

No trespassing in the Dairy Gateway: boundary work in deliberative cooperation in Wisconsin, USA

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I would like to thank the Amsterdam Discourse Reading Club, civil servants from DNR and the Dutch InnovatieNetwerk for comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

Abstract

Experimentation with deliberative cooperation between government and non-government is both an indication of, as well as an incentive for, a shift from government to governance. In a governance society the boundaries between 'public, private and voluntary sectors are blurred' (Rhodes 2003)p.51). In experiments with deliberative cooperation, those boundaries are not only blurred, but are also renegotiated. However, even though all participants agree that renegotiation through deliberative cooperation is necessary, these same participants cause deliberative breakdowns (Fung 2001) when they enact their normal practices to gain credibility and legitimacy for their arguments and positions. This kind of boundary work (Gieryn 1983; Halffman 2003) limits and enables the renegotiations about the boundaries, and with that, a deliberative cooperation.

In this paper, I will show that the attempted community building and innovation in cooperation between government, farmers, citizens and environmental organizations in the Dairy Gateway Project in Wisconsin, U.S.A. were delayed due to the drawing of powerful boundaries around normal practices. In addition, I will show that protection of normal practices, and a strong demarcation of the experimental practice convened reflective conversations about the normal boundaries and the attempted changes. Subsequently, I will demonstrate that the use of boundary concepts or boundary objects that are multi-interpretable and leave some (aspects of) boundaries blurred, contributed to the progress of the experimental cooperation. I will describe two types of boundary work –demarcation (which also provides coordination) and blurring in the case of the Dairy Gateway Project. The description of demarcation and blurring boundaries between public, private and voluntary practices, results in recommendations on how to take into account the drawing of boundaries to prevent them from causing deliberative breakdowns.

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Introduction

The Dairy Gateway Project in Wisconsin, the biggest dairy state of the USA, is an experiment with deliberative cooperation between government, dairy farmers, their neighbors, and environmental organizations. The Dairy Gateway Project is an attempt of the state Department of Natural Resources (DNR) to involve citizens and farmers in 'superior environmental performance' that goes beyond the requirements by law. With help of local and national mediators the DNR stimulated deliberation in, and the development of, entrepreneurship networks (Hajer 2003a; Laws 2001) of farmers, their neighbors and environmental organizations. These entrepreneurship networks should stimulate sustainable agriculture, sustainable environment, and sustainable community.

Experimentation with deliberative cooperation between government and non-government is not only taking place in Wisconsin, but also in other parts of the United States (Holmes 2001; Scott Murdock 2005) and in European countries, like the Netherlands and Germany (Hendriks 1999). These experiments are both an indication of, as well as an incentive for, a shift from government to governance in which boundaries between 'public, private and voluntary sectors are blurred' (Rhodes 2003)p.51). In other words, interactive, deliberative experiments such as the Dairy Gateway Project are believed to be a necessity in a governance society, but at the same time stimulate the shift towards a governance society in which 'policy outcomes are not the product of actions by central government' alone (Rhodes 1996).

All participants of the Dairy Gateway Project agreed that the deliberative approach was desirable. However, these same participants enacted their normal practices¹ and routines within this experimental setting. In meetings, speeches, (policy) documents, and interviews, they drew boundaries around their own public, private, and voluntary 'practice' by references

to their professional or organizational background. Next they drew lines in references to how things usually or ‘normally’ are done. In this way, actors sought to gain credibility for their arguments and positions. This is what I will call boundary work (Gieryn 1983; Halfman 2003).

In this paper, I will show that the attempted community building and innovation in cooperation were delayed due to the drawing of powerful and less powerful boundaries around normal practices, and around the experimental practice. In addition, I will show that the community building and innovation in cooperation also benefited from protection of these normal practicesⁱⁱ. In this paper, I will describe two types of boundary work –demarcation (which also provides coordination) and blurring- and I will show how these types enhanced or limited the Dairy Gateway Project. These descriptions result in recommendations on how to take into account the drawing of boundaries to prevent them from causing deliberative breakdowns ((Fung 2001). Drawing of boundaries around normal practices or experimental practices can be used to enhance the quality of the deliberative practice. These drawn boundaries hold valuable clues for incremental decisions of what should be maintained in new relationships between government and non-government.

First, I will introduce the details of the deliberative cooperation in Dairy Gateway. Second, I will describe what is boundary work, what boundaries are drawn, and what consequences boundary work might have in deliberations. Third, I will describe boundary work in the Dairy Gateway, and last but not least, I will conclude with conclusions and lessons to be drawn.

Deliberative problem solving in the Dairy Gateway

The Dairy Gateway Project is an example of a renegotiation of traditional governmental practice and its’ interaction with other practices. The Department of Natural Resources (DNR) and the Department of Agriculture, Trade and Consumer Protection (DATCP) of the state Wisconsin, USA, believe that the relationships between public, private, and voluntary practices and actors already have shifted and that government and other actors need to adapt to this situation. First, I will show why the Dairy Gateway Project, can be considered an attempt of these governmental actors to sustain ‘coordination and coherence among a wide variety of actors with different purposes and objectives’ (Rhodes 2000). They renegotiate governmental practice in a direction that indicates a shift towards a governance society.

According to Dutch standards, Wisconsin rural landscape is empty. The scenery of Northeast Wisconsin resembles the hilly landscape in Northern France with traditional family farms, red barns, and an occasional factory farm. Highway 57 brings you from Green Bay, a village with approximately 120,000 inhabitants, to Door County situated on a peninsula that stretches into Lake Michigan. The peninsula is the touristy part of the Dairy Gateway area that includes two other counties: Manitowoc and Kewaunee county. Tourists from nearby cities; Chicago, Milwaukee, and Madison, spend their vacation on the peninsula and even build second homes or move to this area to escape the city. 'Urban Sprawl' is what the original inhabitants, dairy farmers, and county officials call these developments. To Dutch planners it is almost impossible to imagine that this urban sprawl causes problems similar to those of the densely populated Netherlands. But, the urban people that move to the Gateway area are not used to the odor spread by manure, nor to the possibilities of their drinking water being contaminated with manure spill. They themselves pollute the scenery of traditional Wisconsin with 'trophy homes' in the midst of 40 acres of pasture or cornfields, but refuse to live next to a factory farm.

Conflicts between a dairy farmer that needs to expand to survive and their neighbors that want to prevent the farm from expanding are not an exception. Even though Jim Doyle, the current democratic governor of the state, has declared that Wisconsin is and should remain Dairy State of the USA, neighbors more often succeed in blocking the expansion of a factory farm. [state law 235; farm bill?] Detailed planning of the area is lacking and zoning is novel. In comparison with the nutrient management regulations, the odor-circles and the EU environmental policies, the landscape of rules and regulations in Wisconsin is also very empty. Operations with less than approximately 700 cows (1000 animal units) do have to comply with little environmental regulation. Bigger farms or farms with plans to expand have to apply for a license, especially a water pollution license as manure spills cause the biggest environmental problems. The State government lacks manpower and financial resources to prevent water and air pollution in all cases, next she cannot punish polluters easily since it is usually hard to prove who was the polluter as manure spill are often non-point source pollution. The Department of Natural Resources is also referred to as the Department of NO Resources. DNR estimated that in the near future no extra legal resources, money, or manpower would be granted, and due to the power of citizens, farmers, and environmental organizations DNR would not be able to enforce legislation.

The experienced lack of space, the condition of the regulatory landscape, and the complexity and knowledge of the involved networks in Wisconsin, have been reasons for governmental actors like the Department of Natural Resources (DNR) and the Department of Agriculture, Consumers and Trade (DATCP), to experiment with new forms of co-operation between government and non-government. The Dairy Gateway project aims at an economical viable agricultural industry that meets the conditions put forward by society: a sustainable environment, a beautiful landscape, sensible land use, and a sustainable community. In the context of the Environmental Results Act that became Green Tier law in May 2004 (Wisconsin Act 267), the Dairy Gateway Project stimulates voluntary compliance to self-created environmental standards by networks between farmers, their neighbors, government, and in incidental cases environmental organizations, and processors of products.

The Dairy Gateway project, therefore, is an explicit attempt to renegotiate (boundaries between) existing practices. Participants believe that procedures, rules and responsibilities on one hand, as well as interests, values and beliefs on the other need to be changed, to be 'innovated', for better problem solving. The Department of Natural Resources wishes to accomplish this by facilitation of *mediation* between environmental organizations, farmers, and their neighbors, and of facilitation of the building of entrepreneurial networks in the local communities of the Dairy Gateway area.

From policy documents, from approximately 30 interviews with participants and stakeholders, and from participatory observations in seven meetings in autumn 2004 and 2005, we can define what is 'normal' and what is 'experimental' policy practice in Wisconsin (see table 1). According to these documents and respondents, in normal policy practice there is a command and control role for government, in this case for the Department of Natural Resource. They set environmental standards, with help of scientific expertise usually provided for by the federal government and by the local university: Wisconsin University. Farmers and other businesses have to comply to these standards. Environmental organizations are watchdogs and serve as an extra pair of eyes for government.

From the same resources we have induced what participants consider experimental practice in Wisconsin. This consists of an extra role of government: providing incentives for businesses and the voluntary practice that go beyond compliance, to facilitate mediation and provide rewards. But, the new experimental practice, the 'new store' as George Meyer, secretary of State called it, also demands new relationships between environmental organizations, farmers, and citizens. In stead of being adversaries, they should develop

adaptive Environmental Management Systems (EMS)ⁱⁱⁱ for dairy farms in a combined effort. Farmers would lower the risk of not being able to expand due to societal resistance, neighbors would live in a better environment with less manure spills and better air quality, and environmental organizations would have easy access to business' environmental information.

Old store	New store
Command and control (gov)	CC plus incentives (gov)
Compliance	Beyond compliance
Punishments	Rewards
Fixed standards set and hammered by gov.	Adaptive EMS formed in public-private cooperation
Knowledge by state agencies and UW	Knowledge by state agencies, UW, local expertise
Law	Contracts and Charters
Law suits	Mediation
Public hearings	Monitoring and Audits

Table 1: Normal practice (old store) and experimental practice (new store).

In the Dairy Gateway Project, the Department of Natural Resources choose to renegotiate her relationship with private and voluntary partners. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology helped to develop some idea of how these boundaries between public, private, and voluntary practices could be reshaped in entrepreneurship networks, and mediation between farmers, environmentalists, and citizens^{iv}. Their inspiration came from the consensus building approach by Susskind et al. (Susskind 1999) and European examples, mostly Dutch and German, in neo-corporatist decision making. The DNR partly felt forced to try out new ways to get farmers to comply with, and to go beyond compliance with, existing environmental rules and regulations. DNR thought it would be better to reward private and voluntary efforts to improve the environment.

DNR has a clear stake in working towards a different approach. The dairy farmers, and the voluntary practice of individual citizens and environmental organizations, had mixed feelings about the desirability of this new approach. Some of them were very reluctant to

cooperate. Farmers were afraid they would have to provide information to the ‘enemy’ (the state inspectors and environmental organizations), and the voluntary actors were afraid that this project, and the Green Tier Law, would simply lead to regulatory relief for farmers and worse environmental quality. The few farmers that agreed to cooperate, mentioned that they wanted better relationships with their neighbors as they had a close link to the area, and because they need the consent of citizens to be able to expand their farms. Environmental organizations and individual citizens that cooperated, hoped to be able to create a better environment, not just in nature but also in the community.

The Dairy Gateway Project is not just an attempt to sustain coordination, but it is a ‘society-centered, deliberative, type of governance in which the focus is on co-ordination and self-governance’ (Hajer 2003a; Tatenhove 2003). DNR wishes to provide mediators in the area that facilitate deliberation amongst community members. Through argumentative reasoning, through a collective learning process, and sometimes even joint fact finding, a ‘common understanding and accountability for solving problems’ is aimed after (Grin 1996; Hajer 2003a; Hoppe August 2002a). In this specific case, DNR aims after a better environment, economy and community, and after new relationships between public, private, and voluntary partners^v. However, these deliberative experiments experience ‘deliberative breakdowns’ (Fung 2001), moments at which argumentative reasoning seems to be falling apart. In this paper I study these deliberative breakdowns and their consequences. I look for moments on which participants refer to normal policy practices, or to their normal and professional practice to gain credibility or legitimacy for their own arguments. These are moments on which participants mobilize their normal practice and interactions as resources of power in the discussions. These limits to experimental practice are studied with help of the concept boundary work. The next section describes the concept boundary work as a middle ground between pure hermeneutics and pure institutional analysis, and it describes the two different kinds of boundary work: demarcation and blurring.

Boundary work

The deliberative breakdowns in the experimental practice in the Dairy Gateway Project are described with help of the concept boundary work. As mentioned before, these breakdowns not necessarily inhibit the experimental practice, they might even facilitate them. This section

first describes what boundary work is, what kind of boundaries I will look for, and next what the demarcation and blurring entail.

Boundary work: a middle ground

Boundaries between public, private, and voluntary practices^{vi}, or between normal and experimental practice are drawn *discursively* in the Dairy Gateway Project. Boundary work is:

“defining a practice in contrast with other practices, to protect it from unwanted participants and interference, while trying to ascribe proper ways of behavior for participants and non-participants (demarcation); simultaneously boundary-work defines proper ways for interaction between these practices and makes such an interaction possible and conceivable (co-ordination) boundary work is the demarcation (and co-ordination) of one practice of another” (Halffman 2003).

This definition first of all tells us, that the *contrast* between one practice and the other is the important characteristic of drawing boundaries. This is a *discursive* demarcation process and can be studied with methods from within an hermeneutic approach. The rhetorical contrast uttered by actors, makes comprehensible what separates one practice from other practices, what persons belong in it and what not, who is an authority and who is not, and how interaction with other practices should take place (coordination). This ‘contrasting’ is the way the *meaning* of a practice is constructed. Moreover, the meaning of a practice, or at least the meaning of its’ fringes and relations, is always constructed in dialogue with other practices. The meaning of a demarcated practice, therefore, is necessarily *discursive*, *dialectical*, and *contextual*.

Secondly, this definition of boundary work emphasis the *action-orientedness* of boundary work. Boundary work is something that is done by actors in a specific situation. In Science and Technology Studies (STS) this action-orientedness has been a way to show that the scientific practice is not as homogeneous and universal as is often claimed. In the study of science in action, it is not only noticed that science constructs facts (Latour 1979), but also that the *meaning* of science is socially constructed, and sometimes is used to gain professional autonomy, credibility, in short: power (Gieryn 1983). Scientific standards, like universality, objectivity, falsifiability, disinterestedness, etc., are not applied in every situation and are certainly not applicable for any kind of research (see for example (Evans 2002; Knorr Cetina 1992)). Next, Thomas Gieryn (1983, 1985, 1999), Sheila Jasanoff (1994), Willem Halffman

(2003), and Kinchy and Kleinman (2003) have shown that these boundaries around science, and between science and society, are constructed in practice through rhetoric and discourse^{vii}.

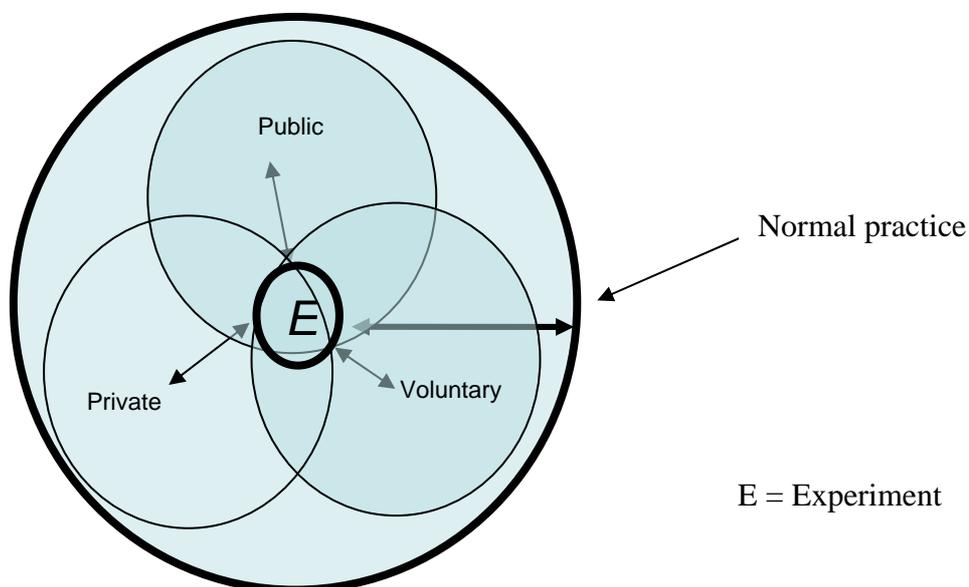
Thirdly, the above mentioned definition of boundary work fits into a tradition of scholars that have shown that the boundaries around the scientific practice are not only constructed in interaction and negotiation, but are also historical resonant boundaries that are ‘enacted’^{viii} (Latour, Mol). Especially, Kinchy and Kleinman (2003) have emphasized that these enacted boundaries draw on “historical resonance and a taken for granted character of discourse”. The resonance and taken for granted character is what gives the boundaries their power (Kinchy 2003: 870-873). These are routine boundaries, or institutionalized boundaries as Halfman calls them (2003, p:57). The study of these routine boundaries, or resonant historical discourse, together with the study of the use of rhetoric of the ‘contrast’ in practical situations, provides a middle ground between purely hermeneutic kinds of research, and builds a bridge between institutionalism and hermeneutics. The boundaries around governmental, farming, and environmental practices are drawn dialectically and therefore contextually. But, at the same time, they refer to discourses and practices that have more obduracy than one specific context. This allows this research not to be merely an analysis of institutional change nor pure semantics, it provides a middle ground between institutional analysis that is helpful in describing the more static power relations, and local dynamics that are more easily to describe with a hermeneutical approach, for example, discourse analysis^{ix}.

In sum, the study of boundary work provides a middle ground between analysis of meaning in one particular conversation or project on one hand, and the study of more institutionalized and historically resonant discourses on the other hand. The focus in the study of boundary work lies on discursive, dialectical interactions between society, government, science, and business in practical situations. It studies how historical resonant discourse and practice are enacted, and are of influences on these interactions. This resonant discourse provide participants in deliberative problem-solving with unequal resources. It can be more powerful to utter that you have a scientific background then to state that you are an engaged citizen with a true Wisconsin farming identity. I presume that it differs from one deliberative experiment to the next, how powerful these utterances are. There are boundaries that have more obduracy due to their historical resonance. Moreover, there might be powerful historical resonant discourses and boundaries that transverse one particular meeting, or even one experimental (governance) practice.

As introduced earlier on, there are at least two kinds of boundary work: demarcation and blurring. In the next paragraph I will elaborate on these two kinds of boundary work and on their objectives or results.

Boundary work: demarcation and blurring

As we will see below, in experimental practices like the Dairy Gateway Project, there are at least four boundaries at play: between normal and experimental, and between experimental and ‘their own’ practices: governmental, voluntary (environmental), and private (farming)(see figure 1).



Picture 1: boundaries between practices in experiments with deliberative problem solving

These boundaries can be ‘boundary worked’ on in at least two manners: by discursive *demarcation*, and by discursive *blurring* of these at least four boundaries. We already saw that demarcation is the rhetorical ‘contrasting’ of one practice with the other. Gieryn (1983) introduced the device of the ‘foil’ to be able to study this kind of boundary work. For example, utterance that contain the words ‘different’, ‘them’-‘us’, ‘in contrast to’, ‘opposed to’, might indicate boundary work between different practices. As we saw, this kind of boundary work is of influence on what, who, and how, are considered part of the practice, and who, what, and how, are not. Studies of professionalization, for example Abbott (1988)(Abbot 1988), have shown that this ‘contrasting’ is used to make a practice seem more professional and other less

professional. It controls who, what and how, is part of a profession or not. In general boundary work can have three purposes or, to put it less strategically, it can have three results^x: coordination, professionalization, legitimization.

- *Coordination*: As Halffman's definition already assumes demarcation enables interaction with other practices. Demarcation is part of the process that defines *the* relationship; it coordinates, for example between government and science, or government and NGO's. Next to explicit attempts to interact, align, or merge different practice, demarcation is of influence on how two practices interact.
- *Professionalization*: Demarcation is a way to maintain or develop a certain standard and quality within a group or 'practice'. It can be part of professionalization strategies (Abbot 1988). For example, scientists develop scientific norms to make sure that charlatans are revealed and the quality of the research is protected. Demarcation of science from non-science is necessary to maintain the standards of the inside community (Merton 1996).
- *Legitimization*^{vi}: Demarcation can be used to gain authority and credibility and legitimize certain values, beliefs, and labor-division. Or, it can result in authoritative, credible and legitimate arguments, positions etc.. For example, scientists might win an argument by referring to the 'scientific ness' of their beliefs. 'It is proven', 'Scientific research shows, etc..

A second manner of boundary work that can be distinguished is the opposite of demarcation: a blurring of boundaries between practices. As we saw, the experiments with deliberative cooperation are undertaken as in a governance society the boundaries between public (governmental), private (farming), and voluntary (environmental) practices are blurred. The Dairy Gateway Project tries to introduce a particular way of coordination in this situation. But, within the experiment these boundaries, or the boundaries between the normal and experimental sometimes stay blurred, or actively are blurred to allow for an iterative search process for new forms of interaction between these practices. Blurring boundaries, is to leave unclear and multi-interpretable what is considered to be in or out of the practice. Therefore it is vague what the relationship between one practice and another is. To refrain from defining what is or is not part of the responsibilities of an organization, or even a 'practice' might result in frustration but also in room for change in relationships. As Star and Griesemer have shown, these blurred boundaries can sometimes be materialize in boundary objects (Star 1989). These objects sit on the boundary between one practice and another and are multi-

interpretable. This allows participants to attach their own meaning to it and still be able to cooperate. In their paper on Institutional Ecology, Star and Griesemer (1989) show that scientists from different disciplines are able cooperate in the Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology with help of these boundary objects, for example specimens or maps, that somehow align practices and create room to renegotiate labor-divisions (Star 1989).

Next to boundary objects, boundary concepts and boundary people also may have similar intermediating roles. 'Sustainability' is an example of a boundary concept that sits at the boundaries between economic, social and environmental practices. In discourse theory and method these boundary concepts sometimes are referred to as 'empty signifiers' (Laclau 1996) or metaphors and storylines ((Hajer 2003b),p.104). This 'emptiness' usually is seen as something negative, mystifying, and meaningless, but as we will see below it is rather the fullness of these empty signifiers, these boundary concepts, that allows for new kinds of relationships, as these boundary concepts are multi-interpretable. Similar to boundary objects and concepts, boundary people both demarcate and coordinate between practices. In literature boundary people are sometimes seen as 'gatekeepers'(Crane *The gatekeepers of Science*), as boundary elites (Kleinman) or 'brokers' (Hajer 1995). Boundary people not only protect and demarcate a practice but also intermediate, act as a broker, between practices. Sometimes their role is brought to life on purpose to stimulate cooperation and/or innovation, sometimes these people slip into a mediating position. As we will see below in the case of the Dairy Gateway, boundary people working for the Bureau of Cooperative Agreement at the Department of Natural Resources, they were backed up by experts from universities, and by private consultants to mediate between government and non-government and between normal and innovative cooperation.

The next section describes how practices have been demarcated and blurred in the Dairy Gateway Project, and what have been consequences of these strategic and tacit manners of boundary work.

Boundary work in the Dairy Gateway

The Green Tier Law^{xii} in which the Department of Natural Resources established legal grounds to reward businesses that would go beyond compliance with environmental laws, passed in Spring 2004. Already before governor Jim Doyle signed it, a local mediator of the environmental organization, the Lakeshore Natural Resources Partnership (LNRP) brought

together farmers, neighbors and environmentalist to have them talk and think about possible solutions for environmental problems, like water-, air-, or landscape pollution. The local mediator assembled mostly farmers and their neighbors in the three counties of the lakeshore basin of Lake Michigan: Door, Manitowoc and Kewaunee county. DNR got a grant to pay for the Dairy Gateway project from the Joyce Foundation, a foundation that aims to improve the water quality of Lake Michigan and the lakeshore basin. The mediator, Nancy Skadden, implemented the Dairy Gateway Project and called it the ‘community agriculture project’ or referred to it as the Farm/Neighbor Meetings. Her mediation efforts led to very hands-on solution for odor-problems at the local level, and was a first step towards community building:

“We sent a letter out to everyone that we passed with the manure tanks and to everyone that had a house near the land that was spread on, very very well received. I had been busy hauling manure in the last ten days or so and I never had neighbors waving to me when I am hauling manure. A couple have come up to my son and said that it is the nicest thing a dairy farmer ever did for them” (farmer-to- farmer 21 10 04).

At the start, one of the objectives of the Dairy Gateway Project was community building. This should not only result in a sustainable community, but should also prevent conflicts between farmers, their neighbors, and/or environmental organizations and the government about manure spills, air pollution, and prevent conflicts about the expansion or settlement of industrial dairy farms. Through mediation, farmers and their neighbors were encouraged to establish relationships and the aim was to find creative solutions for the adversarial relationships between environment and agriculture:

‘The goal of the initial efforts is to explore creative ways to integrate environmental concerns and agricultural productivity in a less regulatory or adversarial manner’ (Community Agriculture Project, LNRP, 04).

As soon as the Green Tier Law passed, these new built relationships could be formalized in covenants or charters. These are voluntary agreements also used in other projects around the U.S. in Project XL (see(Scott Murdock 2005)p:223). In a covenant a group of farmers and neighbors, and in theory environmental organization, would agree upon the management practices concerning certain environmental issues related to the farm. The farm would have to consent with ‘third party’ (independent) monitoring or auditing of his management system. A

charter is more or less the same. The only difference is that a charter applies to a group of farmers, sometimes organized in an association. Peer pressure among farmers is used in those agreements to have farmers apply the environmental management systems they themselves built in the first place with help of their neighbors and environmental organizations.

‘Charters: A charter is a contract entered into by the DNR and an association committed to helping its members participate in Green Tier. An association may consist of private entities, public entities, or a combination. Charters help business sectors or regions establish and meet environmental objectives.

(Green Tier fact sheet,

<http://www.dnr.state.wi.us/org/caer/cea/environmental/documents/GTFactsheet.pdf>)

As the Dairy Gateway Project progressed, and the Green Tier Law was signed, participating farmers felt a greater need to enter the Green Tier Program and to meet one of the requirements: to develop a kind of management system to monitor their environmental efforts. This developed into an adaptive Environmental Management Systems for each farm. As we will see later on, this EMS served as a boundary object that allowed environmental practices, government practices, and farm practices to be aligned. First, we will look for the demarcation processes that went on in the Dairy Gateway Project, and to what consequences these demarcations had.

Demarcation

Demarcation is the discursive contrasting of one practice of another. In this section I will describe several demarcation processes. I will start with the demarcation of the experimental practice in meetings, documents and interviews.

Demarcation of experimental governance

From the preliminary analysis of the observed meetings, and documents, it shows that most prominent demarcation of the experiment takes place in the farmer-to-farmer, farmer-to-neighbor, and Kewaunee Ag and Environment Stewardship meetings. It is mostly the civil servant from the Department of Natural Resources, together with the mediator, that draw sharp lines around the experimental practice, and more specifically around the changed governmental practice. From time to time they refer to elements of how things ‘are done differently’, and how this change in government practices asks for a different interaction with farmers, neighbors and environmental organizations. Not just for the benefit of the environment or the citizens, but also for state wide dairy farming business. They act as

boundary people. They mediate between the new governmental practice, and farming and environmental practices. Some of the farmers are reluctant to believe or accept this change in government practice, but other farmers are convinced. Especially, the adversarial relationships with environmentalists ('wacko environmentalists') are not changed very easily.

One element that is emphasized in the explicit demarcation of experimental practice is that government wants to prevent conflicts between DNR and farmers, or between environmental organizations and farmers. In stead of punishing polluters, as is done in normal practice, DNR wishes to establish trustful relationships. For example, the caretaker of the Dairy Gateway Project and a strong advocate for the Green Tier Program says in a meeting of the Kewaunee Agriculture and Environment Stewardship Committee October 2004:

“It is a very different approach of problems that tries to be pro-active and set up relationships before the problems come up and see if that actually makes a difference” (KAAES2, 20 10 04);

A DATCP employee explains this shift in relationships and ownership to farmers in the following way:

“Instead of saying: you will do this; it is WE can do this. There is a difference in the ownership of the environmental performance” (Farmer-to-farmer 21 10 04).

Tied to this shift in ownership is a change in money-supply by government. The DNR civil servant explicitly puts forward in the same meeting, that there is ‘No money at the table for compensation’ (farmer to farmer 21 10 04). This is a change in interaction between state and farmers. In the current situation government is ‘cost-sharing’ investments of farmers that are benefiting the environment. A farmer, who is a role-model in the area and convinced the Dairy Gateway Project is good for business, explains to other farmers:

“Currently we have had the mentality over the years to not change any of the farm practices to the environment unless it is cost sharing. [...] I don’t remember my dad talking about it but yet, if there was a must, a minimal, but otherwise environmental practices were utilized for cost-sharing. So now we’re trying to figure out ways for the farmer to benefit in some ways and yet go through with farming practices (farmer to farmer 21 10 04).’

At other moments in the discussion between farmers, farmers and neighbors, the shift in government practice leads to elaboration and reflection when participants confess that it is

hard for them to grasp this shift. For example, when a discussion was raised on the role of the DNR one of the DNR brokers of the experiment explains what change should occur:

“I apologize, normally people look to DNR what’s the rule and what do we have to do. And normally we are very good at answering those questions. This is really a different program. So we don’t have the answers. It is something that, it is crafted together” (21 10 04).

In reaction one of the farmers says:

“This helps to erase the DNR’s stigma of that you have to be a afraid of the DNR I was always scared that you guys, would find me doing something wrong. [laughing, talking]. That is different from: As come to rely on the DNR and to ask questions and to be more supportive” (21 10 04).

The last excerpt shows how a farmer tries to adapt to the experimental practice, and what his concerns are. In reaction to the demarcation of the experimental practice, he draws boundary around the normal farming practice in which he distrusts government. The excerpt also shows that a reflective understanding of this shift in practice. This is an example of how ‘trust’ in the new practice is slowly being built (Wu 2003).

At other moments, this shift from the government practice in which the Department of Natural resources is an inspector to a governance practice in which DNR is a convener of self-regulation and auditing, caused a struggle and boundary work around the normal government practice within the department itself. These were not visible in the meetings for the Dairy Gateway Project, but became visible in internal meetings of DNR, and in interviews. Two elements of the normal government practice were demarcated: DNR has ‘expertise on content’ (normal) was demarcated from its’ ‘relation building capacity’ (experimental), and the maintenance of certain environmental standards in the (normal) government practice was demarcated from the rewarding of self regulation and auditing of farmers in the (experimental) governance practice:

“I think there is a lot of resistance anytime you ask people to do things differently than what they’re used to doing. And to ask people [within DNR, TM] to think about social relationships in the DNR... they don’t know how to think about social relationships. They know how to think about groundwater, and about spreading manure and its impact on surface water. They know how to think about very narrow things but. The people we hire, you know, developing social relationships is not something we’ve asked them to have a background or expertise in” (1 11 04 interview DNR).

These boundaries drawn around governmental practice are not visible in the deliberations organized for the Dairy Gateway project. Deliberative breakdowns within the project caused by these boundaries hardly occur. In an incidental case inspectors of DNR might break the built trust. I have not come across these incidents yet. But, in trying to get financing and support for this experiment, these boundaries around normal governmental practice appear to have influenced the pace of the kick off. These boundaries have caused delays. From interviews, I gather that these boundaries drawn within DNR around normal governmental DNR practice, still delay the project.

The shift in government practice is reflected upon by participants in meetings organized for the Dairy Gateway Project, especially as the experimental government practice is demarcated strongly from the normal government practice and her interactions with farming practice. *Outside* these deliberative meetings, the change in government practice, mostly formed by DNR, is criticized by people from within DNR and from MEA, the Midwest Environmental Advocates, a group that takes farms to court when they pollute. Both employees of DNR, MEA and some other less critical environmental organizations, like Sierra Club, demarcate the normal government practice in which DNR has expert knowledge on environmental issues and in which she inspects if farms comply with environmental standards. These actors believe that a shift to a governance kind of coordination is impossible. In their eyes, DNR is simply not equipped to this task, or they feel that government should remain her role as inspector or even strengthen it. Especially MEA thinks that business cooperate with DNR because they will get regulatory relief. MEA is afraid that the Dairy Gateway Project is all about regulatory relief for goodwill of businesses. They feel that the 'law' is an element of normal practice that citizens should not give up.

Mid West Environmental Advocates (1 11 04): "... in a setting of a Dairy Gateway it is the citizens that have the most to loose and the least to gain from those situations, those things. The citizens almost always have a law on their side and if they give that up in return for goodwill, I think that's going to be a problem."

As the organizations name already tells us, MEA has a clear stake in discursively emphasizing this element of normal governmental practice. It is what they use to protect citizens from polluters.

In short, boundaries around normal governmental practice have been drawn mostly by people outside the experimental practice. People from DNR, people from critical environmental organizations, but also neighbors and farmers have claimed that normal governmental practice need no to be changed in this ‘governance’ direction. Especially, the elements of normal practice: ‘state standards’, state expertise, and lawsuits, have been protected by different people. But, we also saw that demarcation of experimental practice by boundary people has excluded the stakeholders that opposed the change the much. The boundary people, like the mediator and DNR’s bureau of cooperative agreements, continued to demarcate the experimental practice in meetings and documents. This demarcation of the experiment, especially the change in governmental practice, led to reflective conversations about the changing boundaries between government, farmers, their neighbors and environmentalists. And to reflective conversations about the consequences of these changes for farm-practice, neighbors and environmental practices. As we will see below, another element of the experimental practice was demarcated strongly, which stimulated reflective conversations about routine boundaries between farm an environmental practice.

Demarcation of mediation

Another element of the experimental practice stands out at the farmer-to-neighbor meetings. the idea of ‘mediation’ and the role of the mediator needs explanation. The local mediator, Nancy Skadden of LNRP, had to try and convince farmers, neighbors and environmental local organizations, to participate in joint learning processes in stead of conflicts (Laws 2004; Schon 1983). She decided she had to start with some of the factory farms to be able to make a difference and show some results within a year (DG report 04). She invited thirty four farms and only three agreed to participate (FNM program report). In the evaluation of the Farm/Neighbor Meeting Program, the mediator writes that:

‘Several people warned that it would be hard to get farmers to meet with their neighbors because, in the words of one, “The farmers don’t want to come there and get beat up on.” Others thought that bringing people together to talk had long lasting value. “Communication will carry into the future,” said a county official (FNM Program Report, p.12).

To convince people to start the experiment, Skadden has informal talks with all kinds of people, and visits meetings and farms, at which she demarcates the normal adversarial relations from this ‘experimental’ way of working. For example, at a farmer-to-neighbor

meeting the mediator starts by demarcating the her role as an impartial mediator, and the common goal of the meeting:

‘My goals are to help you all to work things out together. It is good for Dairy Dreams, for the neighborhood, both socially and environmentally.(farmer to neighbor, 3 11 04)’

In the early stages it appeared difficult to convince farmers that meeting their neighbors in a mediation setting would be different from meeting them at public hearings. But farmers that got involved are convinced this experimental mediation is working:

‘[...] we now have a mechanism to reach back out to the community, especially to people with any opposition, and ask them to tell what they are concerned about. We have to hear about the issues. [...] We couldn’t have done it two years ago. Things were too fresh and alarming. With Nancy’s group we’ve reached out to anyone who is concerned. Were not the boogie man anymore.(interview Niles, 20 10 04)’

When asked to reflect upon the meetings between farmers and neighbors. One of the neighbors points that these kinds of meetings are different from the usual interactions between farmers and neighbors:

‘I think to a great extent the reason why it is different is, because the person who is sitting in the hot seat is respectful, not necessarily changing his opinion, but he is truly moving in a direction. Don is sincerely (farmer to neighbour 3 11 04).

Even though it is hard to tell if the mediation practice has been very successful in preventing conflict and building relations overall, these excerpts show that once people –mostly farmers– were convinced by Skadden to go to a meeting, a reflective conversation was convened. In these farmer-to-neighbor it was not the change in governmental practice that was the hot topic, it was the attempts to change adversarial relations between farmers and neighbors and environmentalists. These historical resonant boundaries and the extreme adversarial relationships between farmers and environmentalists, therefore, was talked about explicitly in the farm/neighbor meetings, but were also talked about routinely as we will see below.

In sum, a preliminary analysis of the course of the Dairy Gateway Project, based on a whole range of documents, observations, and interviews, showed that mostly civil servants of the DNR and the local mediator^{xiii} addressed the question what is ‘new’ at different occasions.

They were the ones defining the experimental practice and opposing it to the normal governmental practice and its relation with farming practice. The demarcation was convincing to a few farmers and a few neighbors. Little local environmental organizations, except for the LNRP, were willing to participate. Strong demarcation of the experimental practice did not convince the critical environmentalists and farmers that a change in interactions would be possible. They stayed behind their normal fences and preferred an adversarial relationship. They legitimated this in explicit reference to boundaries around their practices. This has limited the progress of the Dairy Gateway Project, but did not cause deliberative breakdowns within the project.

People who participated were convened, by strong explicit demarcation of the experimental practice, to talk reflectively about a change in practices. Especially changes in elements of the governmental practice were talked about between farmers and DNR. And the shift from conflict to mediation was talked about between farmers and neighbors. At the same time, routine, historical resonant boundaries around normal practices were tacitly drawn, again mostly by non-participants. These routine boundaries were of influence the dialogues in the farmer-to-farmer, farmer-to-neighbor, and the Kewaunee Ag and Environment Stewardship Committee. I will describe these routine boundaries below.

Demarcation of routine boundaries

Within the Dairy Gateway Project, participants debated actively and reflectively about the changing relationships between government practice and farming practices. Several elements were discussed in meetings. Although we cannot say this change in interactions was successful, the description above shows that a building of trust between government representatives and participating farmers occurred. Subsequently, participating farmers and their neighbors that sat in at farmer-to-neighbor meetings deliberated about change in farm practices with help of local knowledge of their neighbors, and they mutually reflected upon the benefits of building relationships rather than going to public hearings or meeting in court. We also saw that people from DNR, and some environmental organizations were very critical about the new government practice. According to them DNR should maintain their environmental expertise, standards, and inspections. This explicit boundary work on the normal government practice was backed up and underlined by reference to the agricultural history of the state in which small farms are treasured, and according to this actor, should remain treasured:

Midwest Environmental Advocates (11 04): “Dairy Gateway; the name says Agriculture is expanding; there is not so much you can do about it, except mediate along the way and in this kind you have to deal with it as a neighbor. That is a problem I think in Wisconsin because agriculture is changing, but in some ways it isn’t. This state has a strong history of maintaining small-scale production agriculture, small farms, small-scale family based farms, and that is a real possibility for being farmer in this state. There are lots of ways to remain small and still stay in business.”

This historical identity of the state Wisconsin was referred to in several deliberations between farmers, neighbors and government. Mostly as routine boundaries between small ‘ma and pa farms’ on one hand, and industrial farms on the other. But also, as a routine boundary between the historical red dairy barn and the white confined animal operations. In the deliberations between DNR, farmers, neighbors, environmental organizations, Wisconsin university etc., routine boundaries between farmers and environmentalists were brought into the co-operative setting Dairy Gateway. An example of such an implicit, not contested boundary being drawn between farming and environmentalist is this excerpt from a transcription of a meeting in 2004. After a short introduction of a zoning plan in a nearby village, a plan that is not in favor of expanding farms. One of the farmer says:

W: “There is a gal, he said, that lives just down the road from the M road (name of the farm) [...] She had some animals...Maggie.”

M: “Oh no, Misses green party.”

W: “Yes, you got a lot of people from the green party on M road [laughing]”

The joke in this excerpt is funny to the ‘insiders’ of this group: farmers in a certain area, and the occasional neighbor that is not ‘green party’. The possible offensive remark of a farmer on the green party, goes uncontested in this group, which does not mean nobody is offended. The dominant historical resonant discourse in this group is that there is a boundary between farmers and environmentalists. This is different from Farm/Neighbor Meetings. In those farmers and neighbors talked in a different tone of voice about each other: they spoke of sincere and reasonable people instead of ‘wacko’ environmentalists, or simple business minded farmers^{xiv}. Even though the Dairy Gateway Project attempts to introduce cooperation in this adversarial context in which farmers and environmentalists are not each other’s best friends, it is hard to keep animosity out of the process. Jeff Smoller, special assistant to the secretary of DNR, illustrated this nicely:

“That was the same in the presidential election. That was the same kind of distress and hate exists at a local level between some environmentalists and some agriculturalists. Each one goes to a sort of constituency to get money and political support to oppose the other and to kill the other, politically” (interview 1 11 04)

The routine boundaries in the Dairy Gateway Project that were most prominent were the idea of mostly farmers that environmentalists are hard to reason with, and the idea of environmentalists that large farms are big polluters and put small farms out of business, and therefore expansion should be prevented. The most adversarial actors had not agreed to participate and these boundaries were drawn mostly outside the ‘sites’ of the Dairy Gateway Project, but (!) also discussed and reflected upon within the farmer-to-neighbor and farmer-to-farmer meetings. If participants in these meetings tacitly drew these routine ‘normal’ boundaries between farming and environmental practices, on most occasions other people noticed these routines, and started to discuss them. In situations where these routine boundaries were uncontested, this points towards a historical resonant and dominant discourse. However, on most occasions, demarcation of the experimental practice, and routine boundaries both lead to a reflective conversation and helped to transit from a highly adversarial practice to a deliberative problem solving practice. In the next section, I will focus on the other manner to deal with boundaries between practices: the blurring of boundaries.

Blurring the audit

As we saw, the experimental practice in which DNR tries to coordinate actors in society and to stimulate self regulation, was strongly demarcated from the normal government practice. In her facilitating role, DNR could not subscribe the exact shape of the self regulation system, nor what consequences of self regulation might be. DNR could offer facilitation of meetings, she could provide some rewards to farmers that wanted to participate: a logo, one point of access to the department, and so on. But, the exact shape of the cooperation between government, farmers, and perhaps their neighbors or environmental organizations, was almost all the time blurred and subject to negotiation. How the environmental measurements that would go beyond requirements by law, would be audited and monitored was multi-interpretable. DNR left this negotiable as she considered this part of the change in practice. They were not going to tell farmers what to do. The auditing and monitoring of the covenants and charters was subject to change over time, and had to be negotiated in each specific situation. What the auditing or monitoring is, is left unanswered and was discussed in

meetings in slightly different manners. For example, compare these two excerpts from interviews with two different civil servants from DNR:

“Green Tier allows for third party monitoring, self monitoring, we still have to figure that out (interview 1 11 04).

‘We have to approve the third party. It has to be a certified auditor from the DNR’s perspective. But all we’re going to do is just create a list. So they will choose their own auditor from an approved list (interview 1 11 04).

Even though DNR and the Green Tier Law offer some possibilities for auditing, the meaning of auditing is blurred. Not only in interviews but also in a farmer-to-farmer meeting that explores the desirability of a logo as a reward for farmers that go beyond compliance. First the DNR civil servant explained that farmers themselves together with a third party would do the auditing. But then a farmer states:

“A farmer had been spreading manure around there and getting complaints. So, one day there is a wedding and a farmer just took a tank and spread water up there. People smelled it right away, you know. It was just water but they smelled he was putting the manure out there. So, it is what they perceive. So, if you have that logo up there and you have been audited, then, I think, that just in itself that means a lot [...]. They know that you are doing, they see you putting manure on the field, they have confidence that you are doing it properly because you are being audited by DNR” (farmer to farmer).

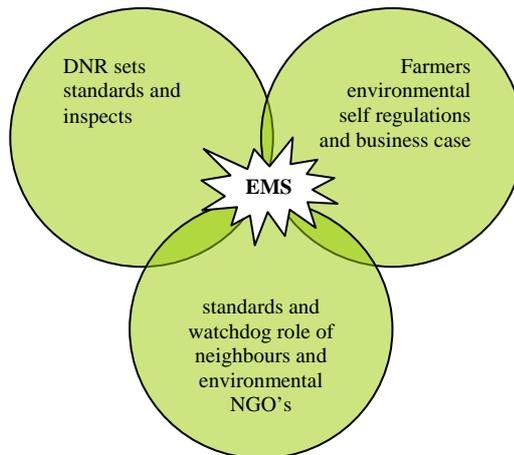
A year later, the discussion on auditing and monitoring has transformed into a discussion about environmental management systems. These are mimicked from European businesses that met ISO 90001 environmental management quality standards. These standards facilitate business throughout Europe and make sure that transported and processed products are still in compliance with European directives. In 2004, auditing and monitoring were boundary concepts that kept the deliberations between farmers, neighbors and DNR going. A year later, the EMS serves as a boundary object that connects government practice, with farmers practice, environmental practice and citizens practice. The boundary object is multi-interpretable (see picture 2). In a year time, it has at least permitted that one of the critical environmental organizations, the Sierra Club is willing to participate in the experimental practice. It gives them faith that the covenants and charters will not be about regulatory relief for business. As the chair of the Sierra Club explains:

“But it is a tool, because it’s system based and environmentalist are very interested in natural systems and they understand the feedback group. And they learning and adjusting after you have done something. So continues improvement is not a foreign concept. (laughs) . So any business has an environmental management system that is audited by somebody. Is sort of trapped in a system of continues improvement” (Interview CT 05).

The participating farmers believe that an environmental management system is something that will help them farm better. As A farmer from Holsum Dairy Farms said in a meeting that was arranged to develop an EMS:

‘We already have an EMS and it helps me save money.’ (WEI bus tour 3 10 05)

In short, the EMS serves as a boundary object that sits on the boundaries between farming, environmental and government practices, and makes an experimental kind of interaction between the three possible.



Picture 2: EMS as a boundary object

Conclusion

The Dairy Gateway Project is both an example as well as an incentive of a shift from government to governance. Boundaries between public, private and voluntary practices are blurred, and renegotiated. The Department of Natural Resources in Wisconsin tries to reshape interactions between farmers, neighbors, the Department, and environmental organizations in the watershed of Lake Michigan. The experimental practice in which mediation between farmers, neighbors and environmental organizations aimed at community building and

community building should result in better environmental quality without damaging the 'business case' of (industrial) farmers. In the early stages of the project, the experimental practice is demarcated from normal interactions between these practices. The DNR, together with the local mediator, and experts from MIT are the ones that demarcate and search for a growing credibility of the experimental practice. In meetings, in documents, and interviews, they advocate the benefits of the experimental practice for farmers, their neighbors, and environmentalists. DNR's own governmental practice, together with the different kinds of interactions with mostly farmers, are emphasized in meetings. Not only demarcation by DNR or the mediators takes place, the farmers themselves engage in reflective conversations about the changing practice. Elements that stand out are: DNR's role as inspector, DNR's role as setting the environmental standards, and to a lesser extent the DNR's role of paying farmers for environmental measurements.

The sharp demarcation of the experimental, more specifically the mediation-approach, in the farmer to neighbor meetings, excluded a lot of farmers, their neighbors, and critical environmental organizations from the project. These actors had no trust that a shift towards new relationships in their community would be possible. Routine boundaries between environment and farm practices prevented them from joining the Dairy Gateway Project. As well as the routine boundary around government practice: government should inspect, 'hammer', and monitor and audit the environmental quality of the area. Interestingly, even though the actors that held onto these boundaries were reluctant to participate; these boundaries discursively interfered in the mediation processes. The experiment was limited to a small amount of people willing to endeavor the mediation. The quality of the deliberations among a limited amount of participants, was enhanced by the strong demarcation, and by a discursive 'contrasting' of 'conflict' (as the normal practice) versus 'mediation' (experimental practice). This contrasting convened a reflective conversation about these usually strong and adversarial interactions between farmers and environmentalists, or farm-practices and environmental practices.

A blurring of boundaries between the experimental practice and normal practices happened on one element of the normal government practice: government audits and monitors, inspects and regulated, the environmental standards set by government. Farmers usually simply have to comply. In the experimental setting it was negotiated how the auditing and monitoring of self-regulations by farmers would take place. In the year 2004 there were several options and DNR was trying out what would be possible: farmers policing farmers and use peer pressure as a way to have farmers comply with their own set environmental goals

and system. Another possibility was to have environmental organizations, or neighbors be part of the management system, or 'third party' -that is independent but DNR approved-auditing. A year later the 'object', an EMS was guiding these negotiations between the different practices. The EMS was blurred enough to be able to align the different practices: environmental organizations felt comfortable with the idea of a 'system' with checks and balances and a way to improve the environmental performance of farmers; farmers liked the idea as the management system shows them their cost reductions due to for example waste management, and government still could guarantee the environmental quality and still lose some of their auditing and monitoring responsibilities.

In short, a specific type of boundary work: demarcation, can cause deliberative breakdowns in deliberative problem solving. But sometimes these breakdowns are necessary to switch to a reflective modus and built trust. Through contrasting the experiment with the normal room is created for participants to put their boundaries at the table and negotiate and reflect and negotiate how these boundaries are shaped in the experimental situation. Of course, this is only possible if there is no hidden agenda. A boundary objects stimulates the trust participants have. It is an object that sits at the boundaries between different practices, and therefore, creates room for negotiations about new interactions between these practices.

Demarcation of an experimental practice as a strategy for governments or other actors that wish to stimulate the shift to governance is possible. The credibility of these kinds of experiments is enhanced with support of scientific experts, or for example with experiences abroad. These are convincing ways to demarcate and contrast the experiment with normal governmental practice at the start, and during the experimental deliberations between government and non government. On the contrary, blurring practices with help of boundary concepts and boundary objects is a very controversial strategy. Usually government, NGO's, businesses, scientists, and process-managers or deliberative policy analysts recommend transparency as a means to improve the quality of the deliberation. But, as we saw in the case of the Dairy Gateway, to develop creative solutions for improvement of environmental qualities and farm business, and to deal with blurred boundaries between private, public and the voluntary sector, it is necessary to develop or to look for boundary-concepts and boundary-objects in which routine boundaries and attempts to cross those boundaries can be combined.

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ⁱ Practice and discourse are used interchangeable in this paper. Even the word 'sector' in Rhodes definition of a governance society is interpreted by me as a 'practice'. This is necessary, as I am not merely interested in interactions between actors and institutions, but also in the socio-cultural and discursive dimension of a shift from government to governance. (See Wagenaar and Cook 2003, p.143-157 Wagenaar, Hendrik, and S. D. Noam Cook. 2003. "Understanding Policy practices: action, dialectic and deliberation in policy analysis." in *Deliberative Policy Analysis*, edited by M. Hajer, and Hendrik Wagenaar: Cambridge University Press.)

ⁱⁱ Community building and innovation are hard to proof or measure as there is no set timeline or set of standards created at forehand, neither by me nor by the Dairy Gateway Project. I will follow participants intentions and summarized elements of the 'experimental' practice (see table 1). And, yes, I do believe that community building and innovation in cooperation between government and non-government is necessary in certain policy areas, for example environmental policies and land use, to be able to create more effective, efficient, and more democratic problem-solving.

ⁱⁱⁱ An EMS is similar to an ISO 90001 quality standard. These are *procedural* standards aimed at the improvement of the environmental efforts businesses set for themselves: how are they going to recycle, how to manage the manure, how to manage crop-rotation, how to manage all kinds of waste, how to select environmentally friendly suppliers, how to communicate with the community and environmental organizations etc.. This is different from standards that tell, for example, what amount of manure is allowed in storage, or acceptable emission percentages.

^{iv} Science as a practice was not mentioned explicitly as a practice which needed to be change in the experiment. But, local knowledge of neighbours, and environmental organizations, was used differently. Next, a discovery

farm project –that was gathering on farm evidence for good environmental practices- ran along side the Dairy Gateway Project and was used in the meetings. This project became more important at the end of the DGP, as did the development of EMS's with help of experts. I have not been able yet to include those changes in my analysis.

v In literature on boundary work these experiments are labelled as 'participatory decision making' and 'experimental' in which there is a 'more permeable boundary between science and policy and no strong claims about their separation (Halffman, Willem. 2005. "Science-Policy Boundaries: national styles?" *Science & Public Policy* 32.) (p459).

^{vi} From now on I will refer to these 'sectors' as 'practices' at the level of the Dairy Gateway. Roughly translated (in the Latourian sense Latour, Bruno. 1983. "Give Me a Laboratory and I will Raise the World." Pp. 141-170 in *Science Observed*, edited by K. D. K.-C. a. M. Mulkay. London: Sage.), these are the 'governmental' practice, the dairy farmers practice, and practices of citizens and environmental organizations. From STS literature I will add the scientific practice to practices available in a governance society, which simply is scientific practice (Wisconsin University, Discovery Farms, and Extension Agencies) in the Dairy Gateway.

^{vii} From Policy Analysis, literature on governance, and empirical research we have broadened the search for drawing of boundaries to other practices than the scientific one. Especially in deliberative problem solving, all kinds of interactions come into play and none is per definition more powerful than the other. For example, Carol Weiss (Weiss 1977(Weiss, C.H. 1977. *Using Social Research in Public Policy Making*. Toronto: Lexington Books. already showed that the political practice is powerful enough to keep out scientific evidence by referring to the political 'reality' or practice. Abbot (Abbot, Andrew. 1988. *The System of Profession: an essay on the division of expert labor*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.) was mainly interested in how professionals kept out non-professionals, and in social-psychological literature on 'positioning', group positioning or 'othering' more generally is studied (Langenhove, L. van, and R. Harré. 1999. "Introducing positioning theory." in *Positioning Theory*, edited by L. v. L. R. Harré. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

^{viii} In social sciences and policy sciences, 'enactment' is also referred to as 'performance' of practices. See: (Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday: Garden City. Or Hajer, M. 2005. "Setting the stage: a dramaturgy of policy deliberation." *Administration and Society* 36:624-647.

^{ix} In recent Dutch research on boundary work has taken a more institutional turn than it originally was. The Rethinking Science Group of the University of Twente published a typology of boundary arrangements between science and policy. Eight ideal types of interaction between science and policy have been developed. These are very helpful in describing historical resonant discourse and boundaries in the Dutch policy making practice, but these ideal types do not allow a contextual, action-oriented, inductive description of the interactions between science and policy. The detailed discursive strategies and rhetoric to maintain credibility and professional autonomy (for both the political and scientific practice are lost. In my research I will try to maintain this middle ground and the typology might be helpful in describing historical resonant interactions (see for the Dutch work: Hoppe, Robert. 2005a. "Rethinking the science-policy nexus: from knowledge utilization and science technology studies to boundary arrangements,." *Poieses and Praxis*:199-215. and Hoppe, Willem Halffman and Rob. 2005b. "Science/policy boundaries: a changing division of labour in Dutch expert policy advice." in *Scientific Expertise and Political Decision Making*, edited by S. M. a. P. Weingart. Dordrecht:: Kluwer,.)

^x If I would apply a strictly hermeneutical analysis I would only be able to look for strategic demarcation with help of rhetorical 'contrasting'. The inclusion of a search for historical resonant discourse, makes possible to look for more tacit and taken for granted powerful practices and discourse. This is unintentional boundary work, or unintentional results of boundary work. The search for unintentional or tacit discourse or practice is always tricky. In this case I have looked for taken for granted demarcations and taken for granted arguments that survived a meeting or publication and were left uncontested.

^{xi} This kind of legitimization is not to be confused with the way political scientists define legitimization. This is a more loosely defined kind of acceptance of arguments (thank you Wytse Versteeg).

^{xii} Early 2006 Green Tier is nominated as one of the most innovative projects in U.S. government by the Ash Institute at Harvard University.

^{xiii} Experts from MIT and Harvard, and private consultants on negotiation and convening backed up the 'boundary people' from DNR and LNRP. Even my presence as a foreign researcher, sometimes was used by Skadden, the DNR civil servant, and even by one of the industrial dairy farmers that was convinced this project was good for business, as a legitimacy to their experimental practice.

^{xiv} Even farmers amongst themselves talked differently about the normal boundaries drawn between small farms and industrial farms. Industrial farms are usually seen as bad for the environment and bad for small farms business. Small farmers and industrial farmers want to join forces to pick out the bad apples in the basket.

Even America's parklands are beginning to strain under the coronavirus pandemic. Though group size limits and stay-at-home orders restrict the movement of millions, time outside in nature is more vital than ever. Dozens of national parks have closed entirely, from Acadia to Zion, while other public lands remain open despite controversy—and visitors are testing the limits. View Images. Golden Gate National Recreation Area's visitor facilities are closed, though its outdoor spaces remain open for public use. California's stay-at-home order allows appropriately distanced outdoor activity, and sev