EXAMINING SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL RESILIENCE: EVOLVING PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS ON SYNERGETIC INTERACTIONS BETWEEN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND LANDSCAPE PROTECTION

Abstract
In this chapter we examine the synergetic interactions between tourism development and landscape protection. Identifying changes in the way people think about tourism and landscape interactions is important because this improves our understanding of the institutional context in which decisions about landscape management are made. Understanding the institutional context can be helpful in finding strategies to build the social-ecological resilience of a region.

A content analysis of newspapers was used for analysing changes in tourism and landscape relations in the island of Terschelling, a part of the UNESCO World Heritage listed Wadden Sea region. Our historical content analysis of newspaper articles (1945-215) was supported by key informant interviews. Our results revealed fluctuations over time in terms of the extent to which public opinion was oriented towards nature protection, socio-economic development, or to the synergies between them. To improve future policy relating to socio-ecological systems (SES), we recommend that policy makers seek a greater understanding of the influence of the current institutional context on policy decisions. We suggest that content analysis can be a helpful tool to achieve this.
4.1 Introduction

Tourism destinations constantly need to adapt to socio-economic and environmental changes (Davidson, 2010; Lew, 2014). Recently resilience thinking has emerged as a concept to understand how to cope with these changes (Biggs, 2011; Espiner and Becken, 2014; Lew, 2014; Luthe and Wyss, 2014; Imperiale and Vanclay, 2016). Resilience thinking may help decision-makers process more-informed decisions regarding the management of the interactions between tourism and landscape. In tourism literature, resilience has been widely discussed as a theoretical concept, however, its application in empirical research lags behind the conceptual discussion (Lew, 2014). This chapter addresses this gap by providing an empirical application of the concept of resilience to the Island of Terschelling in the Wadden Sea region of the Northern Netherlands, a tourism destination experiencing changing social-ecological conditions.

In this chapter resilience is examined from the institutional context. While the institutional context consists of both formal (e.g. rules and regulations) and informal aspects (e.g. cultural values and norms) (Alexander, 2005; Cumming et al., 2006; Pahl-Wostl, 2009), the focus in this chapter is on informal aspects. A brief synopsis of the key constructs of resilience, socio-ecological systems and institutions precedes discussion of the empirical study. We examine the institutional context by analyzing changes in public thinking about the interactions between tourism development and landscape protection. The current institutional context of development in Terschelling reflects the trajectories of the island's past path dependencies, which in turn will also influence future development plans.

We use content analysis as a method to analyze the informal aspects of the institutional context. Content analysis can assist in analyzing the changing dynamics over a long time period. We argue that institutional ways of thinking are reflected in their communication in the public arena, and institutions are also influenced by public opinion. Because the informal context is intangible, it is difficult to directly measure. To get an indication of (or proxy for) the informal institutional context, we analyzed newspaper articles dealing with the interactions between tourism development and landscape protection for the period 1945 to 2015. To gain extra information and to cross-validate the data, our content analysis was supported by key informant interviews with local experts and other stakeholders. We specifically considered the case of the Island of Terschelling (Province of Friesland) in the Wadden Sea region of the northern Netherlands.

Tourism and landscape can interact in multiple ways (Terkenli, 2004; Liburd and Becken, 2017). The emphasis in the institutional context can vary over time between nature protection, socio-economic development, or on the synergies between them (Heslinga et al., 2017). In this chapter, we are particularly interested in the synergetic interactions and how they emerged over time. Synergies can be described as situations in which the interactions between elements of a system catalytically combine in ways that result in a greater sum-total outcome than would have been achieved otherwise, with benefits across the full range of social, economic and ecological dimensions (Persha et al., 2011).

We believe that synergies hold promise for resilience thinking in tourism destinations because they relate directly to the feedback mechanisms in the social-ecological systems in which the interactions between tourism and landscape take place. For a tourism destination to increase its resilience, a balance
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between nature protection and socio-economic development is desirable (Heslinga et al., 2017). This means that a destination should not just be managed only for the sake of nature protection (which can be socially undesirable), or for socio-economic development (ecologically undesirable), but for the sake of both. The idea of synergies between tourism development and landscape protection offers potential for better understanding and management of tourism-landscape interactions. To reveal whether synergies are considered in public thinking and how they have changed over time, we conducted a content analysis of newspaper articles between 1945 and 2015. We argue that this approach reveals the informal aspects of the institutional context.

4.2 Synergies, social-ecological systems, institutions and resilience

Tourism destinations are facing environmental and social changes (Davidson, 2010; Lew, 2014). To deal with these changes, there is an on-going need to address the ecological, economic and social-cultural aspects of tourism (Wesley and Pforr, 2010). Policy makers adapt to these changes by making interventions. Understanding the institutional context in which these decisions and interventions have been made helps policy makers and planners make better future decisions (Alexander, 2005) and can help reinforce the resilience of the destination.

Tourism destinations tend to experience conflicting goals, between the protection of nature and socio-economic development. However, the promise of synergies means that these goals do not necessarily have to be in conflict. For example, nature-based tourism is not just a socio-economic activity that provides income and other benefits to local communities (Libosada, 2009), it also plays an important role in facilitating the understanding of natural heritage, and in gaining public support and raising funding for conservation (Libosada, 2009; McCool and Spenceley, 2014). Nevertheless, tourism may also have negative impacts on the landscape (Saarinen, 2006; Buckley, 2011) and on the host communities (King et al., 1993; Liu et al., 2007; McCombes et al., 2015). In this chapter, we look at the synergetic interactions between tourism development and landscape protection.

To help identify these synergetic interactions, we use a social-ecological systems (SES) perspective, which presumes an integrated system of human society and ecosystems, with reciprocal feedback loops and interdependencies (Berkes, 2007). This means that tourism development and landscape protection are not seen as separate social and ecological entities, they are part of a coupled social-ecological system. In SES theory, institutions play an important role in managing the social-ecological interactions within the system (Anderies et al., 2004; Brondizio et al., 2009; Ostrom, 2009; Ostrom and Cox, 2010). Institutions are the central component linking the social and ecological systems (Adger, 2000). As institutions are often path-dependent, a contextual and long-term approach to institutional development is needed. This is also reflected in SES thinking where the exploration of historical (long term) relationships between society and the environment is important for understanding the current institutional context (González et al., 2008; Parra and Moulaert, 2016).
Institutions can be defined as “systems of established and prevalent social rules that structure social interactions” (Hodgson, 2006, p.2). They consist of formal aspects (e.g. rules and regulations) and informal aspects (e.g. cultural values and norms) (Alexander, 2005; Cumming et al., 2006; Pahl-Wostl, 2009). Formal institutions are openly codified, in the sense that the social rules are established and communicated through channels that are widely accepted as official. Informal institutions are socially shared rules that are created, communicated, and enforced outside of the officially sanctioned channels (Helmke and Levitsky, 2004). Because we are interested in the way people think about how tourism and landscape interactions has been changing over time, our focus lies on the informal institutional aspects.

Resilience is a key concept in SES thinking and implies that a system is able to cope with changes in the present and future (Walker et al., 2004; Holling, 2008; Folke et al., 2010). For a tourism destination to increase its resilience, a balance between nature protection and socio-economic development is required. Tourism may have a key role in this balance, especially if the potential synergies between tourism and landscape are acknowledged (Heslinga et al., 2017). If the potential synergies between tourism and landscape are recognized, and regional development options that find a balance between tourism and landscape are selected, then tourism could be an opportunity to increase the social-ecological resilience of a region (Buckley, 2011; Heslinga et al., 2017).

We adhere to the social-ecological (or evolutionary) view of resilience, which rejects the idea of steady states (Davoudi et al., 2013). The evolutionary view sees the world as complex, uncertain and relatively unpredictable instead of ordered, mechanical and reasonably predictable (Davoudi et al., 2013; Wilkinson, 2012). Carpenter et al. (2005) do not conceive of resilience as a return to a normal or stable situation, but as the ability of systems to continuously change, adapt and transform in response to stresses and tensions. The social-ecological system is continuously influenced by social and ecological changes. To deal with these changes and to enable the system to maintain resilience, the various formal and informal institutions within tourism destinations need to constantly adapt.

4.3 Undertaking a Content Analysis

Krippendorff (2013) defines content analysis as a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts and other meaningful materials. Content analysis has been frequently used in the field of tourism studies, for example as a method to analyze destination image representations (Choi et al., 2007). An important advantage of content analysis over interviewing is that it avoids the problem of memory reconstruction by research participants (Lowenthal, 2015). This is particularly important in research that seeks to go back over time. Thus, instead of asking people to try to recollect what happened in the distant past, content analysis uses material that was actually published in the past – in other words, that was published contemporaneously with the events described in those articles. A further advantage is that, although there is still room for varying interpretations, the source material
remains constant (rather than the key informant telling a different story depending on how they feel each time they are interviewed). Content analysis therefore has high reliability.

We undertook a content analysis of newspaper articles extracted from the online database, De Krant van Toen (www.dekrantvantoen.nl), which contains all articles published in the larger newspapers in the Netherlands. To construct our database of articles for analysis, we started with the two major daily newspapers published in the Province of Friesland (Leeuwarder Courant and Friesch Dagblad). Since our interest was with the Island of Terschelling, only articles that contained the word ‘Terschelling’ were included in the selection. To further select the articles for analysis, we chose various combinations of the terms: toerisme (tourism), recreatie (recreation), natuur (nature), and landschap (landscape). The stipulated time period was 1945 to 2015, since this is the period in which tourism became strongly established in the Wadden region (Sijtsma, 2015).

From the initial selection, some articles were excluded because they were not appropriate to include. First, many advertisements were removed. Second, some articles were excluded because they were published in both regional newspapers. Third, articles that were accidently selected because of the inclusion of the Dutch word ‘natuurlijk’ (meaning ‘naturally’ as in ‘of course’ and not relating to nature); and fourth, articles that contained some of the keywords but were evidently primarily about other topics, were excluded. After the process of selection and deselection, the resulting database consisted of 291 articles.

Content analysis is done by using codes (usually in a hierarchy) to describe the content of the text (Krippendorff, 2013; Gläser and Laudel, 2015). Codes can be derived from theory (i.e. a priori coding), from the texts themselves (i.e. emerging coding), or the methods can be mixed (Drisko and Maschi, 2015). For our analysis, the overarching a priori codes were: (1) socio-economic development; (2) nature protection; and (3) synergies between socio-economic development and nature protection. A wide range of subcodes was used (see Appendix C). The subcodes were developed by scanning the newspaper articles for any word that arguably functioned as synonyms, alternates or flags for the concepts represented by the overarching codes. The analysis was performed using the qualitative data analysis software, Atlas.ti (version 7.5.10). The ‘Word Cruncher’ function in Atlas.ti gave the frequency and relative proportion of each code and subcode per article.

Expert interviews were conducted to critically reflect on the content analysis and to increase our understanding of the role of changing public opinion in influencing policy and about the pivotal points in time and significant events. The experts were recruited via the lead author’s network, snowballing and through online searching. A total of 8 interviews were held. The interviewees were comprised of a local tourism expert, representatives from local interest groups that arise for the preservation of the island, representatives from a nature organization, a civil servant, a former mayor, and a historian with local knowledge. Prior to the interviews, the respondents were provided with a research information sheet and asked to complete an informed consent form which covered issues of anonymity, use of the research, and their rights during and after the interview (Vanclay, 2013). With the permission of all respondents, the interviews were audio-recorded, and later transcribed. For the analysis of the interviews, the qualitative data software Atlas.ti was also used.
4.4 Applying Content Analysis to examine tourism-landscape interactions on the Island of Terschelling

We analyzed newspaper articles about the island of Terschelling, which is part of the Dutch Wadden. The Wadden is the largest contiguous natural area of Western Europe and is one of the largest tidal wetlands in the world (Kabat et al., 2012). Stretching from the northwest of the Netherlands, along the German coast, and the south-western part of Denmark, the Wadden includes an archipelago of more than 30 inhabited and many uninhabited islands that shield a tidal mudflat from the North Sea (see Figure 4.1). The area is renowned for its outstanding ecological qualities and scenic landscapes, and was listed as a UNESCO Natural World Heritage Site in 2009 (Sijtsma et al., 2012). Because of the widespread recognition of its ecological qualities and scenic landscapes, the Wadden has become very attractive to tourists (Revier, 2013). From early tourism in the 1950s, the Wadden islands have become an increasingly popular holiday destination and tourism has become the dominant economic activity, especially during the last decades (Sijtsma et al., 2012). The Wadden is an area where the objectives of tourism development and landscape protection coincide and potentially clash, and therefore the region is very relevant for researching tourism-landscape interactions.

Figure 4.1 | The Wadden Sea region

Source: Created by author
The way the Wadden Sea region is and/or should be managed has been constantly under discussion (Van der Aa et al., 2004; Kabat et al., 2012). Managing the Wadden is complicated because the area is not a remote ecosystem that humans can be excluded from; in contrast, the area has been heavily influenced by human activity for a long time (Knottnerus, 2005). Nowadays, the area is used for socio-economic activities such as agriculture, energy generation, fisheries, gas extraction, mining, manufacturing, shipping, and recently tourism (Kabat et al., 2012). Proper management that contributes to tourism and landscape protection is therefore necessary.

In this chapter, we specifically discuss the island of Terschelling, one of the five inhabited Dutch Wadden islands. Terschelling is renowned for its biodiversity and highly-appreciated landscapes (Kabat et al., 2012). The island has an area of 8,616 hectares, with around 80 percent comprising dunes, forests and salt marshes, which are major attractions for tourists (Hoekstra et al., 2009). Terschelling is an established tourist destination attracting over 400,000 visitors (Sijtsma et al., 2015; Municipality of Terschelling, 2016) and around 1.8 million overnight stays annually (Municipality of Terschelling, 2014). Historically, there have been strong interactions between tourism development and landscape protection on Terschelling. On the one hand, the island is among the most important tourism destinations in the Wadden, and on the other hand Terschelling has many sensitive significant nature areas (Sijtsma et al., 2012). While tourism impacts on the landscape, the landscape is an asset that must remain attractive if tourists are to continue visiting Terschelling into the future.

4.5 Results: What content analysis reveals about changing tourism-landscape interactions

The coding and analysis of the 291 newspaper articles for the period 1945 to 2015 resulted in a total of 4031 code words. Of these, almost 52% were classified under ‘socio-economic development’, 41% under ‘nature protection’, and 7% under ‘synergies’. The frequency of use of the three overarching codes changes constantly, with a high annual volatility and without a clear trend. Using a three-year rolling average of the annual scores to reduce annual fluctuation (see Figure 4.2), although the annual figures still vary, the relative proportions of the three categories are rather stable over time.

In the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s, there was an increase in thinking in socio-economic terms, from a minimum of less than 20% to a maximum of 75% being coded as socio-economic development (Figure 4.2). From 1962 until the end of 1970s, socio-economic thinking decreased and nature protection gained importance. The next turning point is visible in 1979. From then until the end of the 1980s, the emphasis shifted back to socio-economic development. From the end of the 1980s, attention towards nature protection gained importance again at the expense of socio-economic development. However, from the mid-1990s until the start of the 21 century, there was again a reversal in thinking with a stronger focus on socio-economic development.
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Since our interest is primarily with synergies, in Figure 4.3 we focus specifically on how the topic of synergy has changed over time. Overall, there was an increase in thinking in terms of synergies. However, despite the overall increase, there was much fluctuation from year to year and the percentage interest in synergy remains quite low.
Figure 4.4 presents an analysis of the subcodes for synergy. The five most important subcodes (i.e. most frequently used) were ‘Together’, ‘Involved’, ‘Collaboration/Collaborative’, ‘Responsible/Responsibility’ and ‘Sustainable/Sustainability’. In Figure 4.5, the historical fluctuations of these five subcodes are given. For example, ‘Sustainable’ increases in frequency from the end of the 1980s, and after a decrease in 2002-2003, it again is increasing. We also observe that the subcode ‘Together’ is relatively dominant in these fluctuations over time. This analysis on the subcode level helps to determine the factors that are contributing to an increase in the usage of synergies.
Figure 4.3 | Relative proportion of 'synergy' weighted by newspaper article size (three year rolling average)

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Figure 4.4 | Relative share of subcodes contributing to ‘synergies’

Figure 4.5 | Frequency of use of the top five subcodes for synergy over time
4.6 Discussion: What does the fluctuating public discourse mean for Terschelling

The dominance of the code ‘socio-economic development’ in the 1950s is not surprising. In The Netherlands, the 1950s was a period of post-WWII reconstruction. This period was characterized by a strong feeling of the need to rebuild Dutch society and its economy. During the Nazi occupation (1940-1945), planning and policy making in The Netherlands had been changed to a centralised and top-down system, and perversely this was kept in place during the subsequent period of reconstruction (Van der Cammen and De Klerk, 2012). As the socio-economic situation gradually improved and people started to have more money and leisure time, tourism developed on Terschelling, as reflected in the newspaper extract:

“The National Forest Management Agency makes the dune area available for the expansion of the village of Terschelling-West.” (Leeuwarder Courant, 07-09-1951)

Our interviewees stated that tourism started to grow exponentially, starting with relatively small-scale camping sites with only basic amenities. To meet the demands of the tourists, inhabitants would also rent out their backyards or dwellings during the summer season to gain additional income. The substantial increase in tourist arrivals in the post-war period explains the shift towards a more nature protection oriented discourse halfway the 1960s. Local people started to realize that it might be necessary to safeguard the island’s natural qualities and character. The growing concern about development resulted in the establishment of the S.O.S. Foundation (Stichting Ons Terschellingerland), an interest group of local inhabitants interested in preserving the unique character of Terschelling (Interview 5; Leeuwarder Courant, 27-08-1962). As stated in the newspaper extract:

“S.O.S. stands up to defend the character and beauty of the island.” (Leeuwarder Courant, 27-08-1962)

On the regional and national scales, this development coincided with the establishment of another foundation, the Wadden Association (Waddenvereniging) in 1965. It was founded to protect the Wadden Sea from being developed as a land reclamation project (another polder). Later, the Wadden Association broadened its objectives and stressed the importance of protecting the whole of the Dutch Wadden area due to its ecological importance. ‘Keep your hands off the Wadden’ was their motto (Revier, 2013, p.13).

The shift towards nature protection in the 1960s and 1970s can be positioned in a period that witnessed a worldwide turning point in thinking about the human influence on the environment. It was partly triggered by the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, which was held in Stockholm. Important also was the ‘Club of Rome’ think tank and its report, The Limits to Growth (Meadows et al., 1972). On Terschelling, the shift in attention from solely economic development (largely through tourism) towards more nature protection encouraged the National Forest Management Agency to intervene, as demonstrated in the following newspaper quote.

“Recreation pressure affects the dunes on Terschelling excessively: The National Forest Management Agency closes off the inner dunes by barbed wire”. (Friesch Dagblad, 22-09-1973)

Also the Municipality of Terschelling started taking policy measures such as fixing the maximum number of tourist beds (at 20,000), restricting the number of motor vehicles, and established land use zoning...
restrictions. In addition, policy measures also focused on the quality and added value of tourism development, and trying to flatten the peak in tourism arrivals by extending the tourist season and through the organisations of large events in off-peak periods. Most of these measures that were taken in 1974 are considered to have had great influence in steering the development of tourism and are still valid now (Interview, 2). In that year, a Parliamentary Commission led by J.P. Mazure advised abolishing all plans for reclamation of the Wadden and suggested protecting the whole area as a nature reserve or National Park (Kabat et al., 2012).

At the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s, there was a shift back to a more socio-economic oriented discourse again. This can be explained by the difficulties the tourism sector on Terschelling experienced in the 1980s. After years of growth, there was an economic downturn in this period. This downturn was triggered by the oil crises of 1973 and 1979 that exacerbated the already existing economic recession in The Netherlands. The worldwide economic downturn affected the Netherlands more than most other countries due to the dependence of its extensive welfare state on profits from natural gas production (the phenomenon now called Dutch disease) (Van der Cammen and De Klerk, 2012). Terschelling was also affected; tourism on the island turned out to be sensitive to the business cycle, tourist numbers and expenditure dropped. Tourism entrepreneurs argued at the time (the 1980s) that the municipality should create better opportunities for the tourism sector to expand and modernize. Terschelling had not been able to adapt to a changing tourism market, and innovation had stalled due to the national and local government policies of the 1970s.

After a slow economic recovery during the 1980s, a reorientation towards nature protection around 1990 is visible in the data. This reorientation can be attributed to a worldwide shift towards an environmental discourse in which sustainability was a core concept. The Brundtland Report (WCED, 1987) and the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (or Earth Summit), which was held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, were important milestones on the world scale. On the local level, this sustainability thinking was clearly implemented in the 1989 Landscape Policy Plan of Terschelling. The emphasis for a shift in thinking was highlighted in many quarters:

“The policy of the municipality and the attitude of the entrepreneurs on Terschelling must change in the coming years in order to ensure a good future for Terschelling.” (Leeuwarder Courant, 12-04-1988)

The most recent period (2005-2014) can be characterized as a period of thinking in terms of synergies. The newspaper quote below is an example of the acknowledgment of synergies (Leeuwarder Courant, 27-06-2009):

“Nature and economy can go hand in hand very well.” (Leeuwarder Courant, 27-06-2009)

Immediately before the latest increase in synergetic thinking, the Meijer Report (2004) was published. It proposed an integrated vision for the Wadden in which sustainable protection and development should occur together, with priority for nature with human co-use. Thinking in terms of synergies, however, is not just something recent, as is witnessed by earlier periods of attention, often followed by decline. In the beginning of the 1960s, there was an early awareness on the islands that, although tourism was an important economic activity, it must not harm the landscape. Around 1974, awareness grew that it might be necessary to curtail the growth of tourism.
In the last ten years or so, there has been a strong increase in interest in synergies. The newspaper quote below emphasizes this by stating that nature and tourism and recreation cannot be seen as detached from each other and under the condition of stakeholder consultation can be combined:

“It should not be forgotten that in many places recreation is possible because of the presence of nature. That is the basis! This realization urges those stakeholders to be involved more often. To handle nature well requires a lot of consultation. Practice shows that, if this is the case, many activities can be combined with each other quite well.” (Leeuwerd Courant, 03-04-2010)

4.7 Conclusions

Our chapter contributes to resilience thinking and SES thinking, as it assists in understanding the institutional context for managing tourism-landscape interactions. From the literature, it is clear that the concept of resilience is difficult to apply in practice and empirical work is needed. We demonstrated how content analysis can assist in understanding the institutional context in which decision-making about the future takes place. The extent of fluctuation in the usage of socio-economic development and nature protection discourses suggests that they are not the result of intended and rational policy interventions rather than the system is constantly adapting to changing circumstances. Our analysis of the institutional context contributes to a better understanding of the mechanisms that build the resilience of social-ecological systems.

We conclude from our analysis that the way people in Terschelling think about the interactions between tourism development and landscape protection has been fluctuating over time, especially in the period from 1945 to 2015. Our analysis showed that during this period, thinking in socio-economic terms has been important in the development of tourism and landscape on the Island. Our example shows that the way people think about nature is heavily determined by the up-and-down swings of the business cycle. This would imply short-term thinking where, in times of economic downturn, nature protection become less important. This seems to fit with the standard Maslow (1943) hierarchy of needs, with nature protection as a higher order need that will come to the forefront only when basic human needs are fulfilled. Nevertheless, we also found that thinking about nature protection was predominant at some points in our time period. Important here is that these changes in public thinking were often influenced by external (and often macro) triggers, where caring for nature, landscape and environment was brought to people’s attention.

By analysing the informal historical institutional context, our analysis also shows that thinking in terms of synergies has been increasing recently. The acknowledgement of synergies fluctuates, yet overall we can observe that the general trend is upwards. In our results, we found that the factors that largely determine the overall increase of synergies relate to collaboration, working together and being involved. Also, the current frequent use of the word ‘sustainability’ contributes to the recent increase in the number of newspaper articles coded as synergies. While synergies remain limited compared to the focus
on tourism development or nature protection, this upward trend looks promising. Synergies however, are not only a recent phenomenon. Our analysis showed that thinking about synergies also occurred in earlier times. We can conclude that a historical approach assists in understanding that synergies develop in a cyclical way and are influenced by the vagaries of time.

Our content analysis of newspaper articles has proven to be a valuable tool for identifying changes in thinking in the public discourse on tourism and landscape interactions over time. It helped identify the way people think about tourism development and landscape protection and how this has changed over time. We used content analysis of newspaper articles as a proxy for the institutional context. The added value of content analysis is that it can be done in a rigorous and transparent manner over a long timeframe. This sets content analysis apart from research methods such as interviewing, because content analysis goes beyond the availability of people to interview, and overcomes the changes in their perceptions that may occur over time. Content analysis, therefore, is helpful in understanding the historical institutional context, although subsequent interviews can help in validating and interpreting the data.

Based on this analysis, we have three suggestions for policy makers and planners. First, tourism development and landscape protection have potential for synergies between them. Nevertheless, policy makers need to be aware that achieving these synergies is not something that is easy controllable. We showed that thinking about synergies has fluctuated considerably over time. Furthermore, it is clear that it takes time for policy measures aimed at promoting synergies to be effective. Second, to gain insight into the current institutional context in which future policy is made, it is important to take past trajectories into account and consider how they have evolved over time. Third, knowledge which is based on content analysis of historical newspaper articles or similar textual materials can be a helpful and effective tool to systematically reveal the past patterns that have shaped the current situation.
References


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