

Is Planning Different on an Island?

What are the main differences of being an island in Dutch natural resource governance?

**Master Thesis
by
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March 2012

*Land Use Planning
Wageningen University*

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Summary

This study takes a closer look at the consequences of being an island in natural resource governance. The direct cause was the addition of three Caribbean islands to the Dutch government as extraordinary municipalities. One of these islands (St. Eustatius, also known as Statia) contains an oil terminal operated by a company called NuStar which looking for expansion near a national park. The presence of national parks on Statia together with its size make it possible to compare the island with Schiermonnikoog (Dutch Wadden Island). Schiermonnikoog is used for preliminary research on this island being. The Wadden island has a National Park which is managed by a so called Consultative Body, which consists of representatives of all institutional actors including three island representatives (which makes it unique in the Netherlands). To be able to dig deeper in this matter, the literature research is focussed on natural resource governance. Natural resource governance describes the whole of how local, national and international users deal with the usage of the present resources. Comparing what has been written about it with the results from both island cases, can generate new insights in how to govern natural resources. This results in the main research question: 'What are the main differences of being an island in Dutch natural resource governance?' The resource at stake here is the island as a whole.

In natural resource governance, the focus is not only on the resource but also on the community that uses it. This research takes a closer look at the consequences of this insular character of the resource on the community. Therefore, the Statian and (to a lesser extent) Schiermonnikoog community is analysed by use of interviews. Changes

help in putting a community into motion, which enlarges the possibility for hidden structures come to light (this process is called place disruption). The two changes that are used to analyse the Statian community are at first the institutional change Statia went through ever since 10-10-'10, and the oil terminal case as second change. Interviews are used as the main source of information on these changes. The outcome of the theoretical framework structures these interviews. Theoretically, Rasmussen and Meinzen-Dick (1995) provided a division of terms to tear apart a natural resource government case: Characteristics of: the resource itself, the group of users and the institutional context. Thereafter the relationships between the three are analysed.

First, characteristics of the resource are necessary to know. Resources can be high or low in rivalry and excludability, which influences the usage by the community. Both island cases show that island resources are particularly high in rivalry, which means that when one user uses it, other users are influenced by that. Since resource is seen broadly here (being the island as a whole), excludability is low, since islanders cannot be excluded from using their island at all. These kind of resources are called common pool resources. The earlier mentioned rivalry comes back in the high complexity of Statia in particular. Being a small island (21km², of which only 1/3 can be intensively used) with still 3500 inhabitants, all everyday activities have to take place on the island itself. Commuting is unlikely to happen, so all everyday activities are concentrated on this limited amount of space. This includes for instance, work, homes, schools, utilities and an airport.

Analysing the group of users (community) can be done by distinguishing more technical and more social characteristics. Technically, social capital is the most important term. Social capital describes the whole of social interactions that make a community as it is. This means internal (or bonding) ties and external (or bridging) ties. Both islands showed a large amount of bonding ties, making it strongly internally connected communities. To the outside world, less ties are clearly visible. It needs to be said that islands make distinguishing bridging from bonding ties more clear, since the community is limited to their physical boundary, whereas mainland communities are less strictly delineated. In the more social characteristics of a community, important terms are social and personal identity. Islands are tight communities, there is a strong feeling of togetherness, which makes it hard for foreigners to mingle and become accepted. Looking at the history of Statia, being an independent country, a feeling of nationalism occurs which enhances the social identity feeling. Shared territory, history and culture enhance the social identity, and on both islands this is the case, although more stronger on Statia than on Schiermonnikoog. On personal identity, characteristics of shyness and feeling of responsibility, enhance the involvement in decision making processes. Individual characteristics are here shown too to be the main cause for a person to be the main stakeholder supporting or opposing a case on as well island as mainland cases. The manager of the Monuments Foundation is due to his extravert personality, one of the most important actors fighting the oil terminal expansion. Islanders on as well Statia as Schiermonnikoog, are heavily involved in the developments occurring on their islands. Because of this involvement, debates can get personal and emotional. This makes it certainly for outsiders hard to become involved, as the Water-board Fryslân representative in the Consultative Body

experienced when he first entered the Consultative Body. Also during the transition period where Statia became a Dutch extraordinary municipality, cultural differences came to light when personalities collided during the process. The Dutch are likely to be more strict and organized than the Statians for instance.

The institutional context (as the third characteristic of a natural resource governance case) on Statia is a changing one, whereas Schiermonnikoog is relatively stable. In short, the most important changes for Statia for this research were the increased organization, and the strictness of enforcing the new policies and the juridical approval of the zoning plan. On Schiermonnikoog, the Consultative Body takes care of the management of National Park in a governance structure: trying to come to consensus with as well institutional parties as local island representatives. However, this body has no juridical basis, so to stop proposed developments, they fall back on the property right of Nature Monuments (which owns most of the lands on the island: the National Park Schiermonnikoog).

When analysing the relations existing between the institutional context and the users, the 5 principles of good governance are used (being: legitimacy and voice, direction, performance, accountability and fairness). In short, the most important findings are that the Consultative Body on Schiermonnikoog uses a lot of local knowledge of these island representatives, let other islanders participate during crowded open consultation evenings, and always strives for consensus. However, the locals have the feeling that their opinion is not always taken fully into consideration. On Statia town hall meetings are the main place for locals to become involved, which are in general also crowded. However, the ease with what NuStar is getting permission

for its expansion plan, makes locals think the process is not entirely transparent. The local government is not excluding people from the process, but there are groups in society that because of their cultural background do not dare to speak up to the government, certainly not to appeal decisions. The recent addition of The Hague, being a big brother which is watching Statia, is not helping this attitude.

Then finally, the most striking relation (seeing the outcome) is the one between the users and the resource. Summarizing the main findings, it is shown that islanders are very intensely (and) emotionally connected to their island: they have an extremely strong place identity. This connection to their limited physical territory, results in strong 'we' and 'they' feelings. Outsiders have a hard time mingling and becoming accepted, and when outside bureaus make plans for the island, resistance is an inevitable result, as both cases used for this research showed. Also the distance to 'they' (being the mainland population) is considerably large, and culturally at least as far as physically. Looking at place disruption, where a community responds on a physical change in their place, the changes of this research are being opposed or supported by the locals in a very emotional, direct and personal way.

Concluding, it can be stated that islands are unique settings, and that is not only because of their physical delineation and isolation. The communities that are present on the islands of this research are extremely tight. There are many strong internal, and fewer external connections. A strong connection that is present is the one between the users and the resource: islanders are deeply connected to their island. This all results in that islanders are strongly involved in the decision making process, and are sceptical towards outsiders telling them what to do. In debates around future decisions, emotions and social relations play a large role, and therefore debates can become direct and personal. This makes that sociocultural differences are coming out sooner and stronger than on more spread out mainland municipalities. This tightness of the community makes planning and natural resource government different. Insularity adds in to this tightness, but it is not a requirement since on the mainland, tight communities can also exist. This intense place identity is overlooked in planning theory and in practice, when looking at these two cases. The cultural differences that came to light during the transition show that detailed research in the community had not been done. In literature, the knowledge on place identity is present, but the sources are mainly psychological, anthropological and political, so a more interdisciplinary use of this knowledge is required.

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1 Introduction

The Kingdom of the Netherlands used to have six Caribbean islands functioning as autonomous countries under the Dutch Crown. Three of these islands (Bonaire, St.Eustatius and Saba: the BES islands) are recently added to the Dutch Kingdom as extraordinary municipalities. This means they are not autonomous countries anymore, but have a more municipal role under the Dutch Government. As a result of this, the islands require all the necessary documents where other Dutch municipalities are responsible for as well. These include for planning for instance documents like zoning plans and strategic visions. Because this transition cannot be done overnight, the Statian government is still struggling to be fully functioning with all of the required documents and processes (Smeets en van Gils. 2010).

Statia is one of the few islands that does not have tourism as their main source of income. On the island, a main oil redistribution terminal is situated, operated by NuStar Energy (NuStar 2010a). Despite the increasing scarcity of oil, the oil industry is apparently still growing, because NuStar Energy is looking to expand their installation on the island. However, the problem is that the terminal is located in the northern part of the island and almost the entire northern half is included in the Boven National Park. This results in a conflict because an industrial company wants to expand a plant very near to a national park.

Because Statia is currently functioning under the Dutch Government as a special municipality, it is context-wise, comparable with other Dutch islands. The one that has the most similarities is Schiermonnikoog. Schiermonnikoog consists for a large part of a national park, and there

are desired developments applied for by several parties. More about the difference between 'special municipality' and an ordinary municipality can be found in the theoretical framework. Both islands function within a comparable context, and have comparable issues, therefore Schiermonnikoog is used for preliminary research on this island being. However, there is about 7000km separating them, and this does not only involve the physical distance; in the way they function, they differ just as much (Schoenmackers, 2010).

The transition period on Statia, coloured by the oil terminal case, together with the preliminary research on Schiermonnikoog result in the fact that this island being (insularity) is the main subject of this research. Islands are home to isolated communities, since the sea around it prohibits locals to easily travel to neighbouring municipalities or countries. This results in the main subject of this study: consequences insularity in natural resource governance. A focus is chosen to be able to gain insights in what it means to manage the environment on an island. This focus is: how do people and institutions deal with their natural resources. This is called natural resource governance, and this term will be used to get a better insight in what issues are at stake concerning Statia and the oil terminal case just after becoming an extraordinary Dutch municipality. The main aim of this study is to gain insights in island characteristics that influence the decision making process concerning natural resource governance. Digging deeper in this term, Rasmussen and Meinzen-Dick (1995) provide a useful threefold division of terms to analyse natural resource governance on both islands. This division is expanded by a duo of relationships that exist between these three characteristics of natural resource governance. The three subjects are subsequently: the

characteristics of the resource, the group of users and the institutional context. The relationships between the users and the institutional context and the resource are thereafter treated. This way, more information is gathered on natural resource governance. Because of the addition of 'governance' in the main focus of this research, more attention is given to the more social and cultural aspects of the term than on the technical, institutional aspects. Themes under natural resource governance include social capital, social identity, social capital and obviously governance itself. The above mentioned division comes back in as well the analysis of the results as in the discussion.

After explaining the purpose of this study in the following paragraph, and a further elaboration on the problem in paragraph 1.2, the main research question will be put forward in 1.3. The general theme is as said natural resource governance on islands. The methods used to gather information and distilling the conclusions out of that is presented in chapter 2. To be able to understand natural resource governance more, a literature study to show what has been written about the term will follow in chapter 3. This chapter is divided up into the earlier mentioned 5 parts, because it was literature that provided this division. First the characteristics of the resource will be treated, followed by the characteristics of the users and finally of the institutional context. The two relationships that exist are first off between the users and the institutional context (as in government versus governance) and secondly between the users and the resource (as in place identity). An assumption is made that the relation between the institutional context and the resource always goes via the users, which results in the exclusion of this relationship to prevent overlap. This division of five themes comes back in the analysis of the results

and finally in the discussion. After the literature study, a case specific desk study (chapter 4) has been done to gain more insight in the cases itself (for instance treating the terms extraordinary municipality and national parks). Then the results are presented in chapter 5, again according to the division mentioned earlier. This will result in a comparison between the found literature of chapter 3 with the results in chapter 5, which will be presented in the discussion (chapter 6). Finally, the conclusion will provide an attempt to answer the main research question concerning the specific cases used in this research, as well as future research and practical application of the findings, in chapter 7.

1.1 Purpose of the study

Islands are unlike mainland municipalities, because of the physical isolation of the area by the presence of the sea. This makes islands interesting places to do more research in, since the community living on an island is also isolated because of this sea. It makes island communities more confined and static than mainland municipal communities where commuting and regional movements of people in general happen on a more frequent basis. It needs to be said that there are mainland municipalities imaginable which are just as isolated as islands, and thus function in a similar way, but this research focusses on two islands surrounded by sea: Schiermonnikoog and Statia. Both chosen islands house small communities. How these communities deal with their natural resources is dependent on the social characteristics of this group. Also, the cultural setting in which these phenomena occur are also influencing the process. For planning, the characteristics of a specific community are very important to take into account in researching a particular case. Decisions are made on a formal, public

level, but are highly influenced by the private sector, cultural backgrounds and the informal relationships between all groups. Therefore there is a focus on the more social aspects of an island community when dealing with these issues. Schiermonnikoog has been under Dutch authority for decades, and will therefore be used as a source of inspiration and as a case to evaluate the findings of Statia better. However, this study focusses mainly on the island of Statia. Statia is recently added alongside two other Caribbean islands (Bonaire and Saba) to the Dutch Kingdom as an extraordinary municipality. Besides this, both island used in this study, but Statia in particular, have a nature protection versus development problem, so the main thematic focus will be on natural resource governance (see chapter 3). Overall, this research's purpose is to show the main consequences of the island being in a natural resource governance context. These outcomes might provide new insights in how to deal with other participative planning cases as well.

As said, one of the two elements that make the Statian case interesting is the oil terminal development. This expansion plan aims for an industrial development right next to a national park. Here, a second purpose comes in: to provide a global advice to the Statian decision makers about the industrial development of an oil terminal in the national park. As mentioned before, the idea for this research is founded in the presentation of the case in the Boven National Park on Statia by the director of the Statia Tourism Office, therefore providing an attempt to an advice on the future of that area is necessary.

1.2 Statement of the problem

To try to shed light on the consequences of being an island, two processes are used in Statia, which can be called problems (as presented by the director of the Statia Tourism Office). First, the institutional shift caused many, mainly cultural, conflicts between the Dutch and the Statians. Secondly, the oil terminal expansion plan is the first case that tests this new institutional context. Both are (proposed or past) changes which puts the community into motion. How they react on these changes helps in gaining insights in this island being. The following paragraphs treat both changes in slightly more detail.

As mentioned earlier, the study takes place in a context just after a substantial institutional shift. In short, Statia is facing a shift from a Caribbean to a Dutch institutional context. Statia used to be a separate country with different values and standards compared to traditional Dutch (Wadden) Islands, as result of its location on the globe and its history. Because now Dutch mainland culture and Dutch Caribbean culture merge on (among the other isles) Statia, many interesting conflicts, partnerships and other cases might be in need of more research, hence this research topic. Within several years, Statia should be fully operational under Dutch law, with for planning globally the same rights and means as any other municipality. Before the transition the main government for Statia was on another Dutch Antilles' island relatively nearby (Curacao). Nowadays the main government is in The Hague, about 7000km across sea. As mentioned, this distance does not only show in kilometres, but also in cultural differences. Henk Kamp, government representative, described it in Change Magazine as follows: 'in Holland, people work more planned, strict and cold. On islands like Statia, people operate more on improvisation, feeling,

warmth and coming together to convince each other' (2010). This results in many new insights, interesting partnerships, but also conflicts, on both sides on how to operate in this context. The transition made these come to light, which will be the main problem for this research.

The main contemporary concrete problem is the fact that the oil terminal located on Statia is looking for room to expand. The preferable option according to the oil company, is an expansion on the borders of the Boven national park. This means a highly complex decision to be made. On the one hand there are the economic benefits of the expansion for the island of Statia. On the other hand, there are the protective measures attached to the National Park and local resistance to protect natural areas. On the background, the effects of the institutional change are present. In what form and how intense they are is uncertain (and thus one of the main aims of this study), but that issues arise is already clear (see: Change Magazine 2010). Decision makers attach values to both sides, but how they cope with this valuation and if the institutional background is of any influence, is open to question.

Schiermonnikoog is an island with comparable problems in a comparable context, but then much closer to The Hague. Therefore this case can provide some insights in how decisions like the one Statia is facing, can be made.

1.3 Research Questions

Summarizing the above, there is an island recently added to the Dutch Kingdom with new uncertain developments on it. This can shed light on the main differences of being an island compared to a comparable mainland case.

1.3.1 Main research question

The aim is to find out more about the consequences this island being concerning natural resource governance, in the context of a possible development in a natural area and an institutional change. So combining the problem and the aim results in the main research question for this thesis:

“What are the main differences of being an island in Dutch natural resource governance?”

1.3.2 Sub questions

At first, it is important to address what has been written on natural resource governance. This is the main term this research tries to gather more information about. Therefore, first a literature research is done to provide a useful background, so that finally by interviewing the stakeholders of both cases, specific questions can be asked to gain the best insight in how the phenomenon of natural resource governance works. An important point to find out in that is what (power) relations exist and how they influence the functioning of natural resource governance. This counts for reality and on paper, informal and formal, hence the use of both literature and interviews. The term natural resource governance will be torn apart in three sub questions concerning the resource itself, the group of users and the institutional

context. Then two questions are added to gather information about the relationships between the three. This provides an wide view on natural resource governance. Schematically, the questions are formulated as:

- *What is natural resource governance?*
 - *What are the characteristics of the resource?*
 - *What are the characteristics of the group of users?*
 - *What are the characteristics of the institutional framework?*
 - *What are the relationships between the users and the institutional context?*
 - *What are concerning the relationships between the users and the resource?*

These questions will be used in as well the literature study as in the research carried out itself. During the literature study, the questions will be asked in a way of “what has been written about natural resource governance”. When investigating in both cases themselves, these questions are the main guiding questions alongside the interviews are set up.

Besides this, the choice for these two comparable cases needs to be explained, resulting in the question about in what context both cases operate. Differences and similarities are addressed, plus elements like institutional context and cultural context are treated. This all results in a global image on both cases, focussing on Statia, which then can help to answer on the main question by describing how the natural resource governance on both islands work.

2 Methods

In short, this research is structured in a way where two cases are treated in order to shed light on the main theme of being an island concerning natural resource governance. One of these cases (Schiermonnikoog) is mainly used as a first insight and source of inspiration, plus to be able to evaluate the findings of the Statian investigation better. Statia will be the main focus, and therefore the deepest research has been done on this island. Statia is coping with two major phenomena, one being a proposed development in the physical environment, the other being the aftermath of an institutional shift. These two phenomena are the cause for problems inside the Statian community, which shows the differences of being an island compared to a mainland case.

Creswell (2009) defines three types of research: quantitative, qualitative and a mixed approach. He describes quantitative research as an attempt to test objective theories by examining the relationship between (measurable) variables so it has a statistical character. Qualitative research however, has a more social and human attitude. Usually a human problem is treated, and this is tackled by in depth research in participants' own environment; interpreting this data and possibly generate a general theory out of it. Methods are more interviewing than the quantitative surveys. A mixed methods approach obviously mixes some quantitative elements with qualitative ones. For this research, a qualitative research is most applicable since the main source of information will be interviewing the participants of the cases.

As a start, a literature study has been done to provide a theoretical framework what the main points of interest are in natural resource governance. The focus will be on more social and cultural aspects of the term. But a broad understanding has to be present, so also other characteristics are treated. The sources will be mainly qualitative, like articles, books and other documents. The main keywords are beside natural resource governance and natural resource management, social capital, social identity, place identity, place disruption and governance. All of these search terms are used twice, with the addition of the word 'island' to the second time of usage.

Concerning the cases, at first, newspapers and other public documents are useful as a start to see what issues are really at stake, as can be found back in chapter 4. This also includes the main planning documents like zoning plans, strategic visions and environmental management plans (like the Statian Strategic Development Plan). For Statia, the Change Magazine (2010) is a helpful source as well. After that, a global view on the field of stakeholders can be made on the basis of these documents. This provides the first few interesting persons to interview. The contributors to the Change Magazine showed that they have information and views on the main issues at stake at the island. Plus that the main stakeholders are already mentioned by name in the magazine which provides the first contact persons.

This process will be used twice, as I will try to get some inside information from the Dutch Wadden Islands as well. The main document here is the Beheer en Inrichtingsplan Plus (BIP+, Management and Development Plan Plus). This is made by the Consultative Body, which will be used as a starting point, but the main

aim is Statia, so only few respondents from Schiermonnikoog are needed. Since this island is comparable to Statia (but with a longer history in the Dutch planning system) some inspiring information could be found by interviewing the main stakeholders in spatial planning on Schiermonnikoog.

In general, the interviews will be structured in a similar way as in this report (building forth on the theoretical framework). So first, more information about the resource itself (the island and its limitations and opportunities) is asked. Then about the users, if there are strong community bonds, and if there is a large informal world outside of the formal meeting rooms. Subsequently the relations between the users and the institutional context will show the amount of participation the islanders as well as the authorities experience. Finally, how strongly the islanders are connected to their island provides insight in the emotional debates that arise when dealing with changes on the islands.

By evaluating each point and statement given by the stakeholders, combined with the insights provided by the stakeholders on Schiermonnikoog, and comparing that with the found literature, a general insight might be possible to generate. Also, a general understanding about the difficulties during an institutional change provides useful information for future researches.

For Schiermonnikoog, the following persons were interviewed:

- *Manager of the Schiermonnikoog National Park (Nature Monuments)*
- *One of the Island Representatives in Consultative Body, who is also the manager of the Local Business Association*
- *Representative of the Municipality of Schiermonnikoog*
- *The former mayor of Schiermonnikoog*
- *The secretary of the Consultative Body, situated at the Province of Fryslan Council Building*
- *The Water-board Fryslan representative in the Consultative Body*

For Statia, the following persons were interviewed:

- *The acting president of STENAPA (St.Eustatius National Parks Foundation)*
- *The director of National Parks (STENAPA)*
- *The director of Statian Tourism Office*
- *The former Education Commissioner of Statian Government*
- *The General Manager of NuStar Energy Ltd.*
- *The head of the Statian Government Information Service*
- *The jurist at Legal Affairs, Statian Government*
- *The manager of Old Gin House Hotel*
- *The manager of STEBA (Statian Business Association)*
- *The manager of the Monuments Foundation, and initiator of SEAD (St. Eustatius Awareness and Development Network)*
- *The manager of the Statian Chamber of Commerce, former Island Council member*
- *The senior Planner at the Statian Planning Bureau*
- *An archaeologist of SECAR (Statian Centre for Archaeological Research)*
- *An employee at Statian Planning Bureau*

3 Theory on Natural Resource Governance

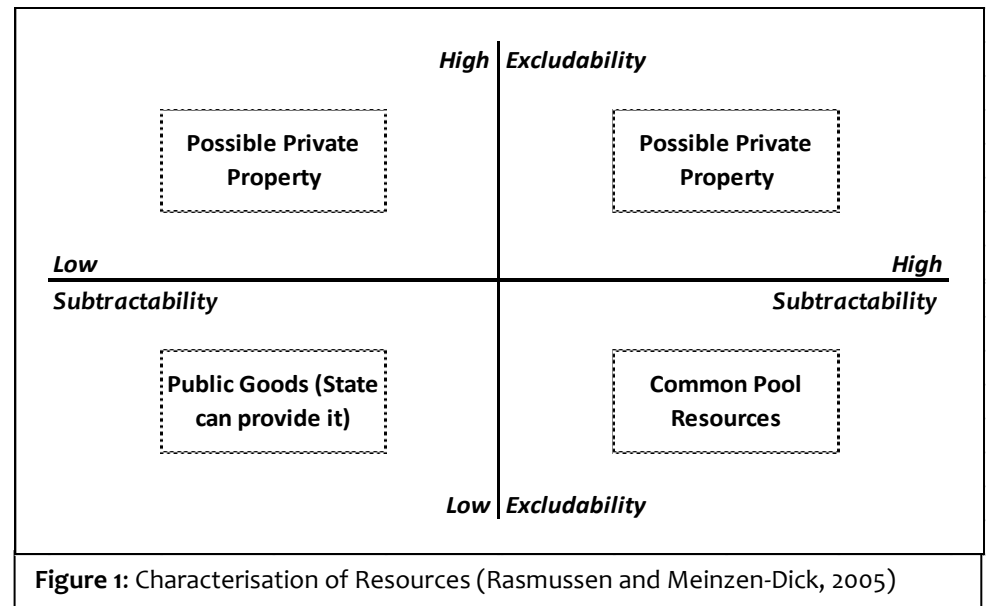
The main subject of this research is the way people use their natural resources, to be more specific: how the use of these resources is governed. This is called natural resource governance, which is an aggregation of natural resource management and governance (Lockwood et al. 2008). In natural resource management, there should be a resource, and a group of users (Rasmussen and Meinzen-Dick, 1995). Because of the earlier mentioned aggregation of natural resource management and governance, an institutional context element is added to this structure of understanding the institutional background of natural resource governance. These three phenomena are interconnected, hence the addition of two paragraphs about the relationships between the users and the resource as well as between the institutional context and the users. A note has to be made here, that to make this structure complete, a third relation should be given attention to: the relationship between the institutional context and the resource. However, an institutional world does not exist without users; therefore the assumption is made that all relationships existing between the institutional context and the resource itself, are going via the users. Therefore the direct link adds nothing new, and to prevent overlap, this link is left out.

3.1 Characteristics of the resource

According to the literature study of Rasmussen and Meinzen-Dick (1995), there are two phenomena involved in characterising the resource: excludability and subtractability (see figure 1). Excludability relates to the effort needed to prevent others from using the resource, in other words how easy is it to exclude a user from using a certain

resource. High excludability means that users can easily be excluded from their ability to use the resource. On the other hand, when it is hard to exclude people from using a resource, more commonly owned resources are the case. Subtractability is defined as the effect of the usage of a resource by one actor, on the availability of the resource to the other actors. Therefore subtractability is often called rivalry, because there is rivalry amongst the actors on the usage of the resource.

When a resource is high in rivalry, it means that if one user uses it, other users are heavily negatively influenced in their ability to use it. On the other side, a resource is low in rivalry other users are not as much influenced in their possibility to use the resource. High rivalry usually occurs in situations of scarcity, and low rivalry obviously mainly occurs



in situations of abundance. Therefore, a few typologies can be derived when placing the two phenomena on axes (adding both high and low). When a good is high in excludability, it usually finds itself on a private property. Nevertheless, when a resource is low in excludability, more users have claims on it, public goods and common pool resources evolve. When the rivalry on a resource is low, the resources are often called public goods because the State is the best actor to provide it to the different actors. When the rivalry on a resource is high, they are called common pool resources. In common pool resources, loads of actors have different claims on the resource. Because when one user uses this resource, other possible users are highly influenced, many conflicts arise in this type of resources. When these goods are not properly managed, these have a high risk of ending up in a so called tragedy of the commons. In short, the tragedy of the commons means that when every single user uses a resource up to its own demand, the output of the resource for the mass is not optimal, and even natural and economical damage can occur (Hardin 1968). Phenomena that influence or shape this high or low in subtractability or excludability include the size of the resource system, the ease (technology needed) to subtract and use the resource and the predictability of the quantity over time and space.

3.1.1 What activities are likely to develop in national parks?

Since the context of both cases is about coping with competing land use claims on protected natural areas, it is meaningful to know more about the activities that are possible to develop in these national parks. The case is that an industrial company wants to expand, and the main argument in favour of this is the economic benefit. But there might be other activities that are less disturbing for nature, and still generate a substantial income.

3.1.1.1 Tourism (Eco and Mass)

Mass tourism can be characterized by large scale facilities controlled by multinationals, concentrated enclaves and package deals (Wilkinson 1989). At first it seems like an easy option to generate substantial income and job opportunities. Other benefits can be found in educational opportunities, improvement of the infrastructure and thus overall improving the quality of life of the locals (Kahn 1997). Wilkinson (1989) did research in mass tourism on small island micro states. He states that it was a universal viewpoint of small islands in search of additional income to allow traditional mass tourism development. Most islands chose this option because of the ever growing image of the tourism sector. This option can be a solution for generating income in a national park. Kahn (1997) states that it does indeed generate income plus that it improves the image of the Third World countries. Concentrating loads of development lowers the disturbance created by scattered touristic development elsewhere. Letting many people visit a certain area generates support for its conservation (Weaver 2001).

There is however a large ‘but’ in developing mass tourism in a lesser developed country. Kahn (1997), Wilkinson (1989) and Albuquerque and McElroy (1992) to name a few, argue the disadvantages of mass tourism. Mass tourists are mainly First World persons that travel to certain Second/Third World islands in this case, fly with their own national airline, go with a package deal created by a First World country multinational, to a hotel owned by a First World company. Albuquerque and McElroy (1992) describe it nicely as “high volume traffic from relatively large harbour and airport facilities to large-scale hotels concentrated along delicate coastlines”. This means that there is a substantial income leakage: not all money people spent on their holiday goes to the local people (Dwyer and Forsyth 1997). The airline, the hotel and the travel agency all are getting their part. So the benefits for the local community are few. The solution for this is ecotourism (or: alternative tourism/community based tourism). Ecotourism tends to preserve fragile land, natural areas, and give local people what they deserve (Horwich, et al. 1993). Compared to mass tourism, ecotourism is smaller in scale, locally owned with a low import leakage and a higher proportion of profits remaining in the local economy, and does not disrupt the flora and fauna (Kahn 1989). According to the International Ecotourism Society (2006), “ecotourism is a responsible travel to natural areas which conserves the environment and sustains the well-being of the local people” So ecotourism might be a solution for generating income from designated sites that might cover a part of the costs made by the conservation of an area.

3.1.1.2 Companies/Industry

Beside tourism, other sectors can also generate income from areas like national parks. If allowed, it is obvious that for instance factories and offices can make a profit on these sites. When this office or factory is locally owned, it even has a benefit over mass tourism that all income acquired goes to the local inhabitants and employees. Another benefit is that (mass) tourism has a high and a low season, which means that not in all months the income generated by a hotel for instance is equally high. Factories and offices generally operate year-round. Globally there are two extreme views on the relationship between economic development and environmental quality (Shafik 1994). One is applicable here; the other view can be seen as a disadvantage and will thus be treated in the following paragraph. The first extreme view is that environmental issues worth solving need economic measures and they are then created by economic development. In short, money is needed for protection; hence the difficulty in just prohibiting economic development in protected sites. The main term in allowing non-touristic developments is obviously sustainable development. The main focus point of that is the decrease of harming nature of non-sustainable developments, because future generation should be able to ‘use’ nature in the same way we do. But among other researchers, Slocombe (1993) argues that with adding ‘sustainable’ in new project descriptions, many projects get the green light, but not always are these sustainable targets met. This also occurs because of the vague definition of sustainable development. Therefore, certainly when allowing industrial development in a national park, this has to be looked very closely at. This prevents unnecessary degradation of environmental quality. Yang and Lay (2004) tried to apply concepts as landscape ecology and industrial ecology to get to an understanding

between urban development and nature conservation. Several elements can be thought of when integrating ecology and industry: restoration of lost lands and buffering. There are more examples of combining industrial development and ecology/nature conservation, for instance: Lambert and Boons (2002), Heeres et al. (2004) and Côté and Cohen-Rosenthal (1998).

For instance on Statia, restoring ecological values of the entire oil terminal field because of the newly made connection with the National Park can be thought of. Here an overall improvement of ecology within the facility is meant. The second solution might be buffering the facility and thus protecting the outside nature for entering and possibly dying inside the facility. Compensating measures for the loss of nature might be necessary in this scenario. If this is looked at closely, possibly with certain targets that have to be achieved, even small industrial development can provide necessary income for the national park, and possibly the entire island.

3.1.1.3 Residential

As mentioned above, letting people experience natural areas generates support for protecting it. But certain controlled developments are necessary to be able to let more people experience a natural area. Without measures only pioneers and off road tourists can experience natural beauty, but with the creation of several small pathways and possibly some educational elements (signs, visitor centre) a sense of awareness of the uniqueness of a certain area can be evoked by the visiting tourists. The more people visiting, the more support can be created. But too much visitors will result in overcrowding and disturbance of nature, so an balance needs to be found to be able to

get the best out of the protected area considering support. Another element in this is that people's recovery process goes faster when in a natural environment (Ulrich, et al. 1991). To be able to experience nature, some measures have to be undertaken so that people can actually walk in nature.

3.1.1.4 Benefits of allowing activities in a national park

Protection costs money, so generating an income would lower the costs paid by the government. Dixon and Sherman (1991) state that even the importance of protecting areas is clear, because of the fact that the benefits for society are not always clear and the immediate costs of protection seem high, the amount of land that will be protected is always less than initiated, and the funding level is inadequate.

Balmford and Whitten (2003) argue that especially in the tropics the costs for protection are much higher because of the higher concentration of threatened species and habitats. They argue as well that in most cases less than desired is marked as a protected area, and that the funding to maintain this status is inadequate most of the time. Therefore, economic benefits of allowing developments in natural areas can be welcome in a way of generating an income that can be used for maintaining the site. Balmford and Whitten (2003) distinguish two types of costs: active and passive costs. Active costs are the costs that are necessary to maintain a park as it is, with all its species and ecosystems. The passive costs are the missed incomes that could be generated from the area if it was not protected, including hunting or turning natural wasteland into farmland or infrastructure or other economic developments. The authors claim that most active costs of

protection are paid by the national government and international organisations like donations of NGOs. The passive costs are costs that are missed because of the lack of development that can occur at a designated site, so the local people are the main victims here. Local passive costs are often transferred to the national but certainly the international level in the form of aid programs that might not have been necessary when an area is allowed to develop itself. International trade also encounters disadvantages from the protection of sites, and more strongly: species. Other (possibly more expensive) solutions have to be found when a certain resource is not allowed to be excavated anymore. Figure 2 shows who pays currently for these elements.

So it is clear that where economic benefit can be derived from these protected areas, it helps lowering the direct and indirect costs of the realization of a protected site like a national park. One of the main developments that is allowed in a National Park is tourism. Tourism generates income, and support for maintaining certain protected areas. In general tourism can be divided in two types: mass tourism and eco-tourism. An overview of the main differences between both types of tourism can be seen below in figure 3.

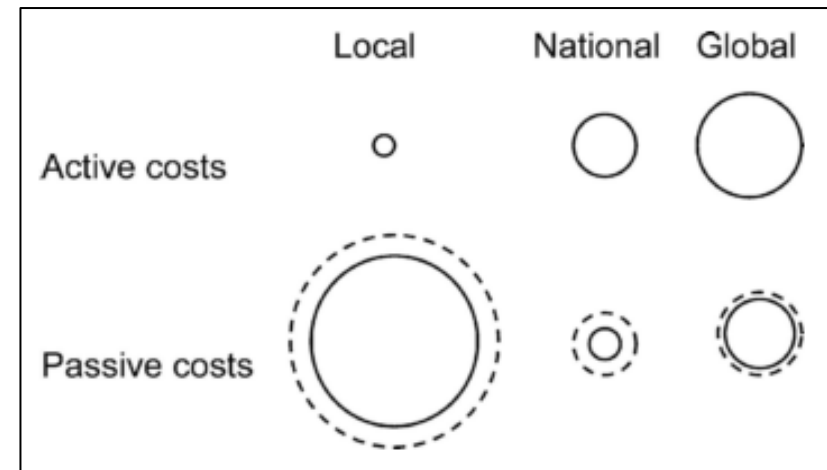


Figure 2: Schematic overview of who pays currently for protection. Active costs represent the direct costs for maintaining a protected area. Passive costs are the indirect disadvantages of a protected area, because nothing can be developed in it. The dashed lines represent the fact that some costs can be greater than they actually are. (Balmford and Whitten, 2003)

Variable	Conventional Mass Tourism	Alternative Tourism
Accommodations		
Spatial Pattern	Coastal, High Density	Dispersed, Low Density
Scale	Larger-scale, Integrated	Smaller-scale, Homestyle
Ownership	Foreign, Multi-national	Local, Family, Small business
Market		
Volume	Higher	Lower
Origin	One dominant market	No dominant market
Segment	Psychocentric-Midcentric	Allocentric-Midcentric
Activities	Water/beach/nightlife	Nature/culture
Seasonality	Winter high season	No dominant season
Economy		
Status	Dominant Sector	Supplementary Sector
Impact	High Import Sector Repatriated profits	Low Import Sector Retained profits

Figure 3: Overview of differences between mass and alternative (eco) tourism. (Weaver, 1991)

3.1.1.5 Disadvantages of allowing activities in national parks

So overall there are some general disadvantages when allowing activities taking place in national parks. Obviously there is a loss of biodiversity, since human entrance of nature in general causes for disturbance and damage for/to existing species. This results in the degradation of nature that is possible to be experienced by its visitors. Looking more at the type of activities, tourism has some disadvantages, and finally other developments are shortly treated.

3.1.1.5.1 Biodiversity loss

One of the main issues when letting developments enter protected areas is the decrease of biodiversity and thus strength of the ecosystem. Loads of activities humans undertake cause habitat loss (Czech et al. 2000), but the worst one must be urban development (McKinney 2002). Urban development meaning the creation of concrete surfaces produces some of the greatest local extinction rates and frequently eliminates the large majority of native species (Marzluff 2001). Blair (2001) even argues that urban environments have species of their own, which will then invade the new environment and thereafter scare off the established species. This eventually means a reduction of the biological uniqueness of local ecosystems (Blair 2001).

3.1.1.5.2 Degradation of natural quality that can be experienced

Several studies have showed that people prefer natural landscapes over built landscapes (e.g., Smardon, 1988; Ulrich, 1981, 1983). One of the reasons is that recovery from bad psychological or physical issues goes faster and better in natural environments (Purcell, Peron, & Berto, 2001; Staats, Kieviet, & Hartig, 2003). So when letting undesired developments occur inside a natural area, the quality and quantity of it

decreases. This means that the aesthetical appreciation of it decreases as well. This results in a negative attitude towards industrial developments or big scale touristic developments inside these areas.

3.1.1.5.3 Allowing touristic developments

Tourism is one of the main sectors that are likely to develop in a natural area, because of the pulling factor of beautiful nature on tourists. But not all that glitters is gold: there are dangers in allowing tourism development. Certainly mass tourism has many bad influences on natural areas. Beside the large income leakage caused by the western multinationals that get most of the profit generated in these compound tourism destinations, the negative impact on nature is also an indispensable issue.

On the first issue, Kahn (1989) states that this leakage is caused by the fact that most tourists are western tourists who are travelling with western travel agencies, airlines stay in western accommodations. So most of the goods and services they need are coming from their home countries. Milne (1990) even claims it can be around 70%. Adding to this, the lower income jobs are the ones that are done by the locals. The well-paid jobs are usually occupied by western persons, sometimes even operating from Europe or America. Kahn (1989) even states that on places like the Bahamas and Bermuda (which are not too far from Statia) the natives feel highly threatened by the tourists, because tourists influence their value system, the individual behaviour, family relationships, moral conduct, creating expression, traditional ceremonies and community organizations, as well as destroying the sociocultural framework of the host country as a whole.

Ecotourism, with its sustainable nature loving definition, is not all good for the environment as well. The main definition by the Ecotourism Society, “ecotourism is a responsible travel to natural areas which conserves the environment and sustains the well-being of the local people” (The International Ecotourism Society, 2006), does not make any differentiation between: (1) a large group of people on a bird watching holiday, arriving at their destination by aircraft, staying in luxury hotel accommodation, expecting a westernised holiday experience; (2) A low impact eco-traveller, back-packing, pursuing a minimal impact experience (Acott et al 1998). Therefore just allowing “ecotourism” can be tricky. Acott (1998) makes a difference between shallow and deep ecotourism ((1) being shallow and (2) being deep).

The deep eco-tourist is the most aware of the vulnerability of nature compared to the shallow eco-tourist. Therefore just allowing shallow ecotourism can eventually turn into a lighter form of mass tourism, with all of its negative impacts. For example, Chin et al (2000) did some research in a National Park in Bako, Borneo, Indonesia, where ecotourism was the main target group of tourists the park wanted to attract. Even there, visitors experience littering and other environmental harming activities humans undertake. So this means even ecotourism has two sides and cannot just be seen as an 100% environmental friendly development in a protected area.

3.1.1.5.4 Allowing other developments

As said, from the two views on the relationship between economic development and environmental quality, the second one will be treated here. This view is that increasing economic activity will lead to environmental degradation (Shafik 1994). This builds on the loss of hectares of nature to urban developments and the disturbance and pollution that is caused by the urban environment. As said, Slocombe (1993) even argues the use of the term sustainable development. Because of the vagueness of the definition and the lack of control on if the proposed sustainable targets are met, even developments marked “sustainable” are not always fully nature friendly and thus unwanted in protected vulnerable areas.

3.1.2 Island

The fact that both cases are (located on) an island, provides many similarities. Islands are different from inland areas, obviously because they are surrounded by water, and thus do not have any direct neighbours. Transport companies have a larger power position than on land, because people simply need a plane or boat to even enter the island, whereas an inland area can be entered using any type of transport, even walking. In their third assessment report, working group II of the IPCC (chapter 17) summarized a few characteristics that are according to them the main factors that should be taken into account when working with islands compared to inland areas (IPCC 2001). This can be found in the enumeration on the right of this page.

Albell et al. (2006) mentioned a few images are connected to the word island: boundedness, integrity, isolation, independence, vulnerability, permanence, physicality, and size (either large or small). Falk and Kilpatrick (2003) mention the distinctive image an island has. That can result in strategic advantages for islands to prosper in niche marketing of specialty produce and tourism. Because of their isolation, islands often have particular histories, events, geographies, issues and stories that can be used in developing this unique image. Socially, the physical boundary the sea provides, increases the internal bonds between the islanders, certainly because this limitation clearly distinguishes internal from external bonds (Falk and Kilpatrick, 2003). The authors do however emphasize the danger in balancing these ties, since heavily increased bonding ties can result in insularity, and an excess of external ties can affect the impact of for instance the tourism industry (Falk, Kilpatrick 2003).

- *Limited physical size, which effectively reduces some adaptation options to climate change and sea-level rise (e.g., retreat; in some cases entire islands could be eliminated, so abandonment would be the only option)*
- *Generally limited natural resources, many of which already are heavily stressed from unsustainable human activities*
- *High susceptibility to natural hazards such as tropical cyclones (hurricanes) and associated storm surge, droughts, tsunamis, and volcanic eruptions*
- *Relatively thin water lenses that are highly sensitive to sea-level changes*
- *In some cases, relative isolation and great distance to major markets*
- *Extreme openness of small economies and high sensitivity to external market shocks, over which they exert little or no control (low economic resilience)*
- *Generally high population densities and in some cases high population growth rates*
- *Frequently poorly developed infrastructure (except for major foreign exchange-earning sectors such as tourism)*
- *Limited funds and human resource skills, which may severely limit the capacity of small islands to mitigate and adapt to the effects of climate change.*

3.2 Characteristics of the users

The second element of natural resource management is the group of people who uses the source. These users have some factors which distinguish them from each other: demand for, dependence on, and knowledge of the resource (Uphoff, Wickramasinghe and Wijayarathna 1990; Wade 1988). These (groups of) users have characteristics that need to be taken into account. First, the more technical characteristics are treated: the chances groups have to form voluntary organisations, followed by social capital. But since we are dealing with human beings, also social characteristics need attention. Here the word identity comes into play.

3.2.1 Technical characteristics of the group of users

3.2.1.1 Voluntary Organisations

The following point is that with more than one user, it is important to find out how easy voluntary organisations are made (when several users with comparable stakes come together to stand stronger with their claims on the resource). Rasmussen and Meinzen-Dick (1995) found that most sources they used claim that with an increasing number of users, the possibility to voluntarily form organisations will decrease. Another hypothesis is that the smaller the organization, the closer the more homogeneous the members tend to be. Factors which help in forming these local organizations are equal resource access and similar perceptions of the risk of the long-term resource exploitation (Ostrom 1992). Where several users have the same norms in how to exploit the resource, partnerships are made more easily as well. This comes back in what Wade (1988) and Ostrom (1990) call the proximity (physical and relative) of the user to each other as to the resource.

When the users are close, partnerships are easily formed. But the most critical factor of the ability to organise resource uses among its users is the stability and transparency of the community. The higher the rate of migration, mobility, and market integration, the lower the chance on voluntary organization (Baland and Platteau 1994; Bardhan 1993; Ostrom 1990). However, Rasmussen and Meinzen-Dick (1995) state that there is no measurement possible to show the probability of the forming of voluntary organizations. The above statements show a first attempt to form indicators, but according to the authors, there is still a lot of research necessary in the development of such indicators. Case study research is the main option to shed more light on these indicators (Rasmussen, Meinzen Dick 1995).

3.2.1.2 Social Capital

These opportunities to form organizations to deal with the natural resource all occur within the same community. According to Silk (1999), a community is a group of people with: common needs and goals, a sense of the common good, shared lives, culture and views of the world, and collective action. Silk emphasizes the necessity of interaction of the members of a community to achieve the most favourable developments. When all other factors are equal for all, the best chances for development in a community are achieved when they can have unmediated face-to-face contact, plus when they share a restricted territory (Silk 1999). This face-to-face contact comes more deeply forward in the theories around social capital. Social capital can in general be defined as the supporting means present in a community to shape the social organization. Coleman (1990) in Selman (2001) uses the metaphor of glue to describe social capital. He finds social capital the glue that hold communities together through mutual

interdependence. Examples are for instance community activities, social support and providing participative opportunities within the community. When increasing the level of social infrastructure, communities are likely to have more successful projects, initiated by its own members (Falk and Kilpatrick, 2003). Falk and Kilpatrick (2000) add the aim to use these social interactions to contribute to the social or economic well-being of a community. Falk and Kilpatrick (2003) emphasize that social capital does help communities to respond positively to sudden changes. Their research showed that the experience of an outcome after a change improves in quality by the affected communities when there are better relationships between people and the formal and informal world. Falk and Kilpatrick (2003) did research on social capital on an island. However, they claim that the boundary of a community does not necessarily have to be physical. Nevertheless, they state that an island provides an ideal setting for the study of social capital. The external bonds (bonds between the community at stake and other communities) or bridging ties, are much more easily delineated from internal bonds (bonding ties) than on mainland cases (Gittel & Vidal, 1998).

Coleman (1990) describes the bonds that are important to form social capital. These bonds are the organizations, structures and social relations built up in the community. He emphasizes the independence of government and organizations for creating these bonds. Important elements in social capital are the quality of the social relationships, group memberships, formal and informal networks, shared norms,

trust and individual effort to enhance community bonds (Falk, Kilpatrick 2000). These elements form the nature of the present social capital. Falk and Kilpatrick (2003) add that networks that are open for everybody, and which possibly extend their bonds outside of the community, increase the ability of the community to increase their skills and knowledge. “Social capital evolves in groups coming together to manage natural resources” (Falk, Kilpatrick 2003).

Selman (2001) applies social capital in a planning context. The inclusion of locals in the decision making process, is enhanced by the presence of a decent stock of social capital. He states that where one can find a considerable ‘amount’ of social capital, local communities are more in favour of cooperating in order to achieve the best possible and sustainable future for their own community. However, Ballet et al. (2007) emphasize the high price of investing in social capital, since many occasions and technical solutions are needed to be able to organize community meetings, activities and (virtual) networks.

Ballet et al. (2007) emphasize the attention given in literature to the structural approach to social capital (size of the community, amount of network connections). They state that the underlying cultural context is often overlooked. Ballet et al. (2007) question the certainty of the outcome of it on resource management by stating that it is highly dependent on the guiding norms and values in which it exists. Investigations in the power constructions within the communities at stake is necessary to be able to get rid of some of that uncertainty.

Woolcock and Narayan (2000) describe four ways of looking at social capital, see figure 4. The Communitarian View defines social capital with local organizations as clubs, associations, and civic groups. Communitarians, use these words to describe the amount and nature of social capital, and Woolcock and Narayan (2000) add that this view emphasizes the more the better, presence at activities is good. The Networks View gives attention to vertical as well as horizontal associations between people. This means bonds within the group as well as with higher or lower situated communities. The Institutional View states that the wellbeing of the community network is highly dependent on the political, legal, and institutional environment. Finally, the Synergy View attempts to integrate the networks and institutional viewpoints.

<i>Perspective</i>	<i>Actors</i>	<i>Policy prescriptions</i>
<i>Communitarian view</i>		
Local associations	Community groups Voluntary organizations	Small is beautiful Recognize social assets of the poor
<i>Networks view</i>		
Bonding and bridging community ties	Entrepreneurs Business groups Information brokers	Decentralize Create enterprise zones Bridge social divides
<i>Institutional view</i>		
Political and legal institutions	Private and public sectors	Grant civil and political liberties Institute transparency, accountability
<i>Synergy view</i>		
Community networks and state-society relations	Community groups, civil society, firms, states	Coproduction, complementarity Participation, linkages Enhance capacity and scale of local organizations
Figure 4: Perspectives on Social Capital (Woolcock and Narayan 2000)		

Woolcock and Narayan (2000) compared several studies in both the other viewpoints, and states three conclusions:

- Neither the state nor societies are inherently good or bad; governments, corporations, and civic groups are variable in the impact they can have on the attainment of collective goals.
- States, firms, and communities alone do not possess the resources needed to promote broad-based, sustainable development; complementarities and partnerships forged both within and across these different sectors are required. Identifying the conditions under which these synergies emerge (or fail to emerge) is thus a central task of development research and practice.
- Of these different sectors, the state's role in facilitating positive developmental outcomes is the most important and problematic. This is so because the state is not only the ultimate provider of public goods (stable currencies, public health, universal education) and the final arbiter and enforcer of the rule of law (property rights, due process, freedom of speech and association) but is also the actor best able to facilitate enduring alliances across the boundaries of class, ethnicity, race, gender, politics, and religion. Communities and firms also have an important role to play in creating the conditions that produce, recognize, and reward good governance. In otherwise difficult institutional environments, community leaders who are able to identify and engage what Fox (1992) calls "pockets of efficiency within the state" become agents of more general reform.

Then on measuring social capital, Woolcock and Narayan (2000) experienced many issues. The main point is that all other forms of capital are quantitative, but social capital is qualitative. The translation from quality to quantity cannot be done overnight. The main problems they encountered are:

- *The most comprehensive definitions of social capital are multidimensional, incorporating different levels and units of analysis.*
- *The nature and forms of social capital change over time, as the balance shifts between informal organizations and formal institutions.*
- *Because no long-standing cross-country surveys were initially designed to measure social capital, contemporary researchers have had to compile indexes from a range of approximate items (measures of trust, confidence in government, voting trends, social mobility, etc.)*

The main way to be able to get an insight in the amount of social capital, is quantitating the amount of social happenings, and the amount of people present at these occasions. However, not all social activities happen in the same community or are of the interest of all members of a community, therefore Woolcock and Narayan (2000) claim the data of these surveys is less than ideal.

3.2.2 Social characteristics of the group of users

Besides technical characteristics of the group of users, the social characteristics play a large part as well. Common terms to dig deeper in this are social capital, social identity, and personality.

3.2.2.1 Social Identity

To go a bit deeper in the social characteristics of the group of users, social identity is a useful theme. Carroll and Jiang, (2009) describe the link between social capitalism and social identity. Social capital being the whole of social interactions within a group, happen because of an identity bond. They state that there are no ties between people before there has been some sort of transaction between them (the social interaction). But the reason of this interaction happening at all is, among other factors (like personal traits or individual psychology), that there are perceptions and acknowledgements of what people have in common, prior to the meeting, with which they can identify themselves with others (Carroll, Jiang, 2009). Tajfel (1982) defines social identity as “the individual's knowledge of belonging to certain social groups, as well as the emotions and values this conveys to him or her”. Social identity therefore depends on the quality of the groups or entities we belong to or have as a positive reference, such as nationality, culture, religion, family, neighbourhood etc. (Hauge 2007). Festinger et al. (1950) address the fact that physical proximity is one of the main factors that enhance social cohesion, followed by a shared social identity obviously resulting in community forming. (Festinger, Schacter & Back, 1950).

Communities to which people can feel connected to, the nation is obviously one of the more straight forward ones. Turner (1982) mentions that nationality is traditionally one of the basic elements of a person's social identity. Taking a closer look at this national identity, Guiberau (2004) sees it as composed of five key elements:

- *Psychological: consciousness of forming a community*
- *Cultural: sharing a common culture*
- *Territorial: attachment to a clearly demarcated territory*
- *Historical: possessing a common past*
- *Political: claiming the right to rule itself*

The key defining characteristics of the nation are most likely the shared language and religion. Because this nationality is not a concrete reality, since people can have multiple nationalities (for instance immigrants can have strong bonds with as well the current country as with their country of birth), according to Guiberau (2004), nationality is an emotional phenomenon and a mental construct. The case of the immigrants can be called a hybrid identity, since they have strong bonds with two places. A few examples that can enhance national identity feelings are visiting another country, during crises and international cultural events (sports, music).

Because of communal bonds, people are prepared to put some notion of the common good before individual rights and an individualised conception and practice of the good life. Concerning groups, Silk (1999) describes two critical perspectives on the action a community can undertake: First is the free-rider, why should some individuals belong to the active part of a group, since when the group succeeds in gaining the best result out of an issue, the free-riders experience the

positive outcome as well. Certainly when there are no penalties for absence, it is hard to secure participation of them in a group process. Secondly, Silk (1999) emphasizes the questionability of the 'common good', since a community is a melting pot of loads of different personalities. Bader (1995) seconds this second finding by stating that in general a community is seen as an unproblematic whole, and a stable and closed system. However, Bader (1995) emphasizes the presence of many internal conflicts resulting from the internal differences that do exist, like class, gender, race/ethnicity and sexuality. Therefore deep investigations within the community at stake is necessary to prevent difficulties in decision making processes. Conflicts or worse (discrimination) between two groups however, can enhance the social identity (Turner, 1982).

Breakwell (1993) describes the social identity theory as an attempt to describe relationships existing within a group. However, looking closer, Breakwell (1993) sees it more as a model which focuses on the need to enhance the individual identity, as the means of describing these internal group relationships. So, the social identity is based upon the individual position in the group. How to value the own position within the group can be done according to prototype exemplary group members. According to Bonaiuto et al. (1996), group members tend to create these exemplary members to evaluate themselves. To enhance the self-esteem of a member, these prototype members are negatively influenced by the emphasize of outsiders to the negative characteristics of the group. Turner (1975) brings in the term of social competition in this field, since there is not only one person trying to enhance its self-esteem. It can even lead to minimal intergroup discrimination. So, Bonaiuto et al. (1996) state that in order to strive for

a positive social identity, individuals in search of enhancement of self-esteem, can neglect or deny negative characteristics of their own local environment. Bonaiuto et al. (1996) researched how beach pollution is experienced by locals that have a strong social identity (as well national as local). Their conclusion was that subjects who are closely attached to their town or nation, have a tendency to find their beaches less polluted. This means that strong social identities can generate stereotypical normative experiences of environmental phenomena like pollution. In short, what a community thinks of pollution, disturbance or other negative developments, cannot be globally defined and needs to be investigated per case.

3.2.2.2 Personal Identity

Going further down shortly, after considering the person's position in a group, the personality of that person is influencing its need to be active in the community. Social identity theory slightly builds on the assumption that 'individuals decide and behave in the same way, regardless the nature of the moral issue involved' (Jones 1991). These theories assume the individual to be stable, psychologically healthy person flexible towards a changing physical and social world. Every individual has a different history with unique experiences and personality characteristics, which influence their perception of certain collective issues. Usually a decision making process is 'a series of interconnected steps, leading from the recognition of a problem and the identification of potential solutions to the selection and adaptation of an appropriate strategy' (Sewell 1973). The outcome however, is according to White (1966) heavily dependent on the perceptions and attitudes of the various participants in the process (White 1966). The participation of an individual in the decision making process depends

on his personality (Buchy, Race 2010). Buchy and Race (2010) even state that the participatory literature in natural resource management fails to address what influence personality of a person has on a process.

According to Breakwell (1993), there are two ways in which traits relate to social representation in processes:

- *Traits as psychological states shape the individual's exposure to, acceptance of, and use of a social representation.*
- *Traits as self-conscious self-definitions also shape readiness to expose oneself to, accept or use a social representation.*

The first is best explained by the personal characteristics of shyness and curiosity. Shyness could keep a person away from participating in the community. Curiosity on the other hand, provides the individual with an exposure to a variety of social representations in the community. The second describes underlying causes for the first category. People with a low self-definition or -image have the tendency to not function on the front line (Breakwell 1993). Rao (2003) emphasizes this need in investigating in local people's experiences, because it can produce useful information which enhances the future development of a certain area. He states that for instance gender can play a role, since 'men tend to prefer economic opportunities, and while women prefer improvements in living conditions' (Rao 2003).

3.3 Characteristics of the institutional context

Here the characteristics of the institutional context will be described taking the natural resource into account. Among those users, there are usually one or more institutional ones involved (see figure 5). These have powers to regulate things by law, or steer behaviour with guidance, subsidies or taxes. The main activity of higher institutional authorities is providing a framework of rules where the users operate in. Globally there are three types of rules: operational, collective choice and constitutional rules (Rasmussen and Meinzen-Dick, 1995). The operational rules directly affect the use of the resource: who can participate, what the participants may, must and must not do (permit, require, and forbid), and how they are rewarded and punished (Rasmussen and Meinzen-Dick, 1995). A note has to be made that the amount of rules does not say anything about the ease of organise natural resource management. Moreover, the nature of them does tells a lot: are the rules simple, flexible and fair can help or block organizing (Baland & Platteau, 1994). The second set of rules guides the enforcement, change and formulation of these operational rules (Tang, 1992), like a veto-right and rules that tell who is eligible and who is not. The third set of rules are the more constitutional rules, such as property rights, delegation of decision-making competence to the local level, rights of reorganization, environmental and natural resource regulation. These three factors together in a balanced way, which differs in every situation, result in proper natural resource management. Therefore situations where ecological stress and/or scarcity of the resource occurs when the management of the actual resource is not put in place right (e.g., supply of the resource, the user's dependence or reliance on the resource, and operational rules regulating access to the resource).

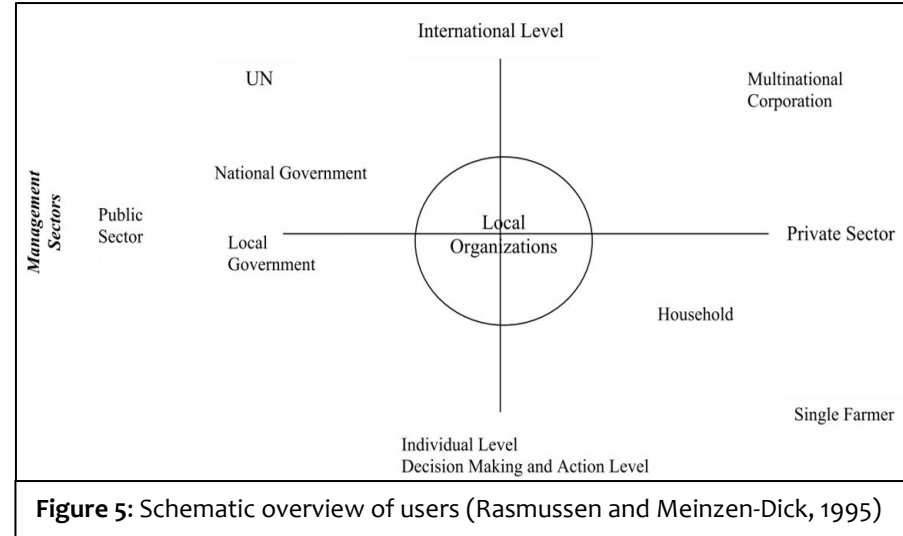


Figure 5: Schematic overview of users (Rasmussen and Meinzen-Dick, 1995)

3.3.1 Natural Resource Management

It is possible to divide Natural Resource Management (NRM) up again in two parts: natural resources and management (of natural resources). Natural resources are all elements, findable in nature, necessary for the creation of human satisfaction or utility (Berkes 2010). Zimmerman wrote that resources are not, they become (1951). This means that the things findable in nature are means for creating products and services to fulfil human needs. Unless the fact that the idea that the entire environment is created for the human population to use it, has been the guiding viewpoint for ages, it is only in the last few decades that the environmental awareness, and thus the need to manage the way we use natural resources, increased. The environment does not have unlimited sources to fulfil all our needs, certainly not in the light of the ever increasing human population on earth. Therefore, more attention has to be given to sustainability, and thus how we use

the resources we can find in nature. This resulted in the creation of the term natural resource management (NRM). This concerns activities such as forestry, agriculture, water allocation and tourism. Other examples NRM focuses on, are watershed or catchment and landscape-scale management strategies, and engages with biodiversity conservation, control of pest plants and animals, and maintenance of soil and water quality (Lockwood et al. 2008).

The term management on the other hand has some negative feelings attached to its definition. Certainly when adding natural resources to the term management, phrases like (human) domination over nature arise. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, management means the process of dealing with or controlling things or people. Substituting ‘things’ with ‘natural resources’ ends up in dealing with, but moreover controlling nature. Since management is mainly a social economical term, other words that come up when talking about management are efficiency, profit oriented, simplification, and command-and-control approaches (Berkes 2010). Therefore Berkes (2010) is aiming for a makeover, because nowadays the environmental awareness is much higher, resulting in a (intention to) treat nature as being more than just a resource basis. Berkes (2010) wants natural resource management to emphasize stewardship, collaboration, partnerships and governance, to gain a better balance in valuing economic, ecological and social motives of winning natural resources. This can be done by looking at all of the aspects involved in natural resource management and seeing an area where natural resources are gained as a complex social ecological system with possible ‘wicked problems’ (Rittel and Webber. 1973). A wicked problem is a problem, usually found in spatial planning (“Planning problems are inherently wicked.”Rittel and Webber. 1973),

which is difficult or impossible to solve because of many contradicting, changing or incomplete demands. Because the debate in natural resources management always has conflicting demands (economic versus natural versus social claims), nearly every issue concerning natural resources is considered a wicked problem. Rasmussen and Meinzen-Dick (1995) did a broad literature study on the users of natural resources. They found that there are three elements connected to natural resource management (Tang 1992; Uphoff 1986) which are used to structure this report as well:

- *physical and technical characteristics of the resource;*
- *characteristics of the group of users;*
- *attributes of institutional arrangements.*

3.3.2 Trends in Natural Resource Governance

The main trend in natural resource governance and management is decentralization. Bartley et al. (2008) state that “Governments are increasingly devolving governance of natural resources from central administrations to sub-national levels.” Larson and Soto (2008) defined decentralization in governance as a transfer of powers from the central to the lower government levels. Larson and Soto (2008) explain this need to decentralize. There are two reasons they found in literature about this trend. The first one being political shifts, mainly in Africa and Latin America, where local authorities gained more power over national (dictatorial) governments. The second is a growing way of thinking that sees people not as a problem, but more as a solution for most natural resource ‘wicked’ problems. Rules and especially the obeying of them is better when users are involved in the making of them (Gibson, 2000).

There are however, loads of different ways to decentralize. A few include democratic decentralization, and for instance terms like privatization can be seen as a form of decentralization as well. Democratic decentralization includes transferring responsibilities and powers from higher level authorities to local governments, and moreover creating possibilities from below for the participation in the creation of these responsibilities and powers.

Privatization can be mentioned as a form of decentralization, because the government transfers some of its powers and responsibilities to the private sector. This private sector is in most cases operating on a lower level, closer to its users. However, according to Ribot (2004) there is a main difference and thus reasoning why privatization is different from other forms of decentralization. Decentralization usually aims for expanding the public domain, whereas privatization literally decreases it. In other cases, a term like “privatization” is accepted as another type of decentralization, although Ribot (2004) argues that there is a fundamental difference: Decentralization is aimed at expanding the public domain, whereas privatization decreases it.

Reasons to decentralize natural resource responsibilities are mainly because in theory, decentralization should improve resource allocation, efficiency, accountability, and equity “by linking the costs and benefits of public services more closely” (World Development Report 1988). Local governments are situated closer to the inhabitants and in this case to the natural resource itself. Therefore, they have the most detailed information about the state of this resource. This also works the other way around, since unpopular protective measures for instance, generated by a local authority in cooperation with some users are better supported opposed to a nationally formulated regulation

which puts all sorts of restrictions on the resource (...the locals claim the national politicians do not even know). This way, politics are brought closer to the people.

There are some difficulties in decentralization. For instance, what to decentralize and what not. Larson and Soto (2008) state that decentralization does not weaken the central government. The Dutch national government subtitled their main planning document (Nota Ruimte, Act of Space. 2006) with the line: Centralize what must, decentralize what can. This means that some powers and responsibilities remain at the national government, but there is a tendency to provide the lower governments with more powers because of the above reasons.

Arguments against decentralization are for instance the arguable accountability of these local authorities. Certainly in governance situations where non-governmental actors are involved, this is doubtful, using the assumption that the governmental authorities are all democratically elected (Larsson and Soto 2008). On the other hand, this can be fought by criticising the way these governmental authorities are formed: elections are not always completely transparent and well structured, political parties can play a large role, and moreover the government can have certain powerful economic interests (Ribot 1999). Ribot uses an African case, which is far from the Dutch situation, where the assumption can be made that the elections are fair and structured, but still even the Dutch government can be influenced by strong economic interests under the pressure of political parties.

Another problem mentioned by Larson (2005) is the lack of capacity when receiving more responsibilities. The lower the authority, the fewer people it has the responsibility over, and thus the smaller the authority in labour force. This comes forward again in the possibility of taking initiative in larger problems, since their means or resources are fewer. Therefore, Larson mentions that local authorities tend to emphasize obtaining economic benefits. Another problem with decentralizing natural resource responsibilities, is the fact that natural resources do not take institutional borders into account. In other words, a natural resource problem situation can spread throughout multiple municipalities. Therefore, some powers and certainly responsibilities have to stay at the higher authorities, that they will take the initiative in this.

When the private sector receives some responsibilities and powers over natural resources, governmental supervision is needed. Rasmussen et al. (1995) state even that heavy state involvement in natural resource management can be justified in cases of market failures. Reasons why include the negative externalities of this market failure and the strategic importance to protect (or guide the use of) the resource.

3.4 Relationships between users and the institutional context

The institutional context is made by as well as for users, and therefore the two are deeply related. Here, the main points of interaction between the locals and the institutional context are treated. Many researchers have showed that multi-actor decision making results in a larger chance on a successful outcome (for instance Treu et al. (2000) von Haaren (2002). Reed (2008) adds an environmental aspect to it by stating that stakeholder participation in general enhances the quality of the environmental decisions. Rao (2003) argues that success in protecting a natural area is mainly caused by the involvement of locals.

The reason is that adding more different stakeholders to the process results in a wide variety in perspectives on the matter. Nevertheless, the nature of the process leading towards these decisions influences the quality of a multi-stakeholder decision. Reed (2008) sums up a few points which need to be taken into account in order to achieve the best quality in outcome of a multi-stakeholder process:

- *It is argued that stakeholder participation needs to be underpinned by a philosophy that emphasises empowerment, equity, trust and learning.*
- *Where relevant, participation should be considered as early as possible and throughout the process, representing relevant stakeholders systematically.*
- *The process needs to have clear objectives from the out- set, and should not overlook the need for highly skilled facilitation.*
- *Local and scientific knowledge can be integrated to provide a more comprehensive understanding of complex and dynamic socio-ecological systems and processes.*

- *Such knowledge can also be used to evaluate the appropriateness of potential technical and local solutions to environmental problems.*
- *Finally, it is argued that to overcome many of its limitations, stakeholder participation must be institutionalised, creating organisational cultures that can facilitate processes where goals are negotiated and outcomes are necessarily uncertain.*

When these points are taken into consideration during a participative process, it is according to Reed (2008) likely that in a well-designed process, quality of the final decision is increased. Rao (2003) mentions similar findings, and claims that in natural resource management, working with people of all levels is necessary. He emphasizes the importance of interacting with those that are immediately affected by the decision to be made about an area: the locals that live on the site. However, adding many stakeholders increases the complexity of issues. Ascher (2001) finds that in natural resource management, many recent initiatives to improve a wide variety of subjects (such as adaptive management, stakeholder negotiation, disturbance prevention, the creation of protected areas and the restoration of local-user rights) have a high chance on simplification by the decision makers. Dealing with the complexity in natural resource management issues is a key area to take into account when trying to improve the overall quality of natural resource management. The shift from government to governance follows a similar path.

3.4.1 Government to governance

According to the Oxford English dictionary, governance is what a government does. However, there has been a shift in the way the government is acting in the process to reach its goals. This is called governance (Howlett and Rayner 2006). In literature, governance is mainly ‘the interactions among structures, processes and traditions that determine how power and responsibilities are exercised, how decisions are taken, and how citizens or other stakeholders have their say’ (Graham et al. 2003). The shift is shaped by the relative position of the government in wicked problems. Opposed to a top down shape with the government on top of all other stakeholders it is now more amongst the other stakeholders as one of the players to reach the goal to enhance the quality of life of the people in a certain area having a certain wicked problem. Contemporary governments tend to prefer a more collaborative approach with as well other governmental organisations as non-governmental private sector organisations. As a benefit, the government is brought up closer to its inhabitants. In short, is governance a participative process where many stakeholders are involved and together a decision will be made. Graham et al. (2003) described four forms of governance:

- *Governance in ‘global space’, or global governance, deals with issues outside the purview of individual governments.*
- *Governance in ‘national space’, i.e. within a country: this is sometimes understood as the exclusive preserve of government, of which there may be several levels: national, provincial or state, indigenous, urban or local. However, governance is concerned with how other actors, such as civil society organizations, may play a role in taking decisions on matters of public concern*

- *Organizational governance (governance in ‘organization space’): this comprises the activities of organizations that are usually accountable to a board of directors. Some will be privately owned and operated, e.g. business corporations. Others may be publicly owned, e.g. hospitals, schools, government corporations, etc.*
- *Community governance (governance in ‘community space’): this includes activities at a local level where the organizing body may not assume a legal form and where there may not be a formally constituted governing board.*

This shows that it is not only a process that takes place in the public sector, but also involves the private sector. Obviously, tackling wicked problems with a governance approach can be done in several ways. Still, powers are not always equally divided amongst the stakeholders. Money can be the most decisive mean to achieve one’s goal, whereas institutional powers (to change laws etc.) or a good social network can be just as powerful in other cases. Plus that still decisions have to be made about who to involve and who let out of the process (it is impossible to include all stakeholders). Therefore the United Nations Development Program (UNDP “Governance and Sustainable Human Development, 1997”) made a set of principles that, with slight variations, appear in most of the literature (see figure 6):

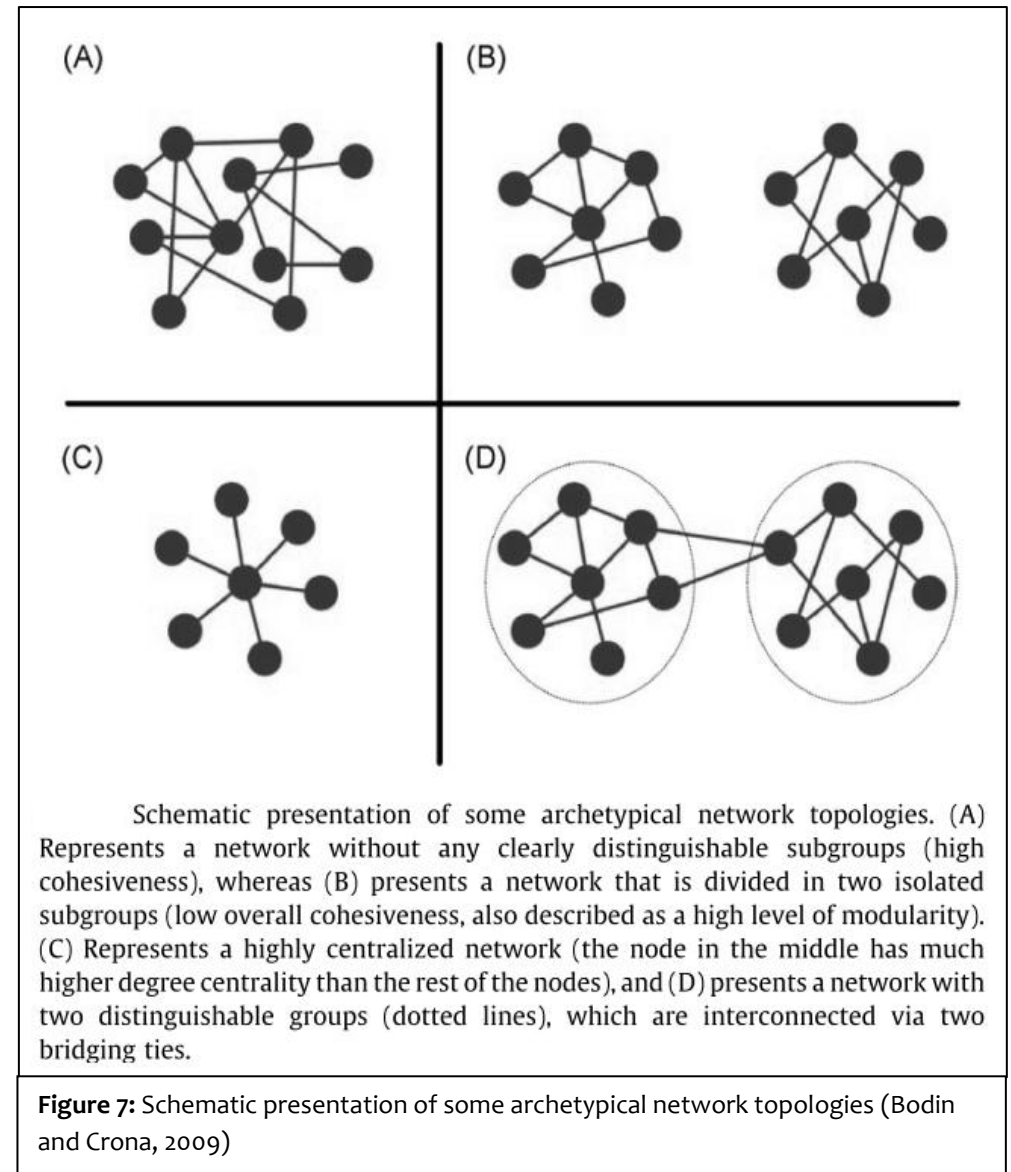
Five Principles of Good Governance	
The Five Good Governance Principles	The UNDP Principles and related UNDP text on which they are based
1. Legitimacy and Voice	<p>Participation – all men and women should have a voice in decision-making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their intention. Such broad participation is built on freedom of association and speech, as well as capacities to participate constructively.</p> <p>Consensus orientation – good governance mediates differing interests to reach a broad consensus on what is in the best interest of the group and, where possible, on policies and procedures.</p>
2. Direction	<p>Strategic vision – leaders and the public have a broad and long-term perspective on good governance and human development, along with a sense of what is needed for such development. There is also an understanding of the historical, cultural and social complexities in which that perspective is grounded.</p>
3. Performance	<p>Responsiveness – institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders.</p> <p>Effectiveness and efficiency – processes and institutions produce results that meet needs while making the best use of resources.</p>
4. Accountability	<p>Accountability – decision-makers in government, the private sector and civil society organizations are accountable to the public, as well as to institutional stakeholders. This accountability differs depending on the organizations and whether the decision is internal or external.</p> <p>Transparency – transparency is built on the free flow of information. Processes, institutions and information are directly accessible to those concerned with them, and enough information is provided to understand and monitor them.</p>
5. Fairness	<p>Equity – all men and women have opportunities to improve or maintain their well-being.</p> <p>Rule of Law – legal frameworks should be fair and enforced impartially, particularly the laws on human rights.</p>
Figure 6: Principles of Good Governance (UNDP, 1997)	

3.5 Relationships between users and the resource

3.5.1 Structuring of users

Combining natural resource management with governance results in natural resource governance. A few sources use new/good governance to approach natural resource management problems. Berkes' (2010) proposed makeover of NRM has many similarities with the addition of governance to that term. Since NRM problems tend to become more and more complex issues, a wider approach to tackling them is necessary. A simple one stakeholder approach results in a decision that is likely to be not supported by uninvolved actors, whereas a governance approach takes more time, but the outcome will be better supported. Governance acknowledges the fact that because of increasing complexity of problems and unpredictability of the future, no single actor has the resources or knowledge to answer this kind of wicked problems, let alone to solve them (Lockwood et al. 2009). Ecosystems are in particular characterised by dynamism, complexity and uncertainty (Dryzek 1987), so therefore new governance is needed to solve problems and conflicts around natural resources.

Social networks are extremely important in cases where different stakeholders have to come together to solve a complex problem. Bodin and Crona (2009) even state that in some cases social networks are more important than formal institutions in enforcing environmental regulations. However, it is important to balance the amount of involvement between actors. When actors have few ties bonding them, joint action is hard to realize. Too many ties on the other hand, brings together too many actors behind one standpoint, and thus homogenizes the standpoints of the stakeholders themselves, which might



result in a less effective solution. These ties can be bonding as well as bridging: bonding means between actors of the same character, and bridging means between actors with a significantly different background operating on a different level. Both ways of connections are needed in governance. In a conflict situation with many stakeholders, the local actors with a shared problem gather (bond) to stand stronger against the higher authorities. Together then bridge the gap by bringing their case to higher authorities and companies. This shows the two types of ties or connections that exist between stakeholders (King 2000). More research on the intensity of these bonds and effects of that is needed, according to King (2000). Doing a social network analysis provides insight in these ties, which can be used in shaping the process of approaching a complex problem. Bodin and Crona (2009) showed in figure 7 the types of networks that can evolve in governance. The connections or ties are clearly shown. The different types of ties can be best found back in (D) where there are two groups which are connected by bonding ties. Only few actors have connections with the other group, and these connection are the earlier mentioned bridging ties.

The problem with these ties is that usually they are voluntarily chosen by the actors. An actor searches for comparable characteristics and findings by other actors, with whom it can then form a partnership to stand stronger when defending common standpoints. Schneider et al. (2003) has shown that when providing the right conditions like providing an arena for interaction, encouraging broader participation, and funding for coordinators/ facilitators, these ties can be influenced and intensified resulting in a more effective approach to the problem. For the actors involved, this creates greater faith in the procedural

fairness and transparency of the local authority, which are two important factors in good governance.

The creation and destruction of social networks are continues processes. When certain actors achieve their goals more often than others, new or isolated actors tend to seek for common grounds and partnerships with these successful actors. When an actor is unsuccessful in defending its standpoints, it loses connections with other actors. In other words, the willingness to cooperate with certain stakeholders is among other factors, based on trust (Rasmussen, Meinzen-Dick. 1995).

To summarize, in their literature study, Rasmussen and Meinzen-Dick (1995) formulated a list of points which influence the possibility of cooperating in natural resource management:

- *Relative benefits of cooperation (over alternatives);*
- *An actor needs to be aware of the (relative) benefits it gains from joining the process.*
- *Size of the user group;*
- *With many users, partnerships are more easily made because of a higher chance of similar claims between different users. With only few users, competing claims and thus impossible partnerships, are more likely.*
- *Users' perceptions of time horizon;*
- *The time horizon needs to be clear before opting to cooperate.*
- *Degree of communication between users;*
- *With good communication, more transparency evolves, which results in better cooperation because standpoints and claims of several users are known.*
- *Mutual expectations;*

- A user cooperates if he has some expectations that come out of this partnership, and the other party he cooperates with expects something from him as well.
- Degree of trust;
- As mentioned above, trust is important in cooperating.
- Willingness to try cooperation;
- Users must have a will to cooperate, otherwise no cooperation will be created at all.
- Catalysts to start cooperation;
- Each user will only choose to cooperate if at least a certain part of the other players is doing the same.
- Stability of the group;
- In ever changing groups, it is uncertain what benefits are of cooperation, therefore stability is important.
- Existence of other cooperative structures;
- The formal framework needs to allow and preferably stimulate cooperation of several users.
- Non-anonymous relationship between members; Users will not cooperate if the other users they are cooperating with are anonymous.
- Content of social norms.
- When partnerships are formed, other single users are stimulated more to cooperate as well. Cooperating becomes a social norm.

These elements influence the possibility of the cooperating of users to a natural resource management issue. For understanding the process of natural resource governance, these elements are important to find out. Most of these elements are not possible to find in literature, and take place in the informal circuit. So to apply this on the two cases this thesis will research, interviewing users of both cases is necessary.

3.5.2 Place Identity

The relation between the users and the resource comes most clearly forward in what is called place identity. There are many words for comparable phenomena describing the connection people have with a certain location. Place attachment, place-identity, and place identification are, according to Speller, theoretically difficult to separate (Speller, 2000). Lalli (1992) is critical about the use of the concept of place identity because of the scarcity of empirical work and the problems with the above mentioned different formulations, and lack of adequate instruments for measuring the concept. So in general, terms like these are used to describe the feelings we develop towards places that are highly familiar to us (Altman & Low, 1992). Hauge (2007) adds that many factors together shape the identity of a place. These factors include the social, cultural and physical environment. This results in the fact that place-identity becomes a 'cognitive database against which every physical setting is experienced' (Proshansky et al., 1983). According to Giuliani (2003), we identify ourselves with certain places when the attachment to it increases. According to Silk (1999), chances to form a community are maximised when the members share a restricted territory. This counts for as well the small scale environment (like home) and the higher scale environments (nationality). What a 'place' is however, is according to Hague (2007) vague. It could mean anything small like a single dwelling, but also a whole nation, as can be derived from Giuliani (2003) as well. Still, Hauge (2007) feels a need in literature for a word like place to relate the mental world with the physical world.

So overall, place is the connection between the mental and the physical world. The mental world does not exist without a person itself, so therefore Casey (2001) emphasizes that by saying that there is no place without self and no self without place. Identity is created by combining the body's interaction with the outside world, as well as how that is interpreted in the mind. Therefore, Proshansky et al. (1983) address this self in their definition of place by stating: place is a 'potpourri of memories, conceptions, interpretations, ideas, and related feelings about specific physical settings, as well as types of settings.' So the more memories, ideas and feelings one has about a certain physical area, the stronger the identity of the place is for that person. To add, Breakwell (1993) is mentioning the presence of symbols on places. These are elements with which we recall the place out of the space, because symbols have meaning and significance to us.

A situation where place identity comes forwards is for instance NIMBY. NIMBY (as in: Not In My BackYard) is a general term to describe local opposition towards unwanted developments (Devine-Wright, 2009). Because according to Devine-Wright (2009) the NIMBY literature has a tendency to neglect the individual explanations why one is opposed to certain developments, he connects place identity and place attachment to the NIMBY literature. He states that the local opposition is arising because new developments disrupt already existing emotional attachments to a certain area (thus: place).

Space is infinite, but people are needed to make places. Therefore, places only exist where people have been, physically or mentally. Still, places have boundaries, although arbitrary since they only exist in the eye of the beholder. Hauge (2007) addressing this by stating that places develop due to their difference with adjacent places.

Upto now, the literature found is mainly focussing on the individual. However, Manzo, Perkins. (2006) and Devine-Wright (2009), state that planning is focussed on groups. They do see the need to understand the individual, but for the planning process (sub) groups are more important to gather information from and about. Therefore certainly Manzo and Perkins (2006) aim for combining the two fields more than is happening now. Cheng et al. (2003) stresses the need for natural resource managers to see a natural area not only as a 'physical container for objects and human actions'. They state that places are socially constructed by its visitors and inhabitants. Therefore qualitative research is needed in natural resource management cases, according to Cheng et al. (2003). Manzo and Perkins (2006) emphasize that a greater understanding of the place identity of the stakeholders (also: investigating in the history of the community and the place), and adding more ideas of them in a spatial plan when there is a need for making one, results in a better agreement on the plan, as well as a wider acceptance and support for it.

Devine-Wright (2009) also included a piece on the nature of the attachment to a place. Research has been done in this characterization of the relation of people to a place (e.g. Vorkinn and Riese's, 2001; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Stedman, 2002; Haggett, 2008). In general, an attachment can be more social (with others of the community) or more physical (with the physical environment). The main conclusion of Devine-Wright (2009) concerning this was that when a relationship is of a more social nature, the community tends to rate the enhancement of the community higher than the enhancement of the physical environment. Obviously, this also works the other way around. In the example Devine-Wright (2009) brings forward of Haggett (2008), the

linkages to higher authorities are elaborated. When the local has to be sacrificed for the global, the resistance is less when the place attachment of the locals is less.

3.5.2.1 Link to social identity

As Silk (1999) already stated, the chances on community forming increase when there is a limited living area. This brings forward the link between social- and place identity via the community bonds towards a place. Twigger-Ross et al. (2003) found this link in the fact that a place can be defined as a social entity or "membership group" providing identity. This comes forward when associating a place immediately with a certain group of people. People tend to go to places which have elements (symbols) in them which makes them feel good, and avoid places with a negative impact on their self-esteem. In the example study of Bonaiuto et al. (1996) the link comes forward as well: the stronger attachment a certain group of people had to a place, the less the negative elements present at that place influenced their overall image of it. Devine-Wright (2009) mentions that the need to be a representative of a certain group is influenced by the attachment an individual has with an area. He states that it works both ways: those who feel a strong attachment to a certain place feel more need to be involved in the planning process than those who feel more alienated. This comes forward in an example provided by Manzo, Perkins. 2006 where two neighbours are anonymous to each other, the need to be involved in local organizations to enhance the local environment is low.

3.5.2.2 Place disruption

Typically, relations that people have with places are in their minds, but it is only when proposed changes in these places occur, that these bonds come forward. Brown and Perkins (1992) called this change: place disruption. Others, like Bonaiuto et al. (1996) called similar processes more of a threat to place identity, but they represent similar issues. In short, place disruption is about (sudden) changes in the environment of people which are attached to these places. Examples are for instance demolition of neighbourhoods (Fried 2000), physical movement of the workplace (Devine-Wright 2009), conflicts between groups (Dixon and Durrheim 2000) and even environmental disasters as landslides and floods (Brown and Perkins 1992). Devine-Wright (2009) argues that these kind of disruption do not only affect the physical environment, but also the social networks attached to it. Fried (2000) emphasizes the increased attachment to a place by lower income groups, since generally their ability to move and travel is more limited. Devine-Wright (2009) distinguishes swift and gradual disruptions. Bonaiuto's example (1996) can be called a gradual disruption, since because of economic and political processes, the beaches in question are gradually decreasing in attractiveness. The environmental disasters (Brown and Perkins, 1992) are among the more swift disruptions. Therefore, Devine-Wright (2009) states disruptions to places are characterized by 'extent, rapidity and control, and unfolds over time as individuals make sense of what has happened or is about to happen, and attempt to cope accordingly'. Concerning the rapidity of the change, Brown and Perkins (1992) describe three phases in place disruption:

- *Pre-disruption: preparation and anticipation*
- *The disruption itself: swift or gradual, possibly paired with emotions of anxiety and loss*
- *Post-disruption: phase of coping with loss and creating new attachments*

Going deeper in the psychology of this place disruption, Fried (2000) and Fullilove (1996) mention emotions like anxiety and even post-disruptive psychiatric trauma. A problem in these theories is however, that they overlook the role of social interactions with different members of a group, as well as with the media. Devine-Wright (2009) states that with gradual change, the identification of its impacts on the social world is more easily, since then affected have more time to go through the three stages mentioned above. But with more swift changes, a multi-actor approach is needed.

Moscovici's social representations theory provides an attempt to this. Moscovici suggests that 'social representations may transform unfamiliar abstract concepts into familiar, concrete experiences (objectification) and categorize new or strange ideas under familiar concepts so that they become cultural beliefs (anchoring)' (Billig 1986). In short, this theory can provide insight into how groups will respond on certain changes. Objectification makes a concrete phenomenon out of the new unfamiliar post-disruptive situation, which is stronger than the anchoring process of attach existing meanings to this uncertain future. According to Devine-Wright (2009), 'research informed by social representations theory can investigate how proposed place changes are interpreted (via anchoring and objectification), evaluated (as threat or opportunity) and contested amongst individuals and between individuals and organizations, mindful of the unequal power

relations between different actors.' Manzo and Perkins (2006) emphasize this need in investigating in an attempt to understand how a community will respond to changes. They state that when a decision maker tries to do research into such feelings and reactions to disruption, citizen participation can be enhanced. On the other hand, if such feelings and experiences are not well investigated, disruptions can divide a community (Manzo, Perkins 2006).

4 Case specific desktop study

It is important to show the motive for choosing these exact cases. There are similarities which form the basis for the decision to use Schiermonnikoog as a comparable case. The differences have a high importance because the islands are not identical. They need to be taken into consideration when answering the main research question.

4.1 Similarities

Similarities show in physical and institutional similarities. Both are small islands, and both have predominantly the same institutional context.

4.1.1 National Park

In 1872, Frederick Law Olmsted created the first National Park in the world (Yosemite, US) as being an area of land where nature is the most important thing, and where human interference is as limited as possible.

The Netherlands followed the American example with the realization of the first Dutch national park: the Veluwezoom. Four years later, the second park (de Hoge Veluwe) came to life, followed by the third park (Kennemerduinen) in 1950. But since in more countries national parks started popping up, with all different restrictions in them, the IUCN (International Union for the Conservation of Nature) made agreements about these parks. According to the IUCN, a protected area is: “A clearly defined geographical space, recognised, dedicated and managed, through legal or other effective means, to achieve the long term conservation of nature with associated ecosystem services and cultural values. Since not all parks can just be put under one denominator, the IUCN created several categories:

- **Category Ia: Strict nature reserve**
Category Ia are strictly protected areas set aside to protect biodiversity and also possibly geological/geomorphological features, where human visitation, use and impacts are strictly controlled and limited to ensure protection of the conservation values. Such protected areas can serve as indispensable reference areas for scientific research and monitoring.
- **Category Ib: Wilderness area**
Category Ib protected areas are usually large unmodified or slightly modified areas, retaining their natural character and influence, without permanent or significant human habitation, which are protected and managed so as to preserve their natural condition.
- **Category II: National Park**
Category II protected areas are large natural or near natural areas set aside to protect large-scale ecological processes, along with the complement of species and ecosystems characteristic of the area, which also provide a foundation for environmentally and culturally compatible spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and visitor opportunities.
- **Category III: Natural monument or feature**
Category III protected areas are set aside to protect a specific natural monument, which can be a landform, sea mount, submarine cavern, geological feature such as a cave or even a living feature such as an ancient grove. They are generally quite small protected areas and often have high visitor value.
- **Category IV: Habitat/species management area**
Category IV protected areas aim to protect particular species or habitats and management reflects this priority. Many category IV protected areas will need regular, active interventions to address the requirements of particular species or to maintain habitats, but this is not a requirement of the category.

- **Category V: Protected landscape/seascape**

A protected area where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant ecological, biological, cultural and scenic value: and where safeguarding the integrity of this interaction is vital to protecting and sustaining the area and its associated nature conservation and other values.

- **Category VI: Protected area with sustainable use of natural resources**

Category VI protected areas conserve ecosystems and habitats, together with associated cultural values and traditional natural resource management systems. They are generally large, with most of the area in a natural condition, where a proportion is under sustainable natural resource management and where low-level non-industrial use of natural resources compatible with nature conservation is seen as one of the main aims of the area.

The Netherlands currently have 20 so called National Parks. Most of these parks fall under category IV, but only Schiermonnikoog is a category II area. Following these IUCN definitions and category, the Dutch National Government decided to make a definition of its own again. According to this definition given by the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality, a National Park is a natural area of at least 1000 hectares contiguous characteristic landscape with unique plant and animal species (SNP 2007). These parks are part of a larger so called ecological network. The Dutch Government had set out a plan for this network, but put it on hold seeing the latest economic developments (crises). By 2018, the network should comprise 750,000 hectares, or roughly 18% of the Netherlands' area. The national parks cover about 120.000 hectares of land (roughly 3% of the total area of the Netherlands). Arguments for this network are that seeing the small

size of most of the natural areas in the Netherlands, ecosystems within them are vulnerable, because isolated areas are more vulnerable than larger areas. But because large areas are not possible in the densely occupied Holland, a network is the solution. By doing so, large connected areas stimulate animals to be able to move around, new species can migrate to the Netherlands, and even animals which need larger territories are able to survive. In addition to this, several areas are protected as "wet nature" and will help in establishing a robust ecological network (SNP 2012).

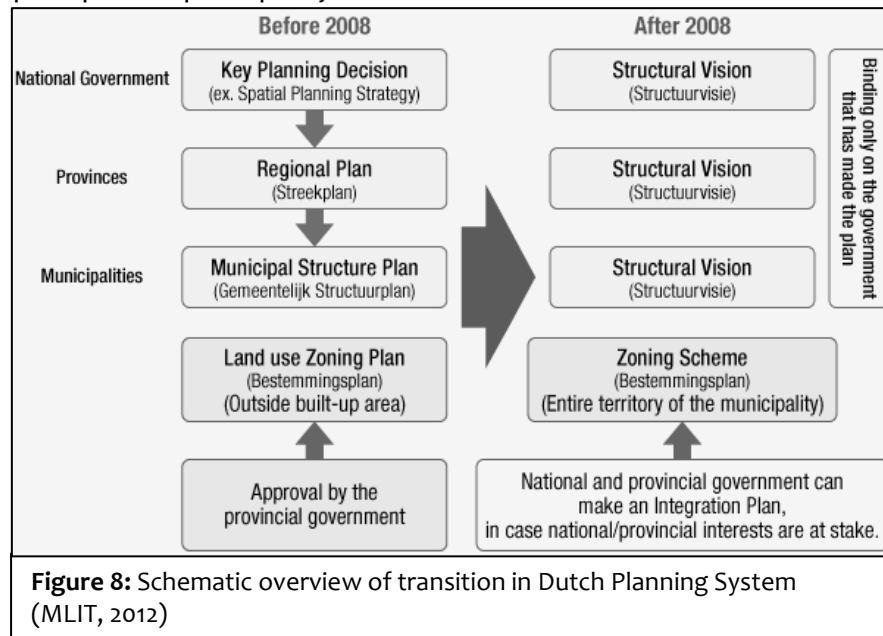
Nearly all National Parks are part of the European ecological network called Natura 2000. Natura 2000 protects specific species and habitats as mentioned in the Habitat and Birds Directive. All member states contribute to this, and Natura 2000 is in turn part of the Pan European Ecological Network (PEEN) of the Council of Europe. Besides this European support, the national government also subsidises the National parks. In the Netherlands, this is the responsibility of the ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality.

4.1.2 Dutch Law

In the Netherlands, there are three main governmental layers: the National Government, the 12 provinces and 448 municipalities. The national government is responsible for the main planning decisions; thereunder provinces make provincial plans covering the entire provinces. The local government, the municipalities, are there to create binding plans relating to matters as land use.

In 2008, the new Spatial Planning Act came into effect on the first of July of 2008. There were a somewhat traditional but vague top-down system was at work before July 2008, the new system provides more

clarification between the governmental layers, according to the national government. All three governmental layers now have to show their ideas and plans in so called structural visions. These structural visions will replace the current national key planning decisions (PKBs), the provincial regional plans, and the municipal structural plans. Strategic visions are strategic policy documents which entail the main principles of spatial policy.



Zoning plans are the main instrument of the lowest governmental layers and need to be updated every 10 years. The new act includes a slight change in the amount of land to be zoned: under the old act, only the lands outside the built-up area needed to have zonings, whereas under the new act, all lands need to be zoned. Another feature in the planning system is that municipalities can decide to make a

management regulation instead of a zoning scheme, in areas where no spatial developments are planned. A management regulation saves work, and provides sufficient planning measures. But for more dynamic lands, zonings are necessary.

When higher level interests are at stake, the provinces and national government can make an integration plan. These can be seen as higher level zoning schemes. Other instruments that higher authorities have to steer lower governmental developments, are general orders (the provincial regulation and the Order in Council (AmvB) and instructions. Here, the new structure shows: instead of an ordinary top down structure, the municipalities have more power and can be guided by some instruments the higher level authorities have. But still, after a couple of years, an application can come in for a certain development in a zoned area that does not match with the zoning. The municipalities have an extra measure to allow these developments to happen if they think it is in best interest of the municipality. This exception is called a project decision.

Figure 8 provides a schematic overview of the Dutch System, and shows clearly what the main differences are between before 2008 and after 2008. Digging deeper in these changes, the Dutch former ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and Environment provides an overview of these changes on the next page (VROM, 2007). Overall the new system is by essence more clear in the division between the layers in letting the municipalities be responsible for their own spatial policy. The provinces and national authorities come into play when their interests are at stake where they have some instruments to protect these interests.

Municipalities

- Municipalities draw up one or more structural visions;
- In these structural visions, the municipalities set out the main points of their spatial planning policy and indicate how they expect to implement the policy;
- Municipalities institute one or more zoning schemes for the entire area;
- Zoning schemes no longer have to be approved by the province;
- In areas where no spatial developments are planned, municipalities can choose to institute a management regulation instead of a zoning scheme;
- The provinces and the national government indicate in advance as much as possible which provincial and national interests will affect the municipality;
- The provinces and the national government can submit viewpoints or give instructions during the zoning scheme procedure;
- Municipalities must check once every ten years to see if their zoning schemes and management regulations are still up-to date;
- In order to take a dynamic approach to certain projects, the project decision can be used;
- The project decision must be followed by an adaptation to the zoning scheme and/or the management regulation.

Provinces

- Provinces draw up one or more structural visions;
- In these structural visions, the provinces set out the main points of their spatial planning policy and indicate how they expect to implement the policy;
- The provinces no longer approve municipal zoning schemes (approval is discontinued);
- Instead, the provinces have three new instruments to allow their policy to have a legal effect on municipalities;

- These are: the instruction, the general orders (provincial regulation) and the integration plan (along with the project decision);
- The provinces can only deploy these instruments if provincial interests require it;
- The provinces can also submit viewpoints or give instructions during the zoning scheme procedure;
- The aim is for the province to make it clear in advance as much as possible, by means of administrative consultation or the deployment of specific instruments, which policy has a (legal) effect for the municipalities.

The national government

- The national government draws up one or more structural visions;
- In these structural visions, the national government sets out the main points of its spatial planning policy and indicates how it expects to implement the policy;
- The national government has three new instruments to allow its policy to have a legal effect on provinces and municipalities, these are:
 - the instruction,
 - the general orders (Order in Council),
 - the integration plan (along with the project decision);
- The national government can only deploy these instruments if national interests require it;
- The national government can also submit viewpoints or give instructions during the zoning scheme procedure;
- The aim is for the national government to make it clear in advance as much as possible, by means of administrative consultation or the deployment of specific instruments, which policy has a (legal) effect for the provinces and municipalities.

4.2 Differences

Since the cases are not identical, differences are important to mention when answering the main research question. Mainly the addition of 'extraordinary' to the term municipality makes the largest institutional difference, alongside with the lack of a province on Statia. But probably the main difference lies in the cultural field. The islands are culturally as far apart as they are physically.

4.2.1 Municipality vs. 'extraordinary' municipality

In December 1954, the Kingdom of the Netherlands was officially formed by the Queen (Juliana). The Kingdom consisted of three separate countries: the Netherlands, Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles. This changed with the independence of Surinam in 1975, followed by the separate status of Aruba in 1986. This resulted in some differences and inequalities between Curacao and the other smaller islands. The last group found that they had few things to say compared to the bigger Curacao. This was then solved by the addition of these smaller islands (Bonaire, Saba, and St. Eustatius) to the Dutch system as being municipalities in 2010. Because these three municipalities cannot be compared to ordinary Dutch town municipalities, they conceived the title 'special municipality'. The official title for these special municipalities is Public Body (openbaar lichaam) and can be found in Dutch law connected to Flevoland. This new piece of land inside the IJsselmeer is formerly known as public body as well. Currently Flevoland is a Dutch province like all the others.

But the term public body was used to base the law for Bonaire, St. Eustatius and Saba on. This law, called the WoLBES (Law Public Bodies Bonaire, St. Eustatius and Saba; Wet openbare lichamen Bonaire, St.

Eustatius, Saba) included all statutory changes and similarities before and after the implementation of it for the islands. The islands kept their already known authorities: the island council, an executive council and a governor. What changes is their relationship: the Antilles used to work under a monistic system (where the island council and the executive council work closely together) and now since The Hague uses mainly a dualistic system, this is changing from monistic to dualistic on the islands as well (where the island council and the executive council are separate independent bodies).

Compared to the Dutch mainland, the islands have two governments: the Dutch National Government and their own municipal government. The Dutch National Government is responsible for the tasks that formerly belonged to the government of the country called the Netherlands Antilles. One of the changes being a special municipality is that the inhabitants of these islands now have a right to vote directly for the House of Representatives (Tweede Kamer) in The Hague. For comparison, the other three islands (Aruba, Curacao and St. Maarten) do not have this right. The local government is responsible for maintaining public order, crisis management and disaster relief. For the inhabitants, one of the big changes is that all of them now will receive health insurance, paid mainly by the taxpayers, but also the Netherlands itself is responsible for a part of this.

Because the Netherlands itself is part of the European Union, these islands also fall under the EU policies. But not all policies have to be put in place one on one, because the islands have the status of Overseas Territory alongside other islands controlled by a European country like Guadeloupe and Martinique (two French Caribbean islands operating under the French National Government as overseas department

(département d'outre mer)). It does however come with the main benefits of exporting goods to the European mainland and the right to vote for the European Parliament.

But what are the main differences between these special municipalities and the normal Dutch mainland municipalities? According to Maarten Beks (2010), senior policymaker at the Association of Dutch Municipalities (VGN), who travelled between the mainland and the islands quite regularly, the main differences lie in the fact that not all municipal policies created by higher authorities (like the municipality act) are obligatory for these three municipalities. In acts like that, elements about railway connections are mentioned, which are not applicable on the islands.

Another issue is the distance between the islands to The Hague. Not only absolute (approximately 7000km) but also relative in the way of that these islands are different from the Dutch mainland. The three islands are the direct responsibility of the Dutch ministry of Internal Affairs and Kingdom relationships, and do not have anything to do with a middle layer in the form of a province. Where in the Netherlands the provinces are mainly responsible for the regional roads, the islands themselves are responsible for their own roads. And obviously, they do not have problems with neighbouring municipalities and no water boards. This results in the difficulty to call the islands just 'municipality' like any other; hence the term 'special municipality'.

The main problem with the transition to the Dutch governmental system is the increasing amount of rules. According to Dutch law, people on scooters are obliged to wear a helmet, but this was not compulsory on the islands, but it is now. Another example exists in

waste dumping, which can be done since 2010 under much stricter circumstances than before. The same counts for spatial planning on a small scale. Permits are necessary for much more things than before.

4.2.2 Short introduction on cultural difference

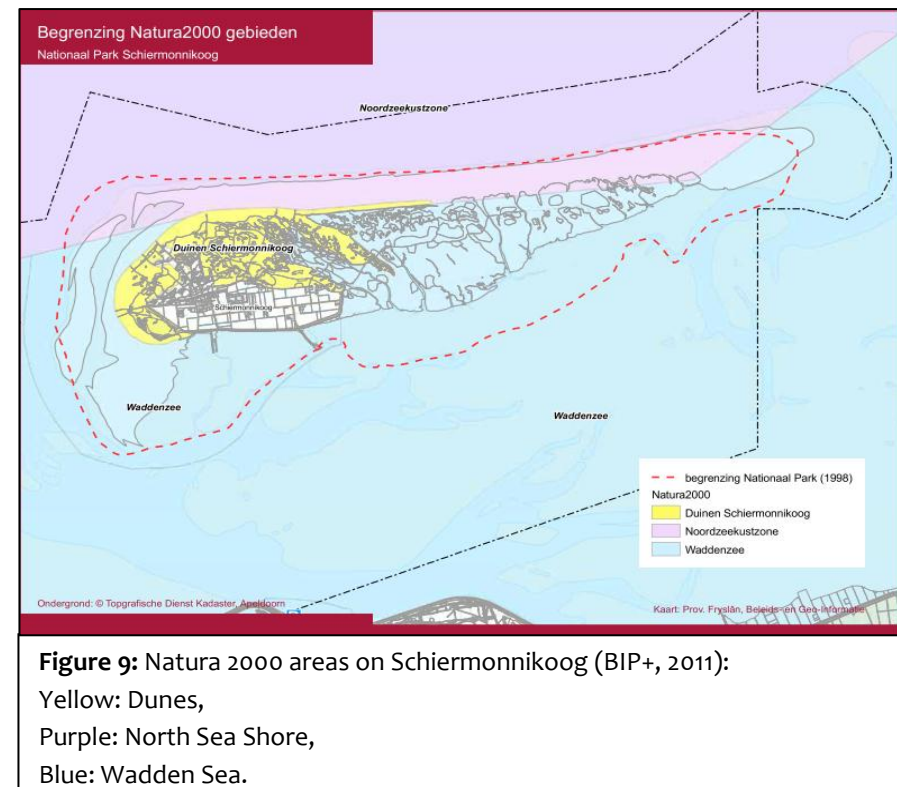
Because the change magazine provided some preliminary insights in the cultural differences prior to the research on Statia. The Dutch government sets up the rules for what is and what is not allowed in a national park. This is different compared to the situation before 10-10-10, since then the local government was the main actor. This means that negotiations that were formerly held between local authorities, now also have some persons from the Dutch mainland at the table. Glenn Thodé, governor of Bonaire, says in Change Magazine (2010) that the cultural difference between the Dutch mainland and the islands is as big as the distance in kilometres (figurative speech). This distance makes it hard to speak with one mouth. In short, the Dutch culture is typically one of many rules, in order to be able to control things. This is not the mentality of the island inhabitants. Thodé states that Bonaire is like a horse in gallop, but developments should be viewed carefully, otherwise the horse will run off unhinged. This is where the Netherlands come in; their task is mainly to restrain developments in the islands. Therefore both parties need to take their position with respect to the other to prevent frictions and antagonisms. The Dutch tend to tackle a problem in a structured planned way, whether the islanders lean more on improvisation. These two perspectives might conflict, but as Thodé states: neither of the approaches is wrong, and therefore both parties need to come together to a general understanding and help each other in finding the best solution. Beside both institutionalized worlds that are brought together, the local

inhabitants have their opinion about the addition to the Dutch Kingdom as well. Generally there are about as much proponents as there are opponents. Thodé says however that the opponents get more media attention, which influences the main view of all inhabitants in a negative way. Overall, this generally illustrates the cultural issues that are at stake when dealing with decisions, and the attitude both parties ideally have in these issues.

4.2.3 Formal protection of both national parks

Internationally, The Hague signed the IUCN (World Conservation Union) agreement in 1969 to protect important ecosystems by creating national parks. Schiermonnikoog is formally protected by the EU since it includes two Natura 2000 areas, see figure 9 (BIP+). Besides that, Schiermonnikoog is a home for a long list of protected species (see BIP+ Attachment 3 “Soorten van de Nederlandse Rode Lijst die voorkomen op Schiermonnikoog”). Around 66% of the Wadden Sea area is since 2009 also present on the UNESCO World Heritage list. The Dutch Flora and Fauna law provides extra protection for species living in Natura 2000 sites: hunting them is prohibited. Moreover, the Structural Vision (Structuurplan) Schiermonnikoog, sums up the main protective policies as follows:

- *Nationaal Park*
- *Core area Ecological Main Structure (EHS)*
- *Birds Directive*
- *Habitat Directive*
- *Ramsar Wetland*
- *Environmental Protection Area (Province of Fryslân)*
- *Nature Protection Law Area*



However, National Parks in the Netherlands have no juridical status, but when an area is called national park, it is treated in policy documents as an area of outstanding natural beauty which need to be preserved (SNP 2007). Besides that, the Hague signed the 1992 Rio de Janeiro Convention on Biological Diversity and the Convention on Climate Change. The main points of these conventions are: preservation of biodiversity, sustainable use of its resources, fair and equitable sharing of benefits arising from genetic resources. These points play an important role within the national parks in the Netherlands (SNP 2007). Nationally, the Act of Space (Nota Ruimte)

calls the national parks “Gems of the Ecological Main Structure” and stimulates authorities to cooperate in managing them. The Dutch national government provides via the ILG (Investment Budget Rural Areas) around 29 million euros funding to all National Park maintenance. The BIP+ lists behavioural guidelines (like a camping-, littering-, open fire- and trespassing prohibition, as well as prohibiting visitors to go to breeding areas during the breeding season), which Nature Monuments addresses to the visitors, however Nature Monuments has no personnel which can fine violations, so in these cases the police is called in.

All the national policies and treaties are applicable on as well Schiermonnikoog as Statia (since 10-10-'10). An overview of the national park's locations is provided in figure 10. Only on a local scale, there are some small differences. On March 20th 1997 the Island Council of Statia chose to protect the flora and fauna as well as the natural landscapes and cultural heritage of St Eustatius. The “Ordinance Protection Fauna and Flora” was created to protect the flora and fauna on the island itself or in the waters surrounding the island. The same legislation names 17 specific species to be protected:

- *Statia Morning Glory (Ipomoea sphenophylla)*
- 16 Orchid species
- *Antillean Iguana (Iguana delicatissima)*.

For the Quill and Boven national parks, five other treaties are important. On the following page a short overview of these treaties is provided (as in Esteban, et al. 2009).

- CITES; Convention Of International Trade In Endangered Species
- CBD; Convention On Biological Diversity
- IAC; Inter American Convention For The Protection And Conservation Of Sea Turtles
- CMS/Bonn; Convention On The Conservation Of Migratory Species Of Wild Animals
- Ramsar; Ramsar Convention On Wetlands

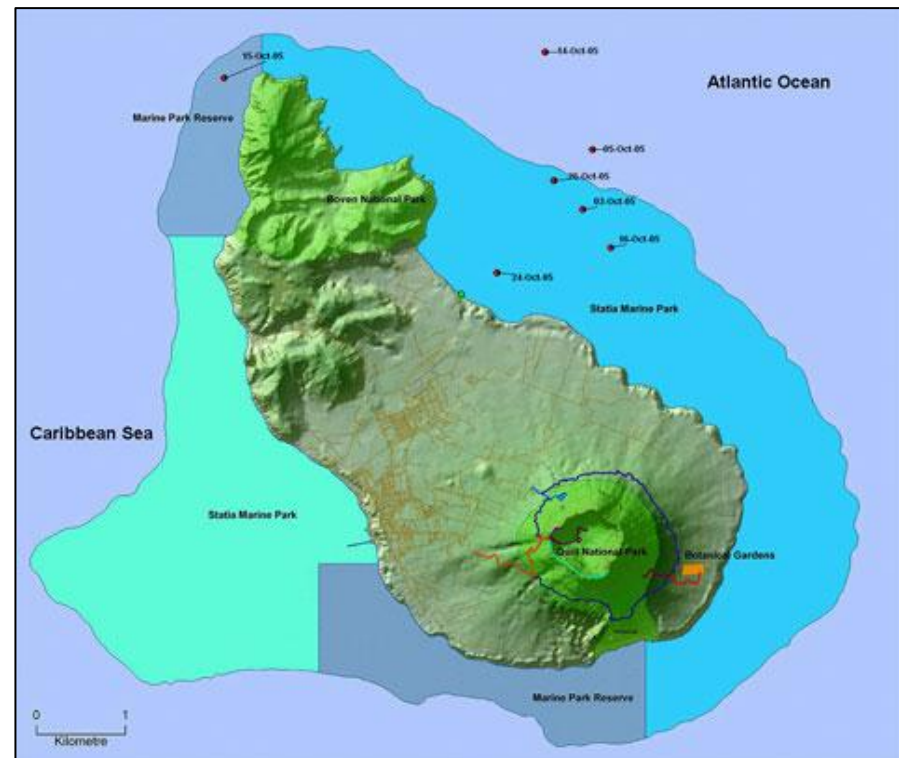


Figure 10: Overview of National Parks on Statia (STENAPA website)

THE CITES CONVENTION

Article 7

- The Convention of International Trade in Endangered Species regulates trade in all listed species, and all specimens must have the necessary permits and certificates, and meet accompanying conditions, for import, export, re-export, transit, trans-shipment or introduction from the sea.
- Annex I includes species cannot be traded for purposes that are commercial or at all detrimental to the species.
- Annex II includes species require an export or re-export permit with conditions is required, but no import permit is needed unless required by national law.
- Permits and certificates can be retracted if they would not have been granted had the full information been made known at the time of application, or if the permits conditions are not honoured.

Punishment for intentional violation of Article 7 is imprisonment of up to 4 years or a fine of up to ANG 1,000,000, or both.

THE CONVENTION ON BIOLOGICAL DIVERSITY

The Island Council is responsible for the conservation of biological diversity, the sustainable use of its components and the fair and equitable sharing of the benefits arising out of the use of genetic resources, and requirements of the Convention. There are two Specific requirements relating to protected areas in the Convention on Biological Diversity; articles 8(a) and (b) (Box 6).

Box 6:

- Establish a system of protected areas or areas where special measures need to be taken to conserve biological diversity;
- Develop, where necessary, guidelines for the selection, establishment and management of protected areas where special measures need to be taken to conserve biological diversity;

THE SPAW PROTOCOL

Article 6

- The Island Council is responsible for the protection and conservation of the species mentioned in the SPAW Protocol Annexes and its requirements.
 - For species in Annexes I, II it is forbidden to pick, collect, cut, uproot, or trade commercially the flora, or their seeds, parts or products, and to take, possess, kill or trade commercially the fauna, or their eggs, parts or products. It is forbidden to disturb such species, particularly during periods of breeding, incubation, migration or other biological stress.
 - For species in Annex III, management plans should be developed including the prohibition of non-selective means of capture and harvesting, the institution of closed seasons, and regulation of taking possession, transport or commercial trade of living or dead species and their eggs, seeds, parts or products.
- Exemptions from these prohibitions can be granted by General Ministerial Resolution if approved by the Scientific and Technical Advisory Committee.

Punishment for intentional violation of Article 6 is imprisonment of up to 4 years or a fine of up to ANG 1,000,000, or both.

CONVENTION ON THE CONSERVATION OF MIGRATORY SPECIES OF WILD ANIMALS

All indigenous animal and plant species listed in Annex I of the Bonn Convention, Annexes I and II of the SPAW-protocol, Annex I of the CITES Treaty and Annexes I and II of the Sea Turtle Treaty are designated as protected animal and plant species.

5 Analysis of Findings: Dutch Island Natural Resource Governance

5.1 Statia : Oil Terminal

The Oil Terminal at St Eustatius, in the Caribbean Sea, has been operational since 1982, when St Eustatius Terminals Group started to provide marine oil and transshipment services to and from the island (Royal Haskoning 2011). The direct cause for this research is the NuStar oil terminal case presented by the director of the Statia Tourism Office. The case shows the complexity of development on a small island, and adding the institutional change that occurred in the same timeframe makes this case an important part of this research. The manager of the Monuments Foundation explains why Statia is the best location for such a terminal. He mentions two arguments for the success of NuStar on Statia: one being its strategic location, the second is the presence of the Dutch government. Statia is located on major oil transport lines between the platforms in the Gulf of Mexico and the rest of the world (mainly Asia). But what makes Statia stand out of the other Caribbean islands is the stability the Dutch government provides. Independent islands have the tendency to be more instable, according to the manager of the Monuments Foundation. Statia therefore provides a stable strategic location for a terminal.

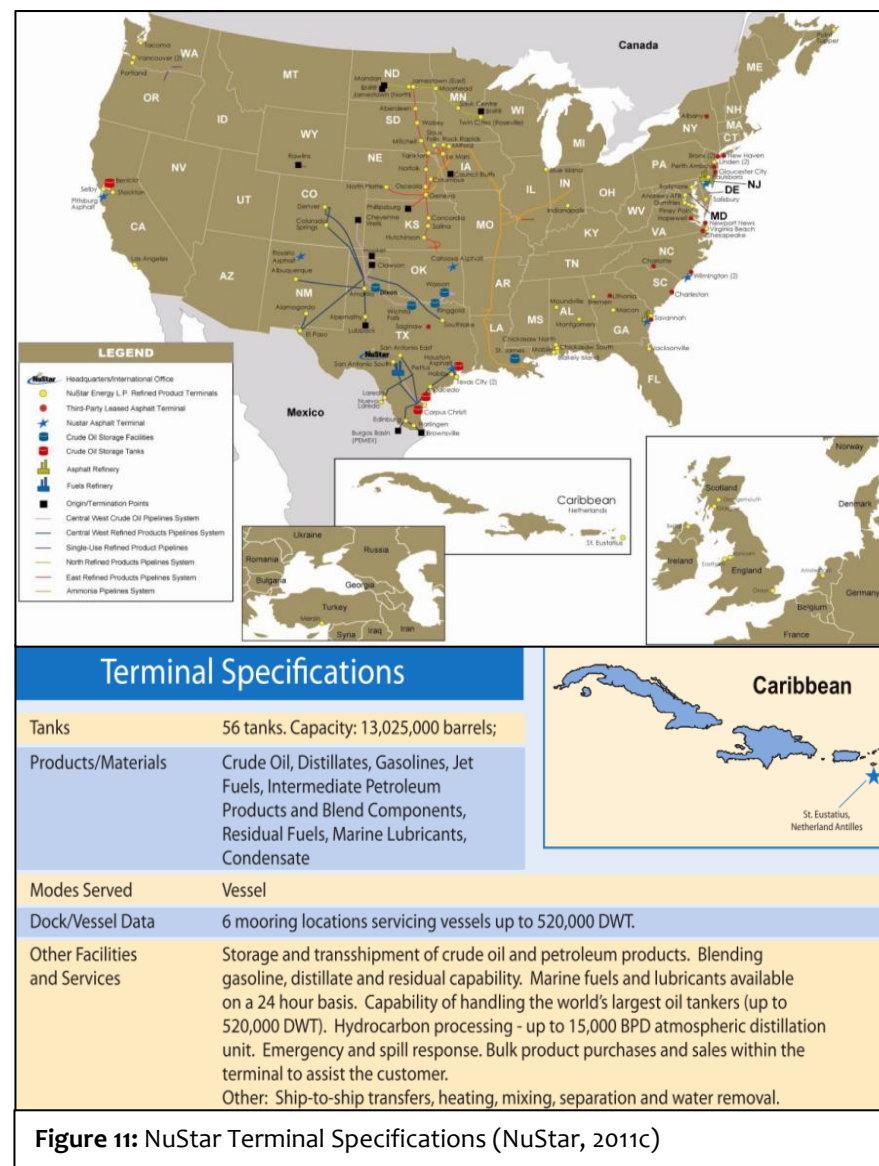


Figure 11: NuStar Terminal Specifications (NuStar, 2011c)

5.1.1 NuStar profile and current presence on Statia

NuStar is one of the largest independent petroleum pipeline and terminal operators in the world. A map with their network of pipelines is shown below (figure 11). Some figures are that they own 8,417 miles of crude oil and refined product pipelines, NuStar operates in 8 different countries and has about 1,900 employees, and finally they have 90 terminal facilities with an overall storage capacity of 94 million barrels (NuStar, 2011a).



Figure 12: NuStar Terminal on Statia (Royal Haskoning, 2011)

Valero L.P. bought Kaneb Services LLC and Kaneb Pipe Line Partners L.P. in 2004. This meant that Valero L.P. assumed Statia Terminals, which had become part of the Kaneb group in 2001. Valero L.P. became NuStar Energy L.P. in 2007 as part of its separation from Valero Energy Corporation. This resulted in the fact that NuStar Energy currently operates the terminal under its original local name, Statia Terminals (Anderson, 2007). NuStar invested over \$170 million in upgrades and expansions to improve safety, reliability and competitiveness, and

keeps on doing it resulting in a total of \$216 million by the end of 2011. In 2011, NuStar employs a total of 253 workers of which 139 employees (127 are local) and 115 contractors (NuStar, 2011a). The physical characteristics of the terminal are presented in figure 11 as well. Statia Terminals is one of the larger terminals outside of the US operated by NuStar. The General Manager of NuStar Statia as one of the respondents of this research, state that their main competitors are other NuStar terminals nearby (southern USA). According to Reuters.com the terminal located on Statia is indeed NuStar's largest terminal outside of the US:

As of December 31, 2010, it owned and operated 55 terminal and storage facilities in the United States, with a total storage capacity of approximately 50.6 million barrels; a terminal on the island of St. Eustatius with a tank capacity of 13.0 million barrels and a transshipment facility; a terminal located in Point Tupper with a tank capacity of 7.4 million barrels and a transshipment facility; six terminals located in the United Kingdom and one terminal located in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, having a total storage capacity of approximately 9.4 million barrels; and a terminal located in Nuevo Laredo, Mexico. (...) The Company owns and operates a 13 million barrel petroleum storage and terminalling facility located on the island of St. Eustatius in the Caribbean, which is located at a point of minimal deviation from shipping routes. This facility is capable of handling a range of petroleum products, including crude oil and refined products. A two-berth jetty, a two-berth monopile with platform and buoy systems, a floating hose station and an offshore single point mooring buoy with loading and unloading capabilities serve the terminal's customers' vessels. The St. Eustatius facility has a total of 56 tanks. The fuel oil and petroleum product

facilities have in-tank and in-line blending capabilities, while the crude tanks have tank-to-tank blending capability and in-tank mixers. In addition to the storage and blending services at St. Eustatius, this facility has utilizes certain storage capacity for both feedstock and refined products to support our atmospheric distillation unit. This unit is capable of processing up to 25,000 barrels per day of feedstock, ranging from condensates to heavy crude oil. It owns and operates all of the berthing facilities at the St. Eustatius terminal. Separate fees apply for the use of the berthing facilities, as well as associated services, including pilotage, tug assistance, line handling, launch service, spill response services and other ship services. (...) Its facilities at Point Tupper and St. Eustatius charge fees to provide services, such as pilotage, tug assistance, line handling, launch service, spill response services and other ship services. The majority of products stored in its terminals are refined petroleum products. (Reuters, 2011)

NuStar is putting a lot of effort in their image. NuStar “have worked very hard to be a good corporate citizen by investing in the Statia community through significant monetary contributions and volunteer support for dozens of local causes” (NuStar 2011b). NuStar claims they provide their employees with the best compensation and benefits in the industry. NuStar is particularly proud of its outstanding safety and environmental performance (NuStar 2011a). They also claim that during the optimization of their works on Statia, environmental protection is one of the main concerns (NuStar 2011b). The company has founded Statia Way as a spinoff of their companywide United Way which is a fund to invest back in the local community. In 2011 Statia Way collected around \$62.000 which was then used to support 11 local initiatives.

Beside Statia Way, NuStar saves about 200.000 (2010) for charitable donations on the island. The General Manager of NuStar Statia was naming examples like a sports complex, local elementary schools, continuous support of STENAPA and providing supporting means for the hospital (extra generator) and the fire brigade (helping out on emergencies). Adding to that is the fact that NuStar has a power and water supply of its’ own. However, these supplies are exceeding NuStars own usage, and function therefore as a backup for the entire island, as the General Manager of NuStar Statia stated.

5.1.2 Expansion plan, alternatives and current state

St. Eustatius is one of NuStars largest terminals, taking care of roughly 25% of their total capacity (Crowfoot 2011). NuStar wants to increase this share by expanding their current facility with an additional 30 tanks and an extra jetty. This will create between 250 and 500 temporary construction jobs, and around 40 long term jobs. This expansion will be entirely built according to Dutch safety regulations (according to the General Manager of NuStar Statia during the interview: among the most strict regulations in the world). NuStar adverts with the highest industry standards, best practices to decrease environmental impact as much as possible, annual inspections by expert authorities, allowing archaeological survey to be undertaken before commencing the construction and having the most innovative fire protection technology available (NuStar 2011a). The location was chosen on the south side of Signal Hill, an area called the Farm. The Farm is a by NuStar owned piece of land where once a historic plantation complex was situated, which is therefore currently considered an archaeological site (Crowfoot 2011).

The manager of STEBA (Statia Business Association) stated that most companies are in favour of the expansion. Only one or two would like to see it happen elsewhere. However, NuStar is encountering resistance by many parties on the island considering the expansion plans. Currently their terminal is situated at the most ideal location: on the north side of Signal Hill, hardly visible from the entire occupied area of the island. Also from an environmental point of view, STENAPA is considering their current location as the perfect location for such a facility since environmental damage is limited. However, the terminal expansion is located in sight and closer to the community than the current facility.

After researching several alternatives (see figure 13) the Farm was considered by NuStar as being the most ideal location. The two northern alternatives (Venus Bay and Bergje) would mean long pipelines and many ground levelling works which made the construction costs too high to be realistic options. The Zeelandia Bay option encountered huge amounts of community resistance, since it is one of the most visually attractive bays on Statia, and moreover NuStar considered the Atlantic side of Statia too rough to realize their terminal with jetty. The pipeline across the island from Zeelandia to the other side would again mean high construction costs. STENAPA states in their Management Plan (2009) the following:

Cul de Sac hill, an important site for Statia Morning Glory (Ipomoea spheophylla) has not been specifically included in the areas to be protected. The management status of this area is therefore unclear (Esteban et al. 2009)



Figure 13: Alternatives (NuStar, 2011a)

This would mean that even STENAPA has no big issues with the current potential location for the expansion. So concluding: the current Farm location is the cheapest option for NuStar. This location is however not in line with the spatial development plan. The Farm can in that plan only be used for storage facilities. This terminal expansion is way more than just storage, so NuStar is trying to get a variance on that area. The Spatial Development Plan is providing this option by a red shading over the purple area (Spatial Development Plan 2010). NuStar feels the resistance to their plans, so they have added a few changes to their plans to make the impact on the island smaller. They rearranged some terminals, made the project smaller overall, and decreased the negative visual impact on the island (NuStar 2011a). NuStar claimed that after community pressure they revised their plans resulting in adding in more trees around the facility and painting the tanks green, which would mean a minimal visual impact.

A part of the expansion plan is the second jetty (large pier) which would increase the capacity of servable ships. This second jetty would be built in sight of the lower bay area near the Farm as can be seen on figure 14 and 15. However, NuStar encountered resistance when they presented this option. This made them change their plans resulting in the following layout of the extension plan (see figure 14 and 15).

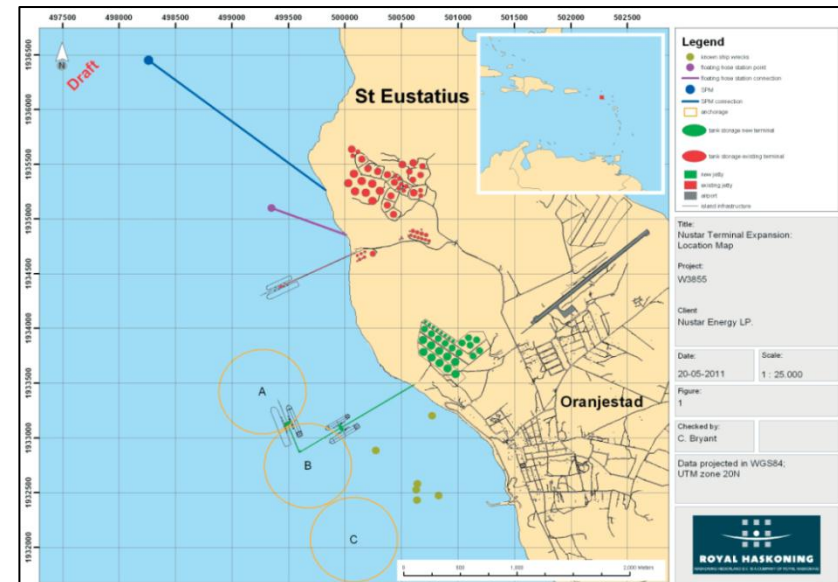


Figure 14: Expansion Location (in green) (NuStar 2011a)

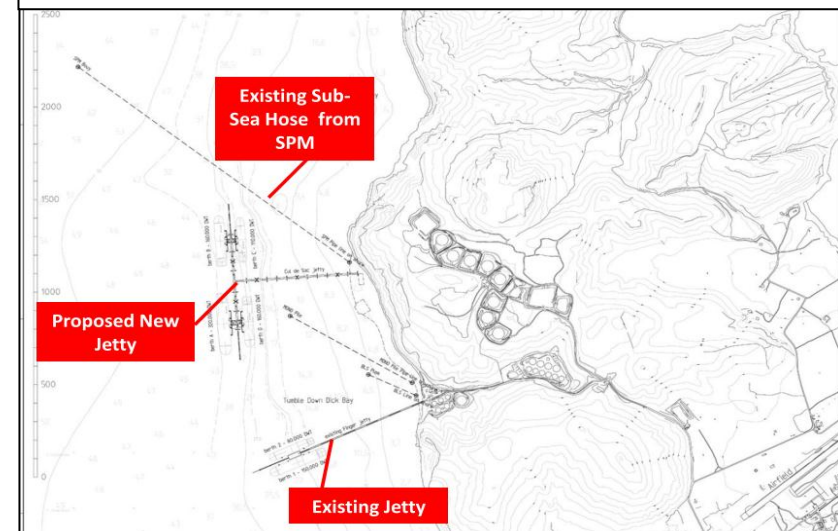


Figure 15: New Jetty Location (NuStar 2011a)

5.1.3 Summarizing the process around the oil terminal case

NuStar, being the largest private employer on the island, owns lands on which they would like to see an expansion of their current terminal. Since the expansion is of such a size, SEAD (St. Eustatius Awareness and Development Network) even calls it a second terminal instead of just an expansion. As said before, Statia is a small island, of which only 1/3 can be used for economic and residential areas, because the other 2/3 are natural mountainous areas with protected national parks on them. NuStar is taking its role as the largest player on the island beside the government seriously. Investments in the island are made on a yearly basis by providing a fraction of their turnover for local sociocultural initiatives (200.000 in 2011, 300.000 in 2012). Besides that, the company gives out cheques of about 60.000 dollar to a by the employees chosen initiative, and it helps the local community by providing backup power and water sources as well as large machinery to clean up the lower bay area or other areas. Adding their network amongst the working population of Statia, which they apparently are paying well compared to other companies on the island, shows that NuStar is putting effort in their image. This creates goodwill among the islanders, and power at the decision table.

Because of this image NuStar has, it gained support for their expansion plan. Most of the islanders are in favour of this plan, because it would generate new jobs, which is good for economic development (not only for the company itself, but employers have to live, eat and recreate as well). NuStar's first attempt was jetty location number one, right on the northern side of the lower bay, in sight of the proposed touristic development area. However, due to (among other reasons) pressure

of the local government on behalf of the local community, NuStar changed the plans. After investigating alternatives, the second location ended up far north out of sight. The attached terminal expansion would be situated on the southern side of Signal Hill and a pipeline would connect this with the jetty. The zoning plan provides areas of exemption, shown by a red striped shading. However, this shading is hardly visible on the map causing a simple agree by the officials, and now living with the consequences of NuStar trying to get this exemption.

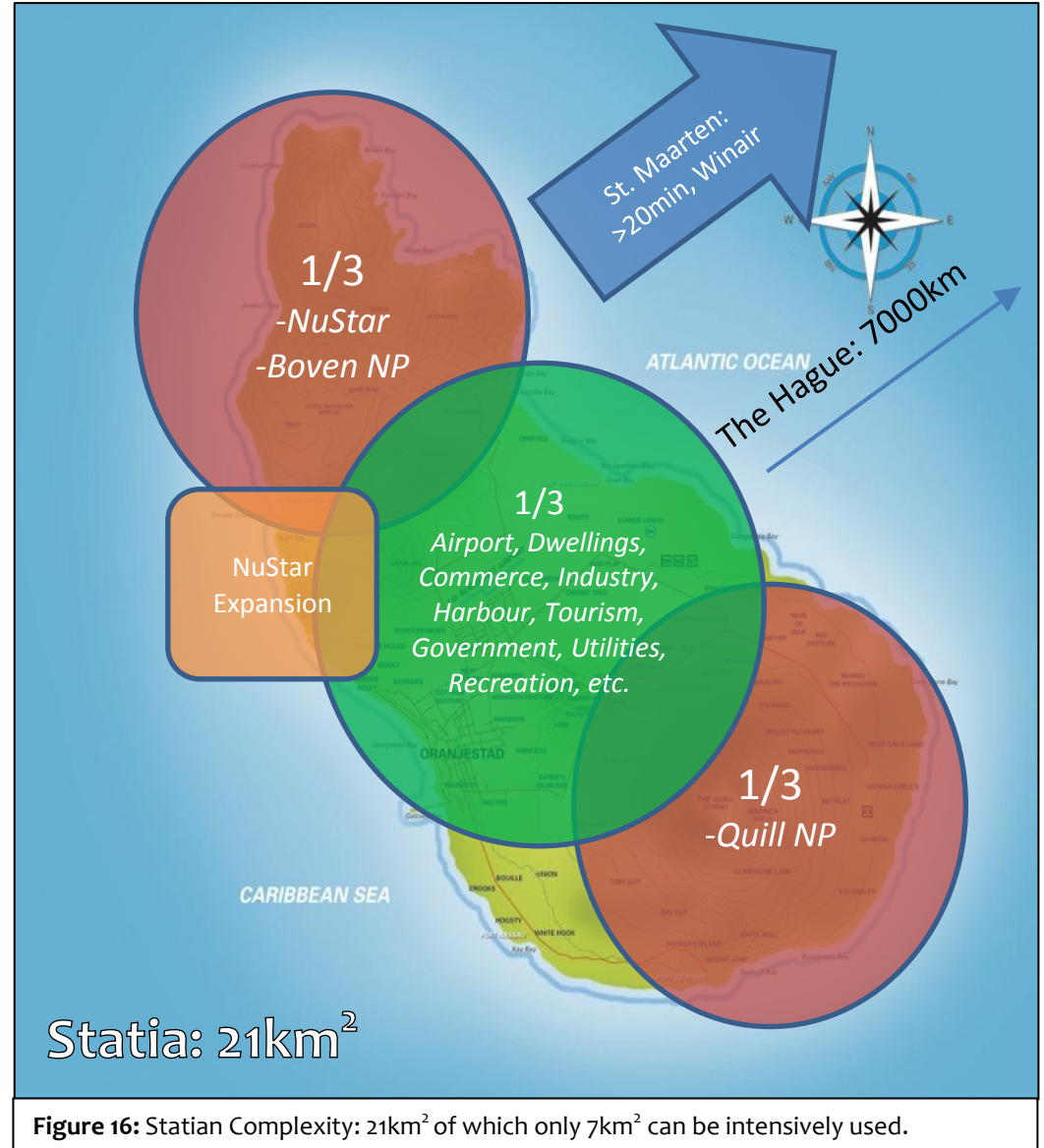
But, this exemption is appealed to court by a small group of Statians (SEAD) among whom The manager of the Monuments Foundation was one of the respondents of this research. The main objections are the expansion at all (which is making NuStar even more powerful, which has its risks) and if it has to be happening the location is not the best option. Moreover, they are attacking NuStar on its way of dealing with the process, which is in their eyes incorrect. First, the image NuStar has is based upon figures out of context: it seems they are investing a lot in Statia, but it is actually a very small fraction of their total turnover. The power and water source that they are providing is anyhow necessary for themselves since they cannot rely on the other sources provided on the island, moreover: they need a backup anyway. Adding to that are the visibility efforts they are intending to realize (adding trees and painting the tanks green) which show that they are willing to admit to local issues. Even though green and amongst trees, it still is a decrease of natural beauty. Then there are the alternatives that are unrealistic. The first jetty location at the lower bay was cancelled because of the depth of the sea and not of public pressure. It did come in handy for the local government however, to show to the public they are keeping

a close eye on NuStar. But since NuStar was the one that pulled the plug on this alternative, because of physical constraints instead of public pressure, this close eye of the government is doubtful. The other alternatives are Zeelandia, which is too expansive and is a definite no-go for every Statian to allow developments, and two other locations which are just too expensive for NuStar to develop because of ground levelling works and extensive pipelines. On top of that does it make Statia more and more depended on one stakeholder, and the consequences are interminable if NuStar is leaving or when an oil crisis occurs (oil is not the sector with the best future). SEAD is therefore pushing for tourism development instead of NuStar. There are ways of investing in tourism (like diving, cultural and eco-tourism) that are much more reliable in their future prospects than one oil company. Moreover: the expansion only provides few jobs, and because of the automatizing of NuStar, other jobs are disappearing. To connect the case with the transition period, another problem shows up. Locals do not dare protest against the government, certainly since The Hague is involved, and are actually unaware of the possibility of it at all. Statians tend to look up to the government, instead of treating it as equal. Therefore people like the ones united in SEAD are needed to fight decisions like this, and keep a close eye on the acting of the government.

5.2 Characteristics of the resource

In this case, the island with its natural beauty, is considered the resource. On as well Schiermonnikoog as Statia, the natural beauty is used for touristic and recreational means. On Statia, the Oil Terminal is using a large part of the area available on the island, of which none is located inside a National Park. The main characteristic of the resource in question is its physical boundary. As said, both areas are islands, which means that they both have a harsh physical boundary given shape by the sea. This provides a limited amount of space that has to be used by many users, because of the simple fact that these users cannot easily cross the municipal border to execute their behaviour elsewhere. Many respondents mentioned the limitations of this island being. The secretary of the Consultative Body (on behalf of the province of Fryslan), mentioned the island's uniqueness. It is a place with as many mayors as there are inhabitants, who are all proud of their island. All users have a claim on every area of the island, and all claim they have knowledge about this area. The Water-board Fryslan representative in the Consultative Body, who is only recently present at Consultative Body meetings, states that an island is a small area where as many issues are at stake as at a larger inland municipality, but because of the physical boundary, all has to occur on that same amount of land.

To start off with, many respondents agreed upon the different situation Statia is in compared to Schiermonnikoog. A simple argument that arises with for instance The director of the Statian Chamber of Commerce (among others) is that Statia is more expensive than Schiermonnikoog because it is further away, so more travel costs and time are needed to even get there. The whole Statian discussion about



whether or not to allow a terminal expansion shows similar issues Schiermonnikoog encountered: on a limited amount of land, as well economic development as nature protection have to be realized according to competing groups of islanders. Whereas The General Manager of NuStar Statia is aiming for an expansion, which has to occur on the island (since because of the physical boundary again, other locations in neighbouring municipalities are impossible).

On the other hand, the opponents of the expansion aim for touristic development and nature protection, which is harmed by the presence of the terminal. The manager of the Monuments Foundation, and initiator of SEAD (St. Eustatius Awareness and Development Movement), claims that there is no bright future in the oil expansion and is therefore fighting the expansion in court. Because of the limited amount of land, he states that extensive eco-tourism can coexist with nature protection, but a large oil terminal expansion cannot coexist with either of the two. He put forward the limited amount of space by mentioning the fact that Statia is already 21 square kilometre, of which only 1/3 can be used (see figure 16). One third is a mountainous area in the north where the current terminal is situated, and the second third is occupied by the volcano. Meaning that on only around 7 square kilometre, all developments have to take place, including an airport, residential, commercial and industrial areas, touristic development, and all other utility facilities (among which a power and water plant, schools, police and emergency units, etc.). When either of them is seeking for expansion, the others are harmed. The other two thirds of the island are now used as a main recreational area for as well tourists as locals, but are thus highly under pressure as is shown by the terminal expansion debate.

This land scarcity is also experienced by several other respondents. The archaeologist of SECAR, archaeologist of SECAR (St. Eustatius Centre for Archaeological Research) mentions the small scaled-ness of the island, and the fact that SECAR is the only archaeological institute on Statia. SECAR is aiming for a heritage trail, which is possible seeing the archaeological sites found on the island. However, NuStars expansion is counteracting. The acting president of STENAPA even thinks NuStar is too large for an island like Statia and therefore a risky undertaking to give so much space to. This statement is supported by the manager of the Old Gin House Hotel (a hotel in the lower bay area), who states that most of his customers are oil terminal officials. So by a bankruptcy or departure of NuStar from Statia, he foresees a bankruptcy of his hotel as well. His main concern is the visibility of the terminal from the lower bay area, if the terminal is not too disturbing. The manager of the Old Gin House Hotel even states that tourism and the oil terminal can coexist. The director of the Statia Tourism Office states that they can, but only when the expansion plan will be realized in harmony with nature and historical values found on the site. He suggests that NuStar might compensate for their damage by sinking a few wrecks which could become new dive spots. Divers do not care a lot how the island looks, whenever they have nice dive spots, according to the director of the Statia Tourism Office. The acting president of STENAPA adds to that that because of the size of Statia and the lack of beaches, tourism has a unpredictable future as well. Currently, the main visitors on Statia are family visitors, businessmen (usually for NuStar) and a handful of divers. However, according to Statian Planning Bureau employee, Senior Development & Investment Officer at Statia Planningbureau, Statia is promoting ecotourism. The main location for this development is the lower bay area. The manager of STEBA stated that there is new

interest in Statia by two possible new hotels, a ferry company and possibly two new flight operators which support that development. The lower bay area is according to SECAR and the Monuments Foundation an area of high historical value. The government itself on the other side is aiming to increase the amount of hotel beds from around 50 to roughly 200, so the Planningbureau is trying to achieve the best of both worlds as in: protecting and developing. A Statian Planning Bureau employee agrees with the director of the Statian Chamber of Commerce that the island is economically behind, but improving. But there is a danger in taking too big steps, which would result in damaging the image of Statia (making it an industrial island instead of a quiet retreat).

The director of the Statian Chamber of Commerce argues to stop with typical Caribbean image of white sandy beaches to attract tourism. He sees a future in other forms of tourism based upon the terminal for instance: conferences and business meetings. The diving sector has, in his eyes, no harm of the terminal when they go and dive on their southern dive spots. Anyhow, basing the Statian economy on two pillars (tourism and oil) is more safe than on one (just oil), as the manager of the Monuments Foundation also agrees upon. Because of the boundary the sea provides, utilities like water cannot easily be used from neighbouring municipalities. According to the director of the Statian Chamber of Commerce, Statia has not got a decent functioning water plant. So an entirely new plant has to be built, which initially takes up a large part of Statia's budget. Therefore he has an idea about creating a golf course on the island. A golf course will enhance the touristic image of Statia, certainly for new business tourism, and since

golf courses need water, it might help in making a new water plant a more profitable process.

The jurist at the Statian Legal Affairs office, senior policy officer legal affairs Statia Government, highlights the physical boundary by mentioning problems which include one central person or bureau for all three BES islands. For instance by making once central police headquarters, during investigations suspects have to be flown from island to island for hearings. Bonaire and Saba are not as nearby as they seem, both require several hours of travelling. This enlarges the issue as mentioned earlier, that as many functions as physically possible should be realized on the island. Overall with this short overview, the amount and variety of claims on this limited space are shown.

5.3 Characteristics of the users

5.3.1 Physical and technical characteristics

The two islands that are looked at during this research are first off small islands. Both Statia and Schiermonnikoog share a similar context since 10-10-'10, since they are both islands functioning under the Dutch Government. They differ in terms of population density and physical as well as cultural distance to The Hague. Technically, respondents mentioned similar characteristics when it comes to characterise the group of users. All respondents stated that the inhabitants of their separated islands is small and tight. The manager of National Park Schiermonnikoog for instance, calls the community on Schiermonnikoog small and isolated. On islands it is hard to attract people from the neighbouring municipality since there is no commuting possible. Because of the size, a higher educational facility like a university is not realistic. The General Manager of NuStar Statia therefore finds it for instance hard to find skilled labour. The jurist at the Statian Legal Affairs office adds to that that there is for instance only one jurist (she) on Statia. The acting president of STENAPA seconds the finding, but brings forward that local experience should not be underestimated, and RCN is according to the head of the Statian Government Information Service trying to hire as many locals as possible. It also creates a possibility for one actor to become excessively large, in Statia's case NuStar. The General Manager of NuStar Statia knows about his position on the island, and is therefore investing in the local community. The acting president of STENAPA and The manager of the Monuments Foundation even states that NuStar is too large for the island: when NuStar is leaving or goes bankrupt, Statia suffers probably the same destiny.

5.3.1.1 Statia : Island Natural Resource Governance

Statia as a small independent country under the Dutch crown has encountered a major change during and after the 10th of October 2010. As mentioned before, that was the date on which Statia became a Dutch municipality with some extra features and different rules and regulations, therefore called an extraordinary municipality or a public body. What the main differences are, can be found back in 7.1.1.2.1. but it comes down to the fact that Statia did get a different treatment than other Dutch municipalities. In this paragraph, more will be told about how planning and natural resource governance was functioning before and after the transition, as an introduction on how this transition is experienced in 7.2.2 and onwards.

5.3.1.1.1 Natural Resource Management

STENAPA is the main organisation on Statia when it comes to maintenance of the national parks. The STENAPA director of National Parks, director of National Parks at STENAPA, provided a short history about the history. In 1988, the Quill (Statia's main volcano) was appointed as the first National Park in the Dutch Caribbean. To be able to maintain this, STENAPA was called to life after a 3 months consultation period. In 1995, the Marine park was added, as well as that STENAPA was officially registered at the Chamber of Commerce on St. Maarten. The Miriam C. Schmidt Botanical Garden was added in 1998. The responsible area for STENAPA was increased to its current size by the 2007 addition of the Boven National Park which sums up to a total of 33 ha. STENAPA is legally mandated by the Island Government to manage all the island's protected areas and furthermore the parks are internationally protected by several spatial as well as species specific treaties (see 4.2.3.).

After the transition, the national parks will remain protected by the international treaties, since the Dutch as well as the Dutch Antilles government have signed them. However, the national parks did lose their protected status under the Dutch government, since The Hague is not willing to subsidise them anymore. Since the State visit of 2011, the Queen (as a patron of the umbrella organisation for all islands: DCNA) put pressure on the minister to change that and increase funding again. An additional form of protection is provided by the realization and adoption of the spatial development plan in august 2010. This plan provides a binding destination for every piece of land on the island. All STENAPA National Park grounds are considered green and thus 'nature' in this plan (Spatial Development Plan 2010).

5.3.1.1.2 Spatial Planning

Since the zoning plan was put in place, the planning bureau is the main organization which deals with project development applications and such matter. The planning bureau is the main responsible agency for formulating policies for development programs as well as project proposals. Besides that, the planning bureau has a task in fundraising (setting up financing proposals, maintaining contact with donors). Finally the planning bureau is the main project manager and monitor, including taking care of producing the necessary reports.

The oil terminal case is providing ground on which islanders can show their colour. As showed under 8.2, there are many competing claims on a small area. People are mixed in their findings whether or not this expansion is the best future for Statia. All respondents agree on the importance of NuStar on Statia. Some fear it (e.g. the manager of the Monuments Foundation, the acting president of STENAPA and the manager of the Old Gin House Hotel) because of a sudden leave or

bankruptcy would mean the same future for Statia. Others (e.g. the former Statian commissioner of education, the director of the Statian Chamber of Commerce and the manager of STEBA) are more positive about its existence since NuStar is investing money in the island. This results in opponents and proponents, with on the one hand NuStar as a proponent, and a mixed group of inhabitants on the opponent side. Because these opponents were not able to speak up with one powerful mouth, the manager of the Monuments Foundation and a few fellow prominent Statians started the SEAD movement to "have its people collectively aware of and informed on the important issues within its community and by empowering these individuals to take action and bring about the changes they desire". This is the main group of stakeholders that is opposing the expansion from happening. Because SEAD know how to counteract the development, they are the ones that took this case to court, which is still pending (as in February 2012).

5.3.1.2 Schiermonnikoog : Consultative Body

As an inspiration Schiermonnikoog was used, since that is a Dutch island with a National Park too, which has been under Dutch governmental responsibility since the creation of the Dutch Kingdom. Schiermonnikoog has one of the older national parks of the Netherlands, and as the manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog and the Schiermonnikoog municipality representative stated in their interview for this research, the only one with a Consultative Body which includes three island representatives. These island representatives do try to form a block, according to one of the island representatives in Consultative Body, to stand strong against the authorities. He thinks that combining forces enhances the chance on a positive outcome for them. Other national parks have consultative

bodies too, but since Schiermonnikoog is such a well delineated area with deeply involved inhabitants, the body decided to add three island representatives: one representing the farmers interest, one the entrepreneurs and one the nature and bird watch. The body consists, besides these island representatives, of an independent chair, the municipality, the province, the national government, Natuur Monumenten (Nature Monuments), Rijkswaterstaat (roughly the Dutch Office of Public Works), and the Waterschap (Water board). The manager of National Park Schiermonnikoog states that the weak spot of the Consultative Body is the mayor. That person is chosen every 4 years, and since the others are working together for a longer period, this mayor has a task in building up trust again. Already existing (oral) agreements are uncertain with a new mayor. The manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog makes a statement about the two faces the province can have. He mentions a case about hand cockle (shell) fishery, which the province handed out a permit for. However, the Consultative Body members were not pleased with this permit, so the deputy of the province went back to correct his own provincial council.

The main aim for the Consultative Body is to find consensus between all stakeholders, according to The manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog and The Schiermonnikoog municipality representative. To achieve this, the aim is to let every actor have its say in the meetings, and moreover provide a place for the islanders to mingle in the process by use of these three representatives. The body also organises consultation evenings where everybody who feels like it, can come too.

5.3.2 Social characteristics

An island is as mentioned before such a small and closed community, that the island inhabitants themselves, are closely connected to their island, but also to each other. This way there are a lot of differences at stake when defining the more social characteristics of the group of users.

5.3.2.1 Social Identity

The head of the Statian Government Information Service sees three groups of inhabitants: Statians, Dutch and Americans. Americans are there for their rest, Statians would like to develop the island, the Dutch are in between (but lean towards the US). The former Statian commissioner of education seconds this finding and adds that the ones that know how to counteract decision making processes are the Dutch and the Americans. Locals look up to the government and think that they do not stand a chance by counteracting them. The manager of the Monuments Foundation experiences the same phenomenon, since he is the main spokesperson of a certain group of Statians that are opposing the terminal expansion. Certainly the ones living in Jeems (neighbourhood nearby the airport and the proposed expansion) are not in favour of it, since by any casualty they will be the first ones that face the dangers. However, this is according to him not the wealthiest neighbourhood on Statia, and therefore they look up to the wealthy government. But not all locals are supporting his opinion, and another interesting aspect comes to light. Not all islanders see the need for protecting nature and their history. Several respondents (the manager of the Monuments Foundation, the archaeologist of SECAR, but also the director of the Statian Chamber of Commerce and the Senior Planner at the Statian Planning Bureau) mentioned the sentence 'you

can't eat stones' meaning that economic benefit cannot be derived from nature protection. This is the sentence many proponents of the terminal expansion use, plus that local inhabitants share another thought. The history of the Statians is one with slavery, and therefore many locals do not like to be reminded of that. This is why, according to The archaeologist of SECAR, the support for archaeology, protection of monuments, and a possible heritage trail, is so low.

The head of the Statian Government Information Service mentioned the presence of a lot of Dutch on the island during the transition. However, most of them were there on a temporary basis, meaning that they did not feel the need to mingle with the locals very often. Many other respondents agree on this, as well the Dutch as the Statians. The manager of STEBA, a Statian, mentions not to see Dutch a lot outside the formal meeting rooms. The director of the Statian Chamber of Commerce talks about that he mingles with the Statians, but he does not have many contacts with other Dutch on the island. He usually finds himself the only non-coloured person in a venue when going out. The archaeologist of SECAR also agrees that there is not much mingling happening on the island. The manager of the Old Gin House Hotel mentions Dutch and local bars on the island, and argues that because he is only for a short while living on Statia, he feels no urgency to mingle and therefore goes usually to the Dutch bars.

A problem that shows only on Statia is the language. Schiermonnikoog has always been Dutch, and despite the Frisian dialect that is used by the locals, most of its inhabitants speak a decent level of formal Dutch. However, on Statia for year the main language has been English. Now the Dutch government is getting involved in the institutional world on Statia, two languages collide. The head of the Statian Government

Information Service mentions an occasional language problem when a Dutch civil servant comes to Statia to execute a task. The Dutch government has according to the jurist at the Statian Legal Affairs office no aim for making Statia completely Dutch. Main argument is that all of its surrounding islands use English as their main language. Problem is that not all Dutch civil servants situated on Statia have a decent level of English. According to The director of the Statian Chamber of Commerce is RCN mainly focussing on temporary labour, which results in a low need to improve one's English. Foreigners have pros and cons when entering decision making processes. Islanders are sceptical towards them because of their lack of knowledge about the island. The islanders think they know best. On the other hand, foreigners are not involved in any family arguments, or other feuds so they can look objectively/neutral on cases.

5.3.2.2 Personal Identity

Personal identity plays a large role in the decision making process. The main different topics are involvement, informality and directness.

5.3.2.2.1 Involvement

In general, most respondents gave attention to the involvement of the islanders in the decision making process. Both the Schiermonnikoog authorities as the Statian ones provide an open participative planning approach, with many consultation evenings and/or town hall meetings. The manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog, addresses the importance of these meetings. It makes the public aware of what is going on, and it enhances in his eyes, the decisions made for a sustainable future. The involvement of the islanders comes forward in the amount of people that visit these consultation evenings and town

hall meetings. The manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog, the Schiermonnikoog municipality representative and Swart, stated that most of these evenings are crowded with locals. One of the island representatives in Consultative Body is positive about the opportunity for a local to be present at meetings. Bert Swart, former mayor of Schiermonnikoog, seconds this involvement. On the street one can meet and discuss certain issues. Giving trust also results in that islanders are giving it back. However, during the consultative meetings, some stakeholders start sceptical to new ideas. The secretary of the Consultative Body claims Schiermonnikoog has about 960 mayors to whom you need to listen carefully. They are proud of their island which does not always show in resistance but more in involvement. Although sometimes he finds that they have too much knowledge, which harms the process in a way which every new development has a downside for what is there (and everywhere something is there that needs to be protected). The Water-board Fryslan representative in the Consultative Body aims for making consultation meetings with the public as compact as possible. People tend to dislike attending several meetings discussing details, they prefer one with headlines.

5.3.2.2.2 Informality

Many respondents experienced a high degree of informality during the decision making processes. The manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog states that there is a lot going on outside of the formal meetings. But the main topics are about enforcing regulations and gathering information. No decisions are made outside of the meeting rooms. The secretary of the Consultative Body mentions, about the informality, that the hallways are usually for gauging and pitching ideas as well as sharpening of targets/recommendations/goals.

On Statia, this informality exists as well. The General Manager of NuStar Statia even claims to have personal contact with several island inhabitants. An example he mentions is the contact with Laura, one of the managers of the Kingswell Resort, certainly during the first option for the jetty location. The STENAPA director of National Parks mentions informal contact with fishers how they can fish but keep in mind the corals that are protected. By showing a flexible attitude (not prohibiting them from fishing), the fishers can do something in return as well (supporting STENAPA financially or socially). The manager of the Old Gin House Hotel is because of this informal atmosphere, one of the better informed persons on Statia. His hotel bar is one of the main meeting places for officials. These officials then tend to linger at the bar.

5.3.2.2.3 Directness

Because of this involvement of the islanders with their direct environment, combined with the informal attitude, when antagonists meet, debates can get personal. The Water-board Fryslan representative in the Consultative Body has only been present in the Consultative Body for a short time, and can therefore nicely describe these debates. He agrees with the manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog and the Schiermonnikoog municipality representative that on certain topics things can get personal. The islanders are deeply linked to their living environment, so they are sceptical towards new developments. At first they can therefore be direct and personal. There are tensions between certain groups as well. A Statian Planning Bureau employee experienced on Statia that during debates people tend to have strong pro or contra standpoints, instead of more soft nuanced standpoints.

During the transition period, personality is a major aspect in the successfulness. The acting president of STENAPA states about this personality that cooperation with The Hague is highly influenced by the personality of both sides of the connection (as well as the person in the Netherlands, as the Statian). Does the person show any interest in the situation on the other side of the tie, he can be more flexible when it comes to implementation of policies and regulations. When the person is not showing any interest, he is just executing what he is told, and therefore much more strict. Most respondents experienced similar issues. The Senior Planner at Statian Planning Bureau had fairly good experiences with the Hague because the latter let developments on Statia go on during the process of granting several permits. The General Manager of NuStar Statia experienced a give and take culture during the transition, which he understood because of the fact that it is new for all. On the other hand, the former Statian commissioner of education aims for hiring people with more affinity with the Caribbean context during the transition. She claims to have had to deal with stubborn civil servants, caught between The Hague and Statia, plainly executing their tasks.

Another element in which personality comes forward is in speaking up against unwanted developments. The manager of the Monuments Foundation is the main example in this. He is head of and only member of the Monuments Foundation, but the main actor that is attacking NuStar on their expansion plans. The archaeologist of SECAR mentions The manager of the Monuments Foundation's local knowledge as he has lived for a large part of his life on the island. He elaborated on the fact that his international career combined with his Statian nature made him as an outspoken person. He knows where the opportunities

lie to counteract the government, and he knows how to present them to the locals, who then again support him. His local knowledge is derived from his historical interest, since he is advising in how to cope with historical sites on the island.

5.4 Characteristics of the institutional context

The fact that an isolated community like an island demands a more specific approach to building up the decision making scheme. Statia's successful attempt to become an extraordinary municipality is one of the arguments for this. This resulted in a tailor-made policy context for the island, although not all promises were fulfilled during the transition. But also on Schiermonnikoog for instance, the island situation resulted in the addition of three island representatives to the formal Consultative Body. So the general feeling is that islands cannot just be compared one on one with mainland municipalities.

5.4.1 Statia before 10-10-10

Before the transition, the only zoning scheme present was a unofficial map made by Brazilian planning bureau PBSA. The STENAPA director of National Parks found it insufficient, nevertheless the STENAPA National Park areas were also considered 'nature' on that map produced by PBSA in 1989 which was the main spatial development tool up to the creation of the Spatial Development Plan in 2010. According to Avisi (1990), the Statian government received funds from the Dutch government to engage experts to help plan for the future economic development of the island. The government in turn, hired the Brazilian planning bureau Penfold-Braswel S.A. (PBSA) to conduct a survey of the island, resulting in a Physical Development Plan for St. Eustatius. However, this plan is because of its being based upon wrong

assumptions (what these are is uncertain and goes too far in detail for this research), was never officially adopted. But still, the officials were using it as a guiding document to treat incoming planning applications, as The Senior Planner at Statian Planning Bureau, head of the Statia Planning Bureau, stated during the interview held for this research. He stated that there was a loose attitude towards zoning schemes because of lack of approval of guiding zoning map. However, he claims it was averagely arranged. Difficulties he mentioned include the fact that when a stakeholder wants to realize for instance a house in a natural area, he can take his plans to court. Since the judge has no formal documents to base his decision upon, the project developer usually gets permission to build. The manager of STEBA seconds this finding by saying that new companies had a good chance on finding a place on the island before 10-10-'10, since an application could not be rejected. Other elements like international treaties were not as strictly enforced. The archaeologist of SECAR, archaeologist, mentioned the treaty of Malta not being put in practise: SECAR operated research based or out of interest of the developer and used students to do excavations which resulted in small scale projects.

The former Statian commissioner of education, experienced the transition on the institutional field from the inside. The process of the possible transition starting with a referendum (1992) resulting in the fact that everybody wanted to stay with the Dutch Antilles government. However, the small islands felt like misfits, and even a burden by Curacao. Globally the islands were not able to cooperate on a successful way, which eventually led to the fact that St.Maarten went into a second referendum. This referendum showed a feeling to become independent, which resulted because of governmental

pressure, of St.Maarten and The Hague, in an status aparte (special political status) in 2000. The other islands went into a second referendum as well in 2005. Saba chose direct connection with Holland. Statia wanted to stay independent, but considering the referendum of Saba, there were not a lot of alternatives since Statia on its own faces a very uncertain future. The former Statian commissioner of education mentioned an earlier created idea of a kingdom island, which eventually was comparable with the extraordinary municipality Statia is now.

5.4.2 Statia during and after 10-10-10 transition

On the figurative transition-eve, The Hague organized so called BES weeks. These could be used by the Caribbean authorities to negotiate with The Hague about the future regulations. Most of the outcome was positive, The Hague was willing to cooperate and listen to the islands officials and showed an attitude of 'the sky is the limit' in these days, according to the director of the Statian Chamber of Commerce. When 10-10-'10 approached, the worldwide financial crisis caused for many deals to be cancelled or left out of the process with an unsatisfying result for the Statians.

So many things have changed for Statia. The jurist at the Statian Legal Affairs office even calls Statia moving from unorganized to organized. The choice for an extraordinary municipality provided the option for two main pros compared to an ordinary municipality. It provides a possibility for tailor-made policies and the option to become an independent island in the future is still there. The latter is according to the jurist at the Statian Legal Affairs office important because the

extraordinary municipalities of the past became real municipalities like all other, and Statia does not want that.

5.4.2.1 Tax

The negative outcome of the transition for the Statians is the new tax system. A change that many respondents mentioned was the import tax system. Because Statia is such a small island, many things have to be imported via St.Maarten. People would think that since St.Maarten is functioning under the same government, this would not be the cause for problems. But it does nonetheless, because besides the tax on overall transport costs (which are considerably high already) tax is collected to get a good on St.Maarten, and moreover St.Maarten is asking for taxes to export the good to Statia as well. This adds up to roughly 15% of tax which should not be collected inside a kingdom, according to the former Statian commissioner of education and the jurist at the Statian Legal Affairs office among others. Adding to this disadvantage of the new government, is the lack of financial advantages. The former Statian commissioner of education mentions a few: The social welfare funding is too low, the child benefit is too low and social housing is too expensive. Rental subsidy is lacking. The director of the Statian Chamber of Commerce states that Statia gets money out of the BES fund, which is tight: enough to keep things going, business as usual, but nothing more. Since these elements are what most Statians directly notice in their purchasing power, the attitude towards the Dutch is increasingly negative.

The Senior Planner at Statian Planning Bureau mentions for instance the strictness in collecting taxes which has intensified. About half of the Business Association is not in favour of the transition, according to

the manager of STEBA. The main reasons they bring forward are the increased taxes. He mentions a few enterprises (among which retail store Mazinga) which had to close down because they could not bring up enough profit to pay taxes and make a living. Win from the Kingswell resort has a hard time keeping his head above water, since the property tax has increased to such an amount his profit is nearly minimalized. According to the manager of STEBA, these problems occur in every sector, since he experiences complaints from all sectors in the business association.

5.4.2.2 National Parks

For STENAPA a few things changed as well. The STENAPA director of National Parks mentions a feeling that nature is rated more important by the Hague than by the former Curaçaoan government. Nevertheless she experiences a unfair division of the national parks on Dutch Antilles at the main umbrella association DCNA: Statia, Saba and Bonaire's NPs are under The Hague and DCNA, whereas the other islands are included in DCNA, but do not have the protective benefits of The Hague. This benefit is called a big brother effect by the STENAPA Director of National Parks. The Hague is considered a more powerful authority than the former Dutch Antilles government. But The Hague is not living up to this image, since it is not funding national parks anymore.

5.4.2.3 Planning

Planning-wise, it all changed when the SEI was created. The Social Economic Initiative (SEI) was approved by the Executive and Island Council of Statia, and subsequently approved by the Kingdom Council of Ministers in 2007. The SEI aims for a sustainable future for Statia by creating a decent economic foundation when the constitutional change of 10-10-10 was completed. The Senior Planner at Statian Planning Bureau summarized the SEI by saying that it finances certain projects from development aid money from the Dutch government. One of the main aims (out of 4) of the SEI was spatial planning and the protection of nature. The creation of the Spatial Development Plan was one of the main points under that sub paragraph. Meanwhile, back in 2003, the Planningbureau St. Eustatius was created to fulfil the main planning tasks on Statia. The reasoning behind its creation was the experienced lack of planning expertise, the lack of a central point where coherent policies on spatial development areas are formulated and the far from optimal use of incoming funds by foreign investors. A realization of a planning bureau would improve these issues by huge steps, as can be read in their founding document (2003, presented to me by The Senior Planner at Statian Planning Bureau). The Planning Bureau is mainly responsible for creating coherent spatial development policies, and not with the execution of it. Because of this, The Senior Planner at Statian Planning Bureau states that the planning bureau is considered to be a staff bureau functioning directly under the Island Secretary, directly connected to the Executive Council. Therefore, the PL together with the RBOI (Rotterdam), created the first Strategic Development Plan for Statia (2010). This was done with a decent scheme of participation possibilities by the locals as can be seen in figure 17:

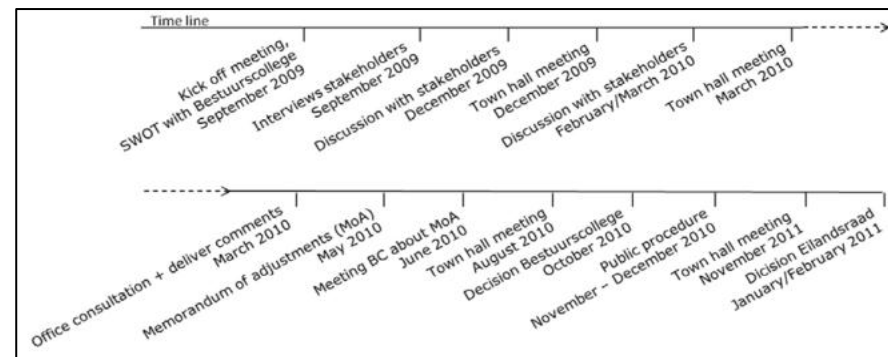


Figure 17: Timeline Consultation Process Spatial Development Plan (Spatial Development Plan Statia 2010)

During the Town Hall Meetings all interested parties were given the opportunity to put their reactions forward, as The Senior Planner at Statian Planning Bureau and The head of the Statian Government Information Service mention. When the Strategic Development Plan was in its final stage, on the Town Hall Meeting of November 2010, the kickoff of the draft for the Spatial Development Plan was a fact. This was then created with use of the public as well as included a sounding board. In March 2011, this Spatial Development Plan was finally adopted, resulting in a binding zoning policy on every square metre of the island. The main points are summarized as follows (Spatial Development Plan Statia 2010):

- **In general** – St. Eustatius opts for spatial policy aimed at strengthening its spatial values and qualities and stimulating its social coherence. Building activities are primarily concentrated in and near the present residential areas.
- **Values and qualities** – Central theme of the spatial development plan is protecting the values, the qualities and the unique character of St. Eustatius. This concentrates on landscape, nature, covering flora and fauna and the Marine Park, identity and cultural heritage.
- **New development** – Allowing development of residential areas, leisure and business in a way that is responsible and befits the landscape and the identity of the island. Building in the present urban area of Oranjestad is preferred over building in the (natural) landscape. A great deal of attention has to be paid on the quality of the landscape when expanding is necessary. New build works will have to be adjusted to the landscape as much as possible. However, these developments are also possible on other locations, for example adjacent to Weg naar de White Wall, in Oranjestad and near Zeelandia Bay.
- **Tourism** – Making and keeping the island a tourist attraction. For this, the development of Lower Town is crucial.
- **Residential areas** – Proper maintenance of the residential areas, primarily focused on good housing and living conditions.
- **Utilities** – Offering space for social, educational, cultural and sports utilities.
- **Present situation** – Respecting both present and future spatial developments based on decisions by the Executive Council and/or the Island Council.

Besides these points, the document was set up to be more flexible than the name suggests. “A spatial development plan is not a static document. Spatial planning is in itself dynamic. Working with (amendments of) the spatial development plan will support these dynamics.” (Spatial Development Plan Statia 2010). One of the ways this flexibility is shown, are the zones of exemption or variation. On Statia there are a few areas chosen to be able to get an exemption or variation on this Spatial Development Plan. NuStar is thus now trying to get permission for a variation on one of these areas for their terminal expansion plan.

Now, technically, the creation of the new zoning plan in 2011 was not directly linked to the institutional change, as The Senior Planner at Statian Planning Bureau stated, but on the other hand the SEI was the basis of the whole process, which was created with an eye on the future transition. This shows that without the upcoming transition, this spatial development plan would probably not have gotten enough fundings to be realized.

Besides the new documents that have now been realized with help of the Dutch government, The Senior Planner at Statian Planning Bureau experiences some other differences comparing the pre-transition period with the current situation. The main points include a more strict enforcement of rules, and the presence of much more permits than before. The acting president of STENAPA feels the National Parks are better protected because of the zoning plan having a juridical basis.

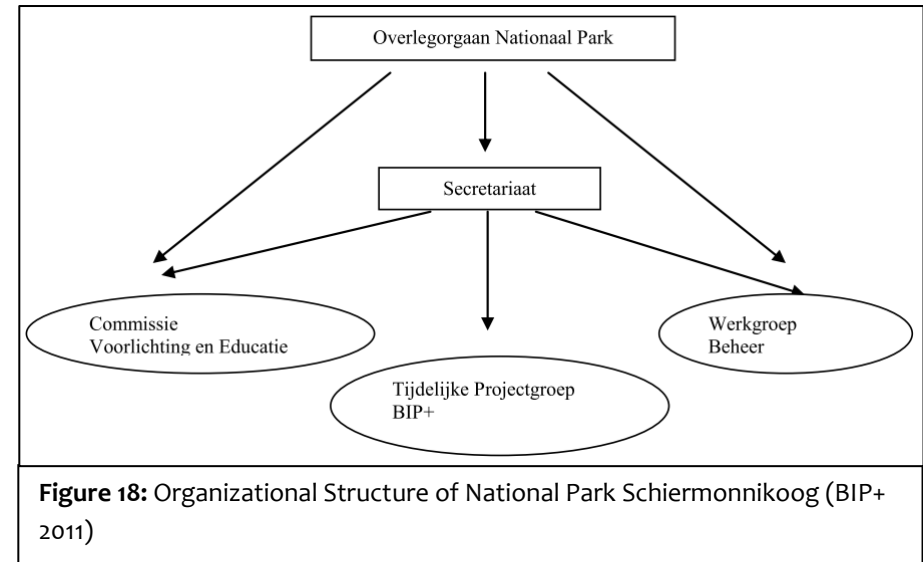
5.4.2.4 Other

Besides this there are also more smaller issues that changed. The manager of the Old Gin House Hotel mentions the increase of bureaucracy when applying for an expansion of his hotel for instance. Another thing is the Treaty of Malta, according to The archaeologist of SECAR. The treaty is only valid when implemented in policies, which only happened in 2007 in the Netherlands, but not yet on Statia. This problem was brought to court, and the judge did claim that developments occur as if the treaty is valid and implemented (including the NuStar case). So NuStar asked SECAR for an excavation on the lands of their expansion. The result was more comprehensive than expected, so a second study is needed. The island government should check the validity of this excavation. However, the island council has not an own independent archaeologist, so SECAR has a monopoly position on archaeological excavations, according to The archaeologist of SECAR. The Dutch Heritage Inspection is an actor that can check the work of SECAR, but they are not coming to Statia for every new case.

5.4.3 Consultative Body

The belief is that the involvement of the locals with the future of their island is much deeper than in other municipalities, plus that the island provides a hard boundary who to include and who not to include in such a body, as the manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog, the secretary of the Consultative Body and the Schiermonnikoog municipality representative state. This Consultative Body is responsible for the creation and monitoring of the Management and Development Plan (Beheer- en Inrichtingsplan Plus: BIP+). This body is advised by two workgroups: the workgroup Management and the Commission Information and Education, both responsible for the tasks which they

carry the name of. A small scheme shows this construction in figure 18. In 2008, for the creation of the new BIP+, there was a temporary Project group BIP+.



The BIP+ (2011) is the main management document for the National Park of Schiermonnikoog. The most important points out of it are vitalizing nature by finding more sustainable ways of managing nature instead of mechanical mowing for instance. One of the solutions is natural grazing by bovines, deer and other larger and smaller grazers. Another point is a washover complex (an area which floods during extreme high tides) which has been cut off from the sea by a row of new dunes. There are plans to make it a true washover complex again by demolishing the dunes, which would add in dynamics of the area and enhance natural quality and sustainability of the area. Most of the points need more research before they are possible to implement, and

that is what the Consultative Body is mainly taking care of. The ambition is to let nature go its way, provide living space for many species and allow people to enjoy the island.

Neither the Consultative Body nor the BIP+ have a juridical status. The manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog illustrates what the consequences of that are with another example. When an oil company (Shell is the most likely one in this case) approaches the government with a request for exploring for possibilities to extract gas under the national park, the government can either provide or prohibit them from proceeding with their developments. When they decide to provide the exploration permit, nobody can formulate objections on the basis of the BIP, as the secretary of the Consultative Body states. The only possibility the antagonists have, is to go to Natuur Monumenten, who then can rely on their property right and prevent the exploration from happening.

Several respondents felt a decentralizing trend from the government. The manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog says about the decentralization trend, that national and provincial stakeholders are not attending all meetings anymore. Moreover, the funding is not coming from The Hague anymore, but has to come from Leeuwarden. The secretary of the Consultative Body seconds that by mentioning that Secretary of State Henk Bleker (Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Innovation) is cutting on expenses to the national parks, which puts pressure on the provinces to fill the financing gap. They do fill it to some extent, but the budget of the National Park had to decrease because of lesser income from the state. This resulted in the fact that small initiatives are not likely to get funding anymore.

5.5 Relationships between the users and the institutional context

Both cases include a high degree of participation in the decision making process. The Characteristics of the Institutional Context showed that in both cases plenty of options are mentioned where the public is involved. On as well Schiermonnikoog as Statia, the islanders are using these opportunities willingly. So now it is important to look at the relations that exist between the institutional context and its users using the principles of good governance.

5.5.1 Legitimacy and Voice

5.5.1.1 Participation

Both islands show a high degree of public involvement. Respondents of Schiermonnikoog (e.g. the manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog, the secretary of the Consultative Body, the Schiermonnikoog municipality representative, one of the island representatives in Consultative Body) mention a detailed scheme of public consultation evenings, and of course the three island representatives in the Consultative Body. Everybody is invited to join on these consultation evenings, and many do. Adding the informal atmosphere which an island carries with it, additional participative means can be found. One can more easily meet a representative in the streets for instance, as the manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog mentions. The Water-board Fryslan representative in the Consultative Body claims that stakeholders know where to find each other more easily because of the Consultative Body.

On Statia, there are differences between certain demographic/ethnic groups when comparing statements of several respondents. The head of the Statian Government Information Service confirms the high involvement of the islanders. There are town hall meetings about current developments, which are visited by a large group of locals, resulting in fine debates. The General Manager of NuStar Statia states that the government is pushing the locals to participate by using the radio and television. The STENAPA director of National Parks : Nature is not prime priority, therefore people's participation is not as active as on other themes. They do however, understand the need to protect it to some extent. But seeing the participative process of the creation of the Spatial Development Plan (see 1.4.2.X), the authorities do feel the need to consult the public about the future of the island, and as a Statian Planning Bureau employee states: everybody has the right to appeal a decision, but only few dare to do it.

5.5.1.2 Consensus

Here, Schiermonnikoog's Consultative Body is the most clear: it always aims for consensus. Only in situations where the standpoints are too extreme and far apart, the Consultative Body falls back on its only juridical basis: Nature Monument's property rights and Schiermonnikoog's zoning plan. In all other cases, talking until consensus is reached is the one solution, according to the secretary of the Consultative Body and The manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog. Statia is a little less outspoken in this respect. Obviously the participation process around the spatial development plan has not only been to inform the people, but also let them have their ideas pitched (according to the Senior Planner at Statian Planning Bureau). However, several respondents (e.g. the acting president of

STENAPA, the STENAPA director of National Parks and the manager of the Monuments Foundation) had a feeling the government was pushing the process around NuStar a bit too hard to be able to let them expand quickly (which is in the financial interest of the government). On the other hand, NuStar is representing a large part of the active inhabitants of Statia, so for that group, the expansion might be in their best interest. Nevertheless, some actors could be left out of the process on the basis of a contrary standpoint, according to the STENAPA director of National Parks. Let alone the family or other personal feuds are at stake when having a consultation evening or town hall meeting, as the STENAPA director of National Parks, the acting president of STENAPA and the Senior Planner at Statian Planning Bureau mentioned.

5.5.2 Direction/Understanding of complexities (cultural difference)

Both islands showed a high amount of participation of the public while creating their main guiding spatial documents. As well Schiermonnikoog as Statia included a high amount of flexibility and strategic policies in them. The manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog emphasizes the long term thinking of the Consultative Body. The Water-board Frysland representative in the Consultative Body seconds that and adds that that is usually resulting in an efficient solution. Short term planning has a risk of unforeseen problems which ends up in a less successful outcome. Therefore investing more time in the process around the decision, makes it in the end a more sustainable one. On Statia, there is an aim for improving the governance system, in which the transition had helped.

The historical, cultural and social complexities are not always as well thought through. Certainly during the transition period on Statia, many personal and cultural issues came to light. The Senior Planner at Statian Planning Bureau addresses difficulties with areas that are the property of a person for decades. Suddenly all sorts of new rules and regulations are applicable on his land. He needs permits for things he never needed permits for. The head of the Statian Government Information Service argues the fact that the Dutch civil servants that had to execute orders from The Hague, were looking at Statia as a part of Holland. However, these expectations were too high. Statians looked up to Holland. The STENAPA director of National Parks agrees by stating that not all Dutch laws were directly implementable on Statia. The former Statian commissioner of education even compares the transition with an elephant (The Hague) and a mouse (Statia); the Dutch were thinking too large, and were also lumping all of the islands together under one denominator. But here comes the earlier addressed difference between Statia, Saba and Bonaire into play again. The former Statian commissioner of education is in favour of this transition but does emphasize that there is still a lot of work to be done. The locals need to be re-educated about the Dutch and the Dutch need to get rid of their prejudices.

5.5.3 Performance

The Consultative Body together with all the options which the public can use to influence the decision making process, can be seen as a good attempt to serve all stakeholders. According to the Schiermonnikoog municipality representative and the manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog, the consultation evenings are well visited by people from a wide variety of sectors. One of the island

representatives in Consultative Body adds to that, that the distance to the formal authorities is small because of the informality and the limited space an island provides. Therefore the expectations of the inhabitants and of the authorities are clear, which results together with the aim for consensus usually in realizing these expectations. On Statia the intention to serve all stakeholders is less, and therefore the authorities are struggling with resistance more. The transition itself did not went well, and certainly did not fulfil all expectations. The former Statian commissioner of education and the director of the Statian Chamber of Commerce addressed the false promises made by The Hague. During the BES-weeks before 10-10-'10, Statia made agreements with The Hague, which were not all lived up to. The head of the Statian Government Information Service claims that people are impatient when it comes to the transition. Multiple respondents (e.g. the head of the Statian Government Information Service, the STENAPA director of National Parks, the former Statian commissioner of education) claimed that a state visit was needed to be able to get attention for certain issues. Mainly more money to guide processes. The STENAPA director of National Parks added that the Hague is now considering adding funding to the national parks (which stopped since 10-10-'10). The Senior Planner at Statian Planning Bureau mentions the strictness of the Hague being flexible because they allowed continuation of building during permit application period. The manager of the Monuments Foundation on the other hand, mentioned another case where the government did not performed well in enforcing laws. NuStar is already preparing the sights for construction and SECAR was doing archaeological excavations, before the government even handed out permits for either of them.

The queen has a special position on Statia compared to other municipalities. The queen functions as a mother figure for the Statians, according to as well the acting president of STENAPA as the former Statian commissioner of education. State visits are important happenings and used by prominent Statians (as the STENAPA director of National Parks and the former Statian commissioner of education) to make the Dutch government aware of the problems on Statia. So far, both stated that the queen indeed put pressure on several ministers to change certain problems. So far without result, but processes to for instance regain the state National Park subsidy are pending.

In general, a few respondents mentioned the exclusion of people during meetings because of their expected opinion (the STENAPA director of National Parks and the acting president of STENAPA), which shows that the intention to serve all is not as deeply rooted as it is on Schiermonnikoog. However, because of island (and governmental) resistance, the General Manager of NuStar Statia claims that they have amended their expansion plans. Moving the jetty out of sight made people feeling more positive about NuStar. So the authorities are taking the opinion of the islanders serious. Nevertheless, according to the manager of the Monuments Foundation, the government fails to be sharp on NuStar. For instance he mentions the alternatives NuStar investigated. Both Zeelandia as the other locations in the Boven National Park are highly unlikely: Zeelandia faces heavy island resistance plus is unreachable because of rough seas; the Boven alternatives require expensive ground levelling works and pipelines. This shows to the public that they did consider alternatives, but the manager of the Monuments Foundation calls this more a formality for NuStar because of the unlikeliness of these alternatives from being

realized. A sharp government would push NuStar to investigate more plausible alternatives.

5.5.4 Accountability & Transparency

By involving the public on so many occasions, the feeling of transparency grows. The manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog and the Schiermonnikoog municipality representative state that certainly for them, the information flows freely through the system, and it is clear who finds what and why about an issue. The manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog is included in several municipal meetings. The close distance of the public to the authorities enhance this transparency. The former mayor of Schiermonnikoog mentioned many personal contacts with islanders, which provided them with useful information about the whereabouts of the municipality. One of the island representatives in Consultative Body seconds this, meeting an official on the street can provide insights. However, he feels the presence of a double meeting schedule, and a distance between the three island representatives and the other officials in the Consultative Body. Therefore he is trying to form a block with the other two representatives to be heard in the body.

On Statia, more are feeling not all information is available for everybody. The manager of the Old Gin House Hotel mentions that he suspects agreements are happening under the table. But the main source that shed light on this vagueness of certain processes is the manager of the Monuments Foundation and the NuStar case. According to him, NuStar is not open why certain things happen the way they happen. The government is not pushing them either. For instance the second jetty location change: NuStar (The General

Manager of NuStar Statia) stated that they moved it because of public resistance (mainly visibility, disturbance and safety) and thereafter governmental pressure, but because of shallow waters making it impossible for this jetty to be realized on the appointed first location at all. It did create an opportunity for the local government to show the public that they do keep a sharp eye on NuStar. He adds to that that the local Government is not sharp enough on NuStar. When NuStar is claiming something is too expensive (alternative for instance), government easily agrees and NuStar can carry on with what they actually wanted to achieve. The acting president of STENAPA mentioned a similar feeling that not all processes at the government are transparent, and he recalls a sudden swiftness of the government when providing NuStar for instance with help on their terminal permits. The manager of the Monuments Foundation adds a small point on the zoning plan: Many purple areas match NuStar property, which confirm their current activity on these sites. However, some empty lands owned by NuStar are also coloured purple, and having a Storage Facility assignment connected to it. The expansion NuStar is trying to realize comprises more than just storage, so a variety is needed. The zoning plan does provide that option by an unclear red shading. Presenting the map resulted no problems about these areas because the red shading did not stand out properly, according to him. Currently NuStar is trying to get a variation on one of these sights, and he is taking NuStar to court on the basis of his economic story (one pillar: NuStar is risky), airport safety zone, heritage, decreasing property values on the Quill because according to the zoning plan NuStar can get this variation. So far only the airport safety zone issue was granted, resulting in a small adaptation of NuStar's plans.

5.5.5 Fairness

Intentionally, as far as this research goes, both men woman, black and white are just as welcome on meetings. The manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog, the Schiermonnikoog municipality representative and the Water board Fryslan representative in the Consultative Body state consultation evenings are open for all who is willing to join on Schiermonnikoog. One of the island representatives in Consultative Body feels he can have his say in meetings, but not always are his ideas (or those of the other representatives) considered thoroughly let alone implemented. The head of the Statian Government Information Service, The General Manager of NuStar Statia and the acting president of STENAPA claim that the Statian town hall meetings are open to everybody as well. The STENAPA director of National Parks makes a small critic that thanks to family feuds and strong opposing opinions, people can be excluded from meetings. This is however part of the political game in her eyes. The Senior Planner at Statian Planning Bureau mentions similar findings, and emphasize the positive aspects an external stakeholder can have, since that actor is not involved in the personal and family issues that influence the openness of the decision making process. This might be why certain respondents (e.g. the acting president of STENAPA, the manager of the Monuments Foundation) stated that when for instance NuStar is aiming for something, the decision follows rather swiftly without many resistance.

The manager of the Monuments Foundation puts forward an issue that does show a difference in involvement of certain groups. Although unintentionally, lower social groups are looking up to the government, and the fact that The Hague is involved now only increases this

attitude. Moreover do these groups have no idea about the possibility to counteract this government and if they do, they do not know how. He finds himself now as a spokesperson of these groups, because they are the ones that are directly influenced by certain decisions, for instance on the terminal expansion. But the local government is as far as this research goes, not intending to let these people out of the decision making circuit.

5.6 Relationships between the users and the resource

5.6.1 Place Identity

In short, the results presented under the Social Characteristics of the group of users (8.3.2), find their cause in the fact that all islanders are strongly connected to their island, as is stated by many respondents on as well Schiermonnikoog as Statia. The involvement experienced by the manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog and the Schiermonnikoog municipality representative of the Consultative Body, is caused by the deep ties the inhabitants of Schiermonnikoog have with their island. On Schiermonnikoog, people share a more similar view on the future of Schiermonnikoog since members of the Consultative Body stated all that consensus is possible to be found in 99% of the cases. However, when an external party comes in to start an unwanted development, debates are personal and direct, as The Water board Fryslan representative in the Consultative Body stated.

The Statians are even further from any form of neighbour, and therefore more isolated. Their identification with the island is equally strong or even stronger. However, this also results in competing claims on land use, since moving away for recreational purposes is difficult, so

developments in nature cause direct resistance from those who use this nature for spending their leisure time. The acting president of STENAPA brings an often heard sentence forward that ‘you cannot eat stones’, meaning that economic development is of higher importance than nature protection. However, giving this development shape by the NuStar oil terminal expansion, resistance is large and emotional, as Hellerbrand stated. Certainly issues like visual pollution, as the STENAPA director of National Parks brings forward as main point of local resistance, show that people are deeply connected to their island and are aiming for keeping it as it is.

However, the place identity is not as deeply rooted in history, or as The archaeologist of SECAR stated: locals have no need to be reminded of their history (which could include slavery and suppression). This can be seen in their disinterest of for instance archaeology. Beside the historical issue, according to the islanders, archaeology only costs money and prevents development. Thereafter, they do not see the options for making money out of an archaeological site, although there is potential for a heritage trail, as the archaeologist of SECAR and the manager of the Monuments Foundation state.

All respondents agreed upon the distance between their island and The Hague. The central government of the Netherlands is physically as far away as culturally. This counts for Schiermonnikoog, which is closer in both ways, and therefore has a slightly better relationship with the Hague. But it also counts for Statia, being 7000 kilometres away and culturally just as different. This comes forward in what a couple of respondents stated about distant bureaus coming to their separate islands to make plans for it. On Schiermonnikoog, as the manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog, the Schiermonnikoog municipality

representative and the secretary of the Consultative Body stated, the first BIP was a failure because of the simple fact that the creators of that plan did not do thorough research among the islanders. Statia experienced a similar situation where, as the former Statian commissioner of education mentioned, a man from St.Maarten came to tell what to do. Then, Rotterdam based RBOI did investigate in the social constructions on the island, resulting in much more support for their spatial development plan as The Senior Planner at Statian Planning Bureau stated. The manager of the Monuments Foundation even praised the work of RBOI by mentioning the positive attitude of RBOI towards mingling with the locals to really understand what is at stake.

But even one of the island representatives in Consultative Body experiences the distance to the Hague. Since he is present at several meetings of the Consultative Body, he sees the absence of national stakeholders. The Waterboard Fryslan Representative in the Consultative Body, Water board, addresses the urgency to be present at meetings. Certainly the 'outsiders' get a lot of criticism when they did not attend the last meeting. The jurist at the Statian Legal Affairs office elaborates more on the distance to the Hague, and introduces a Dutch wrong perspective: Statians are no Sabans or Bonairians. The Hague often uses one denominator for all islands. For instance: Statia – Saba is a few hours travelling and Bonaire has Papiamentu as main language. This comes forward in the police headquarters example. The jurist at the Statian Legal Affairs office argues the successfulness of a proposed central police headquarters on Bonaire. First difficulty is the language (English versus Papiamentu), secondly is the lack of decent addresses on Statia (which means that reporting a crime, the

policemen in Bonaire has to know Statia by heart, since the description of the location provided will probably be vague), third is the time consuming element of travel during trials (transporting lawyers, convicts and suspects from island to island during a process) and fourth is a probability of Statia being cut off telephone during the hurricane season. This shows that using one denominator for all three islands is not a preferable situation for Statia, and most probably neither for Saba nor Bonaire, as the jurist at the Statian Legal Affairs office stated.

The STENAPA director of National Parks was the first one to mention the phenomenon of island time. This is caused by the cultural and also climatological difference between the Netherlands and Statia. Island time can be explained by the example given by the STENAPA director of National Parks : Granting a building permit can be done in the Netherlands in a few weeks; on Statia the same procedure takes a comparable amount of months. A few other respondents (among who the former Statian commissioner of education and the jurist at the Statian Legal Affairs office) experienced this too. The main problem with island time is that the Dutch were certainly during the 10-10-'10 transition not aware of this. The former Statian commissioner of education even states that RCN is a fiasco because of the lack of affinity of its employees with the Statian situation and culture. The civil servants being caught between two worlds: the Hague and Statia. Many respondents experienced the same that the Dutch are too speedy, rushed and pushy. The distance between the two is huge (and underestimated by the Dutch) resulting in a lack of understanding the local situation on Statia. The Senior Planner at Statian Planning Bureau seconds that by stating that the distance to Curacao is smaller than

currently to The Hague. The manager of STEBA states that more time was needed to do it right, it was rushed. The jurist at the Statian Legal Affairs office and The acting president of STENAPA support this opinion, as does the director of the Statian Chamber of Commerce. The former Statian commissioner of education adds that the Statians are looking up to the Netherlands, but this position is harmed by the chaotic transition. A sentence she heard a lot of times during and after the process is: “Is this how they treat us?!”. In Holland you are being lived and on Statia you live. Another difference is living outside versus living inside as in the Netherlands. Noise is not a big issue, because everybody now and then wants to listen to music outside. The atmosphere is much more friendly and cosy, according to the former Statian commissioner of education.

6 Discussion

The previous analysis shows that natural resource governance on an island is a highly complex phenomenon. To add an institutional change and as a consequence the entrance of a new culturally different player to the decision making process, to that, makes it even more complex. As said, the main factors for this complexity are the physical boundaries of being an island surrounded by the ocean, and the institutional change which added The Hague to the decision table. The analysis showed that an island is indeed something different than an ordinary mainland municipality. Since not all found literature takes an island situation into account, in the next paragraphs the most important findings due to this aspect will be presented and compared to the literature that was used in this research.

6.1 *Characteristics of the resource*

Both cases used in this research are on islands, which means that words like boundedness, isolation and size (Albell et al. 2006) are applicable. The element of size (being small islands) emphasizes the complexity of the issues at stake on both islands. Taking the findings into account, it shows that resources on islands are limited because of the physical size of the island. Therefore, when something is happening in space, roughly all islanders are affected by that. For instance the oil terminal case causes many resistance because even people living relatively far away (e.g. the retirees on the northern slope of the volcano), are affected by that, as the manager of the Monuments Foundation stated. Taking Meinzen-Dick (1995) into account, it can be concluded that natural resources on islands like this are high in rivalry. The main reason is that the islanders have to be able to use the

resources the island provides, since they do not have other resources nearby. Because on an island, the connection between the users and between the users and the place is relatively strong, excluding one from a resource is hard. For instance, NuStar is trying to develop an expansion on their own lands, but still the resistance is large and taken seriously (even by NuStar itself). This high excludability and high rivalry on a resource, makes it possible to call the natural resources on these islands, considering issues treated in this report, common pool resources. This means that proper (governmental) management helps to guide developments in a sustainable way that the community profits in the most optimal way possible of the resources. So this high complexity is coming out more clearly on an island because of the limitation of the amount of land.

6.1.1 **Activities that are likely to develop**

First off, mass tourism (large scale facilities, controlled by multinationals, concentrated enclaves and package deals (Wilkinson 1989)) is highly unlikely to develop on islands of the size of Statia and Schiermonnikoog. The simple reasoning is that these islands do not have enough to offer in attractions, airport/ferry capacity and moreover, in physical space. Both Statian Tourism Board (the director of Statia Tourism Office) and the Consultative Body (the manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog) on Schiermonnikoog, are focussing on small scale more eco-friendly tourism. The view of Shafik (1994) where economic developments can fund nature protection, is partly applicable on both islands. NuStar, for instance, is investing in nature, but the industry they are in is not the most sustainable one available. Moreover, the oil spills that the manager of the Old Gin House Hotel finds on the beach in front of his hotel show that even

with good intentions of NuStar, natural damage is still occurring on an everyday basis. Overall, touristic literature is sceptical about combining nature based tourism with industrial development because of the disturbance caused by industry (McKinney, 2002). The case of NuStar and the touristic development of the lower bay area has two sides. The presence of oil tankers on the horizon is not a preferable view from a hotel room, as the manager of the Old Gin House Hotel stated. On the other hand, his hotel earnings are mainly generated by NuStar terminal personnel and business partners and this expansion plan would only increase his hotel turnover. This makes the relation the hotel owner has with NuStar two sided. Moreover, diving tourism as the main form of leisure tourism on Statia, is hardly negatively affected by the oil terminal, as the director of the Statia Tourism Office stated, because the divers go to dive spots far away from the terminal. So as the manager of the Monuments Foundation and the director of the Statia Tourism Office claim, tourism has a chance, but it needs to be done correctly: Not investigating in beach tourism, but choosing the niche market more carefully.

6.1.2 Island

In natural resource literature, there are not many island cases discussed. Only in literature on place identity, like Albell et al. (2006), few characteristics are mentioned. They do however compare to the findings of this research. The physical boundary is causing many differences with mainland municipalities. Statia and Schiermonnikoog are relatively small islands. In both cases, but mostly on Statia, it became clear that an island causes an increased complexity. The main reason for this is the fact that everything necessary for a decent way of living has to be realised on a limited amount of space (as is also named

one of the main characteristics by the IPCC (2001)). In mainland situations not all everyday activities have to be realized in the same municipality. Islands on the other hand, are isolated (as is also stated by the IPCC, 2001) that nearly every daily activity present on a larger mainland situation has to be realized on the limited island as well. For instance, a garbage dump area can be located in a neighbouring mainland municipality serving an entire region. On an island, locations for unwanted (NIMBY) developments are practically impossible to be found in neighbouring islands, because of the distance and the physical boundary of the sea. In the example of the dump, it is too expensive to send out a boat on a regular basis to dump the garbage. Moreover, sharing the burden by two neighbouring towns of such a dump by placing it on or near to the municipal border, is impossible on an island (because of the sea). This increases the complexity of all issues, because on this limited amount of space, all facilities providing daily needs (from utilities to recreational facilities and from dwellings to industries) have to be able to coexist on a very limited amount of space. In the case of Statia, the island has an area of around 21km², of which roughly only one-third can be used as living environment for the 3500 inhabitants. This means that there are a lot of people with a claim on or opinion about a certain area on the island.

Because roughly the entire economic development with a spatial component attached to it, has to occur on a small area, opinions about economic development can be different than one might expect. General assumptions like protecting nature in case of beautiful areas, are dangerous to be applied since in this research islanders tend to allow destruction of nature more easily than mainlanders on the one hand. Statia showed this in the quote several respondents used: “you

can't eat stones" (among others: the former Statian commissioner of education, the director of the Statian Chamber of Commerce, the acting president of STENAPA). Nature can be less important if the island's economy suffers from the protection of certain areas, resulting in a willingness to destruct nature for economic development. It is not stated that in general islanders value their nature lower than economic development, but a striking outcome of this research was the support the Statians gave NuStar for their expansion in a natural area. A large part of the naturally attractive Boven side of the island is already used by NuStar, and a large part of the community supports their expansion plan near this park as well. The economy of this island is more limited and closed, so there is no backup when a large player leaves the island and the islanders know this. On the other hand, Schiermonnikoog shows an equally strong attitude supporting the general nature protection assumption. Islanders see Schiermonnikoog as a natural island, and are strongly against large economic developments.

Being an island, the labour force is limited to the physical size of the island, since commuting takes relatively more time. So in general, supply and demand of labour should be as equal as possible. One of IPCC's (2001) points of being an island is limited human resources. The acting president of STENAPA (STENAPA) and The General Manager of NuStar Statia (NuStar) agree on this statement in the form of the hard to find skilled/educated labour among locals. Certainly concerning the development of NuStar (automation), less and less lower educated jobs are needed, as The General Manager of NuStar Statia states and SEAD fears.

The manager of the Monuments Foundation states, lots of small different branches of economy make the island more resilient and

resistant to economic changes. The other scenario here is one large player (like NuStar on Statia) that does provide work for the masses, but can decide to move away from the island which results in a destruction of the island economy. Taking a closer look at the position of NuStar on Statia, it shows that this position is relatively large. Whereas a mainland municipality can get power, water and all sorts of machinery from a neighbouring city, Statia has to rely on their own means, and apparently NuStar has a lot to offer in this respect. Adding to that: NuStar invests seemingly large amounts of money in the island, but actually only giving away a small fraction of its yearly turnover. So NuStar invests in its image, which is bought by the local government, and thus makes NuStar an important player. These things occur in a mainland municipalities as well, but on an island like Statia it is more dangerous for the local economy because of the contribution of NuStar to the local economy and the lack of alternatives nearby for the islanders. A large part of the island is dependent on NuStar where mainland companies get employees from multiple municipalities. So when NuStar threatens with moving away a destruction of the Statian economy is the result, as SEAD fears.

Finally a small extra benefit of being an island at the higher governmental layers is the fact that islands usually have a special position. According to Falk and Kilpatrick (2003), islands have a distinctive image, and are therefore likely to develop in niche markets of for instance the tourism sector. The aim for more small scale eco-tourism and/or business 'tourism' by Statians, the manager of the Monuments Foundation, the director of the Statia Tourism Office and the Senior Planner at Statian Planning Bureau, shows this possibility. Another benefit of their distinctive character is the fact that Statia gets

an official state visit of the queen and a large delegation of the Dutch parliament, and for instance Wageningen does not. Wageningen is in general just one of the 415 municipalities of the Netherlands, but certainly Statia stands out. Schiermonnikoog is formally treated as a normal municipality by the higher authorities, but looking at the effort that is made to realize the Consultative Body as it is, certainly adding the local representatives in it, shows that the higher level authorities see that an island is different from a mainland municipality. The manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog believes this difference has to do with the possibility to add these representatives, because of the clear boundary the community has around itself. A mainland National Park has a more vague network of directly involved users around it because of its size which is not taking formal borders into account. This makes it hard to put a strict boundary around the community which should be involved. The limiting factor of the sea makes an island a delineated community resulting in the different composition of Schiermonnikoog's Consultative Body compared to other (mainland) consultative bodies, as the manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog states.

6.2 Characteristics of the users

Subsequently, the second phenomenon in natural resource governance is treated: the users. Being islands, the users in both cases have distinctive characters, which will be treated hereafter. First the technical characteristics and then the social characteristics in order to get an insight in the understanding in the island processes.

6.2.1 Technical characteristics of the group of users

6.2.1.1 Social Capital

The users of the resources on both islands can be seen as a unique community. Because of the connection the islanders have with their physical environment, they all have similar need to be involved in development processes to be able to influence the future of their island more of their likings. Silk (1999) even emphasizes the need for face-to-face contact and a restricted territory, as main elements for the best development of a community. This comes back in the informal sector present on both islands, and of course the physically restricted island. So the external factors are present to generate social capital, as the glue that binds the community (Coleman 1990). However, the bonds islanders have with their island, are so strong that not many social activities are needed to sustain the present social capital as came forward from this research. Most of the respondents argued the isolation of living on an island as the main reason the community is so close. However, the informal sector shows that loads of activities are happening within the community, outside of the office hours. This informal sector and the personal contacts mentioned by several respondents (like The General Manager of NuStar Statia has with a nearby hotel owner), plus the individual effort (by for instance the

manager of the Monuments Foundation) to enhance the community (Falk and Kilpatrick 2000) show that there is a lot of social capital on the islands. Certainly when looking at the crowdedness of the consultation evenings or town hall meetings held on respectively Schiermonnikoog and Statia prove this strong social capital (Selman 2001). However, the cultural context (as mentioned by Ballet et al. 2007), is actually a cause of the lack of action from the Statian community in particular in the NuStar case. They look up to the (mainly Dutch government) which is limiting their involvement. Ballet et al. (2007) concluded that this cultural background is overlooked in literature, and this research emphasize the importance of investigating in the power and cultural aspects of and in the community.

Looking at the four perspectives on social capital (Woolcock and Narayan(2000)) in relation to the used cases, from a communitarian viewpoint, islands provide a closed community with many interactions within the same community, formal and informal. Both cases demonstrate this by a strong ‘we’ and ‘they’ feeling and attached activities to enhance this island feeling. The network view results in a similarity and difference between the islands. The difference is that the Statian community is not always participating well, and the Schiermonnikoog community is. But both islands do not have strong connections with higher level authorities, mainly because of the ‘we’ and ‘they’ feeling. The Statians need the state visit to let the national politicians experience what the consequences are of the transition. During that visit, locals spoke to the Queen of the Netherlands, to let her urge the Dutch politicians to adapt their plans for Statia. This shows the ties between Statia and The Hague are not strong. The Queen takes a special position in this matter as a bridge between the locals and the

Dutch politicians. The former Statian commissioner of education mentioned that she is seen as a mother figure by many locals showing a closer relation with the locals than the Dutch politicians. This research also showed that islanders have a sceptical attitude towards these higher level authorities, certainly when they come and impose policies on the islanders. Islanders have a feeling they know best what needs to be done on their island and therefore need fewer interaction with the outside world. Institutionally, the Dutch government is providing freedom to enhance the community by voluntary organization forming and does not limit actions of the islanders.

So both islands have local communities with strong internal connections and activities supporting them. The connections with the outside world are less necessary according to the islanders themselves, nevertheless there are successful connections on both islands with higher level authorities. Although it is not measurable, as is also stated by Woolcock and Narayan (2000), these communities are likely to be stronger connected than mainland situations because of the isolating factor of the sea.

6.2.1.2 Voluntary Organizations

Literature showed elements influencing the increase or decrease of the chance on the formation of voluntary organizations (Rasmussen and Meinzen-Dick, 1995; Ostrom, 1992) to oppose or support proposed developments. First, with an increasing number of users, it is less likely that voluntary organizations are formed. Then, all users should have equal access to and similar future ideas about the resource, the proximity (relative and physical) to the resource need to be equal to form an organization (Wade 1988). Subsequently, the stability and

transparency of the community is of influence: high migration, mobility and market integration decrease the chance on voluntary organization forming (Baland and Platteau 1994; Bardhan 1993; Ostrom 1990). Applying these points loosely on both islands, it can be seen that both islands are small communities, without many dynamics of mobility and migration, with roughly equal resource access. This means that there are high chances on the formation of voluntary organizations in natural resource management, which can be seen in the presence of SEAD in the Statian oil terminal case, and of the distinctive character of the Schiermonnikoog Consultative Body compare to the other National Park consultative bodies in the Netherlands. Since the communities are small, the voluntary organizations are small too, which does increase the homogeneity of it, according to Rasmussen and Meinzen-Dick (1995) and as SEAD shows. These are important points to take into account when dealing with comparable cases on islands. According to literature, the formation of local organizations representing a shared opinion about a future case, is more likely to happen on islands than on mainland municipalities. However, it is not stated that on all islands of similar size, local opposition is similar to that on Statia.

6.2.2 Social characteristics of the group of users

6.2.2.1 Social Identity

Going further on about the group of users on a more social level: the islands in this research showed intense bonds between the locals. There is a feeling of shared responsibility of being an inhabitant of an island, which is stronger than ties existing on the mainland. The general cause for this is that the everyday life of the locals completely takes place on this island. Whereas for an inhabitant of a continental town, it is generally easy to go to another town or natural area, for islanders a plane or boat and thus time is necessary to be able to 'be somewhere else'. Festinger et al. (1950) also found this physical proximity is inversely proportional to the social identity. Also, commuting is much more difficult, because of this restrictive effect of the sea. People are working and recreating on the same few square kilometres. Therefore, all that happens in public space affects a relatively larger part of society compared to a mainland situation. Many authors in literature (like Turner, 1982; Tajfel (1982); Guiberau 2004) mentioned the nation as a straight forward element of a person's social identity. The Statians were a separate nation before 10-10-'10, with a shared history, language and territory (all weakly related to the Netherlands). The fact that in the extraordinary municipality policies the Statians kept an option open for becoming independent after all, shows the political need to rule themselves, and adding in the nationality feeling. However, since 10-10-'10, there is an increasing number of inhabitants that are in favour of the Dutch involvement on the island (as the manager of STEBA of the Statian business association stated), so there might be an increase of hybrid identities (Guiberau 2004): Statians feeling partly Statian and partly Dutch.

Looking at social identity from a personal perspective (Bonaiuto 1996; Turner 1975), by taking a closer look at how the individual positions him-/herself in the group, it can be seen in the emotional debates that occur at consultation evenings and town hall meetings, there is social competition happening. Turner (1975) emphasizes the possibility of intergroup discrimination, and as for instance the acting president of STENAPA and the STENAPA director of National Parks stated in this research, on Statia it is not unfamiliar to exclude certain people from the decision making process because of their familial backgrounds. This enhances the likeliness the powerful project developer can realize his project and thus his self-esteem. These family feuds are influencing the decision making process because of the interaction between the formal and informal circuit. Even more, many people are stating the quote “you can’t eat stones” and even though the arguments the manager of the Monuments Foundation (and SEAD) provides against that statement, many people are keeping on saying it to belong to a certain group in favour of the expansion. They also neglect the negative outcomes of the terminal, because emphasizing these outcomes (pollution and disturbance) not many people would like to have these in their backyard. In short, the fact that the experience of disturbance cannot be globally defined as Bonaiuto (1996) states can be confirmed. Nevertheless is SEAD’s support also growing, so there is a split occurring in the Statian community.

6.2.2.2 Personal Identity

Personality plays a big role in decision making, as can be seen on Statia. Defining a decision making process as ‘a series of interconnected steps, leading from the recognition of a problem and the identification of potential solutions to the selection and adaptation of an appropriate

strategy’ (Sewell 1973) is therefore too limited. Looking at the results of the investigation, a previously assumed small player suddenly ended up to be the most important stakeholder in the oil terminal case. Just because of his personality, the manager of the monument foundation (see figure 19) is the most important figure in attacking the oil terminal expansion. As it turns out, because of the cultural difference and the attitude of the local inhabitants towards the Dutch government, the manager of the Monuments Foundation is now one of the main spokesperson and representative of a part of the locals as well. Buchy and Race (2010) emphasize the importance of personality of a local by naming it one of the main factors increasing the likeliness to be involved in the decision making process. The activities the manager of



Figure 19: The manager of the Monuments Foundation points out the location of the expansion (Crowfoot 2011)

the Monuments Foundation is undertaking show indeed that because of his personality (feeling responsibility, no shyness) he is one of the most important locals when looking at the NUStar case. Personality is also on mainland situations a major issue (as Buchy and Race (2010) emphasized), but because of the ties islanders have with their island, personal involvement can be more emotional on these locations. Where this personality shows up is uncertain, it can be in a large powerful stakeholder, or as on Statia in a small local foundation. Of course a decent power analysis has to be done in both island and mainland cases, but looking at Statia, the outcome can be surprisingly different from what one expected. What seem like small stakeholders beforehand, can turn out to be major players in the decision making process. Cultural aspects plays a role in this too, but more about that will follow in the Institutional Change paragraph.

Another factor in the personality issue mentioned above is the fact that on a small island, all tasks have to be done by a limited amount of people, resulting in that one person can have multiple functions. One cause of this is the amount of skilled people can be limited on an island. As said, traveling is a larger barrier than on the mainland, and in these cases, the islands are too small to house a university or another higher educational facility. People that would like to become a student, have to leave the island. Some of them return, but most of them do not as the case on Statia showed. Result of this brain drain is that a relatively small group of higher educated people is remaining, which urging the combining of functions in one person.

On an island things can get more personal, because of the simple fact that as mentioned about, besides the professional life, the leisure life also takes place on the same island within the same small community.

This has another result that has to be taken into account, namely that there is a high amount of informality going on around the professional and official areas of discussion. It can be shown by the simple fact that besides being involved professionally, leisure time has to be spent with the same small amount of persons on the same small area. This means that there is a higher chance, compared to mainland areas, that one can meet an opposing civil servant at a discussion table, the same night in the local bar. On the mainland this also happens in small communities, but still a large part of the labour force is not living in the same area as they work. All the respondents mentioned this informality, but did add to it that no decisions were made or influenced on leisure occasions. In general the main purpose was to exchange information. It does however, make hosts of social locations such as bars and hotels, well informed players in the arena. Knowing the opponent personally also has a downside, which is stated by a few respondents. Debates on an island can be a lot more personal than on a mainland municipality. Taking this to an extreme level, as one respondent (the STENAPA director of National Parks) stated, even family feuds can play a part in the decision making process in such a way that certain players are simply excluded from the decision ore are not taken seriously.

6.3 Characteristics of the institutional context

In both island cases, there is indeed a central government which controls the processes around natural resources. The main operational rules can be found back in chapter 4, but overall it can be said that the hard laws on national parks are not as strongly formulated. Since as well STENAPA as the Consultative Body do not have any juridical status, the municipality has the only means to guide behaviour according to

the law with the zoning plan. However, there are many treaties and guidelines from higher governments which are enforced on the local level. The Consultative Body is planning according to their BIP+, which has no juridical status, but via consensus they try to enforce these rules anyway. The Statian municipality is strongly holding on to their zoning plan, and also the variance zones are used by NuStar to be able to expand their oil terminal. Moreover, for instance the Malta Treaty is not implemented so unnecessary to live up to, however, it is in court decided that proposed developments should go through the application process as if Malta was implemented. Constitutionally, the property right is an important right on Statia, but also on Schiermonnikoog. Since the Consultative Body has no juridical basis, the members fall back on the property right Nature Monuments has, to stop unwanted external developments.

6.3.1 Natural Resource Management

Considering the natural area on both islands as a natural resource, the Consultative Body on Schiermonnikoog is the main place natural resources are managed. The BIP+ contains the main guiding management actions for the National Park on Schiermonnikoog. This BIP+ aims for a sustainable future by decreasing the amount of human interventions (even for management purposes). Concerning Berkes' (2010) issue with the term natural resource 'management' (nature management has a feeling of 'controlling' nature), it can be said that certainly the Consultative Body on Schiermonnikoog is heavily aiming for partnerships and collaborations: solving the issues together. This is nevertheless time consuming, so terms like efficiency are not among the first to think about when mentioning the Consultative Body. This is supporting Berkes' (2010) argument to make natural resource

management a less economically loaded term and add 'governance'. Moreover, according to the respondents, is their participation process time consuming on the short term, but it generates wider supported more sustainable decisions, meaning more efficient on the long term. On Statia the situation is less clear, since there is no single organ that deals with natural resource management. Before 10-10-'10 the situation was not very well organized, since there was no guiding juridical bonding document. There was a zoning plan which was loosely used as a basis to steer developments. Nevertheless, whenever a project developer entered with a plan, there was no basis to prevent this actor from developing. Then, the institutional change happened, and Statia went from unorganized to organized (as the jurist at the Statian Legal Affairs office stated). This happened coincidentally together with the completion of the zoning plan, resulting in a juridical bonding document, and a more organized structure of town hall meetings to invite the public to participate in the decision making process. Moreover, the inclusion of The Hague as a big brother (which is watching Statia) provides pressure to structure the processes around developments. The nature of the zoning plan is of a more dynamic basis with flexible zones of variations, which NuStar is currently using to get permission to expand. The aim is to make the island a more sustainable place, investing in small scale eco-friendly tourism and keep the national parks as they are. Still, NuStar is approaching the definite permission to expand, and according to SEAD, not without flaws of the island council during the process. It seems to him that NuStar is in power, since they are investing in their local image, and they are influencing the island authorities to some extent. This ends up in a traditional wicked problem (Rittel and Webber, 1973), because there is no clear perfect future scenario. Arguments in favour of the expansion

are of economic nature, and widely supported, and arguments against the expansion on the other hand, obviously have a natural basis (with tourism as the main economic force on Statia) with equally large support amongst the islanders.

6.3.2 Trends in Natural Resource Management

The main trend found in natural resource management is decentralization. Decentralization means transferring powers down from the national and regional authorities to the more local authorities. Bartley et al. (2008) state that “Governments are increasingly devolving governance of natural resources from central administrations to sub-national levels.” In these two cases, the main guiding national document is the Act of Space (Nota Ruimte), which has as subtitle: Centralize what must, Decentralize what is possible. In practice, this can be found back, since members of the Consultative Body stated that Leeuwarden (as a provincial member) and The Hague even more, are attending fewer and fewer meetings.

In the Statian case is hard to see a decentralization trend, since they just had the transition period. An issue where the decentralization trend is visible is in the funding. In both cases, the national government has stopped the National Park funding, and moved the responsibility for that to the provinces. However, the STENAPA has asked the Queen to put pressure on the Secretary of State (Bleker) to put the state funding back in place. So there is resistance to this decentralization trend, but the reasoning might also be monetary. The reasoning behind the decentralization trend is the fact that locals have more detailed knowledge about the place they live in, so they know better how to develop an area than a higher authority (Larson and Soto 2008). Taking

the involvement of the locals with their island into account, and the examples of external bureaus making unsupported plans for both the islands, it can be said that certainly the islanders themselves think they know best how an area should be developed.

Nevertheless, there is a question about the accountability of these local authorities, which is certainly on Statia uncertain. People like the manager of the Monuments Foundation intensively question this, because of the power of NuStar. Also the examples of the exclusion of people from decision making processes (as the STENAPA director of National Parks and the acting president of STENAPA mentioned) is undermining this accountability. The Hague must keep a close eye on the processes on Statia. The last problem with decentralization is the lack of capacity to deal with all the new provided powers from the higher authorities (Larson 2005). Since for instance The General Manager of NuStar Statia and the acting president of STENAPA stated that it is hard to find educated labour (which is necessary for decentralized governmental jobs), there are many persons on the island which represent different branches. The acting president of STENAPA recalled some problems with persons having multiple faces when in decision making processes on behalf of different organizations.

6.4 Relationships between the users and the institutional context

Statia being an island is already an interesting case, but due to the transition of 10-10-'10, the institutional context of the island substantially changed. This has changed the island and has affected all of its inhabitants in such a way that it was on the basis of this research. As can be read in the analysis, not everything went well in the transition period. The main cause for most of the friction is caused by the cultural difference. The Dutch are as mentioned not only 7000 kilometres away in physical distance, but also in cultural distance.

So to summarize, what are the main points that came out of this transition period. The main thing is that previously Curacao was the location of the main government. Curacao has a similar setting, climate and culture compared to Statia. It has to be said that even Curacao is culturally different from Statia, but in general they share more similar cultural aspects than Statia does with the Netherlands. Now The Hague replaces Curacao and is thus the new player present at discussion tables which causes difficulties. In general the main issues came down to the fact that the Dutch are much stricter than the Statians. Some of the respondents stated The Hague failed to fulfil their previously made promises which, together with the first few laws that had to be changed first (tax, euthanasia and abortion), lead to the attitude that the Dutch were not welcomed warmly. Moreover, the positive changes that the Dutch provided on Statia are not always visible to the average Statian, for instance the Dutch financial support to help the educational system a lot, to be able to get it up to Dutch standards. Most of the respondents stated that this was actually a small success, but the average employer (of for instance NuStar) is not aware of this

educational success. This results in a sceptical attitude towards the Dutch, and phrases like “is this how they treat us after all they promised” are heard regularly. For this average worker, the few things that changed over time are the decline in purchase power because of increased prices (as a result of the import taxes) and the overall increase of taxes. What is done in return is not always clear. Therefore the suggestion can be made to the Dutch government to be more open and clear about the money that is invested in the island. And as a few respondents stated that they are not willing to pay tax that is invested in general phenomena in the Netherlands (subsidising public transport for instance, which is practically not existing on Statia); they would like to pay tax for direct investments on the island. Statians do not like to be treated as purely an income source of The Hague. So in general, more openness about the money flows and the reasoning behind certain new rules and regulations is necessary.

However, the Dutch were apparently unaware of the situation they were put in, because they fulfilled their tasks and left again. During their stay they found themselves between two fires: The Hague pushing new policies from the one side, and the locals complaining about them on the other. Because the people that were sent there were badly prepared, one respondent (the former Statian commissioner of education) states that they should have sent people with a history in the Caribbean, or another sort of affinity with such cases in such places. This seems a good solution, because then the civil servants have a better feeling for the local situation, so they can serve both parties according to their wishes and find a middle way of dealing with problems. Another thing is that these people are used to the concept of island time. As mentioned earlier, whereas in the

Netherlands things can be arranged in a few weeks, the same things need at least a few months on Statia. This island time caused the Dutch to put too much pressure on the Statians.

Beside the cultural issues caused by the presence of the new player at the decision table, this new player also brings along many new rules and treaties. These new elements influence the everyday life of the islanders, but are inevitable of such an institutional change, like previously inexistent demolishing permits (as The Senior Planner at Statian Planning Bureau mentioned). Therefore, the newcomer should be providing the islanders with sufficient information about the new future situation. It can be thought of to gradually put the complete set of new rules in place, instead of implementing all at once, which is supported by literature on place disruption (Devine-Wright, 2009). When a change is happening more gradually, the group can adapt more easily because of the small steps that are taken subsequently. But, the Statians involved were also glad with a more flexible attitude of The Hague. A good example of being flexible in implementation is provided by the Hague itself: projects that commenced before 10-10'10 and were not finished yet before the transition was complete, suddenly needed permits for numerous elements of their project. Because of the fact that The Hague saw that it was impossible to just put all developments on hold during the permit application period, they provided the possibility to let the developments carry on during this application period, not acting too strict on these permits (eventually everybody got its permit anyway). This example shows a way of a give and take situation between these two partners that suddenly have to work together. Stubbornness is something unwanted in situations of sudden partnerships: flexibility is preferred from both sides.

6.5 Relationships between the users and the resource

6.5.1 Structuring of users

In short, technically the users on both islands are similarly structured as small communities with many strong bonding ties and fewer bridging ties. Islands are due to their physical boundary clearly separating the internal from the external ties (Gittel & Vidal, 1998). This comes back in the 'we' and 'they' feeling. Internally on the island, strong bonds exist, showed by the major involvement they show in voluntary consultation evenings. Nevertheless, if there is a 'we' there must also be a 'they', represented by the higher authorities in these cases. The islanders in general do not think high of these provincial and national authorities, but still they are connected to them. It can be said that islands tend to be structured as several groups bonded locally, and few bridging ties between the groups.

6.5.2 Place Identity

Because of this intense 'we' feeling islanders tend to have, their involvement in the future development of an island is generally higher than on mainland cases, as is stated by many respondents (e.g. the manager of the National Park Schiermonnikoog and The Senior Planner at Statian Planning Bureau among others). As said, people have to live and recreate on that limited amount of space. Therefore any development occurring in nature directly affects the recreational space of all islanders. The same counts the other way around: by convulsively holding on to the protection of nature, the economy of the island is directly affected. The main obvious reason for this is the simple fact that on the mainland in such a case (either way) people can chose to recreate or work in the neighbouring town or natural area. At least

they have the choice to do so, since the restrictive effect of transportation is far less than having to take an airplane or boat to get to another area. So because of the fact that on an island, both recreational landscapes as economical (industrial) landscapes have to co-exist on the same limited amount of space, many debates arise about where to develop what. Adding this the increased interconnectedness of the islanders, debates about decisions tend to get more personal and direct than on the mainland. Inhabitants are taking more extreme standpoints and are much more passionate and emotional about defending them. This altogether shows already a strong place identity.

The 'we' feeling on an island makes it inevitable that, as already mentioned, there also has to be a 'them'. 'Them' are usually the mainlanders that do have a relation with the island. In as well Statia as Schiermonnikoog, respondents confirmed the distance to the mainland(ers) as being far (and calling them "they"). Adding the interest in the direct environment to that as local knowledge, and a feeling of 'we know it better than them because we've lived here for ages' was found on both locations. On Schiermonnikoog this came forward when an external bureau prepared a development plan for the national park, which is never approved by the island council. Locals then made one of their own which is currently updated and used. On Statia, the whole institutional change process increased the 'we' and 'they' situation.

Theoretically, there is knowledge on social, cultural and personal characteristics of users concerning the use of resources. However, taking a closer look at the source of this knowledge, most of it comes from psychology, anthropology and political science. An increase of the

interdisciplinary use of this knowledge is emphasized by Manzo and Perkins (2006):

"Few would argue that place attachments are unimportant, but this leaves open the question of why they have not played a more important role in community planning and development processes. Much of the answer lies in the lack of interdisciplinary collaboration and in differences of perspective across disciplines."

They state that for instance place attachments and identities studied by environmental psychologists tend to overlook the community and focus on the individual, whereas community psychologists have similar problems the other way around. Planners tend to focus more on the place itself and possibly on the small scale community level (neighbourhoods), but personality and personal identities are left out of consideration. Integrating these disciplines provide a deep understanding of the community at stake, and thus a more fluid participation process and a wider supported and more sustainable result (Manzo and Perkins 2006).

7 Conclusion and Recommendations

First, the concluding remarks from this study are presented, followed by a piece on possible future research, subsequently the practical application and finally an attempt on some recommendations on the oil terminal case.

7.1 Concluding remarks

The main conclusion that can be drawn from this research is that place identity, and certainly the sociocultural factors that influence it, in natural resource governance deserves more attention, as well in literature as in practice. On islands, this place identity plays a strikingly large role since the communities are strongly connected with their environment mainly caused by the limitation of the physical size of the island. Because of this strong place identity, as can be seen on these islands, for instance resistance comes to light sooner and stronger than on most mainland situations. Also islanders are heavily involved in the decision making process, as both cases demonstrated. Debates on spatial development issues have a tendency to be more emotionally loaded than on an average mainland municipality as well. Islands tend to enlarge communal diversities, which occur around processes of spatial and institutional change, because of this stronger place identity that most islanders have. This strong place identity creates a strong 'we' and 'they' feeling, where 'we' represents the islanders and 'they' the mainlanders. The physical and social distances between 'we' and 'they' are comparable to some extent, since the feeling of we and they is stronger on Statia than on Schiermonnikoog. Therefore, the issues that come to light on Statia are more extreme than the ones on Schiermonnikoog, and are, in general, likely to be more extreme than

on mainland situations. This tightness of the community makes planning and natural resource government different. Insularity adds in to this tightness, but it is not a requirement since on the mainland, tight communities can also exist.

When strictly looking at natural resource governance literature (and to a lesser extent planning literature), elements of personality and culture are underexposed but, as can be seen in this research, are of large influence on the planning process. The literature is there, but mainly situated in different fields of study like psychology. For planning and natural resource governance, these social characteristics are inevitable nonetheless, because the decision makers as well as the involved are all humans, and a human is a unpredictable social being. In the Statian case for instance, the fact that one of the most important stakeholders belongs to an usually unimportant small organization, certainly when it comes to participation in planning, is supporting this finding. The manager of the Monuments Foundation is the main opponent to the NuStar terminal case, on behalf of the small monuments foundation, because of his personality. So in depth investigation about the elements that cannot be found in documents (such as the informal sector, hidden power structures, finding out who are the important people) is necessary for a more fluid process. Certainly concerning the institutional change, which made cultural issues come to light, there were major problems with the Dutch being too strict, rational, pushy and stubborn towards the Statians.

An island is unlike a mainland area, as said, since it is limited of size because of the surroundings of the sea which then influences the ties the island community has with each other as well as with outsiders. They are strongly interconnected, and have difficulties allowing

outsiders to come in. The main reason for this is again, the involvement of locals with their surroundings: they have an extremely strong place identity. So strong even that outsiders are finding it hard to mingle, since outsiders are less attached to the island. This makes natural resource governance on an island different from average mainland areas. The Water-board Fryslan representative in the Consultative Body experienced similar problems integrating in the Consultative Body, and The manager of the Old Gin House Hotel, among other respondents, mentioned the separation of the Dutch from the Statians. Certainly when an outside authority comes to an island to plan their future, large resistance is an inevitable result, as can be derived from the examples of the Consultative Body (where a previous management plan was not accepted because of a lack of understanding of the local community and environment) and of the Statian planning bureau (where the first zoning plan was made by a Brazilian bureau experienced similar resistance). It is however possible for an outsider to become involved in and accepted by the local community. The final zoning plan of Statia was made by RBOI, a Rotterdam based bureau, which deeply investigated and integrated in the local community. And where many respondents claim Dutch and Statians do not mingle, the director of the Statian Chamber of Commerce and The archaeologist of SECAR (both from Dutch origin) state they do mingle with and are accepted by the Statians, but an open mind and time are needed. This also counts for employees of the local government on Statia, who are still struggling with the rigidity of the Dutch policy makers. Therefore the affinity argument of the former Statian commissioner of education is present in this concluding remarks paragraph, because when putting people with more affinity with the context to work with a community, it is more likely that fewer conflicts occur.

Looking at these two cases, it can be concluded that islands have a strong distinctive character, (certainly compared to average mainland areas) where communities have extremely strong place identities, which makes it hard for outsiders to mingle and become accepted, and where sociocultural differences will come to light sooner and more extreme (emotional) compared to mainland situations. Mainland situations can experience similar characteristics, but islands enlarge these communal characteristics because of the strict delineation of the present space. Islands house tight communities which makes governing their natural resources different. Certainly during a planning process when an external party has not done a detailed study on how the community on the island is functioning in relation to their resources, strong (emotional) resistance is inevitable. Moreover, research in place identity, is not always done thoroughly in practice, and in literature it is done but in other fields of study than planning or natural resource governance (so an increase in interdisciplinarity is necessary).

7.2 Future research

This research showed that an island enlarges the cultural differences between islanders and outsiders during periods of change. There is however little research been done about social issues on and community characteristics of islands, certainly connecting it to natural resource governance and spatial planning. Since cultural problems come out stronger on island than on the average mainland municipality, more research on these island matters can show extreme results, which might also be helpful to resolve mainland cases where these differences cause problems as well, but are not as clearly visible. But certainly spatial planning on islands is lacking theory, and since the

distinctive character of an island, these locations deserve a different approach to planning compared to the average mainland municipality. Comparing these Dutch Caribbean with the French Caribbean islands might provide new insights for either of them, and thus show what are possibilities for islands on other parts of the world with an institutional connection with a mainland area or with natural resource governance issues. And as stated above, more research needs to be done to enhance the interdisciplinary use of knowledge. Integrating place identity, social capital and personal theories with natural resource governance and spatial planning theory might result in interesting insights in how to involve people more in a decision making process. Moreover, these terms are inevitable to understand thoroughly for planners dealing with wicked problems.

7.3 Practical application

In these two cases that are used, the fact that both are islands, give an extra insight in these cultural differences. Because of the stronger bonds that exist upon the island, the distance to the outside world is larger compared to a normal mainland municipality. On islands these issues show therefore even stronger how careful one should treat new institutional changes and/or ideas happening on locations such as Statia and Schiermonnikoog. Statia is because of the cultural distance with its mainland (the Netherlands) even a more extreme example. Since an island is such a fragile community, deeply connected with the land they are living on, affinity with such locations is a must for any civil servant or other professionally connected person to be able to do the necessary work there resulting in positive feedback from the islanders. On both locations respondents mentioned issues with mainlanders that were just implementing orders from a higher governmental layer,

which encountered on strong resistance. Because substantial institutional changes always involve new people on new positions with different backgrounds and viewpoints, the same counts for other locations where an institutional change are about to happen. Even in cases where the change is not as substantial as on Statia, affinity with the new position, and being open for new insights from the underlying employees and inhabitants, are characteristics that are inevitable for a successful process during the transition. Therefore a recommendation can be given to put more effort in finding the right people for the job, instead of putting people without any affinity with the new situation on a place to plainly execute tasks from higher levels of government. Even when the proper person has been found, certainly when it comes to island situations, more effort has to be undertaken to understand the local situation. This can be done by preliminary research, preferably by the person that is about to fulfil the future task, preferably on site instead of desktop study. Actions like chatting with locals, staying up to date with the local media and if possible physically move to the location, are inevitable to gain respect for the (possibly negative) results of the institutional change. On island situations, the community is even more closed to ‘foreign’ influences, so more participative preliminary research has to be undertaken to be able to guide the transition into the right direction. But the main aspect here is the interest and openness of the guiding employees to the culture of the new location itself.

7.4 Recommendations

Practically, one of the recommendations is to put more effort in investigating in the background of the right person for a task overlooking two or more cultures. In this case, people with some

Caribbean blood, affinity or interest would help the transition for the good. These people have a better understanding of the local situation, and are not likely to just follow up orders from The Hague. When these persons are not available, the aim should be first to get a deep understanding of the community the future case is dealing with. When outsiders are dealing with island matter, this research showed that when not doing a decent investigation in the community on site, the end result will not likely to be widely supported. However, in the case where decent community research has been done, a currently generally supported plan is still in place. This shows the need for this community investigation by involving the locals in the planning process.

On the Statian oil terminal case, a recommendation can be made to invite an independent bureau to look at this case with a more detached viewpoint. As mentioned in other parts of this conclusion, this foreign bureau should take extreme care in choosing the people who are participating in this project. Affinity with Caribbean culture and willingness to go in debate with many locals are necessary characteristics. This can be a solution since the islanders themselves are too connected with their own lands, opinions are emotionally influenced and therefore lying too far from each other to find a consensus. An detached view, comparing facts and figures, hearing the locals as well as the officials, can result in an more neutral (not locally, socially influenced) report on whether or not this terminal expansion is the preferable future for most Statians.

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