

**Fishery-dependent communities turning to tourism: relational thinking as a regional development strategy**

*Explored by the case Zoutkamp*

*Cultural Geography, University of Groningen, Groningen, The Netherlands*

Supervisor: H.J.W. Stoffelen

Student: J.A. Japenga

Date: June 24, 2019

## **Pre-face**

This research concludes my master thesis for the study Cultural Geography: specialisation in Tourism Geography and Planning. This research project would not have been possible without the support of several people. It was a process with numerous ups and downs.

First, I would like to thank my supervisor dr. Stoffelen, as he always supported me and coached me throughout the process. Especially in the beginning of the process, I have had to deal with difficulties in selecting a topic.

Next, I would like to thank the interviewees who agreed to take part in my research. Without their help it would not have been possible to do a case study on Zoutkamp. Furthermore, I would like to thank Marten Japenga, my brother, for helping me with reading several chapters and providing me with valuable feedback.

June 24<sup>th</sup>, 2019

Janneke Japenga

**Abstract:**

Fishery-dependent communities deal with a changing economic context in which the primary sector becomes less relevant, by for example technological innovations. Within such a changing context, tourism is often applied as an economic diversification tool and subsequently a regional development strategy. In the present study is tourism considered as economic diversification tool for regional development in the case study of Zoutkamp and region. Tourism is a fragmented sector, for it consists of multiple stakeholders who are fragmented over multiple scalar-levels and sectors. Thus, tourism destinations are complex. Building on a relational thinking and an evolutionary economic geography (EEG) framework, this thesis shows that tourism development in rural areas that are historically connected to fishing has the opportunity for synergistic effects because the economic and socio-cultural impacts possibly strengthen each other.

*Keywords:* Regional development, Integrated Rural Tourism, Evolutionary economic geography

## **Content**

1. Introduction .....	1
2. Literature review .....	3
2.1 Tourism and regional development.....	3
2.2 Development first versus tourism first .....	7
2.3 Characteristics of a tourism destination.....	8
2.4 Relational thinking as coping mechanism .....	10
2.5 Change: an evolutionary economic perspective.....	13
2.6 Synthesis .....	17
3. Transitions in fishery-dependent communities: trends and challenges.....	18
4. Transitions in fishery-dependent communities: the case of Zoutkamp.....	22
5. Methodology.....	30
5.1 Research approach and design .....	30
5.2 Data Collection .....	32
Uncontrolled observation.....	32
Semi-structured in-depth interviews .....	34
5.3 Quality of Data .....	37
5.4 Positionality Ethics and data processing .....	38
6. Results.....	41
6.1 Economic diversification: An Evolutionary Economic Evolutionary Perspective .....	41
6.2 The tourism destination Zoutkamp .....	44
6.3 Relations stakeholders.....	49
6.4 Shrimp fishing tourism in regional development .....	54
7. Conclusion and discussion.....	57
References .....	61
Appendices .....	70
A Interview Guide .....	70
B Codebook.....	72
C: Informed Consent.....	79

## 1. Introduction

In the global north, it is observed that the traditional sources of income are decreasing. Traditional sources of income are primarily classified as products that are obtained by resources from nature, hence the primary sector (Andres Martinez & Navarro, 2012). Underlying the decrease in income of these sources are processes such as the global competition in food markets and technological innovation (Berkel & Verburg, 2011). These traditional sources of income are primarily the main sources of income in peripheral rural areas. Consequently, these areas have to deal with the changing context in which the areas often have to deal with socioeconomic problems such as growing unemployment, out-migration, aging population and the lack of services in rural communities (Keyim, 2018).

In this context, tourism is often recognised as a development mechanism with regional possibilities, including support of local income, employment creation and the conservation of local resources (Pandey, 2006; Keyim, 2018; Saarinen, 2003). Generally, fostering the increase of tourism-related activities is often a regional policy reaction to a negative socio-economic tendency in a region (Brouder, 2014; Kauppila et al., 2009; Saarinen, 2003; Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2016). Likewise, the local resources can also be commodified for tourism destination purposes, such as creating a strong local marketing strategy (Lacher et al., 2013; Russo et al., 2008). These cultural markers have a higher consumption value; hence these can strengthen tourism destination. A prime example of such an emphasis on local resources is the culture economy approach by Ray (1998). The author coins this term as strategy that adopts cultural makers in the pursuit of development objectives. Thus, rural areas are economically diversifying by turning to tourism as an additional source of income (Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2016). This diversification can be regarded as a change, therefore a *transition* from production to consumption areas (Rauws & De Roo, 2011). As most previous research focused on agriculture and the farm-context (Keyim, 2018; Kneafsey, 1998; Marsden, 1999; Saarinen, 2003), this research explores the context of the fishery sector.

In practice, fishery communities have the opportunity to turn to tourism because the historical and cultural values of fishery communities are hoped to function as the foundation for tourism development and the foreseen economic revitalisation in such communities (Brookfield et al., 2005; Khakzad, 2018; Nadel-Klein, 2000). These

communities might turn to tourism because the economic situation is changing, as a result of global competition and technological innovations (Berkel & Verburg, 2011). Additionally, this sector is under pressure in Western Europe, as the involved actors in this industry deal with changes such as the implementation of the European fishing quota due to overfishing, and the increase of sustainable fishing techniques (thus the ban of the ban on electric pulse fishing) (Council Regulation, 2018). The future of the fishing industry seems to be economically insecure because of the current situation of Brexit, the construction of offshore windmill parks and the implementation of the discard ban: the prohibition to throw undesired bycatch overboard (Wageningen University and Research, n.d.).

The economic insecurity of the fishing industry became apparent by a news article of the Dutch news website NOS in May 2019 on shrimp fishing. In this article, it is described that the current low retail prices of shrimps have caused the fishermen to stay in the port for 6 weeks. Although the supply of shrimps was high and therefore perfect for fishing, selling the catches was hardly profitable. Additionally, because of the large volume of shrimp catches last year, the store freezers of the buyers are completely full. Consequently, the current situation means that the involved fishermen do not have an income for several weeks (NOS, 2019).

Based on the information outlined above, it seems that the fishery industry has various economic challenges and insecurities. These challenges might indicate that mono-economic areas are likely to search for economic diversification strategies such as tourism in order to be less vulnerable to the changing contexts (Martin, 2012).

This should allow to create knowledge on how fishery-dependent communities deal with the changing context. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to deepen our understanding of how fishery-dependent communities deal with the changing economic context by focusing on the role of tourism as an (additional) source of income. Given previous findings, the following research question is formulated: *“How are fishery-dependent communities using tourism in adapting to a changing economic context?”*

This will be empirically explored through a case study on a fishery-dependent village: Zoutkamp and its region in the province of Groningen, The Netherlands. The (historical) connection to shrimp fishing is still recognisable in the spatial features and both tourism as fishery seem to provide income in this region. The region underwent a drastic change in 1969, when the former Lauwerszee was closed (Zoutkamp.net, n.d.).

This meant that the village was forced to adapt to the new circumstances. Hence, this case possibly shows how a fishery-dependent community handles a changing context and the role of tourism in this strategy.

The thesis takes its point of departure in chapter two that uses the existing literature on tourism in regional development, integrated rural tourism, culture economy and evolutionary economic geography, which are reviewed below. It needs to be understood what these concepts are, and what theories on them tell us. This chapter concludes by combining the theories in a conceptual model that can be used in the analysis on the case under study. In addition to these theories, chapter three provides the reader an overview of relevant information about the context in the fishing industry. Chapter four focuses on how and if the case under study, Zoutkamp, fits in the context of the fishing industry, thus provides a description of the case. Following this, chapter five will present the methodology, followed by the results and the interpretation of the findings in chapter six. Finally, in the last chapter, the conclusion, limitations and recommendations will be discussed.

## **2. Literature review**

### ***2.1 Tourism and regional development***

Tourism is applied as regional development tool because tourism has been identified as a ‘catalyst to stimulate *economic growth*, increase the *viability* of underdeveloped regions and improve the *standard of living* of local communities’ (Briedenhann & Wickens, 2004, cited by Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2016, p. 44). This quote comprises of the different impacts of tourism: one the one hand the economic impacts (direct economic growth and increase viability), and on the other hand the socio-cultural impact (the standard of living).

These (direct) economic impacts refer to tourism as an economic diversification tool, especially diversifying the economic sources of income. A notable example on economically diversifying a mono-economy is provided on rural Europe. In this area, a decline is observed in the economic viability of traditional sectors, such as agriculture and fisheries. The inhabitants of some rural European areas respond to this trend by taking up skill-intensive jobs, for example in the service sector. Evidently, more sources of income are observed, consequently this may result in economic diversification (Lin & Sung, 1984; Sharpley, 2002).

Tourism is an example of such an economic diversification into the service sector (Benur & Bramwell, 2015). This can be illustrated by farming structures in rural UK, because farmers diversify from the agricultural base and undertake more economic activities (Treeby & Burtenshaw, 2003 in Lovelock et al., 2010). Another paper that illustrates the diversification of farmers in rural UK is by Marsden (2010). Similar to the general trend, the described rural areas in the UK struggle to remain economically viable. In responding to this, place-based food production strategies have emerged in the area of Devon. The author uses the term *eco-economy* to describe this process. Central to this process is the focus on the local, in which the networks of local businesses use the natural environment in a more sustainable and ecological way. In addition to this, Marsden coins the term *re-location* for describing this place-based strategy. Re-location refers to an emphasis on the local, where the quality of the food is pure, the food production process is one of transparency, and the network of businesses is regionally grounded. In this sense, there is added value in the produced food. Consequently, it holds more capacity for farmers to create additional income of which farm tourism is a primary example. Thus, Marsden illustrates a response to the changing economic context for rural areas as one of emphasising the locality.

Besides applying tourism as an economic diversification tool, tourism possibly results in a growth in visitor numbers (Lovelock et al., 2010). As a result of attracting visitors, a region may be unable to handle the number of visitors for it is traditionally not used to it. For example, tourists require accommodations to stay (Pandey, 2006). In fishing industry context, Lovelock et al. (2010) describe the trend that in such regions the number of hospitality and retail enterprises rise. The region might gain economic profits if these tourism revenues are located in the tourism destination, rather than elsewhere (Kauppila et al., 2009). Additionally, the number of visitors may allow the region to create new employment possibilities by responding to the growing needs and expectations of the visiting tourists (Pandey, 2006; Kauppila et al., 2009). For example, demands for participating in activities to experience the region (Benur & Bramwell, 2015). However, tourism is considered to have a negative impact on the landscape (Saarinen, 2006), and host communities (King et al., 1993; Wheeler & Laing, 2008).

Connected to this direct economic impact of increasing visitor numbers is the state of being viable. This state refers to the ability to succeed or to be sustained. With regards to economic impacts of tourism on regions, this indicates that an

underdeveloped region economically will grow and develop. An example of this state of being viable is provided by Lovelock et al. (2010) on fishing-dependent communities. The authors describe the economic situation of these communities as one that historically relies upon the exploitation of fisheries. However, due to environmental protection, legislations and increased costs of transportation, this traditional economic trajectory faces difficulties to be profitable. In other words, it becomes less viable (Lovelock et al., 2010). Accordingly, the contextual conditions may influence the economic trajectory. If the contextual conditions facilitate tourism, then tourism may act as a tool for economic development (Lockhart, 1997).

In addition, the improvement of the standard of living is described as a socio-cultural impact that might occur from tourism (Pandey, 2006). This impact connects to the earlier described economic impact of generating jobs. Pandey (2006) argues that this increase of jobs positively affects the region in its totality, including the weaker sections in rural areas. For example, most jobs in the primary sector are traditionally executed by men, leaving women mostly unemployed. However, by economically diversifying into the service sector (such as tourism), women are given the opportunity to also provide for an income. Therefore, these jobs in the service sector result in an improvement of the standard of living of the population (men and women).

Another example for a socio-cultural impact is provided by Lovelock et al. (2010). The authors researched a case on island communities in New Zealand, these communities underwent a transition from a fishing economy into a tourism economy. One of the main results in the identified socio-cultural impacts of this transition, is that the members of this closed island community become acquainted with new people. In other words, tourism has a socio-cultural impact because it enables island community members to interact with non-members. Thus, new social contacts are the benefits for local inhabitants. Hence, from a community perspective is tourism a tool to meet new people and consequently generate social interaction (Lovelock et al., 2010).

On top of that, some authors connect the socio-cultural impact of liveability to the community wellbeing. The enhancement of the local infrastructure (Wheeler & Laing, 2008), for example, is regarded as a positive influence on the liveability (Benur & Bramwell, 2005; Briedenhann & Wickens, 2004). Therefore, can tourism be regarded as beneficial to the liveability. Useful in this regard is defining what exactly is meant with liveability. In order to explain what liveability means, Wheeler and Laing (2008)

connect the interrelationship between tourism and community wellbeing. They argue that within this complex interrelationship liveability can be shown. Wheeler and Laing argue that this relationship consists of both tangible and intangible elements. These tangible elements include infrastructure, services or facilities. The authors illustrate intangible elements along the lines of the *quality of place*. This includes the community vibe, ambience and lifestyle (Wheeler & Laing, 2008). Accordingly, both of these tangible and intangible elements can be connected to the observed impacts of tourism for they build the aspect of liveability in a community. This idea connects to the socio-cultural impacts. Thus, tourism is often regarded as a socio-cultural and economic development strategy and an as an economic diversification tool that reduces dependency on traditional sectors (Kauppila et al., 2009; Saarinen, 2003; Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2016).

Accordingly, the described impacts of tourism show that tourism and the tourism destination are interlinked. In other words, tourism has potential for synergetic interactions between tourism and the tourism destination. Synergies refers to situations of multiple gains in which different elements interacts, and becomes large than the sum of its parts. The outcome has benefits across various dimensions: social, economic and ecological (Persha et al., 2011). Thus, synergies create a potential for areas with limited alternatives, because it combines the existing elements.

Useful in this regard is understanding why development is addressed at the regional scale. According to Milne and Ateljevic (2001), comprehending tourism destinations is complex because it exists of various stakeholders who operate at different scalar levels. Moreover, these various actors have different power positions and different interests (Milne and Atejelvic, 2001). Other authors underpin this idea of tourism as a fragmented sector in terms of the various actors, sectors and scalar levels. (Halkier & James, 2017; Hartman, 2018; Mertens & Rotmans, 2005; Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2016; Von Friedrich Grängsjö, 2003). Because of these complex features, it is argued that the most destination networks are regionally formed, and tourism resources are commodified and institutionalised in a regional context (Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2016). Although tourism destinations are regionally formed, the other scalar levels still influence this regional context (Hartman, 2018). This is why tourism as a development tool must include this diversity in scalar levels.

## *2.2 Development first versus tourism first*

Useful in this regard is understanding regional development through what is called the “tourism first” and “development first” tourism planning concepts (Burns, 1999). Burns uses these concepts as two approaches for tourism planning and locates them at the opposite ends of a continuum. The tourism first planning concept places tourism as the central focus of development and tourism is seen as the primary industry in peripheral areas (Kauppila et al., 2009). In contrast to tourism first, development first sees tourism as part of a larger regional development strategy. Therefore, tourism is regarded as only one industry among other (local) industries (Kauppila et al., 2009; Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2016).

The same way of thinking is utilised by Mehmet (1978) in the economic “growth” versus economic “development” approaches. The economic growth approach is rather quantitative, and only takes measurable factors into account, such as visitor numbers. In contrast, the economic development approach encompasses both quantitative (success measured in visitor numbers) and qualitative (socio-economic benefits). Mehmet describes the difference between the approaches as: “... even high rate of growth (national income) do not guarantee development, in the sense of widespread and deep improvement of welfare ...” (Mehmet, 1978, p. 9). In other words, the author states that growth not automatically results in development. In general, researchers agree that tourism development and regional development are not automatically synonymous (Burns, 1999; Kauppila et al., 2009; Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2016; Wheeler & Laing, 2008).

Wheeler and Laing (2008) explain this by analysing regional Victoria in Australia. The authors argue that tourism destinations have to handle difficulties associated with tourism growth, for example the great volume of both people and traffic. Communities in tourism destination may experience discontent because of these difficulties. The authors argue that tourism enhancement should not be regarded as an end in itself, but a way of enhancing the overall region. By doing so, the liveability will also be positively affected. In order to reach this, they suggest that destination marketing should involve some element of community engagement, as they regard the community as a stakeholder. Wheeler and Laing (2008) explain that this stakeholder group often is not integrated in the destination marketing process and, consequently, do not express their interests. Thus, community interests are not integrated in the decisions.

As explained in 2.1 (tourism and regional development), tourism-induced regional development consists of two main impacts of tourism on the region: economic and socio-cultural impacts. Integrating the local stakeholder group seems important to reach positive socio-cultural impacts, otherwise the liveability may negatively be affected (Wheeler & Laing, 2008).

Similarly, Stoffelen and Vanneste (2016) argue in their paper on whisky tourism in the region of Speyside (Scotland) that the local stakeholder interests should be integrated in the destination management process. The authors argue that the commodification and institutionalisation of whisky tourism Speyside process to be unstable for reaching destination-wide regional development aims, because the local stakeholders face difficulties to integrate in the destination management process. Consequently, their interests are not regionally integrated. Stoffelen and Vanneste (2016) refer to this as the ‘implementation gap’, and argue that an integrative position of tourism in region-building processes is central for reaching tourism-induced regional development aims.

In this thesis, the development first concept (Burns, 1999) is adopted, because tourism is regarded as one facet in a broader development. Thus, this perspective includes tourism as part of a broader regional development. Therefore, achieving development indicates the effect of economic significance (such as employment possibilities), and socio-cultural development (such as the standard of living). In practice, this perspective is not (automatically) widely adopted, as became evident in the cases of Scotland (Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2016) and Australia (Wheeler & Laing, 2008).

### ***2.3 Characteristics of a tourism destination***

It follows that the characteristics of tourism destinations need to be explored to assess why the earlier outlined difficulties arise. In the case of whisky tourism in the Scottish region Speyside, Stoffelen and Vanneste (2016) describe uneven power relations between the different stakeholders. In the destination management process, the distilleries operating at a global scale are more powerful than the local (smaller) distilleries, community groups and the public sector. Hence, the integrative capacities of these local stakeholders remain limited.

Furthermore, Stoffelen and Vanneste (2016) describe an uneven tourism distribution in space, as most tourism activities occur in the heart of the region and the coastal area is less utilised as tourism area. This is line with Briedenhann and Wickens (2004) who argue that in the tourist destination an inequality in the distribution of benefits among stakeholders occur. Thus, an uneven distribution may occur both in space as in socio-cultural benefits.

Dealing with these distribution challenges is possible with integrative tourism planning measures. These measures aim to integrate social, economic and environmental aspects into tourism planning systems. Also, the community needs to be involved, in which local control and a balanced development is reached. The identified tourism planning tradition that fits this perspective is labelled as sustainability planning (Hall, 2005; Kauppila et al., 2009). The contrast in the planning perspectives, as outlined above, appears also in planning measures. The measures to *integrate* the other aspects into tourism planning fits the perspective of development first (Burns, 1999), because it regards tourism as a part of a wider development. In contrast, Moscardo (2011) argues that tourism destination residents often are excluded from the planning process and tourism governance in favour of external agents. These planning measures aim to reach growth, which fits a tourism first perspective (Burns, 1999). This tourism first perspective fits the two planning traditions of boosterism and economic (Hall, 2005). The first tradition refers to residents as an element of destination attractiveness, in the second tradition they are regarded as a resource to be exploited for tourism. This means that tourism can be used to generate revenue and employment (Hall, 2005; Moscardo, 2011).

Another characteristic of tourism destinations connects to complexity, because tourism destinations are often considered as complex adaptive systems. (Hartman, 2018; Meeke et al., 2017; Rauws & De Roo, 2011). Hartman explains such systems as: ‘‘ always in a process of responding to and anticipating both endogenous as well as exogenous shocks and stresses that influence their development and the development of agents or actors within these systems’’ (Hartman, 2018, p.68). This quote emphasises the dynamic nature of tourist destination, because such areas are always in a process of continuous change, and are constantly responsive to change. Such systems are influenced by the environment, and adapt to this. This means that tourism destinations are non-static.

It seems that the complex nature of tourist destinations is the result of the different actors, operating at different scalar levels. Therefore, it can be argued that the destination, thus regional scale, is the level in which the various challenges come together. This is why this regional scale is the level in which one should deal with such challenges (Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2016). Without the regulation of tourism, an uneven distribution in space (Hassink & Ma, 2017), power among stakeholders (Halkier & James, 2017) and economic, ecological and socio-cultural spheres might occur (Briedenhann & Wickens 2004).

#### ***2.4 Relational thinking as coping mechanism***

In order to adopt a development first perspective, the tourism planning measures should indicate a relational approach between actors, resources and activities within the regional system. (Marsden: 2010; Oliver & Jenkins, 2003; Saxena & Ibery, 2008; Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2016). Thus, tourism can be successful and has a regional development potential if all stakeholder interests are integrated in the planning measures. Oliver and Jenkins (2003) connect this integrative approach to tourism by focusing on the localities (such as resources) of the tourism destination. They coin the term ‘integrative rural tourism’ (IRT), which they define as tourism that explicitly is linked to the localities in which it takes place and has clear connection with local resources, activities, products, production and service industries, and a participatory local community (Oliver & Jenkins, 2003; Ilbery & Saxena, 2011; Saxena & Ibery, 2008). Hence, IRT fits the development first perspective because it is proposed as a means not only of increasing regional competitiveness through tourism projects, but also supporting the communal production of knowledge (Ilbery & Saxena, 2011).

Accordingly, IRT builds upon social networks between local actors with an explicit connection to economic, social, cultural and human resources of the destination (Ilbery & Saxena, 2011, p.1142). In literature, three elements that build integrated rural tourism are established: embeddedness, endogeneity and empowering (Oliver & Jenkins, 2003). First, *embeddedness* means that resources or activities are directly linked to place. Also, the relationships are formed within particular socio-cultural contexts in specific localities. Thus, local knowledge and relations are included in network connections. The second defined element is *endogeneity*, meaning that development is structured to retain maximum benefits in a locality by encouraging

strong local participation in decision-making. The third element is *empowering*, which means that networks should facilitate local actors to participate and decide in managing physical, cultural and economic resources.

It is important that these elements should be in balance with their counterparts, because it maintains dynamics in the network, increases novelty and innovation and integrates with external markets and supra-local policy levels (Oliver & Jenkins, 2003; Saxena & Ilbery, 2008; Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2016). Stoffelen and Vanneste (2016) provide a description of what happens when the balance between these elements is absent: “the regional focus of the predominantly development-oriented tourism planning perspective may be undermined” (p.46). The authors connect IRT to the commodification of a destination. In their point of view, there is an unbalance when the regional consciousness of stakeholders in the destination contrasts with the portrayed identity. Consequently, this indicates regional disintegration of tourism because *disempowered* stakeholders are less likely to identify with the use of territorial resources. Another explanation of an unbalance is if the focus of the tourism destination is solely local and endogenous. This focus implies that the exogenous forces are not included. This exclusion of exogenous influences can cause a tourism destination that is locally oriented, meaning that it becomes isolated in the sense of only focusing on the endogenous. Hence this isolation implies that a tourism destination might become inward-oriented.

In practice, this balance means that embeddedness needs a certain degree of disembeddedness in order to enable local products and services to reach exogenous markets (Saxena & Ilbery, 2008). Endogenous should be in balance with exogenous impacts, this means that networks should have a degree of access to external resources. And, finally, empowering should have a certain degree of disempowering, meaning that networks should have a degree of local, regional or national elites with large resources.

Thus, the relational approach emphasises the interconnectedness between actors, activities within the regional system (Saxena & Ilbery, 2008). Therefore, IRT shows that a tourism destination does not exist in isolation, and indicates relational thinking because the different scalar-levels interact (Hartman, 2018). In order to deal with this complexity in a tourism destination, relational thinking as coping mechanism is suggested. Hence, IRT fits the development first tourism planning perspective, because

it implies tourism as a part of a broader development that is not only growth-induced (Burns, 1999: Mehmet, 1978).

One example of an economic strategy that fits the elements that IRT builds upon, is the culture economy approach (Ray, 1998). In the present study, culture economy is defined as an economic response to exogenous forces, for example changes in agricultural support that connect to political-led reform, that pursues ‘‘some form of endogenous development in which economic activity is re-formulated so as to be based more firmly on local resources, physical and human ‘’(Ray, 1998, p.3). This definition of culture economy highlights the economic focus on the local resources in order to achieve development. In other words, the author describes culture economy as the revalorising of a place through the adoption of cultural and/or territorial markers in the pursuit of territorial development objectives. This description of culture economy is similar to the earlier outlined complex characteristics of tourism destinations (Hartman, 2018), because it is an economic response to exogenous forces. Hence, regions that apply the culture economy approach respond to exogenous forces by adapting cultural markers.

Within the context of culture economy, Ray (1998) defines this aspect of cultural resources as *local knowledge*. This means that culture can be defined as ‘‘ways of doing things, and ways of understanding the world ‘’(Ray, 1998, p.9). The author argues that local knowledge functions in culture economy as a tool to reinsert knowledge in the rural economy. This is achieved by remnants of traditional local knowledge, which exploit the existing local knowledge.

Accordingly, culture economy operates in four conceptual modes. First, the territorial identity is emphasised for marketing purposes. Second, the (new) territorial identity is promoted externally. Third, this (new) territorial identity is marketed internally in order to gain support by local communities, businesses, groups and official bodies in the area. The final mode emphasised the normative capacity of the culture economy. This mode may be observable in the other three modes as different interpretations of previous modes (Ray, 1998).

An example of exploiting local knowledge, thus the first mode, is provided by Khazad (2018) in her research on promoting fishing communities in Brunswick County, North Carolina. Khazad establishes a connection between fishing, cultural heritage and tourism. It is argued that tourism can provide an opportunity for renewal of traditional

activities. These activities are in decline because, for example, technical renewals in the fishing industry make them no longer needed. By exploiting these ‘remnants of traditional activities’ the coastal places aim to be revalorised (Khazad, 2018). This connects to the broader defined purpose of culture economy: the adoption of cultural markers in order to achieve development (Ray, 1998).

### ***2.5 Change: an evolutionary economic perspective***

Arguably, in the context of these outlined development strategies, it is key to adopt an historical narrative that focuses locality (Kneafsey, 1998; Ray, 1998). In the idea of the culture economy mentioned earlier (Ray, 1998) history is perceived as a tool to create the territorial identity that is used for marketing; thus, it is key in the creation of tourism-induced development strategies. This emphasis on history is also used in the idea of evolutionary economic geography (EEG). Therefore, this idea is applicable to tourism.

While a variety of definitions of EEG exists, this thesis will use the definition as suggested by Boschma and Frenken (2011) who see it as: ‘dealing with the uneven distribution of economic activity across space. And an evolutionary approach specifically focusses on the historical processes that produce these patterns’ (p.286). The focus on the uneven distribution of economic activities in EEG is relevant from a tourism perspective because, as described in previous section(s), tourism destinations are characterised by fragmentation in scalar-levels and stakeholders. Despite fitting tourism research, this perspective is relative underdeveloped in studying tourism destinations. Examples that use the framework mostly focus on the dynamic nature of the perspective (see Hassink & Ma, 2017; Halkier & James, 2017), and less stress the overlap between this perspective and the characteristics of a tourism destination (see Hartman, 2018).

Related to this fragmented characteristic of a tourism destination is the concept of a co-evolution. This concept is used in a tourism research context to refer to ‘the interrelations between firms and industries and their institutional environment at several spatial scales’ (Hassink & Ma, 2017, p. 71) Arguably, a co-evolution can also be referred to as a synergistic effect (Persha et al., 2011), for it displays an interaction among various sectors and scalar levels and consequently strengthens the heterogeneity

and complexity of a tourism area development. This aspect of heterogeneity can be connected to the required balance in a tourism destination, as determined in IRT (Oliver & Jenkins, 2003). For example, these interactions can contribute to achieving a balance between empowerment-disempowerment: as different actors with different interests and varying development phases interact. In a tourism destination, dominant sectors, products and institutions co-exist and have strong interactions with each other (Hassink & Ma, 2017).

The concept of co-evolution is considered a research approach that connects to EEG. Arguably, such a perspective can be linked to tourism issues in three ways:

First, this perspective automatically indicates a *broad perspective* of economic issues (Brouder & Ioannides, 2014). This broad perspective is needed in tourism destinations for these are fragmented in stakeholders and sectors, hence these destinations are complex (Hartman, 2018; Milne & Alteljevic, 2001; Rauws & De Roo, 2011). In other words, this broad perspective aids to consider the interactions of stakeholders. Second, an EEG perspective takes the spatial context into account, for it considers the *local embeddedness, multiple scales and long-term gradual developments* (Brouder & Ioannides, 2014). These local cultural markers and historical aspects are also considered in the ideas of IRT and culture economy (Oliver & Jenkins, 2003; Ray, 1998). The final reason why this perspective is useful in tourism research is that it considers the aspect of innovation in economic development (Brouder & Ioannides, 2014). The latter is contributing to the present study for it considers tourism as a *reaction* to the changing economic context in which the primary sector has to handle innovations (Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2016).

The final listed reason for applying an EEG perspective focuses on the dynamic character of a local economy, Boschma and Martin (2007) regard the local economic evolution as characterised by continuous change, and they refer to the key focus of EEG as the processes and mechanisms by which the economy self-transforms itself from within. (Witt, 2003,2006, cited by Boschma & Martin, 2007, p.537).

According to Boschma and Martin, this economic evolution consists of three basic requirements. First, the *dynamic* nature of economics must be kept in mind. This means that statistic analysis is not applicable in researching it. The authors list irreversible processes as the second requirement, meaning that something cannot be made undone. These features are also relevant in dynamical thinking for they do not

consider the economic development as something with a steady state (Hassink & Ma, 2017). Third, and crucially, is the generation and impact of *novelty* as ultimate source of self-transformation. The explanation for this is that it is the creative capacity of economic agents (individuals and firms) and other creative functions of the market that drives economic adaptation. In other words, the last requirement includes the capacity to innovate. (Boschma & Martin, 2007). In other words, the last requirement includes the capacity to innovate.

Brouder (2014) identifies in similar, but slightly broader terms. The crucial features of an EEG perspective are referring to a spatial economy as *historically* influenced, *geographically embedded*, and constructed by long-term *processes*. This aspect connects to the theoretical concept of path dependence, which means that “ the economic landscape inherits the legacy of its own past industrial and institutional development, and this history can exert a major influence in conditioning its future development and evolution” (Martin & Sunley, 2006, p.408). Rural areas are often characterised by a regional-over-reliance to one economic aspect, and can therefore be classified as economies with path dependence (Yin & Liu, 2012). Thus, economic change (or continuity) is inherently place dependent (Brouder, 2014).

Within this context of change, Marsden (2010) argues that some organisational structures can aide this transition. To describe this process, the author coins the term “lubricants”, which he describes as institutional arrangements that function as enhancements of the interrelations between the domains (p.233). Besides, the author adds that a high degree of social cohesion also can be regarded as a potential lubricant. This social cohesion is connected to social capital, the latter indicates the “ability of individuals, groups, organisations, or institutions to engage in networks, cooperate and employ social relation for common purpose and benefit” (Marsden, 2010, p. 228). This social capital thus means that high social cohesion aides the creation of a collective action in a group of individuals. In practice, such a collective action might result in active collaboration among different stakeholders. Thus, such a lubricant fuels the process in motion (Marsden, 2010).

A concept that is argued to be connected to the idea of path dependency is a “lock-in” (Martin & Sunley, 2006). An explanation of lock-in is provided by Hartman (2018), who regards a lock-in as a “trap” for a system. In his perspective, a destination is a system that is influenced by endogenous and exogenous forces, hence complex.

Hartman explains that these complex systems faces difficulties to escape a development trajectory. Especially, a lock-in trap means that a system has become rigid and inflexible because one particular development trajectory is (over)emphasized at the expense of others. When a system is trapped in a lock-in situation, there is no capital or potential to escape the situation. In other words, the situation of a lock-in is a result of a development trajectory, and therefore, it connects to path dependency. Martin and Sunley (2006) argue that lock-in, especially regional lock-in, is a multi-scaled process with a high degree of path dependency. Thus, in this thesis is an EEG perspective recognised as a perspective to study the path dependent dynamics underlying economic development in space and time. Additionally, path dependency is used to refer to the choices that are made in the past that influence the present.

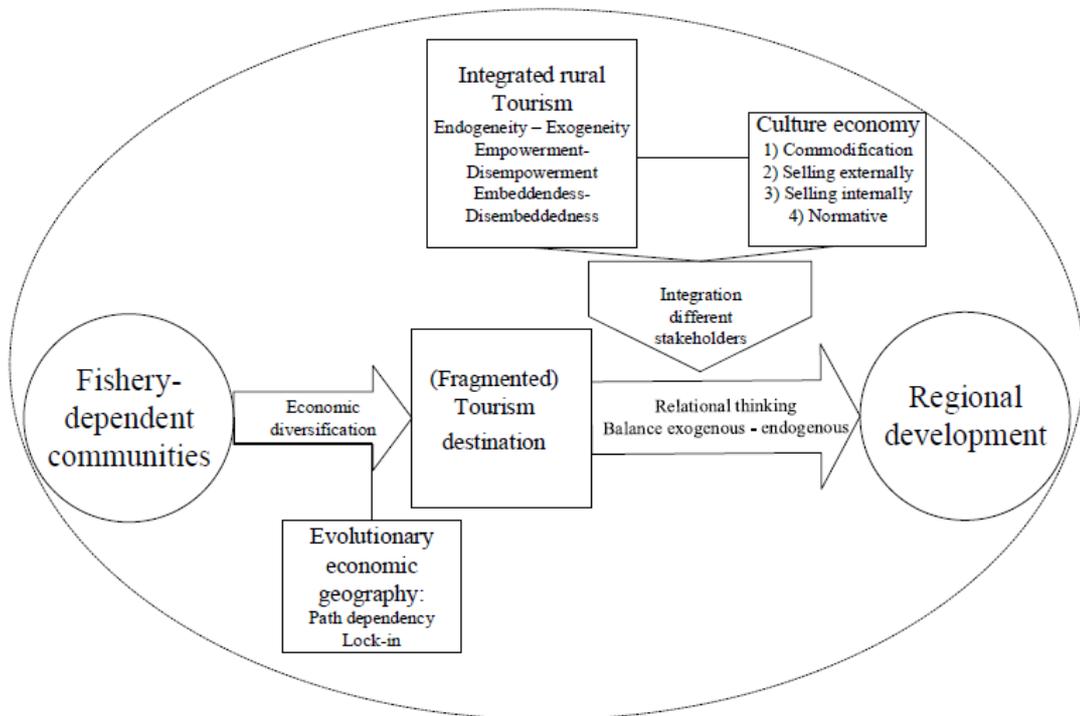
An example of applying this perspective on tourism research is provided by Khazad (2018) who researched the development of tourism in coastal areas. According to the author, the re-establishment of traditional activities aids the restoration of the traditional fishing industry. In other words, Khazad describes the system's fishing *history* as a legacy that determines the economic development of the area in the future. In this article, the focus on the fishing culture connects to the EEG perspective for the fishing history is underling economic development. Also, the case shows some characteristics of a lock-in, because the community is highly dependent on the fishing sector as a source of income. Thus, based on literature. This economic dependence on that sector (for example fishery) has resulted in the overemphasising of this development trajectory, at the expense of others (Martin & Sunley, 2006). Another example is provided by Blichfeldt and Halkier (2014), in their single case study on mussels, tourism and community development in Løgstør, Denmark. In this case, it was concluded that the branding strategy of a newly developed mussels festival was a means for "community self-celebration" (p.1600). Hence, the festival celebrates the community identity, which can be related to path dependency, for the event strengthens the community identity and pride as those are *rooted* in the locality.

Thus, from an evolutionary perspective, tourism destinations are likely to face difficulties adapting to external changes, or creating new development paths. A prime example for such difficulties is recognised in supply, as a typical tourism destination consists of a great number of small firms. This characteristic implies a lack of actors with sufficient resources to engage in adapting to a (external) change. This lack can be

connected to the idea of IRT because it implies the absence of balance between the earlier explained empowerment-disempowerment (Oliver & Jenkins, 2003).

## 2.6 Synthesis

It is argued in the present paper that an evolutionary economic geography framework is useful to analyse the economic diversification process, because this



process is dependent on the development trajectory of a region. Figure 1 presents a model that highlights the aspects that influence economic diversification (evolutionary economic geography) of fishery-dependent communities.

Figure 1 Aspects that influence fishery-dependent communities' economic diversification into tourism. Source: the author

Within a tourism context, this economic diversification process is hindered by challenges that are intertwined with tourism: fragmentation of stakeholders over various scalar-levels. The ideas of integrated rural tourism and culture economy can be applied in this complex tourism context in order to make regional development succeed, by addressing the aspects of endogeneity, empowerment and embeddedness. If these aspects are in balance with their counterparts, a relational approach between the various stakeholders and scalar-levels can be achieved. Central to this relational approach is the inclusion and integration of various multi-scalar stakeholders. By achieving this, the economic diversification process may be achieved. This approach is of importance in studying the spatial-economic transition of fisheries-dependent communities, because it considers the complex nature of a tourism destination, as well as the contextual economic situation. This is illustrated by the examples of the real fishery industry and the virtual fishery industry. These strategies are examples of how fishery-dependent communities deal with the changing economic context.

If the economic bedrock of a community consists of catching fish, aquaculture and processing, then the community applies the strategy of “real fishery industry”. Thus, this strategy is product-based and its main focus is on tangible fisheries products (Brookfield et al., 2015). Another strategy that fishery-dependent communities possibly apply is described as the virtual fishery industry. Communities that are less dependent on fisheries stress the fishing industry as a cultural icon. Such communities appreciate and value fishing because it is a major part in the identity of the community. This is defined as virtual fishery, which builds on imagery and symbolism and is used as a branding-strategy. An example of how this appears in a community is through exploiting the imagery in museums (Brookfield et al., 2015).

### **3. Transitions in fishery-dependent communities: trends and challenges**

The fishing industry is classified in the primary sector, because this sector consists of economic activities related to obtaining resources from nature. An observed European trend is the decline of economic importance of the primary sector as a whole (Andres Martinez & Navarro, 2012). The European Union has published a report on agriculture, forestry and fishery statistics. In this report, it is stated that the European fishing fleet is getting smaller in number, capacity and power. Despite this, a growth in

European catches is identified in 2017 in comparison to 2016 (European Union, 2018). This why it is argued in the report that vessels have increased their efficiency in catching methods, thus the employment in this sector decreases.

This efficiency varies between European Member states: some countries have a relative low production rate and high employment, other countries have a relative high production rate and a relative low share of employment in the fishing industries (European Union, 2018). An example of a country with high production and relative low employment rate is The Netherlands (European Union, 2018, p.111). The total fleet in the North Sea exists of 560 vessels (Baer et al., 2017), of which the German (205) and the Dutch (200) fleets are the largest. The earlier defined trend of Dutch efficiency can also be determined in the North Sea: The Dutch fisheries contributes 54% of the total landings, despite having a smaller fleet than the German fisheries (which contributes 33% of the total landings) (Baer et al., 2017).

The Dutch fishing industry targets at different species, of which the brown shrimp (*crangon L.*) is one. Brown shrimp is among the top three species caught in the North Sea area, and is commercially valuable for human consumption (ICES, 2010; Temming & Hufnagl, 2014). After salmon, it is the second most consumed species in the Netherlands (EUMOFA, 2018). The species is a key component in the Wadden Sea ecosystem, and it is generally assumed that a high population of the brown shrimp lives in the North Sea and Wadden Sea (Baer et al., 2017; ICES, 2015). There is a lack of a reliable stock size estimation of the species because of uncertainties in the species' spatial and seasonal distribution (Tulp et al., 2016).

The question arises what the effect of these changes in the industry and the high efficiency are on fishery-dependent communities in the Netherlands. The University of Wageningen (WUR) charts trends in the Dutch fishery sector, with special regard to the trends in shrimp fishery. The researchers have identified several (future) challenges for the fishery industry (Wageningen University of Research, n.d.).

First, it is argued that the construction of wind turbines in the sea, and the expansion of nature areas in the North Sea results in a decrease in areas in which fishing is permitted. One example of these nature areas are the Natura 2000 areas, such as the Wadden Sea (RAMSAR, 2015). Also, if a 'hard' Brexit is accepted, this would mean that fishermen of other nationalities are prohibited to fish in the British territorial waters. This would mean a drastic decrease in income for fishermen. Simultaneously,

the necessity to innovate in the fishing industry is also stimulated with the discard ban and the (future) ban on pulse fishery. These challenges call for technical innovations and investments, for example, it is aimed to decrease bycatch with the use of sifters that filter undersized fish out (Turenhout et al., 2015; Wageningen University of Research, n.d.).

On top of these contextual challenges, the shrimp fishery also has to deal with extreme fluctuations in profits. These profits are affected by the gas oil prices, and the retail prices that fisherman get for their products. The gas oil is used as a fuel for the cutters; therefore, the fishermen need it. Figure 2 shows how these prices fluctuate from 2003 until 2017. What can be clearly seen in this figure is the general pattern of high prices of gas oil and the lower retail prices of shrimps until 2016. Especially the years 2011 and 2012 display the difference between these prices. This means that during these years, fishermen had to invest a relative high amount of money into gas oil, while the retail prices for shrimps were low. Thus, fishermen are faced with uncertainties in income because of unstable gas oil prices and unstable retail prices (Waddenvereniging, 2014).

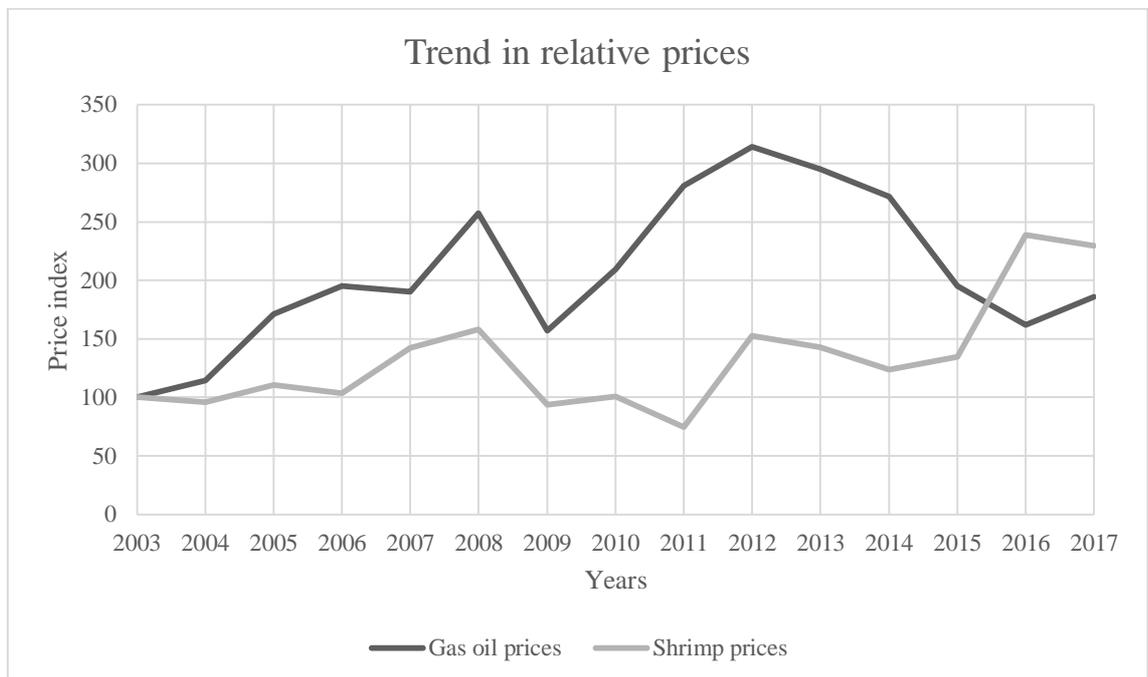


Figure 2 Evolution of the average brown shrimp price in Euros per kilogram and the average gas oil prices in Euros per litre. Source: Wageningen University of Research, [2019].

Additionally, figure 3 displays the development of the number of catches and the employment in the fishery sector that is connected to shrimp fishing: ‘other small-scale fisheries’. What is interesting in this figure is the general pattern of decrease in the number of crew members, while the number of shrimp landings increases in the same period of time. Although, the graph shows that there has sharp decrease of shrimp landings in 2016, in 2017 the number of catches increased despite the continual decline of crew members.

This dramatic decline in shrimp catches is inherent to the species (ICES, 2010,2011,2015). As explained by the University of Wageningen on their website on fishing (2019), the fluctuations in the natural supply of shrimp affect the supply pattern of shrimp. As figure 3 displays, these fluctuations in the catches are erratic for large volumes are alternated with small supply volumes. This uncertainty relates to the occurring price fluctuations (figure 2). For example, the volume of shrimp supply was small in 2016 (figure 3), although in the same year the shrimp prices increased (figure 2).

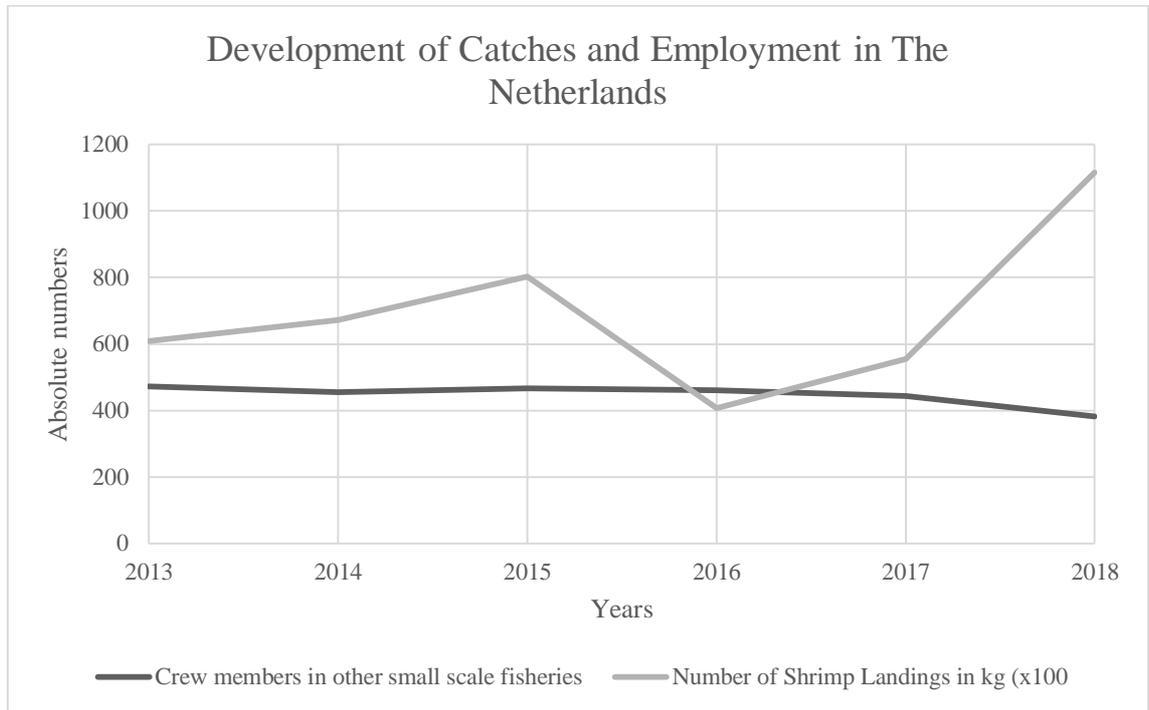


Figure 3 Development of Catches and Employment in The Netherlands. The employment is selected in the fishing category ‘other small-scale fisheries’, because shrimp fishing is categorised in it. Source: University of Wageningen [2019].

As a result of this erratic nature of shrimp supply, there is no fish quota determined over the size of shrimp catches. However, other fishes are caught as bycatch in shrimp fishery. According to the letter by the Dutch government (Kamp, 2017), the fishing techniques have to be innovated in order to reduce the amount of bycatch. An example of achieving is to increase the mesh size gradually, in order to allow larger fish species to escape. Hence, challenges in the fishery sector as a whole are the necessity to innovate because of a changing context, the uncertainty for fishermen and the increasing efficiency in fishing. The shrimp industry especially shows that the supply of shrimp catches is erratic (both increase and decrease) but that the number of crew members steadily decreases. As explained, the decrease of supply is inherent to the species, and is independent of the number of crew members.

#### **4. Transitions in fishery-dependent communities: the case of Zoutkamp**

In practice, these identified challenges affect fisheries-dependent communities. As identified in chapter two, such communities tend to turn to tourism as an economic diversification tool and regional development strategy. However, this trend is not homogenous and seems to display spatial differences.

Located in the mainland Wadden Sea area, Zoutkamp seems to contradict this trend. Until the municipal reorganisation, Zoutkamp was part of the municipality De Marne. From January 2019, the municipalities of De Marne, Bedum, Winsum and Eemmond merged into one municipality: Het Hogeland (Het Hogeland, n.d.). In 2016 was the most recent census of Zoutkamp. At the time, 1215 inhabitants were counted (Sociaal Planbureau Groningen, 2017).

The village was located at the coast area of the Lauwerszee, a small sea in which brown shrimps thrived well (see figure 5). Therefore, fishing was the main source of income for the residents of Zoutkamp. Located at the Reitdiep estuary, the catches could be transported via this waterway. Thus, the spatial features aided the historical development of Zoutkamp as a village with a lively shrimp fishing industry (Landschappen van Noord Nederland, n.d.). However, plans arose to close the Lauwerszee, the reasons for it were two-parted. First, inhabitants of the area felt unsafe because of the flood hazard of the Lauwerszee. Therefore, the closure would increase the safety of the area. Connected to the flood hazard, the second argument in favour of

the closure was that it would decrease the length of the coastline, thus making it better manageable. The fishermen of Zoutkamp were against the closure, for they depended on these wishing water and feared to lose their income (Zoutkamp.net, n.d). Despite these indifferences it was decided to close the sea. The Lauwerszee was the closed on the twelfth of May in 1969. Consequently, Zoutkamp lost its function as fishing port because the distance to the fishing waters became too far. Because of this, the fleet of Zoutkamp had to be relocated. In order to accommodate these ships, a new fishing port was created after 1969: Lauwersoog. The village of Lauwersoog is connected to the North Sea, and is currently the home port of the fleet of Zoutkamp. However, not many of the inhabitants of Zoutkamp moved to Lauwersoog. Another consequence of the closure was that fishermen had to invest in new cutters. Many fishermen were used to fishing in the calm waters of the Lauwerszee, but the North Sea was more turbulent. It is described that people left the village and, as a result, many of the traditional fisherman's houses were rotten and had to be demolished. These demolished houses were transported and rebuild in the Dutch historical village Enkhuizen (Landschappen van Noord-Nederland, n.d; Zoutkamp.net, n.d.).

Despite losing its connection to the sea, thus officially losing its function as a fishing port, Zoutkamp remained involved in the shrimp fishing industry as observed in a recent (2016) list of main fish auctions in the Netherlands. Based on the supply and turnover of shrimps, the shrimp fishing industry of Zoutkamp is currently considered as one of the main fish auctions in the Netherlands (together with Breskens, Colijnsplaat, Stellendam, Den Oever, Harlingen and Lauwersoog) (Tulp et al., 2016). According to the website of the fish auction in Zoutkamp, it is the only auction hall that solely processes shrimp in The Netherlands (Rousant, n.d). It is striking that both Lauwersoog and Zoutkamp are mentioned in this list, since the villages are closely located (figure 5). Thus, despite their locations, both villages have enough turnover in order to be listed as main Dutch fish auctions. Besides, many cutters from Zoutkamp have Lauwersoog as their home port (Zoutkamp.net, n.d.). Therefore, there is a close economic connection between the two villages. This is underpinned in the report by Sociaal planbureau Groningen, in which fishery is described as a key economic source in the region of Zoutkamp and Lauwersoog (2017).



Figure 4 Position of Zoutkamp in relation to Lauwersoog. Contains Esri data © Esri Netherlands community Maps Contributors [Esri database].

In addition to catching, Zoutkamp also has a substantial function in the processing of shrimps because the shrimp processing company Heiploeg is located nearby. Heiploeg is currently one of the major employers of the region, and it is planned to expand its production capacity, and simultaneously creating more jobs (De Marne Nieuws, 2019). The role of Heiploeg as employer in the region is also observed in a vacancy of the company of 2016, because it explicitly describes that future employees have to reside in the area of Zoutkamp (De Marne Nieuws, 2016). Heiploeg is an international market leader in Europe in importing, processing and selling shrimps and is historically connected with Zoutkamp and its region. It is stated that before World

War II Zoutkamp already had a substantial part in the fishing and processing of shrimps, although during that time the shrimp was not widely recognised for consumption. Rather, local companies focused on shrimp fishing in order to process it in animal feed. After World War II, shrimps became more recognised for consumption, which caused the local companies Heidema and Van der Ploeg to merge into Heiploeg. Heiploeg expanded through the times with the taking over of other companies. The factory was located in Zoutkamp, but the building did not have the enough capacity to process the number of shrimps. This resulted in the construction of a new factory that opened in 1999 (Landschappen van Noord Nederland, n.d.; Heiploeg Group, 2019).

Despite this important economic position of shrimp fishing, the village of Zoutkamp markets the image of simultaneously being a fishing village (Wageningen University and Research, n.d.) and having a strong tourism orientation. The shrimp fishing industry is emphasised in this marketing. This is illustrated by a website with background information on Zoutkamp. This website includes strategic slogans such as “who thinks of Zoutkamp, thinks of shrimps and fishery” (Zoutkamp.net, n.d). In order to give contextual information on Zoutkamp, statistical data on (and of) the former municipality De Marne is used. The reason for this is that the geographical area of this former municipality is smaller in comparison to the new municipality (Het Hogeland), therefore the data of De Marne is considered to be more concise on the case. Also, from a practical point of view, the municipality Het Hogeland only exists from January 2019, thus the amount of available data is limited.

The employment numbers in tourism in figure 4 is based on the employment in hotels, cafés, restaurants, holiday parks etc. (classified as ‘I’ by the Dutch agency for statistics: Horeca). However, as explained in the literature review in chapter two, tourism also fuels employment in other services, such as museums. Therefore, in line with Sijtsma et al. (2012), other aspects are also included (classified as ‘R-U’ by the Dutch agency for statistics: culture, recreation and other services). The jobs of employees in the fishing industry are listed in the primary sector (defined as ‘A’ by

the Dutch agency for statistics: agriculture, forestry and fishery).

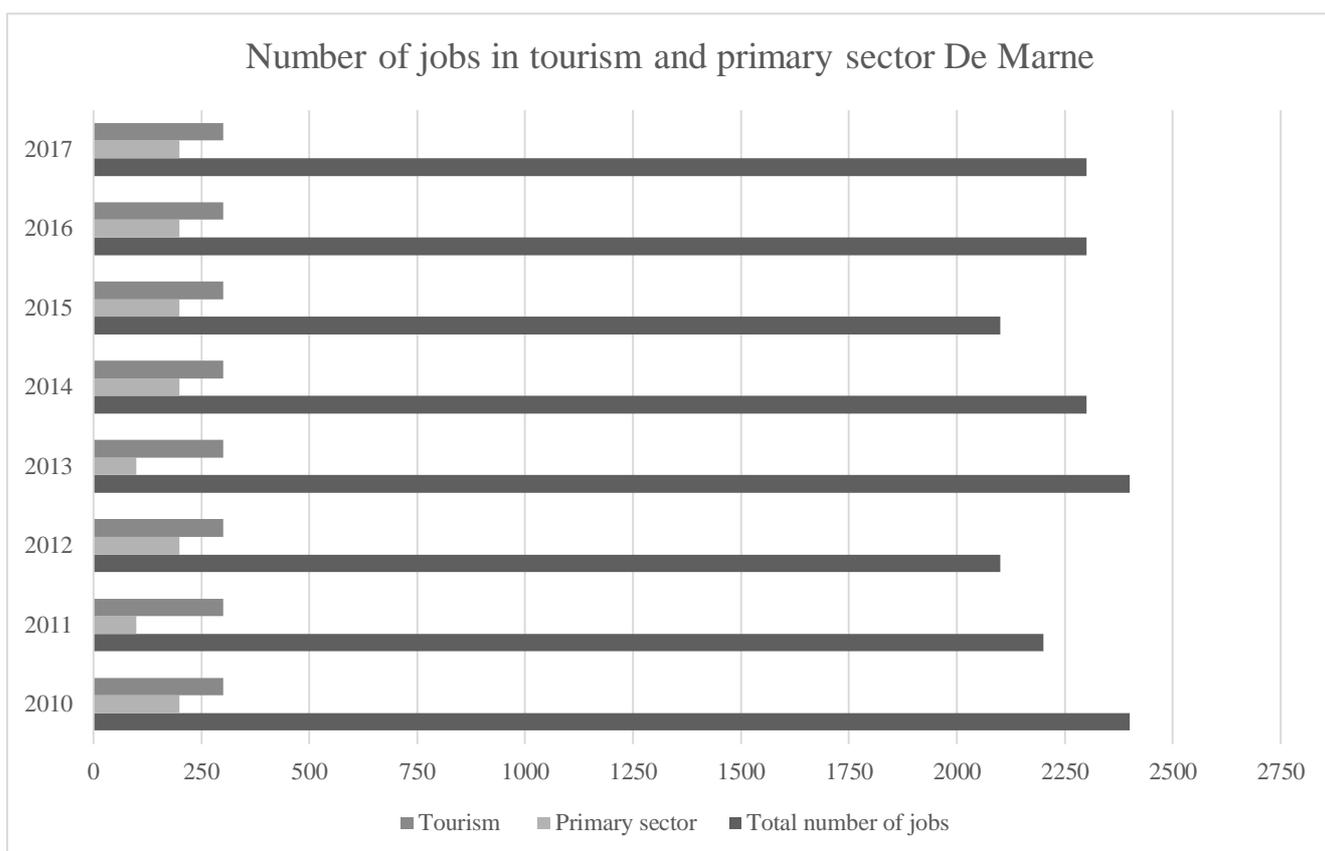


Figure 5 The number of jobs in tourism and primary sector in municipality De Marne. source: CBS [2019a].

From the data in figure 5, it is apparent that both tourism and the primary sector are rather similar in the amount of jobs in the region. Interestingly, tourism is rather stable in this area, while the primary sector shows a decline in the years 2011 and 2013. A possible explanation for this, is the low retail prices of shrimps during these years, especially 2011 (see graph 2). However, this explanation must be interpreted with caution because the data also includes forestry, fishery and agriculture, and it is unclear in which of these sectors the decline appeared.

The number of jobs in tourism and the primary sectors thus far shows a relative stable amount (figure 5). In Figure 6, a clear trend of decreasing population numbers in De Marne from 2006 onwards are shown. Thus, from the data in Figures 5 and 6, it is apparent that the number of jobs remain the same, despite the decrease of population. A possible explanation for these outcomes might be related to the increase in efficiency in fishing techniques, as identified in chapter three.

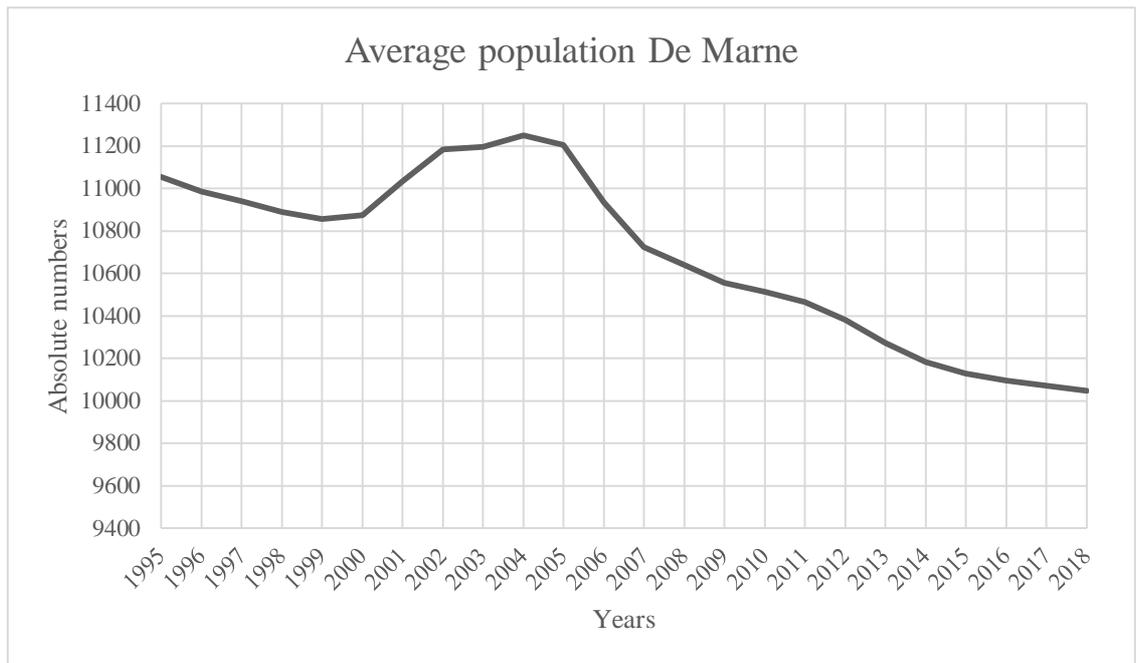


Figure 6 Average Population De Marne. Source: CBS [2019b]

The number of jobs in tourism is interesting, because as prior studies have noted (for example Sijstma et al., 2012) tourism in the mainland Wadden coast is underdeveloped in comparison to the tourism activities on the Wadden Sea islands. Hartman and De Roo (2013) relate this to the spatial features of the Wadden Coast area. The authors have identified that the fertile clay soils in the coastal zone have provided resources for viable farms and agribusiness. The spatial pattern in this area, therefore, show a rather dominant agricultural sector. However, recently other land uses emerge in this area, which involve leisure and recreation. Hartman and De Roo refer to the Lauwersmeer (Lauwers Lake) as an illustration of a location with leisure qualities such as nature and tranquillity. Here, a villa park and a holiday village were created for tourism purposes, however the connectivity of these amenities with the surrounding areas is limited, meaning that the region does not benefit from these tourism impacts. These impacts relate to the literature review (chapter 2), for it seems that the involved stakeholders in such projects in the Wadden Coast area lacks relational thinking, thus the benefits of tourism development are unevenly distributed. Therefore, within the mainland Wadden Sea context, where the tourism sector is underdeveloped in relation to the Wadden Sea islands, De Marne has a relative stable number of jobs in the tourism sector.

In addition, it is important to ask how and why tourism has developed in De Marne. In order to understand the tourism development in Zoutkamp and region, this section addresses main projects and policy on tourism development. The start of the tourism development in this region is recognised during the early 1990s. In this period of time, various plans were developed in order to make Zoutkamp more attractive for tourism and recreation. These plans reached a peak in 2003, when the municipality De Marne and the province of Groningen created a structural vision to achieve tourism development. This project was called: ‘‘Masterplan Zoutkamp’’, and it focused on developing tourism by improving the tourist-recreational infrastructure, by, for example, revitalising the port facilities (Noordelijke Rekenkamer, 2008). In 2006, the revitalisation of the port started, this meant that space was created for recreational ships (Lokale actiegroep EVF Hoogeland, 2009). The overarching goal was to create employment opportunities and increase the liveability in Zoutkamp. After finishing the masterplan, the following aims should have been accomplished: the spatial attractiveness of the village should have been improved, the cultural heritage should have been valued more and, finally, the number of tourists and the length of their stay should have been increased. In practice, this masterplan consisted of several procedures in order to reach these goals: construction of mooring places by the quay, upgrading of public space, construction of a new access road, construction of a pedestrian promenade, revitalisation of the fishing museum, the realisation of the second phase of the fortress structure (this structure refers to the history of Zoutkamp as a fortress) (Noordelijke Rekenkamer, 2008) .

Next, the policy document on recreation and tourism in the period 2013-2017 in municipality De Marne describes tourism as an ‘‘important sector’’ for the region. The policy makers describe their aim to attract tourists who stay longer, and spend more. In this document, tourism is regarded as means to increase the economic viability, liveability and employment opportunities (Gemeente De Marne, 2013: p.2). Thus, similar to masterplan Zoutkamp, this policy document describes the desired economic and socio-cultural impacts of tourism. In order to reach this aim, three principles are formulated. First, the municipality is regarded as a part of the Wadden Sea tourism destination. Second, within this tourism destination, the municipality want to show their own identity. This own identity is illustrated with a picture of an event in Zoutkamp: the ‘‘Shrimp Queen’’ (garnalenkoningin). This Queen is annually selected by a

commission. The Shrimp Queen is always one of the women from Zoutkamp, and she commits to represent the (shrimp) fishing of Zoutkamp (Pinksteren-Zoutkamp, 2018). The third principle is to stimulate local entrepreneurs to collaborate, develop and execute tourism-induced initiatives. In the policy document, it is stated that the entrepreneurs in the municipality collaborate beyond the municipal and provincial borders. Municipality De Marne sees this as a strength of the region, and wants to keep these initiatives at the local level. In contrast to masterplan Zoutkamp, the policy document displays a broader destination view. Where the first project was very local, this policy document has a more regional view.

Therefore, the municipality wished to market itself as *a region* that is highly connected to the Lauwersmeer, and emphasises the ‘unique-selling point of the combination of water and fishing’ (p.8). In addition to this, the policy document adds two other distinctive features of region De Marne: ‘heritage and culture’ and ‘nature and activities’ (Gemeente de Marne, 2013).

Interestingly, special attention is paid to the touristic attractiveness of Zoutkamp, especially the fishing museum in Zoutkamp is described as one of the main tourism attractions of De Marne (De Marne, 2013). Thus, it seems that the aim of masterplan Zoutkamp, increasing the touristic attractiveness of Zoutkamp, successfully is fulfilled (Noordelijke Rekenkamer, 2008). Also, the policy document refers to Zoutkamp as a location in De Marne that fits the unique-selling point of water and fishing. This indicates that Zoutkamp is an important touristic village in the region (De Marne, 2013).

Currently, a project by the provinces of Fryslân and Groningen, together with the municipalities of Het Hogeland and Noardeast-Fryslân, Staatsbosbeheer (Dutch forestry Commission) and recreatieschap Marrekrite (organisation that organises the touristic-recreational infrastructure of both the onshore as the offshore in the province of Friesland) is organised. This project is called ‘Rondje Lauwersmeer’ and aims to improve the touristic-recreational infrastructure for walking and biking. Additionally, it is aimed to improve the experiences in the region which should result in more visitors who will stay longer in the region. In Zoutkamp, a beach area is created for recreational purposes (Waddenfonds, 2016). In addition, another project focuses on the construction of a bicycle path in order to improve the tourism and recreational infrastructure: ‘Kiek over Diek’ (look beyond the dyke in the local dialect). This bicycle path goes to ‘touristic attraction’ Zoutkamp, as described by the provincial marketing organisation

‘er gaat niets boven Groningen’), where visitors can enjoy themselves by visiting one of the many amenities (Er gaat niets boven Groningen, 2019).

Based on chapters two and three, one would expect that a *decrease* in the employment of the fishing industry would occur, and simultaneously an *increase* in employment in tourism. However, the available data shows two that the number of jobs is relative stable in both the primary sector as in tourism. Therefore, it seems that Zoutkamp seems to contradict this global trend. Thus, based on Figure 5, the question arises if the area is transitioning from the primary sector to the service sector. Also, as explained, the mainland Wadden coast region generally faces difficulties with regards to attracting tourists (Raad voor de Wadden, 2008; Sijtsma et al., 2012). Although one of the most recent projects in this region, Rondje Lauwersmeer, aims to attract visitors, it can be argued that tourism in Zoutkamp is rather stable. Therefore, the case of Zoutkamp was selected because of its location in the mainland Wadden coast, and the contrasting relationship between the general trend of fisheries (decline) and the local trend of fisheries (stable). The question arises what the role of tourism in this economic stable situation is, because it is likely that the economic trend in the region without tourism would have developed differently. In this light, the rural Zoutkamp area in the Northwest of Groningen has been selected to analyse the role of tourism in the economic diversification process, and the impact of this on the regional development.

## **5. Methodology**

### ***5.1 Research approach and design***

The aim of this study is to explore how fishery-dependent communities deal with a changing economic context. This will be done by examining the role of tourism in the current context of Zoutkamp, for this context is in contrast with the observed trends of both the fishing industry and the position of tourism in the mainland Wadden coast. Given the purpose of the present study is to explore what the role of tourism and fishing industry is in the current situation in Zoutkamp, this research can be classified as an exploratory study. Because there is little knowledge about how fisheries-dependent communities deal with the changing economic context, especially with regards to tourism, an exploratory research is most appropriate (Winchester & Rofe, 2016).

As pointed out in the literature review, the present study adopts a development first perspective (Burns, 1999) which indicates that tourism should be considered as a

part of a broader development. Development indicates both economic and socio-cultural aspects (Kauppila et al., 2009; Saarinen, 2003; Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2016), therefore qualitative research is suited in the context of this paper, for this approach enables the researcher to gather in-depth information on interviewees' experiences and the social structures of a case (Winchester & Rofe, 2016). In contrast, quantitative research methods would not fit the aim of this study, because these methods are designed to generalise findings into a general theory (Punch, 2014).

A case study is most appropriate in the present study because it enables the researcher to gain insights in the different perspectives of stakeholders (Baxter, 2016). As outlined in chapter two, tourism destinations are characterised by a high number of stakeholders, thus, considering the purpose of the present study (to explore the role of tourism and the fishing industry in the particular situation of Zoutkamp) a case study aids to gain insights in the different perspectives of the stakeholders. In general, a case study is considered suitable for exploratory research, for it helps to explore a phenomenon within its real-life context. It is described as intensive rather than extensive, meaning that it is depth oriented and focuses on the particular to understand a phenomenon in more detail. Generally, a case study is also used as deductive logic whereby the researcher looks for data that supports or falsifies the ideas under construction. Again, this fits this research aims to explore the context of the uncommon situation in Zoutkamp.

In order to research the case-study, it was decided to use the methods of interviewing and observing. Typically, case study research is built upon mixed methods, in which interviews and observation is a prime example (Creswell & Clark, 2007). The reasons for conducting interviews are, first, that they help to investigate complex behaviours and motivations, and second, interviews provide the opportunity to collect a diversity of meanings, opinions and experiences. This fits the research aim because it is an excellent method of gaining access to information about events, opinions and experiences (Dunn, 2016). In this research, semi-structured in-depth interviews with stakeholders will be conducted. In order to ask questions that are relevant to the research question, an interview guide was created (Appendix A), the questions in this guide were fully worded, but in this type of interviewing the interviewer is not restricted to deploying those specific questions, for semi-structured interviews are organised to be flexible. The role of the interviewer is being an interventionist, which requires that the

interviewer redirects the conversation if the research topics are no longer mentioned (Dunn, 2016).

The second method is an observation, which is used as a research method in order to understand more fully understand the meaning of place. More specifically, an uncontrolled observation, meaning that the characteristics of place are also considered in the observation, despite that these might not be prescribed as phenomena useful for the research (Kearns, 2016). For this research, observing these elements can contribute in understanding the context because *experiencing* an event involves more than just *seeing* it. Other senses are also in play, such as listening, tasting and smelling (Tuan, 1975).

The purpose of this method is to provide complementary evidence, this can be gathered before, during, or after other structured forms of data collection. This complementary aspect focuses on gaining added value from time in the field. Because it is less controlled than semi-structured interviewing, for the researcher is not acting as an interventionist, the gathered information is complementary and less influenced by the researcher. An uncontrolled observation enables the researcher to consider different observation elements and it helps to understand how people naturally interact (Kearns, 2016).

Qualitative fieldwork took place in Zoutkamp between April and the beginning of June 2019. It was mainly conducted by semi-structured in-depth interviews with stakeholders who were all directly or indirectly involved in fishing and tourism. During fieldwork, the author also conducted participant observations by visiting a touristic event in the region: ‘de Dag van de Garnaal’ on the eleventh of May 2019.

## ***5.2 Data Collection***

### *Uncontrolled observation*

The uncontrolled observation took place during an annually returning event called Dag van de Garnaal, the eleventh of May 2019 (Day of the shrimp). According to a local news website, the event is expanding every year in both visitor numbers, as in activities. This edition of the event was bigger than previous years because extra attention was paid to the closure of the Lauwerszee, this year 50 years ago. However, the main goal of the event is to ‘promote fisheries’ (Westerkwartier, 2019). For the

aim of present study is to gather information on the role of tourism in fisheries-dependent communities, this event was selected to observe. Although it was held in Lauwersoog, the promotional material of the event used a cutter from Zoutkamp (Westerkwartier, 2019). Also, this event fits the case under study, Zoutkamp, for the history and location of these village are very connected (Zoutkamp.net, n,d). The official website of the event stated that the number of visitors was 23 000. Therefore, as stated on this website, the event has reached its aim of promoting fisheries: “enormous amounts of fresh fish and shrimps were sold” (Promotie Lauwersoog, 2019).

Based on the outlined reasons, it was decided to conduct an uncontrolled observation. In order to consider the ethical obligations of both the researchers as the informants, various stages of conducting an observation were considered (Kearns, 2016, pp 322-330.). By doing so, the rigor of the research was ensured. The selected research role during this observation was being an “observer-as-participant” (Gold, 1985 cited by Kearns 2016). This role is compared as a newcomer to a sport being part of the crowd. In other words, the researcher aimed to blend with the crowd, because it was aimed to reduce the impact of the researcher on the event.

The first considered stage was the choice of setting. This stage takes the location of the observation into account, and whether it can be considered as a neutral ground where people feel at ease. The choice of setting was the port of Lauwersoog, including buildings such as the fish auction hall. Many visitors came to the events, which meant that I, as researcher, was relatively neutral for I blended in the crowd. The second considered stage was gaining access to the event. In general, the area is not very well connected to other parts of the province (Hartman & De Roo, 2013). However, with a car the event was easily accessible, it was a free event. Thereafter was the third stage considered: field relations. This stage has to make the researcher aware of the influence he or she has on an event. As explained before, I believe that the influence of me as a research was not very substantial because of the size of the event. In addition, I aimed to dress very neutral in order to blend in. Also, during short on-site interviews I aimed not to stir the conversation because I aimed to observe the “normal” behaviour of the informants during this event. Fourth, noting the data proved to be difficult. The research setting was outside, consequently the weather conditions affected taking the notes: it was windy and rainy. Eventually I sat on a bench and was taking notes. It was aimed to do this as unobtrusively as possible in order not to influence the situation too much.

Because of the stretched area in which this event takes place, I also walked along with the crowd in order to fully experience the event, using all of my senses and writing down what I smelt, felt and tasted. Finally, after the observation I immediately reflected on the field notes, because this type of data gathering is based on recollection.

As Kearns (2016) explains, the researcher herself is the tool for observation. The author states that, therefore, the researcher must take the time to do it properly. However, it is unclear what amount of time is sufficient. In order to observe the event as carefully and spatially as possible I walked three times across the location: at arrival, in between and just before leaving. The total duration of the observation was one and a half hours. In practice, I walked across the location (approximately 30 minutes) and afterwards sat down to take notes (15 minutes). This was followed by, again, walking across the event, but actively blending with the crowd. During this phase I bought some fish and had short on-site interviews (20 minutes). Thereafter I wrote some key notes down (5 minutes). The end of the observation consisted of again, strolling on the location of the event, paying attention to details that might have been missed in the earlier phases, this took around 15 minutes. Afterwards the field notes were complemented with these additional observations (5 minutes). Thus, in total, the observation took one and a half hours, and can be regarded as being conducted thoroughly.

#### *Semi-structured in-depth interviews*

As explained, interviews are an excellent method of gaining access to information about events, opinions and experiences (Dunn, 2016). The stakeholders were identified and contacted with a ‘snowballing-sampling’ selection process. This sampling technique involves finding participants for a research project by asking existing informants to recommend others who might be interested (Punch, 2014). In total, seven interviews were conducted with eight interviewees (see table 1). The interviews took place between April and June 2019 with stakeholders, who are involved in the tourism destination Zoutkamp. A tourism destination is multi-scalar and multi-sectoral, therefore it is aimed to interview stakeholders from different scalar-levels and sectors. Three interviews were conducted with tourism entrepreneurs of local businesses, such as museums, camping sites and fishing ships. One of these also was member of the local community interests (dorpsbelangen). One interviewee was

employed by a regional promoting organisation. Also, one former director of a local shrimp processing factory was interviewed. Furthermore, one interviewee was employed as fisherman, he focuses on new product development. One interview was conducted with a former fisherman and his spouse who had moved out of the region in the 1980s for work-related issues, and moved back a few years ago. Finally, the secretary of the organisation that organises a local event (Vlaggetjesdag) was interviewed. Many of the interviewed local stakeholders were connected to a regional promoting agency. These interviews were conducted in a face-to-face verbal interchange, a method that is used most in interviewing (Dunn, 2016). For two respondents were unable to meet, other methods were used for gathering data. The interview with Mrs Smit (table 1) was conducted via telephone, for the interviewee had a busy-schedule this was preferred by her. Additionally, a policymaker of the local municipality answered questions through e-mail. A disadvantage of this method is first, the loss of visual cues and, second, not being able to ask prompt questions because the method is asynchronous. However, email interviewing is considered an established format for research-oriented interviewing (Dunn, 2016).

It was decided to stop with gathering data when the point was reached when no new data or insights were generated. This is called “saturation”, and is often used by researchers to determine when to stop the data-gathering (Cameron, 2016).

The duration of the interviews ranged from 30 minutes to 2 hours and 30 minutes. It was aimed to ask open-ended questions, which were according to the themes identified on the basis of scientific literature and case-specific contextual elements: Integrated Rural Tourism, Regional Development and Evolutionary economic geography. The overarching goal of the interviews was to analyse the role of tourism in the economic diversification process, and the impact of this on the regional development. For each interview, the background information on the specific stakeholder or organisation led to alterations in the interview protocols. The discussed topics focused on the changes (both spatial and cultural) in the region, the general description of Zoutkamp as being both a tourism destination and a fishing village, the regional socio-economic situation, and the relation between different stakeholders. The role of fishing tourism and fishery was an underlying theme.

Table 1 Pseudonyms of Respondents

Pseudonyms	Description	Data gathering and location
<b>Mr De Jong</b>	Small entrepreneur who started his own tourism business. Also member of the local community interests. Grew up in Zoutkamp	<i>Data gathering:</i> Semi-structured in-depth interview (face-to-face).  <i>Location:</i> Restaurant in Zoutkamp
<b>Mr Jansen</b>	Entrepreneur who owns several tourism businesses in the region. Also involved in shrimp fishing industry. Grew up in Zoutkamp	<i>Data gathering:</i> Semi-structured in-depth interview (face-to-face)  <i>Location:</i> Fist a tour throughout Zoutkamp and region. Afterwards a drinking facility in Zoutkamp
<b>Mr De Vries</b>	Chair of the local fishery museum. Grew up in Zoutkamp.	<i>Data gathering:</i> Semi-structured in-depth interview (face-to-face)  <i>Location:</i> A drinking facility in Appingedam
<b>Mr Van de Berg</b>	Former director of a shrimp processing and distributing business. Currently involved in shrimp shelling machines. Grew up in Zoutkamp	<i>Data gathering:</i> Semi-structured in-depth interview (face-to-face)  <i>Location:</i> In his office in Zoutkamp
<b>Mr Van Dijk</b>	A fisherman who is co-owner of a shrimp products business. Grew up in Zoutkamp.	<i>Data gathering:</i> Semi-structured in-depth interview (face-to-face)  <i>Location:</i> At home of the interviewee
<b>Mr Bakker</b>	Secretary of the event ‘‘Vlaggetjesdag’’	<i>Data gathering:</i> Semi-structured in-depth interview (face-to-face)  <i>Location:</i> At home of the interviewee
<b>Mr Mulder</b>	Former fisherman who worked in fishery quality assurance. Grew up in Zoutkamp.	<i>Data gathering:</i> Semi-structured in-depth interview (face-to-face)  <i>Location:</i> At home of the interviewees
<b>Mrs Mulder</b>	Spouse of Mr Mulder, grew up in the fishing culture of Zoutkamp. Her father was fisherman at the time of the closure.	<i>Data gathering:</i> Semi-structured in-depth interview (face-to-face)  <i>Location:</i> At home of the interviewees

<b>Mrs Smit</b>	Coordinator of the ‘‘Waddenland’’ promotion agency.	<i>Data gathering:</i> Semi-structured in-depth interview (telephonic) <i>Location:</i> The researcher was at home, the interviewee was at her office
<b>Mrs De Boer</b>	Policymaker of the municipality	<i>Data gathering:</i> Open-ended questionnaire (email) <i>Location:</i> not applicable

### 5.3 Quality of Data

The gathered data has undergone various adaptations as a result of the member-checking procedure (for more detail, see 5.4). Transcribing the interviews was done from a verbatim perspective, for hesitations in sentences can also tell something about the feelings and experiences of the interviewees. However, all but two of the interviewees deleted these words (such as ‘‘uh’’), for they were not comfortable with how ‘‘unreadable’’ it was. The interviewees felt that came across as confused people. Therefore, after the member-checking of the interviewees, the transcripts were altered by the interviewees. This affected the quality of the data two ways. First, the transcripts lost some of the nonverbal information. Therefore, in this sense, it affected the quality of the data in a negative sense. In contrast, the second effect of the member-checking was that I, as researcher, gained trust in (small) cohesive community of Zoutkamp. Also, it is the right of an interviewee to read and possibly change this information (Dunn, 2016, p.163). Consequently, this effect can be perceived as a positive effect of this procedure. By gaining trust, people are likely to share more about their experiences.

During the process of data-gathering, many of the interviewees knew with whom I already had spoken. This was similar to the interviewees’ description of the village, for they described it as a cohesive community. It proved to be challenging to contact possible interviewees because of this. One of the stakeholders had many valuable contacts in the community, and because of him the snow-ball process started to work. Hence, in such a cohesive community it can be a demanding process to contact people. Another aspect of the cohesive community in this case is that the interviewees only informally wanted to speak about any negative experiences with other stakeholders. As the interviewees explained, the community is small and therefore the information is relatively easily referred back to them. This is, according to them, not only in the study (for example characteristics description), but also in the sense that the

researcher stood out in the village, and it was noticed which places and houses she visited.

Another aspect to reflect on is the (relative) small amount of gathered data on public stakeholders. As explained, the municipality of Het Hogeland was only recently created (January 2019). Because of this, difficulties were experienced in organising a face-to-face interview with a policymaker. After contacting the municipality several times, it was agreed to send questions via e-mail for the policymaker was not able to either meet or call. We agreed that I could contact by telephone in case of questions. However, due to the lack of available time on the policymaker's side, the researcher has decided to use the questions answered by e-mail. Although no in-depth semi-structured interview was conducted with the policymaker, the gathered data provides additional information. This information, together with policy documents of both the current and the former municipalities, provides sufficient information on how the policy Zoutkamp and its region is formulated.

The interviews were held in various locations, these locations were determined in consultation with the interviewees. In practice, it was aimed to conduct the interview in a place with at least as possible back-ground noises. Some interviews were conducted at the interviewees' homes, others were conducted in public spaces, such as a drinking facility. One interview, with Mr Jansen, was conducted in various locations, for he gave a guided tour through Zoutkamp, as I could ask some questions. Afterwards, it was decided to visit a drinking facility, and in this setting a more traditional semi-structured interview was conducted.

It is believed that the gathered information is sufficient to provide an answer to the research aim of this thesis: analyse the role of tourism in the economic diversification process, and the impact of this on the regional development. The interviewees differ in position and scalar level. Therefore, this is similar to the characteristic of a tourism destination. However, one should be cautious in claiming to have discovered *the* truth, for meanings differ among people (Dunn, 2016).

#### ***5.4 Positionality Ethics and data processing***

Furthermore, it is believed that the researcher cannot be separated from what he or she already knows. This is something to be aware of, which is an argument for being reflexive though the research. It is aimed to be critically reflexive, which ensures that

the research is rigor for it is self-conscious scrutiny of oneself as a researcher (Dowling, 2016). Connected to this idea is the interpretive research paradigm. This paradigm implies that it is considered that individual people have different perceptions of the world. Consequently, the subjectivity of the experiences of the interviewees is considered (Winchester & Rofe, 2016).

In the context of this research, I, as a researcher have to locate myself in the context of a project, for it is believed that the researcher cannot be separated from their knowledge. Being a resident of the province of Groningen, indicates that I have some knowledge of the context under study. Despite living in the province, I have limited knowledge about the area for I lived for the majority of my life in Zuid-Holland. Until I was 16 years, I lived on Goeree-Overflakkee, an area which is known for the (shrimp) fishing, and is a popular tourism destination. This lived experience may influence the research for I presume that it can influence the interviews. However, by being and adapting an interpretative paradigm, I believe that the interviewees' experiences and perceptions are different in comparison to mine. Acknowledging that everybody has different experiences aided the questioning process, for everybody perceived, for example a fishing culture differently.

Before conducting the interview, the interviewee and the researcher both signed an informed consent form, as formulated by the researcher. Consequently, by consenting to all the parts of this form, the interviewee gave permission to record the interview, refer to their real name, and receiving the transcript for member-checking purposes. This form was established in order to honour the five values in the code of conduct for scientific practice in the Netherlands: scrupulousness, reliability, verifiability, impartiality and independence (Association of Universities in the Netherlands, 2012). In order to honouring these values, it was made clear that the interviewees were free declining answering questions. By also signing the informed consent form, the researcher is forced to be scrupulous. The researcher is impartial because no stakeholder is favoured over the other. The final value is achieved because this research does not receive funding. Quotations from some of these processed interviews are used in the results section in order to support the findings of the thesis

Although all of the interviewees gave permission to use their real name, it is decided to anonymise them in order to protect the identity of the interviewees. Table 1 displays the pseudonyms of the respondents, as selected by the researcher. The names

are selected on the base of the ‘‘100 most-common surnames’’ in The Netherlands (vernoeming, n.d.).

By signing the informed consent (Appendix C), the interviewees gave permission to record the interview. According the listed rights of informants, this permission had to be given in advance. This list *rights of informants* also includes the following elements: make the transcript available for informants who request them, informants have the right to change an answer, informants can contact me at any time in the future to alter or delete any statements made, informants can discontinue the interview at any stage and informants can request that the audio recorder be paused at any stage during the interview (Dunn, 2016, p.163). After the data gathering phase, the interview recordings were transcribed in a verbatim manner. By doing it myself, I acquired intimate knowledge of the data before the process of coding started. Similar to the rights of informants, the transcripts first were sent back to the interviewees for member-checking purposes.

Thereafter, the transcripts and the field notes were processed in Atlas ti 8.4. The first coding phase existed of was connecting the data to a pre-defined list of themes, which were based on the literature. However, this phase was only to a certain extent selective, focused coding (Cope, 2016). The data that did not fit the pre-defined list were also coded, consequently creating additional codes. Thus, it was aimed to be open-minded, however being aware of my own frame of reference, the interpretations are shaped by my background. Subsequently, the transcripts and field notes were reread to saturate the codes. This phase was followed by the second phase in which the topics were interpreted on the basis of literature analysis (the codebook is enclosed in Appendix B).

The ‘‘Results’’ section is structured as follows. The economic diversification process in the Zoutkamp will be analysed first. This is followed by an analysis of the shrimp fishing tourism destination. Next, the relations between the stakeholders will be addressed. Finally, the position of shrimp fishing tourism in the regional development of the Zoutkamp destination will be discussed.

## 6. Results

### *6.1 Economic diversification: An Evolutionary Economic Evolutionary Perspective*

The interviews show that the spatial setting in Zoutkamp historically tended to focus on the (shrimp) fishing industry. For example, the fishing harbour, and the storage spaces for catches are still characteristic for the village. Within this fishing context, the interviewees perceived the closure of the Lauwerszee as an important event that drastically changed the village. One interviewee described this closure as the:

Grief of Zoutkamp. (Mr De Vries, chair of the local fishing museum)

Various interviewees mentioned that the inhabitants of the village lowered the flag as a sign of their grief during the completion of closing construction. Hence, the inhabitants of Zoutkamp perceived the closing of the Lauwerszee as a traumatic event. For example, when queen Juliana attended the completion of the closure, the inhabitants of Zoutkamp literally turned their backs on the queen as a protest. In the year 2019, thus during the period of research, the closure was completed 50 years before date. For this reason, some events were organised for commemorating it. On the day of the interview with Mr Bakker, May 23th, it was exactly 50 years ago that the closure of the Lauwerszee was completed. As a commemoration, it was organised that some local fishermen laid a wreath on the exact location of the final caisson. On this day, a lot of flags were at half-mast but others had the flag at masthead. Mr Bakker, secretary of local event Vlaggetjesdag described this situation as follows:

There are contrasting views in the village. Some see the benefits of the closure, others see the difficulties of the closure. (Mr Bakker)

The villagers who see the benefits, regard the Lauwersmeer as a positive change in the spatial environment. Also, these people add that it is uncertain if the port of Zoutkamp could have handled the innovations in fishing, for the ships increase in size and consequently need more space. These inhabitants perceive the closure as a ‘‘fresh start’’, which made the fleet of Zoutkamp resident for the future. In contrast, various

interviewees who have experienced the closure describe that they miss the smell of seawater and the movement of tides, for it belongs to their (Wadden)culture:

Nothing is more beautiful than seawater. (Mr Jansen, entrepreneur)

These findings connect to the idea of path dependency (Brouder, 2014), for the history still influences the current situation. This concept of path dependency connects to the evolutionary economic geography (Boschma & Frenken, 2011) perspective, because the closure of the former Lauwerszee currently shows the historical processes that produce the current distribution of economic activity. As explained by Mr Mulder:

The closure affected the whole village, because everything left... The movement of the tides, 70% of the people earned their money with fishing, the fleet used to sail in daily. Yes.... That all disappeared. Everything moved to Lauwersoog. (Mr Mulder, former fisherman)

Currently, Lauwersoog is the home port of the fleet of Zoutkamp. This loss of harbouring the fleet in the home port felt off, for the ships “belonged” in Zoutkamp, not somewhere else. On top of that, when the government issued that the cutters should bear the name of Lauwersoog (LO), instead of Zoutkamp (ZK), the fishermen of Zoutkamp protested. As described:

You feel the ZK. No, LO is not who we are. (Mrs Mulder, her father was employed as fisherman at the time of the closure)

Eventually, the fishermen could maintain the “ZK” on their cutters, something that currently is still regarded a victory. Also, various fishing-related companies are located in Lauwersoog, for example a niche to create a technique that makes it possible to shell the shrimp with machines. Mr Van de Berg, former director of a local shrimp processing factory is involved in this niche. Thus, from a co-evolution perspective, this refers to an interaction between different actors with varying development phases (Hassink & Ma, 2017). The experience of Mr van de Berg, and more importantly his access to the external market strengthens this niche.

Another theme that emerged from the data relates to the earlier defined idea of lock-in. This means that a certain trajectory is overemphasised, resulting in a situation in which there is no capital or potential to escape (Hartman, 2018). In Zoutkamp, the fishermen who used to fish in the Lauwerszee were faced with a situation in which they had to adapt: fishing conditions in the North Sea were rougher in comparison to the calm Lauwerszee. Thus, their fishing equipment (including the cutters) were unsuitable for the conditions in this sea. Consequently, the fishermen had to make significant investments in order to maintain their jobs. Despite receiving cutters improvement money, some (mostly older) fishermen were unable to adapt, and thus had no potential or capital to escape. However, some of these fishermen could also find employment in the local shrimp processing factory, Heiploeg. The interviews show that for the locals, this work still ‘‘felt’’ rather familiar. They knew the product and had a fishing history, either because they used to work on a ship, or because they reside in Zoutkamp.

Within these challenging socioeconomic contexts of the village, various interviewees perceived the local shrimp processing factory as a key factor in the development of Zoutkamp and its region for it creates employment opportunities. Again, the factory is historically connected to Zoutkamp and its region, as many inhabitants of Zoutkamp have worked in the factory. In addition, the factory used to be located in the ‘‘heart of the village’’. During the 1990s, the factory burned down and consequently, plans were developed to build a new factory. The former location of the factory was less suitable for trading the products, thus the directional boards considered various location. One of these locations was in Bergen op Zoom (in the middle of the country) because:

Most of the shrimps are transported to Belgium and France. We would have gained a closer location to the port of Rotterdam, where all the big cold-storage containers are shipped. But eventually, we got rid of the plans. There were no people who had ‘‘feeling’’ with the products. And.. well we could not get the people [inhabitants of Zoutkamp] to Bergen op Zoom, for they did not want that... because well.. one needs skilled people who are do not dislike shrimps. (Mr Van de Berg, former director shrimp processing factory)

The inhabitants of Zoutkamp thus are perceived as people who have the (shrimp)fishing culture in their veins. And, according to Mr Van de Berg, this proved to be a motivation to maintain the factory in the village. In return, the factory was regarded as a collective

possession, various interviewees added that they were proud of having such an internationally oriented company in their village. This result is similar to the description of synergistic effects (Persha et al., 2011), for these aspects strengthen each other and consequently, both are improved. Apparently, the factory employed skilled people, who had affinity with the product. The inhabitants of Zoutkamp, in return experienced pride that they, despite the spatial changes caused by the closure of the Lauwerszee, remained a ‘‘fishing village’’.

Thus, considering the (mostly spatial) changes in Zoutkamp and its region, it seems that the region continues to economically rely on shrimp fishing. Before the closure of the Lauwerszee, (shrimp) fishing was key for the inhabitants of Zoutkamp, according to various interviewees. Currently, the shrimp processing factory is still a significant factor that creates employment.

### ***6.2 The tourism destination Zoutkamp***

Despite losing the function of being a fishing port, the physical setting of the Zoutkamp still is identified as being a typical fishing village by promotional magazine Noorderland (De Moor, 2019). The tourism destination Zoutkamp shows elements of the complexity of a tourism destination. This destination is fragmented in several stakeholders who represent different sectors, and therefore have different interests (Hartman, 2018; Milne & Alteljevic, 2001; Rauws & De Roo, 2011; Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2016). Based on the interviews, the (shrimp) fishing industry is frequently mentioned as a significant sector in the local economy:

A big group of people make their living of shrimps, fishing and Heiploeg  
(Mr Mulder, former fisherman)

These elements are all connected to fishing. Moreover, besides this aspect of fragmentation in sectors, the fragmentation in scales is also observed. The fishing industry of Zoutkamp operates at a global, international scale. For example, as various interviewees mentioned, the shrimp landings are transported to Morocco, where they are shelled. After the shelling process are the shrimps transported back to Zoutkamp where the processing, for example packaging, takes place. In contrast, a local niche in which the shrimps are shelled in Lauwersoog is started:

We, as fishermen, want to create the possibility for the future that one can ship the shrimps to Lauwersoog. There are shelling possibilities needed, does not matter who owns them.... But essentially to strengthen the whole region, and that the shrimps are no longer shipped to Morocco (Van Dijk, fisherman and co-owner of shrimp products business).

This quote shows the different scalar levels that are involved in the tourism destination of Zoutkamp. The shrimp fishing industry, thus is a sector that enables its actors to access various scalar-levels. the shrimp processing factory is mentioned as a valuable asset in the region, also for tourism marketing purposes. Mr Van de Berg explained that a hiking path towards the factory is planned, and that people want to see the factory. However, there is no cooperation with the involved stakeholders in the factory.

In contrast, the tourism marketing of Zoutkamp is mostly limited to the regional level. Currently, several activities are executed in a regional context, mainland Wadden coast context. Based on the policy documents and executed projects, Zoutkamp eventually has two main layers of marketing. First, it is considered as a part of the mainland Wadden coast context, Zoutkamp is used as a tourist attraction because of its connection with the sea and water. As described in Chapter Four, various projects that should improve the regional touristic infrastructure are being realised. In this regional context, special attention is paid to the ‘‘Waddenland’’ region. Again, this promotion focuses on the mainland Wadden coast, in which the Lauwersmeer area is emphasised.

In the context of promoting national park Lauwersmeer.. Well, Zoutkamp is of course one of the villages in the region that plays a big part in it [tourism-related promotion], so we want to shine some light on everything what is located in that area (Mrs Smit, coordinator promotional agency)

Thus, the village is described in the context of the national park, recent projects also focuses on creating more bicycle paths the national park Lauwersmeer. Relating this to the earlier information on the ‘‘grief of Zoutkamp’’, it seems that the closure of the Lauwersmeer now is used in the context of tourism development. Again the aspect of path dependency is observed, because the historical development is visible in the economic development (Brouder, 2014; Martin & Sunley, 2006). Also, in line with the

idea of culture economy, the tourism destination uses local, territorial markers for tourism purposes (Ray, 1998). Meaning that the emphasis on the local as strategy is applied. Oliver and Jenkins (2003) use the concept of local knowledge in order to explain this focus on the local. This aspect of local knowledge is observed in the area, for, Mrs Smit, explained that the history of this area is told by the fishermen, who give guided tours on the lake.

Second, much of the local tourism destination marketing is targeted at the village level. Again, this marketing uses the history of the village, but this focuses on the fishing history. This is based on the present spatial characteristics, such as the harbour and the ‘coloured houses’. These houses were built by order of Mr Jansen in the 1990s who wishes to make Zoutkamp a more well known, in his words ‘a metropole’. The houses, thus, are especially created for marketing purposes. Although created for local marketing, Mr Jansen explained that these houses are also used in the provincial marketing strategy: ‘nothing tops Groningen’. So, according to him, they are used as a symbol for the province. One of the local stakeholders who own various tourism-related business, Mr Jansen mentions that the fishing industry guides the directions the renovations that he orders:

Look! [points at a rusty building] this is the most ugly building of Zoutkamp. It used to be the most beautiful building, but now it is the ugliest one. It used to be the fish auction hall, luckily the original construction is still intact, so one can renovate it into its original state. (Mr Jansen, entrepreneur)

Thus, the marketing of the village emphasises the fishing history of the village. The fishery museum sells postcards, which are created by volunteers. Mr Mulder also creates such cards, of which Figure 7 is an example.

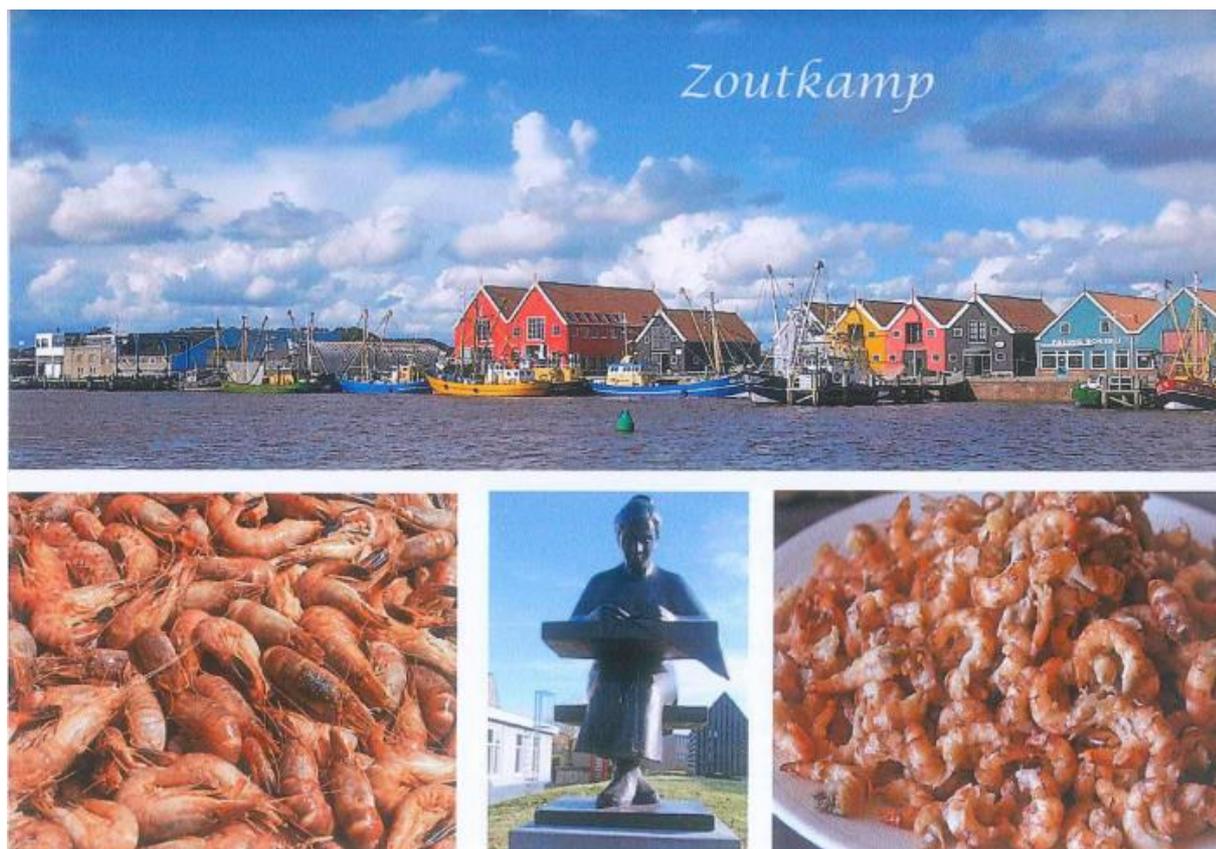


Figure 7 Example of a postcard as created by Mr Mulder.

The images that are used on this postcard all display tourist attractions of Zoutkamp, such as the port, and the shrimps. This historical emphasis centres on the fishing history, is apparent in the village by the restoration of old buildings, such as the former lime kiln. Also, a statue of a net-repairer shows the history of the village. Besides, names of buildings such as ‘de boeter’ (meaning: net-repairer) are referring to fishery. Figure 7 shows that the port of Zoutkamp is photographed while some fishing ships were in the home port. As described, this is not a very common sight, because the fleet is usually located in Lauwersoog, but the photo was taken because it displays ‘typical Zoutkamp’ (Mr Mulder).

These findings fit the description of the virtual fishery strategy, as applied by some fishery communities. This strategy is described by Brookfield et al. (2005) as the consumption of symbolism. The author adds that this virtual fishery in practice is utilised in museums that focus on fishery. As mentioned, Zoutkamp has a fishery museum thus it seems to fit the virtual fishery strategy. However, the exhibitions and

guided tours in the museum do not solely focus on the former function of fishery. The current situation is also discussed, as Mr. Mulder stated: ‘‘we tell how people used to fish in the old days, but we also explain the current fishing techniques, such as pulse fishery. That is also relevant’’. Based on this explanation, it seems that the real fishery strategy (Brookfield et al., 2005) also is applied, because not only the symbolism is stressed. Moreover, Blichfeldt and Halkier (2014) connect the use of symbolism as a marketing strategy as means for community self-celebration. This is also observed in the case of Zoutkamp, for the community identity and pride are strength by the tourism branding. Thus, it has a positive socio-cultural impact, because the community is positively affected (Wheeler & Laing, 2008).

This real fishery strategy became also evident in the interviews. The interviewees describe Zoutkamp as a fishing village because the economy still is very dependent on the shrimp. Also, the element of not hosting the fleet of Zoutkamp is mentioned in this context:

People say that Zoutkamp used to be a former fishing village. But now.. it is a fishing village. Ships are ..[silence].. The fleet is presented here during events. That is something that makes people proud and makes that they stay (Mr De Jong, entrepreneur)

Thus, this quote shows the synergistic effects that emerge between the fishing industry and the inhabitants of Zoutkamp. People feel proud of living in Zoutkamp, and therefore their liveability is increased (Wheeler & Laing, 2008).

Moreover, the interviews show differences in the interviewees’ perceptions when tourism emerged in Zoutkamp. One interviewees describes tourism as something that was already there:

Before the closure of the Lauwerszee, some tourists already found their way to Zoutkamp (Mr van de Berg, former director of the shrimp processing factory).

In contrast, Mr De Vries mentioned that before the closure not many tourists came to the village. Also, the community of Zoutkamp was very cohesive, so tourists

immediately were recognised as ‘outsiders’. According to Mr de Jong, the touristic situation in Zoutkamp changed in the 1990s with the start of the ‘dorpsbelangen’ (local community interests). This is a local association that aims to improve the liveability of the village. This association wishes to stimulate touristic growth in order to reach their aim, however they want to guard the historical values of Zoutkamp. Mr de Jong described their role ‘increasing the liveability’ and ‘bringing people together in order to organise events’. He thinks that this local community interests organisation radiated a collective image. This collective image was according to Mr de Jong inspiring other inhabitants of Zoutkamp to also focus on tourism:

It has a good influence on the village. We had a positive atmosphere in the village for quite some time, organising things, and well.... Creating initiatives (Mr de Jong, local entrepreneur)

As described, Masterplan Zoutkamp (Noordelijke Rekenkamer, 2008) also started in the 1990s in which the port is revitalised for tourism purposes. Therefore, based on the interviews, and additional documents. tourism emerged in Zoutkamp during that period in time. The incentive to start with tourism was mainly economic because:

People saw it as breadwinning opportunity. (Mr Mulder, former fisherman)

However, the socio-cultural aspect of tourism was also considered, for it could improve the liveability of Zoutkamp by keeping the atmosphere vibrant. This aspect is also observed in the promotional material of Zoutkamp, for it ‘celebrates’ the community identity (Blichfeldt & Halkier, 2014).

### ***6.3 Relations stakeholders***

As explained in Chapter Two, in order to reach regional development objectives, the various stakeholders have to be included. In order to reach this integrative view, a balance between endogeneity-exogeneity, embeddedness-disembeddedness and empowerment-disempowerment is required (Oliver & Jenkins, 2003).

Because of the earlier outlined ‘layers’ in complex tourism destination Zoutkamp, the destination fits the characteristics of a tourism destination: fragmented in

scalar levels, sectors and stakeholders. As stated earlier, meaning the regional and the local marketing of the village and its region, analysing the relations of the stakeholders in both layers seems crucial. These two marketing strategies are considered separate for they both emphasis a different narrative: the regional (provincial) strategy emphasises on the environmental and natural values of national park Lauwersmeer, and places Zoutkamp in this context. In contrast, the local marketing strategy stresses the connection and relationship between Zoutkamp and shrimp fishing. However, the tourism destination is regarded as one open system, meaning that these strategies can affect each other (Hassink & Ma, 2017), thus one should be aware that the strategy influence (possibly enforce) each other (Persha et al., 2011).

In the regional context, it seems that the acquired balance between the earlier defined elements is reached to a certain extent. Based on the interviews, it seems relatively easy to become a member of this association. Members pay a subscription fee of 100 euros, and consequently are empowered to share in the decision-making of the tourism marketing strategy. Both Mr De Vries and Mr De Jong claimed that the regional promotional agency of the Wadden Sea Area (*Promotie Waddenland*) organises meetings in which local entrepreneurs (who hold membership) discuss the to be pursued promotional direction of the region.

We host a member consultation meeting twice a year. There are almost 100 members, 95 to be precise... and these entrepreneurs are member of the association. The municipality gives 100 euros for each member, so we receive 9500 euros on top of the other income in order to organise beautiful things. We bring the entrepreneurs together in order to debate: what is going on? What to you need? What do we need to develop? So, the association is organisation is based on their wishes, sounds and thinking... that is basis of developing material and projects (Mrs Smit, coordinator promotional association).

Accordingly, the locals who hold membership are locally well connected. Under the leadership of this promotional association, the regional tourism campaign is collectively organised by various actors, including local tourism entrepreneurs, museums, and the municipality. This finding is similar to Marsden's concept of a lubricant, for the agency enables and stimulates the local network (2010). This structure is enforcing the mechanisms in the web of relations between the territorial; resources, stakeholders and development goals (Marsden, 2010). The previous quote described

that the agency has an important regional function: establishing a theme in the marketing strategy of the region. As Stoffelen and Vanneste argue (2016), this process of marketing the identity of a destination does not automatically match the perception of it of all involved stakeholders in the area. The case of Zoutkamp shows this mismatch in local and regional marketing strategy, for the local focuses on the fishing industry, whereas the regional involves the Lauwersmeer area.

This fragmentation of these scalar-levels is can be drawn back to the merging the former municipalities De Marne, Winsum, Bedum and Eemsmond into Het Hogeland, various tourism organisations are in existence: De Top van Groningen, Stichting Promotie Waddenland and VVV Bedum. This means that the municipal region has several tourism networks, and commodification. Mrs De Boer, policymaker of Het Hogeland, has expressed the aim to unite these organisations into one promotional organisation.

Another theme that emerged from the interviews is that the directing staff of the shrimp processing factory, Heiploeg, has no direct interest in improving Zoutkamp and its region because the company is no longer directed by people from this area. Currently, the factory is owned by an internationally oriented company, and the assigned directors do not live in the area. Consequently, they are not locally involved. In other words, there is no incentive for investing in Zoutkamp and its region. As a result, this stakeholder is not included in the commodification process of tourism destination Zoutkamp. Moreover, the aspect of empowerment-disempowerment is observable because the organising committee of the association eventually decides, therefore the balance is observed. The balance embeddedness-disembeddedness becomes clear in the local-based nature of the marketing strategy, in relation to the regional context of Waddenland. As explained by Mrs Smit:

We [the association] are in charge in de decision-making. The board eventually decides what to do, I am also involved in this decision-making process. Because I am one who has an overview of the different aspects that are in play in the region. Touristic entrepreneurs also know what is going on in the destination, but they often do not have the time to invest in it (Mrs Smit, coordinator promotional association)

Finally, the regional tourism destination balances the idea of endogeneity-exogeneity. This means that the profits are (mostly) obtained locally but that the local

networks should have some access to external sources. As the Waddenland promotion agency describes, they aid the local events to go a step ‘‘further’’ in the marketing process for they market these events in a regional scale. For example, the themes in the fishing museum are marketed as a higher scalar-level instead of only local. Also, Mrs de Boer described that the municipality aids tourism development in the area. In contrast, Mr De Jong said that he had a conversation with a municipal employee about tourism, but that he received no funding and that he had to arrange everything himself. As he claimed:

One can ask people for help, but when it comes down to arranging things, you are by yourself. But it is okay, I know how to do it. (Mr De Jong, entrepreneur)

However, the answer of one of the organising stakeholders of the local event ‘‘Vlaggetjesdag’’ answered when asked about including the neighbouring village of Ulrum that faces depopulation:

One could question what the added value is of including this village if one looks at tourism, looking at the tourism destination Lauwersmeer (Mr. Bakker, secretary Vlaggetjesdag).

Thus, because this village does not fit the marketing of National Park Lauwersmeer it is not included in the strategy. As a result of this situation, Ulrum is rapidly losing its original function of being one of the central villages in the municipality. In the local, village, scale, Zoutkamp shows a disbalance in these required elements. The inhabitants of Zoutkamp perceive their tourism destination as tightly connected to their (shrimp)fishing industry. Zoutkamp is perceived as being ‘‘different’’ in comparison to other villages in the region.

This uniqueness is based on their fishing industry, whereas other villages tend to focus on agriculture. Again, this result can be connected to the uniqueness of the local, thus culture economy (Ray, 1998). It is marketed to both the outside and the inside that Zoutkamp is a unique fishing village, and is different in comparison with other villages in the province of Groningen. Again, the village of Ulrum is used as an illustration to show that Zoutkamp is different.

Interestingly, people describe Zoutkamp as a more open community in comparison to Ulrum. This is a striking description, for other people used to describe

Zoutkamp as a unique, cohesive community. Thus, based on the interviews, the characteristics of Zoutkamp are on the one hand, the open character, and on the other hand, the cohesive community. This seems to illustrate the balance between the endogeneity-exogeneity elements. The balance is not present in the other defined elements. Especially the aspect of empowerment-disempowerment shows different outcomes. One stakeholder has a different opinion, Mr Jansen, who owns numerous buildings and companies in Zoutkamp: restaurants, camping site, but also a fish auction hall. Mr Bakker (secretary ‘‘Vlaggetjesdag’’) explained that the organisation of this event is in contact with actors who act in the fishing sector, and that they discuss elements in the event that relate to the fishing industry.

Connected to the fishing industry as involved in the tourism development is explained by Mr Jansen, who sold off his shares in the local shrimp processing factory and invested this money in return in the area. Thus, based on this information, the investments in the regions can be regarded as another investment that can be drawn back to the shrimp processing factory. Moreover, He is the only interviewee who describes that the collaboration with other stakeholders and the municipality is insufficient and stresses that there should be more collaboration:

I am telling for years... there must be a better collaboration between touristic entrepreneurs and the municipality. (Mr Jansen, touristic entrepreneur)

The final aspect, embeddedness-disembeddedness is also not in balance. A common view amongst interviewees was that Zoutkamp is ‘‘different’’ in mentality, and therefore their tourism commodification is ‘‘theirs’’. As a result of this are the benefits mainly distributed in the context of the village. The exception in this is the collaboration with Lauwersoog, especially the event ‘‘Dag van de Garnaal’’. This exception is explained, as a common view amongst interviewees, that Lauwersoog is a part of Zoutkamp:

Its [Lauwersoog] origin is in Zoutkamp. There is nothing wrong with Lauwersoog, it is different in comparison with the situation here. Yes, you are closer... to the fisheries (Mr Jansen, entrepreneur).

This idea is built on the idea of the closure, and the perception that the port in Lauwersoog is built by people from Zoutkamp. Besides this observation, the focus of

the profit is mainly on the local. However, the organisers of ‘‘Vlaggetjesdag’’ have recognised this as their weakness, as Mr Bakker put it: ‘‘we as an organisation have blinkers on’’. Therefore, the organisation has expressed their wish to innovate, and want to organise the national championship shrimp shelling in the next edition of the event. Similar to the ‘‘Dag van de Garnaal’’ event in Lauwersoog, the event in Zoutkamp aims to promote fisheries.

During the observation of the ‘‘Dag van de Garnaal’’ the promotional material used mainly the shrimp logo. Despite the location, the port of Lauwersoog, the majority of the stands were not selling fisheries-related products, for example churros (Spanish deep-fried snacks) and Dutch biscuits were sold. The fish auction hall was located at the site of ‘‘Dag van de Garnaal’’, in this building all the stands were fisheries-related, for example women from the fishing museum Zoutkamp demonstrated the shrimp shelling technique. However, the number of fisheries-oriented stands was relatively small, which seems not in line with the aim of the event ‘‘promoting fisheries’’ (Promotie Lauwersoog, 2019).

#### ***6.4 Shrimp fishing tourism in regional development***

The interviews suggest that the interviewees regard tourism as a positive impact on the region. As described, the impacts by tourism can roughly be divided in two aspects: Economic and socio-cultural. Based on the policy documents of municipality de Marne (Gemeente de Marne, 2013), it seems that both impacts were considered because in the policy documents is the aim to *increase the spending* behaviour of tourists mentioned, as well as the aim *to increase the liveability*. Thus, contrasting views of growth versus development are also observed in the data (Mehmet, 1979).

The most recent policy document by De Marne describes the aim to market itself as one tourism destination, by focusing on local features (spatial and cultural). This observation is similar to the strategy of culture economy by Ray (1998), because this strategy aims to revitalise rural areas by focusing on their local features. In the specific case of Zoutkamp, it is already displayed that this marketing strategy showed an emphasis on the fishing culture of the village. In order to reach these development goals, the documents list the objective of marketing their own story, which is an example of commodification of local markers. Moreover, in the policy document is argued that this commodification can be reached by enhancing the local stakeholder

network. The municipality should aid stakeholders in developing new initiatives, but the main development of these ideas should be taken care of by these stakeholders (Gemeente de Marne, 2013). Thus, in this context is the municipality acting as an enhancement tool of the local network. Therefore, it can be considered a lubricant; something that aides the development (Marsden, 2010). Furthermore, the policy document thus displays some elements of IRT, for it wants to focus on the locality (endogeneity), but in relation with the overall marketing strategy of the mainland Wadden coast region (exogeneity). Also, the aspects of embeddedness-disembeddedness are observed because it focuses on locally (embeddedness) obtaining the development impacts (socio-cultural and economic) for both Zoutkamp as the whole regions (disembeddedness). Finally, by enhancing the network between the entrepreneurs, the empowerment of these entrepreneurs is fuelled, and the power of the municipality is made less (disempowerment).

The economic impacts are mentioned by several interviewees. Especially the viability of the shops and the increasing tourism numbers are mentioned:

Yes, the atmosphere is warm... and we maintain everything here together. Without tourism, there would not be any shops left, for they are not profitable in such a small village. (Mr Mulder, former fisherman)

We, as a relatively small museum, have more visitors every year. Also, we, have created an informational helpdesk in the museum, where we can provide touristic information. That is our own initiative, we do this for the village. On an annual basis, we received 11 000 visitors, of course that is for such a small museum a lot. And... we see the visitor numbers increasing every year, more and more people are visiting our area. (Mr De Vries, chairman museum)

This observation of the economic impacts of tourism is shared by various interviewees, and is in line with theory because tourism acts as a tool for economic development (Lockhart, 1997). In addition, A link can be established between this economic impact, and the socio-cultural impact, for it makes the inhabitants of Zoutkamp proud: the number of tourists that visit the tourism events “Dag van de garnaal” and “Vlaggetjesdag” is emphasised by various stakeholders, they are proud

of it because they are such a small village. Thus, based on the data, the economic impacts are positively perceived by many stakeholders.

However, as explained earlier, the tourism events in the region mostly focus on promoting fisheries, consequently these events are perceived by local as *their* party, rather than a tourism event:

It is [Vlaggetjesdag] our weekend off... Yes. We say that our customers are here in Zoutkamp, with a few local businesses such as the supermarket... But should one use a stance and try to sell the product? "No", as we said. Also, we like the party... it is such as fisheries party... with your family and all... So, we do not want stand with a stall. (Mr Van Dijk, co-owner of a new shrimp product)

Mr Bakker underpinned this event as a party of the fishermen by explaining that some members of the fishing community emphasised that they do not wish to have many visitors, because it has to remain their party. Thus, this shows that economic impact also includes some negative perceptions of interviewees, although expressed limited. This result is in line with Blichfeldt and Halkier (2014) observation in Denmark on celebrating the identity of the community. In Zoutkamp, the fishing identity is celebrated by the events, for the event(s) emphasise the fishing way of life. But, as displayed in the interviews, it is necessary to maintain a balance between portraying the events as something of the fishermen, and portraying them as something to attract more visitors.

Furthermore, the interviews also highlight the socio-cultural impacts of tourism. Interviewees often use the abstract term "liveability" to explain what these impacts are. They explain liveability as experiencing a vibrant atmosphere, and that they are proud of Zoutkamp. These explanations are similar to Pandey's description of a socio-cultural impact: it is an improvement of the standard of living (2006). Wheeler and Laing (2008) describe the socio-cultural impact as an intangible element: quality of place. This indicates, for example, the community vibe, something that is described by the interviewees as "warm".

Based on the interviews, it seems that synergistic interactions are observable in the Zoutkamp case. In Chapter Two, these synergies are described as individual elements that interact, subsequently increase and become larger than the sum of its parts (Persha et al., 2011). A theme that emerged from the data is the value that inhabitants

attach to housing the fleet of Zoutkamp in their home port. Interviewees value it for various reasons. First, as also shown by the postcard of Mr Mulder (figure 7), it is perceived as ‘typical Zoutkamp’. This refers to commodifying the fishing industry of the region, a narrative often used in marketing of the area. Hosting their own ships is perceived as the essential element of the event ‘Vlaggetjesdag’:

The essence of the party is that the port is filled with cutters, and the sailing with the cutters to bring in the shrimp queen. (Mr Bakker, secretary of the event)

This explanation displays the synergies situations, for it combines the tourism element (the party) and the fisheries element (cutters and the shrimp queen). Moreover, the economic impacts fuel the socio-cultural impacts because it creates a feeling of being proud. This most striking example of this observation is provided by explaining that some fishermen more their cutters in Zoutkamp for it is an ‘attractive sight’.

The case Zoutkamp, thus displays the defined strategies by fisheries-dependent communities of both real fisheries as virtual fishery (Brookfield et al., 2015). This contradicts literature, in which these strategies are described as an ‘either or’ situation. Therefore, based on the single-case study, it seems that a broader perspective is required in studying how fisheries-dependent communities handle the changing economic context. It can be argued that the used EEG framework influenced this outcome, for such a perspective automatically results in a broader view: it sees the tourism destination as an open system, which is subject to internal and external forces (Brouder, 2014). Also, this perspective automatically includes the historical trajectory of a region in the current economic situation (Brouder, 2014). In the case of Zoutkamp, the history of the Lauwerszee is still affecting the current tourism destination in marketing the destination. Now, Zoutkamp is close to national park Lauwersmeer, but also their historical background as fishing village is emphasised.

## **7. Conclusion and discussion**

This paper aimed to understand and explore how fisheries-dependent communities adapt to the changing societal context that they are faced with, by answering the research question:

*“ How are fishery-dependent communities using tourism in adapting to a changing economic context?*

This aim especially focused on the role of tourism, for in literature, tourism is regarded as a tool for regional development. The present study has added on the debate on tourism and regional development by providing empirical insights on tourism and regional development through a case study on tourism development Zoutkamp, The Netherlands. Also, this thesis contributes to literature on EEG as a perspective in studying tourism destinations, for this is perspective is not broadly applied.

In Zoutkamp, shrimp fishing is of significant importance in the regional economy in general. Based on the gathered information, it seems that shrimp fishing is of importance in the sense of selling the catches, processing the catches, but also with regards to the identity of the village. Especially with regards to the shrimp processing factory, located just outside the village, the connection with external markets seems to be easy accessible. However, as perceived by one of the interviewees, the current directing staff of the factory are not involved in Zoutkamp and its region, subsequently they do not invest in socio-cultural aspects in the village. They operate at a different scalar level, and do not experience the desire to get locally involved.

The concepts of integrated rural tourism (Oliver & Jenkins, 2003) and culture economy (Ray, 1998) both stress the need for a relational approach in which the fragmented stakeholders, in scale and sectors, are integrated. In these approaches, a balance between endogeneity-exogeneity, empowerment-disempowerment and embeddedness-disembeddedness is required. The analysis on Zoutkamp has shown that the neighbouring villages are not included in tourism initiatives. The focus of events, such as “Vlaggetjesdag” and “Dag van de Garnaal” focus solely on Zoutkamp and Lauwersoog. Thus, the required balance between embeddedness-disembeddedness is not present. In the regional context, in contrast, is Zoutkamp part of promotional organisation of the region as an entity: Waddenland. In this sense, the balance is present. Members of this organisation are empowered to propose promotional directions, while one more powerful actor decides (in consultation with the members). Both aspect of endogeneity and exogeneity are present in this organisational structure, for it enables members to promote on a local level, while keeping the external narrative

in mind. The element of embeddedness is observed in the element that the promotion is place-based, but in a bigger narrative (disembeddedness).

Moreover, the aspect of commodification is described as a key feature in the culture economy strategy (Ray, 1998). The analysis in this paper has showed that the shrimp fishing is commodified in the tourism destination Zoutkamp, this is one of the key factors behind the evolution of both tourism development and shrimp fishing. Various interviewees consider shrimp fishing as a tourist attraction, which ensures that tourists visit Zoutkamp. Because of this, fishermen are likely to moor their cutters in the village. The cutters in Zoutkamp keep the fishing industry 'way of life' embedded in the village, because it shows that Zoutkamp is a fishing village, according to the interviewees.

Thus, as mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, rural areas face challenges in relation to the changing economic context in which the primary sector is economically less viable. Many European rural areas tend to turn to tourism as an economic diversification tool, for, if an integrative perspective is reached, tourism can reduce the dependence on traditional sectors. The question arises what other fisheries-dependent communities can learn from the case of Zoutkamp where it seems that synergistic effects between the socio-cultural and the economic impacts are reached.

First, this single case study shows that embedding territorial cultural markers in tourism can strengthen the feeling of local pride, thus the community vibe. In Zoutkamp, the marketing of these markers was two-fold: first, it marketed Zoutkamp as part of national park Lauwersmeer and, second, the fishing culture was emphasised in the marketing strategy and events.

Another outcome that emerged from this case-study was that if a regional balance is reached between the defined elements of IRT, the marketing of the tourism destination can aid the regional development. If done correctly, different scalar-levels, sectors and stakeholders come together in the regional scale. When these different perspectives and interests are combined, an integrative tourism-induced development can be reached.

Finally, by adopting an EEG perspective, this research shows that the historical development of a location still influences its development in the present. Relating this to the commodification of territorial markers means that the past is of significant

relevance. The culture economy approach focuses on the *locality*, however, if one adopts an EEG perspective, the historical development can be researched in the broader context. This seems to be a useful approach, for tourism destinations are characterised by complex characteristics, thus affected by the broader context.

### 7.1 Limitations and recommendations

This research has some limitations that should be addressed by future research. The first limitation concerns the number of interviewees. Future research should include more participants to improve the validity of the study. Especially interviewing interviewees that are connected to the public sector should provide a more in-depth understanding.

Arguably, multiple cases provide a broader basis for exploring theoretical concepts and explanations of phenomena, therefore this is an aspect that should be addressed by future research. Also, exploring multiple cases is likely to positively affect the trustworthiness and the credibility (Baxter, 2016). However, it can be argued that the data of the present study still enables the researcher to explore the context of fishery-dependent communities. Also, finding cases with the same qualities as Zoutkamp might be difficult. Therefore, a longitudinal case study on Zoutkamp might display if the findings of this research are confirmed if the same research is conducted again.

Finally, the used conceptual model proved to be useful for analysing the context of the case-study. However, the data showed that in this regional context, the marketing strategy of the tourism destination has a lot of influence on the tourism development. If done correctly, the local community can feel a certain amount of pride, consequently the tourism marketing might strengthen the local social cohesion. This raises the following question: How, and by which elements in tourism marketing is the local social cohesion affected? And how can these be applied in future tourism-induced regional development strategies. This is the final suggestion for further research.

## References

- Andres Martinez, M., & Navarro, J. (2012). Primary sector evolution: 1999-2009. *International Business & Economics Research Journal (iber)*, 11(13), 1523-1523.
- Association of Universities The Netherlands (2012). *The Netherlands Code of Conduct for Scientific Practice*. Retrieved on December 5, 2018 from [https://www.vsnul.nl/files/documenten/Domeinen/Onderzoek/The\\_Netherlands\\_Code\\_of\\_Conduct\\_for\\_Scientific\\_Practice\\_2012.pdf](https://www.vsnul.nl/files/documenten/Domeinen/Onderzoek/The_Netherlands_Code_of_Conduct_for_Scientific_Practice_2012.pdf)
- Baer, J., Smaal, A., van der Reijden, K., & Nehls, G. (2017). *Fisheries*. In: Wadden Sea Quality Status Report 2017. Eds. Kloepper S. et al. Common Wadden Sea Secretariat, Wilhelmshaven, Germany. Last updated 21.12.2017. Downloaded 23.11.2018. [qqsr.waddensea-worldheritage.org/reports/fisheries](http://qqs.waddensea-worldheritage.org/reports/fisheries)
- Baxter J. (2016). Case studies in Qualitative Research. In I. Hay (Ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography* (pp. 130-146). Ontario: Oxford University Press.
- Benur, A., & Bramwell, B. (2015). Tourism product development and product diversification in destinations. *Tourism Management*, 50, 213-224.
- Berkel, V., & Verburg, P. (2011). Sensitising rural policy: Assessing spatial variation in rural development options for Europe. *Land Use Policy*, 28(3), 447-459.
- Boschma, R., & Frenken, K. (2011). The emerging empirics of evolutionary economic geography. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 11 (2), 295-307.
- Boschma, R., & Martin, R. (2007). Editorial: Constructing an evolutionary economic geography. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 7(5), 537-548.
- Blichfeldt, B., & Halkier, H. (2014). Mussels, tourism and community development: A case study of place branding through food festivals in rural north Jutland, Denmark. *European Planning Studies*, 22(8), 1587-1603.
- Briedenhann, J., & Wickens, E. (2004). Tourism routes as a tool for the economic development of rural areas—vibrant hope or impossible dream? *Tourism Management*, 25(1), 71-79.
- Brookfield, K., Gray, T., & Hatchard, J. (2005). The concept of fisheries-dependent communities: a comparative analysis of four UK case studies: Shetland, Peterhead, north shields and Lowestoft. *Fisheries Research*, 72(1), 55-69.

- Brouder, P. (2014). Evolutionary economic geography: A new path for tourism studies? *Tourism Geographies*, 16(1), 2-7.
- Brouder, P., & Ioannides, D. (2014). Urban tourism and evolutionary economic geography: Complexity and co-evolution in contested spaces. *Urban Forum*, 25(4), 419-430.
- Burns, P. (1999). Paradoxes in planning: Tourism elitism or brutalism? *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(2), 329–348.
- CBS. (2019a). *Banen van werknemers in december; economische activiteit (SBI2008), regio*. Retrieved on June 20, 2019, from <https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/83582NED/table?ts=1561107066779>
- CBS.(2019b). *Regionale kerncijfers Nederland*. Retrieved on June 21, 2019, from <https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/70072ned/table?ts=1561122555585>
- Cope, M. (2016). Organizing and Analyzing Qualitative Data. In I. Hay (Ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography* (pp. 373- 393). Ontario: Oxford University Press.
- Council Regulation (EU) 2018/120 of 23 January 2018 fixing for 2018 the fishing opportunities for certain fish stocks and groups of fish stocks, applicable in Union waters and, for Union fishing vessels, in certain non-Union waters, and amending Regulation (EU) 2017/127, non-Union waters, and amending Regulation (EU) 2017/127
- Creswell, J.W., & Clark, V.L.P. (2007). Designing and conducting mixed methods research. Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, Inc.
- De Marne Nieuws. (2016). *Heiploeg zoekt productiemedewerkers*. Retrieved on June 18, 2019 from: <https://de-marne.nieuws.nl/knipsels/38915/heiploeg-op-zoek-naar-productiemedewerkers/>
- De Marne Nieuws. (2019). *In Principe groen licht voor uitbreiding Heiploeg*. Retrieved on June 16, 2019 from: <https://de-marne.nieuws.nl/knipsels/106890/in-principe-groen-licht-voor-uitbreiding-heiploeg/>.
- De Moor, M. (2019). Kleurrijk Zoutkamp, van stoer vissersdorp naar toeristisch troetelkind. *Het Noorderland*, 4, 58-65.

- Dowling, R. (2016) Power, Subjectivity and Ethics in Qualitative Research. In I. Hay (Ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography* (pp. 29-44). Ontario: Oxford University Press.
- Dunn, K. (2016). Interviewing. In I. Hay (Ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography* (pp. 149-188).
- Er gaat niets boven Groningen. (2019). *Top Zoutkamp*. Retrieved on June 20, from <https://wadden.groningen.nl/fietspad-kiek-over-diek/top-zoutkamp-3>.
- European Union. (2018). *Agriculture, forestry and fishery statistics*. Statistical books Eurostat. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.
- Gemeente De Marne (2013). *Beleidsplan Recreatie en Toerisme 2013-2017*.
- Halkier, H. & James, L. (2017). Destination dynamics, path dependency and resilience. Regaining momentum in Danish coastal tourism destinations. In P. Brouder, S. Anton Clavé, A. Gill & D. Ioannides (Ed.), *Tourism Destination Evolution* (pp.19-42). New York; Routledge.
- Halkier, H & Therkelsen, A. (2013). Breaking out of tourism destination path dependency? Exploring the case of coastal tourism in North Jutland, Denmark. *German Journal of Economic Geography*, 57 (1-2), 39-51.
- Hall, C. 2005. *Tourism: Rethinking the social science of mobility*, Harlow: Prentice Hall.
- Hartman, S & De Roo, G. (2013). Towards managing Nonlinear Regional Development Trajectories. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 31, pp.556-570.
- Hartman, S. (2018). Resilient tourism destinations? Governance implications of bringing theories of resilience and adaptive capacity to tourism practice. In: Innerhofer, Fontanari & Pechlaner (Eds.) *Destination Resilience – Challenges and Opportunities for Destination Management and Governance*. Abingdon: Routledge
- Hassink, R & Ma, M. (2017). Tourism area research and economic geography theories: investigating the notions of co-evolution and regional innovation systems. In R. W. Butler, C. M. Hall, & J. Jenkins (Eds.), *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*, pp. 65-81 (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons).

- Heiploeg group (2019). *Heiploeg international b.v.* accessed on 23-5-2019 through <https://www.heiploeggroup.com/nl-nl/over-ons/de-bedrijven-van-heiploeg/heiploeg-international-by>
- Het Hogeland. (n.d.). *In welke voormalige gemeente ligt het dorp.* Accessed on 15-6-2019 through <https://hethogeland.nl/dorpen/in-welke-voormalige-gemeente-ligt-het-dorp.html>
- ICES (2010). Report of the Working Group on Crangon Fisheries and Life History (WGCRAN), 18–20 May 2010 Sylt, Germany. ICES CM 2010/SSGEF: 17.
- ICES (2011). ICES Annual Report of 2010. February 2011 Copenhagen, Denmark: International Council for the Exploration of the Sea
- ICES (2015) Report of the Working Group on Crangon Fisheries and Life History (WGCRAN). 18-20 May 2015, Ijmuiden, the Netherlands. ICES CM 2015/SSGEPD: 07.58 pp.
- Ilbery, B., & Saxena, G. (2011). Integrated rural tourism in the English-welsh cross-border region: An analysis of strategic, administrative and personal challenges. *Regional Studies*, 45(8), 1139-1155.
- Kamp, H. G. J. (2017, October 24). Betreft beantwoording vragen over het voornemen het MSC-keurmerk voor duurzame visserij te geven [Letter of government]. Retrieved from <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/kamerstukken/2017/10/24/beantwoording-kamervragen-over-het-voornemen-garnalenvissers-het-msc-keurmerk-voor-duurzame-visserij-te-geven>
- Kauppila, P., Saarinen, J., & Leinonen, R. (2009). Sustainable tourism planning and regional development in peripheries: A Nordic view. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 9(4), 424–435.
- Kearns, R. (2016). Placing Observation in the Research Toolkit. In I. Hay (Ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography* (pp. 313-333). Ontario: Oxford University Press.
- Keyim, P. (2018). Tourism Collaborative Governance and Rural Community Development in Finland: The case of Vuonismaa. *Journal of Travel Research*, 57 (4), 483-494.

- Khakzad, S. (2018). Promoting coastal communities through cultural tourism: the case of fishing communities in Brunswick County, North Carolina. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 13(5), 455-471.
- King, B., Pizam, A., and Milman, A. (1993). Social impacts of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 20(4), 650–665.
- Kneafsey, M. (1998). ‘Tourism and Place Identity: A Case Study in Rural Ireland’, *Irish Geography* 31 (2): 111-123.
- Lacher, R., Oh, C., Jodice, L., & Norman, W. (2013). The role of heritage and cultural elements in coastal tourism destination preferences: A choice modelling-based analysis. *Journal of Travel Research*, 52(4), 534-546.
- Landschappen van Noord-Nederland (n.d.) Deelgebied De Marne. Retrieved on December 5, 2018 from [http://landschapsgeschiedenis.nl/deelgebieden/7-De\\_Marne.html](http://landschapsgeschiedenis.nl/deelgebieden/7-De_Marne.html): Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Faculteit der letteren, kenniscentrum landschap.
- Lin, T., & Sung, Y. (1984). Tourism and economic diversification in Hong Kong. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 11(2), 231-247
- Lockhart, D. (1997). Tourism to Cyprus and Malta. In D. Lockhart & D. Drakakis-Smith (Eds.), *Island tourism: Trends and prospects* (pp. 152–178). London: Pinter.
- Lokale Actiegroep EVF Hoogeland (2009). *EVF Actieplan Hoogeland, 2009-2013, strategie voor de duurzame ontwikkeling van de visserijgemeenschappen*. Lokale Actiegroep EVF Hoogeland: Groningen
- Lovelock, B., Lovelock, K., & Normann, Ø. (2010). The big catch: Negotiating the transition from commercial fisher to tourism entrepreneur in island environments. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 15(3), 267-283.
- Marsden, T. (1999). Rural futures: The consumption countryside and its regulation, *Sociologia Ruralis*, 39(4), pp. 501–520.
- Marsden, T. (2010). Mobilizing the regional eco-economy: evolving webs of agri-food and rural development in the UK. *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, 3, 225-244.
- Martin, R., & Sunley, P. (2006). Path dependence and regional economic evolution. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 6(4), 395–437

- Martin, R. (2012). Regional economic resilience, hysteresis and recessionary shocks. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 12(1), 1-32.
- Meekes, J.F., Parra, C. & De Roo, G. (2017). Regional development and leisure in Fryslan: a complex adaptive system perspective through evolutionary economic geography. In R. W. Butler, C. M. Hall, & J. Jenkins (Eds.), *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*, pp. 149-165. (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons).
- Mehmet, O. (1978). *Economic Planning and Social Justice in Developing Countries*. 1st Edition. London: Routledge.
- Mertens, P., & Rotmans, J. (2005). Transitions in a globalizing world. *Futures*, 37, 1133-1144.
- Milne, S., & Ateljevic, I. (2001). Tourism, economic development and the global-local nexus: Theory embracing complexity. *Tourism Geographies*, 3(4), 369–393.
- Moscardo, G. (2011). Exploring social representations of tourism planning: Issues for governance. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 19(4-5), 423-436.
- Nadel-Klein, J., (2000). Granny baited the lines: perpetual crisis and the changing role of women in Scottish fishing communities. *Women's Studies Int. Forum*, 23 (3), 363–372.
- Noordelijke Rekenkamer. (2008). *Rapport van bevindingen toerisme en recreatie in Drenthe, Fryslân en Groningen*. Retrieved from [https://www.noordelijkerekenkamer.nl/images/Documenten/2008-Toerisme-recreatie/NR\\_rapport\\_van\\_bevindingen\\_Toerisme\\_en\\_recreatie.pdf](https://www.noordelijkerekenkamer.nl/images/Documenten/2008-Toerisme-recreatie/NR_rapport_van_bevindingen_Toerisme_en_recreatie.pdf)
- NOS. (2019). *Garnalenvissers blijven in de haven vanwege Ramadan én lage verkoopprijs*. Retrieved on June 6, 2019 via <https://nos.nl/artikel/2284153-garnalenvissers-blijven-in-de-haven-vanwege-ramadan-en-lage-verkoopprijs.html>.
- Oliver, T., & Jenkins, T. (2003). Sustaining rural landscapes: The role of integrated tourism. *Landscape Research*, 28(3), 293–307.
- Pandey, S. (2006). Impact of tourism on rural life. *World Leisure Journal*, 48(4), 42-52.
- Persha, L., Agrawal, A., and Chhatre, A. (2011). *Social and ecological synergy*. *Science*, 331(6024), 1606- 1608.
- Pinksteren-Zoutkamp. (2018), *De Garnalenkoningin*. Retrieved on June 20, 2019 from <https://pinksteren-zoutkamp.nl/de-garnalenkoningin>

- Promotie Lauwersoog. (2019) *Dag van de Garnaal Zaterdag 11 mei*. Retrieved on May 13, 2019 from <http://www.promotielauwersoog.nl/dag-van-de-garnaal/>
- Punch, K., F. (2014) *Introduction to Social Research, Quantitative and Qualitative approaches*. London, United Kingdom: *Sage*.
- Raad voor de Wadden (2008). *Recreatie en toerisme in het Waddengebied; Toekomstige ontwikkelingsmogelijkheden en hun effecten op economie, duurzaamheid en identiteit*. Easterein: Van der Eems.
- RAMSAR. (2015). *Establishment of the largest Transboundary Ramsar Site - Wadden Sea*. Retrieved on May 21, 2019 from <https://www.ramsar.org/news/establishment-of-the-largest-transboundary-ramsar-site-wadden-sea>
- Rauws, W., & De Roo, G. (2011). Exploring transitions in the peri-urban area. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 12(2), 269-284.
- Ray, C. (1998). Culture, Intellectual Property and Territorial Rural Development. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 38(1), 3–20.
- Roussant. (n.d.). *Garnalenafslag Zoutkamp, de enige garnalenafslag van Nederland*. Retrieved on May 26, 2019 from <https://www.roussant.nl/garnalenafslag/over-garnalenafslag>
- Russo, A., Priestley, G. K., & Jansen-Verbeke, M. (2008). *Cultural Resources for Tourism: Patterns, Processes and Policies*. New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc. Retrieved from <http://search.ebscohost.com.proxy-ub.rug.nl/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=302281&site=ehost-live&scope=sit>
- Saarinen, J. (2003). The regional economics of tourism in northern Finland: The socio-economic implications of recent tourism development and future possibilities for regional development.
- Saarinen, J. (2006). Traditions of sustainability in tourism studies. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33(4), 1121–1140
- Saxena, G., & Ilbery, B. (2008). Integrated rural tourism: A border case study. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35(1), 233–254. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 3(2), 91–113
- Sharpley, R. (2002). Rural tourism and the challenge of tourism diversification: The case of Cyprus. *Tourism Management*, 23(3), 233-244.

- Sijtsma, F. J., Daams, M. N., Farjon, H., & Buijs, A. E. (2012). Deep feelings around a shallow coast. A spatial analysis of tourism jobs and the attractivity of nature in the Dutch Wadden area. *Ocean and Coastal Management*, 68, 138–148.
- Sociaal planbureau Groningen. (2017). *Op naar Het Hogeland. Feiten en cijfers tbv visievorming*. Groningen: CMO STAMM
- Stoffelen, A., & Vanneste, D. (2016). Institutional (dis)integration and regional development implications of whisky tourism in Speyside, Scotland. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 16(1), 42–60.
- Temming A., & Hufnagl M. (2014) *Decreasing predation levels and increasing landings challenge the paradigm of non-management of North Sea brown shrimp* (Crangon crangon). *ICES Journal of Marine Science*, doi: 10.1093/icesjms/fsu194.
- Tuan, Y. F. (1975). Place: An Experiential Perspective. *Geographical Review*, 65(2), 151– 165.
- Tulp I., Chun C., Haslop H., Schulte K., Siegel V., Steenbergen J., Temming A. & Hufnagl M. (2016). *Annual brown shrimp* (Crangon crangon) *biomass production in Northwestern Europe contrasted to annual landings*. *ICES Journal of Marine Science* doi:10.1093/icesjms/fsw141.
- Turenhout, M. N. J., Van Oostenbrugge, J. A. E., & Beukers, R. (2015). Economische kengetallen garnalenvisserij—Aanvulling op Expert judgement garnalenvisserij. Report 2015-138. Wageningen, LEI. 26 pp.
- Vernoeming. (n.d.). *De meest voorkomende achternamen van Nederland*. Retrieved on June 5, 2019 from <https://www.vernoeming.nl/meest-voorkomende-achternamen-van-nederland>.
- Von Friedrichs Grängsjö, Y. (2003). Destination networking. *International Journal of Physical Distribution & Logistics Management*, 33(5), 427-448.
- Waddenfonds. (2016). *Rondje Lauwersmeer*. Retrieved on June 20, 2019 from [http://waddenfonds.nl/projecten/144/rondje-lauwersmeer/#map\\_canvas](http://waddenfonds.nl/projecten/144/rondje-lauwersmeer/#map_canvas)
- Waddenvereniging (2014). *Toekomst van de pulsvisserij in de Waddenzee. Een verkenning met relevantie voor de internationale Waddenzee en de Noordzeekustzone*. Retrieved on February 4, 2019 from [http://www.waddenvereniging.nl/wv/images/PDF/onswerk\\_2014/Toekomst%20van%20de%20pulsvisserij%20in%20de%20Waddenzee.pdf](http://www.waddenvereniging.nl/wv/images/PDF/onswerk_2014/Toekomst%20van%20de%20pulsvisserij%20in%20de%20Waddenzee.pdf). Leeuwarden.

- Wageningen University or Research (n.d.). *Uitdagingen voor de visser*. Retrieved on May 20, 2019 from <https://www.wur.nl/nl/Onderzoek-Resultaten/Onderzoeksinstituten/marine-research/Themas/Visserij-in-transitie/Uitdagingen-voor-de-visser.htm>
- Wageningen University of Research. (2019). *Fisheries in figures*. Retrieved on June 19, 2019 from <https://agrimatie.nl/PublicatiePage.aspx?subpubID=2526&sectorID=2865&them aID=2264&indicatorID%20=%202881>
- Westerkwartier. (2019). *Dag van de Garnaal groter dan ooit*. Retrieved on June 21, 2019 from <https://het-westerkwartier.nl/artikel/1014737/dag-van-de-garnaal-groter-dan-ooit.html>.
- Wheeler, F., & Laing, J. (2008). Tourism as a vehicle for liveable communities: Case studies from regional victoria, australia. *Annals of Leisure Research*, 11(1-2), 242-263.
- Winchester, H.P.M. & Rofo, M.W. (2016). Qualitative Research and its Place in Human Geography. In I. Hay (Ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography* (pp. 3-28). Ontario: Oxford University Press
- Yin, Y., & Liu, Z. (2012). Creating new path for Old Industrial Areas: A Case Study on Dalian city, China. *Urbani Izziv*, 23, 127-136
- Zoutkamp.net. (n.d.). *De geschiedenis, lang lang geleden*. Retrieved on June 20, 2019 from <https://zoutkamp.net/geschiedenis/>

## Appendices

### *A Interview Guide*

Interview guide (based on Cope, 2016)

Example of types of questions, this example is applied to the entrepreneur setting

<b>Type of Question</b>	<b>Example (indication, question will change during the interview)</b>	<b>Type of Data and Benefits</b>	<b>Literature/theory</b>
<b>Descriptive (Primary)</b>	Hoe heb je het gebied zien veranderen over de laatste 20 jaar?	<b>Easy-to-answer opening questions</b>	
<b>Descriptive (Primary)</b>	Hoe zou je je bedrijf beschrijven?	<b>Details on people and experiences. Easy-to-answer opening questions.</b>	
<b>Formal secondary question (Prompt)</b>	Waarom hebt u besloten om een verandering in uw werk door te voeren?	<b>Identifies the motivation for the change.</b>	<b>EEG</b>
<b>Storytelling (Primary)</b>	Hoe ziet je gemiddelde werkdag eruit?	<b>Encourages sustained input from the informant.</b>	

<b>Formal secondary question (Prompt)</b>	Hoe was de overstap naar de nieuwe werkzaamheden?	<b>Extends the scope of the transition element</b>	<b>EEG: Lock-in</b>
<b>Formal secondary question (Prompt)</b>	Welke skills waren nieuw om toe te passen?	<b>Extends the scope of the transition element</b>	<b>Lock-in</b>
<b>Storytelling (Primary)</b>	Wat staat voor u symbool voor de regio Zoutkamp? Kunt u uitleggen waarom?	<b>Identifies if this is according to the marketing strategies (Shrimps, nature)</b>	<b>Culture Economy</b>
<b>Formal secondary question (Prompt)</b>	Bent u bekend met de marketingstrategie van de vorige gemeente, voornamelijk op de garnaal. Wat vindt u hiervan?	<b>Extends the scope of the regional culture</b>	<b>Culture Economy</b>
<b>Storytelling (Primary)</b>	Wat is de rol van beleid in het uitvoeren van uw werk?	<b>Identifies the role of policy</b>	<b>Regional development</b>
<b>Formal secondary question (Prompt)</b>	Hoe werkt u samen met andere ondernemers in de omgeving?	<b>Extends the scope of the context</b>	<b>Regional development/relational thinking</b>

<p><b>Formal secondary question (Prompt)</b></p>	<p>Hoe zou u de verandering van andere ondernemers beschrijven?</p>	<p><b>Extends the scope of the transition</b></p>	<p><b>EEG and Regional development</b></p>
<p><b>Contrast (hypothetical) (Primary)</b></p>	<p>Zou uw leven er anders uit hebben gezien als u niet een shift had gemaakt in werkzaamheden?</p>	<p><b>Encourages a reflection on advantages.</b></p>	
<p><b>Clearinghouse questions (Closing)</b></p>	<p>Heeft u nog iets toe te voegen? Kent u anderen in de omgeving die ook een verandering hebben ondergaan? En ook mensen die dat niet hebben gedaan?</p>		

***B Codebook***

Types of codes:

*Descriptive codes:* code describing some aspect of the social data, typically aspects that are fairly obvious.

*Analytic codes:* a code through analysis and is theoretically informed, a code based on themes that emerge from relevant literature and/or the data.

Table 2 Descriptive codes

<b>Concept</b>	<b>Sub-concept</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Code label</b>
<b>Descriptive</b>			
	<b>Personal Characteristics</b>	Details of the interviewee provides: their age, gender, hobbies	PC
	Occupation		PCO
	Gender		PCG
	Age		PCA
	Place of residence		PCR
	<b>Characteristics of Zoutkamp</b>	details of the village: description of spatial features	
	Spatial features		CZS
	Characteristics “typical Zoutkamp”	Something that is described as “typically” inherent to the village	CZT
	<b>Fishery characteristics description</b>	Something that describes fishery, fishery trends, techniques	FCD

Table 3 Analytic codes

Concept	Sub-concept	Description	Code label
Culture economy (Ray)		Revalorising of a place through the adoption of cultural and/or territorial markers in the pursuit of territorial development objectives	CE
	Commodification	Commodification of tourism destination characteristics for branding purposes,	CEC
	Selling externally	Marketing this commodification externally	CESE
	Selling internally	Marketing this commodification internally	CESI
Regional development	Economic growth	Direct effect tourism, such as tourism numbers, accommodation enterprises	RDD
	Indirect: Socio-cultural progress	Improvement standard of living, new social	RDI

		interactions, women having more employment possibilities	
Evolutionary economic geography			EEG
	Path dependency	the economic landscape inherits the legacy of its own past industrial and institutional development, and this history can exert a major influence in conditioning its future development and evolution. Thus, a reference or continuation of the history	EEGPD
	Lock-in	a lock-in trap means that a system has become rigid and inflexible because one particular development trajectory is (over)emphasized	EEGL

		at the expense of others	
Integrated Rural Tourism		It is important that these elements should be in balance with their counterparts, because it maintains dynamics in the network, increases novelty and innovation and integrates with external markets and supra-local policy levels	IRT
	Endogeneity - exogenous	development is structured to retain maximum benefits in a locality by encouraging strong local participation in decision-making	IRTENDO
	Embeddedness - disembeddedness	resources or activities are directly linked to place: local knowledge	IRTEMBED
	Empowerment- disempowerment	networks should facilitate local actors to participate	IRTEMPO

		and decide in managing physical, cultural and economic resources	
	Relational thinking		IRTRET
Complex Tourism destination			TD
	Different actors, operating at different scalar levels		TDA
	Distribution in space		TDD
	Power among stakeholders		TDP
Economic diversification strategies		Is de transition process	S
	New ideas		SNEW
	“lubricant” for transitioning	Something that aids the transition	SLU
	“hinder” for transition or initiatives	Something that hinders the transition	SHI
	Reflection on the past	Reflecting on the effects of the closure of the Lauwerszee	SRP

	Real fishery	<p>This means that the fishing industry is the economic bedrock of these communities, providing jobs in catching, aquaculture and processing.</p> <p>Therefore, this strategy is product-based and explicitly fisheries produce oriented</p>	SRF
	Virtual fishery	<p>Builds on imagery and symbolism and is used as a branding-strategy.</p> <p>An example of how this appears in a community is through exploiting the imagery in museums</p>	SVF

## C: Informed Consent

### Informed Consent

Titel: Toerisme en regionale ontwikkeling in de omgeving van Zoutkamp

Doel onderzoek: oorsprong van de zowel de toerisme- als de visserijsector in dit gebied achterhalen.

- Ik heb dit formulier gelezen, en ik begrijp het doel van dit onderzoek.
- Ik heb de kans gehad om vragen te stellen, deze zijn naar wens beantwoord.
- Ik begrijp dat deelname vrijwillig is. Ik heb het recht om me op elk gewenst moment terug te trekken. Daarnaast mag ik ervoor kiezen om een vraag niet te beantwoorden.
- Ik begrijp dat mijn deelname in dit onderzoek vertrouwelijk is. Zonder mijn toestemming mag de gewonnen informatie in geen enkele vorm worden verspreid.
- Ik begrijp dat dit onderzoek voor educatieve doeleinden wordt gebruikt. Mijn bijdrage zal alleen gebruikt worden binnen Rijksuniversiteit Groningen
- Ik begrijp dat de persoonlijke informatie vertrouwelijk zal worden behandeld. Daarnaast begrijp ik dat deze informatie niet aan derden buiten de universiteit wordt gedeeld.
- Omcirkel het juiste antwoord a.u.b.

Ik geef toestemming dat het interview mag worden opgenomen. JA / NEE

#### In geval van JA

Mijn naam mag worden gebruikt in het onderzoek JA / NEE

#### OF

Een eigen gekozen pseudoniem mag worden gebruikt in het onderzoek JA / NEE

Wilt u de aantekening/uitwerking van het interview ontvangen, en eventueel aanpassen? JA/ NEE

**In geval van 'JA' gelieve e-mail adres invullen.**

---

**"Ik neem deel in dit interview. I bevestig dat ik een kopie van dit formulier heb ontvangen."**

Handtekening deelnemer: \_\_\_\_\_ Datum: \_\_\_\_\_

**"Ik zal mij houden aan de regels die in dit formulier worden genoemd. Ik garandeer dat de deelnemer met respect zal worden behandeld."**

Handtekening onderzoeker: \_\_\_\_\_ Datum: \_\_\_\_\_

Contactgegevens:

e-mail adres: [j.a.japenga@student.rug.nl](mailto:j.a.japenga@student.rug.nl)

tel. 06 307 52 357