management is?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

On a scale of 1-10, how certain do you feel about the **future** of the estate?
1 extremely uncertain – 10 extremely certain

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

On a scale of 1-10, how **important** is the estate to you?
1 extremely unimportant – 10 extremely important

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

On a scale of 1-10, how much do you think the estate **is part of who you are**?
1 not at all – 10 completely

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

ESTATE-AGENT

INTRODUCTION

- ☐ Introducing myself: My name is Elsbeth Wefers Bettink. I am a student at Wageningen University. I study Forest and Nature Conservation (specialization Management. I am finishing my studies by working on my master's thesis.
- ☐ Introducing my research: My research focusses on private estate owners in the Netherlands. A little researched, but important group of private owners of natural resources
- ☐ How does it work: I expect this interview to take about an hour. I see this interview as a conversation between the two of us, in which together we try to get a better understanding about what it means to own an estate in the Netherlands. As it is a conversation, feel free to bring up anything you feel is relevant for us to get this understanding.
- ☐ After this interview, I will make an overview of the most important results from this interview. I will send you overview and would like you to let me know if I understood and interpreted our conversation correctly and if there is anything you would like to clarify or add. I might even add a question in the summary that I would like you to answer.
- ☐ To make this overview and later analyze the interview, I would like to record it. No one but me will hear the recording and I will delete it as soon as I am finished with my thesis. For analysis I will however make a transcript of the interview. This is a written version of the interview that I will use for analysis. This transcript will be saved by the University because it is part of the raw data of this research but will not be published. Your name and the name of your estate will be anonymized in the transcript.
- ☐ After making the transcript, I will use it to analyze this interview. I will use this analysis to write my thesis and maybe in the future another article. This could for example be in a scientific journal. My final thesis report will be published at the website of Wageningen University and is open access.
- ☐ If you like I can also send you my final thesis report once it is completed.
- ☐ Informed consent: Do you have any questions before we start? Do you understand everything that I have explained so far? It is important to ask you, now that I have explained how the interview will go, that it will be recorded and how the information will be processed, if you still agree on doing this interview. So, do you agree on doing this interview? [If the respondent confirms, I will start the recording and the interview].

THE BASICS

We'll start the interview with some questions about you.

THE BASICS: WHO ARE YOU?

1. Where do you live? Is this an urban or more rural area?
2. What is your education? (level and field)
3. Are you a director or land manager by profession?

THE ESTATE

Now that we have talked about the basics, let's move on to the estate.

4. Where is the estate located?
5. What is the size of the estate?
6. Can you tell me something about the history of the estate? [Probing] a. How long has it been in the family?
7. What is the legal structure of the estate?
8. Can you tell me something about the management of the estate? [Probing] a. How are decisions made? b. How is management organized on this estate?
9. What type of activities do you perform for the estate?
10. Can you tell me something about the future of the estate? [Probing] a. What plans are there? b. Is there a new generation?

THE OWNERS AND THE ESTATE

Let's move on to the next part, I would like to talk about the owners and the estate.

11. Can you tell me something about the owners and the estate? [Probing] a. Are they actively involved? b. Is there a difference between owner involvement?
12. Can you tell me something about how the owners feel about how things are going on the estate? [Probing] a. How do they feel about the ownership construction? b. How do they feel about you? c. How do they see the future of the estate? d. Is there a difference between owners?

CONNECTION

Let's move on to the final part of this interview, about the connection of the owners to the estate.

13. Can you tell me something about what the estate means to the owners? [Probing] a. Is it important to them? b. Do they talk about the estate a lot? c. Do you feel the owners have a strong connection to the estate? d. Do you think the ownership defines who they are? Does it shape their identity? e. Is there a difference between owners?
14. In what way do they feel connected to the estate? [Probing] a. Do you think (some of) the owners have a stronger feeling of ownership than others? b. Do you think (some of) the owners have a stronger or lesser feeling of ownership than their legal share? c. How does this manifest? d. Is there a difference between owners?
15. Is there anything you would like to add? Did I forget to ask anything?

CONCLUSION

I think we have discussed and answered most of my questions. This means we're coming to the end of this interview. I will stop the recording. I just have one final question.

16. Do you know any others, either directors or owners, that I could interview for this research?

I would like to thank you very much for participating in this interview and helping me with my research.

APPENDIX II: ORIGINAL QUOTES

This appendix contains the original, untranslated quotes from the interviews with the estate owners.

Paragraph	Respondent	Original quote
4.1 General data on estate management	15	“We zijn zeer tevreden over de rentmeester en prijzen ons gelukkig met hem. Hij is zijn gewicht in goud waard. Hij doet het werk al heel lang en het gaat gewoon heel goed. ”
4.2.1 Control	6	"Omdat je zoveel mogelijkheden hebt om aan knoppen te draaien en als je iets wil doen en iets wil betekenen, dan kan je dat zo goed met een landgoed."
4.2.1 Control	2	"Ik heb altijd met een voor als het moeilijk is, dan is er een rentmeester en die doet dus dingen in onze opdracht, laat ik het zo zeggen."
4.2.1 Control	5	"Dus ja, hoe meer aandeelhouders hoe meer er op hoofdlijnen gesproken moet worden denk ik. Dan heb je het er dus ook niet meer over of die ene boom wel of niet gekapt moet worden. Dat moet ik ook vermijden."
4.2.1 Control	1	"Waardoor wij de volgende generatie ... die hebben wij de helft van onze aandelen geschonken. Dus wij zijn weliswaar nog de grootste aandeelhouders. … Ik ben er nog niet aan toe, en mijn broers eigenlijk ook niet, om alle aandelen over te dragen."
4.2.1 Control	7	"De pachtwet bijvoorbeeld is in wezen een wurgwetgeving die de verpachter aan handen en voeten bindt, en niet creatief/ innovatief met zijn belangrijkste 'asset' zijnde land, kan ondernemen."
4.2.1 Control	2	"we zitten ook onder Natura 2000… we zijn er wel onder gedrukt. Het is helemaal niet altijd ideaal. Ja dingen die je wil doen, dat mag dan niet.”
4.2.2 Intimate knowledge and Self-Investment	3	“En als je hier vanaf 93 gewoond dan word je wel een beetje één der mee."
4.2.2 Intimate knowledge and Self-Investment	4	“Ik ben hier opgegroeid. Dat is heel fijn, denk ik, want als je hier opgroeit en je rijdt paard, bijvoorbeeld. Zoals ik deed, dan ken je ieder weiland, omdat je er doorheen bent gestapt met je paard en je weet waar het nat is, je weet waar het droog is, dus je kent de bossen omdat je erdoorheen bent gekropen met de jacht, en je kent de mensen die er wonen.”
4.2.2 Intimate knowledge and Self-Investment	1	"Voor mij werkt dat het juist het hier zijn wat mijn betrokkenheid verhoogt, logisch natuurlijk. Maar ik zou die betrokkenheid die ik nu heb niet kunnen hebben als ik hier niet woon."
4.2.2 Intimate knowledge and Self-Investment	12	"In mijn studententijd was ik ook zeer betrokken altijd bij het landgoed en dan hielp ik mee in een familie stichting die we hebben. Of dus, dat heet dan de stichting, maar die dan familieactiviteiten organiseren, activiteiten voor de kinderen en de tenniswedstrijden heb ik ook aan meegedaan. Wat wij als land moet ook regelmatig doen is een commissie van aandeelhouders vragen om naar een bepaald onderwerp te kijken. [...] die krijgen de gelegenheid om een deskundige in te huren of wat dan ook. "

4.2.2 Intimate knowledge and Self-Investment	7	“Er waren ook weinig inkomsten naar ons toe vanuit dat landgoed. Dus ik moest nog gewoon een baan erbij hebben. Dus de motivatie was, we gaan dat beheer doen en daarnaast zoek ik een baan en als ik die baan gevonden heb, dan gaan we pas verhuizen. Ik ben begonnen met een halve baan hier en een halve baan in de Randstad. Het is echt een stappenplan geweest om hier naartoe te komen, heel bewust met, laat ik zeggen, het idee om het beheer hier te gaan doen en dus dat dat landgoed, ja toch, voor de toekomst veilig te stellen.”
4.2.2 Intimate knowledge and Self-Investment	2	“Nou dat kost ook 65.000 en dan krijg je ook al van nou, wij wilden een andere camper, maar dat doen we dan maar even niet. Ik wil het graag goed overdragen, maar dat je dan zegt van jij bent het landgoed, nee dat niet. […] Ik leef er wel voor, maar ik laat er soms ook voor.”
4.2.2 Intimate knowledge and Self-Investment	5	“Daar gaan ze hier [op dit landgoed] heel ver in, in de statuten staat dus dat je eerst je aandelen moet aanbieden aan de overige aandeelhouders. Dat is vrij algemeen gebruik, maar vervolgens is er ook een aandeelhoudersovereenkomst opgesteld waarin staat voor welke prijs dat dan moet gebeuren. En daar is een formule voor bedacht en die formule is eigenlijk zo bedacht dat het een hele lage prijs is. Daarmee hebben toen ze daar allemaal hun handtekening onder zetten, eigenlijk een streep door een groot gedeelte van hun vermogen gezet. Dus dat geeft aan hoe groot de betrokkenheid én en de wens om het in de familie te houden is. Doordat hierdoor de prijs laag is, is de kans groot dat andere aandeelhouders de aandelen kunnen en willen overnemen als er iemand uit wil, dat is de gedachte erachter.”
4.2.2 Intimate knowledge and Self-Investment	11	“Terwijl ik me ook wel eens zorgen maak, want kijk, ik ben er mee me grootgebracht en ik denk, ik vind het echt leuk, maar als ik nu bijvoorbeeld wegval, dan vraag ik mij wel eens af of dan iemand binnen de familie, dit echt wel heel erg graag wil gaan doen. Weet ik niet. Ik denk dat dat best moeilijk kan zijn. Het is niet zo heel vanzelfsprekend, denk ik.”
4.2.2 Intimate knowledge and Self-Investment	12	“Ja, nee, ik ben dag en nacht eigenlijk gewoon in de weer voor het landgoed met het beheer, maar dat is echt gewoon puur vanuit mijn functie [in het beheer van het landgoed].”
4.2.3 Psychological ownership: more than the sum of control, knowledge, and investment?	4	“Niks is van mij, misschien komt dat doordat ik opgegroeid ben met zo veel zussen, maar niks is van mij. […] Ik ben in dienst en dit is een dienstwoning”.

4.2.3 Psychological ownership: more than the sum of control, knowledge, and investment?	11	“Dus ja het is, ja, het is niet eens van mij, maar als bijvoorbeeld iemand iets doet wat het landgoed aantast, dan voelt het wel of ze mijn persoonlijke eigendom aantasten. […] voor mijn gevoel voelt het wel [dat ik eigenaar ben]. Mijn betrokkenheid is wel hetzelfde als een eigenaar. [...] Dus Ik ben misschien een soort van eigenaar aan de zijlijn. Misschien moet ik het maar zo omschrijven, zo voelt het denk ik ook wel. De verantwoordelijkheid voelt wel alsof ik eigenaar ben."
4.2.3 Psychological ownership: more than the sum of control, knowledge, and investment?	6	“Ja niet echt eigenaar, nee, want een eigenaar dat zie ik als, maar verantwoordelijk, laat ik het zo zeggen. Dat, maar niet eigenaar, want dat is zo, van dit is mijn grond, dit is het hek en ik rol de kanonnen uit hè.”
4.2.3 Psychological ownership: more than the sum of control, knowledge, and investment?	9	“Ik voel me meer als, ja ik moet nu het beheren en zorgen dat het goed komt en ik moet zorgen dat het liefst in een betere toestand naar de volgende generatie gaat.”
4.2.3 Psychological ownership: more than the sum of control, knowledge, and investment?	15	“Voel ik me eigenaar? Het raakt in de kern de vraag wat ‘eigendom’ eigenlijk is? Daarin zit het woord ‘eigen’ en zo voelt het niet. Het zit op een hoger, abstracter niveau. Uiteindelijk ben ik formeel gezien diegene die de handtekeningen moet zetten, maar de beslissingen neem ik niet voor mijzelf, maar steeds met zowel de vorige generaties, de huidige generatie én de volgende generaties in het achterhoofd, alhoewel ik natuurlijk moet oordelen met de omstandigheden die zich voordoen in het hier en nu. De beslissingen neem ik ook niet alleen, maar met de hulp van de rentmeester en afhankelijk van het project, de tuinman, timmerman of schilder en natuurlijk altijd met de ondersteuning van mijn man. Het Engelse woord ‘custodian’ is eerder hoe ik mij voel.”

4.2.3 Psychological ownership: more than the sum of control, knowledge, and investment?	10	“Waar ik me altijd weer over verbaas, is dat je hebt het inderdaad nou over de eigenaren, maar ik vind ook dat alle betrokken op zo’n landgoed, en tenminste dat is bij de meeste landgoederen zo, of dat nou de schilder, de loonwerker, de rentmeester, de accountant, iedereen raak er toch op een gegeven moment ook een beetje aan verknocht, zeg maar. Het gaat veel verder dan gewoon een zakelijke verhouding, er zit gewoon dat stuk emotie wat in die landgoederen zit, dat wordt daar word je wel mee besmet, zeg maar. Ja, dat komt toch door de landgoederen, waardoor door alles wat zich daar afspeelt en die, ja, gunfactor die er is op de één of andere manier. Dat is wel leuk om te zien. Maar goed, dat heb ik ook voor mezelf, het gaat je toch op een gegeven moment een beetje aan het hart. Dus als het goed gaat, is het mooi, als het slecht gaat, dan baal je ook als een stekker en dan regel je weer dat het goed komt. Dus het is verder dan puur een product verkopen.”
4.2.3 Psychological ownership: more than the sum of control, knowledge, and investment?	5	“Ik ken alle medewerkers hier, die hebben het over bij ons op het landgoed, op mijn landgoed. Zo praten ze, maar bij ons op het landgoed is het zo en zo. Er is niks van mij of van ons, maar zo praat ik en zo praten de medewerkers ook, maar dat leg ik als een soort positief teken van betrokkenheid uit.”
4.3.1 Time or temporal distance	9	“En ja, ik heb het al gezegd, het [landgoed] is 650 jaar in de familie, ja, zou het fijn vinden om dat nog wel een tijd zo doorgaat. Dus ja. Ja, dat legt wel een bepaalde druk.”
4.3.1 Time or temporal distance	11	"Kijk, het is niet een, historisch is het niet een heel oud landgoed. [...] Dus we hebben eigenlijk twee delen, twee landgoederen aan elkaar. Een landgoed hebben wij pas in 1985 ofzo gekocht. Het kasteel niet, maar de gronden er omheen wel en het andere landgoed, dat is door een oudoom bijeen gesprokkeld."
4.3.1 Time or temporal distance	5	"Dat is wel wezenlijk hoor vind ik, dat is mijn ervaring dat de jeugdperiode ook met het landgoed te maken hebben is echt wel belangrijk."
4.3.1 Time or temporal distance	12	“Ja gewoon de historie, de historische wortels die die er liggen, het feit dat dat al die generaties voor mij, net zoals ik over die paden hebben gelopen, en van diezelfde bomen hebben genoten en op hetzelfde bankje hebben gezeten. Ja nee, er zit hele diepe historische wortels eraan ten grondslag.

4.3.1 Time or temporal distance	4	"die verbintenis [met het landgoed] is dat je ook gewoon weet dat er andere mensen met allerlei dingen bezig zijn geweest en dat je dat door ermee doorgaat. Dat er daarna nog meer mensen komen die nog meer dingen gaan doen. Dat is leuk, denk ik maar verder niet nee. Je zit wel een beetje aan, allebei verbonden, aan de vorige en volgende generaties. Maar, je vindt het zelf, je doet ook lekker wat je leuk vindt. Het is een leuke verplichting, maar dat is het wel, je bent een soort van schakel in een heleboel. Een paar dingen ga je weer veranderen, die je weet van mijn grootvader heeft ook heel veel plekken, Douglas of een fijnspar bos. Nou, dan denk ik, willen we dat, nee, dat ga je veranderen, maar dat dat zijn, je weet dat die keuzes bewust zijn gemaakt, dus je zit er wel een beetje mee, maar je kan er wel een beetje in schuiven, maar heel veel dingen, denk je over van, oh ja, maar dat heeft hij dus zo ontworpen en dan ga je daarmee, dan ga je dat verderzetten en dan ja."
4.3.2 Space or spatial distance	15	"Ik voel me hier heel goed [op het landgoed]. Natuurlijk is het overal ook heel prachtig mooi, maar ik hoef niet weg. … Het is echt, ja, een gevoel, onderdeel van wie ik ben … Het troost me, het geeft me ook energie, het geeft me ook zorgen, het geeft me frustraties soms, het geeft me heel veel humor, gezelligheid. Dus in die zin, het bepaalt echt ook een beetje mijn gemoedstoestand wel. Soms dan, ja, als ik de hond uitlaat dan denk ik, oh het is prachtig hier en soms loop ik hier en denk ik eh, hoe gaan we dit nou oplossen. Maar het is vooral heel veel geborgenheid, ja, dat is het goede woord. Ik voel me echt geborgen hier. Heel veilig."
4.3.2 Space or spatial distance	8	"Het grote voorrecht van opgegroeid zijn, hè, dat zie ik als een groot ding. Dat je de kans hebt gehad om jouw jeugd verweven te laten zijn met een kind herinnering die je later nog eens terug kunt halen. Als mijn zoon hier uit de Randstad komt dan zijn er 3 dingen die ik merk: hij zegt, oh wat een heerlijk water, en de lucht en hij gaat observeren hoe het met de dassenburcht gaat. Dat is hij kwijt en ik zie bij hem door die jeugdherinneringen een verbinding."
4.3.2 Space or spatial distance	3	"Vooral ook omdat je, kijk, ik zit hier, dus ik zit er anders in dan bijvoorbeeld mijn moeder die in de randstad woont, en die is op afstand"
4.3.2 Space or spatial distance	5	"Maar die betrokkenheid creëren we natuurlijk op veel meer manieren. Het is niet alleen maar dat er op die aandeelhoudersvergadering betrokkenheid is. Er is hier bijvoorbeeld een vakantiewoning waar ze [aandeelhouders] bij toerbeurt voor een appel en een ei in zitten."
4.3.3 Social distance	15	"We zijn gezond. Daar bedoel ik dus ook financieel mee. Met gezond bedoel ik ook dat er een prettige sfeer op het landgoed rust."
4.3.3 Social distance	7	Maar ja, kijk, we hebben een ontzettend goede verstandhouding, dus ik kan dus alles zonder haar te raadplegen doen, omdat ik 2/3 van de aandelen heb, maar natuurlijk doe je dat niet.

4.3.3 Social distance	6	"Uiteindelijk gaat het erom dat je met elkaar overweg kunt. Dat is gewoon het belangrijkste. Je kunt technisch van alles bedenken, maar Je moet met elkaar overweg kunnen en elkaar wat gunnen ook. Ja en vroeg of laat kom je altijd, overal is dat [bij landgoederen met meerdere aandeelhouders], in een in een gevarenzone en dan is het eventjes moeilijk en dan moet iedereen toch de wijsheid hebben om te denken aan het belang van het landgoed, want het blijft voor iedereen gewoon heel leuk om daar mee bezig te zijn."
4.3.3 Social distance	13	"Een belangrijk deel in de plannen is altijd evenementen als investeringen voor de betrokkenheid van je aandeelhouders. […] Er is ook [op een van de landgoederen] een ander vakantiehuis met een cultuur-historische achtergrond. […] maar die [een ander landgoed] hebben bijvoorbeeld een bramen pluk dag"
4.3.3 Social distance	15	"ik denk altijd, zo'n landgoed krijgt soms misschien te veel aandacht. Als je het vergelijkt met een van de pachters, bijvoorbeeld, volgens mij gaat zijn of haar familie ook heel ver terug."
4.3.3 Social distance	10	"En ik vind dat ook wel wat hebben, hoor. Dat weet je, dat geven en nemen, en dat toch in de besluitvorming die emotie een best wel belangrijk rol speelt, zeker ten opzichte van de TBO's. … Dan zijn die landgoederen toch veel koersvaster, meer respect voor hun bewoners, voor hun gebruikers."
4.3.3 Social distance	13	"Uiteindelijk als het ons goed gaat, gaat het de streek ook goed en als het de streek goed gaat, gaat het ons ook goed. We hebben elkaar gewoon ook nodig."
4.3.3 Social distance	14	"Je moet in de loop van de jaren een enorm netwerk om zo'n landgoed vormen om de vele gevaren die er zijn, om die dus af te wenden."
4.3.4 Uncertainty or hypothetical distance	14	"Dus in die zin denk ik dat het, ja, de toekomst van het landgoed redelijk goed zit, ja."
4.3.4 Uncertainty or hypothetical distance	3	"Het is nog particulier [...] het is nog onverdeeld. Het maakt het uiteindelijk naar de toekomst onzeker."
4.3.4 Uncertainty or hypothetical distance	1	"We zijn economisch gezond. We hebben de organisatie voor elkaar. Dus ja, Ik ben daar [de toekomst] heel positief over."
4.3.4 Uncertainty or hypothetical distance	3	"het is wel zo dat dat ik heel goed begrijp dat, als je wilt dat je het door kan geven, dan moet er natuurlijk wel een bepaalde, moet het een gezonde basis hebben en als door alle ellende die er nu is, dat het niet mogelijk zou kunnen zijn. Ja, dan is dat gewoon, dan heeft deze, dan verdient deze familie het gewoon niet. Ja, dan heeft het zo moeten zijn"
4.3.4 Uncertainty or hypothetical distance	4	"het landgoed, ja, dat verdwijnt niet in een groot gat, maar er zijn wel dingen die heel gevaarlijk zijn, dus klimaatverandering."

4.3.4 Uncertainty or hypothetical distance	4	“We weten niet wat er kan gebeuren. Nou we weten tegenwoordig wel dat er ineens dingen heel erg kunnen veranderen en de grootste dreiging is de klimaatverandering en dat daar proberen we, zijn we nu heel erg mee bezig met hoe we dat het beste kunnen, ja, onszelf aanpassen. [...] We hebben nu dit jaar voor het eerst heel veel wintereik geplant, die zou iets beter moeten zijn tegen de droogte. Maar wie weet, misschien wordt het nat. Je weet het echt niet.”
4.3.4 Uncertainty or hypothetical distance	8[i]	"we zijn enorm geschrokken van de slechte kwaliteit van de grond na intensieve landbouw. We zagen pas hoe erg het was toen we landbouwgrond kochten van een familielid. Nu zijn we met speciale grondboeren bezig om te kijken hoe we de grond kunnen verbeteren"
4.3.4 Uncertainty or hypothetical distance	14	“ik denk met alles wat er op het ogenblik speelt en dan met name ook door die klimaatverandering, denk ik dat dus landgoederen nu toch de wind In de rug krijgen en dat dus nu inderdaad de maatschappij gaat erkennen hoe belangrijk natuur is.”
4.3.4 Uncertainty or hypothetical distance	16	De grootste risico’s voor ons als kleiner landgoed zijn de overheid (wetten en regels) en de politiek.
4.3.4 Uncertainty or hypothetical distance	9	“De grootste kracht van landgoedeigenaren en landgoederen is dat zij tijd aan hun kant hebben. Als een plan wordt afgeschoten [door een ambtenaar], dan doen we het gewoon in een laatje en dan als er een nieuw poppetje is, dan trekken we het er weer uit en dan probeer je het gewoon nog een keer. Dus dat is de kracht waar je echt wel moet [vasthouden], je moet gewoon die die enorme lange horizon vasthouden en daar je landgoed in meenemen, want die boeren hebben ook niet zo’n lange horizon. ”
4.3.4 Uncertainty or hypothetical distance	6	"Het betekent ook dat je er niet een stolp overheen moet zetten en als een museum moet gaan beheren. Je moet dus meebewegen met de grote veranderingen in de maatschappij en niet met de waan van de dag."
4.3.4 Uncertainty or hypothetical distance	10	“De provincie had een, zeg maar een, onderhandse akte opgemaakt [voor een pilot] waarin we dus bepaalde verplichtingen hadden om bosbranden dan in stand te houden en er was een inleiding geschreven en dan staat daar: ‘de provincie wil met haar partners te weten Natuurmonumenten, Provinciaal landschap en Staatsbosbeheer, doelen bereiken.’ Ik zeg, ja, nou ben je bij ons voor een pilot en dan staan wij als partner, staan we er niet eens tussen in die overeenkomst die je met ons aan gaat? Dan kun je zien wat er daar, er is gewoon te weinig gevoel, zeg maar bij overheden. Dat vind ik jammer.”
4.3.4 Uncertainty or hypothetical distance	8[i]	"De landbouwgrond die we hadden aangekocht bleek door de gemeente een andere bestemming te hebben gekregen met een speciale natuurindicatie. Niemand wist wat dit precies betekende en welke indicatie dit precies was. Het heeft moeite gekost om de bestemming landbouw weer terug te krijgen, we hebben geprocedeerd tot aan de Raad van State om dit terug te krijgen, maar het is gelukt."

4.3.4 Uncertainty or hypothetical distance	13	"Dat is mijn grootste zorg bij de nieuwe omgevingswet, dat is ansich een hele grote kans, want die wet die zoekt ook naar evenwicht, naar optimalisatie. Maar de overheid zelf is zo tot op het bot sectoraal aan het denken, of dat ooit gaat lukken dan wordt het een hele grote uitdaging. Dat vind ik het grootste risico wat er is. Maar anderzijds een hele grote kans."
4.3.4 Uncertainty or hypothetical distance	12	"Het [de aandelen] is dus inmiddels zodanig versnipperd, dat het aandelenbezit voor niemand echt meer een financiële waarde heeft. Wij zijn dus die kritische fase achter de rug. Het aandelen bezit heeft een veel belangrijkere emotionele waarde."
4.3.5 Psychological distance to the estate	15	"Ik voel me hier heel goed [op het landgoed]. Natuurlijk is het overal ook heel prachtig mooi, maar ik hoef niet weg. … Het is echt, ja, een gevoel, onderdeel van wie ik ben … Het troost me, het geeft me ook energie, het geeft me ook zorgen, het geeft me frustraties soms, het geeft me heel veel humor, gezelligheid. Dus in die zin, het bepaalt echt ook een beetje mijn gemoedstoestand wel. Soms dan, ja, als ik de hond uitlaat dan denk ik, oh het is prachtig hier en soms loop ik hier en denk ik eh, hoe gaan we dit nou oplossen. Maar het is vooral heel veel geborgenheid, ja, dat is het goede woord. Ik voel me echt geborgen hier. Heel veilig."
4.3.5 Psychological distance to the estate	1	"Het is natuurlijk wel onderdeel van wie ik ben, maar goed, ik kan prima gelukkig zijn zonder landgoed, daar gaat het niet om. Het is een heel groot belangrijk deel van mijn leven, maar nogmaals, nu, en als ik hier straks niet meer zou wonen, dan wordt dat misschien minder en dat vind ik ook helemaal niet erg."
4.3.5 Psychological distance to the estate	11	"Ja, hoe belangrijk is het landgoed? Ja, dat adem je gewoon."
4.5.1 Responsibility towards the estate and family	6	"Omdat je dan nou, de verantwoordelijkheid die je hebt als je iets bezit, hè, wat het dan ook is of je nou een grote zak met geld hebt of iets van grond, of weet ik veel een fabriek, dat geeft je de verantwoordelijkheid om er iets mee te doen. En dan hoop ik dat de meeste dan denken van er iets goeds mee doen en niet de verkeerde kant op gaan. Dat kan natuurlijk ook, maar ik zie het dus als een verantwoordelijkheid dat je de verplichting hebt om daar iets goeds mee te doen. En ook aan de andere kant het in stand houden ervan, dat belangrijk is, dus toekomstbestendig. Wat nu dan klimaat robuust is."
4.5.1 Responsibility towards the estate and family	15	"Het landgoed is voor mij belangrijk in die zin dat ik het belangrijk vind voor mijn familie. Op dit moment, en dit zeg ik net na het overlijden van mijn vader vanuit een emotionele achtergrond, met name voor mijn vader, maar ook zijn ouders. Zij kwamen uit Oost-Duitsland met niets en hebben al hun energie en liefde in landgoed m gestoken. Ik vind het belangrijk dat ik het voor hen zo goed mogelijk voortzet. Dat is ook weer het mooie ervan dat je weet, je doet het uiteindelijk voor een dieper en groter iets. Je doet het niet voor jezelf. Je doet het voor de vorige en volgende generatie. Dat de volgende generatie net zo een mooie kindertijd mag ervaren als dat jij hier hebt genoten. Tegelijkertijd is het ook moeilijk om de verplichting die ik voel te omschrijven."

4.5.1 Responsibility towards the estate and family	10	“En je wil toch niet de generatie zijn die het verkeerd doet en het aan natuurmonumenten moet verkopen bij wijze van spreken. Dat is natuurlijk wel, dat is een doemscenario.”
4.5.1 Responsibility towards the estate and family	12	“Ik zie het eigenlijk als een verplichting om het [landgoed] financieel gezond door te geven aan de volgende generatie. Dat is eigenlijk mijn enige doel. Er zijn zoveel generaties voor mij die met ups en downs ervoor hebben gezorgd dat landgoed in stand is gebleven. Daardoor mogen wij er nu met z’n allen ervan genieten en ik hoop dat opvolgende generaties, dat ook gaan krijgen.”
4.5.1 Responsibility towards the estate and family	4	Het is wel, je bent er [het landgoed] altijd mee bezig, weekenden en avonden en weet ik veel. […] Je laat het niet los, nee. En je bent ook hier, om 8 uur ‘s ochtends komen de mensen binnen in huis en die zijn, ja, het is gewoon een werkend geheel. Er werkt iemand in het kantoor en de tuinman en de beheerder en al die mensen die hier werken, die zijn onderdeel van ons leven. Dus dat, ja, je bent er continu mee bezig. Er is geen scheiding, het kantoor komt naar ons toe.
4.5.1 Responsibility towards the estate and family	9	“Dus in feite is het gewoon heel erg simpel, dit soort bezit is een voorrecht en enorm fantastisch en het is prachtig om doorheen te lopen, maar het is tegelijkertijd ook een behoorlijke verantwoordelijkheid.”
4.5.1 Responsibility towards the estate and family	7	“Dus het [landgoed] betekent heel veel, want dat was geloof ik de vraag, maar je zou dan ook kunnen zeggen dat dat een grote verantwoordelijkheid met zich meebrengt, hè … Ja, het geeft me energie. Dat is het eigenlijk gewoon, dus je doet het met heel veel plezier. […] Het is het belangrijkste deel van het leven wat je leidt, het wel en wee van het landgoed. We genieten hier enorm, want we hebben natuurlijk het leven met het landgoed kunnen leiden met alles wat erbij komt kijken, maar ook alle geneugten, ja, daar genieten we enorm van.”

4.5.2 Social and public responsibility	10	“Wat die landgoedeigenaren over de loop van de eeuwen, zeg maar, bij elkaar hebben gehouden, toch dat landschap hebben bewaakt, daar komt het eigenlijk gewoon op neer. Dat is gewoon ontzettend belangrijk voor Nederland geweest. Daarom hebben we nog zoveel, mede door die landgoedeigenaren. In die stukken war de ruilverkavelingen overheen is geweest is helemaal niks meer over, zeg maar, dat is helemaal vernietigd. Maar dat zou af en toe nog wel wat harder geroepen mogen worden, denk ik. En ik denk dat heel veel landgoedeigenaren, en ik ben maar gewoon rentmeester, maar ik heb dat zelf ook dat wij af en toe wij doen het allemaal maar gewoon, als een soort vanzelfsprekendheid. […] Maar je zou eigenlijk dat af en toe nog wat meer uit mogen dragen, vind ik zelf, van wat je allemaal mee bezig bent, en wat je, ja, al eeuwenlang doet eigenlijk. Wat ik dus ook vind, meestal die TBO’s [terrein beherende organisaties] die zijn puur natuur georiënteerd en landgoederen die hebben altijd een, nou ja, er zijn natuurlijk ook landgoederen met alleen bossen en natuurgebieden, maar de meeste landgoederen zijn gewoon een mix van allerlei functies. En, die kunnen dus uiteindelijk gewoon aan veel meer knoppen draaien dan een TBO, dus eigenlijk zijn dat veel betere partijen om zaken mee te doen dan TBO’s, want daar staat altijd alles in het teken van natuur, maar dat moet ook allemaal betaald worden. En een Nederland zonder landbouw is ook ondenkbaar, hè. Je kunt op de landgoederen, kun je wel die mix maken tussen natuur en landbouw daar kun je die afstemming veel mooier maken.”
4.5.2 Social and public responsibility	8[i]	"We zijn continue op zoek naar de maatschappelijke bijdrage van het landgoed. Dit is extra belangrijk omdat we niet zijn opengesteld."
4.5.2 Social and public responsibility	14	“Het [landgoed] had een belangrijke functie in de gemeenschap en die functie, die is eigenlijk verdwenen en dat heeft er ook mee te maken met ons economisch model waarbij wij steeds meer producten uit het buitenland gingen halen en niet meer zagen wat het eigen land eigenlijk voortbracht. En ik heb me eigenlijk van het begin af aan voor ogen gehouden, hoe mooi zou het zijn als je die gemeenschap weer kunt betrekken bij zo’n landgoed. En ik denk, in zekere zin, dat we daar, op de goede weg zijn, want inmiddels zijn er heel veel vrijwilligers.”
4.5.2 Social and public responsibility	1	“Ik zie ook echt een maatschappelijke rol voor landgoederen en ik vind heel erg dat landgoedeigenaren die rol moeten oppakken. Of dat gaat om diensten echt aan de maatschappij of dat je je bezighoudt met verbetering van biodiversiteit of van opwekken van energie, noem het maar op. Ik vind dat het een rol is die landgoedeigenaren echt moeten oppakken. “

[i] Because of a malfunction of the recording during part of this interview, this is not a direct quote. It is however a representation of what and how it was said by the respondent.