
Political Opportunity Structures of Civil Society Movements: *a research on the Island of Schiermonnikoog*

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Abstract

With a growing environmental crisis in the world sustainable ways of living are becoming urgent. While this urgency is being addressed by researchers, governmental and organisational actions are oftentimes still focused on economic gains instead of creating a sustainable alternative. The result is a rise of civil society movements and organisations to undertake collective action, oftentimes caused by NIMBY-incentives. Also, it is known that relationships to external actors and the structure of a society – so-called opportunity structures – influences the rise, development and impact of movements. This thesis uses the case study of Schiermonnikoog, media- and documentary analysis and interviews to understand the interaction of opportunity structures and strategies in citizen protest. This research shows that the perception of the protesters plays an important role in the way their strategies are influenced by political opportunities and how the opportunity structures interact with each other. The results of this study enhance the knowledge on processes that shape society as it tries to unravel the complex dynamics of movements and their strategies.

Keywords: Civil society movements – Opportunity structures – Sustainability – NIMBY – Collective action – Media



“The circumstances create the need, and the need, when it is great enough, creates the circumstances”

– José Saramago

Preface

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The following pages contain the story of my research on the island of Schiermonnikoog. This research was conducted in the light of my graduation from the Master Socio-Spatial Planning at the University of Groningen, Faculty of Spatial Sciences. The choice for this particular case of Schiermonnikoog originated from my strong connection to the island. For many years our family holidays took place here, both summer and winter. Thereafter I found a job at a pavilion at the beach where I worked last six summers. Hence, this island feels as my second home.

I would like to use this space to express my gratitude to some people that helped me through the process of writing this thesis. First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor Terry van Dijk, who guided and motivated me with his critical eye and inspirational quotes. Next, I would like to thank my friends and family, who supported and helped me wherever they could. Also, I owe my colleagues at Schiermonnikoog a great deal, where they helped me to get in touch with some important actors within this research. Lastly, and most importantly, I would like to thank the interviewees, who were essential in conducting this research.

I hope this thesis will be both informative as inspiring and I wish you much joy in reading it!

Nina Laninga

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1. Introduction

1.1 Reason and Purpose

Halfway through 2013, citizens of the island of Schiermonnikoog, the Netherlands, were startled by the plans of a big energy-cooperation for explorative drills for gas at the coast of the island. This proposal resulted in fierce protest of inhabitants, lovers of the Island and environmental organisations (RTV Noord, 2017). Main concerns were, among other things, possible earthquakes, pollution of a World Heritage Site, subsidence of the Wadden Sea soil as a consequence of the gas-extraction and the disturbance of the pristine character of the island (Dijkema, 1997; RTV Noord, 2017). Also, with a growing environmental crisis in the world sustainable ways of living are becoming urgent and as the municipality of Schiermonnikoog points out, these unsustainable resources do not fit into the world of today and tomorrow (RTV Noord, 2017). While this urgency is being addressed by researchers, governmental and organisational actions are oftentimes still focused on economic gains instead of creating a sustainable alternative.

Additionally, the roles for civil society are being renewed and expanded by current governance systems (Painter, 2000 in Whitelaw et al., 2008), which makes citizens more eager and capable of taking matters into their own hands. In combination with the constant growth in concerns within the population about the environmental crisis, the impacts of climate change, overexploitation of natural resources, biodiversity loss and desertification (Kadirbeyoglu et al., 2017), these governance developments, and lacking actions of governments and intergovernmental organizations, there is a rise of civil society movements and organisations to fight these unsustainable trends (Kadirbeyoglu et al., 2017).

Last decades a large body of literature is built regarding these movements. Rise and impact of the movements and their relation to the political sphere are explored in order to understand the underlying processes and outcomes. Many authors elaborate on so called 'political opportunity structures', which was firstly described as "*the degree to which groups are likely to be able to gain access to power and to manipulate the political system*" (Eisinger, 1973 in Van der Heijden, 2006). After Eisinger, scientists have sought to unravel the dynamics and effects of these opportunity structures in relation with the rise and development of civil society movements. The strategic processes of the movements are however poorly studied (Goodwin & Jasper, 2003) and many questions are left unanswered. Particularly the actual choice of actions is inadequately researched (Jasper, 1997 in Goodwin & Jasper, 2003). Goodwin & Jasper (2003) point out that "*serious attention to strategy would be an additional way to understand true process, rather than structures parading as process*".

Therefore, this thesis aims to shed light on the relation between political opportunity structures and the choice and use of certain strategies by civil society movements. Opportunity structures in different contexts may result in different actions and levels of effectiveness and thus it is relevant to explore these challenges in different locations. This study creates more insight in how opportunity structures can influence the strategic choices of civic actors by investigating the influence of opportunity structures on the strategies of different civil society movements and organisations against the test drills for gas in the small community of the island of Schiermonnikoog.

1.2. Questions

This thesis aims to answer the following research questions:

Primary research question

How do political opportunity structures for civil society movements influence the strategies of citizen protest to stop unwanted land-use in a small community?

Secondary research questions

- How are civil society movements and opportunity structures conceptualized and linked to each other from a theoretical perspective?
- Which strategies do the civil society movements in Schiermonnikoog use, and why?
- Do the strategies of the civil society movements change over time and, if so, how and why?
- Which political opportunities and constraints are perceived by the civil society movement in Schiermonnikoog?
- Which factors influenced the (changed) strategies of the civil society movements in Schiermonnikoog?

1.3. Reading Guide

The structure of this thesis is as follows. *Chapter 2* discusses different theoretical concepts linked to civil society movements and their protest and provides a conceptual model based on a literature review. *Chapter 3* explains the choice and use of an appropriate research design to answer the research questions at hand, where after *Chapter 4* illustrates the context and results of the chosen research methods. A conclusion and discussion are provided in *Chapter 5* and this thesis concludes with a critical reflection in *Chapter 6*.

2. Theory

In the following chapter, different theoretical concepts linked to civil society movements and their protest are being discussed. This literature review points out what is known about these concepts and which theories can be used to answer the research questions. Relations between concepts and the research subject are visualised in a conceptual model.

2.1. Social Movements

The field of social movements has been analysed for some decades by many authors and therefore has a large body of literature on the subject. Tarrow (1994) gives a definition of movements as '*collective challenges by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities*' (in Goodwin & Jasper, 2003).

Social movements happen when people *raise their voices and come together, appearing to seek to expand their rights, safe-guard and improve their living conditions, oppose oppression, challenge existing categories and boundaries, and assert their identities and values* (Davies et al., 2016). Where the roles for civil society are being renewed and expanded by current governance systems (Painter, 2000 in Whitelaw et al., 2008), these social movements are quickly arising in different places.

On the practical side, three common characteristics of social movements are distinguished in literature: they are involved in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents; they are linked by dense informal networks; and they share a distinct collective identity (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, in Van der Heijden & Xie, 2010).

2.1.1. The causes of conflict in spatial planning

Within land-use planning processes, local conflicts can arise – or actually always arise (Aarts & Leeuwis, 2010 in Van Dijk et al., 2011), caused by unwanted land-use of governments and intergovernmental organizations. Three main reasons can be found to explain these conflicts resulting from spatial planning (Pacchi & Pasque, 2015). First there is the competition for space, where inclusion and exclusion cause the conflict to arise (Mazza, 2009 in Pacchi & Pasqui, 2015). Second, planning decisions can affect the lives of individuals and groups, since it creates inequalities and produces different citizenship statuses. This is explained clearly by Mazza (2009: 132): '*planning manifests itself as an asymmetrical relationship of strengths between one party that has the power to decide (theoretically on behalf of common interest) and parties or groups that defend particular interests*' (in Pacchi & Pasque, 2015). Lastly, spatial planning is unavoidably a local activity, which has consequences not only on a local level, but also at a non-local level (environmental, aesthetic, social, economic). This causes planning decisions to always be related to conflicts between local and non-local stakes.

Where the conflictual nature of spatial planning is caused by these three reasons, the nature of the conflicts themselves also differs (Pacchi & Pasque, 2015). Three typologies of conflicts can be distinguished: recognition conflicts, where a social group or actor tries to pressure other groups or institutions for the recognition of its identity; interests conflicts, where one groups tries to create benefits for its members; and ideological (or value) conflicts, where not particular interests are at stake, but where a universalistic value is represented (Pizzorno, 1993 in Pacchi & Pasque, 2015). Recognition conflicts occur from planning decisions that are related to their identification and is regularly a form of defence of local values. Interest conflicts are often the result of a distribution of scarce resources and ideological conflicts mainly arise when beliefs and frameworks are part of the averment (Pacchi & Pasque, 2015).

2.1.2. Action

As explained above, the dissatisfaction of certain groups in society leads to conflicts of various nature in land-use planning processes. Responses to this dissatisfaction can be divided into three main types: inaction, individual action and collective action, where different issues result in different frequency of responses, as scopes and incentives ask for differ as well (Pickvance, 2001).

Inaction can be seen as a ‘free-rider’ attitude, obtaining the benefit without the possible costs that arise from being active (Olson, 1965 in Pickvance, 2001).

On the contrary, collective action describes the formation of groups – or social movements –, that want to influence powerholders, pressuring them to legitimize and potentially revise their decisions (Habermas, 1996, in Della Porta & Rucht, 2013). It is important to notice that contexts and institutions affect individual or collective action and that the notion of costs and benefits to the individual can explain their influence (Pickvance, 2001).

When protesters decide to undertake collective action as a reaction to their dissatisfaction, one well-known incentive and at the same time a strategy is known as the concept of NIMBY – Not In My Backyard – which is often used to describe community protest activities against government-sponsored polluting facilities (Hager, 2015) or defined by Dear (1992) as “*the protectionist attitudes of and oppositional tactics adopted by community groups facing an unwelcome development in their neighbourhood*” (in Devine-Wright, 2013). Wolsink (2007) points out that the idea of NIMBY suggests that “*people have positive attitudes towards something until they are actually confronted with it, and that they then oppose it for selfish reasons*”, but also recognizes the complex nature of the phenomenon (Wolsink, 2000). He distinguishes four types of resistance based on attitudes towards the development itself and the attitude towards the same development in the ‘backyard’ (Wolsink, 2000), including NIABY (Not In Anybody’s Backyard) – rejection and opposition against the development. Other formulations as LULU (Locally Unwanted Land Use), NOPE (Not On Planet Earth) and

BANANA (Build Absolutely Nothing Anywhere Near Anything) joined these concepts over the years.

These concepts can be divided into two dimensions: a local one – NIMBY, LULU and BANANA – with place-protective actions. These are a result of the disruption of emotional bonds and threat of place-related identities (Devine-Wright, 2013). This is based on the concept of place attachment: *“positively experienced bonds, sometimes occurring without awareness, that are developed over time from the behavioural, affective and cognitive ties between individuals and/or groups and their socio-physical environment”* (Brown & Perkins, 1992 in Devine-Wright, 2013). Attachment to the natural area directly affected was analysed to be the most significant factor in resistance: strong attachment to place lead to lower levels of acceptance (Devine-Wright, 2013). Second, there are NOPE and NIABY, which have a global vision of the problem at hand and try to ban it entirely.

Often NIMBY has been valued as a negative phenomenon, like an illness in need of cure (Dear, 1992; Mazmanian & Morrel, 1994; Inhaber, 1998 in Hager, 2015). Despite the diversity in different outcomes in research, academics consistently argue that NIMBY-ism needs to be transformed in more public acceptance by more participatory decision making (Devine-Wright, 2013). However, Hager (2015) suggests that local citizens can play an active role in devising solutions and therefore are included in the innovation process. With this approach NIMBY can be seen as a potentially beneficial component of participatory politics instead of spreading negative effects of local resistance (Hager, 2015). She thus argues that *“it takes aim at particular facilities, institutions, and practices that shut out participation from those who must bear the consequences of the construction”*. This can result in long-lasting socio-political effects, and it can influence ways of thinking about the environment and human health (Freudenberg & Steinsapir, 1991 in Poulos, 2015). Poulos (2015) also points out that that these movements often push polluting governments and private companies to enforce environmental standards, remediate contaminated areas, and minimize the potential for future toxic disasters. While most NIMBY cases focus on tackling local immediate problems, the bifurcations of the protests often incite changes in social networks and political systems (Poulos, 2015).

In sum, NIMBY-ism can be seen as negative phenomenon, where it can delay or obstruct the creation of new, more sustainable, forms of energy infrastructure (Devine-Wright, 2013). On the other hand, NIMBY-ism can push polluting governments and private companies to enforce environmental standards, remediate contaminated areas, and minimize the potential for future toxic disasters (Poulos, 2015), where governmental and organisational actions are oftentimes still focused on economic gains instead of creating a sustainable alternative and generate awareness of the importance of the environment (Whitelaw et al., 2008). Thus, it can be argued that the character of the phenomenon depends on the nature of the project.

2.2. Opportunities and Constraints

It is known that relationships to external actors and the structure of a society influences the way people respond to dissatisfaction and affect the rise, development and impact of movements (e.g. Kadirbeyoglu et al., 2017; Pickvance, 2001). These relationships between social movements, their opponents and the rest of society can be explained with the concept of opportunity structures (Van der Heijden & Xie, 2010). This concept can be seen as the core of the Political Process Approach – amongst for example the New Social Movements Approach or the Resource Mobilization approach – to social movements (Van der Heijden, 2006). To understand this, the concept of political opportunity structures should first be explored and defined.

2.2.1. The Evolution of Political Opportunity Structures

Two main approaches to this opportunity structures so far can be differentiated: a more structural approach, also more dominant, which focuses on the different structures within and surrounding social movements; and a more cultural approach, which focuses on frames, identities, meanings and emotions (Goodwin & Jasper, 2003). Where the former – also known as the political process theory – for example sees the state as a main player and ‘*a structure*’, the latter rather sees it as a complicated web of agencies and authorities full of culture, emotions and strategic (inter)actions (e.g. Jasper, 1990; Steinmetz, 1999 in Goodwin & Japer, 2003). To understand both approaches, their emergence, arguments and critiques will be explored below.

2.2.1.1 The structural approach

In 1973, Eisinger was the first to use the ‘structure of political opportunities’ to explain riot behaviour and defined these opportunities as “*the degree to which groups are likely to be able to gain access to power and to manipulate the political system*” (in Van der Heijden, 2006). Herbert Kitschelt (1986) build upon his work and concluded in his research that formal political opportunity structures – open vs. closed political systems – shape the characteristics of movements or their political outcomes (in Flam, 1994).

The openness or closeness of the political systems is also defined as “*the number of political parties in a country, the relative independence of the legislature from the executive, the existence of patterns of intermediation between interest groups and the executive branch, and of mechanisms that aggregate demands*” – input structures – and “*a centralized state apparatus, government control over market participants, and a relatively independent and authoritative judiciary*” – output structures (Kitschelt, 1986 in Van der Heijden, 2006). This can be explained as the choice of the state to obstruct or encourage protests by the way they treat ‘inputs’, by its institutional structure and by its capability to create new policy ‘outputs’ (Pickvance, 2001). Next to the number of political parties in a country which can enhance the

openness of the system their effectiveness in expressing citizen preferences is also essential. The hypothesis is that when parties act as successful channels of participation, this can hinder movements to develop (Pickvance, 2001). However, when protesters have allies within the decision-making system the political opportunity structure can be considered open, where it is closed when they do not (Piazza, 2011). It's important to notice that these features are separate dimensions, where states with an open input structure and are receptive to pressure can be ineffective in responding caused by weak output structures (Pickvance, 2001).

This far it is argued that there are four variables which form the political opportunity structure for social movements: the nature of the existing political cleavages in society; the formal institutional structure of the state; the informal strategies of the political elite's vis-a-vis their challengers; and the power relations within the party system (alliance structures) (Kriesi et al., 1992 in Van der Heijden, 1997). The strategies of the political elites can be divided into integrative – trying to integrate challengers into the political system – and exclusive strategies – trying to exclude challengers from the political system (Van der Heijden, 2006).

Contrary to this argumentation, Flam (1994) argues that not these structural attributes of the political system explain the policy outcomes, but they can be better interpreted as a result of dynamic, fluid and contingent processes. Where Kitschelt typology focuses on the institutional differences between individual nation-states, research also shows that social movements are given the capacity to act by temporary changes (Tarrow, 1994, in Van der Heijden, 2006). There are four noticeable changes which influence opportunity structures: the opening up of access to participation; shifts in ruling alignments; the availability of influential allies; and cleavages within and among elites (Tarrow, 1994 in Van der Heijden, 2006).

However, later research shows that not only these political processes, but also mobilizing structures and frames can explain both the emergence and the outcomes of social movements. McAdam et al. (1996) focused on social movements and developed a multivariate model based on the interaction of these features. The political process addresses the structures, conditions and relationships that encourage – opportunities – or discourage – constraints – mobilization and shape interaction with institutionalized politics in the contexts in which movements perform (McAdam et al., 1996). All aspects relating to organizational models of social movements – e.g. material resources, networks and strategies – are captured by the concept of mobilizing structures and framing processes describe the involved interpretation, perception and social construction of meanings and references (McAdam et al., 1996; Kadirbeyogly et al., 2017). These mobilizing structures are an important aspect of the socio-political context, because the mobilization of resources is known to be relevant for the survival and success of movements (Pickvance, 2001). The availability of resources depends on initial distribution next to the capability to mobilize secondary resources from the state, from private and charitable resources and from the public (Pickvance, 2001). Suggested by Pickvance (2001) is that movements with more resources have better chances in mobilizing than those with less.

Also, the considerable impact of the media on mobilization should be noted, where they can act unsympathetic which can lead to a lack of publicity and low awareness (Pickvance, 2001).

McAdam et al. (1996) conclude with four broad dimensions, which are used to explain the formation of social movements: the relative openness or closure of the institutionalized political system; the stability of that broad set of elite alignments that typically undergird a polity; the presence of elite allies; the state's capacity and propensity for repression.

The different political opportunity models can be described as “*the relative openness of the political system, the formal and informal set of power relations among potential allies, and the degree of state repression*” (Travaglino, 2014 in Malloy, 2017), this can vary from encouraging to co-optive and repressive (Schumaker, 1975 in Pickvance, 2001).

According to these various authors, the political opportunity structures can be summarized into four dimensions (Van der Heijden & Xie, 2010):

1. Formal institutional structure (open–closed)
2. Informal elite strategies (integrative–exclusive)
3. Configuration of power (divided elite–united elite)
4. Political output structure (weak–strong)

These dimensions should be seen as four separate continua, rather than polar opposites (Van der Heijden & Xie, 2010).

2.2.1.2 The Cultural Approach

The definition of political opportunity of the structural approach argues that expanding political opportunities result in the emergence of social movements. However, these dimensions of the structural approach can be criticized in their effects. The availability of elite allies in creating more opportunities is questionable, as these allies can not only provide important resources, but also reduce the autonomy and threaten the stability of the movement (Kriesi, 1996 in Goodwin & Jasper, 2003). Also, integration into the systems of interest can have a negative effect on the mobilization capacity of a movement (Kriesi, 1996 in Goodwin & Jasper, 2003). Democratization can also be argued to have an ambiguous effect, where it can provide new channels of access to political institutions but can also lead partisan competition and electoral activities in to the movements which can restrain it from its original goals (Roberts, 1997 in Goodwin & Jasper, 2003). Lastly the political structures, for example the absence of repression, which is argued to increase the opportunity for mobilization, but it can be argued that also cultural and strategic circumstances have a great impact. Many authors have even argued that this relationship is inverse or curvilinear (Brockett, 1995 in Goodwin & Jasper, 2003).

The ambiguous effects of these dimensions make it hard to specify how political opportunities affect movement actions (Goodwin & Jasper, 2003). Research shows that many of the distinguished variables both have opening and closing characteristics, regarding the political space (Gamson & Meyer, 1996 in Jasper & Goodwin, 2003).

Also, it is only argued that the political opportunity variables contain ‘structural’ factors, which is a concreteness which could be misplaced (Goodwin & Jasper, 2003). Although it is argued that political opportunities change over time, they can be visualized as ‘windows’ that open and close (Kingdon, 1995 in Goodwin & Jasper, 2003). The use and emphasis of the ‘structural’ factors (i.e. relatively stable factors over time and outside the control of movement actors) can be criticised, where the role of more fluid concepts – such as strategy and agency – could be neglected (Goodwin & Jasper, 2003). This strategy and agency contain *‘active choices and efforts of movement actors as well as of their opponents and other players in the conflict, and cultural factors that deal with the moral visions, cognitive understandings and emotions that exist prior to a movement but that are also transformed by it’* (Goodwin & Jasper, 2003).

When looking at the conceptualisation of political opportunity structures from a cultural perspective, the emergence of social movements depends on the cultural interpretation, and the opportunities – that matter – cannot be objective (Goodwin & Jasper, 2003). With this fact kept in mind, political opportunities can be defined as *‘dimensions of the political environment that provide **incentives** for people to undertake collective action by affecting their **expectations** for success or failure’* (Tarrow, 1994: 85 in Goodwin & Jasper, 2003). Building on this definition, political opportunities can be thought of as institutional avenues that guides protest in certain ways, while discouraging others (Goodwin & Jasper, 2003). Goodwin & Jasper (2003) provide a description of the surroundings in which these political opportunities develop:

“... we think of a shifting playing field, with various institutions, cultural constructions, and strategic players, we can see that political action (and the impulses, grievances, and interests that go into it) it both channelled and created in a variety of ways without having to lapse into ‘window’ metaphors. Institutions inspire and demand action as well as constrain it.”

Three factors can then be recognized within the cultural approach to the process of political action: structural factors (e.g. electoral systems), strategic factors (e.g. shifting alliances), and cultural factors (e.g. slogans and images) (Goodwin & Jasper, 2003).

Thus, the opportunities of movements can often be analysed as strategic, rather than structural – however, both exist (Goodwin & Jasper, 2003). It should be recognized that cultural and strategic processes affect that factors mentioned above as “structural” (Goodwin & Jasper, 2003). A pre-existing structure is not everything, it is also the outcome of actions of the movement, steered by strategic choices (Goodwin & Jasper, 2003). Where perceptions of

(potential) protesters are not only essential for recognizing their opportunities, Goodwin & Jasper (2003) also argue that in many cases these perceptions can create opportunities which weren't there in the first place. Logically, it can be stated that within the cultural approach the word 'structures' can be erased from the original concept of political opportunity and instead identify it as 'perceived political opportunities'.

Next to this, strategies are the result of interaction between movements and other actors – e.g. their opponents and the state – and the different expectations they have of 'the other side' create the character of this interaction (Goodwin & Jasper, 2003).

The strategic processes mentioned before are however poorly studied (Goodwin & Jasper, 2003) and many questions are left unanswered. Particularly the actual choice of actions is inadequately researched (Jasper, 1997 in Goodwin & Jasper, 2003). Goodwin & Jasper (2003) point out that "*serious attention to strategy would be an additional way to understand true process, rather than structures parading as process*".

2.2.2. Perceived political opportunities

Where the structural approach has created some solid insights in the possible opportunities structures that influence the rise, development and impact of a civil movement, the cultural approach encourages researchers to take into account the framing processes that occur. Next to this, as pointed out above, there is little knowledge on how these opportunities structures influence the creation, choice and use of different strategies by civil movements within the protest. While both approaches have their own convincing arguments, it can be argued that strategies of civil society movements can only be influenced by political opportunities that are perceived by these actors. Also, the 'structural' parts of these opportunities can be criticized, where the framing could lead to different conceptions of opportunities over time, instead of structural features which point to relatively stable factors over time and outside the control of movement actors. An example of a simple visualisation of how both approaches could relate to each other can be found in *Figure 1*.

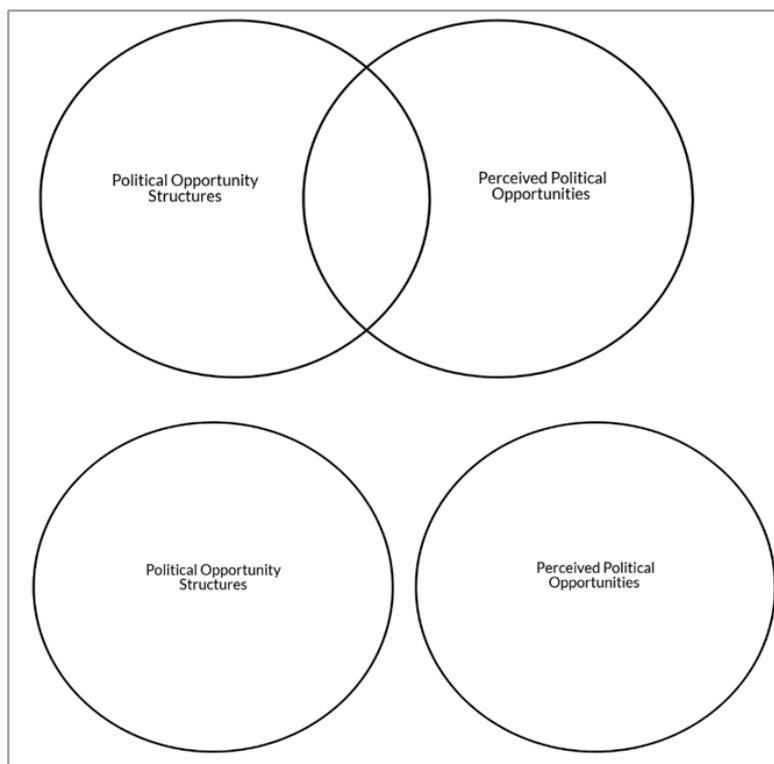


Figure 1: Simple Visualization of the Structural Approach and the Cultural Approach to Political Opportunities

Where in one situation the actual political opportunity structures overlap with perceived political opportunities, it could also be the case that the perceptions of a movement and their opportunities are completely separated from the structural political opportunities. However, the nature of both phenomena should be considered carefully. Firstly, as pointed out before, opportunity structures can be subject to change over time, which makes it hard to distinguish the stable factors/structures. This also applies to the perception of political opportunities, whereas these can be discovered through conversation and observation and are therefore influenced by framing processes of both the researcher and – in this case – the protester. Consequently, the division between potentially useful and irrelevant structures is ambiguous.

In sum, it is made clear that only the perceived opportunities play a role in the decisions of a movements to undertake action and how. These can overlap with the structural political opportunities, but it can also be the case that they do not.

In this thesis the following definition compiled by Tarrow (1994, pp. 85) will be used for perceived political opportunities: *'dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action by affecting their expectations for success or failure'* (in Goodwin & Jasper, 2003). The structural political opportunities will be distinguished by the previously mentioned dimensions or continua: formal institutional structure; informal elite strategies; configuration of power and the political output structure. Much research focused on how these opportunities influenced the rise and impact of

movements, but few have examined the way they influence the choice and use of certain strategies within protest.

2.3 Globalization, media and protest

Globalization has received increasing attention in the last 30 years and several studies reveal its effect on social movements (Guidry, Kennedy & Zald, 2000; Smith & Johnson, 2002; Della Porta, Kriesi & Rucht, 2009; Fominaya, 2014 in Davies et al., 2016). Globalization is most commonly defined as the process through which communities become more interconnected (Davies et al., 2016). These processes also led to a growth in i.a. the discussion regarding the political influence of social media (Martens-Edwards, 2015). Especially protest in undemocratic nations is believed to profit from the use of social media (Martens-Edwards, 2015). Davies et al. (2016) also discovered several benefits movements gain from processes of globalization. Several authors in the field show how globalization has moved the instruments, techniques and timescales of movements involved in political activism (Smith & Johnson, 2002; Della Porta et al., 2009 and Fominaya, 2014 in Davies et al., 2016). Especially technological globalization has shown to be important in creating public awareness regarding marginalized actors and movements. The importance of internet, social network and multimedia communication networks to movements is established in the work of Castell (2012) (in Davies et al., 2016). Argued is that movements can use wireless and mobile social networks to spread their messages rapidly and are at the same enabled to exchange and circulate information virally. Important in these processes are the digital technologies which create a 'space of autonomy'. In these spaces of autonomy new forms of political participation can be created. Pointed out are the changed possibilities of collective action, where social media can increase awareness and have an effect on individual choices regarding the participation or support in the protest. Facebook and Twitter are both recognized to play key roles in spreading information from local level to global levels (Lotan et al., 2011 in Davies et al., 2016)

Summarized, it is determined that (social) media can play a significant role within the protesting processes. It is relevant to explore the role of media within the specific case of this research to answer the research questions.

2.4. Conceptual model

The conceptual model is the structure underlying the research, interrelating concepts from the literature discussed above. This model can be used as a basis for framing, situating and operationalizing the research questions (Hay, 2016).

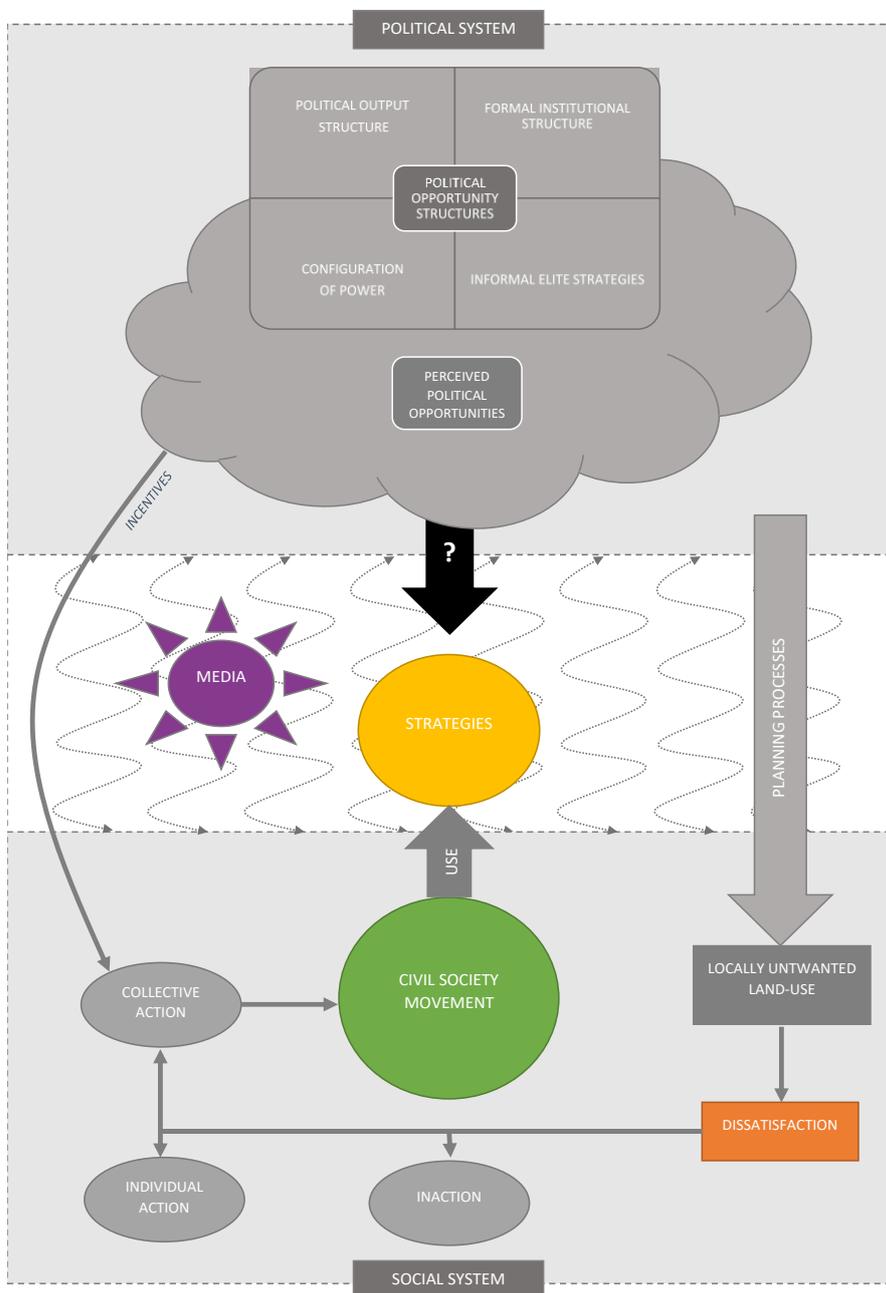


Figure 2: Conceptual model resulting from the literature review

3. Methodology

This thesis uses case study research to understand the role of opportunity structures in citizen protest. To reach this goal, an appropriate research design is created to deliver answers to the research questions. This chapter will elaborate and explain the choices made in creating a fitting research design and will give an explanation of data-collection techniques and analyses. Concluding the ethical aspects of the research are illustrated.

3.1. Research approach

3.1.1. Qualitative & quantitative research in human geography

Qualitative and quantitative research have both the same goal: achieving a better understanding about how the world works (Kalof et al., 2008). However, they both use different ways to achieve this goal and are selected based on the nature of the research problem addressed (Kalof et al., 2008). The purposes and research questions have to be considered carefully to know how these can be answered (Punch, 2005 in Blaxter et al., 2010). In human geography complex and varied questions are researched, which ask for a variety of conceptual approaches and methods of analysis (Winchester & Rofo, 2016). Winchester & Rofo (2016) point out that qualitative research in human geography is increasingly used to explain individual experiences, social processes, and human environments. They define this qualitative research as being “*concerned with elucidating human environments and human experiences within a variety of conceptual frameworks*” (p5). Two areas in which qualitative research plays an important role are distinguished: social structures and individual experiences (Winchester & Rofo, 2016). It can be the case that behaviour and experiences of an individual are formed by their position in the social structure, instead of their personal characteristics (Winchester & Rofo, 2016). Next to social structures, cultural, economic, political and environmental structures can be distinguished, where structures are defined as “*internally related objects or practices*” (Winchester & Rofo, 2016).

In this thesis, the perceptions and feelings of individuals and their effect on the actions and behaviours of these individual are being researched. This can be described as a causal puzzle: what influence does X have on Y (Blaxter et al., 2010). Following the definition of Winchester & Rofo (2016), a qualitative approach is in this research suitable to clarify the human environment and human experiences on this subject.

Three main, conventional methods within qualitative research are identified: oral, textual and participatory methods (Winchester & Rofo, 2016). Oral methods are described as capable to answer questions about individual meanings and experiences to answering questions about societal structures. Textual methods are often based on a constructionist epistemology – that the world is constructed and mediated socially (Winchester & Rofo, 2016). Textual methods mostly use creative texts, documentary sources and landscape sources, but also texts derived

from oral methods Winchester & Rofe, 2016). Winchester & Rofe (2016) also mention that analysis of written texts is used to discover the discourses that underpin and legitimate social structures. Within the participatory method the most common form is participant observation, where there is a large range in the observer's role, from passive to proactive (Winchester & Rofe, 2016).

3.1.2. In-depth Case Study

A case-study can better be described as an approach to research design – what, how and to what advantage can be researched – rather than a method, and is suitable for confirming or expanding theories, falsifying theories or creating new theories (Baxter, 2016). Already pointed out by Bullock (1986): “*A case study, in particular, makes it possible to observe and analyse phenomena as a single, integrated whole*” (in Gagnon, 2010), knowing, an open system in its context.

The research question in this thesis starts with ‘how’, which causes it to search for factors of a more fundamental and causal character, rather than patterns and regularities and makes the case study an appropriate approach to answer this question (Clifford et al, 2010). A case-study as research “*involves the study of a single instance or small number of instances of a phenomenon in order to explore in-depth nuances of the phenomenon and the contextual influences on and explanations of that phenomenon*” (Baxter, 2016:131). Examples given are the phenomena of an event, a process or a particular place.

This question also aims to discover detailed information on the protest of citizens and how their strategies are influenced by specific structures, which ask for an in-depth examination. Conducting a small-N analysis – a single case study – is the best fit to reach this high level of detail.

However, next to these advantages of case research, weaknesses of the method should also be considered. Gagnon (2010) distinguishes three: the case study can be time consuming, the external validity can be uncertain, and results can almost never be generalized – applied to other cases of the particular phenomenon. This thesis uses a single-case study and is therefore even more subject to this problem of generalization. Nevertheless, by using a single-case study, more detailed descriptions can be produced. Baxter (2016) states that the in-depth understanding about one case, without relations to cases that are not studied, is valuable on his own. He points out that it may solve practical or concrete struggles within the case or a broadening academic understanding about the phenomenon, or in some case-studies do both. Baxter (2016) concludes that a well-chosen and well-studied case can put transferable explanations in an analytical way instead of a statistical way: “*good theoretical explanations are those that are well rooted in the concrete aspects of the case yet sufficiently abstract that others in similar situations can see how they might apply to their own context*”. This is also described by Gobo (2007), as he notes that it is valuable to distinguish structural aspects in a case that can be noticed in other comparable cases or events. Also, in social sciences, practical and context dependent knowledge is very relevant (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

The underlying approach matching the case-study is also a constructivist approach, which believes that society is constructed through relationships amongst individuals (Hagedorn, 1983 in Gagnon, 2010) and to understand them we need detailed descriptions of situations, events, people, interactions and behaviours (Gagnon, 2010). This information can be derived from a qualitative case-study. However, often within the case study a qualitative and quantitative research are combined, where a great part of the case-study research is qualitative, but parts can be quantitative or a combination of the two (Baxter, 2016).

The goal of this research is to increase an understanding of a phenomenon in context and has therefore an ideographic research strategy (Gagnon, 2010) and expanding theories on protests and opportunity structures. This can be done by deductive logic, where supporting or falsifying data about the concept is searched for (Baxter, 2016). The research is based on ideas and conceptions derived from a literature study and can therefore be described as an exploratory study (Gagnon, 2010).

3.2 Data collection and analyses

The research in this thesis aims to discover how the opportunity structures influence the strategy of civil protest. Where qualitative research is the connection between the research of structures and processes and the individuals and their experiences (Winchester & Rofe, 2016), this qualitative approach can reveal the influence of opportunity structures on the strategies of citizen protest on Schiermonnikoog.

Textual methods can give an insight in the strategies of the movement, as they are published in media documentary and official documents of the involved stakeholders. Oral methods can be used to create a deeper insight in the underlying frames and motivations that caused the use of specific strategies and to discover strategies that couldn't be discovered by using textual analysis. A more detailed description and explanation of the used methods is given below.

3.2.1. Single-Case Study: Schiermonnikoog

In order to answer the discussed research question, an in-depth study of a single case will be conducted. The researcher has close connections to the island of Schiermonnikoog, north in the Netherlands, since she has worked and lived there during the summers for several years. Recent discussions about test drills for gas at the coast of the island of Schiermonnikoog resulted in fierce protest of inhabitant and lovers of the Island (RTV Noord, 2017) and caught the attention of the researcher. Concerns of environmental organizations and citizens of Schiermonnikoog are, among other things, possible earthquakes and subsidence of the Wadden Sea soil as a consequence of the gas-extraction (Dijkema, 1997; RTV Noord, 2017). Because of the relation to and different connections on the island, the researcher has an advantage in retrieving information from different sources on the island. Therefore, this particular case is valuable to answer the research question at hand.

3.2.2. Documentary and media analysis

A documentary analysis, as well as a media analysis, is used to recreate the narrative of the protest, by searching for used and changed strategies of the movement documented by the government and published by the media. This knowledge is necessary to conduct valuable interviews (see below), which will get out the information needed to answer the research question and to build a solid context to the addressed protest process.

The use of documentary and media analysis should be considered carefully, as it can be complex to find relevant sources and analyse them in a proper way in order to reliably join the pieces into a narrative. It should be noted that documents are never inactive as they serve actively in human interaction and can therefore be recruited, manipulated, scorned or hidden (Prior, 2013). Therefore, documents should not only be scanned for its content, but the production, function and circulation should also be considered (Prior, 2003).

Documents used in thesis are all derived from governmental sources and are official Parliamentary Papers. These documents are used to reconstruct the debates and decisions made in the House of Representatives regarding the gas-drillings of Schiermonnikoog.

However, where media sources can be very valuable in distinguishing the storyline of the protest, the researcher should recognize that information in these sources can be incomplete, biased, and therefore be unreliable. Nevertheless, in this study media sources are used to reconstruct the storyline, though multiple media sources on the events are checked to enlarge the reliability of the sources. Also, by comparing the media sources, Parliamentary Papers and interviews, influences of the media can be distinguished.

The information on this analysis can predominantly be found in *Chapter 4.1.* and *Chapter 4.2.2.*

3.2.3. Interviews

Dunn (2016) distinguished four reasons for research interviews: fill the gap of knowledge other methods can't bridge, investigate complex behaviours and motivations, collect a diversity of meaning, opinion and experience, or when a method needs to show respect for and empower the people who provide the data. He notifies that one of the biggest strengths of interviewing is that it can discover what is most important for the informant. Also, it becomes directly clear when a question is misplaced, and personal opinions and conclusions of the researcher can be checked, verified and further explored.

To discover the use and choice of strategies of the movements this method can fill the – possible – gap of knowledge where a documentary analysis and a media analysis may not cover all the insights on these strategies.

It is mentioned before that only the perceived opportunities play a role in the decisions of a movements to undertake action and how. Therefore, the following definition of perceived

opportunities is used: *'dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action by affecting their expectations for success or failure'* (Tarrow, 1994: 85 in Goodwin & Jasper, 2003). The only way to discover these precise expectations for success or failure – and thus the relevant political opportunities – is to ask the civic actors involved in this protest about these incentives and expectations.

Most importantly, as pointed out by Dunn (2016), this way the aspects – both the strategies and the political opportunities – of the protest most important to the movements can be discovered.

Three forms of interviews can be distinguished: structured, unstructured and semi-structured (Dunn, 2016). Where the purpose of this research is to discover incentives for people to undertake action and especially how they undertake action, and how these are influenced by political opportunities perceived by civic actors, a semi-structured interview will give the purest and most relevant information on this subject: questions are not totally fixed, nor are they totally open. In these interviews it is important that respondents can give a complete overview of the protest from their own interpretation, as discover structures and strategies that may not be recognized as so at first hand. To avoid steering participants in certain directions, the precise purpose and goal of the research will not be shared in advance of the interview. Each interview will start with the question to share the respondent's chronological story of the protest. The remaining questions within the interview will be built upon this personal story to give clarification on the answers and create a deeper insight in the feelings of the respondent. This way it becomes clear which actions are most important to the different actors within the process, whereupon underlying motivations for and feelings relating these actions can be uncovered. A list of potential questions to reach this goal can be found in *Appendix 1*. Of course, it is important to keep the respondent on the right track, leading to the answers of the research topic (Weiss, 1994 in Della Porta, 2014), but are *'most useful and powerful when they are used to discover how the respondent sees the world. This objective of the method makes it essential that testimony be elicited in as unobtrusive, non- directive manner as possible'* (McCracken 1988: 21, in Della Porta, 2014).

The interviews will be analysed using coding a technique. Interviews will be recorded – with permission of the respondent – and will be transcribed into a smooth story (verbatim transcription), so no repetitions, hesitations, stuttering etc. will be included. This is because these details will not lead to a more complete answer to the research questions. Labels will be given to different words, sentences and/or sections to distinguish different subjects within the interview and create a clear overview on how often and why these subjects are mentioned by the respondent. These overviews will be used to relate subjects to each other within and between the interviews. Overviews will be given in *Chapter 4*.

It should however be noticed that these transcripts are not completely transparent. It is a change of medium – from verbal expression to written one – and therefore bits and pieces of the information can get lost whilst transcribing (Kvale, 1996).

The coding scheme used for analysing the interviews can be found in *Appendix 2*. In advance of each interview, information on the recording of interviews and privacy-related information is discussed with the interviewees, see *Appendix 3*.

The selection of interviewees is based on the documentary and media analysis to reveal civic actors involved in the protest. Also, in conducting the interviews some new respondents are added, recommended by the originally chosen respondents. An overview of selected respondents and their corresponding tables can be found in *Table 1*. The order of interviews is roughly based on the moment actors got involved in the particular protest addressed in this study: first involved, first interviewed. However, this order is not totally accurate, due to logistic difficulties and time limits.

Respondent	Organisation	Date	Table
A	Natuurmonumenten	09-05-2018	Table 4
B	Waddenvereniging	17-05-2018	Table 5
C	Natuurmonumenten	18-05-2018	Table 6
D	Natuurmonumenten	24-05-2018	Table 7
E	Horizon	09-06-2018	Table 8
F	Horizon	20-06-2018	Table 9

Table 1: Overview of interviewees

Unfortunately, two organisations that were involved in this protest didn't had the time and possibilities to participate in an interview. Information on these parties regarding this protest is therefore derived from documentation on their websites and information through diverse media channels like newspapers, documentaries and so forth.

3.2.4 Unit of analyses

Yin (2003) points out that the unit of analysis is specified by defining spatial boundary, theoretical scope and timeframe. The spatial boundary of this case study is the island of Schiermonnikoog and the exploration area for gas-drills (see *Figure 3*). The theoretical scope is the result of the literature study of *Chapter 2* with the following key concepts: Civil society movements, opportunity structures, sustainability and NIMBY. The timeframe starts from the first announcements of the desire to drill for gas that can be found in the official documentation of the government until the last moment of oral data gathering. The results are based on the perceptions of respondents during that period.

3.2.5. Framework of data collection techniques

Question	How are civil society movements and opportunity structures conceptualized and linked to each other from a theoretical perspective?	Which strategies do the civil society movements in Schiermonnikoog use, and why?	Do the strategies of the civil society movements change over time and, if so, how and why?	Which opportunities and constraints are perceived by the civil society movement in Schiermonnikoog?	Which factors influenced the (changed) strategies of the civil society movements in Schiermonnikoog?
Which information	Insights from existing literature	Information on used strategies	Information on changing strategies and the reasons for these changes	Information on the perceived political opportunity structures by the civil society movement in Schiermonnikoog	Information on the factors influencing the strategies of the civil society movement in Schiermonnikoog
Moment of retrieval	Start of research	March, April, May	March, April, May	March, April, May	March, April, May
Source	Scientific papers, books, and journals	Interviews with involved actors, Parliamentary Papers, newspapers	Interviews with involved actors, Parliamentary Papers, newspapers	Interviews with involved actors, Parliamentary Papers, newspapers	Interviews with involved actors, Parliamentary Papers, newspapers
Method of retrieval	Literature research	Semi-structures interviews, documentary analysis, media analysis	Semi-structures interviews, documentary analysis, media analysis	Semi-structures interviews, documentary analysis, media analysis	Semi-structures interviews, documentary analysis
Documentation method	Theoretical framework	Documentary overview	Transcripts, documentary overview	Transcripts, documentary overview	Transcripts, documentary overview

Table 2: Framework of data collection techniques

3.3 Ethics and Positionality

Protecting the privacy, well-being and dignity of participants is a critical part of conducting good research. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the well-being of research subjects and the proper bounds of interaction and intervention with humans (Brooks, 2013). While this research uses interviews as main data-collection technique, the wellbeing of the interviewees should be taken into account.

Firstly, before each interview, information of consent is presented to each interviewee (*Appendix 3*), which holds information regarding the interview, recording, anonymity and how the retrieved information will be handled. An interviewee can end the conversation at any time, where the recording can be stopped and deleted. Also, the data is handled anonymously, which means names will not be mentioned in this thesis. This transparency should make the interviewee feel secured and confident in the way their privacy is handled and can decide how much they want to share.

Secondly, the location of each interview is chosen in collaboration with the interviewee, to give them the opportunity to pick a location they feel most comfortable in sharing their story.

Next to this the positionality of the researcher should be considered. The role of the researcher, as a student, can result in differences in age, experience and knowledge between the researcher and the interviewee. Also, part of the interviewees are inhabitants of the island of Schiermonnikoog while the researcher is not. Therefore, the researcher can be placed in an 'outsider' role. However, as mentioned before, the researcher has worked at the island for six years, which makes it possible for the local interviewees to feel more connected to the researcher and possible see her as an 'insider' (Wiederhold, 2015; Zhang, 2017).

Next to actions of the researcher, the personal characteristics can influence the results significantly (Gagnon, 2010). Gagnon (2010) distinguishes three classis types of bias: the holistic illusion, the elite bias and over-assimilation. We can speak of holistic illusion when the researcher observes greater connectedness and consistency to events than they actually have. The elite bias describes the habit of attaching greater weight to information from informants who express themselves clearly than to reports from less articulate informants. And over-assimilation happens when he researcher accepts the facts and perceptions of local informants, surrendering his or her own vision and critical faculties.

4. Case Study Schiermonnikoog

4.1. Context

4.1.1. The Island of Schiermonnikoog



Figure 3: A bird-eye view of the Island of Schiermonnikoog (Dagblad v/h Noorden, 2017)

Schiermonnikoog is situated north of the mainland of the Netherlands and is one of the islands in the Wadden Sea Region (see *Figure 3 & 4*). This region has been assigned as UNESCO World Heritage Site, because of its unique natural characteristics, but in past decades the region has been influenced by human interventions as coastal protection, land claim from the sea and drainage of wetland for agriculture, exploitation of natural resources from hunting and fishing to the extraction of groundwater, gas and oil industrialisation at port locations and tourism at the islands (Kabat et al., 2012).

Schiermonnikoog has been one of the 20 National Parks in the Netherlands since 1989, because of its diversity of flora and fauna and is managed by the national organisation Natuurmonumenten. Owners, managers and other stakeholders make sure extraordinary flora and fauna of the National Parks in the Netherlands are being protected and preserved (Samenwerkingsverband Nationale Parken, 2018). The only village at the island – also called Schiermonnikoog – has just 933 inhabitants, which makes it the smallest populated island of the Frisian Wadden-Islands (VVV Schiermonnikoog, 2018).



Figure 4: Location Schiermonnikoog

4.1.2. Portrait of the protesters

In order to create a clear understanding of the different protesters and their positions in the process, a brief description of the involved organisations is given below.

Natuurmonumenten

Natuurmonumenten is an organisation, which protects natural sites, treasured landscapes and cultural heritage in the Netherlands. They have over 700.000 members and donators, and many volunteers and partner companies, who support the organisation in reaching its goals. Thirteen committees and 84 representatives divided over the country decide on the priority themes of the organisation (Natuurmonumenten, 2018).

Waddenvereniging

The Waddenvereniging is a national organisation, which defends the interests of the Wadden Sea area. It a private and independent organisation and has around 40.000 members and donators (Waddenvereniging, 2018).

Horizon

Horizon is a group consisting out of inhabitants of the island of Schiermonnikoog that were united by efforts of Natuurmonumenten. The core of the movements exists of eight people, with another 8 surrounding these eight.

Urgenda

Urgenda is an organisation which works together with companies, governments, civil society organisations and private individuals to accelerate the sustainable development of the Netherlands. The core of the organisation consists of fifteen people, who work together with regional workers in every province (Urgenda, 2018).

Milieudefensie

The goal of Milieudefensie is to develop the Netherlands as a sustainable and honest country. Through diverse campaigns they work on the biggest problem in this world today, climate change. They are an independent organisation and have over 91.000 members and donators (Milieudefensie, 2018).

4.1.3. The case: Gas exploration drillings by ENGIE

End 2009, ENGIE requested permission from the Dutch government for two gas exploration drillings in the sea – about 5 km offshore, in an area called Schooner and Crab-East, north of the island Schiermonnikoog (see *Figure 5*). Around June 2013, inhabitants of the island, stakeholders and others interested had the opportunity to read the introductory memorandum for the environmental impact assessment, which was complemented with an information briefing by ENGIE. Several inhabitants, environmental organisations and others are present, and, in the beginning of 2014, they decide to organise themselves into a movement called “*Horizon*”. Different actions targeted towards the government are being used to prevent these drillings from taking place. However, in the beginning of June 2016, after many consultation meetings with several stakeholders and research of the area, Minister Kamp of Economic Affairs granted an exploration license. Immediately a motion was filed from the House of Representatives against this decision. These motions were carried, as the majority of the House of Representatives agreed with this motion. During consultation meetings about a new Mining Act, inhabitants of the island of Schiermonnikoog organised a protest in The Hague, part of them dressed as monks. After this protest they presented a petition to Minister Kamp, signed with 27.000 signatures. Different websites and an online petition are launched. In July, different organisations appealed to the Council of State against the license for exploration drillings. In the following months two meetings are organised between the protesters and ENGIE. As a result, ENGIE decides to postpone the decision on exploration drillings at least during these conversations and are impressed by the fierce protest from society. In October 2016, Minister Kamp visits Schiermonnikoog and it assures that the exploration drillings should be at least 18 km offshore, as a result of the new Mining Act. However, later this month, he returns to his statement that there are no reasons for denying ENGIE to perform their exploration drills on the original location. In February 2017 the Council of State decides the concerns of the organisations and some inhabitants of the island to be unfounded, where ENGIE receives their final approval for the exploration drills. Nevertheless, the same day

ENGIE decides to withdraw from the gas exploration and return the environmental licenses to the Ministry of Economic Affairs.

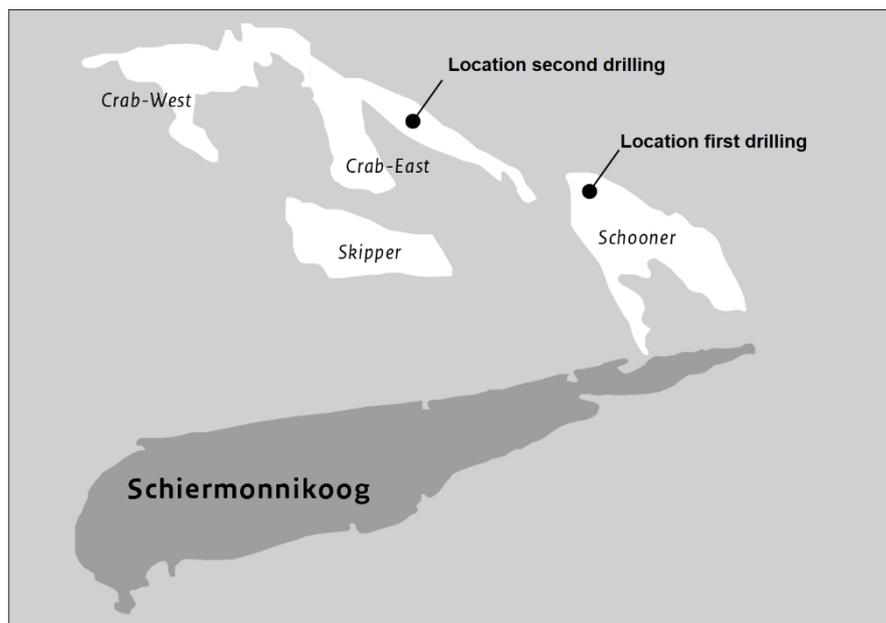


Figure 5: (Expected) Gas-fields and locations of drillings north of Schiermonnikoog (Staatscourant, 2016).

The following table shows the chronological and more in-depth development of the process on the exploration drills by ENGIE. This information is derived from official documents of the stakeholders and media publications.

Date	Stakeholder	Action	Arguments/Goals
End 2009	ENGIE	Request for permission to perform exploration drills.	Determine whether economical gas extraction is possible in the area
June 2016	Ministry of Economic Affairs	License for exploration drills granted to ENGIE.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The gas platform will be temporary, and therefore not cause any visual pollution to the area. 2. After three years of research and negotiations a final decision is urgent. 3. The drillings will not take place in the World Heritage area.
June 2016	Different members of the House of Representatives	Filed a motion against the licence granted by Ministry of Economic Affairs.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The discussion on the strengthening of the rules of the Mining Act, on behalf of a better protection of nature and environment, are not finished. 2. The exploration drills will be performed in a Natura2000 area, which should be under special protection.

June 2016	Majority of the parties in the House of Representatives (SP, PvdA, GroenLinks, D66, Van Vliet, 50PLUS, Klein, ChristenUnie).	Agreed with the filed motion against the licence for exploration drills, which caused the motion to be carried.	Arguments of the motion (above)
June 2016	Inhabitants, municipality and lovers of Schiermonnikoog	Protest, dressed as monks, against the exploration drills, in The Hague. Presentation of a petition with 27.000 signatures.	Pressuring politics
July 2016	House of Representatives	Amendment of Jan Vos is carried, which will prevent licences for mining activities on the Wadden Islands, in Natura2000 areas and World Heritage areas of the Wadden Sea area will be granted.	The Wadden Sea area is a vulnerable area, which should be under special protection to prevent, for example, possible earthquakes and subsidence of the Wadden Sea soil.
July 2016	Ministry of Economic Affairs	Decides the license of ENGIE is still valid	This license is covered by the old Mining Act.
July 2016	Waddenvereniging, Nationaal Park Schiermonnikoog, Municipality of Schiermonnikoog, 400 citizens	Appealed to the Council of State against the license for exploration drillings.	Consequences of the exploration drillings afterwards is not researched, the Nature2000 area and landscape of Schiermonnikoog can be damaged by the drillings, the majority of the House of Representatives votes against the granted license, the Paris Agreement (Climate Agreement) is not been taken into account in this decision, distortion of habitats caused by light and noise, etc. (Raad van State, 2017)
February 2017	Council of State	Decides the concerns of the organisations, municipality and citizens to be unfounded.	The concerns are unjustified (Raad van State, 2017).
February 2017	ENGIE	Decides to withdraw from exploration drillings north of Schiermonnikoog	Exact reasons are hard to discover, but lack of public support and economic advantages play a role.

Table 3: Chronological overview of actions in the protest

4.2. Results

In this paragraph the results of the different analyses can be found. Firstly, the data collected from analysing the transcribed interviews is illustrated. This is the pure and factual information – to the extent possible – derived from the interviews, without jumping to conclusions. Secondly the data will be related to the literature review, the conceptual model and the context in order to answer the research questions.

Below the individual and chronological stories of every interviewee will be presented. To discover linkages between these separate stories and the concepts explored above, tables are created containing the following concepts: unwanted land-use, action and strategies, political opportunities, political constraints and lessons. These tables provide a summary, as well as divisions and connections between the interviewees.

4.2.1. The protesters story

4.2.1.1. Interviewee A.

Interviewee A. started the story with an application of ENGIE (at that time named GDF Suez) around 20 or 30 years ago. The organisation of interviewee A. had many dialogues, with ENGIE regarding this application, but also one other organisation and the municipality were involved in these conversations. Their main concern was the chance of – a more or less – permanent gas rig (several decades), which would cause long-lasting negative impacts on the visual amenity. A comparison was made to the gas rig which is situated ca. 3 km north of the coast of another Wadden Island Ameland. This wouldn't be the case when there would be exploration drillings, because then the gas rig would be temporary (several months) and as the interviewee stated, this temporary gas rig would only result in minor harmful effects for the environment: *“With explorative drillings, the only thing that happens is that you're looking at an ugly tower, and some harmful effects as helicopters flying over and a little bit of drilling muds. But all of this is very minimal, also because it is only for a short period of time”*.

Interviewee A stated clearly that Natuurmonumenten wasn't fiercely against these exploration drillings. Interviewee A. mentioned the following: *“So yeah, to be completely against... [...] the nature organisations as a collective, when we talk about gas extraction below the Wadden Sea area, stopped resisting. [...] You can't fight that. Juridically speaking.”* The focus here was not to stop the execution of these exploration drills, but to enlarge the distance between the coast of Schiermonnikoog and the location of the gas rig. The parties shared their concerns regarding a permanent gas rig. These included the long-term negative impacts on the visual amenity, but also included several concerns on environmental impacts. Interviewee A. mentioned: *“Most important to us was that at some point it became clear that if there would be an actual gas extraction phase, the gas rig would be out of sight. Regarding the exploration drillings there was no discussion about*

subsidence of the soil, because that doesn't play a role there". However, a permanent gas rig, that could be the result of the discovery of gas fields north of Schiermonnikoog through exploration drillings, wouldn't only cause this disruption of the visual amenity, but could also have some serious negative effects on the environment. Actual gas-extraction could cause subsidence of the Wadden Sea soil, which would have a negative effect on the natural processes in the Wadden Sea area. In this conversation they were successful, as Suez decided to enlarge the distance between the gas rig and the coast of Schiermonnikoog. If there would be an extraction phase, at least it would be out of sight. *"This was a victory, especially for the experience of nature."* What was mentioned by interviewee A. as an extraordinary development, was the fact that the new mining act was established with the exact agreements that were made between Suez and Natuurmonumenten. (Knowing: a drilling can be accepted when it is done through an existing gas rig from, for example, the NAM or so, and if this is not possible it has to be situated at a minimum of 18 km off the coast).

Interviewee A. pointed out that the protest against gas-drillings on one of the other Wadden Island (Terschelling) was an important incentive for inhabitants of Schiermonnikoog to revive their own protest: *"In 2015 there was a huge discussion about gas extraction at Terschelling. And not only along the coast, but also at the mainland of the island. This led to an enormous fuss. A public revolt, so to speak and a big campaign on the island. Well, this has been successful, because the minister at that time took the decision, let's not do this. [...] And this led to an, well, a revival also at Schiermonnikoog, namely, ooh, these developments over there, what does that mean for the application and its examination here?"*

As a result, interviewee A. pointed out that the point of view and strategy of his/her organisation changed during the process. When the protests against gas drillings on another Wadden Island arose, the organisation turned on their course and adopt the position of being fiercely against the exploration drillings. Because these protests were supported, and the group against the gas drillings became greater, the organisation chose the popular way, according to interviewee A. Interviewee A. notes: *"Suddenly, it was another world"*.

What also was an important development regarding gas extraction was the discussion about the energy-transition, that was currently going on in the Netherlands, but also in the world. As pointed out by interviewee A.: *"In the light of the energy-transition, should it be the case that you approve of new drillings for gas, when we all want to stop using gas?"* This was a new element in the process, because in 2014 the discussions about this energy-transition weren't as heated as they were at this point (2016).

What was seen as political constraint by interviewee A. during this process, was a granted subsidy by the government in a "Waddenfund". According to interviewee A.: *"...it makes it harder to resist it fiercely, when there is 800 million for nature restoration"*.

The most important lesson learned for interviewee A. is knowing what is going in a social environment: “Yes, notice the emotions in the context and try to use those emotions [...] You can use, yes it doesn’t sound nice but, people’s ‘gut-feelings’”.

Concept	Interviewee A.	Essence
<i>Unwanted Land-Use</i>	- Long lasting negative impacts on the visual amenity of the island from the beach	- Visual disturbance
	- Subsidence of the Wadden Sea soil - Negative effects on the natural processes of the Wadden Sea area	- Local environmental damage (NIMBY)
<i>Action & Strategies</i>	- Several conversations with ENGIE	- Contact with ENGIE
	- Publishing the stance of the organisation (fiercely against) online	- Media
<i>Political Opportunities</i>	- There was an ongoing discussion about adopting renewable and sustainable energy resources, where gas-extraction was undesirable	- Energy transition
	- A successful protest against gas-drillings on another Wadden island led to a <i>public revolt</i> and <i>revival</i> at Schiermonnikoog, as chances were seen for the case Schiermonnikoog	- Success story elsewhere
<i>Political Constraints</i>	- Juridically it was not possible the fight the gas extraction	- Juridical constraints
	- It was harder to protest against the government, as they had subsidized nature restoration recently	- Subsidies
<i>Lessons</i>	- Trying to understand what is going on in the social environment and using those emotions can help to be successful in these cases	- Societal awareness is important

Table 4: Simplified coding scheme Interviewee A.

4.2.1.2. Interviewee B.

For Interviewee B. the story starts with an invitation of ENGIE to talk about their plans to drill for gas north of Schiermonnikoog. Natuurmonumenten was also present at these conversations. The greatest concern mentioned by interviewee B. was the risk of pollution. *“You work with harmful substances, there are harmful substances rising up to the surface. Emissions of methane and other gases, well, all that isn’t very pleasant.”* This is noted by interviewee B. as a global concern, where global warming is caused by these gases. However, he/she also notice the small role of one gas-field in the global warming problems.

Hence, the local aspect is mentioned, where interviewee B. stated the gas rig as being harmful to the local environment. Explicit concerns regarding the Wadden Sea area are the available amounts of sediment. The eco-system of the Wadden Sea area is being influenced, when there is not enough sand to drain the mudflats. This is related to possible subsidence of the Wadden Sea soil. Next to this, the activities concerning the installation of the gas rig are being seen as harmful to sea life. Also, the negative impact on the visual amenity is pointed out by interviewee B.

Furthermore, interviewee B. points out that the Waddenvereniging always searches for the other parties that are involved in the process. They then engage in conversations with these other parties, to see if and how they can work together. Strength in numbers is mentioned as an important strategy to make an impact. Also, interviewee B. notes that it is important to know the point of view of other involved parties, also when you will not be working together, in order to create a solid strategy. Also, the Waddenvereniging filed a suit to the court. As explained by interviewee B., the most important arguments used there, are based on the certain emission restriction laws. As he/she noted, these are not per se arguments which are the core of the concerns. *“That is how things work juridically. You have to consider the rules and regulations to turn these to your own advantage”*.

In the lawsuit mentioned above, rules and regulations are studied to see if they can be used in the trial. However, interviewee B. points out that they perceived only small opportunities in this lawsuit. *“We thought there are some things that are worthwhile, but we don’t know if we’ll make it, so then you continue to litigate, because we have to use this small window of opportunity”*. Even though the organisation of interviewee B. did sue the ministry of Economic Affairs, they saw many constraints in their case. The specific features of this gas drilling made it hard to build a solid case. The planned gas rig would be situated just outside of the Waddensea area, and in the North Sea area. As interviewee B. stated, the Waddensea is protected a bit more than the North Sea area, however he/she pointed out: *“Laws concerning the protection of nature are based on a minimal protection. [...] A lot is tolerated in a nature reserve, before the government will say this is too much. Hence, you can harm it to some extent.”* He/she mentions that nature doesn’t get a royal protection, especially not the landscape. Another constraint was perceived in the earnings of the government regarding the gas drillings. The minister of Economic Affairs was seen an insensitive person regarding nature

aspects and stories of inhabitants, which was perceived by interviewee B. as a constrain in this protest.

The media was seen as an opportunity to influence the political parties. “*When something is properly noticed by the media, then politics are very sensitive to these things. Then political parties will think, we have to do something about this*”. The greatest impact according interviewee B., was created by the media and the societal resistance of the community towards these activities. “*I think what worked very well in this case, were the inhabitants of the island who were very involved and voiced their opposition very clearly. That really helped here*”. Interviewee B. learned during this protest that the lack of societal acceptance in these particular cases (unsustainable energy sources etc.) can be used to activate the population in these processes to achieve a greater impact.

Concept	Interviewee B.	Essence
<i>Unwanted Land-Use</i>	- Risk of pollution caused by harmful substances and gases needed for this gas extraction, which enhances global warming	- Global environmental damage (NIABY)
	- Possible subsidence of the Wadden sea soil - Negative influences on the natural systems of the Wadden sea	- Local environmental damage (NIMBY)
	- Negative impact on the visual amenity	- Visual disturbance
<i>Action & Strategies</i>	- Working together with other parties involved in the protest: strength in numbers	- Collective action
	- Law suit, based on certain emission restriction laws, to turn these to their advantage	- Law suit
	- Several conversations with ENGIE	- Contact with ENGIE
<i>Political Opportunites</i>	- Juridically there were some opportunities in rules and regulation	- Juridical opportunities
	- Media can be used to influence political parties	- Media
	- Local resistance can help to influence political parties	- Local resistance
<i>Political Constraints</i>	- Laws concerning the protection of nature are based on a minimal protection, thus it is difficult to build a solid case in this matter	- Juridical constraints
	- The minister of Economic Affairs was seen as an insensitive person regarding nature aspects and stories of inhabitants	- Insensitivity of Economic Affairs
	- Earnings of the governments regarding the gas-drillings	- Earning of the government in gas-drillings
<i>Lessons</i>	- The lack of societal acceptance in these cases regarding unsustainable energy resources can be used to activate the population	- Local resistance is important
	- The greatest impact was created by the media	- Media is important

Table 5: Simplified coding scheme Interviewee B.

4.2.1.3. Interviewee C.

Starting his story, interviewee C. mentions that he/she wasn't involved whole process, but roughly the second half. Pointed out is that this drilling wasn't a priority to Natuurmonumenten, because it was only a request for an exploration drilling and they had a lot going on regarding public affairs. However, at some point the license for these explorative drillings was granted, the Paris Agreement was signed, and commotion arose on some social media, as Twitter where different parties found each other: *"In no time there was this ambiance of this is unacceptable, drilling for gas next to a National Park, that's crazy, we shouldn't allow this, let's stop it"*. This is also when the collaboration between the inhabitants and Natuurmonumenten started. Interviewee C. explained that changing societal conditions can lead to this turnaround in points of view.

By that time there was a collaboration between not only Natuurmonumenten and the inhabitants, but also Urgenda, the national Environmental Protection (Milieudefensie), the Waddenvereniging were involved. Interviewee C. also mentioned that ENGIE, before GDF Suez, changed their name because they wanted to create a sustainable image for the company: *"They wanted to become a modern, sustainable energy cooperation. Well, the last thing they wanted was this attention leading to negative publicity"*. So, then ENGIE started to contact all these stakeholders to talk about how this should proceed. Interviewee C. mentioned that it started off with just plain points of view from their side: they didn't want ENGIE to use the license and in exchange they could stimulate positive publicity regarding ENGIE cancelling their plans. However, for ENGIE this wasn't that simple, hence they already invested a lot of money. The main argument of Natuurmonumenten according to interviewee C. was the status of Schiermonnikoog as a National Park. As a National Park nature is the first priority and these drillings could have a negative impact on nature, knowing subsidence of the Wadden Sea soil which can result in an insufficient sand supply regarding the Wadden Sea. Another point that was brought forward was the pristine character of the island, as one of the least places in the Netherlands. This had to do with the experience of the island.

The group of inhabitants are mentioned by interviewee C. as a key role player in this protest, and Natuurmonumenten knew from the beginning they were the most important actor. *"We always used the strategy, that this protest should come from the island itself and not from Natuurmonumenten. We were involved, and we were supporting them. But in publicity the 'Horizon-group' was the forefront"*. They adopted this strategy, because interviewee C. believed the impact of citizens is often greater than of professional parties. *"Yes, ofcourse Urgenda is against gas drillings. You don't have to publish that in the newspaper. But if there 200 inhabitants of Terschelling and Schiermonnikoog march to The Hague dresses as monks, that's more impressive I think"*. Also, the connections of Natuurmonumenten to the press and the government were considered to be channels the local civilization couldn't use by themselves. Also the image the society could establish was believed to contribute: *"... Schiermonnikoog, against large capitalist interests and political The Hague"*.

Interviewee C. pointed out that juridically, the ministry of Economic Affairs followed the procedure for these cases correctly. *“It is correct, but it is not right”*. Also, the respective minister was seen as very smug and formal. Therefore, interviewee C. explained they saw their chances in instigate ENGIE itself. This insight came somewhere during the process, and they changed their strategy towards ENGIE. At the beginning interviewee C. did believe juridical arguments could have made a difference. However, he/she mentioned: *“You can gather all the experts, but they’re all able to contradict one another. You can always find a morphologist who says it is terrible, and another who says it’s not too bad. But with these kinds of things you really don’t want to start that discussion, because then the public opinion will drop out. People don’t know what the truth is. So, you just have to focus on the fact that we shouldn’t do this. And that’s that.”* Regarding their strategy towards ENGIE, their greatest asset was their capability to harm ENGIE with negative publicity.

In the end it is made clear that is important in the strategy to tell a story, even though that not always covers the most important aspects of their own arguments. *“You definitely try to gain the support of people in your story. But for yourself it isn’t only about emotions. You have to know that there is something serious going on.”*

Concept	Interviewee C.	Essence
<i>Unwanted Land-Use</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Possible subsidence of the Wadden Sea soil - Negative influences on the natural processes of the Wadden sea area - Negative influences on the pristine character of the island 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local environmental damage (NIMBY) - Visual disturbance
<i>Action & Strategies</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Collaboration between Natuurmonumenten, Milieudefensie, the Waddenvereniging and the inhabitants of Schiermonnikoog - Conversations with ENGIE - Make the inhabitants of Schiermonnikoog the core of the protest to create a solid story which would be appealing to the public - Using media channels to spread this story 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Collective action - Contact with ENGIE - Local resistance - Media
<i>Political Opportunites</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Changed societal conditions as the discussion regarding the energy transition made the drillings controversial - Gain the support of people in the rest of the Netherlands to influence The Hague using a strong image and the media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Energy transition - Gaining support - Media
<i>Political Constraints</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - All the juridical procedures were followed correctly by the Ministry of Economic Affairs - The minister of Economic Affairs was a smug and formal man 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Juridical constraints - Insensitivity of Economic Affairs
<i>Lessons</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Telling a story turned out to be very effective in the protest 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Telling a story is important

Table 6: Simplified coding scheme Interviewee C.

4.2.1.4. Interviewee D.

It all started in 2013, as explained by interviewee D. In 2013 ENGIE visited the island for the first time, with a delegation. And people on the island were quite shocked: *“Because a whole group of people came here, all with a tie, all in black. [...] And it was impressive that they came with so many. And that is was very organised. It didn’t fit on the island at all.”* That day people could see the first Environmental Impact Assessment and raise any objections they had. Interviewee D. explained that their greatest concern was the distance between the gas rig and the coast line of Schiermonnikoog. This was at that point 7 km: *“That is really close. 7 km is nothing, then you’ll have a large tower right in front of you. You can almost swim there. So the objection was that the horizon wouldn’t be open anymore. And that is characteristic for National Park Schiermonnikoog. The vastness, the nature and that is so very pure.”* Second, there was the fear for the effects of the chemicals they use during the drillings, thirdly mentioned was the fear for earthquakes and interviewee D. mentioned the possible nuisance of helicopters flying back and forth to the gas rig. What also was an important argument according to interviewee D. was the fact that Schiermonnikoog is a National Park and a world heritage site: *“... if this project goes through, it means that are only labels to attract tourists. But in environmental protection it worth nothing. That is a big disappointment. Not only to us, but also to the inhabitants.”*

He/she explained that inhabitants of the island expected immediately that Natuurmonumenten would undertake action to stop these plans. Hence, interviewee D. contacted some people to see if they could come together and do something. Already at that point, as explained by interviewee D., it was clear for Natuurmonumenten that they shouldn’t be in the spotlight. *“If we’re going to scream it will create more problems than it will solve. So, we made the people on the island understand, that they live here, and that they should make clear that they’re against these plans.”* However, after this first meeting there were only around 10 people that were willing to put some effort in this protest.

Also, interviewee D. points out that ENGIE didn’t seem very sensitive to their objections. *“That evening was purely formal. Because it is obligated.”* However, they continued their protest collecting signatures to put pressure on ENGIE. They believed they did have some opportunities to influence the political parties. Some political parties supported the protest and encouraged them to continue their efforts. Nevertheless, interviewee D. points out that the minister of Economic Affairs – who was in charge of this case – wasn’t sensible at all: *“But that just the kind of man you cannot move.”* Interviewee D. explained that ENGIE was changing their course towards greener, more sustainable ways. An important strategy was to create awareness of this case, to get the whole country involved in this story. However, not everyone was willing to support, as these projects also deliver job opportunities.

A change in strategy is made during the process. They realised it had more impact to focus on ENGIE itself, rather than the political arena. *“Because, politicians are just ranting. [...] To*

close the deal, contact with the energy cooperation's themselves is way more efficient." Hence, interviewee D. does point out that a combination of strategies is necessary. *"You need them. In the beginning it was on tv, it was alive. You can't do without. The debate was on tv. You have to involve those people, the politicians. For publicity."* In the end interviewee D. explained that media has played a very important role in this protest, and that it is important in every protest. Also, the struggle during this protest was mobilizing the inhabitants. *"It is very difficult to bring all these different sorts of people on the island together. To create a story from the heart of the island."* What is also brought up as an important factor, is the fact that Natuurmonumenten needs the government to create and preserve an attractive and beautiful National Park. This made it harder for them to protest against the government.

Concept	Interviewee D.	Essence
<i>Unwanted Land-Use</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The gas rig would be too close to the island and would disturb the pure characteristics of the island - Risk of pollution by using chemicals during the drillings - Fear for earthquakes - Possible nuisance caused by helicopters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Visual disturbance - Local environmental damage (NIMBY) - Dangers and nuisance for the local inhabitants
<i>Action & Strategies</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Placing the local inhabitants in the spotlight of the protest - Create awareness by using the media - Several conversation with ENGIE 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local resistance - Media - Contact with ENGIE
<i>Political Opportunites</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Some political parties supported the protest - With involving the politics, publicity could be created 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Political support - Media
<i>Political Constraints</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The minister of Economic Affairs wasn't sensible to the protest 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Insensitivity of Economic Affairs
<i>Lessons</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Contact with ENGIE was more efficient than expected - Media played a bigger role than expected - Mobilizing protesters and locals was learned to be very difficult 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Contact with ENGIE was very efficient - Media is important - Mobilizing is difficult

Table 7: Simplified coding scheme Interviewee D.

4.1.2.5. Interviewee E.

For interviewee E. the story started with the appeal of Natuurmonumenten to undertake action against the plans of ENGIE. A lot of concerns were mentioned: visual disturbance, dangers of subsidence of the sea soil, rising water levels, the vulnerability of the area, dangers for flora and fauna, insufficient knowledge of the dangers of earthquakes and chances of pollution. But there was one overall mindset according to interviewee E.: *“Don’t do this in a world heritage site, can’t you go and play somewhere else?”* Also, the bigger earthquakes in Groningen didn’t happen yet, and the minister of Economic Affairs was described by interviewee E. as a man that was talking a lot, but actually wanted to drill as soon as possible. He/she made clear that they didn’t trust the government and the big intergovernmental organisations involved, as they had been lying about the effects of gas drillings before. It should be noted that interviewee E. has been protesting before and works in media-related fields, which causes him/her to have a broad network within these fields. Interviewee E. firstly created a broad coalition of parties which were, in his/her knowledge, sensitive for these topics. The inner circle is described: Urgenda, Milieudefensie, Waddenvereniging, Natuurmonumenten and the group of inhabitants including himself: *“We were very important. You’re nothing without inhabitants.”* Interviewee E. led the group during this process.

It was pointed out that the inhabitants were hard to mobilize, because everyone is always working in hospitality. So, there was a small group of inhabitants active, but *“the strategy was to make everyone think the whole island was protesting, that we had an enormous group.”* With the media-background of interviewee E., he/she knew it was important to create a clear image, which would attract camera crews. A logo was created containing a monk (See Figure 6) and when they went to protest in The Hague they dressed up as monks (Monnik, in Schiermonnikoog, means monk; see Figure 7).

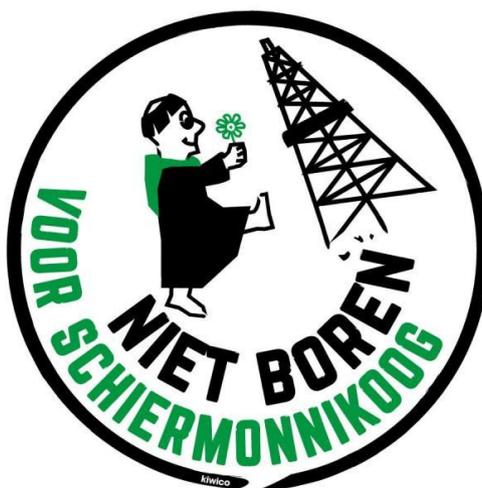


Figure 6: Protest-image of the Horizon group (Waddenpost, 2016) (*“Don’t drill in front of Schiermonnikoog”*)

Interviewee E. arranged that the protest took place during the debate of the House of Representatives regarding the new Mining Act. All the chairmen, representatives, and assistants of the members were contacted, and several press releases were arranged beforehand. This caused some parties in the House of Representatives to develop an amendment which will prevent licences for mining activities on the Wadden Islands, in Natura2000 areas and World Heritage areas of the Wadden Sea area, that is carried (see *Table 3*).



Figure 7: Protest of the Horizon-group in The Hague: “Don’t let us down” (BNR, 2017)

Another channel of interviewee E. was the press. Through his/her connections several regional media were informed and present in The Hague. The protest was silent, and according to interviewee E. that made it impressive: *“And then we marched to the city, silent. Everyone was wondering, what is this? Our hoods were covering our faces, like the Buddhism. And then we stood there, and it had an impact. Everyone started to film and take pictures. And we just stood there and said nothing. Only the sign, with that little man.”*

The protest in The Hague was identified by interviewee E. as the point that the whole discussion started to “boil”, because of all the media attention. After this protest, the Horizon group started to put pressure on ENGIE. As interviewee E. stated: *“They are vulnerable. [...] They are in trouble, their shares are dropping, they are in transition. The new CEO decided, we have to become sustainable.”* So, the group contacted ENGIE and they arranged some meetings to talk about the possibilities. They discussed what ENGIE could get in return, when they wouldn’t perform the drillings. But, in these meetings (also with Urgenda, Milieudefensie, Waddenvereniging and Natuurmonumenten) they also started to put pressure on ENGIE, using the negative publicity they it would evoke. In the end, as interviewee E. pointed out, it wasn’t profitable for ENGIE to start the drillings. *“They said it had to do with the public opinion, societal support and economy. Just the money. Do we get it back? The costs became greater and if the financial gain is disappointing we’ll be loss-making, so we’ll withdraw.”*

Interviewee E. stated that their success was the result of the synchronicity of all the different parties in the protest. He/she also mentioned that the protest was firstly focused on the government, but only to get publicity. *“You can’t be successful with the government.”* The argument that had the most effect was: *“... the emotional value, the connotation that is attached to Schiermonnikoog, a World Heritage site, the last piece of pure nature...”*. However, the government wasn’t sensible to this argument.

Interviewee E. explained that he/she learned that it was profitable to communicate with the energy-cooperation itself and to focus their protest on them. But it also helped to focus on the political parties and the constant publication of their actions: *“You have to let them know, we’re knocking on the door, we are working on it”*. Also, interviewee E. points out that the image they created had a great impact: *“Image is so important. We are living in a visual culture. And that symbol, the monk, the pristine character, men and women on bear feet against a giant. That is beautiful.”*

Concept	Interviewee E.	Essence
<i>Unwanted Land-Use</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Schiermonnikoog is a world heritage site which should be protected from these activities - Danger for flora and fauna - Risk of pollution - Dangers of subsidence of the Wadden Sea soil - Visual disturbance from the beach - Risk of earthquakes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local environmental damage (NIMBY) - Visual disturbance - Dangers for the local inhabitants
<i>Action & Strategies</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Create a broad coalition of parties - Create an appearance that the whole island of Schiermonnikoog was protesting - Silent protest in The Hague - Create a clear image, which would attract the media (the kicking monk) - Contacting the press about their actions to create awareness - Put pressure on chairmen, representatives and assistants in the House of Representatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Collective action - Media - Local resistance - Creating an image - Direct pressure on the government
<i>Political Opportunites</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By protesting in the Hague and pressuring the government, media attention was created 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Media - Creating an image
<i>Political Constraints</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The minister of Economic Affairs himself wanted to drill as soon as possible - The government and big intergovernmental organisation were untrustworthy - Influencing the government is unachievable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Insensitivity of Economic Affairs - Unreliability of the government - The government can't be influenced
<i>Lessons</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The inhabitants of Schiermonnikoog were hard to mobilize - Communicating with ENGIE turned out to be very successful - Visualizing the protest was very effective 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mobilizing is difficult - Contact with ENGIE was efficient - Telling a story is effective

Table 8: Simplified coding scheme Interviewee E.

4.1.2.6. Interviewee F.

N.B. It should be noted that interviewee F. has been protesting against gas-drillings since 1987. For interviewee F. the story starts when ENGIE (still GDF in that time) came to the island to present their plans. He/she immediately started to ask if her friend could help to protest during this presentation. So, during this first presentation of ENGIE in the village-hall, they were dressed as monks, made a banner and stood outside. And when they stood there, interviewee F. explained that he/she was very angry: *“People sometimes laugh at the way we looked that day. But we don’t laugh. Well, not in the inside. You also get angry. And beneath that, there is sadness. Because of a probable loss. And that is the beauty of the island.”* Interviewee F. however points out that her greatest concern wasn’t the disturbance of the visual amenity, but the risks and dangers of possible subsidence of the sea soil and next to that, the risks of pollution of the national park. He/she points out that it was no scientific proof for the chances and risks of these factors. Interviewee F. explains that she acted this way during the presentation of ENGIE to create some commotion. He/she didn’t really know if it would have any effect, but he/she was triggered to do something: *“And then I’m pretty radical. They just should keep their hands off Schiermonnikoog. Period.”*

After this first action, interviewee F. reached out to some of other inhabitants, in order to gather a group to protest. He/she stated: *“You get exhausted. I just wanted to do it together, no longer alone. I often did it alone. [...] I thought, the islanders should do something themselves. It is their island. It is our island. And not only ours, but the whole world, it is World Heritage.”* Interviewee F. pointed out that it was hard to keep the Horizon-group active through the whole process. So, when ENGIE came to the island the second time, interviewee F. protested again, with only her friend. *“I wanted to disturb. They wanted to drill, and I wanted to disturb. I wanted to disturb this whole night they had organised”*. Interviewee F. explained that she was still very mad, and she held a spontaneous and emotional speech that night towards ENGIE: *“And I told them to leave, we don’t want you here. What are you doing here? It’s ridiculous. I will file a complaint.”* Interviewee F. did believe this speech effected the people of ENGIE, although she didn’t have any ‘illusions’.

Interviewee F. also wrote several letters to politicians, because he/she believed this could make an impact. He/she prepared these letters by watching the debates regarding the gas extraction in Groningen and he/she read all the public reports regarding gas extraction. *“..., because if I want to say something about it, I should know what I’m talking about.”* And all this knowledge about gas extraction caused interviewee F. to worry most about unknown effects these drillings could have for flora and fauna. Thus, when he/she heard about the new mining act – where it’s still possible to drill beneath the Waddensea, only on a greater distance – it didn’t take her worries away: *“That was very harmful for Schiermonnikoog. And then I just cried. It was just terrible.”* This felt for interviewee F. as a loss and as the end. He/she didn’t have the feeling that they could have an impact on these plans.

Interviewee F. believes that a very important way to have an impact is trying to find a juridical argument. However, in this case he/she felt powerless. “*I just started to scream. I couldn’t do it any longer. I had done everything. I could only scream. I could only be angry. And that’s the emotion.*”

Concept	Interviewee F.	Essence
<i>Unwanted Land-Use</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Risk of possible subsidence of the sea soil - Risk of pollution within a National Park 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local environmental damage (NIMBY)
<i>Action & Strategies</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Protesting dressed up as different related figures, aimed at ENGIE - Create commotion on organised events by ENGIE - Keeping the group of inhabitants active within the protest - Writing letters to several politicians to convince them not to allow these drillings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Collective action - Creating an image - Creating awareness - Direct pressure on the government
<i>Political Opportunites</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Influencing politicians by writing letters to have an impact - Juridical arguments regarding the drillings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Influence political parties - Juridical opportunities
<i>Political Constraints</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - All the ineffective efforts towards the government resulted in a powerless feeling, with no further explicit constraint 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The government can’t be influenced
<i>Lessons</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - It was difficult to mobilize inhabitants and keep them active 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mobilizing is difficult

Table 9: Simplified coding scheme Interviewee F.

4.2.2. Similarities, differences and linkages

In the table below an overview is created regarding the concepts explained in *Chapter 2*, linking the stories of the interviewees to each other.

	Unwanted Land-Use	Action & Strategies	Political Opportunities	Political Constraints	Lessons
A	Visual disturbance	Contact with ENGIE Media	Energy transition	Juridical constraints	Societal awareness is important
	Local environmental damage (NIMBY)		Success story elsewhere		
B	Global environmental damage (NIABY)	Collective action	Juridical opportunities	Juridical constraints	Local resistance is important
		Law suit (direct pressure on the government)			
	Local environmental damage (NIMBY)	Contact with ENGIE	Media (awareness)	Insensitivity of Economic Affairs	Media is important
			Local resistance		
Visual disturbance					
C	Local environmental damage (NIMBY)	Collective action	Energy transition	Juridical constraints	Telling a story is important
		Contact with ENGIE	Gaining support Media (awareness)		
				Local resistance	
	Visual disturbance	Media			
D	Visual disturbance	Local resistance	Political support	Insensitivity of Economic Affairs	Contact with ENGIE was very efficient
	Local environmental damage (NIMBY)	Media	Media (awareness)		
		Dangers and nuisance for local inhabitants	Contact with ENGIE		
					Mobilizing is difficult
E	Visual disturbance	Collective action	Media (awareness)	Insensitivity of Economic Affairs	Mobilizing is difficult
	Local environmental damage (NIMBY)	Media	Creating an image		
				Local resistance	
	Dangers for the local inhabitants	Creating an image		The government can't be influenced	Contact with ENGIE was efficient
		Direct pressure on the government			Telling a story is important
F	Local environmental damage (NIMBY)	Collective action	Influence political parties	The government can't be influenced	Mobilizing is difficult
		Creating an image	Juridical opportunities		
		Creating awareness			
		Direct pressure on the government			

Table 10: Overview of interviews linked to concepts

In the table above, it becomes clear where the stories of interviewees align and differ. This table is used to determine the answers to the research questions in *Chapter 5*. The table shows that for all of the interviewees, NIMBY-concerns are – one of – the form(s) of locally unwanted land-use. Also, the media and awareness are mentioned by a great part of the interviewees regarding both the action and strategies as well as the perceived opportunities. The greater part of the interviewees named the insensitivity of Economic Affairs as an important perceived constraint. Following *Chapter 5* will further discuss the similarities and differences that can be found in *Table 10*.

5. Conclusion and discussion

In this chapter a conclusion will be drawn from the results presented in *Chapter 4*, using the theory and conceptual model explained in *Chapter 2*. The answers to the research questions will be given and discussed on validity and usefulness.

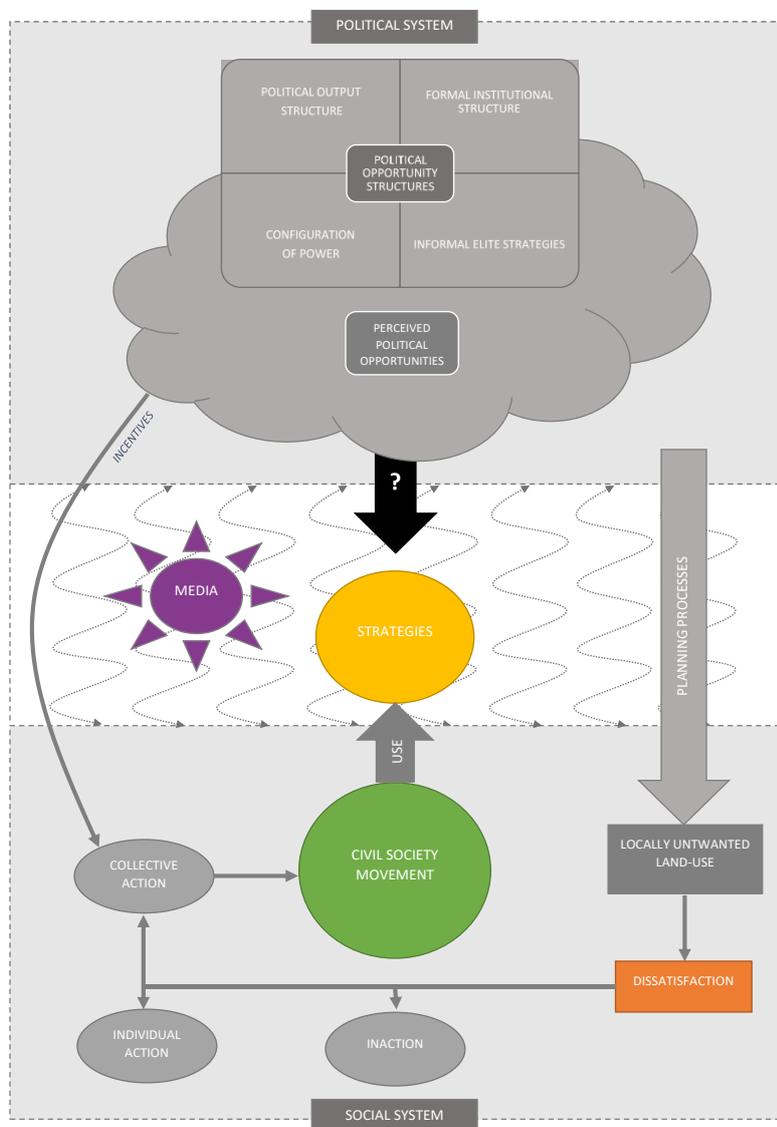


Figure 8: Conceptual model resulting from the literature review

5.1. A Matter of Perception

In *Chapter 2*, four structures are explained regarding political opportunity structures: formal institutional structure (open–closed), informal elite strategies (integrative–exclusive), configuration of power (divided elite–united elite), political output structure (weak–strong). However, next to these relatively stable factors, more fluid concepts as strategy and agency are illustrated. Additionally, protesters are logically only influenced by opportunities that they perceive, which (partly) can be the result of structural opportunities structures but are also

influenced by cultural factors as moral visions, cognitive understandings and emotions. Therefore, political opportunities in this case are seen as dimensions of the political environment that provide *incentives* for people to undertake collective action by affecting their *expectations* for success or failure.

Within the conceptual model these features are embedded in the political system, which as a whole affects the social system. Regarding protest of civil society, locally unwanted land-use, inaction, individual action, collective action and civil society movements exist in this social system. Between these systems, strategies of civil society movements and the media are situated (see *Figure 8*).

Below, the retrieved data will be explored and connected to the conceptual model elements.

5.1.1. Locally Unwanted Land-Use & Dissatisfaction

As a result of planning processes, locally unwanted land-use and dissatisfaction has risen in the case of Schiermonnikoog. Regarding to the locally unwanted land-use that resulted in dissatisfaction and reasons to undertake action, all the interviewees mentioned the risk of environmental damage at a local scale as a concern. Second most mentioned is the visual disturbance caused by the gas rig, for only one of the interviewees this wasn't a concern. During the interviews, both these concerns were repeatedly linked to the protection Schiermonnikoog should get, knowing it is a National Park and a World Heritage Site. Next to that, the pure and pristine character of the island would be extremely harmed by these effects. Hence, where one concern is strategically approached by using the legal status of the island, the other is clearly based on emotions. Both concerns can be linked to the concept of place attachment explained in *Chapter 2*: “*positively experienced bonds, sometimes occurring without awareness, that are developed over time from the behavioural, affective and cognitive ties between individuals and/or groups and their socio-physical environment*”.

It was notable that interviewees with more experience in protesting seemed to worry more about environmental effects than visual. It was also mentioned by several experienced protesters that the visual landscape is not protected enough to stop these kind of projects on legal grounds.

5.1.2. Opportunities, Constraints and Strategies

As we can see in the conceptual model, collective action can arise from dissatisfaction. Where not all the interviewees directly mentioned collective action as a strategy, it became clear in all the interviews that working together was a great part of the protest. The greater part of the interviewees explicitly mentioned contact with ENGIE as a successful strategy, however it seemed to be the case that ENGIE reached out to the inhabitants instead of the other way around. ENGIE contacted protesters to reach an agreement on the gas-drillings, however, the

protesters didn't change their position and started to influence ENGIE in these conversations. Therefore, contact with ENGIE can be seen as a strategy that evolved over time and happened without premeditation. All the interviewees considered contact with ENGIE to be the most important strategy for success.

Secondly, local resistance was pointed out as an intentional and important form of action by several of the interviewees. As this resistance was intentionally used and enlarged in the protest it can be seen as a strategy. This local resistance seemed to be strongly intertwined with attracting the media to raise awareness and creating a strong and recognizable image to the public. Also, interviewees believed that this local resistance together with greater awareness could work as a trigger for the government to revise decisions regarding the drilling license. This dimension of the political domain – namely, the expected receptivity of the government to local resistance and collective action – provided an incentive for people to undertake collective action and is thus an example of a political opportunity. It is however remarkable that only half of the interviewees expressed direct pressure on the government during the protest as a strategy, the other half described they used this local resistance and collective action as a way to create awareness among the rest of society. Where local resistance firstly arises from emotional feelings, in this case it is used as a way to create an appealing storyline to attract media, which will increase awareness of the problem. Thus, at first glimpse emotions play an important part in this protesting case, however when closely examining the process these emotions have been enlarged by protesters and media and used as a way to put extra pressure on the government.

Extraordinary here were the politicians of some political parties, who encouraged the protesters to continue their actions towards the government. This enforced the perception of opportunities and stirred them towards more actions towards the government.

Next to this, strategies are the result of interaction between movements and other actors – e.g. their opponents and the state – and the different expectations they have of 'the other side' create the character of this interaction. It can be argued that these circumstantial features of the protest

There was a great disparity between the interviewees regarding their ideas of political opportunities, some argued they had used the politics to get attention while others felt like they had a chance in influencing the decisions taken regarding the granted licenses.

With several of the interviewees the researcher noticed that they had the feeling that juridically the minister was completely following protocol. Thus, in the juridical area there were little political opportunities perceived by the interviewees. However, many of the interviewees did try to make an impact by pressuring the government legally. This is a discrepancy which could be explained by a changed view of the interviewees regarding the situation and how they handled it exactly after the protest compared to when they were in middle of it. It could be the case that perceived opportunities in the juridical area at the time, but afterwards they realized their efforts in this area didn't lead to great results. This could have coloured their view of the situation at the time. Also, it can be argued that this unsuccessful strategy led to a change in

the perceived opportunities of the interviewees. Knowing, firstly they perceived juridical opportunities, whereas afterwards they concluded they didn't have much juridical influence when trying to influence the government. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that part of the interviewees specifically points out they saw little or none juridical opportunities but used this as a strategy anyway.

During the protest the movements also discovered the insensibility of the minister, which caused them to perceive less political opportunities and more constraints. During this development the movements also slowly changed their strategies towards ENGIE directly. The interviews don't reveal if this was caused by the limited political opportunities, the increased opportunities perceived with ENGIE or a combination of these developments.

Summarized, the interviewees in this research all agreed on the importance of local resistance, or the NIMBY-phenomenon. This was recognized as an opportunity by all of the interviewees, where every interviewee mentioned that the sound of this protest should be coming from the island itself. Also, most of the protesters perceived their opportunities mainly in the governmental/juridical spheres, however these perceptions changed during the protest. On the other hand, constraints were first perceived in approaching ENGIE, where later the movement discovered there were also opportunities here.

5.1.3. Media

Looking at the conceptual model, media plays a centre role in protest. She influences both the social system as well as the political system, and especially the interaction between these systems (see *Figure 8*). The media was explicitly named as a very important factor within the interviewees. Social media were used by all the interviewees and other media were explicitly invited or attracted to actions within the protest by half of the interviewees.

The greater part of the interviewees perceived the media as an opportunity and directly influenced the strategies of protest.

5.2. Answers

Below the plain and factual answers to the research questions are presented.

Which strategies do the civil society movements in Schiermonnikoog use, and why?

Strategy	Reason
Media	Local and national awareness and support was seen as important influence on the government
Collective action	Strength in numbers
Contact with ENGIE	During the protest, the movement discovered there were opportunities to influence ENGIE and their decisions
Creating an image of local resistance	A strong image of local resistance was seen as an important factor in attracting media
Direct pressure on the government	Opportunities in pressuring the government were seen in a juridical sense, but also in convincing the politics that the drillings weren't acceptable.

Table 11: Used strategies and reasons of interviewees, ranked from most mentioned to least mentioned

Do the strategies of the civil society movements change over time and, if so, how and why?

Strategies of civil society movements in Schiermonnikoog did change over time. Several reasons can be distinguished. Where some protesters see opportunities change, their visions are also blurred by emotions and experiences. This results in strategies that sometimes change unconsciously, while other times very consciously.

Which political opportunities and constraints are perceived by the civil society movement in Schiermonnikoog?

Perceived opportunities	Perceived constraints
Media (awareness)	Insensitivity of Economic Affairs
Political support	Juridical constraints
Juridical opportunities	The government can't be influenced
Energy transition	Subsidies
	Earnings of the government in gas drillings

Table 12: Perceived opportunities and constraints of interviewees, ranked from most mentioned to least mentioned.

Which factors influenced the (changed) strategies of the civil society movements in Schiermonnikoog?

It became clear that during the protest the movements in Schiermonnikoog got another perception of political opportunities. Where they first thought they could influence the government, this shifted towards ENGIE. It can thus be stated that the (changed) strategies civil society movements in Schiermonnikoog were influenced by their perception of political opportunities. This perception was changed due to the media and societal circumstances. However, it became clear that protesters were also influenced by experience and emotions in determining a strategy.

How do political opportunity structures for civil society movements influence the strategies of citizen protest to stop unwanted land-use in a small community?

Strategies of civil society movements are influenced by political opportunities in several ways. Firstly, the perception of the protesters plays an important role in the way their strategies are influenced by political opportunities. For example, protesters closely involved in the subject tend to lose themselves in emotions, which results in all sorts of strategies, which are based on the thought of “try everything, maybe something works”. The majority of more routine protesters think very strategically and are greatly influenced by their expectations on success or failure, also from past experiences.

Secondly, some opportunities influence each other. For example, local resistance and media (awareness) relate closely, as well as creating an image. This image of local resistance is important to create awareness through the media. This makes it very complex to determine whether protesters have a very clear vision of their opportunities. Likewise, chosen strategies do not always align with perceived opportunities and constraints. Thus, in this it became clear that – part of – the protesters are influenced greatly by their perceptions of opportunity or constraint in their choice of strategies. However, it can also be concluded that perceptions of opportunities and constraints change quickly and sometimes unconscious. Combined with the role of emotions, societal circumstances and the media explicit relations between these elements are ambiguous.

5.3. Discussion

Firstly, this thesis brings about questions regarding the structural opportunity structures. Existing theories tend to focus on structures, frames and dimensions and definitions. However, are there structures, frames or dimensions that are fixed and stable which are perceived by the protesters and influence the strategies of protest? The discrepancy between strategies and perceived political opportunities makes it imaginable that these opportunities are constantly changing, evolving, disappearing and are even created over time. This assumption can not be answered comprehensively within this thesis but demonstrates that theories on political opportunity structures oversimplify the existence of these structures altogether. Future research could further explore these dynamics within the perceptions of movements and protesters in order to create a greater understanding on their actions and strategies.

Secondly, the role of society as a whole should not be underestimated. Most theories build on expectations of success or failure regarding the political environment, but this thesis shows that there can exist great discrepancies between perceived political opportunities and used strategies. Also, opportunities in this case are also perceived in the social system – see Conceptual Model – which are also influencing the perceived political opportunities. A greater body of literature can be built on how the perception of political opportunities is influenced by expectations of success or failure within society as a whole.

Thirdly, the interviews induce some other questions. Interviewees name strategies which they also notify as lessons afterwards, thus, how aware we're they within the protest in using these strategies? Or was it unconsciously and afterwards they saw it worked, thus they address it as a strategy. And strategies that didn't work, are they named? Maybe not, because they could also occur unconsciously and are 'forgotten' because they didn't have any impact? This story told by the interviewees and then rewritten and examined is colored in many ways. Perceptions, frames, feelings, experiences of both interviewee and researcher should be kept in mind regarding the answers to the research questions and the conclusion drawn from this research.

As mentioned in *Chapter 3*, this research is subject to a problem of generalization as it uses a single-case study. However, this research provides theoretical explanations sufficiently abstract yet grounded in concrete aspects of the case. Therefore, this case-study is valuable on his own. First of all, particularly detailed descriptions on opportunity structures, constraining structures, their influence on strategies of movements, choice, use and change of strategies is produced. This not only broadens the academic understanding about the influences of opportunity structures on the choice and use of strategies of movements, but also provides a comprehensive insight in the choice, use and change of strategies.

This knowledge can be used in other cases to see if similar aspects apply also in other contexts.

6. Reflection

6.1. Process and Outcomes

As for every research, this study experienced ups and downs.

Gathering interviewees turned out to be complex, due to time limits of both the researcher as the desired interviewees, travel distances. This caused the number of interviewees to be of a limited amount, where a greater amount could have resulted in a more detailed understanding of the protest. Predominantly the interviews went very fluently, the interviewees were passionate about the subject – otherwise they wouldn't have protested in the first place – and eager to tell their story. However, asking the right questions in order to retrieve the right answers to the research questions was tricky. During the interviews it became clear that there were several difficulties in retrieving the right information. First of all, the accuracy the answers given by the interviewees should be considered. All of the interviewees had trouble remembering the stages of the protest very detailed, as the process started in 2013, or for one interviewee even several years before that.

Second, a stricter interview guide could have resulted in more information on the actual questions, but could also have resulted in fixed answers, which don't leave much room for the real experience of the interviewee.

Altogether, the researcher is content with the way the interviews worked out. Because there wasn't a really strict interview-guide, the conversations were very familiarly and natural. The familiarity of the researcher with the island and its inhabitants also played a role in this fluent course of the interviews. Also, this way the interviewees weren't steered in certain directions, which resulted in an honest story of all the interviewees, from their very own perception.

Lastly, interviewing during a protest can give a clearer view of the protester's perception at that time. What is the result of time passing, do they even know how they felt exactly during the protest, what their motives were and how they established their strategies? In future research, one should take into account the possible differences in frames and perceptions of movements during and after the protest. Hence, as mentioned before, the timing of the interviews and other methods of data collection should be carefully chosen. This way a greater and more detailed understanding on the choice and use of strategies can be created.

Hence, as mentioned several times before, caution is required while collecting and interpreting data. Not only the information derived from the interviews, but also the interpretations and conclusions drawn from documentary and media sources should be considered carefully. Whereas the researcher tried to reconstruct the narrative of the protest using documents and media publications, it is unreasonable to believe this is the correct story. It has been difficult to gather the appropriate resources, as well as determining when enough sources had been

consulted to complete this research. Continuously during the research new information came across, which influenced the course and outcomes of the research. Therefore, it should be noted that there always is more knowledge to gather around a research subject, and that this research could be expanded with additional resources.

Next to these challenges in collecting and interpreting data, it is valuable to reflect on the process of correctly answering a scientific research question. As a researcher you want to contribute to the theoretical field of knowledge as well as to the practical field. Nevertheless, as mentioned before, generalization of results in case-studies isn't very straightforward and therefore it's easy for a researcher to get lost in desires to bring forth an answer which will contribute significantly to the 'scientific world' and is based on solid knowledge derived from the case. However, determining an answer to the question in a scientific way can be quite a challenge. As mentioned in *Chapter 3* dangers as holistic illusions, the elite bias and over-assimilation are lurking around the corner. In reaching a conclusion, complicated questions arise. How to consider as many data sources as possible without creating an endless and fuzzy story? How to consider irregularities and insecurities without tackling the credibility of the research? However, these kinds of challenges are at the same time most valuable in doing research, as they contribute most to the skills and wisdom of the researcher.

6.2. Contribution for Planning Theory and Practice

This study is of value for planning theory and practice in several ways. First of all, the knowledge yielded in this research creates a greater understanding on which strategies are chosen and/or changed by movements during protest processes and why. This enhances the understanding of the rise and development of movements in society. In a broader approach, this expends the knowledge on human behaviour in society as a whole. Where different processes shape society, protests are an – increasing – part of our society. In order for planners to contribute to this society, it is beneficial to understand as many elements of this society as possible. The results of this study contribute to this understanding as it tries to unravel the complex dynamics of movements and their strategies. In this way planners are a step closer to understanding why people act the way they do and to improving spatial features of our society in a more efficient way.

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8. Appendixes

Appendix 1: Interview Guide

Dissatisfaction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - When and why did you start taking action? Why? - What were your concerns exactly? Why? - What made you worry about the course of events? Why?
Action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How did you respond to your worries? Why? - Which steps did you undertake during this process? Why those? - Who did you involve in your actions? Why?
Strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In which ways did you choose to influence the course of events? - Why these ways? - Did you change your ways during the process? Why?
Impact	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How did you estimate your possibilities to influence the course of events? Why? - Did these possibilities change during the process? Why? - In what ways did you think you could influence the course of events? Why? - Did these ways change during the process? Why? - Did your influence on the course of events match your previous expectations? Why (not)?
Future	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What did you learn from this protest? - Would you change your ways of protests as a result of this one? Why?

Appendix 2: Coding Scheme

<u>Label</u>	<u>Sublabels</u>	<u>Description</u>
Unwanted land-use	LULU/NIMBY	<i>Place-protective actions, which are a result of the disruption of emotional bonds and threat of place-related identities</i>
	NIABY/NOPE	<i>Global protective actions</i>
Action	Individual action	<i>Action undertaken by a single individual</i>
	Collective action	<i>Formation of groups – or social movements –, that want to influence powerholders, pressuring them to legitimize and potentially revise their decisions</i>
	Inaction	<i>'Free-rider' attitude, obtaining the benefit without the possible costs that arise from being active</i>
Strategies	Targeted towards government	<i>Strategies directly to put pressure on the government</i>
	Targeted towards SUEZ/ENGIE	<i>Strategies targeted to put pressure on ENGIE</i>
	Both	<i>Strategies targeted towards both the government as ENGIE</i>
	Other	<i>Strategies targeted towards other actors, or unclear targeting</i>
Perceived political opportunities	Influenced strategy	<i>Dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action caused by expectations for success that did influence their strategies</i>
	Didn't influence strategy	<i>Dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action caused by expectations for success that did not influence their strategies</i>
	Unclear	<i>Dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action caused by expectations for success with an unclear influence on their strategies</i>
Perceived political constraints	Influenced strategy	<i>Dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action caused by expectations for failure that did influence their strategies</i>
	Didn't influence strategy	<i>Dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action caused by expectations for failure that did not influence their strategies</i>
	Unclear	<i>Dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action caused by expectations for failure with an unclear influence on their strategies</i>
Impact		<i>Impact of any kind as a result of the protest</i>
Future	New insights	<i>Learned lessons for future protests</i>
	Confirmations	<i>Confirmations of known knowledge on protests, negative or positive</i>

Appendix 3: Information on consent

- *Interview and recording*

With consent this interview will be recorded. This in order to create a detailed report of the conversation and all its aspects. The recording and written report will be handled confidential and will only be accessible for the researcher. At any time, the conversation can be ended, the recording can be stopped and deleted. The interviewee can always choose to reject certain questions.

- *Anonymity*

The retrieved data is handled anonymously, which means names are not mentioned in the final report.

- *Retrieved information*

The recordings will be transcribed (written down) and analysed.

