

Coastal Tourism Destination Development in Zeeland

A practice theory approach



Propositions

1. Coastal tourism destination development requires bundling of practices
(this thesis)
2. Branding and developing a region as 'land in sea' requires bridge builders
(this thesis)
3. For civilization to become ecologically balanced, the field of economics needs to be transformed
4. Researchers using Big Data should pay more attention to data integrity
5. Collective effervescence positively affects an external PhD candidate in article writing
6. A father of twins should be entitled to twice as many weeks of paternity leave

Propositions belonging to the thesis, entitled

Coastal tourism destination development in Zeeland: A practice theory approach

Timo Derriks

Wageningen, 10 February 2023

Coastal Tourism Destination Development in Zeeland

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Coastal Tourism Destination Development in Zeeland

A practice theory approach

Timo Derriks

Thesis

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Acknowledgements

All good things come to an end. Pursuing a PhD, I now realize, is more than developing yourself academically in order to obtain this precious degree. It is all about developing yourself as a human being and learning lessons about how to live as such a complete human being, not just as a researcher. Several times during this approximately nine-year journey, I questioned why I started this PhD and doubted my energy levels for it. Working within applied sciences, with the industry and especially with students, seeing them grow and learn from each other is rewarding, valuable and provides the energy needed for the PhD journey. I am proud my PhD went the way it did and am grateful for HZ directors to allow me to start and facilitate a part of the hours necessary for my research. I learned that being a perfectionist is not possible when you keep saying yes to tasks and responsibilities that seem of interest, suited and necessary somehow.

I remember a colleague saying that a PhD is a marathon on its own. Yes, it does require this type of focus and attention, a good pace, and sufficient energy to finish it. Let's see my PhD as a coastal marathon. Karen Blixen, Danish author, wrote many decades ago that *'The cure for anything is salt water: sweat, tears or the sea'*. The research and pursuing a decent work-life balance certainly involved sweat and tears, but there was always the sea to put things in perspective, clear my mind and make sure I would continue. A good kiteboard session helped for sure, but also nice strolls or jogs along the beautiful coastlines definitely supported my journey.

Recently, I told a student in an honour's track that a ship is safe in a harbour, but that is not what a ship is built for. If you are going out there, know that though you cannot change the winds, you can change the sails. Or if you prefer a surfboard, that you cannot change the waves, but you can learn to surf. Either way, a smooth sea never made a skilled surfer. I like these quotes because they are also so closely related to me and my PhD journey. My interests and ambitions also changed a bit throughout this journey, but that is also completely fine as life happens while you are busy making or changing your plans.

Concerning the PhD plan, I am very grateful to my supervisors René van der Duim and Karin Peters for making sure the boat was kept afloat, pointing me to different directions when I was heading into unsafe territories, for helping me to repair the sails after heavy winds, fight pirates, and make sure my sight remained focused on the horizon. Thank you for the precious feedback and sticking with this PhD and me for all these years. Completing this trajectory means a closure of a period in my life. I appreciate how a few close colleagues showed interest along the way and motivated me from time to time. I would also like to thank my family for supporting at some moments during the journey.

I might refer to my PhD journey in case somebody wants to know what I did, what I learned and how I experienced it, but I am especially looking forward to embark on new adventures and apply all the lessons learnt.

The last words of these acknowledgements go to my own little family, which started in the summer of 2021 when we found out we were expecting twins. I cannot wait to go on new adventures together. Thank you Eva, my amazing wife, for always believing in me and this PhD, and stimulating me to continue with it. I hope our wonderful children Elin and Zoë will benefit from our mutual ways of doing and looking at things, especially concerning commitment, work ethos, life on this planet and not giving up on dreams. I am sure we both are going to learn a lot from them and our family will have a magical time. I spent so many hours on this PhD, you could argue I was a mental slave to it during many hours. For the times to come, it therefore makes sense to quote the bearer of hope Bob Marley. It is about the coast, of course, and it is about us.

In high seas or low seas, I am gonna be your friend
In high tide or low tide, I'll be by your side
– **Bob Marley**

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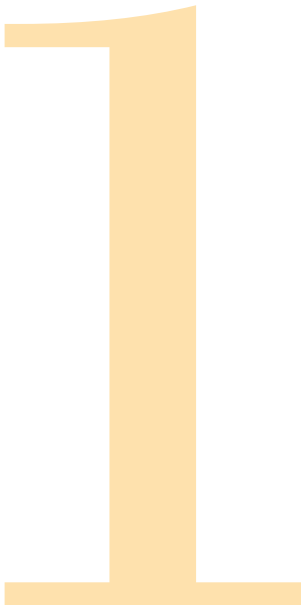
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List of abbreviations

- KNRM Koninklijke Nederlandse Reddingsmaatschappij (The Royal Netherlands Sea Rescue Institution)
- NKV Nederlandse Kitesurfvereniging (Dutch Kiteboard Association)
- PZD Promotion Zeeland Delta
- RWS Rijkswaterstaat (Directorate-General for Public Works and Water Management)
- TALC Tourism area life cycle model created by Butler
- VVV Vereniging voor Vreemdelingenverkeer (Tourism Information Bureau)

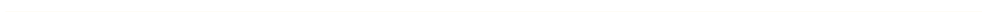
*‘There’s nothing more beautiful than the way the ocean
refuses to stop kissing the shoreline, no matter how many
times it’s sent away’*

– Sarah Kay



Chapter 1

Introduction



1.1. Introduction

1.1.1. *The province of Zeeland: tourism and regeneration*

Tourism, leisure and the province of Zeeland are inseparable. From the 19th century onwards, visitors came to Zeeland to enjoy the landscape, touristic sites, cities and especially the coast. Tourism grew especially mid-20th century, fuelled by an increase in income, car ownership and holidays. The estimated income from tourism and leisure accounts for 1.85 billion euros per year (Kenniscentrum Kusttoerisme, 2020). Most of these revenues are earned by businesses in hospitality, retail, mobility and recreation. Today, there are 320,000 beds for tourists, only 60,000 less than there are beds for the entire population of the province of approximately 382,000. In 2018, Zeeland accommodated 18.6 million overnight stays and 42 million day-visits. Evidently, tourism and leisure are of extreme value to the economy of Zeeland. Although external and unforeseen factors, such as the Covid-19 pandemic, influenced growth, a 50 per cent increase by 2030 is expected (NBTC, 2018).

The number of overnight stays in Zeeland has not always grown; in the 1980s, there were also several years of stagnating visiting numbers. Whereas the number of overnight stays doubled in the period of 1970-1980 from 6 to 12 million, in the period between 1982 and 1988 numbers fluctuated around 14 million stays. A few years later, in 1991, the reputation and image of Zeeland was studied (Provincie Zeeland, 2000). More than half of the surveyed Dutch and Zeeland residents thought that Zeeland did not have much to offer outside the tourist season. Consequently, strategies to extend the season focused on the creation of facilities that were less dependent on the weather or not at all. Furthermore, cultural events and festivals were being organized in September and October. At the same time, due to an increase in leisure time and wealth as well as an ageing population, more people went on holidays two, three or even four times a year during the 1990s (Provincie Zeeland, 2000). A variety of strategic activities, next to the strategies already mentioned, were executed, such as rural tourism that included farmers in the tourism ecosystem, nature creation to make the province more attractive, and improving the overall quality of the tourism product, which all led to a growing number of tourists.

Already more than a decade ago, the province of Zeeland saw this need to improve the product quality (Province of Zeeland, 2009:17, author's translation):

'While Zeeland has got much potential in terms of accommodation for holidaymakers, recent years clearly show there are outdated accommodation facilities in the coastal zone and the landscape is cluttered. It is therefore of great importance that progress must be made in improving the quality of coastal recreation.'

The focus on product and destination development lasted for years. These so-called rejuvenation strategies are, however, not unique for the province of Zeeland. Many of the so-called first-generation coastal destinations in Europe, which began attracting the masses during the 1920s (Knowless & Curtis, 1999), have seen a similar need for continuous strategic adaptations to safeguard the required or desired influx of tourists and followed similar paths in the past century.



Due to, among others, competition from sunnier destinations overseas, lack of investment in new facilities and products, pollution of the sea and beaches, decline of retail centres, and insufficient marketing, tourism destinations witnessed economic and social problems as tourism declined and their image was negatively affected. Tourism in Zeeland did not truly decline but when visitor numbers stagnated, there was a perceived sense of urgency to improve and develop the tourism product nonetheless.

The Dutch province of Zeeland as a tourism destination is not very different than those in the UK or other cold-water destinations. In an explorative study (Derriks, 2014) I showed that more coastal destinations in northwest Europe share similarities in its tourism product, challenges and development strategies. According to Smith (2004) many of these ‘old resorts’ never die, but instead find new ways of reinventing themselves. Smith presents three different ways of understanding what is happening in terms of survival, calling them the three ‘R’s of seaside renaissance.

- **Reinvention** stands for product innovation and includes developing new attractions, rebranding, creating a distinctive place identity and enhancing the image. In northwest Europe, examples of reinvention show the development of soft-adventure activities, such as coastal hikes and stand-up paddling, and using regional products in combination with storytelling for identity creation and sharing (Smith, 2004).
- **Revitalization**, focuses on product enhancement. Strategies include the upgrading of local facilities and infrastructure, town centre renaissance and environmental improvements. Adding parking spaces and making city centres and waterfronts more appealing are other examples to be found along the northwestern European coast. In terms of infrastructure, the key focus is on designing or optimizing digital infrastructures that contribute to and fully support destination marketing (Smith, 2004).
- **Regeneration** emphasizes diversification and strengthening of the local economy through tourism, culture and leisure services. Included in regeneration are employment creation, development of small- and medium-sized enterprises, and boosting visitor expenditure and multiplier effects (Smith, 2004). The masterplan for Camber Sands (see Rother District Council, 2014) in the UK, visited and discussed during the aforementioned explorative study in 2014, is an example of regeneration in the sense that it tackles various challenges in combination with the characteristics mentioned above.

Although these three approaches seem interchangeable or identical to some (Smith, 2004), there are differences when taking a closer look at what happens in coastal destination development in north-west Europe. First, in relation to reinvention, coastal landscapes appeared to be perfect for soft-adventure activities such as hiking along the beach, swimming, cycling, horse-riding, stand-up paddle boarding, wave, wind- and kitesurfing. However, a supportive infrastructure is sometimes lacking. The province of Zeeland brands itself as ‘Land in Sea’. The extensive coastline invites water sports enthusiasts. In addition, the region positions itself as a ‘healthy region’. In this thesis, the development of kiteboarding is my first case study on coastal tourism destination

development in Zeeland. Kiteboarding was chosen because it is a soft-adventure activity that relates to health but also to a particular lifestyle that appeals to many visitors. The sport is used in tourism promotion, to strengthen the image of Zeeland.

Second, in relation to revitalization, stakeholders try to figure out smart ways of aligning and sharing those characteristics that define and build their brand. Due to a large variety of stakeholders, uniformity in what makes a particular destination distinct from others as well as getting the message across requires a smart organization. Destination promotion that follows often involves the introduction of new technologies (Sinha et al., 2020). In Zeeland, this is exemplified by the creation of a destination card for promotional purposes. The card is aimed to stimulate collaboration amongst stakeholders, to boost the use of public transport, to enable promotional deals and to use digital traces left by its users for marketing purposes. The Zeelandpas destination card is the second case study in this thesis.

The third R, regeneration, concentrates on actually improving the offer for tourists and may involve physical reconstructions. Accommodations such as hotels, bungalow parks and campsites need to make sure they continuously meet the increasing demand for higher quality and sustainability standards. Restaurants and retail outlets have to offer enjoyable, varying dining and shopping experiences. What is on offer must fit the surroundings and this often means adaptations are required. An example of regeneration in Zeeland is the ‘Waterdunen’ recreation project. Waterdunen offers new forms of accommodation, dining and recreation in a unique setting. It replaces a campsite by combining landscape development and coastal defence works, therewith allowing the development of saline nature. The Waterdunen project is the third and final case study in this thesis.

1.1.2. Conventional destination research

Destination development has been studied from several angles: a destination is seen as a locality, a production system, an information system, or a composition of services (Framke, 2002). The nature of tourism destinations must be understood when building a brand, constructing local geographies, or promoting cooperation amongst entrepreneurs (Saraniemi & Kylänen, 2011). Framke (2002) identified two different perspectives on destinations (see also Saraniemi & Kylänen, 2011), one that approaches the destination as unit of analysis from a business perspective and one from a socio-cultural perspective.

The business perspective is seen in for example Butler’s Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC), the most cited and empirically investigated model to describe growth in a tourism destination (see, for example, Cole, 2012). The TALC assumes a common pattern for destinations as if they are a product that follows a certain (life) cycle. In this cycle, a

destination moves from one stage to the other as a result of the changing relationship between tourism demand and the supply elements of a destination. Although the TALC model was perceived as difficult to challenge (Weaver, 2000), it certainly received critique. This critique on TALC as well as on similar models in the business perspective (Ma & Hassink, 2013; Singh, 2021; Brouder et al., 2016; Chapman & Light, 2016) focuses on two aspects.

First, common approaches pay too little attention to the heterogeneity of places. Destinations are not just mere units that provide services for tourists and therefore destinations cannot be understood by seeing them as unified places. Furthermore, this focus emphasizes the physical aspects of a destination. Intangible aspects such as attitudes, collaboration and values of social agents need to be included when trying to make sense of a destination's development (Tinsley & Lynch, 2001 in Pongajarn, 2017).

Second, destination development is not a homogeneous and linear process. As Ivars-Baidal et al. (2013) point out, tourism destinations are able to adapt to circumstances and can influence their future evolution themselves. It is understandable that business-oriented approaches to tourism destination development focus on increasing (economic) value and competition with other destinations in order to benefit business and management, but because of this, they do not sufficiently take into account the social changes that influence development (Pongajarn, 2017). Consequently, its development is evaluated by looking at a destination's competitive advantages and how natural and other resources are used within these strategies.

Thus, in order to understand coastal tourism development processes, there is a need to 'recognize distinct contextual and historical dimensions around the geographies of tourism development and planning in versatile research contexts' (Saarinen et al., 2017: 307). In order to do so, traditional methods and instruments related to destination development are in need of revision (Volgger et al., 2021). Traditional approaches, methods and models do not give a sufficient overview of how complex tourism destinations really are in terms of their creation, maintenance and reformulation (Saraniemi & Kylänen, 2011). Social and power relations within destination development cannot be studied using models that are too linear and static. These models do not allow us to understand how particular agents, entities, different sets of external factors and impacts from technology and materials contribute to destination development. Consequently, recommendations that fit a specific situation cannot be provided (Pongajarn, 2017). It is for this reason that I turn to a socio-cultural approach to destination development.

1.1.3. *A socio-cultural approach to destination development*

A destination is not just a physical collection of facilities and businesses. Instead, it is a process in which participating actors are continuously reshaping the destination. Consequently, sociologists understand destinations as the result of social practices; every activity happens at a place and these activities shape the place (Framke, 2002).

A socio-cultural approach to tourism destinations means that you can breakdown modernistic dichotomies as macro (global networks) – micro (local communities) and economy (production) – culture (consumption) (Saraniemi & Kylänen, 2011). Tourism destinations deal with wider issues than company-centred strategies or customer orientation. In order to really understand and hence to develop tourism destinations, the poly-vocal issues of tourism – the complex relationships between producers, consumers, local people and authorities, but also the symbolic cocreation of tourist experiences based on sign value – must be taken into account (Saraniemi & Kylänen, 2011:140).

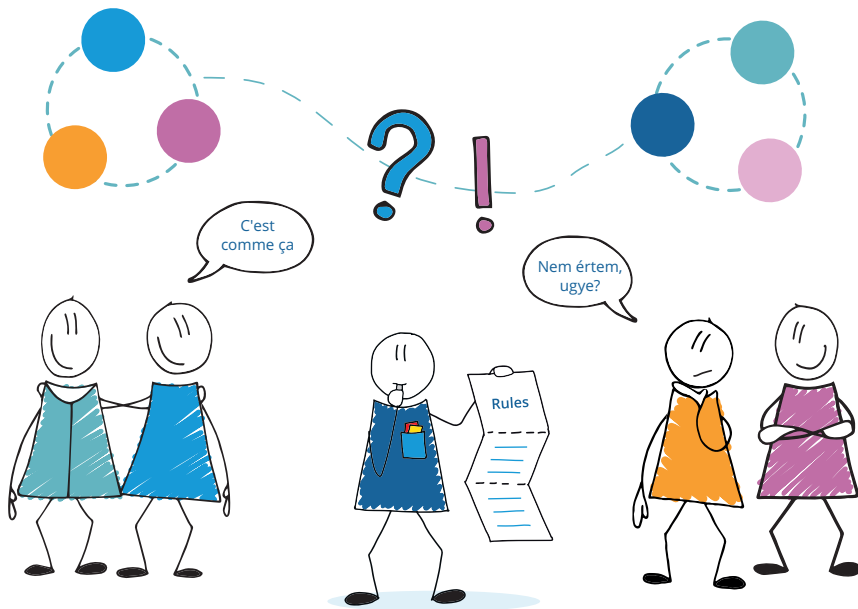
In this thesis, I will examine a destination (Zeeland) as being produced through complex and social practices. Following Framke (2002) and Saraniemi & Kylänen (2010), my viewpoint is that these practices create, maintain, negotiate and transform places. A destination (Zeeland) is in this sense ‘a set of institutions and actors located in a physical or a virtual space where marketing-related transactions and activities take place, challenging the traditional production–consumption dichotomy’ (Saraniemi & Kylänen, 2010:133).

Although born from the concerns about the complexity of processes and practices, the socio-cultural approach has also been criticized (Pongajarn, 2017): connections are observed without further specification and clear descriptions of the dynamic process driving destination development are not provided (Framke, 2002). Pongajarn (2017) introduced actor-network theory (ANT) to take the earlier conceptualizations of tourism destinations a step further. By doing so, he also addressed the critique of Jóhannesson (2007) that socio-cultural approaches do not pay sufficient attention to the role of material things and their impacts on tourism destination development. In the same spirit of Pongajarn’s (2017) work on ANT as an alternative way to examine and understand, I introduce practice theory as an alternative way to understand processes of destination development.

1.2. Practice theory

Practice theory seeks to understand and explain the socio-cultural world. It does not attempt to explain social phenomena as following from intentional individual actions, but instead investigates the interconnection of relations between a variety of meanings, competences, skills, understandings, sayings, doings, rules and regulations (Shove et al., 2012; Schatzki, 2005). Practice theory allows researchers to follow and analyse

development processes while they cut through different scales, organizations and involve a variety of people.



As an alternative to other often used approaches, and inspired by James and Halkier (2018), the practice-based approach is believed to open up a new perspective on the dynamics of destination development. The focus of this thesis is therefore not on specific outcomes of coastal tourism destination development initiatives and their evaluation, but on how development proceeds by means of connecting and changing practices. The use of practice theory will unravel relevant details that make it possible to interpret why certain conflicts on different levels exist and why change-processes are sometimes misunderstood or slow in nature. In and across the three case studies, I look at how practices can be defined, hang together, and what happens, or not, in order to realize change. First, in the kitesurfing case I will describe how a practice develops through its constant interplay with other practices. Second, by means of examining the development of the Zeelandpas, I will illustrate how practices are linked by means of a connecting practice. Third, in the Waterdunen case I will demonstrate challenges that come with bundling existing and unbundling conflicting practices in an ecology of practices.

1.2.1. A theory of social practices

Although the shift towards practice in some social sciences happened around two decades ago (see Couldry, 2004), practice theories have long philosophical roots. In social sciences, social theories of practice are used as an attempt to overcome old theoretical divisions

between agency and structure. Theories of social practices are an attractive alternative answer to classically modern and high-modern types of social theories. Practice theories have created this conceptual alternative after the interpretative turn of the 1970s and are concerned with ‘everyday life’ and ‘life-world’ (Reckwitz, 2002). Everyday life is defined and characterized by the rise, transformation and fall of social practices (Shove et al, 2012). Reckwitz and Schatzki list Giddens, Bourdieu, Lyotard and Taylor among the key exponents of practice theory (Warde, 2005).

There is no authoritative or synthetic version of practice theory available, but Schatzki (2005) sees theories of practice as neither individualistic nor holistic: social order as well as individuality result from practices. Different authors deal differently with the deeper-lying structures that organize social practices. For Bourdieu (1972), these structures are self-producing dispositions, whereas Lyotard (1978) concentrates on moves or language games. Foucault (1980) discusses genealogies of practice while Taylor (1995) centralizes vocabulary as being embedded within the practice and marking its range of possible actions and meanings (Corradi et al., 2010).

In this thesis, the case studies are guided by arguably the most cited definition of practice as *‘a routinized type of behavior which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge’* (Reckwitz, 2002:249). This implies to direct attention towards ordinary activities or processes when taking the social practice as unit of analysis (Pettersen, 2014).

1.2.2. Practice theory in tourism and this thesis

The use of practice theories in tourism studies is relatively rare and recent (Lamers, Van der Duim & Spaargaren, 2017). There are tourism studies that propose to study practices without using any form of practice theory. Bargeman and Richards (2020) note, however, that there is a difference between writing about tourism practices and applying practice theory to study tourism phenomena. While studies of tourism practices do not necessarily require a formal practice-based theoretical framework, using a theoretically grounded practice approach will certainly benefit the understanding of what really happens in different tourism practices. The book on *Theories of Practice in Tourism* (James, Ren & Halkier, 2018) can be seen as an introduction to various practice theories’ potential applications in tourism studies. Whereas most applications of practice theory focus on performances of single practices (Lamers, Van der Duim & Spaargaren, 2017), other studies, like Lamers and Pashkevich’s (2015) study of cruise tourism, focus on the bundling of various practices.

Practices-as-performances involve the active integration of materials, meanings and competences, which Shove et al. (2012) call the elements of practice. Practices-as-entities are constituted through such integrations. It is the understandings, procedures and engagements that hold the coordinated entity together, making it impossible to reduce a practice to a single element. Practices change when existing elements are combined in new ways or when new elements are introduced. However, different practices and elements also form systems or 'bundles' of practices. These systems can have different qualities and interact with each other (Pettersen, 2014). Relations between practices take different forms; some can be collaborative and strong, whereas others may be competitive and weak. The relations matter for the trajectories of the elements and individual practices of which composite bundles and complexes of practice are made (Shove et al., 2012: 120).

Practice theory explores to what extent change happens, not only by making new links, but also by breaking previously important ties (Shove et al., 2012). By concentrating on the making and breaking of relations, development could be de-dramatized and understood as a process that is embedded in communities' everyday practices. Schmitz Weiss and Domingo (2010: 1169) argue that research in this way 'may be able to trace failure and not only success, to explain diversity as well as homogeneity of practices and technical solutions for similar needs, and to empower the industry to make strategic decisions on its organizational approach'.

There are various ways in which practice theory could add value to tourism studies (Lamers et al., 2017), for example by improving our understanding of how tourism practices are adopted, maintained or ceased in the long run (Bargeman & Richards, 2020). Choosing which of the many practice theories to adopt can be difficult (Bargeman & Richards, 2020). Pettersen (2014:6) explains that if the practices [involved in destination development processes] are taken as the unit of analysis, it directs the attention to the practices' characteristics, which is 'a question about the highly diverse elements that constitute them, how they are embodied, guided by socially shared conventions or rules and internally differentiated, routinized and dynamic, and situated in space and time'. In this way, it could shed new light on coastal destination development as an organizational phenomenon; a common starting point of practice-based approaches in organization studies (Geiger, 2009).

The performance of practices within a destination involves the (re)configuration of the constituting elements meanings, competences and materials (Langendahl et al., 2016: Shove et al., 2012: Watson, 2012). Concerning the process of reconfiguration, Shove et al. (2012) identifies four distinct processes that can happen: a new practice can emerge in which elements are brought together for the first time and create a new performance;

practices persist through successive moments of performances; the links between the elements that sustains a practice can be broken and associated performances can therefore disappear; a change in one practice can influence other practices (Langendahl et al., 2016:11). This thesis particularly examines how practices connect and influence each other.

So far, practice theory has not yet been used to study destination development, with the exemption of James and Halkier (2018) who explored how coastal destination development as a bundle of practices has changed coastal destinations in Denmark over the last ten years. In this study they argue that studying tourism development using a practice approach helps the understanding of processes of policy change. Although James and Halkier (2018) conceptualize destination development as a bundle of practices, they do not fully address the specific, associated processes of bundling. Shove et al. 's (2012) notion of complexes of practice, referring to practice-arrangement bundles anchored at a specific place, however, does. These processes of interconnecting and bundling are what Hove et al. (2012) call well-defined strings of interconnected practices chains or nexuses (Lamers, Van der Duim & Spaargaren, 2017).

1.2.3. Destination development as nexus of practices

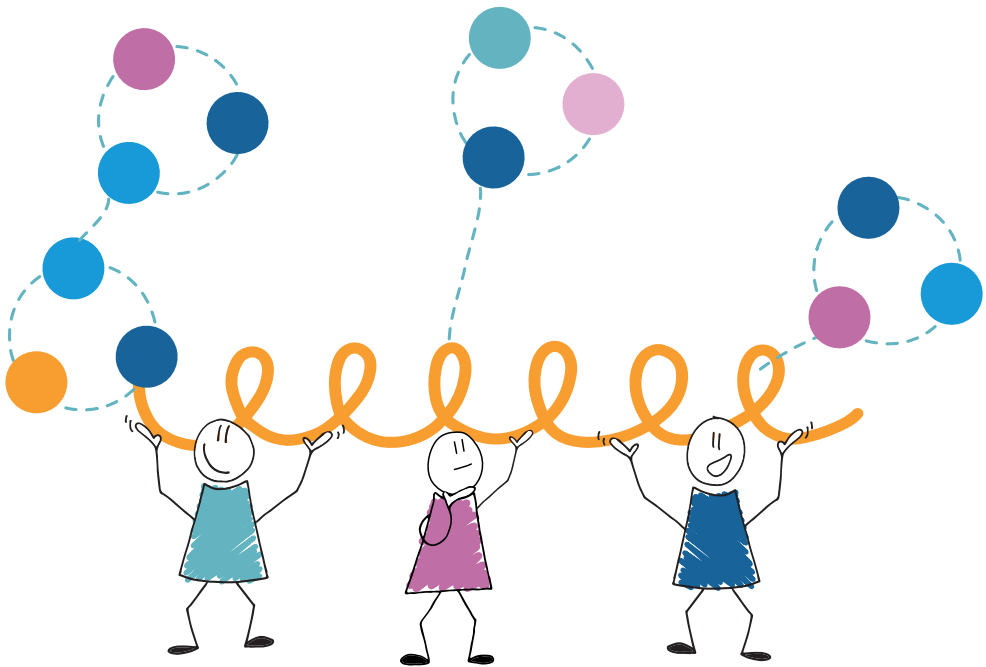
When approaching destination development as a nexus of practices, processes are treated as a bundle of practices that are developed and redeveloped continuously. Since the elements are not fixed but fluid, they shape the practices through their (re)configuration and changings over time. By using practice theory, the dynamic nature of such journeys can be emphasized and its fluidity studied (Langendahl et al., 2016). Across the three cases examined in this thesis, practice theory is used to create and make sense of linkages between the context of acting and the actors that make choices (Bargeman & Richards, 2020), the ways in which practices relate to each other, the careers and trajectories of practices and those who carry them as well as the circuits of reproduction (Shove et al., 2012).

In order to describe the connections between practices it is necessary to analyse the types of linkage involved and the processes through which bonds are formed. Shove et al. (2012:67) suggest that 'new and emerging practices exploit connections forged and reproduced by practices that co-exist or that went before'. Links are not distributed in a random manner, neither configured by intent. Practices enacted in similar places are not necessarily connected by virtue of co-location alone. Related to destination development, practices can co-exist without troubling one another but they could also become dependent upon each other in terms of sequence, synchronization, proximity or even their existence.

Bundles and complexes arise and disappear as a consequence of competition and/or collaboration between practices (Shove et al., 2012). It is important to identify and

analyse types of combinations of spatial and temporal links, but it must not be forgotten that connections are living tissue. They do not exist ready-made but are continually re-woven as practices are reproduced (Ingold, 2008, in Shove et al., 2012). Understanding cross-practice trade-offs helps to understand how 'patchworks of practice are stitched together' (Shove et al., 2012:106). Physical proximity often seems relevant for sequence and synchronization, though virtual connections can be just as important.

The elements of a practice could be reshuffled, superimposed, recombined and summarized resulting in new emerging phenomena and the forging of new relations between practices. Elements are formed and transformed through their integration in individual and sets of practices. When treating elements as the building-blocks of practice, emergent patterns, connections and their history can be identified. Furthermore, processes of transformation, diffusion and circulation can be described as well. By describing the persistence and the mobility of elements, the evolvement of practices-as-entities and how these practices relate to each other can be illustrated, even when practitioners and performances are separated in space and time (Shove et al., 2012).



1.3. Research objective, cases and questions

In this thesis, I will use practice theory to examine coastal tourism destination development in the province of Zeeland. Three case studies with their own research questions will help to answer the main research question and meet the objective.

1.3.1. Research objective and main research question

Coastal tourism destination development is seen as the process of bundling a variety of practices. As such, it is composed of the interconnected practice-arrangement bundles, comprising all the interactions, coordinated actions, routines, collective activities, formal structures, rules and hierarchies, forms of communication, technologies, organizational cultures and shifting coalitions of members (Schatzki, 2005). In line, the research objective of this thesis is:

To better understand coastal tourism destination development processes by critically investigating the relations between relevant practices.

For stakeholders within the province of Zeeland and similar destinations, the gained insights will be useful to stimulate practice-informed policymaking in the future. Like other destinations in northwest Europe, Zeeland is working on the encouragement of soft-adventure activities, smart organization of marketing and promotional activities, and an optimization of the (physical) tourist offer. Each case study is about one of the three R's of seaside renaissance and therefore could be of particular relevance for policymakers that work on it.

Following the objective of this thesis the main research question is:

How does the use of practice theory offer an understanding of coastal tourism destination development?

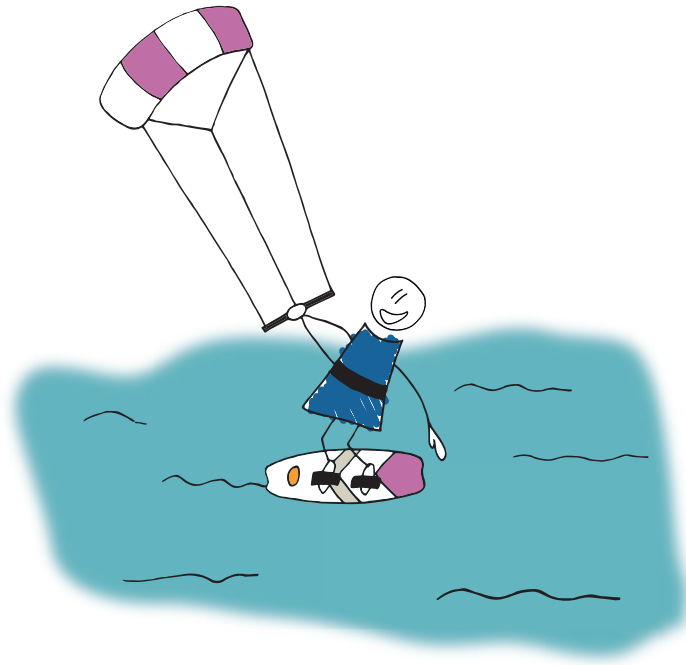
I will now first describe the three related case studies, indicating how they differ from one another.

1.4. Introduction of case studies

In the three case studies, I use practice theory to examine developmental processes that take place in the sphere of coastal tourism destination development: the sport of kiteboarding, a destination card called the Zeelandpas, and the realization of Waterdunen, a multidimensional recreation project.

1.4.1. Kiteboarding

In the first case study I focus on the lifestyle sport kiteboarding. The sport of kiteboarding is selected to show the complexity that surrounds the practice of this soft adventure activity.



Kiteboarding is one of the latest and fastest growing water sports around the globe. The aspects of speed, defying gravity, playing with the elements, adrenalin and working on one's health appeals to many people. Allocating more space by opening other kiteboard spots in Zeeland is not easy, due to its contested relation with nature conservation. Kiteboarding is now a mainstream sport practiced around the globe, but is practiced and organized differently at different spots.

Characteristics of a specific spot play a role, as well as the perceived impact on flora and fauna. In the presented case study I emphasize the development of kiteboarding in relation to a multitude of other practices, such as nature conservation, spatial planning and lifesaving. The case study ensues my study on the practices of kiteboarders within the Netherlands (Derriks, 2017) as well as how it interacts with destination branding (Derriks, 2018). The chapter in this thesis shows the development of kiteboarding and argues that kiteboarding as a practice can never exist in isolation as it is either constrained or enabled by other practices. It especially interacts with the practices swimming, lifesaving, and nature conservation, which influences how and where kiteboarding is practiced.

1.4.2. Zeelandpas

The case study on the Zeelandpas destination card illustrates how the development and implementation of this card was both hindered and stimulated across many years, in which it was scaled up from a card for one island to a card for the entire province. In this second case, related to revitalization, I address joint marketing efforts of which its activities prove, more often than not, hard to organize (see also Derriks & Glerum (2016) and Derriks & Guiran (2016) on revitalization practices related to joint destination management and marketing).



A destination card was created in order to link entrepreneurs and increase tourists' mobility, so that tourist activities would not only be centred near the coastline but also spread to the hinterland. The Zeelandpas destination card reflects not only the processes involved with organizing joint marketing activities, but also illustrates the challenges that come with new technologies. At the time the data collection started, the destination card was in use. The signalled obstacles with the practical use itself welcomed a better understanding on its own, which is central in a separate study by Derriks and Ton (2016).

1.4.3. Waterdunen

The Waterdunen project is notorious among tourism stakeholders and residents in Zeeland for its lengthy and complex development process. Waterdunen started as a local development plan in which a bungalow park would replace a campsite. Later it was

combined with coastal defence and saline nature development. As a result, the level of complexity grew. Even more so when it became evident that several farmers would need to give up their land for the sake of this development. Waterdunen did not only require the transformation of agricultural lands for recreational purposes, it had to in a way that allowed intertidal nature development. Eventually, and while always concentrating on the same area to develop the project, the organization was scaled up to regional and even national policymaking practices. Coastal defence, nature conservation, tourism and recreation, living and farming were entangled in complex processes of bundling and unbundling in order to realize Waterdunen. Only when the provincial government took over the coordination of the Waterdunen project from the local municipality, the development of the project slowly took off.



1.4.4. Research questions

These three case studies involve various practices and a variety of themes, while they all relate to coastal tourism destination development in Zeeland. Each case has its own research question, which will contribute to finding an answer to the main research question.

The three questions are:

1. *How did the lifestyle sport kiteboarding develop as a social practice?*
2. *How did the destination promotion card Zeelandpas, as a connecting practice, bundled existing practices?*
3. *How did Waterdunen, as a coastal recreation project, develop through bundling and unbundling practices?*

Through these cases, I analyse change as the processes of how practices affect each other, connect and bundle, or not.

1.5. Methods

According to Schatzki (2005), a first central task for understanding development processes is the identification of the actions involved. A second task is to identify the practice-arrangement bundle(s) of which these actions are part. It involves the identification of a net of bundles, as different bundles can overlap and interact. Examining whether identified bundles cohere or compete is the next possible step in this second task. Participant observations of the participants' activities, interacting with them and attempting to understand their practices is required to identify the bundles. A third task is the identification of other nets of practice-arrangement bundles to which the net is closely tied: 'To grasp the ties among these nets is to study, among other things, commonalities and orchestrations in their actions, teleological orders, and rules; chains of action, including harmonious, competitive, and conflictual interactions; material connections among nets; and the desires, beliefs, and other attitudes that participants in one net have toward the other nets' (Schatzki, 2005: 476).

I executed these three tasks in my three case studies. However, I did not rely solely on the tasks as defined by Schatzki (2005) but integrated the orientations of practice theory as introduced by Nicolini (2012), namely a genealogical, a configurational, and a dialectical orientation of practice theory. In this integration, I combined a variety of data-collection methods in the case studies. In all cases, I combined interviews with desk research. Numerous websites, social media postings, project documents, newspaper

articles and reports were also consulted. The specificities of the methods deployed and consulted sources is provided in each case study's chapter.

In all case studies, I relied on the genealogical conception that studies the life of practices. It focuses on how individual practices emerge, are perpetuated, change and sometimes disappear (Nicolini, 2012). The idea is to break down big stories into smaller stories that can be traced empirically and examine which elements were brought in and if and how these changed each other. By changing elements, the practice itself changes. Questions addressed the extent of how materials, meanings and forms of competences change along the way, as well as possible changes in the type and role of practitioners. The dynamics and active integration of elements were analysed in terms of origin, travel and their change.

As part of the methods in all case studies, I also used a configurational orientation by not only concentrating on how one practice manifests itself in place and time or how one practice has evolved over time, but also on how different practices relate to each other. In this way, it becomes clear how different practices work together, and form knots, bundles, constellations, and what activities and artefacts keep them together and the effects of this (Nicolini, 2012). I study the dependency between the practices and how they tie together. The type of associations between practices are also examined, by emphasizing the factors that keep things together. For example; are practices connected because they happen in the same place? In order to make sense of the assemblages, it is important to not take a panoramic view as it will only allow to see structures. Practices are not just related because there are certain structures or plans behind them. They are related because practitioners enter the practice in a certain way, talk to each other or give each other certain instructions about how to do things, as they have learned from their own practice. It entails patiently going from place to place to study ordinary actions (Nicolini, 2012).

In integrating the dialectical orientation towards practice, I did not only look at how assemblages are made but also at how assemblages do not relate to each other. Here, the focus is on the co-evolution, conflict and competition between two or more practices and on the tensions between different practices. Included in this step are the historical conditions that keep practices in place, but also how certain things were or could be different and what it takes to make that happen (Nicolini, 2012). Inherently, it is possible to see who is empowered by different networks of associations, and who are for example the winners and who are the losers, and what type of practitioners are being favoured in a particular practice.

1.6. Thesis outline

The thesis will proceed as follows. First, in chapter 2, I present the study on kiteboarding. To understand how the practice changed as a result of interaction with other practices, I analyse the development process. Second, in chapter 3, the development of the destination card Zeelandpas is examined. In this case study, I illustrate the process's challenges that come with connecting practices. The Waterdunen project, chapter 4, is presented as the third case study. By looking at the assemblages as an ecology of practices, the bundling and unbundling of practices in order to realize Waterdunen are analysed. As this thesis consists of three articles (to be) published separately, there is some overlap and repetition between these 3 chapters. In the discussion and conclusion in Chapter 5, the research questions are answered to provide an overall answer to the main research question. Furthermore, the relevancy of practice theory will also be discussed, just as several considerations when praxeologizing coastal tourism destination development. Suggestions for further research are integrated in the concluding chapter. I conclude this thesis with observations and suggestions for tourism development in Zeeland.

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*‘The ocean stirs the heart, inspires the imagination and
brings eternal joy to the soul’*

– Robert Wyland



Chapter 2

Kiteboarding: a practice approach

This chapter is resubmitted after revisions and currently under review with the Journal of Sport & Tourism as Derriks, T., Peters, K. & Van der Duim, V.R. (under review). Kiteboarding: a practice approach.

2.1. Introduction

The sensation of gliding between sky and sea creates a feeling for fantasy and inspires spectacular jumps, impressive speed, but, above all, a sense of freedom not just reserved for champions. (Philippe & Guillaume, 2015, p. 91).

Kiteboarding, or kitesurfing, was invented around 1995 in Palavas and La Grande-Motte, France, and has now reached all the world's beaches (Belliard & Legrand, 2010). As an activity that attracts all generations, it has become a well-known recreational and competitive sport (Philippe & Guillaume, 2015).

It is a hybrid sport (Boutroy et al., 2015) that combines surfing and kiting, but the basic idea has remained the same: a kite, often between 6 and 17 square metres, pulls a person standing on a special board across the water surface. The kite is typically attached by four lines of 20 to 25 metres to a harness worn around the waist and controlled through a hand-held control bar (Schmidt et al., 2015).

Pioneers had to pick the elements of kiteboarding that were 'already out there' (Pantzar & Shove, 2010) and figure out how to make this novel combination work. Collaboration with developers and designers advanced this combination, creating an inflatable leading edge kite as a true milestone (Boutroy et al., 2015). The dynamics between the kiteboarding community and its producers eventually made the practice relatively safer, more affordable and because of that, accessible to a larger number of people (Boutroy et al., 2013).

Practitioners of recreational lifestyle sports such as diving, mountain biking, rock climbing, surfing and also kiteboarding travel all over the world to 'outdoor' destinations for their beauty, uniqueness or for example the atmosphere (Geffroy, 2017). Lifestyle sports, just like other social practices, do not 'take place' in externally defined spaces, but instead 'make and have spaces' (Schatzki, 2015 as cited in Geffroy, 2017) and as such may harm the natural environment. But these environments are also important as a resource for kiteboarding and an aesthetic backdrop that adds to the experience (Weed, 2009). The term 'lifestyle sport' reflects the characteristics of the activities as well as their wider socio-cultural significance (Weed, 2009; Wheaton, 2013). Practitioners have social relations with those who share the same cultural values, attitudes and ethos (Wheaton, 2010). These relations also have a safety aspect, reducing the risks associated with certain lifestyle sports, for instance the buddy system in the practice of diving or kiteboarding (Fuchs et al., 2016).

Kiteboarding has increasingly become an object of scientific enquiry, with a focus on design and technological development (Schmidt et al., 2015; Stier et al., 2015), speed

and performance (Caimmi & Semprini, 2017) or spatial planning (Pereira & Dantas, 2019), with the majority of scientific studies on kiteboarding focusing on sport-related injuries (Durnford et al., 2013; Garcia-Falgueras, 2018). This article aims to contribute both theoretically and empirically to a further understanding of the development of kiteboarding by studying it in terms of social practices (Shove & Pantzar, 2005). We look at the practice of kiteboarding using two modalities: by ‘zooming in’ on the details of the development of this practice and by ‘zooming out’ to analyse how kiteboarding is affected by other practices (Nicolini, 2012). We will argue that alternating between ‘zooming in’ and ‘out’ allows for a better understanding of the development of kiteboarding, supports practice-oriented policymaking and advances a methodological toolkit to study other active, or lifestyle, sports tourism practices.

Although applications of practice theories in tourism studies are relatively rare and recent, they demonstrate the merits of practice theories for understanding tourism production and consumption processes (Bargeman et al., 2016; James et al., 2019; Lamers et al., 2017). In this article, we contribute to this growing body of knowledge on sports (and) tourism practices by explaining how and why the lifestyle sport kiteboarding changed over time. We look at the practice of kiteboarding using two modalities: by ‘zooming in’ on the details of the development of this practice and by ‘zooming out’ to analyse how kiteboarding is affected by other practices (Nicolini, 2012). We will argue that alternating between ‘zooming in’ and ‘out’ allows for a better understanding of the development of kiteboarding, supports practice-oriented policymaking and advances a methodological toolkit to study other active, or lifestyle, sports tourism practices. We do this in the context of Zeeland, a province in the Netherlands, known for its extensive coastline, tourism and possibilities for water sports in general and kiteboarding specifically. Zeeland attract many visiting kiteboarders throughout the year, most of them from Belgium, Germany or from other parts of the Netherlands.

This article now proceeds as follows. We will start with a brief introduction of practice theory and the methodology. Hereafter, we share the results of zooming in and zooming out. We will end with a discussion on the contributions this article made to the existing literature and a brief conclusion.

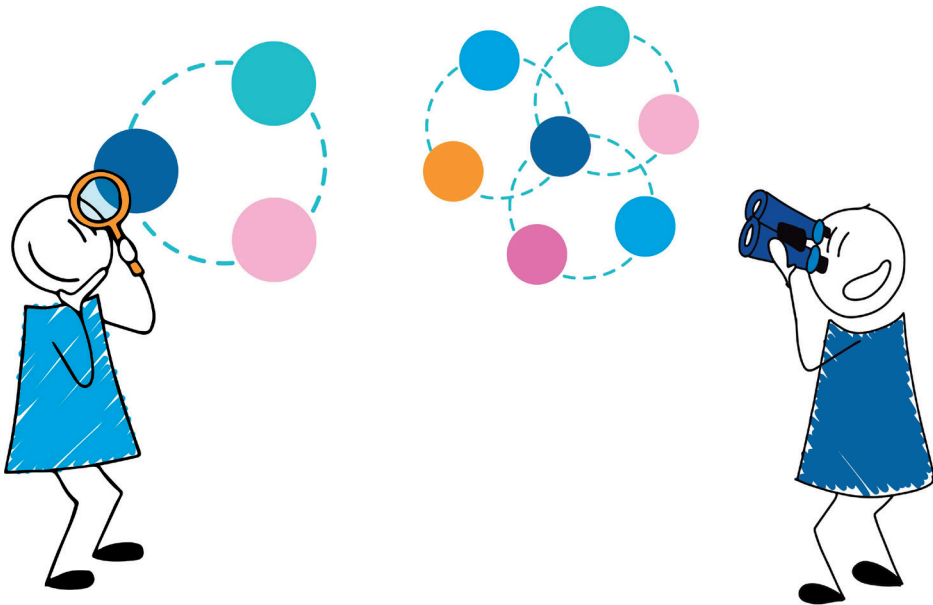
2.2. Practice Theory

In this article, practice theory is used to understand how kiteboarding developed as a practice, “a routinized type of behaviour which consist of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge” (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 249). Social practices such as walking and kiteboarding involve the active and performative integration of three combined

elements, namely ‘materials’ (e.g. bodies, things, technologies, and tangible physical entities), ‘competences’ (e.g. skills, know-how, techniques) and ‘meanings’ (e.g. symbolic meanings, ideas and aspirations) (Lamers et al., 2017). Understanding social practices first requires ‘zooming in’ on situated practices (Lamers et al., 2017). ‘Thick’ descriptions by the researcher of situated practices help obtain sociological knowledge on the constitution of social practices (Lamers et al., 2017). The ‘zoomed-in’ lens does, however, bring certain aspects to the fore while pushing others into the background (Nicolini, 2009).

To better understand how specific practices ‘travel’ through time and spaces, it is also relevant to ‘zoom out’ and investigate with what other kind of practices they tend to team up or not (Lamers et al., 2017). By following practices in space and time, we should also:

...strive to appreciate how the local activity is affected by other practices; how other practices are affected or constrained or enabled by the practice under consideration; and what are the material consequences of such relationship. In other words, practices can only be studied *relationally*. (Nicolini, 2012, p. 229)



As practices may occur at the same time and place; at different times but at the same place; or have a sequential character (Meier et al., 2017), they are better described in terms of a practice-network, defined as ‘heterogeneous’ and ‘inter-textual’ assemblages that participate with other, often larger, action nets (Nicolini, 2009, p. 24).

Alternating the practice-lens between the ‘zoomed-in’ and ‘zoomed-out’ modality not only supports the understanding of extensive social phenomena, but also of processes of social change. As Lamers et al. (2017, p. 62) argue: “practices do not appear out of the blue but are shaped by the elements of both previous and coexisting practices. Understanding their historical trajectories is crucial for analysing changes”.

2.3. Methodology

Practice theory invites us to look at various ways of kiteboarding and to focus on the complexities of the performance of the sport, rather than individual consumer choices. The performative character of social life is foregrounded so that we can see how kiteboarding is done not only practically but also relationally, how it is continuously re-done slightly differently. This research design is used to study the unfolding of processes and varieties in everyday life (Warde, 2005). To understand the development of kiteboarding as a practice, we used various data collection methods.

2.3.1. Data collection

In this research we combined interviews with practitioners and experts and desk research on social media content with participant observation.

Practice theory puts real-time ordinary activities at the core of explaining social phenomena and therefore urges researcher to actually ‘be there’ (cf. Nicolini, 2012). In this case, participant observations by the first author, frequently taking part in the activity not only as a kiteboarder, but also as a licensed kiteboard instructor, clearly added to understanding of kiteboarding as a social practice (Schmidt, 2016)

To better understand the sport from the practitioner perspective, 10 kiteboarders were interviewed. These interviewees were approached via a larger recreation study survey. Kiteboarders in this survey were asked to participate in a follow-up study (NP Oosterschelde, 2018; Van de Kastele, 2019). The 10 interviewees are all men, between 18-45 years, and have Dutch and Belgian nationalities. Two of the them were beginners who had been kiteboarding for a few years, while most of them were very experienced. Five interviews were conducted by telephone, the other five in person at the interviewee’s home, a café or their workplace. The interviews took between 30 and 50 minutes and were recorded.

We also interviewed 12 Dutch experts, selected through snowballing by first contacting the Dutch Kiteboarding Association (in Dutch: NKV) and then active members of the kiteboard community on social media. Table 2.1 gives an overview of the expert interviewees, the organisations they represent and the roles they fulfil. Interviewees #2, 5 and 11 are women, the others are men. The expert interviews were conducted in person, always at the interviewee's home or workplace and lasted between 45 and 80 minutes.

Table 2.1. Overview of 12 expert interviewees

#	Organisation	Role/concern
1	Dutch Kiteboarding Association (NKV)	Spot planning and management
2	Dutch Kiteboarding Association (NKV)	Competition development and spot information
3	Dutch Kiteboarding Association (NKV)	Director, overall coordination and management
4	Dutch Coast Guards (KNRM)	Project on recreation accidents prevention
5	Utrecht University of Applied Sciences	Lifestyle sports researcher
6	National organisation for Water Management (RWS)	Environmental manager
7	National organisation for Water Management (RWS)	Project leader safety and recreation
8	Private kiteboard brand	Owner kiteboard brand, head instructor
9	Private kiteboard brand	Owner kiteboard brand, travel organiser
10	Hospital, trauma and surgeries	Researched kiteboard-related traumas and injuries
11	Private kiteboard brand	Professional rider, talent development
12	Private kiteboard school, and NKV ambassador	Representing NKV in Zeeland, stimulating development

Desk research focused on interactions in a WhatsApp group about kiteboarding in Zeeland and three kiteboarding Facebook groups (Kitesurfing Zeeland, Antwerp Hardcore Kiteboarders, NL Kitesurfers). WhatsApp group interactions and posts in these two Facebook groups were followed and filtered during two years (2019-2020), only focusing on posts related to kiteboarding itself, its development, changes and other challenges related to the sport. The WhatsApp group has 249 members and has a more private setting than the Facebook group. Relevant discussions were part of the analysis and statements were also used to cross-check with for example news articles in a variety of media or with experts during interviews.

2.3.2. *Research instruments*

Practice theory needs to be operationalised for empirical work (Corsini et al., 2019). In this study, the operationalisation addresses the active integration of the elements that make the practice of kiteboarding (meanings, materials, competences) and the relations to other practices.

Interview questions focused on the development of kiteboarding, and addressed for example: What is kiteboarding all about? What are the different types of kiteboarding? How is the sport practiced today? Whether and if so, how did it become more popular? What are essential elements and what makes them characteristic? What is the image of the sport now compared to before and why has it changed, if so? How safe is this sport today compared to the past?

All the interviews were conducted in Dutch. Shared posts on Facebook and WhatsApp and reactions to these were followed multiple times a week. The first researcher did not post anything himself, not wanting to influence discussions. Desk research supported the information provided during the interviews.

2.3.3. *Data analysis*

All 22 interviews were recorded using a voice recorder, transcribed by the first author in full and saved directly in the qualitative analysis programme NVivo12. Together with the social media posts, these allowed for coding based on the concepts presented by practice theory and mentioned in this article. In the first step of data analysis, coding emphasised the active integration of materials, meanings and competences that together constitute the practice of kiteboarding. As part of the 'zoomed-in' approach, we analysed how elements changed over time and for what reason. In the second step of data analysis, our focus shifted to the network of practices kiteboarding is part of and affected by. In this phase, coding accentuated the elements of certain other practices that appeared to be connected to and of influence on the practice of kiteboarding. In NVivo12, nodes were created that reflected how these other practices interacted with the practice of kiteboarding. These nodes gave insight into, for instance, what kind of elements they shared or did not share, how the relationship itself could be characterised and what kind of activities took place that impacted these relationships.

The nodes allowed axial coding and defined the themes that started to centre around the basics of kiteboarding, various disciplines, what it means to kiteboard and what is characteristic for the kiteboarding practice and its practitioners. Axial coding on relations following a 'zooming-out' approach resulted in themes of zoning and the connections with the practices of lifesaving and nature conservation.

A limitation of this study is that we focused in particular on Zeeland, although we did interview national experts. Furthermore, we focused on the development of kiteboarding as associated with and influenced by particular other practices, but did not study these other practices in detail, nor other practices which might have also played a role.

2.3.4. Ethics and validation

The experience of the first author with kiteboarding helped in analysing and inductively coding the data provided by the interviewees. During the interviews with the kiteboarders, the first author did not disclose that he was a kiteboarder himself in order to let the interviewees explain what kiteboarding was all about, as openly and completely as possible. When asked directly by the interviewees, the first author did share the fact that he is a kiteboarder himself. In the expert interviews, the interviewees were always made aware of the interviewer being a kiteboarder, most times during the interview itself. The interviewer did not share his own ideas about kiteboarding in the interviews, but instead asked open questions, listened carefully and kept on asking follow up questions. Concerning social media outings, no direct names or quotes of those involved in the WhatsApp or Facebook group were used in this study.

2.4. Results

In order to illustrate the active integration of elements over time and how these have changed, we first ‘zoom in’ to explain kiteboarding as a social practice. Thereafter, we will ‘zoom out’ and specifically discuss the relation with other social practices that interact with kiteboarding.

2.4.1. Zooming in

The basic elements of any practice are: meaning, competences and materials. Below, we will describe what these elements entail for the practice of kiteboarding. Like any other practice, kiteboarding originated from preceding and coexisting practices. In turn, it has spawned new sub-disciplines. After introducing these, we will ‘zoom in’ on the meaning and social aspects of kiteboarding; factors that will prove to be important when ‘zooming out’.

Kiteboarding elements

Kiteboarders can only manoeuvre their board and their bodies when using the right *materials* and matching these with obtained kite-flying *competences and skills*. The *meaning*, or in what interviewees see as the essence of kiteboarding, can be understood as a sense of freedom being propelled through the water by the wind.

In the early days of kiteboarding, however, this was not the case. In the first years, kiteboarding was a risky business, materials were not as safe as they are today and there were no clear competences defined, nor taught. Kiteboarders were pioneers or ‘cowboys’ looking for new, but also dangerous, ways of having fun. One expert (#11) remembers:

When I first started, it was really just a matter of attaching the kite to my harness with a karabiner, because imagine losing your kite. We never thought: gosh, that kite could be a problem too. So that was normal. And also – you would never see this now – but I

regularly had to be held in place on the beach when I went kiting, as I couldn't remain standing on my own, because I was being pulled downwind or upwind. That was the power of the kite and that power could not be used. So I was actually taken to the water, held, placed on my board and then my friend would let me go.

The practice of kiteboarding unfolds in different stages of learning and becoming competent. Once a skilled practitioner, it makes sense to buy the required hardware, with beginner sets easily exceeding € 2000. Such a set consists of a kite and a (surf) board, but also the essential control bar with its lines, a harness and, in colder climates, a wetsuit. Various wind conditions require different kite sizes, which means multiple kites are often part of the 'quiver' of practitioners, making the sport even more costly (#8).

According to the NKV there are 100.000 practitioners in the Netherlands, which explains the crowding (Hanglos, 2021). Consequently, knowing the rules and living by them are considered increasingly important. Where people were used to learn the sport by trying it on their own or with a small group of friends, people now learn the basics from instructors. Kiteboard schools have a structured and well-tested teaching programme with a lot of attention for safety procedures. Today, practitioners learn these basics in approximately 5 to 15 hours (#2). It is, however, questioned to what extent this system truly leads to independent, safe and competent kiteboarders, as *'quite a few of them don't really know what they are doing'* (#2).

Kiteboarding disciplines

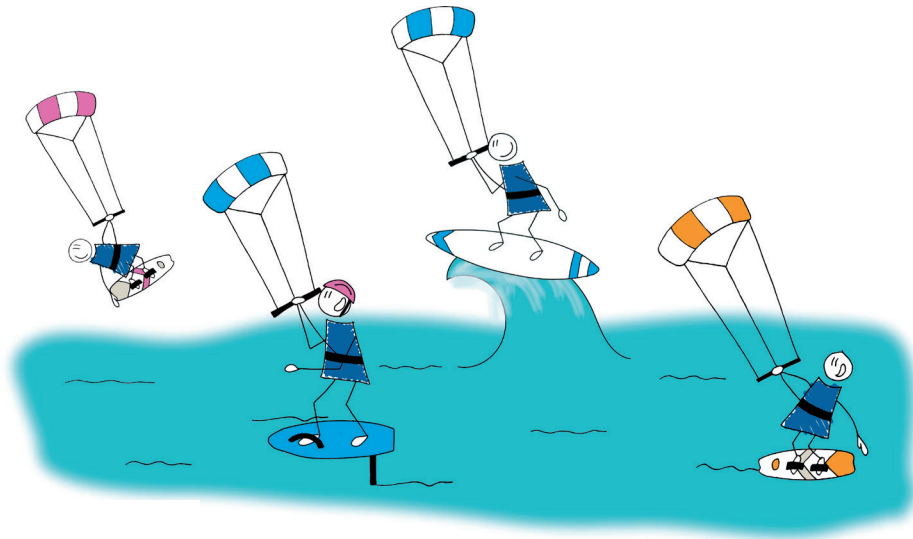
Changes to any of the elements of kiteboarding (materials, competences and meanings) have eventually led to sub-disciplines: freeride, foiling, waving, big air and freestyle. The disciplines are quite different:

Some disciplines are more mature than others. Big Air is of course the most accessible because you can just, well, jump high, which is what kiting is all about, in my opinion. [...] Hydrofoiling is becoming popular. You can see that disciplines are really developing. This in turn leads to new kites, because the market demands them. (#9).

The interviewed practitioners as well as experts indicate that all kiteboarders start out with freeriding. For Big Air kiteboarding, people use gear especially designed to fly high and far. To 'go big' and 'jump high', they use waves as a kind of ramp. Dedicated kiteboarders already jump over 20 metres when the conditions are good, but jumps of 30 meters and higher will become more common (#8, #9).

Making use of a hydrofoil allows kiteboarders to cover more distance, go fast(er) and change course upwind easier. Kitefoiling allows riders to propel themselves with less

wind, but the water has to be deep enough so as not to damage the foil, as masts can measure up to 90 centimetres. Wave kiteboarders need waves, of course, but also specific 'wave kites', which have slightly different shapes and flying characteristics. Freestyle refers to doing tricks and rotations in the air. A closely related freestyle method is 'wakestyle' for which boots are fixed on the board. This is closely related to the sport of wakeboarding. As opposed to Big Air kiteboarders, freestyle practitioners prefer flat water to perform their tricks.



With distinct disciplines comes individual adaptation. One interviewed expert explained the increasing popularity of oiling:

You see, especially in the 30+ group, that there is a very large part that has seen it all. Freestyling gets a bit painful, waveriding, that's especially cool with strong winds, so yes, they are up for something new. It's just a whole new experience and it's very smooth and the materials are getting better. (#11)

Besides the kite, board, lines and for foiling the hydrofoil, new technologies have also changed kiteboarding, as some practitioners now record their session with action cameras, livestream their performance, log their tracks by GPS or use the 'WOO', a tool attached to the board that measures jump height, 'hang time' and even G-forces.

Meaning of kiteboarding

Obviously, the things that matter to people – moods, emotions, feelings and passions – are also important to kiteboarding. Interviewees used terms as *natural high*, *freedom*, *liberating*, *excitement* to express some of the emotions and feelings that are related to kiteboarding.



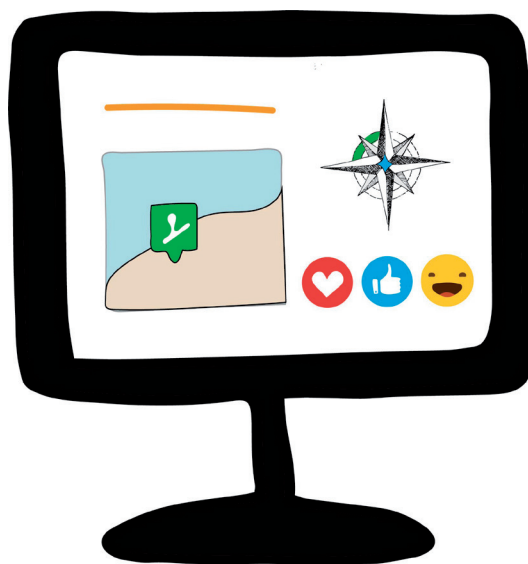
Kiteboarding lets people experience a sense of calmness through action. Kiteboarders in general treasure their natural environment as it allows them to reduce their stress and sets them free. One interviewee noticed that stress reduction due to kiteboarding is part of an outdoor lifestyle (#8):

This [outdoor lifestyle] mindset is why I am still hooked. Whenever I am on the water, all my stress dissolves and I can relax again.

In the early years, kiteboarding was largely about pushing the boundaries of what was possible on the water, in search for adrenalin and fun, taking the risks for granted. Practitioners already had a background in other water sports, such as windsurfing or sailing. Nowadays, fewer people have a relevant sport or water related background and are therefore not always aware of what is possible and safe (#3).

Kiteboarding as a ‘social’ practice

Just like any other practice, kiteboarding is social in nature. Kiteboarders increasingly form a community and share information amongst each other online, for example about which particular kiteboard locations match which specific wind directions, how to perform a certain trick, or what materials to get for a certain purpose. After a session, individual practitioners share their photographs, videos and data from measuring devices online.



Accidents and near-accidents are also shared, discussed and explained on social media, especially with the objective to learn from each other and prevent future accidents. The internet, Facebook and WhatsApp therewith furthered the ‘social’ of kiteboarding and stimulate a shared behaviour. It requires a continuous effort to make safety aspects and regulations a shared understanding and part of the kiteboarding language, so this social aspect is very important. For example, ‘letting go of the bar’ (in order to reduce kite power) is one of the first things kiteboarders learn in terms of safety and there are many videos online about this.

Shared behaviour in terms of monitoring and acting upon the change of winds is also an important feature in relation to the sport’s safety. For example, in an autumn storm in October 2020, the weather forecast was shared in the WhatsApp group of Zeeland kiteboarders, including the force and direction. The kiteboarder who shared the screen shot of his wind forecast app: *“I was thinking about Borssele from 17h00 onwards... However, gusts up to 42 knots are expected [thinking emoticon] and I don’t have a kite smaller than 9m. I would love to hear how conditions are in the afternoon”*. Another kiteboarder

reacted that she would monitor and would have a look around that time what the conditions were like where she was going. An hour later, another kiteboarder responded: “A 9m proofed to be a bit too much for me, just at the Oesterdam.. While I am 105kg [three scared emoticons]”. Somebody else responded that practitioners just should “*stay home if you don’t have a kite under or equal to 7m*”. The ‘number of knots’, for example in gusts, is also shared language, just like the wind direction, which is shown by the apps and evaluated by the kiteboarders per day and even per hour.

2.4.2. Zooming out

‘Zooming out’ enables us to look at the ‘wider picture’ and examine how kiteboarding is affected by other practices and how other practices are affected, constrained or enabled by kiteboarding. In the next section we limit ourselves to only some of these relations surfacing in – but not particularly characteristic for – Zeeland, which were put forward by our interviewees.

Interference with other recreation practices

Kiteboarding interacts with other outdoor recreation activities like swimming, bathing and fishing. Especially on warm days with strong winds, kiteboarders and swimmers might get in each other’s way. Still, as interviewee #1 clarifies:

It is exceptional – perhaps only five days a year – that these user groups come too close to each other. In this sense, the weather conditions also have a zoning effect.

The possibilities of combining a regular ‘twin-tip’ kiteboard with a very large kite or using the hydrofoil increases the chances of risky encounters with bathers and swimmers as less wind is needed (#8, 9, 11).

In many spots today, both in Zeeland and in other Dutch provinces, zones are defined in order to prevent kiteboarders from moving too close to other recreationists like swimmers, bathers and wave- or windsurfers. In the early days, kiteboarding was seen as somewhat ‘strange’. Spectators were unfamiliar with what they saw and spatial policies and regulations did not include kiteboarding. Interviewee #3 summarises:

Earlier, you just went to the beach, pumped your kite, and you were off. Now that it is a mature sport, the large number of practitioners results in crowded locations. For this reason, the sport needs to claim its position in the Dutch landscape.

Interviewed kiteboarders stipulate that many other recreationists keep a safe distance from the kites and lines. Yet others, including small children or dog-walkers with their dogs do not.

In July 2020, a kiteboarder posted a Facebook message about the Brouwersdam, a spot partly located in Zeeland. In NL Kitesurfers, he wanted to know:

Yesterday Brouwersdam. Police officers with a police water scooter around the forbidden zone. Does anybody know whether they were only handing out warnings or also fines?

Forty-one kiteboarders commented on the post, also to share their thoughts. One community member responded that “*it is foolish that there are these kitezones everywhere, making it crowded in these zones, while there are no swimming zones*”. Another member reacted:

Everybody their own area? That you are not allowed to just go bathing somewhere? Or take a walk on the beach? Or just get into the sea to swim? If so, it becomes scary. Within the Netherlands, in general, something will be prohibited in case it can cause harm or is dangerous to others/the environment. Yup, swimmers can be quite annoying but come on, often there is literary a ‘sea of space’.

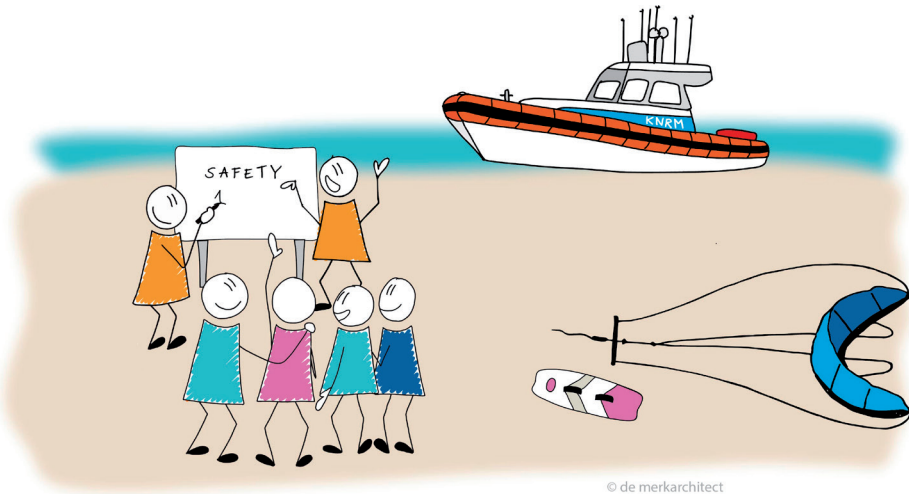
Safety concerns and considerations

When kiteboarding and other outdoor recreation activities are practiced at the same spots, this can have implications for the safety of all. Being an extreme sport, there is always a risk of accidents and injuries. Injuries not only result from collisions due to crowding and not being aware of others, but also from equipment failure or crashes. A few times, kiteboarding accidents have even resulted in fatalities. Interviewee #11 ponders that:

Kiteboarding is not without danger, although I would not say it is dangerous. You need to control it well, as there are some dangerous aspects. Especially when cruising at open sea with currents, you need to know what you are doing. Three years ago, two very experienced kiteboarders drowned. They were both very good kites. What really happened to them... we will never know.

For this reason and also to save money – the use of rescue services, with boats or helicopters, is costly – the Dutch coastguard decided to invest in prevention (#4). They launched campaigns on safety measures that practitioners should take notice of before and during their kiteboarding session. Also, so-called ‘be-traceable’ stickers, which invite the kiteboarders to label their board and provide a name and a telephone number, are distributed freely. In this way, if a board is found, the coastguard can try to get in touch. This also works the other way around: if kiteboarders need to release their gear in times of trouble, they are supposed to inform the coastguard about the brand and colour thereafter (#4).

Lifeguard associations and the national coastguard also regularly team up with kiteboarders for a safety day or to practice a rescue attempt together. As a result, kiteboarders increasingly keep an eye on each other and help each other when needed – most kiteboarders have a designated ‘buddy’ available onsite. Still, being able to rescue oneself is essential, yet not always taught and learned (#9). When a self-rescue is not possible due to an injury or damaged kite, practitioners can help each other out or are expected to call in rescue services.



Social media and digital applications have also helped kiteboarding become a much safer sport. In addition to having the right gear and the required competences, having up-to-date information on wind conditions and spot characteristics is now also thought to be essential for a safe session (#2). A variety of wind forecast platforms offer an application, which today serves as a standard tool for kiteboarders. The development of these tools is therefore strongly related to the reduction and prevention of accidents. Several online platforms map available kiteboard spots and list not only practicalities such as parking options and on-site facilities, but also possible obstacles in the water or on the beach.

Besides the online information already available, kiteboarders that are new to a spot make use of social media to make sure they know about its specific characteristics. During summer, a kiteboarder posted in the Kitesurfing Zeeland Facebook group:

Kiteboarder X: *Is it possible to go kiteboarding around the village of Nieuwvliet?*

Kiteboarder Y: *I am enjoying my holidays in Zeeland and went kiteboarding yesterday as well as the day before yesterday at spot Catzand Bad. Probably tomorrow afternoon again. Beautiful spot, close to the shore, and waves in the back.*

Kiteboarder Z: *The best known spot is Cadzand Bad, near beach restaurant De Zeemeeuw. Closer to Nieuwvliet you can enter at beach restaurant Dok 14. Be careful though, and watch the stone pole heads (to direct currents).*

On the water, rules of way are in place and codes of conduct are often shared explicitly. Yet, despite this safety measure in relation to zoning and how kiteboarders themselves discuss safety amongst each other, according to interviewed practitioners, kiteboarding still occasionally raises public concerns as shows from the way accidents are reported about in the media (#12). As it is an extreme sport, there is always a risk of accidents and injuries due to encounters with other kiteboarders or with other recreationists using the same space. This is the paradox of safety: kiteboarding is safer, which leads to more practitioners, which leads to an increased risk of crowds and collisions.

Connection to nature and conservation

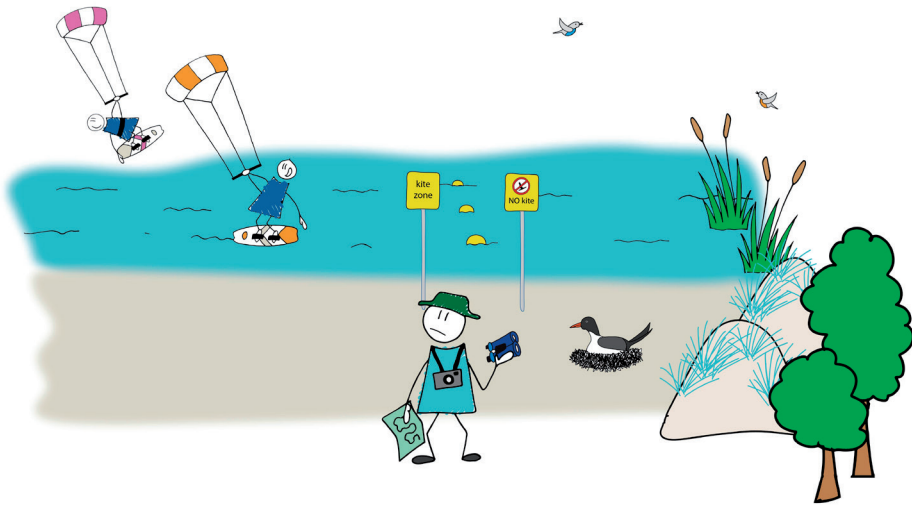
With more kiteboard disciplines emerging and a growing number of practitioners, requiring more and more space, kiteboarding has a tense interplay with nature conservation practices. Some spots in Zeeland, for example, have been closed due to the supposed impact on nature. Existing zones can become very busy, which is why some kiteboarders take a risk and practice outside the designated zones, both deliberately and unknowingly.

Interviewed kiteboarders in general believe they do not cause more harm to flora and fauna than for example windsurfers do, yet especially point to the damage done by powerboats, water-skiing, jet skis or water-scooters (#1). Still, how much impact kiteboarding has on nature is heavily discussed within the kiteboard community. In this discussion, kiteboarders do refer to scientific studies. One of the interviewed kiteboarding practitioners argues:

I don't believe kiteboarding is harmful to nature. Besides, there is no solid scientific proof for that. I do understand that some people who are heavily involved with bird populations have their concerns. That they think the sounds of the kite have an impact.

Kiteboarders, as outdoor enthusiasts, are – in a certain sense – very appreciative of nature. Interviewed kiteboarders value nature, acknowledge its importance, enjoy it and therefore are aware of the need of conservation. Nature obviously provides the required elements of wind and water, but the natural setting also helps people to unwind.

Despite frustrations about zoning that limits their space, several interviewed kiteboarders believe the majority of kiteboarders stick to the zones in order to keep a good reputation. In addition, they instruct others to stick to these as well and correct those who do not.



Interviewed kiteboarders believe that the perceived impact on nature affects the number of locations for kiteboarding, also in Zeeland:

Those concerned with policy and planning focus a lot on the impact of nature. Yes, it is important, but you also have to be realistic. It is not realistic to keep on pushing an unlimited number of practitioners to practice on a certain spot. There are not enough open spots. (#12)

To avoid conflicts, in the last few years local authorities have invited representatives of the Dutch kiteboard association NKV to plan and discuss existing or alternative spots for kiteboarding; something that was unimaginable a decade ago. Fulfilling an expert role in spatial planning (#1), NKV members increasingly act as volunteers and use their own professional background to make a difference, for example by coordinating marine biology impact studies and trying to understand the local ways regarding spatial planning and policy. To the expert interviewees, it seems that, more than before, regional and local governments think about where kiteboarding should and should not be allowed. Whereas they used to simply close a spot, they now discuss zoning at a larger scale (#1, #3).

There also seems to be an understanding now that adjusting regulations in one spot affects the use and crowdedness of other spots (#7). However, stretching existing rules and regulations for the sake of enabling people to practice the sport at various spots in relation to various conditions, has proved to be a challenging and slow process.

2.5. Discussion

By examining kiteboarding as a routinised type of behaviour, a social practice (Shove et al., 2012), and by alternating between ‘zooming in’ and ‘zooming out’, this article provided a better understanding of the development of kiteboarding. More specifically, this article made the following contributions to the existing literature.

First, the majority of scientific studies on kiteboarding are focused on sport-related injuries (e.g. Durnford et al., 2013), some others focus on design and technological development (e.g. Schmidt et al., 2015), speed and performance (e.g. Caimmi & Samprini, 2017) or spatial planning (e.g. Pereira & Dantas, 2019). By ‘zooming in’ on kiteboarding as a social practice we added to this literature by showing that it is, as Shove et al. (2012) explain, through recurrent enactments by kiteboarders (i.e. practices-as-performances) that a distinct and recognisable conjunction of the elements of kiteboarding is established over time, with social practices then becoming identifiable as entities (i.e. practices-as-entities). In other words, the performances of the kiteboarders materialise and routinise kiteboarding, whereas kiteboarding as a practice enables and constrains the kiteboarders’ individualised performances (Dolan et al., 2019).

Contrary to most literature on kiteboarding, we described how over time kiteboarding has become a rather heterogeneous affair where multiple ways of ‘doing’ co-exist (Shove et al., 2012), based on how the elements of the practice of kiteboarding are configured (Dolan et al., 2019). This process of ‘doing’ and the constant interplay between producers and consumers contributed to a variation in kiteboarding styles: freeriding, hydro-foiling, waving, freestyle, and Big Air. Practice theory fostered a better understanding of how these sub-practices came into being and indicated how these use space differently.

The development of new materials, just as the introduction of new skills, ideas and routines by practitioners (Warde, 2005), also increases individual adaptability (Melo et al., 2020). Besides the ‘essential’ materials – the kite, board, lines and for foiling the hydrofoil – kiteboarding practices also changed after the introduction of new technologies, such as action cameras and GPS trackers. Moreover, by ‘zooming out’, we showed that kiteboarding practices, just like all other practices, are involved in a “variety of relationships and associations that extend both space and time, and form a gigantic, intricate and evolving texture of dependencies and references” (Nicolini, 2012, p. 229).

In this article we focused on the relation between kiteboarding and other practices, such as swimming and nature conservation. Especially practices of kiteboarding and nature conservation sometimes overlap, interweave, cohere and enable each other, but then again conflict, diverge, and constrain each other (see Schatzki, 2002). Whereas in terms

of the use of space kiteboarding and nature conservation do not fully align, the same cannot be said in relation to safety. Lifesaving practices are now part of kiteboarding practices in the form of for example the safety days and be-traceable campaign. These initiatives are what Warde (2005) calls a mechanism for inter-practice influencing, which allow associated practitioners to learn from each other and develop their own practice. The coastguard knows what to do and how to act, while the kiteboarders understand procedures and work together better than before. Because of these mechanisms, risks can be reduced as is evident in the buddy system that is part of the practice of diving as well (Fuchs et al., 2016). Obviously, kiteboarding not only interacts with the practices of swimming, lifesaving procedures and nature conservation. Further research could also focus on the interrelations with for example windsurfers in mixed zones and regular wave surfers. It can also be interesting to see how the various sub-practices interrelate and, if so, how they come into conflict or affect practitioner's experiences.

Second, practice theories have so far found relatively few followers in present-day tourism (Bargeman & Richards, 2020; James et al, 2019; Lamers & van der Duim, 2016; Lamers et al. 2017; Lamers & Pashkevich, 2018; Souza Bispo, 2016) and sports studies (Shove & Pantzar, 2005). As practice theories do have merits that these fields can benefit from, the obvious way forward is to develop the approach by using it, like we did in this article (see also Nicolini, 2012). We showed in this article how Shove et al.'s (2012) conceptual framework provides an insightful approach for understanding changes in sports and tourism practices over time, by analysing changes in, and interactions among, the elements of materials, meanings and competences. Moreover, as Lamers et al. (2017, p. 62) argue, "practices do not appear out of the blue but are shaped by the elements of both previous and coexisting practices. Understanding their historical trajectories is crucial for analysing changes in tourism practices". However, following Lamers et al. (2017) and Bargeman and Richards (2020), we suggest two other ways in which practice theories could particularly contribute to the agenda of sports and tourism studies. Here we have used Shove et al.'s (2012) conceptualisation of practices in three elements (i.e. materials, competences and meanings), but contemporary practice theories provide various other, but related, conceptual frameworks for identifying and understanding social practices, such as Schatzki's (2002) organising principles (i.e. practical and general understandings, rules, and teleo-affective structures) or Bargeman and Richard's (2020) practice model based on Collins (2004) and Giddens (1979, 1984). Moreover, concerning the motivation, purpose and meaning of kiteboarding, and following ideas of Collins (2014), Bargeman and Richards (2020) also argue that for a practice to succeed, and therefore to be continued, it should arouse 'emotional energy (EE)'. EE is the driving force for creating and continuing a practice like kiteboarding as it gives a feeling of enthusiasm, excitement, achievement and exhilaration (see also Derriks, 2017; Wheaton, 2010). As we explained in this article, kiteboarding is a social

practice. Kiteboarders share meanings, understandings, know-how, rules and a certain awareness of basic safety and possible dangers. These are not personal attributes, while they do influence individual performance and what the sport means to individuals. Individual kiteboarders only feature as the carriers or hosts of the social practice of kiteboarding (Shove et al, 2012). In order for kiteboarding to generate emotional energy, other participants (a community of kiteboarders) have to be physically present at the same time, to create a shared mood (excitement, fun, freedom) and a common focus of attention. This also requires that there is some form of barrier or 'liminal space' between the kiteboarders and outsiders (Bargeman & Richards, 2020; Collins 2004).

Third, this article also illustrated how practice-based perspectives can generate in-depth insights for policymaking and evaluation, based on the understanding that policy interventions only "have effect (some intended, some not) within and as part of the ongoing dynamics of practice" (Shove et al, 2012, p. 145). A modest approach to policy is not based on a quest for control or an ambition to nudge the drivers of behaviour (Rip, 2006, as cited in Shove et al., 2012), which is evident in policies that for example try to hold on to zones that prove to be too small for the number of kiteboarders. Instead, policymakers that try to encourage and sustain new forms of sportive activity (King & Church, 2015), like kiteboarding, could approach policy in a way that Shove et al. (2012) describe as being a subtle and contingent "understanding of the sociological and economic nature of the processes they seek to influence" (Grin et al., 2010, p. 207, as cited in Shove et al., 2012). As kiteboarding is a rather new outdoor activity, which did not "neatly fall within clear categories of sport, recreation or other existing typologies of governmental bodies" (Mackintosh et al., 2018, p. 316), it led to many contestations about regulations and zoning. And as Davenport and Davenport (2006) argue, although kiteboarding can be potentially harmful to nature, it is not entirely clear to what extent this is more or less true than it is for other water sports, such as sailing and windsurfing. Many regulations were first perceived in the kiteboarding community as somewhat unfair, especially when kiteboarding was forbidden to protect nature while windsurfers were allowed to practice there. Zoning policies do not currently take into account that recreational practices like kiteboarding and other related practices are performed in different ways. For example, hydrofoiling and Big Air jumping require different types of space and conditions than other forms of kiteboarding, such as wave riding.

When observed through the lens of practice theory, we see that bathers, swimmers, horse-riders and dog-walkers all have their particular routinised behaviours whilst on the beach. Kiteboard practitioners can in this sense be considered as reflexive and embodied beings. They, like other lifestyle sport practitioners, enjoy sensations, mobilities and places whilst constantly (re)making sense of their own practices (Geffroy, 2017). For appropriate decision-making on kiteboarding, it is important to involve the kiteboarding

community, as is done now, for example, by involving the Dutch Kiteboard Association in policymaking. Just as the kiteboard community successfully teamed up with rescue organisations to avoid more injuries and accidents, it should also join forces with nature conservation organisations. As unrealistic that might sound to most kiteboarders, it could in fact decrease the number of challenges they now encounter when practicing their sport. Kiteboarders and nature conservationists both treasure natural environments. A better understanding of each other's lifeworld's can help in co-creating possible solutions (Church & Ravenscroft, 2011).

2.6. Conclusion

This article aimed to contribute theoretically as well as empirically to our understanding of kiteboarding. By using practice theory, it became evident that the development of kiteboarding is an inherently uncontrollable process (Pantzar & Shove, 2010).

'Zooming in' on kiteboarding showed how kiteboarding is a process that involves the active and performative integration of particular meanings – especially an exhilarating 'sensation of freedom' –, materials and competences, which have to be learned in order to become a practitioner. The materials, meanings and skills of kiteboarding are relatively stable ingredients, while the development of new materials, technological innovations and changed behaviours of practitioners have made the sport more safe, popular and accessible. Changes in 'doing' kiteboarding and the interplay between producers and consumers led to the sub-practices of freeriding, hydro-foiling, waving, freestyle, and Big Air.

The 'zooming out' allowed us to examine the relations between kiteboarding and other practices. In the specific case of Zeeland, kiteboarding especially interacts with swimming and bathing, lifesaving practices and nature conservation. We showed how a practice like kiteboarding can never exist in isolation. It is constrained or enabled by other practices and therefore cannot be carried out independently of those (Nicolini, 2012). Whereas lifesaving procedures to a large extent have been integrated in the practice of kiteboarding, the relation with nature conservation is still quite tense. For this reason, we suggest nature conservationists and kiteboarders learn from each other in order to give each other 'some space'.

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*‘Individually we are one drop
Together we are an ocean’*
– **Ryunosuke Satoro**



Chapter 3

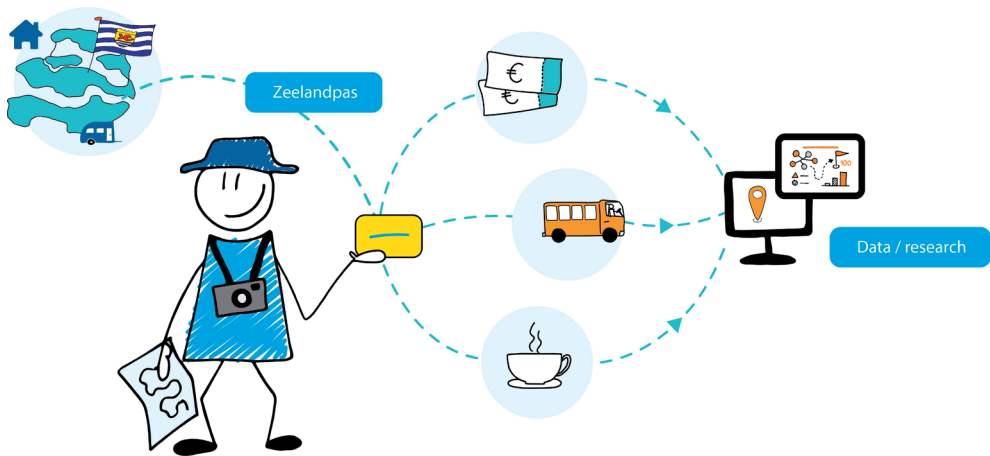
Tourism innovation by bundling practices: A genealogy of the ‘Zeelandpas’ destination card

This chapter is published as Derriks, T., van der Duim, V.R., & Peters, K. (2018). Tourism innovation by bundling practices: A genealogy of the ‘Zeelandpas’ destination card. In L. James, C. Ren & H. Halkier (Eds). *Theories of Practice in Tourism* (pp. 115-131). London: Routledge.

3.1. Introduction

In the last decades destination cards have become quite common, especially in larger cities, facilitating, for example, free entrance or discounts on major attractions and free or low-priced public transportation. The Dutch coastal province of Zeeland, the Netherlands, introduced four regional destination cards in 2014 and branded them as the ‘Zeelandpas’. The cards themselves had their own names and specific offers but were all part of the Zeelandpas innovation project and were promoted as such. In 2015, the regional destination cards became unified into one Zeelandpas destination card which could be used across the entire state province.

In this chapter we examine the history of this regional tourism destination card and develop a specific and detailed analysis of its development as a ‘bundling of practices’ (Lamers & Van der Duim, 2016). As we will argue, in this ‘bundling’ process three existing practices (destination branding, market research, and public transportation) are combined. We examine the development of this destination card genealogically by historically following its actors and their actions. We reconstruct how connections between practices have been achieved (Nicolini, 2006) and how constituent practices have changed accordingly.



The Zeelandpas connects practices in a new hybrid form (Shove et al., 2012) and can be seen at the same time as a service, process, marketing, management and institutional innovation (Hjalager, 2010). Studies that particularly focus on innovation in tourism are relatively young, scattered and fragmented (Paget et al., 2010). Hjalager (2010) therefore argued for more research on innovation at the destination level and stressed the need to study the interplay between innovation processes and the wider governance contexts in which they take place (Halkier et al., 2014). In order to better satisfy the more and more experience-centric tourist, who also has more destinations to choose from (Halkier et al., 2014), Maggioni et al. (2014) claim that collaboration between service providers is crucial. Destination cards can be seen as examples of collaborative, public-private, service bundling initiatives (Zoltan & Masiero, 2012).

Innovation by tourism destination cards so far has only been investigated in the German and Italian speaking context (Zoltan & Masiero, 2012). Angeloni (2016) recently reviewed literature and examined an Italian tourism kit. In her study she shows that implementing a multi-application smart card is a complex process as it requires synchronized activity of heterogeneous actors through integrated and interoperable electronic solutions.

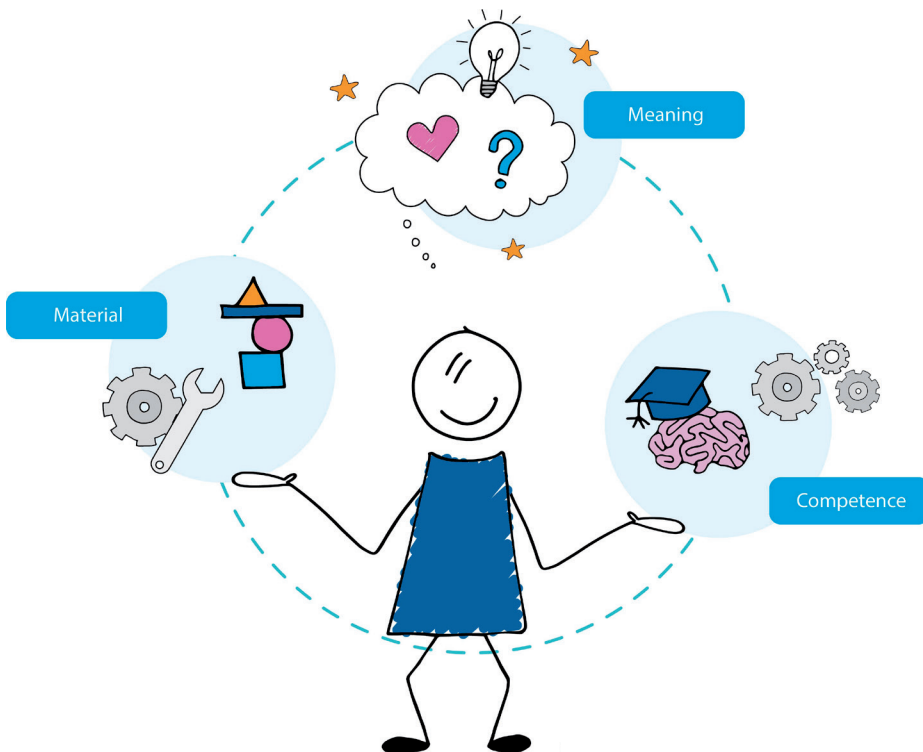
Similarly, this study will examine the process of creating, realizing and implementing a destination card in a Dutch context. It aims to contribute to literature on tourism destination cards by presenting a detailed understanding of its associated processes. To do so, we first introduce practice theory as an alternative and at the same time promising approach to study innovation processes within a tourism destination. By genealogically studying how practices are affected, constrained or enabled over time by other practices and the related material consequences (Nicolini, 2012), we aim to provide a better understanding and detailed insights of the unfolding and realization of tourism innovation (Pantzar & Shove, 2010).

In this chapter, we particularly focus on which 'doings and sayings', rules and materials played an important role in connecting existing practices into this destination card and how this bundling affected existing practices. We will examine the different stages in which this bundling took place, and how as a result the deployment of a destination card emerged. Besides offering detailed insights in how different practices were connected and disconnected, we also discuss the conditions which supported or hindered the development of the destination card.

The chapter proceeds as follows. First, we briefly introduce practice theory, the case and the methods used. Second, by studying the genealogy of this card we will show how practices were connected and the card was developed. We will conclude with a brief discussion of our results.

3.2. Innovation by bundling practices

Practice theories focus both on ordinary activities such as cooking or cleaning as well as practice-arrangement bundles, i.e. interconnected social practices and material arrangements of different sizes. In this respect Nicolini (2012) makes a distinction between a 'zoomed-in' and a 'zoomed-out' position. In the first position practice theorists study specific social phenomena, such as daily routinized activities and face to face interactions (Lamers et al., 2016). Studies on these situated practices normally lead to 'thick descriptions' of social practices which are already familiar to many people. According to Shove et al. (2012) these everyday life practices are constituted by three elements: materials, meanings and competences. These are not only interdependent, but are also mutually shaping. When treating these elements as building-blocks of practices, emergent patterns, connections and their history can be identified and used to describe processes of transformation, diffusion and circulation (Shove et al., 2012). Innovation in this zoomed-in position can be seen as the introduction of new things or methods (Shove et al., 2012), involving changing combinations of symbolic and material ingredients and of competences or know-how (Pantzar & Shove, 2010; Lamers et al., 2016).



In the case of Nordic walking, Pantzar and Shove (2010) showed how the practitioners involved, including managers, manufacturers and consumers, all played their part in actively integrating the elements in question and how connections between the defining elements were made as well as sustained. Innovation therefore should not be seen as an outcome of managerial intervention but as “the varied contributions many actors and histories make to what is, as a result, an inherently uncontrollable process” (Pantzar & Shove, 2010:p.459). These practitioners can be more or less faithful, and individuals can drop out and take up different practices as their lives unfold. Consequently, practice theories appreciate the active and creative role of the practitioners themselves. With their analysis, Pantzar and Shove (2010) provided a new sense of the theoretical potential of conceptualising innovation in terms of practices instead of only in terms of products and services, which is normally the case in tourism innovation studies.

Whereas Pantzar and Shove (2010) ‘zoom in’ and study innovation of a singular practice, namely Nordic-walking, innovation can also be studied from a ‘zoomed-out’ perspective. Although according to practice theorists ontologically there are no differences between micro and macro phenomena as the social happens at only one level (see Lamers et al., 2016; Schatzki, 2005), from a ‘zoomed-out’ position it makes sense to look at bundling of practices and material arrangements that mutually affect and precondition one another. For example, Lamers and Van der Duim (2016) have shown in their study how conservation tourism partnerships should be seen as practice-arrangement bundles and have conceptualized these as deliberate attempts to create distinct nexuses of practices and material arrangements to tackle societal challenges. In studying the process of bundling, the interlinking through the introduction of connecting practices is emphasized (Lamers & Van der Duim, 2016). In this way Lamers and Van der Duim (2016) ‘zoom out’ and specifically focus on connections between practices resulting in new practice-arrangement bundles. Whereas ‘zooming in’ on innovation emphasises the changing and integration of (new) elements in one practice, ‘zooming out’ considers why and how these elements changed in relation to the practices they originate from, how these practices mutually affect or enable each other, and the roles of practitioners in making these connections.

In this chapter a destination card is seen as a new bundle of practices by including new things and methods based on the integration of existing (bundles of) practices that in turn might possibly (have to) change as well. Schatzki (2017) highlights that practices and arrangements are linked by relations such as causality, constitution, intentionality, intelligibility and prefiguration. Resulting bundles are also related to one another in various ways, via “common actions, common organisational elements, or common material entities; chains of action; common motivating events; participants in one bundle being intentionally directed to other bundles; overlapping, orchestrated or mutually

referring places and paths; orchestrations of (i.e. mutual dependencies among) actions, material entities and organisational elements of different types in different practice-arrangement bundles; and physical connections and causality” (Schatzki, 2017:p.134). A comparative and historical perspective on the trajectory of all related practices and their changing embeddedness in wider practice-arrangement bundles is crucial for analysing change in tourism practices and therewith innovation as all innovations requires change to some extent (Lamers et al., 2017).

To study these trajectories, Lamers et al. (2017), suggest using the conceptual framework provided by Schatzki (2002:p.2016). According to Schatzki, practices consist of ‘doings and sayings’ and material arrangements that hang together, organized by practical understanding, general understanding, rules and teleo-affective structures. Whereas practical understandings denote particular abilities that relate to the actions composing a practice, general understanding is the shared idea of what a practice entails and what the meanings of the practice are. Rules, according to Schatzki (2002:p.79) consist of “explicit formulations, principles, precepts, and instructions that enjoin or direct people to perform specific actions. To say that rules link doings and sayings is to say that people, in carrying out these doings and sayings, take account of and adhere to the same rules”. Finally, practices are organized by teleo-affective structures, the property of a practice linking its ‘doings and sayings’ to a range of acceptable ends, purposes, beliefs and tasks that ought to be accomplished, including the manner in which these projects and tasks should be executed. As we will see, when connecting practices manage to survive and prosper, the original practices undergo gradual changes as they become more and more directed to the rules and teleo-affective structures of the larger practice-arrangement bundle (Lamers et al., 2016).

Based on the above, this study concentrates on reconstructing the genealogical path of how the practices associated and required for the new practice-material arrangement of a destination card were combined. Following this line of thought, the objective of this study is not only to identify and describe the new practice-arrangement bundle associated with the Zeelandpas destination card creation in terms of its realization and implementation, but also to understand how bundling happened and affected constituting practices as for example destination branding or doing market research. In this way, this study aims to offer a detailed understanding of difficulties and successes related to introducing a destination card in a particular region.

3.3. Selected case and study design

In this chapter we conceptualize the destination card as a bundling of practices. The destination card is now known as the ‘Zeelandpas’ in the province of Zeeland, the Netherlands. The state province of Zeeland is located in the south-west of the Netherlands and divided into 13 municipalities.

Although it is now believed to benefit destination competitiveness, the Zeelandpas destination card development was also a long, challenging and complex process of combining practices and related collaboration between tourism entrepreneurs and other stakeholders. Its history can be traced back to early 2000s. The Zeelandpas was for many years limited to the northern island of Schouwen-Duiveland and better known as the SchouwenDuivelandPas. The evolution of this card resulted in four regional destination cards in 2014, branded as the Zeelandpas but with distinct offers. Only in 2015 did it become a card for the entire province and it is still operating as such today.

The genealogic approach taken in this study concentrates on the life of practices. We focus on how connecting and bundling practices emerged, were perpetuated, changed and sometimes disappeared (Nicolini, 2017). Questions were concerned with how recurrent scenes of actions have been historically constituted. We break down big stories into smaller stories that can be traced empirically. We examine what elements were being brought in and changed each other, and how the innovation was unfolding. Practice theory provides the language to do so (Nicolini, 2017; Shove et al., 2012) and to answer the questions of which practices were being put together and to what effect; how practitioners were recruited and how (the bundling of) practices evolved over time.

In order to reconstruct the path of connecting and bundling towards the realization of this 'Zeelandpas', the first author collected data in various ways. As participant observation, often used in analysing practices, was impossible, the qualitative method of interviewing was the most appropriate method. Most information therefore stems from interviews with those involved in the card's development. These informants were found in related documents and by means of snowballing. A total of 20 people were interviewed. Questions and topics to discuss were prepared beforehand and based on the literature review on practice theory and innovation. These topics and questions concerned the role the interviewees played, how they perceived the process and what according to them were major influences on performance and progress as well as how the implementation of a destination card influenced related practices and commitments of related practitioners.

Following the interviewing of informants involved in the development of the card, entrepreneurs whose services could be accessed via the destination card were asked to give oral or written feedback on how they for example got in touch with the card, what their motivation was to get involved, how special deals were created and how they thought their customers appreciated the use of the card and its specific offers. Also, they were asked what they appreciated in terms of organisation and what might have been done differently or should be improved in the future. In total 13 entrepreneurs replied, from which eight in writing; 5 were met in person. All interviews were recorded and

transcribed, resulting in a total of 25 transcripts of recorded interviews and 8 e-mails with written answers. Besides conducting interviews, a total of 32 related documents were analysed. These documents varied from internal and progress reports to published plans. In addition, we examined 27 collected media announcements that mentioned the 'Zeelandpas' or regional variations of them, mostly in local newspapers and retrieved online from local newspaper's archives using search words such as 'tourist card', 'destination card', and 'Zeelandpas'.

Data was collected until the point of saturation and analysed in NVivo10 qualitative data analysis software, which also enabled to code the data in terms of practices and its constituting elements. As the destination card developed over time and the elements of practice – meanings, competences and materials – changed along the way, a chronological 'thick description' was created that allowed to identify practices and their constitutive elements. To understand the innovation process, emphasis in the analysis was thereafter placed on the bundling of practices and the genealogical path of the innovation.

3.4. Bundling practices to realise the Zeelandpas

Based on our analysis, we identified four different periods in the bundling of practices. During these four periods, the development of the destination card combined – in various ways - three practices: destination branding, conducting market research, and facilitating public transportation. To a lesser extent and more sporadically, other practices, as for example improving customer services at a campsite, improving resident services in the municipality and levying tourist taxes were also associated and perceived as required for the success of the destination card.

3.4.1. Period 1: First destination card ideas and realization efforts (2001-2005)

In 2001, the municipality of Schouwen-Duiveland announced the introduction of a tourist card that could combine holiday park services and giving discounts on activities. The original goal was to stimulate collaboration between entrepreneurs offering tourism related services and products and those accommodating the tourists, as illustrated by a municipality representative:

How do we team up somebody who is selling cheese in Nieuwerkerk with a campsite in De Westhoek, accommodating people that might want that cheese?

The municipality of Schouwen-Duiveland hired an external organization to organize this collaboration in such a way that it would on the one hand benefit branding the isle of Schouwen-Duiveland and at the same time allow doing market research. In addition, the improving of customer services at holiday parks, levying tourist taxes and expanding resident services within the municipality were also explored as possible future aims to be included in this collaboration.

The basic idea was that tourists would, ideally, become more loyal to the destination as a result of being enabled to undertake more activities and being stimulated by discounts and special offers. At the same time, the ease of holiday making would increase as the card could for instance be used to access a campsite, a swimming pool or turning on the showers. To do so, the card needed to include technological features which would for example enable opening campsite entry barriers or the possibility to make use of certain discounts and packages as created by means of a digital back office software platform. Exploring these technological possibilities and putting effort in convincing entrepreneurs to engage and collaborate with the project required certain expertise and materials and with that financial resources. The municipality provided funding through a subsidy of the European Union. The municipality invited organizations to make a bid and as a result a software developing organization was given the opportunity to investigate the feasibility of the project, including the technological features involved.

In order for a card to function properly, tourism organizations needed to create offers, issue and accept the card, thereby changing their existing business practices. Implementation of the card prompted practical as well as general understandings of what to do for and with the card and for which reason, materials such as scanners and printers and particular skills to be able to use the cards. The feasibility study resulted in a final report in which the end goals of the destination card were described: the card should stimulate tourists to undertake more activities, should ease their holiday making and should also allow the monitoring of tourist behaviour to improve marketing activities.

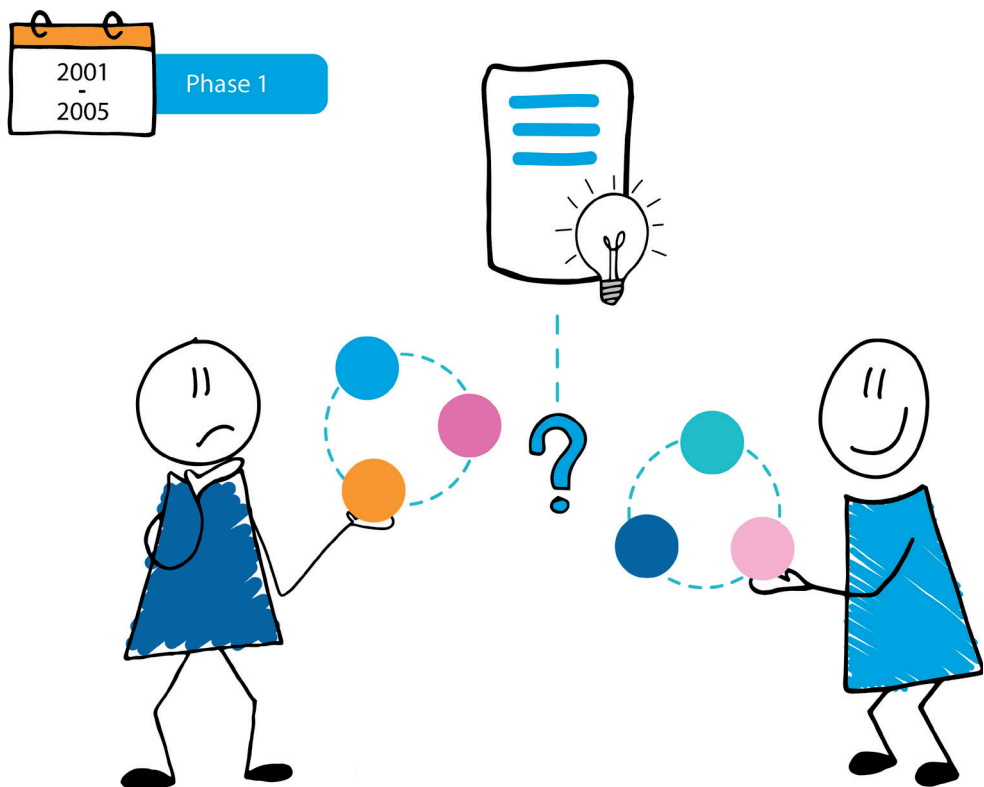
A specific recommendation was to create a foundation to facilitate synergy and cooperation, also by operating an Internet site that would handle visitor bookings and act as back-office for entrepreneurial cooperation. The foundation should be managed by a new organization as part of the existing Tourism Information Bureau (in Dutch: VVV); a public organization concerned with promoting the region. All related enterprises within hospitality, recreation and retail would ideally have equal representing voices to cooperate and strengthen each other instead of competing with each other. A small office would be occupied with the back-office tasks such as promotion and marketing, data collection and engaging stakeholders.

Although it took time and effort for the entrepreneurs to understand the benefits, technology and required skills and efforts to be made, the larger holiday parks eventually embraced the idea of the destination card and planned integrating it in their practices once the card was implemented. Based on this commitment a final report was presented to discuss subsequent steps. During the meeting in which the report was presented, the city's council demanded more insights in the social and economic impacts of a card and commissioned a study. The idea of an impact study conflicted with the

opinions of entrepreneurs who were willing to be involved, arguing that it would delay the implementation process and because of it, the momentum would be lost. In this way, at the end of this period, the bundling of destination branding and conducting market research by means of a destination card failed and stopped. As one of the interviewees stated:

After the council’s decision for an impact study it became silent for a while, supported by the question; ‘who will take the lead?’ And it remained silent.

The impact study was not carried out. The software development company decided to withdraw and as a consequence the bundling of practices by means of a destination card halted.



3.4.2. Period 2: Card realization and first efforts in digitalization (2006-2010)

In 2006, a newly created foundation entitled 'Stichting SchouwenDuivelandPas' resumed the process of developing a destination card capitalizing on a changed mind-set of entrepreneurs, now more focused on collaboration than on competition. The Foundation adopted the feasibility plan. It consisted of only entrepreneurs, especially managers of campsites and bungalow parks. According to one of the founders of the SchouwenDuivelandPas foundation this proved to be a solid base to start.

The foundation distributed a paper tourist card that eventually had to evolve into one with digital features. The card was dispensed by several accommodation providers. The regional bus company was also included in the business model so that tourists would enjoy free bus transportation on the island. A fixed amount of transportation costs was yearly billed by the bus company to the foundation.

The central aim for bundling practices in this period was again a practical tourist card, but somewhat smaller in scope than previously suggested. While the municipality approved the foundation to take the lead role, they decided neither to join the foundation nor to get operationally involved until the card functioned properly. At a later stage extra features for residents, as for example access to garbage disposal points, could be added making the card of value for residents as well. Until that point, the municipality only provided financial resources for the foundation.

With financial resources being scarce, the foundation also looked at new subsidy opportunities in order to further develop the digital system. In the process of moving towards a digital tourist card, the foundation had to include new practices and hence capture new stakeholders, as it was believed current participants did not have enough time, knowledge and competences to successfully develop the project. A researcher from the Research Centre for Coastal Tourism joined due to her background on knowledge creation and sharing. In addition, an IT professor was enrolled to play an active role in digitalization, especially to develop methods to eventually monitor and use digital traces left behind by card users. A technology consultant also joined as it was believed he could advise the entrepreneurs in the foundation during the process.

With the inclusion of these experts as carriers of practices (see Shove et al., 2012), new skills were enrolled in the bundling process. Eventually, a digital pilot was launched which enabled to scan the card. Computer hardware, printers and scanners had to be bought, installed and used in order to link products to and to enable the scanning of the cards. This also required new practical understandings, skills as loading, printing, registering and scanning and hence 'ways of doing' of the entrepreneurs involved. However, scanning cards in busses was not yet possible. In order to make use of public

transportation, the cards needed to be shown so the bus driver could check the printed date of validity.

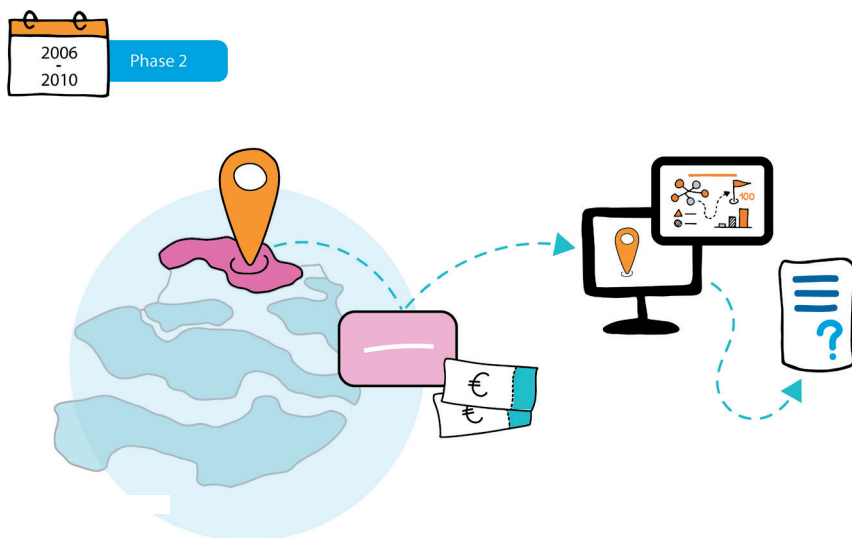
The digital traces left by registering the card use never reached the critical mass at this stage to deliver market information of any value to the isle's relevant industry players. Concerning this pilot and the difficulty in achieving a sufficient amount of data, a respondent explained:

You have to start somewhere. If you would be able to scan the card in the bus, you would have much information directly. It is necessary entrepreneurs will be involved and actually scan as well. That requires support for entrepreneurs...but the reports will be valuable. It is difficult to convince the entrepreneurs themselves, as they hardly see the benefits of such reports for their business.

In September 2011 however, media announced that the SchouwenDuivelandPas had received a serious boost due to a subsidy of 400.000 euros granted by the Rotterdam Harbour Company as part of a Delta development program as compensation for the expansion of the harbour of Rotterdam (Maasvlakte II). From here onwards, the foundation started exploring and implementing other digital applications.

Ideas about expanding the practice-arrangement bundle in the form of a destination card beyond the Schouwen-Duiveland isle's borders were obstructed by differences in meanings between various practitioners linked to different business models. The founding entrepreneurs, as initiating practitioners, felt their aims and goals were too different from the newly enrolled practitioners acting as innovators. In a final effort to create a shared 'teleoaffective structure' (Schatzki, 2005) all organisations and people involved were invited to a meeting that was perceived as being crucial for the continuation of the project.

The meeting was a failure because the various practitioners were not able to speak each other's language. Those with digital expertise espoused the benefits of technological possibilities and open source programming but were confronted by others pointing at the loss of ownership and undesirable sharing of business data. It appeared that the foundation's management perceived actions by other stakeholders - who joined because of the technological features, research possibilities and business opportunities resulting from upscaling the card to other regions - as being dubious. They accused the latter of having 'hidden agendas'. The IT professor, for example, was accused of 'making profit' as an end goal instead of focusing foremost on improving marketing based on market research.



The feeling of existing hidden agendas and accusations made it impossible to come to a common understanding and develop shared rules. Thus, although there was a strong collaboration of entrepreneurs propelling the bundling, their lack of technological knowledge forced them to incorporate other skills and competencies and hence practitioners. As a result, general and practical understandings supporting the bundling process dwindled, also because of a lack of trust associated with privacy concerns and financial gains which resulted again in broken links. The card continued to be in place for the same destination, having the original features, but without technological developments as planned. The collaboration with related experts ended.

3.4.3. Period 3: Towards one destination card for the entire delta region (2011-2013)

Despite all these challenges, the SchouwenDuivelandPas destination card remained operational. While earlier explorations in upscaling failed, the entrepreneurs chairing the SchouwenDuivelandPas foundation now crossed paths with another group of entrepreneurs pursuing the creation of a booking portal for the entire Delta region, including the entire state province of Zeeland and the Western part of neighbouring province Noord-Brabant. A regional bank initiated a subsidy program through which entrepreneurs were stimulated to innovate. A group of entrepreneurs operating in the hospitality industry applied for funding and presented an idea to promote tourism within this Delta area. As a result, the SchouwenDuivelandPas was integrated in the 'Deltaleven' project, merging organisations with a different professional background, namely those from hotels on the one side to those from campsites and bungalow parks on the other.

The original focus of the Deltaleven project was to create a business-to-business platform that also included a booking site tailored to this area. Following this idea, tourist offers and public transportation could be packaged and monitored, for example through data traces of a digital tourist card. In pursuing this, the newly created Deltaleven foundation invited the director of Promotion Zeeland Delta (PZD) to get involved as a means to include destination branding in the bundling process. Nevertheless, although the SchouwenDuivelandPas foundation acknowledged the added value of the Deltaleven project, they made clear from the beginning that they would still maintain their own destination card at Schouwen-Duiveland.

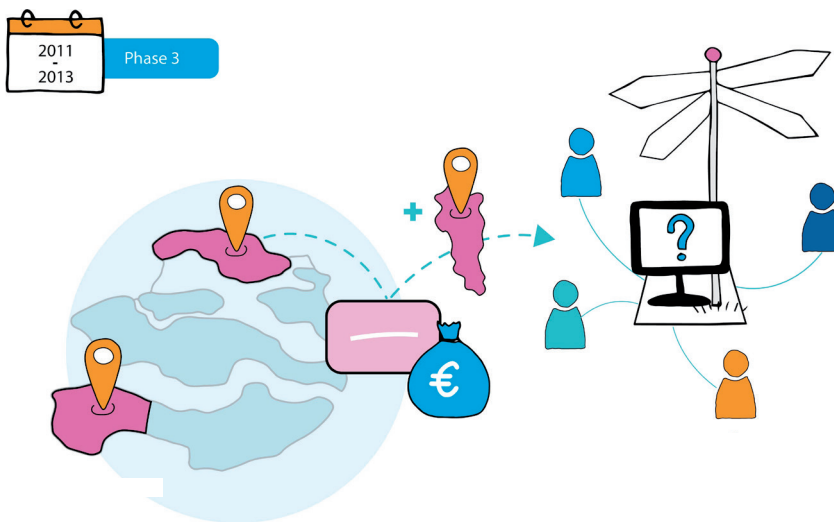
In the meantime, new practitioners were involved in the Deltaleven project bringing in new practical understandings, materials and skills. The Austrian system of Feratel was introduced to act as the digital infrastructure supporting the Deltaleven project, because of its possibilities to link a booking portal with a tourist card. Since the entrepreneurs that participated in the Deltaleven project realized the project took much of their scarce time, they also decided to appoint and hire a former hotelier to act as project leader. The realization and especially the organization of a booking portal and a destination card were delayed since the subsidy grant required the involvement of various other parties. For example, Impuls, the region's economic stimulation agency, was involved to keep track of the progress related to the subsidy criteria. The Research Centre for Coastal Tourism became involved, as the subsidy agreement required collaboration with a research centre. As a result, communication was perceived to be difficult, hindered by the lack of common practical understandings between practitioners with varying backgrounds. One of the interviewees argued that the amount of people involved was too big for quick progress and fast response to market developments:

Deltaleven wanted to be a fast running organization. Anticipating on market demands and customer needs in order to offer added value whenever the customer stays in Zeeland. To be fast, having a foundation executive board of twenty-six people is not desired. You have to have a foundation of five, that's it.

At one point, public actors made the choice to focus first on improving the development of the destination card instead of the portal system. The portal system, however, was favoured by the foundation and its private actors. Pursuing the card first instead of the portal affected the central objective of the foundation's and thus the practitioners' commitment, since the entrepreneurs realized their envisioned portal was not to be realized anytime soon. At this point, the connecting practitioners were divided into those with entrepreneurial backgrounds from those with public interests. As a result, the project outcomes did not meet the subsidy grant's criteria as an important part of the subsidy was to study and test appropriate technology. Because of a quick decision

to work with the 'Feratel' company as software supplier, the normally essential stage of studying and testing a variety of possible technologies was ignored. One of the interviewees confirms:

They [the entrepreneurs] skipped the whole required phase concerning research anyway since they just decided to go with Feratel. A large part of the subsidy program, noteworthy, was about studying technology, making blue prints and test it. That entire phase had been neglected.



Impuls initiated and coordinated an exit strategy for Deltaleven, as they believed not enough progress had been made: Besides the disagreement on prioritizing the card over the portal and the neglecting of testing multiple digital infrastructures before choosing one, the end goals were not completely clear and financial resources almost exhausted. Parallel to the Deltaleven project, a bundling of tourist information service practices was taking place in the region of Zeeland. Here, previously separate and somewhat independent, operating local offices, responsible for branding their own destinations, were merged into one regional tourist information services organization, promoting the entire state province. One practitioner was active in both constellations; the PZD director. Soon after the Deltaleven project stopped, the destination card idea was adopted by this new regional VVV tourist information service, with the PZD director as its new director.



3.4.4. Period 4: Adoption by the VVV tourist information services (2014-2015)

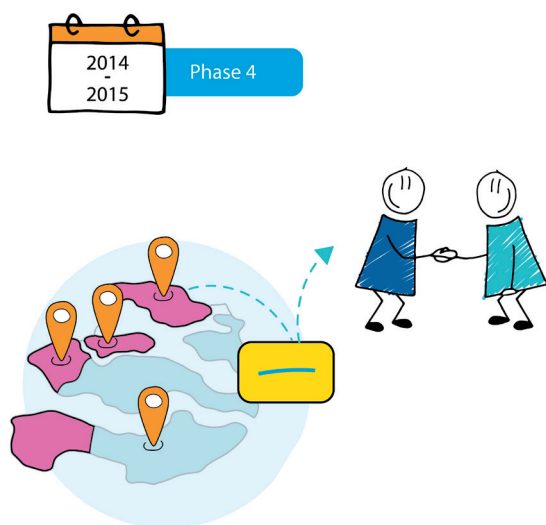
This merging had important consequences. The VVV tourist information became responsible for the further development of the destination card by creating a new organizational structure based on a clear and transparent hierarchical business format. Part of the plan was to create specific cards per region with their own foundations in place and regional coordinators appointed and responsible for increasing the amount of card issuers and adopters. In this way, the implementation of regional destination cards was believed to be more capable of directing practices in destination branding, market research and public transportation in accordance with the rules and the central ideas behind the Zeelandpas. Besides the Schouwen-Duivelandpas and the card in West-Zeeuws Vlaanderen (from this moment on the 'ZeeuwsVlaanderenPas'), the regions Veere (VeerePas) and Noord-Beveland (NoordBevelandPas) joined this Zeelandpas practice-arrangement bundle. With these cards in place, emphasis was on promoting the state province by creating special offers in each region and collaboration between entrepreneurs. Another important aspect concerned the enticing of visitors to spread and discover other places by means of using the card for certain free transportation possibilities offered in each region.

During the start-up phase, conducting market research, i.e. the scanning of cards and using digital traces for marketing purposes, was not yet an explicit end goal. Emphasis was on creating special deals or new combinations of existing tourism products and services, something which was in the beginning rather challenging. Besides difficulties in presenting appealing special offers, the transportation discounts varied between the regions, which caused some confusion amongst tourists. After operating for a few months, entrepreneurs as well as regional coordinators themselves soon expressed a desire to move to one uniform card in the following season. Having one Zeelandpas instead of several destination dependent cards would also make marketing more effective:

Right now, it is not efficient as each card has its own offers, which makes it hard to communicate clearly about the regional destination card. Still, it is the Zeelandpas and the concept is the same; offering experiences. However, when you want to explain the offer on a card, separate flyers or posters are needed to be shown.

In 2014 the card fee was three euros in all regions, except in Schouwen-Duiveland: their business model was different since issuing organizations paid monthly fees and cards were given away for free, just like they did in the earlier years. Changing business practices to increase selling of the card was challenging, as the card faced promotional difficulties, related to the short time available for preparing and distributing promotional material. Furthermore, the training and manuals that were offered did not entirely make up for the poor commercial skills of accommodation reception employees during check-in procedures.

Activities to support the implementation and address these difficulties, such as sales training, were funded by leftovers from prior periods, private funding and a financial injection by the province, not by a new subsidy. Whereas digital traces and sharing of data at first was something entrepreneurs were somehow scared of and not eager to believe in, this gradually changed, probably because sharing available data was perceived to be safe and secure and could indeed produce meaningful marketing insights. The data collected, however, proved to be limited as not many cards were personalized at issuing offices or registered at accepting organizations.



Realisation of one general Zeelandpas destination card was still something for the future, but at least an operational card was in place in various regions. Although the collecting

of digital data to be used for market knowledge generation was included, it was not set at the foreground as the use of the card in general was seen as the biggest priority. Table 3.1 summarizes the Zeelandpas innovation as the bundling of practices.

Table 3.1. Key characteristics and practical concerns of each identified period

	P1. 2001-2005	P2. 2006-2010	P3. 2011-2013	P4. 2014-2015
Bundling as distinct practice				
Central meaning	Branding the isle of Schouwen-Duiveland by improving loyalty due to increased service marketing	Increase tourist spending by packaging, stimulating public transportation	Providing a bookings portal to experience the Delta area and foster loyalty with destination card integration	Implementing a comprehensive marketing model emphasizing the card as the way to explore Zeeland
Main practitioners	A software development agency (private)	Foundation SchouwenDuivelandPas, representing and being chaired by campsite and bungalow park entrepreneurs (private)	Foundation Deltaleven, representing and being chaired by hotel and hospitality entrepreneurs (private)	VVV Tourist information services, responsible for regional tourism marketing and communication (public)
Project title	Toeristenpas Schouwen-Duiveland	SchouwenDuivelandPas	Deltaleven (card: DeltaPas)	Zeelandpas
Original teleo-affective structure directing practice-arrangement bundle	Branding the destination by triggering entrepreneurs to collaborate	Enabling public transportation using a tourist card that also holds few special offers for activities	Destination branding, by the stimulating of bookings and collaboration by means of an online platform; Allowing the use of the card to access special offers and free transportation.	Destination branding by fostering collaboration that result in joint marketing activities; Keep public transportation discounts running; Collecting digital data for market knowledge.
Scale of practice-arrangement bundle	Isle of Schouwen-Duiveland	Isle of Schouwen-Duiveland	Delta region, pilot cards in West-Zeeuws-Vlaanderen and Schouwen-Duiveland	Schouwen-Duiveland, West-Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, Noord-Beveland, Veere

	P1. 2001-2005	P2. 2006-2010	P3. 2011-2013	P4. 2014-2015
Dynamics of bundling practices	Teleo-affective structures between private and public practices did not match.	Rules and understanding of connecting practices did not match, nor was there one clear teleo-affective structure. Efforts to align elements failed.	Rules related with a material change in the form of a new subsidy required various practitioners to be involved. End goals were prioritized differently by various practitioners.	New practitioners carried the bundling practice onwards, emphasizing clearer rules, understanding and priorities. Emphasized end goal was branding the destination and offer public transportation: less priority was given to market research.
Changes in the connected practices				
Destination branding	Bundling efforts resulted in a variety of entrepreneurs understanding the need and benefits of joint marketing activities. A business plan was created	Only a small number of cards were issued and a limited number of discounted activities were offered by a small and local selection of entrepreneurs. Cards could be scanned and digital traces could be displayed through open source systems.	The Schouwen-Duiveland bus card continued to operate, just as a transportation card in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen. Pilot studies on the digital platform of Feratel allowed to register, load and scan the card.	The VVV launched a campaign in which four regional cards were branded as Zeelandpas: SchouwenDuivelandPas, ZeeuwsVlaanderenPas, VeerePas, NoordBevelandPas. Each with slightly different offers and business model variations
Market research	A business plan was created that included possibilities to conduct market research.	Experimenting with open source systems allowed for some preliminary analysis.	More options were available but entrepreneurs were still hesitant about sharing their business data.	Market research was not prioritized but still possible due to the continuation of the Feratel system.
Public transportation	A business plan was created that included possibilities to offer public transportation.	It was possible to use the card at a bus line by showing the card and presenting valid dates.	Two pilots were realized that allowed (digital) card use at but lines in the two regions.	Agreements in each of the four regions allowed the card to be used for public transportation.

3.5. Conclusion and perspectives: innovation as bundling of practices

This case of the Zeelandpas illustrates that the bundling of practices – in this case destination branding, conducting market research and facilitating public transportation - by means of a destination card as a practice-material arrangement is full of obstacles. As Shove et al. (2012: 64) argue, the contours of *any* practice, let alone a bundle of practices, “depend on changing populations of more and less faithful carriers or practitioners”. In order to bundle practices with different meanings, clear end goals and

intentions – a common teleo-affective structure – practical and general understandings and clear rules have to be developed by the varied contributions of actors. Concerning the genealogy of the Zeelandpas destination card, bundling the distinct practices by trying to create a common understanding, clear rules, a shared way of implementing, was arduous. Organizational principles such as teleo-affective structures, general and practical understandings and rules were partly missing as meanings, materials and competences of the practices to be bundled were too diverse. The various practitioners hardly succeeded in overcoming these differences, struggling to explain or convince why and how to match and align associated practices. Nevertheless, during the entire period and despite the difficulties, the Zeelandpas destination card not only continuously changed, but also matured resulting from the forging of new relations (Shove et al., 2012) and countless recurrent and situated enactments (Lamers & van der Duim, 2016; Schatzki, 2016) which we subdivided in four periods.

By sharing these insights, this study has also contributed to the existing literature on tourism destination cards. It highlights practical implications of introducing a destination card (Zoltan & Masiero, 2012) and illustrates in detail the challenging processes involved. In this way, it adds to Angeloni's (2016) overview of important factors related to the destination cards by showing how these factors fostered or hindered the realization of a regional destination card in a Dutch context. Practice theory helps us to understand how bundling in this context happened and has proved to be a promising approach to study tourism innovations.

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*‘You will never cross the ocean until you
have the courage to lose sight of the shore’*
– **Christopher Columbus**

4

Chapter 4

Understanding coastal zone innovation: The ‘Waterdunen’ project as an ecology of practices

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4.1. Introduction

Coastal areas are popular holiday destinations. This is also the case in the province of Zeeland, the Netherlands. Visitor numbers are increasing per year, for example from 2.4 million in 2017 to 2.6 million in 2019, resulting in a total of 4.76 million visitor nights (Bosboom, 2019). However, a coastal zone is more than just a tourism destination. People also live and work there and parts of the land consist of nature or is used to defend its inhabitants against risks associated with natural coastal hazards, such as storms and flooding (Hall, 2001).

In the rural region in Zeeland, coastal defence works are combined with new possibilities for recreation and nature conservation into one project: 'Waterdunen', the focus of this study (for its location, see figure 4.1.). The name 'Waterdunen' refers to a village known since 1357, which was flooded and eventually given back to the sea in 1510. The area of approximately 300 square kilometres is a hot spot for birds traveling between Scandinavia and Gibraltar. The main aim of the Waterdunen project is to stimulate regional development in terms of recreation, nature and economy. In 2004, the nature conservation organization 'Het Zeeuwse Landschap' presented the idea of Waterdunen to the 'Gebiedscommissie' (a public organization responsible for this region's development) and suggested changes in land use: agriculture should make way for 'new nature', an expansion of the coastal zone and the development of unique salt-water nature with tidal influences, making it an even better spot for birds to rest and feed. This new nature should also allow tourism and outdoor recreation.



Figure 4.1 Outline of the Waterdunen project (<https://www.zwdelta.nl/node/37/fotos>) and its location at the southwestern coast of The Netherlands (see: [openstreetmap.org](https://www.openstreetmap.org))

With the history of Zeeland’s 1953 flooding disaster in mind, allowing the sea to flood the land was and is contested. The province of Zeeland can literally be seen as land located in the sea. Already centuries land was won from the sea by land reclamation, providing communities with a place to live and work safely behind the dykes. For many people in these communities, both expropriation of land and depoldering therefore implied an infringement of their cultural identities.

In this article, we examine how Waterdunen has unfolded as a form of coastal development. Coastal development is often referred to as Integrated Coastal Zone Management (ICZM) and seen as a dynamic process that brings “together governments and societies, sciences and decision makers, public and private interests for the production and implementation of a program for the protection and development of coastal systems and resources” (Cicin-Sain et al., 1998:39; see also Birdir et al., 2013). Within this body of literature sometimes tourism and recreation development are studied with an explicit focus on land use change (Ababneh et al., 2018; Bergsten et al. 2018; Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, 2017; Xu et al. , 2016). However, to our knowledge there are no studies that specifically focus on land use planning and change in relation

to coastal tourism and recreation, nature and farming practices. As we also will highlight in the case of Waterdunen, land change sometimes involves land expropriation, or at least the threat to expropriate. In the Netherlands expropriation is politically sensitive, legally relatively easy as it does not require new laws, but only rarely executed (Rossum, 2021). To unravel the factors that hindered or stimulated the development of and land use changes involved in Waterdunen, we will make use of practice theory (Nicolini, 2012) and show how an ecology of practices approach (Kemmis et al., 2013) can be used to further our understanding of coastal development processes. More specifically, we will analyse how the social practices of coastal defence, nature conservation, tourism and recreation, living and farming are entangled in complex processes of bundling and unbundling.

We will now first present the concept of ecology of practices, the idea of bundling and unbundling of practices and how this relates to coastal development processes. Second, we will explain the methods employed in data collection and analysis. Third, we will introduce Waterdunen as an ecology of practices and share its origin, identify the practices involved and provide a timeline of the most important developments. Fourth, we will show how particular cultural-discursive, material-economic and socio-political arrangements influenced the Waterdunen project. We end with a brief discussion and conclusion.

4.2. Ecology of Practices

According to Nicolini (2012: 219), a practice is “real-time doing and saying something in a specific place and time”. Generally, practices can be understood as routinized ‘doings and sayings’ performed by knowledgeable and capable human actors, also referred to as ‘carriers of the practice’, involving material objects and infrastructures. In other words, “focusing on practices is thus taking the social and material doing (of something: doing is never objectless) as the main focus of inquiry” (ibid: 221). Kemmis and Brennan Kemmis (2014) describe practices as socially established cooperative human activities that besides ‘doings’ and ‘sayings’ also involve relatings: the ways in which people relate to one another and the world. These ‘doings’, ‘sayings’ and ‘relatings’ ‘hang together’ in characteristic ways in a distinctive ‘project’ (Rönnerman & Kemmis, 2016).

For Kemmis et al. (2013) and Kemmis and Mahon (2017) ‘doings and sayings’ imply relationships between people and things, organized and arranged in time and space. The sayings, doings and relatings of a particular practice are shaped by those of other practices. For example, the words used in one practice may become the words of another practice. In this way, connections between practices are constantly formed, continually changing in small and occasionally bigger ways.

In order to analyse the interdependent relations between practices, Kemmis et al. (2013) introduce the concept of ‘ecologies of practice’. Processes in which practices are bundled or unbundled take place in an ecology of practices. These will not only change the ecology of practices but also the practices themselves. Moreover, according to Kemmis and Grootenboer (2008), practices are embedded in ‘practice architectures’ which are the cultural-discursive, material-economic, and social-political orders and arrangements that prefigure and shape the content and conduct of a practice, shaping the distinctive ‘sayings’, ‘doings’ and ‘relatings’ of a particular kind of practice (Kemmis et al., 2013). These arrangements make practices possible; they are enabling and constraining preconditions for the conduct of practices. So practices “are not merely set in, but always already shaped by, the particular historical and material conditions that exist in particular localities or sites at particular moments” (Kemmis et al., 2013: 33). These three arrangements are brought to a site and jointly compose the practice architectures. The cultural-discursive arrangements make the sayings of the practice possible, through the medium of language and in semantic space. The focus is on what is said in and about the practice. The material-economic arrangements make the doings of the practice possible by emphasizing what is done in the practice and with what material arrangements and set-ups. The socio-political arrangements make the relatings of a practice possible; the study of which concentrates on how people relate to one another and the world, and on relations of power (Rönnerman & Kemmis, 2016).

The Waterdunen project, seen as coastal development process to be realized through the bundling and unbundling of involved practices, is not just a matter of changing the understandings (cf. sayings), skills, and capabilities (cf. doings) or values and norms of associated practitioners, but also means that the practice architectures that enable and constrain practitioners’ actions and interactions need to change (Kemmis & Grootenboer, 2008). In the following, we will show how dynamic interactions between the practice architectures of spatial planning, coastal defence, salt-water nature development, recreation, holidaying, dwelling and farming affected bundling and especially unbundling. We do this by examining the cultural-discursive, material-economic and socio-political arrangements that underlie the challenges of the bundling and unbundling, which characterize this development process.

4.3. Materials and Methods

Practice theory invites us to look at how practices related to the Waterdunen project changed the ecology of practices. It allows to see how practices are prefigured and shaped the development process. To understand Waterdunen in terms of a changing ecology of practices, the first author combined interviews with key informants with desk research.

First, data was collected by means of 682 newspaper articles, which were published between April 2004 and October 2016. The large majority of these articles were printed or shared online in regional newspapers ‘PZC’ and ‘BNdeStem’. All these newspaper articles covered the Waterdunen project, with many of them having a complete, explicit focus and a specific title addressing particular aspects of Waterdunen, its scope, development and challenges.

The large amount of regional news items allowed the scanning and selection of key informants. Whereas obviously more people were involved in the development of Waterdunen, nine key informants representing governmental agencies, NGOs and action groups were purposefully selected (see table 4.1. for a more detailed overview of the interviewed key informants). These key informants were often mentioned or cited in newspaper articles and played a role for several years during the project. In selecting, the aim was to welcome a variety of involved organizations to share their thoughts and experiences. Since the project had evoked heated debates over the years, people were hesitant to be interviewed. In relation to the sensitivity of the topic, a few of the approached informants replied that all had been said in the media already and that they did not want to go over the ins and outs again.

Table 4.1. Overview of 9 key informants

#	Organisation	Role/concern
1	Regional state government	Project leader Waterdunen
2	Molecaten Holiday Parks	Director
3	Werkgroep Groede/ Waterdunen	Co-chair work group in favour of Waterdunen
4	Vrienden van Waterdunen NEE!!!	Chair work group against Waterdunen
5	Regional farmers association	Co-chair, farmer in the larger region
6	Municipality of Sluis	Alderman
7	Rijkswaterstaat	Project coordinator
8	Rijkswaterstaat/Freelance advisor	Project consultant, mediator
9	Regional state government	Regional deputy

In addition to analysing newspaper articles and interviewing the key informants, 57 project communications, studies and reports were examined, which were available online on either Waterdunen’s own website or the website of the province of Zeeland. Besides these reports, three research projects focusing in Waterdunen (see Begijn, 2011; Brouwer & Biermann, 2011; Groot et al., 2014) were also examined.

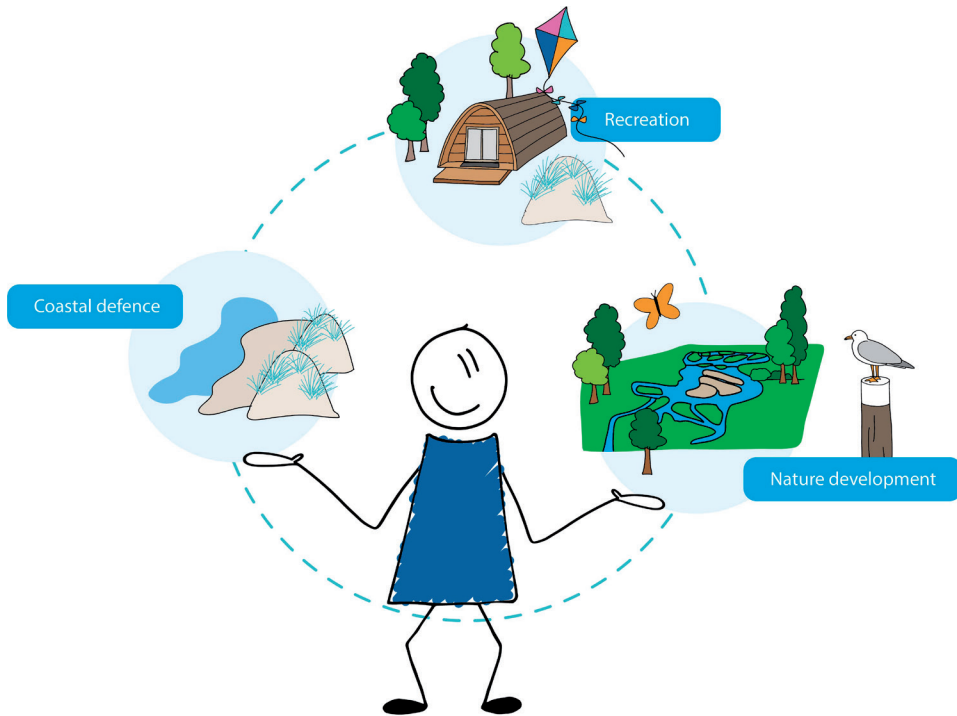
In this study, the operationalisation of practice theory addresses the doings and sayings of the practices involved in Waterdunen and how they hang together in an ecology of practice. In this, making and breaking links between practices of coastal defence, salt-water nature development, recreation and tourism, dwelling and farming were studied.

Practice theory is a package of theory, method and vocabulary, with its own affordances and limitations. By defining practices and tracing connections between practices, the research focus is on how these practices developed and how they affected the developmental processes. It enabled the unfolding of an ecology of practices. Central questions in interviews and desk research concentrated on the development of the Waterdunen project in general, and addressed for example in specific: What was most challenging in the development process and why? How were challenges overcome? Which practitioners, practices, behaviours and interests played an important role in the process? How and why? Which aspects hindered or furthered the project on which moments? To what extent did commitment to and opinions about Waterdunen change? What were essential elements and relations between practices and what makes them so characteristic? The transcribed interviews, media articles and project documents together allowed to paint a picture on the involved practices and how the ecology changed over time.

All collected data was coded and analysed using NVivo12. The interviews, newspaper articles and project documents enabled to differentiate between several periods of the Waterdunen process, each of them marked by a clear making or breaking of links between practices. In the data analysis, we first focused on writing a thick description of the most significant events in the project. Using these events, we created a timeline showing the Waterdunen project in terms of milestone events in the process. Besides the chronological description, a-priori coding was used to analyse characteristics of involved practices, meanings, sayings, doings, materials, and their relations to other practices. In combination with in vivo coding the ecology of practices was composed, followed by posteriori coding on the cultural-discursive, material-economic, and social-political arrangements.

4.4. Waterdunen as an Ecology of Practices

Before the introduction of the Waterdunen project, the designated and surrounding areas already could be seen as an ecology of practices. By residing in their houses and living their lives in the area, dwelling of inhabitants in the polders was closely connected to the area's farming practices; often farming was done by the same practitioners or they were relatives of each other. As such, dwelling symbolizes the individual's anchoring in the environment. Recreation practices by inhabitants, but also tourists staying in the region, consisted of cycling, hiking or enjoying the seaside.



Once realized, the project of Waterdunen aimed to offer a combination of connections between recreation, holidaying and salt-water nature development. In addition, it was envisioned to also develop experiential saline agricultural farming. By joining forces, the private initiators and governmental actors imagined an area from which both traditional farming and dwelling would be banished – or in our terms - unbundled. So the basic idea was to bundle recreation, holidaying, salt-water nature development and, to a minor extent, saline farming, whereas dwelling and farming needed to be unbundled. As this study will show, the practice of coastal defence played an essential role in bundling, as fostered by the practice of spatial planning.

4.4.1. *Waterdunen Timeline*

The following brief overview highlights the most significant events:

- In April 2004, an article was published in the local newspaper informing its readers about Waterdunen. Nature conservation organization ‘Het Zeeuwse Landschap’ shared their vision of approximately 300 square kilometres of nature and recreation where at that point in time there were farms and houses;
- In October 2005, the combination with coastal defence became evident, as shared in the media and related to the idea of Het Zeeuwse Landschap. It also became clear that the existing, family owned, campsite De Napoleonhoeve would disappear to make room land inwards for the strengthening of coastal defences. A new holiday park would be created on 40 square kilometres with camping facilities in the dunes and 400 recreational units. Another 100 square kilometres would be allocated for recreational nature, and 100 to 150 square kilometres would be allocated for salt-water nature development; for which tidal culverts would be constructed to allow salt water to flow in;
- In December 2005, the Molencatengroep (a tourism firm) that bought campsite De Napoleonhoeve with the objective to realize a new and unique holiday park, Het Zeeuws Landschap, Rijkswaterstaat, the province of Zeeland, the municipality of Sluis and Waterschap ZeeuwsVlaanderen signed a collaboration agreement, excluding the farmers. The farmers in the area united themselves and warned that they would not sell their land;
- In June 2007, the Molecatengroep, Het Zeeuws Landschap, the province of Zeeland and the municipality of Sluis signed an agreement in which they agreed on the level of ambition and cooperation, and the division of tasks, costs, responsibilities and financial resources. The total project investment was calculated to be between € 173 and 193 million, and required 290 square kilometres of agricultural lands;
- In October 2008, the term ‘integration plan’ was introduced, which would allow for land expropriation if voluntarily selling could not be realized;
- In November 2008, the provincial government agreed on taking over coordination of the Waterdunen project from the local municipality, due to the scope and relevance of the project;
- In September 2010, almost half of the 350 square kilometres of land was in possession of the regional state authorities;

- In December 2010, the national government approved the integration plan, despite the many protests throughout the years and questions concerning the development procedure and land prices paid;
- In January 2011, the request to expropriate land was filed, something that was possible now that the integration plan was approved;
- In March 2011, permanent campers of campsite De Napoleonhoeve were informed that they had to leave the premises by the end of 2012, as coastal defence preparation works would start;
- In November 2012, almost all land was transferred. Shortly after, it was announced that the work would start in the summer of 2013 and that it would take three year to complete the coastal defence works and develop the nature;
- Between 2013 and 2019, the campsite was demolished and land preparation took place, existing roads were deconstructed, explosives were found and cleared, water channels created and the new landscape was developed. It took longer than three years due to challenges in land works and funding;
- Defence works were completed in the beginning of 2019, including the tidal culvert, the creation of sand dunes, landscaping that directs the in- and outflow, and a surrounding channel around it to prevent salt water from seeping into the ground water;
- In the remaining of 2019, there were no physical signs of the holiday resort yet, and the area was not open to the public. The basis for the planned landscapes had been realized.
- In 2022, visitors are allowed in the Waterdunen area to enjoy nature on several hiking tracks. Molecaten is designing the holiday park. The tidal culvert is operational, allowing tidal currents to flow in and out of the area that enables the salt-water nature development

Changing the ecology of practices in order to realize Waterdunen was the result of not only the bundling but also the unbundling of associated practices. Especially the unbundling of agricultural farming practices proved to be a challenging and lengthy process.

4.5. Arrangements in Waterdunen

We will now discuss this coastal development process in terms of which and how cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political arrangements influenced the Waterdunen project.

4.5.1. Cultural-Discursive

Throughout the years the need for Waterdunen and its specific development has been understood and discussed by proponents and opponents using a number of – mostly opposite – arguments, especially related to the future of farming, nature development, coastal defence and the inflow of salty water. As a result, particular ways of ‘sayings’ and ‘thinkings’ have affected processes of bundling and unbundling.

Those in favour stated in (policy) documents and during meetings that Waterdunen would bring a combination of different benefits (see for example Provincie Zeeland, 2010). They argued that the unique nature development combined with recreational possibilities would improve the quality of life of those living close enough to frequently visit the area. The project was also believed to attract tourists, because of the new accommodations, but also because of all kinds of other facilities for tourists in the vicinity. The development and exploitation of Waterdunen would lead to new jobs and economic spin-off in the region. From this point of view, those in favour of the project preferred tourism and recreation linked with nature development to arable farming and dwelling. However, the farmers and to some extent also the local residents challenged the unbundling of arable farming in the Waterdunen project, as they depended on these lands for their livelihoods.

One reader of the local newspaper wrote:

Keep in mind that we depend on farmers, or do you also have the idea that the milk, potatoes and vegetables only come from the supermarket? (De Wever, 8 May, 2009)

Farmers and residents also challenged the unbundling, and more importantly, because they were emotionally attached to these lands. For them farming was directly related to their identity of being a ‘Zeeuw’ or a ‘farmer’. They lived and farmed on the same lands as their parents and grandparents before them. As interviewee #5 said:

I know what my grandfather would have said if they wanted to expropriate his lands: “These lands are mine, as well as of my ancestors.” It does not really matter what price is paid for those lands, it is a matter of emotions._

Obviously, this ‘thinking’ was challenged by those in favour of Waterdunen, who

believed that the traditional ways of agricultural farming were no longer feasible. In their view, mechanization and technological innovations negatively influenced the economic value of farming. Consequently, an increasingly small number of people are employed in farming. An interviewed alderman (#6) for example argued:

Farming in general is fine, but in economic sense... Related to agricultural mechanization, there is little labour involved. Yes, a few contracting companies and that's it. Before, indeed every farmer employed 20 to 25 people, certainly in high season. If you drive around in the area now, you see large machines on land and sometimes a chauffeur, but sometimes you also only have machines without a driver.

Next, but related, is the debate on the value of 'nature' itself. For those opposed to Waterdunen, polders and farming represented nature. In their opinion, all nature in this area was man-made anyway. Waterdunen for the sake of 'true' nature development was therefore contested.

Moreover, because of the extreme flood in 1953 for people in Zeeland coastal security is a very important issue. Therefore, there was a strong debate about the best strategy in terms of efficiency as well as aesthetics. The general belief in the media and confirmed by basically all informants was that simply reinforcing the existing dykes would probably be the most efficient in terms of costs and time, but this would also lead to a less appealing landscape. Creating dunes, including a tidal culvert that allows seawater to flood in, would be more challenging but – as believed by those in favour of Waterdunen – much more appealing. Combining this aesthetics with recreation, making the 'weak link' in the Dutch coastal defence strong again and creating an area for nature development behind the dykes, seemed a 'win-win-win' situation to them.

Related to nature development the discussion focused on the tidal culvert and the inflow of salt water. For 'Zeeuwse' residents in general, it means a lot that the lands have been won from the sea. The reclamation and cultivation of these lands has long been part of their history and as such part of their cultural identity. The flooding of large parts of Zeeland in 1953 resulted in even stronger emotional and symbolic ties to the land. The idea of allowing water to flow through the dykes into 'the land' behind it made them feel uncomfortable. For this reason, some of those opposed to the project argued that Waterdunen is a form of depoldering, while the definition of depoldering is to return land to the sea permanently. People in Zeeland are proud at earlier land reclamations. A tidal culvert does allow the inflow of salt water, but in a regulated manner. Inflow of salt water includes the possibility of salinization, not only in the designated area but also of surrounding farmlands, thus threatening the quality of the soil and traditional farming practices. In modern farming, it is possible to use saline resources but that type

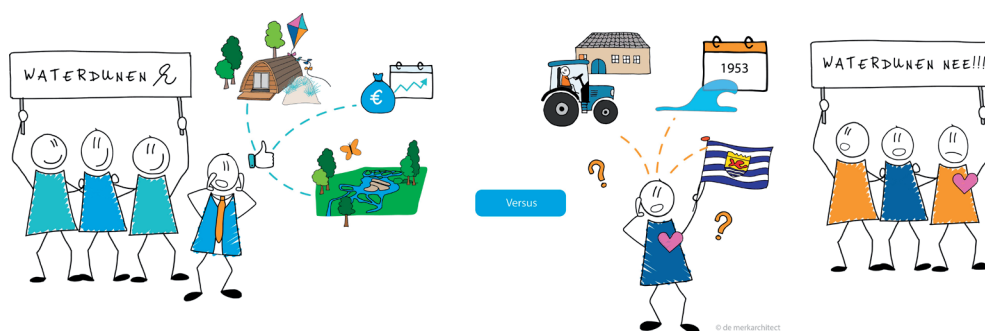
of agriculture did not seem to be an option because of the wish of farmers and residents to keep salt water (the sea) out of their polders. As the interviewed deputy (#9) argued:

Salt water on agricultural lands, that is like cursing in church.

The farmers who own land in the Waterdunen development area united and were represented by one of these owners; He confirmed the perception above in the newspaper (Van der Slikke, in Berkelder, 2008) and related it to the general objections against Waterdunen:

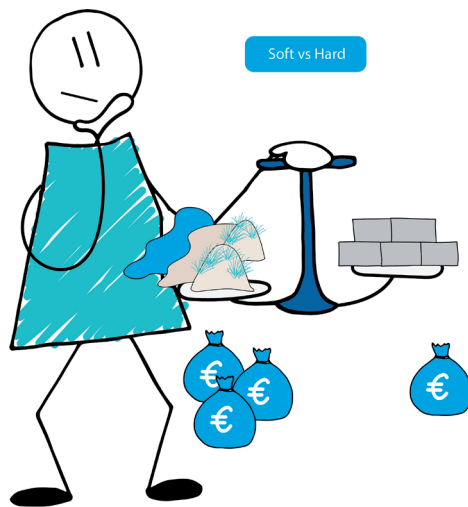
We have the same principle objections as other opponents of depoldering. We don't see anything in salt water. Furthermore, our farms, or parts of it, need to disappear.

One last - and highly important - issue that especially challenged the unbundling of practices in order to realize Waterdunen was the extent of voluntariness of land transfers. In the first few years, it was not clear to farmers which part of the land was included in the Waterdunen project. The search for land area was not defined in spatial planning, also to prevent land speculation. This lack of clarity made farmers very unsure about whether to invest or not. Farmers were partly reassured because they thought that if land was not voluntarily sold, Waterdunen would not be realized. As it was somewhat a secret which lands were needed and bought for the project, it was the things that were not made explicit that created the feeling of discomfort with farmers. In short, those in favour of Waterdunen, focussed in their 'sayings' and 'thinkings' on (economic) benefits and the importance for coastal defence. Opponents, instead, focussed on the cultural identity and their relation to the land. This has mainly affected the speed and process of unbundling farming practices.



4.5.2. Material-Economic

Different kinds of material-economic arrangements prefigured the ways in which Waterdunen developed. First, the funding and the deadline for their allocation determined which lands were bought and when. Once lands were obtained, the construction of coastal defence works could start, and so could the landscaping for nature and recreation development. As a first step, all lands had to be transferred from private owners to the public authorities. The Dutch government allocated the funds for the coastal defence works. The money available allowed other parties such as Molecaten – a private tourism company – and Het Zeeuwse Landschap – a private nature conservation organization – to invest in the project as envisioned. People questioning Waterdunen accused authorities of using public funds (for coastal defence) to support the development of commercial activities (recreation and tourism, but also nature development), while this money could be spent elsewhere as well.



Hullu (2010:10), in her personal essay on how she as part of a farming family owning a piece of land in the designated area felt about the project, argued:

For the Waterdunen project, many millions of euros of public money are used. As a large part of the population does not support the project and austerity measures are needed in many areas, the government should reconsider funding this project.

Another local resident also expressed his or her doubts concerning funding in the local newspaper:

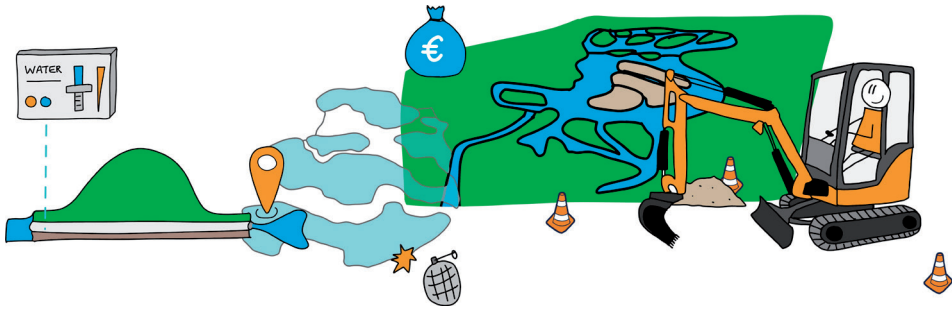
An ‘economic’ impulse for the area, according to the Provincial Government, but a large part of the population does not support it. Long live democracy! The West Zeeland-Flemish population and many tourists love the polders as they are now! Molecaten contributes to only part of the costs, totalling hundreds of millions of euros, but how much will they receive for moving the campsite? After all, Molecaten does not have to move for the sake of coastal enforcement. The budget is filled with subsidies, so your and my money. This ‘new nature’ must stop, we are fed up with it in the region. But we are clearly a rich country and we can afford to spoil. (D’Hont, 2009)

Bundling coastal defence, nature and tourism development appeared to be costly. Although funding was under pressure from time to time, the availability of money never had a directly negative effect on the process. Having unexpected costs was part of the calculated budget and finding ways to receive additional funding also seemed to be an accepted element for those in favour. In a response to the negative publicity about the funding, a reaction that listed the facts about the financial situation of Waterdunen was shared on their site:

The deficit is substantial and yet relatively limited, namely around 3.5% of the total realization costs. The solution to this deficiency is therefore expected to have a minimal effect on the ambition and quality of Waterdunen. The financial setback will not undermine the added value that Waterdunen has for Zeeland (Waterdunen, 2015).

Reports discussing financial resources affected the public debate; as a result some opponents adopted a ‘look, I told you so, it is an awful project’ attitude.

After nine years of discussions and preparations, coastal defence works and major landscaping of the Waterdunen finally started, therewith profoundly changing the area. Roads were closed and dunes were created. A canal surrounding Waterdunen was created to act as a buffer and prevent salinization of surrounding areas. As it took a long time to prepare the land before parts of it could be transferred to the private tourism entrepreneur Molecaten to build their holiday resort, some residents and politicians wondered whether Molecaten would still be in the picture at all. In this period, Molecaten explained they were still interested, and started to think about the park’s outline. For a long time, there were uncertainties and doubts about the actual holiday park and its facilities (Rozendaal, 2018).



4.5.3. Social-Political

Our analysis showed that three socio-political mechanisms have played an important role in the processes of bundling and unbundling. The first mechanism is mediation, which was used to try to convince farmers to sell their land to the government. The second mechanism was the formation of a local protest group against Waterdunen. The third mechanism was the transfer of responsibilities from the local to the regional government.

During the course of the project development, different rounds of mediation took place. The main reason for this was that from the start farmers were not well informed about the main ideas, objectives and most importantly the envisioned area of where Waterdunen was to be realized. To be able to farm farmers needed to know, at least to some extent, what the future would entail. This (lack of clear) information provided by the government was also noticed by residents. Van Doorn (2009), for example, wrote the following in the local newspaper:

If the government parties involved only possessed half of the clarity, firmness and frankness of the farmers, Waterdunen would already have been settled. But no, the planners want to comply with earlier agreements, are going to say goodbye to voluntariness and inform citizens and politicians incompletely. And people are tired of that behaviour.

The local council was also not completely open about Waterdunen, as they feared that this could lead to land speculation, which would make it more difficult to obtain lands. Mediation therefore primarily focused on explaining the project and clarifying the scope of the project in order to convince farmers to voluntarily sell their land. Different governmental actors and Molecaten tried, but all without success. Consultants related to the Dienst Landelijk Gebied (DLG, or Government Service for Sustainable Rural Development) tried to mediate but their 'sayings and doings' did not match those of the

farmers. The director of Molecaten played a role in the early years by trying to mediate and convince the farmers. Following, those opposed to the project also addressed him personally, sometimes in a not so respectful manner. The Waterschap (Water Authority) also played a role in mediation; a less contested one yet still with the same aim. It was seen as the state's executor of the land work developments, therewith also practicing spatial development but with less decision-making power.

Secondly, a number of inhabitants organized themselves in a local action group: 'Waterdunen Nee!' ('nee' means 'no'). When some bits of the Waterdunen project ideas became public, residents gradually formed an opinion about the many aspects this project entailed. One obvious one was whether Waterdunen would be a form of depoldering or not. People shared their opinions publicly and widely, for example by means of the 'readers write' section in the local newspaper, thus stimulating public debate. Throughout the years, people were pressured to take a stand in whether Waterdunen was in fact depoldering, but also whether this type of coastal defence was worth all the hassle. Those opposed to Waterdunen expressed their dissatisfaction with local political doings. This led to reactions by those in favour of Waterdunen; those who agreed with the economic impulse of Waterdunen, its promises for recreation or its aesthetics. This also meant they were quickly labelled as not only being in favour of Waterdunen, but also as being 'against farming'.

Residents who supported Waterdunen also tried to have some influence on the development process and the design of the area. In order to do so, they organized information meetings and acquainted themselves with potential experts. Those against, however, were more concerned with mobilizing other residents in an action group called 'Waterdunen Nee'. For them, it was all about influencing politicians, hoping to change, slow down or entirely stop the development of Waterdunen. The interviewed chairman of this action group (#4) reflects:

The farmers really did put up a fight, and we and members of the Waterdunen NEE!!! protest group tried to help them. Every now and then we organized certain protest campaigns.

The opponents first focused on local politics, but were forced to address the provincial council and its politicians, when the project was scaled up and responsibilities were transferred from the local to the provincial government.

Thirdly, the up scaling from local governmental bodies to provincial ones was based on the idea that locally politicians and residents were too divided to proceed efficiently, if at all and farmers were not willing to sell their land voluntary. Therefore, the regional

government took over the coordination of spatial planning activities related to bundling and unbundling. The director of Molecaten argued that the municipality's alderman was probably happy with the transition as he could now point to the province when people disagreed with their decisions. In the same line of thought, mediating project consultant (#8) explains:

Coastal strengthening was not the discussion, but buying 300 square kilometres of land and allowing salt water in was. It would create much resistance, which could not be solved by the local council. They did not want to 'burn their fingers on this project' and dropped out.

A more shared idea is, however, that it was necessary to scale up, because the project of Waterdunen turned out to be more important in terms of societal and economic impact than previously expected or anticipated by the local governmental actors. In addition, local and provincial interviewees stated that the provincial government was more experienced in managing projects of this particular scale and therefore better in completing it in time for the deadline relating to the coastal defence funds.

It is important to highlight that the provincial council is seated in Middelburg, the provincial capital and located on one of Zeeland's former isles, which one can only reach by driving through a 7-kilometre tunnel under the Westerschelde river. In this sense, this transfer did therefore not only increase the geographical distance but also the emotional distance. An often-shared public opinion in the Waterdunen region was that the provincial government did not really care for this part of Zeeland because it was too far away, divided by the Westerschelde and only reachable via either Antwerp (Belgium), a long tunnel, or a ferry.

Because of this up scaling to the provincial level and the introduction of a new legal instrument, namely a so-called integration plan, relationships between authorities and those involved with farming became even more strained. An integration plan indicates what activities are allowed where, and could replace (parts) of local destination plans. Basically, these plans allow to bypass local plans and interests to serve a higher interest. This integration plan became part of the Waterdunen project and was first mentioned in 2008 as for years, the process of obtaining grounds voluntarily dragged on. In 2010 the province decided to actually use this plan as instrument that could speed up the process of land ownership transfer.

A national budget was allocated to strengthen the coastline in such a way that it would fit with the Waterdunen project vision. For example, it could be used for the prospect of salt-water inundation, which was welcomed, as it would result in 'unique nature'. However, in order to obtain those funds, all required lands had to be obtained by a certain date. This land possession deadline meant that if the lands for Waterdunen were not obtained, alternative defence works had to be carried out in order not to lose the available budget. In

order for such a plan to be approved by the national government, and to allow eventually expropriation, it had to demonstrate societal urgency. The province’s argument was the need for coastal defence in combination with the expected economic impulse of Waterdunen. A local resident (Rosendaal, 2009) shared thoughts on this situation in the local newspaper, in between the moments of mentioning and actually using the integration plan:

Now that the province has established the pre-emptive right to the land in the Waterdunen plan, the position of the farmers has deteriorated further. The province leaves no stone unturned to force the landowners to cooperate in this idiotic depoldering. Directors also do not consider agreements made.

Clearly, the ‘agreements made’ as mentioned by this reader referred to the voluntarily land transfer. It was publicly shared that the provincial government would write the integration plan, if not only to pressure the voluntarily transferring of the grounds.

After the integration plan was submitted, relationships between the provincial governmental actors, the farmers and the residents protesting against Waterdunen became even tenser as now it became clear that land would no longer be transferred voluntarily but could also be expropriated. Again, differences in the way people valued the agricultural lands, as well as their understanding of this project and whether or not it was necessary resulted in various protests. The implementation of the plan was delayed because not all required documents were included. In the meantime, questions were raised about the price at which land was sold and whether this could be seen as government aid. Those against Waterdunen voiced their opinion, but they did not have the power to really influence decision-making. In general, the farmers’ representative and the chair of the local protest group felt they were not or not seriously being heard. Eventually in December 2010, the Dutch government approved the integration plan, therewith giving the provincial authorities the power to expropriate grounds when and where necessary. With expropriation now being an option, farmers increasingly sold their land voluntarily. The interviewed project leader (#1) of that time remembers:

With eleven out of the twelve landowners we came to an agreement, using the leverage of possible expropriation. Despite the possibility of actual expropriation, it was not necessary, as the offer they received was higher than if they would let it get to the final point.

One piece of land was expropriated because it entailed legal and tax benefits for the owners and one other part was expropriated just as an experiment to find out what the price would be. Once lands were transferred, no other particular and important socio-political mechanisms were identified in the processes of bundling and unbundling, since from then onwards it was (only) a matter of preparing the land works and building the holiday park.



4.6. Discussion

This article aimed to contribute theoretically as well as empirically to our understanding of coastal destination development processes by examining the Waterdunen project in Zeeland, the Netherlands. In order to uncover interconnections between practices, we made an analysis of the cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political arrangements involved. By showing how these arrangements affected change within the ecology of related practices, we not only gained a better understanding of how coastal developments may take place, but also made the following contributions to the existing literature.

First, as the case of Waterdunen shows, practices depend and are conditioned and shaped by one another. In the Waterdunen project, practices of salt-water nature development, coastal defence, and recreation and tourism ‘fed’ or enabled each other. As Kemmis et al. (2013) explain, to make a project possible, the sayings, doings and relatings of one practice are shaped by and influencing the sayings, doings and relatings of another practice. Therefore, it is essential to make the ‘relatings’ and the ‘hanging together’ of practices explicit (Kemmis et al. ,2013). Based on our analysis we argue that using an ecology of practices approach seems promising to also understand other coastal zone transformations. It gives a more profound insight than just focusing on co-ordination, co-operation, and concertation as part of Integrated Coastal Zone Management (ICZM) (Ernoul & Wardell-Johnsons, 2013) as coastal zones are home to a variety of practices, both materially and symbolically. Whereas ICZM emphasizes implementation and management, and does not focus on understanding processes of change and transformation, we suggest to engage with practice theory as an alternative, yet promising and functional method of enquiry.

Second, this article also illustrated how practice-based perspectives can generate in-depth insights for policymaking and evaluation, based on the understanding that policy interventions only “have effect (some intended, some not) within and as part of the ongoing dynamics of practice” (Shove et al, 2012, p. 145). In our analysis of the Waterdunen project, we showed that socio-political arrangements interfere with, and

sometimes dominate cultural-discursive and economic-material arrangements. At the start of a project like Waterdunen, alignment of a variety of practices necessitates a shared vision, a shared idea of how a destination should be changed and, most importantly, for which reason (cf. Bagiran Ozseker, 2019).

In the case of Waterdunen, clearly not all practitioners agreed on the reasoning behind the project. Aligning these conflicting perceptions required mediation, competent management, and financial or other forms of compensation. But as this was unsuccessful, the only way forward seemed to be to change the rules through the development of an integration plan. This was made possible when the government scaled up the project from local governmental bodies to regional ones, showing the dominance of the socio-political arrangement at this stage. Without the required lands or any sign of being able to acquire these any time soon, the process of Waterdunen was running into a dead end. However, due to a change of law at the regional level it eventually became possible to produce an integration plan that even allowed expropriation, which rarely happens in the Netherlands. Once the plan got government approval, the threat of expropriation alone was enough to make farmers sell most of the required lands. However, change of ownership of land for the public interest (Bergsten et al., 2018) not only involves rules, regulations and money but also involves personal and emotional connections to – in this case – farms, land and the history of the region emphasizing the importance of cultural-discursive arrangements.

Waterdunen showed that personal connections and emotions of farmers that needed to give up their land, homes and farming organizations played an important role in realizing this coastal development. Furthermore, emotional connections of residents in relation to depolderisation and allowing salt water flooding in certainly did not help in creating local support. The farm lands to be transferred and developed into new nature were – similar to Bergsten’s et al. (2018) study in the context of a forest - not only seen as commercial or legal entities. The farmers and controversies concerning expropriation and depoldering show, just like Oian and Skogen’s (2015) study on local hunters, that property is as much about relationships between people as it is about relationships between the owner and what is owned. Details about the procedures and (lack of) clear communication between those who own(ed) land and those that sought to own land in Waterdunen gave insight in the state and progress of these relationships are therefore relevant to understand in future policy-making and process management.

Third, our study also showed that the use of practice theory in general and an ecology of practices approach in particular - when studying in this case coastal development processes - also has its limitations. These type of development processes can take many years to unfold. Although shadowing or even participating in the bundling and unbundling

while it happens would provide better and more accurate insights, it is doubtful whether scholars might find themselves lucky enough to be in this position. Time and funding normally lack. For this reason, reconstructing a journey like the Waterdunen project depends on the memories of key actors and published accounts over time. Nevertheless, further research could still, however, use a similar ecology of practices approach and see how processes of tourism and recreation development elsewhere unfold. It would be especially interesting to compare the extent to which socio-political arrangements also elsewhere dominate over cultural-discursive and economic-material arrangements. Comparisons of various cases might be able to illustrate similarities and differences in development processes and how these may be patterned in a particular arrangement, variety and type of practices or elements of practices.

4.7. Conclusion

In this article we discussed the development of a coastal development project called Waterdunen in terms of an ecology of practices. In this ecology coastal defence, nature conservation, tourism and recreation, living and farming were entangled in complex processes of bundling and unbundling. Only when the provincial government agreed on taking over coordination of the Waterdunen project from the local municipality, the development of the project really could take off. In terms of practice arrangements (Kemmis and Grootenboer, 2008) socio-political arrangements not only interfered with, but also dominated cultural-discursive and economic-material arrangements.

After a lengthy and challenging process of almost 20 years, Waterdunen is now materializing. The tidal culvert and channels are in place, allowing salt water to flood in the area. The tidal dynamics allow nature to develop, behind a coastline that is strong enough to survive future storms. Hiking trails are created and the area is open to visitors. Molecaten owns a part of the land and prepares the construction of their holiday park .

Studying coastal zone land use planning and development in terms of ecologies of practices – as we did in this article - not only makes scientifically sense but also has managerial implications. Our study suggests that policymakers and managers are better off when they move beyond a mere description of stakeholders, their interests and powers at play and instead approach policy in a more modest and subtle way by trying to understand the more fundamental nature of the processes they seek to influence. Analysing how practices co-exist, overlap or interfere with one another invites more deliberate interventions also taking care of the cultural-discursive arrangements that underlie most social practices. By doing so, practice theories can be used as an alternative, yet interesting and promising mode of enquiry in for example also destination and participatory land use planning.

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*‘The Sea, once it casts its spell,
holds one in its net of wonder forever’*
– **Jacques Cousteau**

5

Chapter 5

Conclusion and Discussion



In this thesis, practice theory is used to examine coastal tourism destination development in the province of Zeeland, the Netherlands. Zeeland is known for its coastal leisure and tourism activities, which contribute greatly to the regional economy. Over decades, the province has seen both growth and stagnation in the number of visitors. Other coastal tourism destinations in northwest Europe face(d) similar challenges as Zeeland in the quest to continuously attract a balanced number of visitors. Studies focusing on these coastal tourism destination developments are often traditional and thus have limitations. Saraniemi and Kylänen (2011) suggest that traditional approaches, methods and models do not give a sufficient overview of how complex tourism destinations and their development really are, and that these approaches are not sufficient to obtain a thorough understanding. For this reason, in this thesis I turned to a socio-cultural approach to destination development and used practice theory to study processes of development across three cases: 1) the lifestyle sport of kiteboarding; 2) the Zeelandpas destination card, and; 3) the recreation project of Waterdunen.

In searching for a middle ground between agency and structure (Hargreaves, 2011), I followed work on practice theory by Reckwitz (2002), Schatzki (1996, 2002), Shove et al. (2012) and Warde (2005). In the three presented cases, I showed how coastal tourism destination development can be studied as the bundling of practices. In the following paragraphs, I will conclude this thesis by answering the sub research questions that together allow an answer to the main research question:

How does the use of practice theory offer an understanding of coastal tourism destination development?

After answering the sub-research questions, I will discuss the relevancy of practice theory for coastal tourism destination development research and answer the main research question. This will be followed by a discussion on methodological considerations when using practice theory. This chapter and thesis concludes with a discussion of regional implications of shared insights for the province of Zeeland, which includes recommendations for stakeholders in other coastal regions.

5.1. Explaining coastal tourism destination development through practice theory

Before discussing the relevancy of practice theory and answering the main research question, answers to the three sub research questions are provided, as related to the three case studies.

5.1.1. *How did the lifestyle sport kiteboarding develop as a social practice?*

To better understand the development of kiteboarding and its current net of surrounding challenges, I alternated between a ‘zooming in’ and ‘zooming out’ approach. By doing so, I examined the development of kiteboarding as a routinized type of behaviour; a social practice. By ‘zooming in’ I showed how kiteboarding involves the active and performative integration of particular meanings – especially an exhilarating ‘sensation of freedom’ –, materials and competences, which have to be learned in order to become a practitioner. Shove et al.’s (2012) conceptual framework provided an insightful approach for understanding changes in practices over time, by analysing changes in, and interactions among, these materials, meanings and competences. Zooming in on kiteboarding disclosed ‘natural high’, ‘freedom’, and ‘excitement’ as emotions related to kiteboarding. Kiteboarders also treasure the natural environment, as it reduces stress and sets practitioners free.

The sport requires that kiteboarders are sufficiently competent and use the right materials. This was facilitated by the invention of new materials, technological innovations and advanced competences which made the sport more safe, popular and accessible. Changes to any of the elements of kiteboarding (materials, competences and meanings) have eventually led to sub-disciplines: freeride, foiling, waving, big air and freestyle. While it does remain a continuous effort to make safety aspects and regulations a shared understanding and part of the kiteboarding language, social media certainly supports this. The kiteboard community stimulates the (online) sharing of information, for example about locations, wind conditions, trick tutorials and gear.

‘Zooming out’ allowed me to examine the relations between kiteboarding and other practices, such as swimming, lifesaving procedures and nature conservation. A practice like kiteboarding does not happen in isolation, as it is constrained and enabled by other practices and consequently cannot be carried out independently of other practices (Nicolini, 2012). On warm days with strong winds, kiteboarders and swimmers might get in each other’s way, and kiteboarding can also conflict with bathing and fishing. Defined spatial zones help prevent kiteboarders from moving too close to these other recreationists as well as other water sport practitioners, such as wave- or windsurfers.

The emerging kiteboard disciplines combined with a growing number of practitioners also require more space, which is not easily available due to regulations associated with nature conservation. Some spots in Zeeland have already been closed due to the supposed impact on nature. Consequently, it seems that adjusting regulations in one spot affects the use and crowdedness in other spots. In terms of development in relation to other practices, it was shown that lifesaving procedures are now somewhat integrated in the practice of kiteboarding, while the relation with nature conservation is still rather tense.

Changing the existing regulations that define where and when to practice kiteboarding has proved to be a challenging and slow process.

5.1.2. How did the destination card Zeelandpas, as a connecting practice, bundle existing practices?

In the second case study I traced how a connecting practice like the Zeelandpas tries to bundle other practices and examined the conditions that support or hinder the bundling processes. The Zeelandpas destination card combined destination branding with conducting market research and facilitating public transportation. The process of bundling distinct practices was full of obstacles: creating a common understanding, clear rules and a shared way of implementing was arduous. Organizational principles such as teleo-affective structures, general and practical understandings and rules were partly missing because meanings, materials and competences of the practices to be bundled through the destination card were too diverse.

Four different periods in the bundling of practices were defined during which the various practitioners hardly succeeded in overcoming differences in end goals. Also, there was a constant struggle to explain each other's reasoning, and to try to match and align associated practices. During the entire period and despite the difficulties, the Zeelandpas destination card continuously changed and developed. Consequently, more and more tourists used the card as a result of the forging of new relations and countless recurrent and situated enactments.

In the first period, 2001-2005, the idea of a tourism destination card was coined on the island of Schouwen-Duiveland. The main objective was to use the card to brand the island; it was intended to improve customer loyalty. In this stage, objectives, ideas and follow-up actions were too diverse and basically, the teleo-affective structures between private and public practices did not match. In the second period, 2006-2010, campsite and bungalow park owners joined forces and initiated a new foundation: SchouwenDuivelandPas. Their focus was somehow different as they emphasized the packaging of tourist activities and stimulating public transportation. Eventually, the foundation succeeded in having a tangible destination card that could be used. Only a small number of cards were issued, which could be scanned at a local selection of small entrepreneurs that offered a limited number of discounted activities. The scanning allowed for digital traces that could be displayed through open-source systems. Despite the possibilities this offered, the involved practitioners could not agree on a variety of aspects that had to do with the use and organization of the destination card.

In the third period, 2011-2013, the destination card was not only valid on the island of Schouwen-Duiveland, but was used for the larger 'delta' region. Hotel and

hospitality entrepreneurs chaired the Deltaleven foundation, working on the DeltaPas. Practitioners from the earlier SchouwenDuivelandPas destination card foundation were still involved, yet the focus changed. The aim was to provide a bookings portal that would encourage tourists to experience the Delta area and foster customer loyalty. The card would eventually allow free transportation in the area and provide access to the special offers from the portal. Although several options were available, involved entrepreneurs were hesitant about sharing business data. Furthermore, a new subsidy required other practitioners to be involved who prioritized end goals differently, which eventually obstructed the bundling process.

In the last studied and identified period, from 2014 to 2015, the VVV Tourist information services took over. This regional operating public organization was at that time responsible for Zeeland's tourism marketing and communication. A 'Zeelandpas' followed with the aim to implement a comprehensive marketing model that required and emphasized the card as the way to explore the entire province. However, the card was operated slightly differently in the municipalities of Schouwen-Duiveland, West-Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, Noord-Beveland and Veere. Each card had slightly different offerings and the business model itself varied as well, although they all incorporated public transportation and stimulated joint marketing activities. Despite new practitioners carrying on the bundling practice for several years, emphasizing clearer rules, understanding and priorities, the business models proved unsustainable in the long run.

5.1.3. How did Waterdunen, as a coastal recreation project, develop through bundling and unbundling practices?

In the Waterdunen case study, an ecology of practices approach was used to show how practices depended on each other and how they were conditioned and shaped by one another. The Waterdunen project combined salt-water nature development, coastal defence, and recreation and tourism, while at the same time increasingly excluding farming. By analysing the practice architectures of associated practices, it became evident how cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political arrangements affected bundling and unbundling.

Concerning cultural-discursive arrangements, focusing on what is said about practices, it became clear that those in favour of the Waterdunen project preferred tourism and recreation linked with nature development to arable farming and houses. However, the farmers and to some extent also local residents challenged the unbundling of arable farming in the Waterdunen project as they depended on the required lands for their livelihoods and were emotionally attached to these lands, because farming was directly related to their identity of being a 'Zeeuw' or a 'farmer'. Moreover, for 'Zeeuwse' residents, the reclamation and cultivation of these lands has long been part of their history and as

such part of their cultural identity. Discussions about Waterdunen revolved around the need to have an inflow of salt water into the area, made possible by a tidal culvert. For opponents, it simply did not feel right to 'give land back to the sea'.

In terms of material-economic arrangements, landownership had to be transferred from the farmers to the government, otherwise Waterdunen could not be realized. For a long time, it remained unclear which lands would be(come) part of Waterdunen, making farmers unsure about their economic futures. What's more, farmers were under the impression that if the required land was not voluntarily sold, Waterdunen would not be realized. Furthermore, the acquiring of lands was related to funding and a deadline for allocation of funds. Once lands would be obtained, the construction of coastal defence works could start, and so could the landscaping for nature and recreation development. From time to time the funding for the entire project was under pressure, but this never had a direct negative effect on the process. Still, it was argued that coastal work in the form of strengthening the water front was needed in combination with the creation of new nature and recreation possibilities instead of just reinforcing the existing dykes.

When it comes to social-political arrangements, three socio-political mechanisms have played an important role in the processes of bundling and unbundling. The first mechanism is mediation, which was used to try to convince farmers to sell their land to the government, but as the 'sayings and doings' of those who tried to mediate did not match with those of the farmers, their efforts were unsuccessful. The second mechanism was the formation of a local protest group against Waterdunen. The practitioners involved hoped to influence politicians, to change, slow down or stop the development of Waterdunen. The third mechanism was the transfer of responsibilities from the local to the regional government. The regional government made an integration plan. When this plan got approved, it gave the provincial authorities the power to expropriate lands when and where necessary. With expropriation as a realistic option, more and more farmers sold their land voluntarily. Consequently, all required lands came into government possession and landscape development could start. With the threat of expropriation, Waterdunen became a 'real thing'. In other words, socio-political arrangements did not only interfere with, but also overruled the cultural-discursive and economic-material arrangements.

5.2. The relevancy of practice theory in destination development research

Nicolini (2012) suggests that practice theory is actually theorizing by building upon and through case studies. This is exactly what I did in this thesis, by illustrating the relevancy of practice theory in three case studies and reporting about the production, the reproduction and the changes of social phenomena by learning from specificities (Nicolini, 2012). Practice theory as used in tourism studies is at risk of becoming a 'platitude' and a 'bandwagon', of which it could be unclear where it is heading (Corradi

et al., 2010). Either way, the praxeologizing of objects of enquiry needs to be in service of the explanation (Nicolini, 2012), as in this thesis on three different cases of coastal tourism destination development.

Research on coastal tourism destination development that uses practice theory does not end here: I rather see it as the beginning. In this thesis I used theories that were preferred during my exploration of the practice theory family that, according to Nicolini (2016), help to make sense of large-scale phenomena.

My use of practice theory allowed me to analyse complex and interrelated practices in detail, by conceiving the social, in this case tourism, as being built of practices. In this way, it enables the studying of a continuously changing composition of human activities that are interconnected (Corsini et al., 2019). It is important to point out that relevant interconnections are not limited to the tourism phenomena. When studying tourism development, not only tourism-related practices, but also non-tourism-related practices might be relevant. In the case of kiteboarding, practice theory allowed me to spot the important connections between an increase in the number of (visiting) practitioners with spatial planning, lifesaving and nature conservation practices. In the Zeelandpas case study, public transportation started as a non-tourism-related practice, but it gradually did become related to tourism. In turn, tourism practices also connected to data processing practices. In the Waterdunen case study, transforming lands for recreational and nature development purposes connected to coastal protection practices.

Practice theory also showed that having technology in place is one thing, while implementing, accepting and using it is something else. The technology that enabled the destination card was in place, but privacy issues, drivers and a lack of tech-savviness of involved practitioners affected the prioritization and therewith teleo-affective structure of the practices to be bundled. In the development of kiteboarding, technological innovations, such as development of social media platforms, or action cameras and devices impacted the way kiteboarding was practiced and experienced.

5.3. Using practice theory to understand coastal tourism destination development

The objective of this thesis was to better understand coastal tourism destination development processes by critically investigating the relation between practices. Following the three case studies, I discerned three different approaches for using practice theory to better understand coastal tourism destination development destination processes. In these three approaches, the focus is different: on the development of one practice as in the case in kiteboarding; on a connecting practice as shown in the Zeelandpas destination card case study; and on the ecology of practices, as illustrated in the Waterdunen case study.

Each approach as used in the case studies entails the understanding of the main practice(s) in terms of its constituent elements, the exploration of how associated practices relate to each other, and followed by an analysis of the changes that occur via bundling. It is also important to note that understanding the history of the practices in genealogical sense helped in understanding the bundling process.

In each approach, the interdependency between practices whilst being (un)bundled also becomes visible. Interdependency can become evident in terms of sequence, synchronization, proximity, competition and the necessity to co-exist.

The choice for a particular approach depends on the objective of the study. I will now first briefly describe these three different approaches before suggesting an integrated fourth approach.

5.3.1. Focus on one practice

The kiteboarding case study showed how altering between the ‘zooming-in’ and ‘zooming-out’ modality helps to understand the development of one particular practice in relation to other practices. A social practice does not ‘take place’ in externally defined spaces. Instead, practices ‘make and have spaces’ (Schatzki, 2015 as cited in Geffroy, 2017:103). Understanding social practices first requires ‘zooming in’ on situated practices (Lamers et al., 2017). The ‘zoomed-in’ lens brings certain aspects to the fore while pushing others into the background (Nicolini, 2009). ‘Zooming-out’ is relevant to understand how specific practices ‘travel’ through time and spaces, and to investigate with what other kind of practices they tend to team up or not (Lamers et al., 2017).

Figure 5.1 illustrates the (conceptual) development when the focus is on one main practice. In the first phase, the main practice – in this thesis kiteboarding – needs to be identified as routinized behaviour. By zooming in, the active integration of the elements of practice are studied. Besides the active integration of elements within the practice, other practices that affect the practice of kiteboarding also need to be identified, just as their initial impacts. In phase 2, ‘zooming-in’ and ‘zooming-out’ discloses how the practice evolves over time, becomes more established and how it affects other practices. The relationships with other practices in this phase are still independent (the dotted arrows, in the figure), which means that practices are affected by each other, can be in conflict with each other or benefit from each other, but can co-exist as well. In phase 3, the dependency between practices becomes clear through, for example, conflicts. In this thesis, the interrelation between the practices of kiteboarding and nature conservation is a good example. The relationship can also become enabling, exemplified by the interaction between the practices spatial planning and lifesaving and that of kiteboarding.

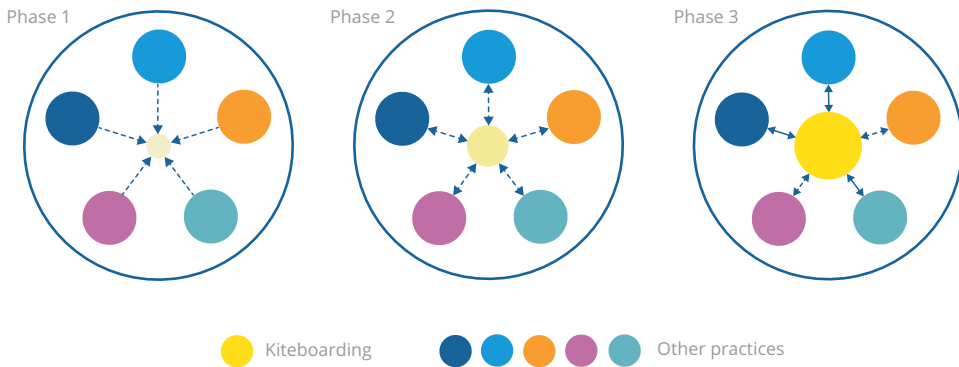


Figure 5.1. The conceptual development when the focus is on one practice

New research topics in the realm of coastal tourism destination development in Zeeland that could benefit from this focus are, for example, the consumption of locally sourced food, the use of sustainable modes of transportation, circular accommodation construction, but also the holidaying in Airbnb's and its relation to the social fabric.

5.3.2. *Focus on a connecting practice*

A second approach focuses on connecting practices. A connecting practice that manages to survive and prosper is able to let the involved practices undergo gradual changes. This will be (come) evident once the involved practices increasingly are directed by the rules and teleo-affective structures of the larger practice-arrangement bundle (Lamers et al., 2017). In this sense, the objective is different from the first approach, as the emphasis is now on the realization of a (new) practice-arrangement bundle that requires a dedicated connecting practice.

Figure 5.2 illustrates this (conceptual) development when taking a specific connecting practice as the focus point. In phase 1, there are multiple practices to be identified that are not yet related to each other. A connecting practice, such as the destination card, aims to bundle associated practices. In phase 2, relationships are established in two ways; existing practices are connected through a connecting practice. This may lead to a change in the elements of the associated practices for the sake of bundling, while the associated practices in turn can change the characteristics of the connecting practice as well. In phase 3, the connecting practice has become an established practice that bundles other practices. In the continuous process of bundling and carrying the practice(s) forward, relationships have become dependent and mutually affecting.

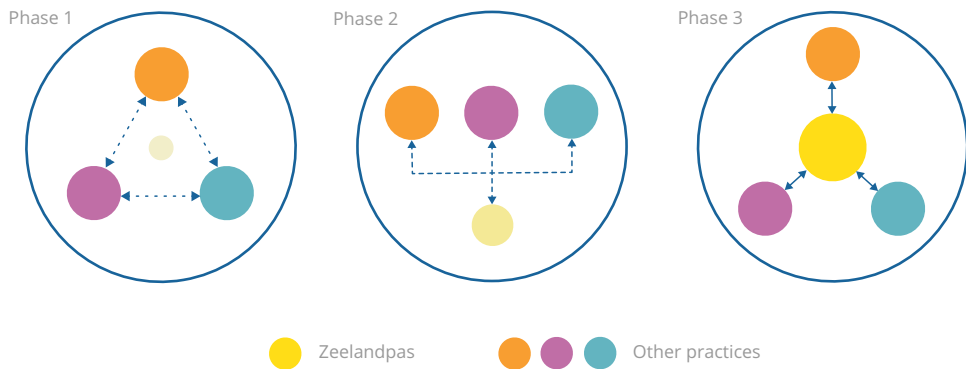


Figure 5.2. The conceptual development when the focus is on the connecting practice

Related to coastal tourism, other examples are certain tourism packages that combine a particular type of mobility (cycling) with accommodation (cyclist-friendly hotels) and food provision (cyclist-friendly restaurants). Tourism policymaking and destination management can also be studied in terms of a connecting practice. For example, public policymakers, a DMO or an association of historians can initiate a combination of heritage expertise (visiting a maritime museum), information technology (doing virtual tours) and marketing (branding of a destination) in online educational destinations.

5.3.3. *Focus on the ecology of practices*

Relations can be forged, but also broken. In the Waterdunen recreation project case study, an ecology of practices approach was used. With this approach, it is possible to illustrate that coastal tourism destination development is not only about forging new relations and bundling practices, but also about unbundling practices. Focusing on the entire ecology of practices, its history and intended point on the horizon, a researcher is able to show and explain how bundling and unbundling happens. This focus is especially useful when the studied process cuts through a larger system.

Figure 5.3 illustrates this (conceptual) development when the focus is on an entire ecology of practices. In phase 1, the project is mapped as a new practice in relation to other existing practices. In phase 2, the bundling is changing the ecology of practices associated with the project. Some practices become more or entirely dependent, others are mutually affecting but independent, whereas some practices might also be excluded from the bundling process. In this phase, by analysing the practice architectures of associated practices, it can become clear how cultural-discursive, material-economic and socio-political arrangements affect bundling and unbundling. In phase 3, a new ecology of practices has matured, connecting a variety of practices while at the same time excluding some others from the bundling process.

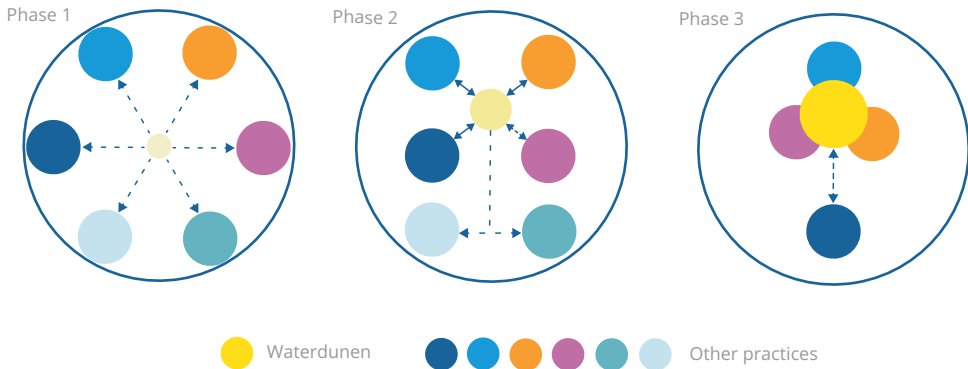


Figure 5.3. The conceptual development when the focus is on the ecology of practices

Other case studies that could benefit from this approach are those in which it is necessary to identify and analyse the entire ecology of practices, as for example in discussions on over- and under-tourism or regenerating a place through tourism. In these cases, all associated practices need to be grasped, before – if needed – executing partial studies.

5.3.4. *Combine approaches to understand development as a nexus of practices*

As practices may occur at the same time and place, at different times but at the same place; or have a sequential character (Meier et al., 2017), they are better described in terms of a practice-network, defined as ‘heterogeneous’ and ‘inter-textual’ assemblages that participate with other, often larger, action nets (Nicolini, 2009, p. 24). Spatial and temporal links between practices and the continuous weaving of the textures they evolve in offer the potential to illustrate and learn from developments in a net of practices in a destination. It is for this reason that I suggest not choosing between one of the three abovementioned approaches, but instead considering a combination of these approaches in order to better understand coastal tourism destination development. While the three suggested approaches can be used on their own, they can also be combined to paint a more complete picture of coastal tourism destination development. Combining the suggested approaches in a logical yet iterative manner enables an understanding of how particular practices develop, connect and (un)bundle in a destination.

To study coastal tourism destination development processes, I suggest taking Kemmis et al. (2013)’s ecology of practices framework as a point of departure, like I did in the Waterdunen case study. I noticed that in studying destination development, the other approaches can be supportive in conceptualizing an ecology of practices and its changes. At some points, the approaches can be used to create a deeper understanding of the practices involved, their relations and the processes of bundling and unbundling.

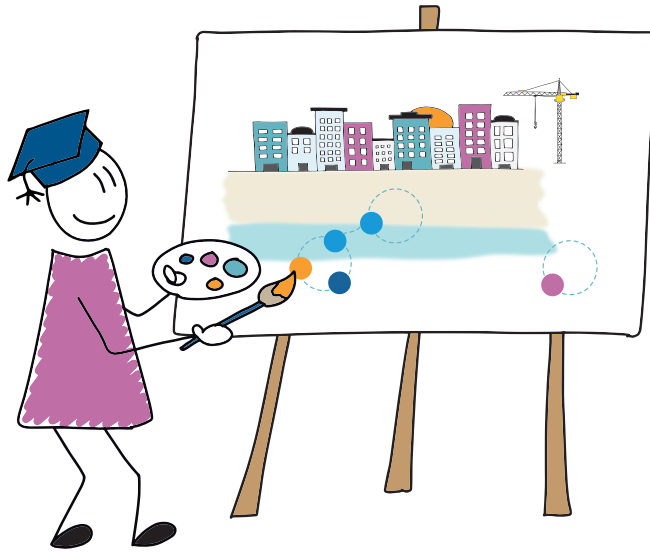
I suggest the following three steps to study coastal tourism destination development as a nexus of practices:

1. Map the ecology with details of involved practices and their connections
2. Delve into the characteristics of the relationships between practices
3. Explain how the arrangements enable and constrain the preconditions for conduct

The three steps offer an integrated, consecutive but also iterative approach. Although the order of these steps make sense, a researcher can go back and forth when needed. Research projects also need to endure in the sense that after step 3, the practices and their connections can be mapped again (proceed to step 1). This allows researchers to contrast the earlier map with a map after either a research or a development project has ended, therewith welcoming the examination of a new, but perhaps related, project or a follow-up from a different or the same researcher. The steps will now be explained in relation to further research in coastal tourism destination development practices.

5.3.5. Application of the three suggested steps

Conceptualisation of an ecology of practices helps to understand how the arrangements influence and affect each other throughout a coastal tourism destination development journey (Kemmis et al., 2013). The first step is to delineate the ecology of practices by mapping the practices of a certain destination development and connections between them. Coastal tourism destination development and its processes encompass a multitude of practices. It therefore makes sense to start with illustrating the entire ecology of practices, in which processes of connecting, bundling and/or unbundling happen. In doing this, one should not only look at the practices related to tourism, but also include other relevant practices. In any destination development, there are those practices that are directly related to tourism and those that are indirectly or apparently non-related. A full understanding of associated practices and how they are intertwined is important.

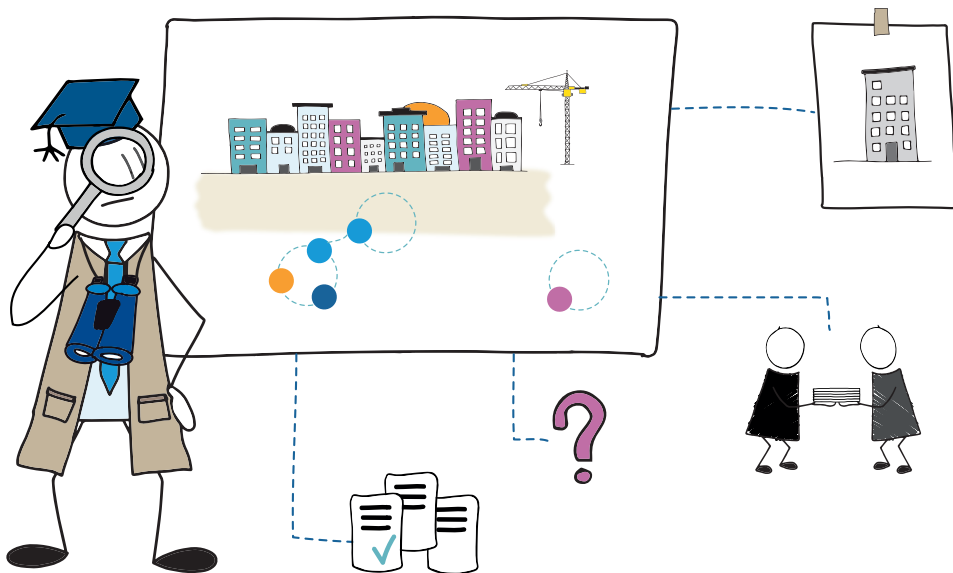


The second step focuses on the characteristics of connections between practices, which can be created by causality, constitution, intentionality, intelligibility and prefiguration (Schatzki, 2017). Causality and physical connections can result in bundles, and so can actions, organizational elements or material entities that are common across the practices. The organizational principles as general rules and understandings and the teleological affective structures tell something about the reason, type and dominance of connections. The associations of one practice with other practices can reflect an evolving texture of dependencies between practices (Nicolini, 2012). There are basically two options to better understand the connection between practices in an ecology of practices: alternating between ‘zooming in’ and ‘zooming out’, and looking at connecting practices.

By alternating between the ‘zooming-in’ and ‘zooming-out’ modality, it will become clear how and why practices overlap, cohere and interweave, but also how they can conflict with each other, diverge and constrain each other (Schatzki, 2002). ‘Zooming-in’ focuses on the details of change that characterizes the practice itself, while ‘zooming-out’ helps to understand how these changes, but also challenges and opportunities, are affected by or associated with other practices (Nicolini, 2012). Altering between these modalities allows the researcher to note both local influences (such as in the kiteboard case specific rules and weather conditions) and global practices (such as media exposure

and production of wetsuits) that may be of influence. In any practice, the development of new materials, just as the introduction of new skills, ideas and routines by practitioners (Warde, 2005), can affect the behaviour of practitioners (Melo et al., 2020). Researchers should pay attention to individual adaptability, as it will hint at how a practice might change in ways that were not known before. ‘Zooming out’ shows how a practice is involved in various connections that may extend the space and time of a practice.

By looking at connecting practices, the conditions that support or hinder bundling processes can be unravelled. A comparative and historical perspective on the trajectory of all related practices and their changing embeddedness in wider practice-arrangement bundles is crucial for analysing change in tourism practices (Lamers et al., 2017) and thus coastal tourism destination development. Tracing connecting practices allows researchers to understand why and how elements changed in relation to the practices they originate from, how these practices mutually affect or enable each other, and the roles of practitioners in making these connections. Countless recurrent and situated enactments (Lamers & Van der Duim, 2016; Schatzki, 2016) can be observed and divided into different periods. In these periods, it can be shown how both a connecting practice and the bundle continuously change, whilst also maturing as a consequence of new relations being forged (Shove et al., 2012).



Moving from characterizing the connections in step 2 to step 3 – explaining what happens in bundling and unbundling by means of practice architectures and arrangements – will reveal the challenges of the specific required bundling and/or unbundling. In this way, it allows for a detailed analysis of how destination development is practiced. The characterization of the connections in step 2 is important but does not yet clarify how the practice architectures change, while these enable and constrain practitioners' actions and interactions (Kemmis & Grootenboer, 2008).

Elaborating on steps 1 and 2, coastal tourism destination development is more than a matter of changing the understandings, skills and capabilities, or values and norms of associated practitioners. The relatings are essential as the practitioners' actions and interactions change as well. The sayings, doings and relatings of one practice are shaped by and influence the sayings, doings and relatings of another practice. In step three, the researcher explicates how the arrangements enable and constrain the preconditions for the conduct of practices. The cultural-discursive, material-economic and socio-political arrangements need to be examined to see how they underly the challenges of bundling and unbundling.



5.4. Considerations when praxeologizing tourism destination development

Praxeologizing, as argued by Schmidt (in Spaargaren et al., 2016), requires researchers to access and understand the objects of inquiry in the process of their ongoing social production, transformation and destruction respectively. Using practice theory to gain

insight into tourism destination development is all about studying changing practices and connections between practices that may occur both locally and globally. This makes boundaries and scale important and challenging concepts to include. In the next paragraph, I will describe how boundaries and scale but also power are to be considered during fieldwork and analysis. Thereafter, I will reflect on the researcher's positionality, also in relation to the necessities and practicalities of 'being there, when and where it happens'.

5.4.1. Destination scales and powers as defined by connections

Suggested by Shove et al. (2012), connections are produced and reproduced by practices that co-exist or that came before. The case studies illustrated that practices become dependent upon each other in terms of sequence, synchronization, proximity or necessary co-existence. But studying and tracing the change of practices also necessitates an examination of the scale and boundaries of the coastal tourism destination development process. Although a certain geographical location – in this case the province of Zeeland – may form the start for praxeolizing coastal tourism destination development, the investigation of connections between practices can quickly move beyond the physical location and its geographical boundaries.

In the case of kiteboarding, for example, I described how it is a globally practiced sport, being produced and consumed all around the world's coastal waters. Yet, geographical characteristics such as climate, winds, coastlines, flora, fauna, the political situation, certain organizations, and rules and regulations may all affect how kiteboarding is practiced locally. Localities must be taken into account when understanding kiteboarding at a particular place, while at the same time the global networked practitioners, manufacturers and images of kiteboarding may influence the meaning, materials and competences of the practitioners at play. In the case of the Zeeland destination card case, in the first periods the focus was on the island of Schouwen-Duiveland, followed by a move to a larger delta region to eventually come back and zoom in on various places in Zeeland that operated the destination card. Furthermore, the technological infrastructure of the card connected the practitioners in Zeeland with those in Austria, due to the Feratel software package. In the Waterdunen project case, examination of the predominantly local destination development processes showed how bundling and unbundling of practices at the local setting was connected to other practices at the regional and eventually even at the national level.

Practice theory indeed enables the breaking down of the modernistic dichotomy macro (global networks) – micro (local communities) (Saraniemi & Kylänen, 2011). As Birtchnell (2012) points out, scale itself can be thought of in ways that include micro, meso and macro, but also as base, middle and top; individual, community and society;

and niche, regime and landscape. In relation to tourism destination development research, the breaking down of dichotomies brings a researcher into fields of forces (Gorton, 2000), inviting those working with practice theory to become more aware of what it is they are actually studying, including the powers at work. The structured system of positions that exist in such a force field that characterizes destination development determines the possibilities of practices.

Shove and Walker (2007) argue that in the context of practice theory, the concept of power, just as scale, attains its meaning in a relational context (Veenstra & Burnett, 2014). Watson (2016) argues that 'practice theory can make a distinctive contribution to understanding the existence and operation of power in the social and can do so by focusing on how practices relate to and align with each other so as to enable and perpetuate the capacity to act, and to act at distance to shape conduct in other spaces and times' (Watson, 2016: 12). Power, in an ecology of practices, is evident in the behaviour of the relations between the elements of practices, in relations between practitioners, and in the relations between practices themselves. Power can be seen as who or what in the process has the capability of changing the rules of practice (Hargreaves, 2011). In this way, power influences or even determines how the practices and its connections act. It can, for example, speed up the process of changing practices, slow things down, brings practices closer together or cut the connection entirely. A close analysis of changes in the combination of the elements within a practice or the change of a particular element could reveal how power relations might change meanings, skills and/or materials. Examining the bundling of practices in coastal tourism destination development may also disclose the role of power in these (relational) processes. However, as power relations never result from a specifiable moment of practice but are instead effects of the ordering of innumerable moments of practices (Watson, 2016), it is often difficult to grasp where power is located.

Through examination of the three case studies in this thesis, power relations gradually became visible. In the case of kiteboarding, organizational principles related to rules and regulations affected the required and desired space to practice kiteboarding. Nature conservation and spatial planning practices overruled the practice of kiteboarding, as authorities created the rules of where and on some occasions also when to kiteboard. These rules were created in relation to safety and nature protection and enforced by the Dutch police. Because of these rules, kiteboarding was steered into the desired direction. Still, the kiteboarders can ignore certain rules and, for example, consciously accept the risk of a fine if they kiteboard where it is not allowed.

In the Zeelandpas destination card case study, power relations became visible when the ecology changed from the geographical scale of an island to the scale of a delta and

back to the entire province of Zeeland, therewith saying goodbye to or introducing new practitioners, meanings, priorities and technological possibilities. In the first period, the card's technological possibilities proved to be ahead of their time, showing that one practitioner had the power to stop the entire bundling. Entrepreneurs on Schouwen-Duiveland continued with the business plan that was a result of the first period. In the process of bundling, it became evident that many practitioners had a problem with sharing the data of their customers. Basically, the protection of data by entrepreneurs and their willingness to cooperate caused the destination card to stagnate in use and possibilities. The card as envisioned by the entrepreneurs on Schouwen-Duiveland eventually became part of a larger project to stimulate bookings in the delta region. Meanings had to be aligned and tied to certain subsidies, as there had to be sufficient (financial) resources to drive the practice-arrangement bundles forward. Power, therefore, was tied to those who were responsible for the introduction and allocation of a subsidy.

Just as in the Zeelandpas destination card case study, in the Waterdunen recreation project case study financial resources also played a key role in driving the bundling, or in this case also unbundling, forward. In this case study, finances tied to coastal protection supported the idea of creating new nature at the expense of dwelling and farming. With these resources, it was possible to strengthen the coastline in ways that would integrate nature and recreation development. However, these finances came with a deadline. The scale of organization changed from local to regional and by means of rules and regulations lands could be obtained, development started and the deadline was met. Socio-political arrangements here did not only interfere with, but also overruled the cultural-discursive arrangements that related to contesting the reason of creating Waterdunen and giving obtained lands back to the sea.

It would be especially relevant for future researchers to examine where power is located between practices. An important question to ask here is to what extent certain elements and practitioners have and use the capacity to encourage or hinder the making or breaking of relations between practices. In addition, it will be interesting to compare, in bundling, the extent to which one type of arrangement (e.g., socio-political) may dominate over one or two of the other types of arrangements (e.g., cultural-discursive and economic-material).

5.4.2. Roving researchers in larger practice-networks

By focusing on the forging and breaking of relations, practice theory allows researchers to de-dramatize tourism destination development and understand it as a process that is embedded in everyday life. The highly diverse elements that constitute practices as well as how they are embodied, guided, differentiated, routinized, dynamic and situated in space and time (Pettersen, 2014) require the researcher's full attention. Fieldwork in

practice theory basically entails patiently going from place to place to collect data about ordinary actions (Nicolini, 2012). However, when studying larger practice-networks, it is not always possible to follow a process of bundling whilst and where it happens. Practices are not just related because there are certain structures or plans behind them. They are related because practitioners enter the field or a practice in a certain way. They talk to each other or give each other certain instructions to carry out a practice in some particular way. For a researcher, it is therefore extremely challenging to rove around in larger practice-networks, trying to make sure to grasp all details of connections and changes that eventually might turn out relevant for the analysis.

I was not always able to be part of the bundling practices when destination development in the three cases unfolded. I did not directly participate in the development of the Zeelandpas destination card case, nor in the Waterdunen recreation project and therefore had to rely on interviews and secondary data. In the other case, being a kiteboarder myself offered easier access to sources of information and facilitated 'zooming-in' on kiteboarding. Yet, it also had its pitfalls, especially in relation to my own interpretations, convictions, experiences and references. To keep these in check, I critically compared my own thoughts and experiences with other data. In other words, using practice theory and relying on only one type of data collection is too limited, just as 'being there' and observing will not be enough or sometimes even impossible. Instead, all possible information sources can and must be consulted and combined by means of triangulation. Triangulation allows for rich and validated information that can be used for 'thick' descriptions, which helps the researcher to better understand the constitution of social practices (Lamers et al., 2017) and its changes.

Obviously, I also had and have my own thoughts on politics and regional development in general as well as on coastal tourism destination development in Zeeland in specific, including the topics of the case studies. Any form of qualitative research is a social construction and claims made within the work are obviously to some extent negotiated through my voice. A different researcher could have asked different (follow-up) questions, maybe used a different tone of voice, may had different non-verbal communication techniques, focused on different aspects in desk research or interpreted, analysed and reported data in a slightly different manner. Nevertheless, I always tried to remain impartial, by setting aside my personal thoughts and experiences while collecting data and focusing on the triangulation of various data collected.

5.5. About coastal tourism destination development in Zeeland

By using practice theory to study coastal tourism in Zeeland I have learned more on the sayings, doings and relatings within this region and found that destination management and planning practices in Zeeland are not as inclusive and responsible as they could and should be. The development of coastal tourism destinations in Zeeland is continuous: entrepreneurs and policymakers have started and will continue to take a variety of initiatives that relate to tourism development, but these initiatives are still based on the current – rather limited and one-sided – body of knowledge.

My research project showed how ‘zooming-in’ on the details of a practice, its histories and practitioners, as well as ‘zooming-out’ to see how different practices connect in web of practices, can boost this body of knowledge and could improve processes of policymaking, spatial planning and destination management. A thorough understanding of which practices are involved, their constituent elements, and how they affect or are affected by the (un)bundling of practices is important for the future of coastal tourism destination development in Zeeland, as well as elsewhere.

The use of practice theory and the steps suggested in this thesis will support coastal tourism destination development in Zeeland in four ways, all related to participatory policymaking: 1) it creates richer knowledge; 2) it stimulates more engagement and inclusiveness in policymaking; 3) it helps to make more legitimate decisions; 4) it provides crucial insights during project management. Let me briefly comment on these four ways.

First, participatory policymaking can only be successful when relevant stakeholders have the necessary insights into the practices that are involved. The everyday lives of farmers, kiteboarders, tourism entrepreneurs, nature conservationists, bus drivers and lifeguards are just some examples of people who are part of practices in changing ecologies, and who are therefore affected by and need to be involved in development somehow.

Those involved with changing ecologies of practice therefore truly need to spend time to critically study the practices they are dealing with, and learn how to share information with the practitioners.

In terms of developing the physical offer within destinations, and as argued in chapter 4, policymakers and destination managers must move beyond an arbitrary description of stakeholders, their interests and powers at play, and instead approach policy in a more modest and subtle way. They can do so by trying to understand the more fundamental nature of the practices and processes of bundling (or unbundling) they seek to influence. This is evident in the Waterdunen case study, but also supported by other praxeology

studies focused on innovating or developing (parts of) the tangible tourism product in Zeeland (see Derriks & Hoetjes, 2015; Derriks & Pluijgers, 2016). I also argue that when developing other physical tourist sites, the practices of for example the real estate companies that drive these developments and the practices that can face long-term effects of the development need to be fully understood, including their histories, their current state and how they might and probably will be changing in the long run.

When looking at the kiteboarding case study, it is clear that the leisure activity fits in well with Zeeland. It taps into campaigns on adventurous activities and matches the development of a vital region (see also Derriks 2018; Derriks, 2017). Kiteboarding seems to be favoured as a practice in destination branding and is aligned with lifesaving practices, while at the same time kiteboarding is limited by nature conservation and spatial planning practices. As argued in chapter 2, inter-practice learning is a requirement when developing a destination that aims to integrate a relatively new practice. The case on kiteboarding showed that it will take serious time and effort before a new practice is well understood, also or even especially in relation to other existing practices such as windsurfing and nature conservation.

Second, having richer data available will lead to more inclusive processes. Those involved with policymaking who have a deeper understanding of the practices they work with will be more inclined to really involve practitioners as part of the development process. Voices that should be heard are not always listened to, nor taken into consideration throughout the development process. The inclusiveness of participation will be more ensured when those aiming at changing an ecology of practices focus on the practitioners of those practices and its associated meanings, competences and materials. As was evident in the kiteboarding case study, kiteboarders and lifesavers made the effort to understand each other's practices, leading to a fruitful collaboration that benefits both parties.

Policymakers working on kiteboarding, or any recreational activity policy, must be keen on changes in the sport or activity. For instance, the growing number of kiteboarders that do their sport in existing spots and designated zones with limited space can easily result in overcrowding and accidents. I therefore suggest to start working on a digital platform that will support participatory activities that contribute to collaborative learning and thus policymaking. Such a platform for kiteboarders could inform them, but also the policymakers and other stakeholders about the sport, changes and challenges. This will lead to inter-practice learning and provide a base for collaboration or at least involvement in decision-making.

It seems that working together on coastal tourism destination development in Zeeland is currently not always perceived as being worth the effort, which leads to stakeholders

opting to work for and by themselves instead. What can be learned from my cases is that sharing and agreeing on ambitions, end-goals and shared planning paths is essential. Informing, interesting and engaging associated practitioners and keeping them committed to the development path is vital. Not only those involved with kiteboarding, but also stakeholders in the Waterdunen and the Zeelandpas destination card project would benefit from such knowledge infrastructures. Having as much information as possible about the involved practices is essential, but useless if not shared appropriately and timely.

Third, I argue that both the creation and sharing of knowledge on practices helps to make decisions in a more effective, functional manner. The use of practice theory can put policymakers in a good position when certain decisions that affect practices need to be taken. The Netherlands is known for its consensus decision-making, also called the 'polder model' (see Hendriks, 2017). This model is not only about hearing all parties, but also about coming to a decision that parties are at ease with, or at least is accepted because some of their interests are reflected. A deeper understanding of the practices involved could lead to more legitimate decision-making processes in which those involved feel heard, represented and acknowledged.

This does not automatically equal a shared responsibility for made decisions. Those who are responsible for decision-making should make decisions, but also be sure they understand the full dynamics of and between practices and the doings, sayings and relatings involved. Having a deeper understanding of the practices, sharing the knowledge and raising awareness of decision-makers would definitely have supported management of kiteboarding, the success of the Zeelandpas destination card and the speed of the Waterdunen recreation project.

Fourth and related, having a thorough understanding of the practices and practitioners, their interests and behaviour in carrying those practices forward, is also essential for steering ecologies of practices by means of planning and development.

More often than not, policymakers and land developers are not making sufficient effort to understand the practice architectures that are involved in the ecology of practices they intend to change. Analysing how practices co-exist, overlap or interfere with one another invites more deliberate interventions that also consider especially the cultural-discursive arrangements that underlie most social practices.

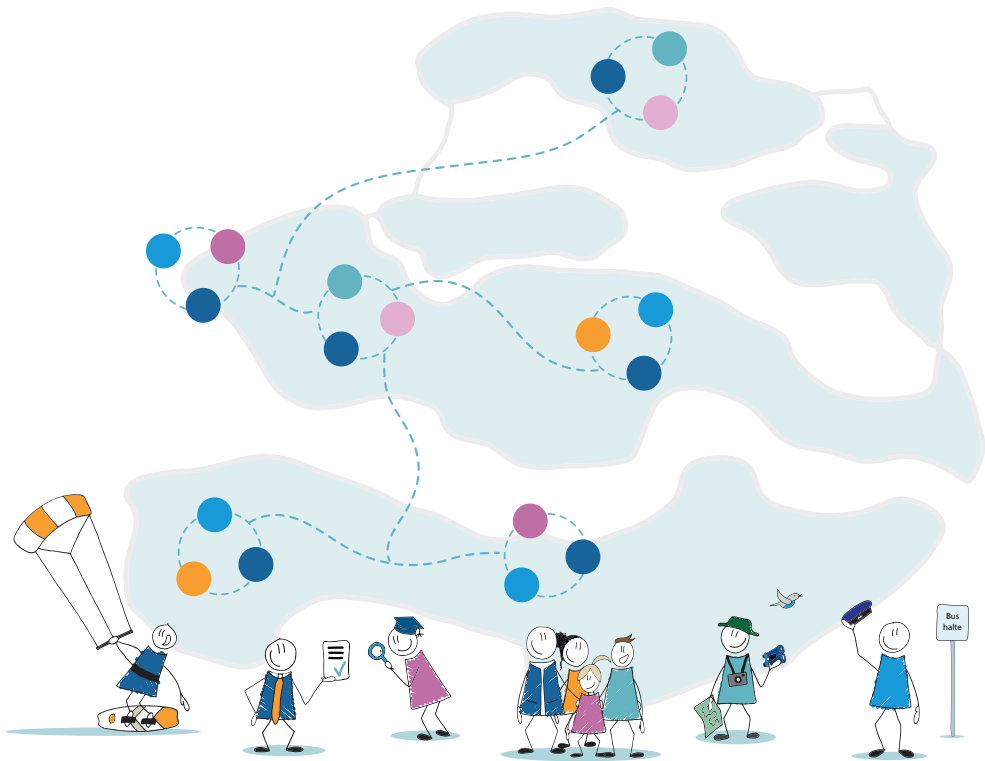
Related, destination management is not only about clarifying tasks and processes, but also about signalling where there is a need for particular practices and practitioners to be(come) involved in the (un)bundling processes. A continuous mapping of ecologies

of practices is a crucial skill for those involved with coastal tourism destination development, not just at the start or at the end of a certain development. The case study on the Zeelandpas destination card development, but also on its use (Derriks & Ton, 2016) as well as on other marketing initiatives in Zeeland (Derriks & Glerum, 2016; Derriks & Guiran, 2016; Derriks & Havrdova, 2017) shows us that forming alliances in destination management and marketing is easier said than done. Even after a very long and bumpy road to create a shared product, like the Zeelandpas as a connecting practice, analysis showed how difficult it is to align meanings and competences related to a variety of practices.

I therefore hope to see practice theory, when used in destination studies, generate in-depth insights for policymaking, the management of destination development and evaluation of the process. The insights must, however, be based on the understanding that policy interventions only ‘have effect (some intended, some not) within and as part of the ongoing dynamics of practice’ (Shove et al, 2012: 145). As a consequence, management of destination development processes is always precarious and conditional. Destination development results from the interplay of many practices and numerous practitioners. Therefore, it is not only necessary to engage practitioners during the process of development, but also to look at *when* to intervene in development processes. In this sense, timing is an essential skill: timing of when to share what information, but also by whom and when to take decisions or intervene in development processes. In my opinion, this is evident in the Zeelandpas case study, but also in the Waterdunen case study.

In the Zeelandpas case study, the original business plan was ahead of its time, since it showed that those that needed to be convinced were not on the same page yet. Sharing too many thoughts, ideas, ambitions and possibilities within a project can be overwhelming for those involved. Instead, taking it one step at a time will likely to be more effective. The eventual features of the destination card – a decade later – showed similarities to the first envisioned card in the initial business plan. It just took time to get everybody on board regarding the hows and whys of this card. In the Waterdunen case study, it would have paid off to put more consideration into informing and involving the regional farmers not only better but also sooner. For the farmers, it was unclear for too long why the project should be carried out in first place, but also which areas it concerned and how their operations would be affected. Obviously, this was politics to prevent price speculation but either way, the mediation practices proved unsuccessful because communication with the farmer community was insufficient and more importantly, carried out too late.

In sum, knowing-what, knowing-how, knowing-to, knowing-who and knowing when is essential in coastal tourism destination development. Input from the social sciences, in this regard, is no less important than and should support and precede management interventions. Only when there is a full understanding of the ecology of practices, the practices and practitioners involved, the necessary information is gathered and can be shared. Then, responsibilities can be divided, and destination management and planning practices in Zeeland will become more inclusive and responsible.



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Summary

*‘On the Island, we do it Island Style
From the mountain to the ocean
from the windward to the leeward side’
– John Cruz*

The province of Zeeland, the Netherlands, is known for its coastal leisure and tourism activities, making a major contribution to the regional economy. Over decades, the province has seen both growth and stagnation in the number of visitors. In this thesis, practice theory is used to examine coastal tourism destination development in Zeeland. Studies focusing on these coastal tourism destination developments are often traditional and limited. Traditional approaches, methods and models do not give a sufficient overview of how complex tourism destinations and their development really are, and therefore not helpful for obtaining a thorough understanding.

In this thesis, a socio-cultural approach to destination development is taken in which practice theory is used to study processes of development across three cases: 1) the lifestyle sport of kiteboarding; 2) the Zeelandpas destination card, and; 3) the recreation project of Waterdunen. In these three cases, I showed how coastal tourism destination development can be studied as the bundling of practices.

By concentrating on the forging and breaking of relations, coastal tourism destination development can be de-dramatized and understood as a process that is embedded in everyday practices

Practice theory is applied in order to meet this thesis' objective to *better understand coastal tourism destination development processes by critically investigating the relations between practices*. In doing so, it answers the following main question: *How does the use of practice theory offer an understanding of coastal tourism destination development?*

In order to answer the main research question, each case study answers a sub research question: 1) *How did the lifestyle sport kiteboarding develop as a social practice?* 2) *How did the destination promotion card Zeelandpas, as a connecting practice, bundle existing practices?* 3) *How did Waterdunen, as a coastal recreation project, develop by bundling and unbundling practices?*

In the kiteboarding case study, the performative character of social life is foregrounded to see how kiteboarding is done practically and relationally. 'Zooming in' shows the active and performative integration of particular meanings, materials and competences. 'Zooming out' examines the relations between kiteboarding and other practices. Interviews with 10 practitioners and 12 experts were combined with social media content analysis and participant observation. The Zeelandpas destination card case study shows how connections between practices are made and how constituent practices have changed accordingly. Central was the bundling of practices and the material arrangements that mutually affect and precondition one another. Interviews with 20 people that were involved in the development of the card were conducted and 13 involved

entrepreneurs surveyed. Additionally, a total of 32 project documents and 27 collected media announcements were analysed. In the Waterdunen project, coastal defence works are combined with new possibilities for recreation and nature conservation. Approaching Waterdunen as an ecology of practices allowed me to identify the practices involved and provide a timeline of the most important developments. I also examined how particular cultural-discursive, material-economic and socio-political arrangements influenced the development process. Interviews with 9 key informants were combined with desk research, consisting of the analysis of 682 newspaper articles and 57 project communications, studies and reports.

Kiteboarding

Zooming in on kiteboarding disclosed 'natural high', 'freedom', and 'excitement' as emotions related to kiteboarding. Kiteboarders also treasure the natural environment, as it reduces stress and sets practitioners free.

The sport requires that kiteboarders are sufficiently competent and use the right materials. This was facilitated by the invention of new materials, technological innovations and advanced competences which made the sport more safe, popular and accessible. Changes to any of the elements of kiteboarding (materials, competences and meanings) have eventually led to sub-disciplines: freeride, foiling, waving, big air and freestyle. While it does remain a continuous effort to make safety aspects and regulations a shared understanding and part of the kiteboarding language, social media certainly supports this. The kiteboard community stimulates the (online) sharing of information, for example about locations, wind conditions, trick tutorials and gear.

A practice like kiteboarding does not exist in isolation. On warm days with strong winds, kiteboarders and swimmers might get in each other's way whereas kiteboarding can also be conflicting with bathing and fishing. Defined spatial zones help prevent kiteboarders from moving too close to these other recreationists as well as other water sport practitioners, such as wave- or windsurfers. The emerging kiteboard disciplines combined with a growing number of practitioners also require more space, which is not easily available due to regulations associated with nature conservation. Some spots in Zeeland have already been closed due to the supposed impact on nature. Consequently, it seems that adjusting regulations in one spot affects the use and crowdedness in other spots. In terms of development in relation to other practices, it was shown that lifesaving procedures are now somewhat integrated in the practice of kiteboarding, while the relation with nature conservation is still rather tense. Changing the existing regulations that define where and when to practice kiteboarding has proved to be a challenging and slow process.

Zeelandpas

In developing the Zeelandpas destination card, creating a common understanding, clear rules and a shared way of implementing was challenging. The card combined destination branding with conducting market research and facilitating public transportation. Four different periods in the bundling of practices were defined during which the various practitioners hardly succeeded in overcoming differences in end goals. During the entire period and despite the difficulties, the Zeelandpas destination card continuously changed and developed. More and more tourists used the card as a result of the forging of new relations and countless recurrent and situated enactments.

In the first period, the idea of a tourism destination card was coined on the island of Schouwen-Duiveland, resulting in a business plan. In the second period, a small number of cards were issued on Schouwen-Duiveland that could be scanned at a local selection of small entrepreneurs that offered a limited number of discounted activities. In the third period, the destination card did not only encompass the island of Schouwen-Duiveland, but was used for the larger ‘delta’ region and included a booking portal. In the fourth period, the geographical scale was reduced to the province of Zeeland and four cards were created, operating on four different parts/islands of Zeeland. Each card had slightly different offerings and the business model itself varied as well, although they all incorporated public transportation and stimulated joint marketing activities. Eventually, the business models proved not to be sustainable in the long run. For this reason, it was decided that the Zeelandpas destination card would no longer be operated from March 2019. This case of the Zeelandpas illustrated that the bundling of practices – in this case destination branding, conducting market research and facilitating public transportation – by means of a destination card as a practice-material arrangement is full of obstacles.

Waterdunen

In the Waterdunen case study, an ecology of practices approach was used to show how practices depended on each other, and how they were conditioned and shaped by one another. The Waterdunen project combined salt-water nature development and coastal defence with recreation and tourism. Farming was increasingly excluded. By analysing the practice architectures of associated practices, it became evident how cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political arrangements affected processes of bundling and unbundling.

Concerning cultural-discursive arrangements, focusing on what is said about practices, it became clear that those in favour of the Waterdunen project preferred tourism and recreation linked with nature development to arable farming and houses. However, the farmers and to some extent also local residents challenged the unbundling of arable

farming in the Waterdunen project as they depended on these lands for their livelihoods and were emotionally attached to these lands, because farming was directly related to their identity of being a 'Zeeuw' or a 'farmer'.

In terms of material-economic arrangements, landownership had to be transferred from the farmers to the government, otherwise Waterdunen could not be realized. It remained unclear for a long time which lands would be(come) part of Waterdunen, making farmers unsure about their economic futures.

When it comes to social-political arrangements, three socio-political mechanisms have played an important role in the processes of bundling and unbundling: mediation, the formation of a local protest group against Waterdunen, and the transfer of responsibilities from the local to the regional government. Eventually, socio-political arrangements did not only interfere with, but also overruled the cultural-discursive and economic-material arrangements.

Main research question

Based on my research I conclude that practice theory can offer an understanding of coastal tourism destination development in three different ways.

In the first approach, the focus is on one practice. Altering between the 'zooming-in' and 'zooming-out' modality helps to understand the development of a particular practice in relation to other practices. After identifying the main practice, 'zooming-in' allows researchers to study the active integration of the elements and to identify which other practices affect the main practice, as well as their initial impacts. 'Zooming-in' and 'zooming-out' discloses how a practice evolves over time, becomes more established and how it affects other practices.

In the second approach, the focus is on a connecting practice. Multiple practices that are not related to each other yet should be identified first. A connecting practice aims to bundle these associated practices. This may lead to a change in the elements of the associated practices for the sake of bundling, while the associated practices in turn can also change the characteristics of the connecting practice.

In the third approach, the focus is on the ecology of practices. The development first needs to be mapped as a new practice in relation to other existing practices. Bundling and unbundling will change the ecology of practices associated with the project. By analysing the practice architectures of associated practices, it can become clear how cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political arrangements affect bundling and unbundling.

Combining the suggested approaches enables a rather complete and detailed understanding of destination development. The following three steps are suggested to study coastal tourism destination development as a nexus of practices:

1. Map the ecology with details of involved practices and their connections
2. Delve into the characteristics of the relationships between practices
3. Explain how the arrangements enable or constrain the preconditions for conduct

The three steps offer an integrated, consecutive but also iterative approach. Although the order of these steps make sense, a researcher can go back and forth when needed. A thorough understanding of what practices are involved, their constituent elements, and how they affect or are affected by the (un)bundling of practices is important for the future of coastal tourism destination development in Zeeland.

The use of the suggested three steps by researchers, but also by policymakers and spatial planners, could foster destination development or policymaking in practice. Application will support coastal tourism destination development in Zeeland in four ways, all related to participatory policymaking and the stimulation of collaborative learning: 1) it creates richer, more diverse knowledge, which is important because policymaking can only be successful when relevant stakeholders have the necessary insights into the practices that are involved; 2) it stimulates engagement and inclusiveness in policymaking, because having richer data available will lead to more inclusive processes; 3) it helps to make more legitimate decisions, since it should not only bring policymakers in a suitable position to make one, but also empower them to actually do it and take responsibility; 4) it provides crucial insights for project management, as having a thorough understanding of the practitioners, their interests and conduct is essential for steering ecologies of practices by means of planning and development.

Samenvatting

De provincie Zeeland staat bekend om haar kustrecreatie en -toerisme; deze leveren een belangrijke bijdrage aan de regionale economie. In de afgelopen decennia is het aantal bezoekers aan de provincie zowel gegroeid als afgenomen. In dit proefschrift wordt de praktijkenbenadering gebruikt om de ontwikkeling van toeristische bestemmingen aan de Zeeuwse kust te onderzoeken. Studies gericht op deze toeristische kustbestemmingen zijn vaak traditioneel en beperkt. Traditionele benaderingen, methoden en modellen geven onvoldoende zicht op de complexiteit van toeristische bestemmingen en hun ontwikkeling en helpen ons daardoor niet aan diepgaand inzicht.

In dit proefschrift wordt daarom een sociaal-culturele benadering van bestemmingsontwikkeling gehanteerd, waarbij een praktijkenbenadering wordt gebruikt om de ontwikkelingsprocessen in drie casus te bestuderen: 1) de lifestyle sport kiteboarden; 2) de ZeelandPas; en 3) het recreatieproject Waterdunen. Voor deze drie casus heb ik laten zien hoe de ontwikkeling van toeristische kustbestemmingen kan worden bestudeerd als een bundeling van praktijken.

Het doel van dit proefschrift is het bereiken van *een beter begrip van de ontwikkelingsprocessen van toeristische kustbestemmingen door de relaties tussen praktijken kritisch te onderzoeken*. Daarbij wordt de volgende hoofdvraag beantwoord: *Hoe biedt het gebruik van een praktijkenbenadering inzicht in de ontwikkeling van toeristische kustbestemmingen?*

Om een antwoord te vinden op die hoofdvraag, beantwoordt elke casestudy een deelonderzoeksvraag: *1) Hoe heeft de lifestyle sport kiteboarden zich ontwikkeld als een sociale praktijk? 2) Hoe heeft de ZeelandPas, als verbindende praktijk, bestaande praktijken gebundeld? 3) Hoe heeft Waterdunen, als kustrecreatieproject, zich ontwikkeld door bundeling en loskoppeling van praktijken?*

In de casus van kiteboarden wordt het performatieve karakter van het sociale leven benadrukt om te zien hoe kiteboarden praktisch en relationeel gebeurt. “Inzoomen” toont de actieve en performatieve integratie van bepaalde betekenissen, materialen en competenties. “Uitzoomen” is daarentegen gericht op het onderzoeken van de relaties tussen kiteboarden en andere praktijken. Interviews met 10 beoefenaars en 12 deskundigen werden aangevuld met een inhoudsanalyse van sociale media en observatie van deelnemers. De casus van de ZeelandPas laat zien hoe verbindingen tussen praktijken worden gelegd en hoe de betreffende praktijken daardoor zijn veranderd.. Er zijn interviews gehouden met 20 personen die betrokken waren bij de ontwikkeling van de pas, en met 13 betrokken ondernemers. Daarnaast werden in totaal 32 projectdocumenten en 27 berichten in de media geanalyseerd. In het project van Waterdunen zijn

kustverdedigingswerken gecombineerd met nieuwe mogelijkheden voor recreatie en natuurbehoud. Door Waterdunen te benaderen als een ecologie van praktijken kon ik de betrokken praktijken in kaart brengen en een tijdlijn schetsen van de belangrijkste ontwikkelingen. Ik onderzocht ook hoe bepaalde cultureel-discursieve, materieel-economische en sociaal-politieke regelingen het ontwikkelingsproces beïnvloedden. De interviews met 9 sleutelinformanten werden aangevuld met deskresearch, bestaande uit een analyse van 682 krantenartikelen en 57 projectberichten, studies en verslagen.

Kiteboarden

Inzoomen op kiteboarden onthulde “natural high”, “vrijheid” en “opwinding” als emoties die bij deze sport lijken te horen. Kiteboarders koesteren ook de natuurlijke omgeving, omdat die stress vermindert en beoefenaars het gevoel van vrijheid geeft. Kiteboarders kunnen niet zonder voldoende vaardigheden en de juiste uitrusting. Nieuwe materialen, technologische innovaties en geavanceerde vaardigheden die de sport veiliger, populairder en toegankelijker hebben gemaakt, hebben daar aanzienlijk aan bijgedragen. Veranderingen in de verschillende aspecten van het kiteboarden (materialen, competenties en betekenissen) hebben uiteindelijk geleid tot de sub-disciplines *freeride*, *foiling*, *waving*, *big air* en *freestyle*. Hoewel het een voortdurende inspanning blijft om de veiligheidsaspecten en voorschriften tot een gezamenlijk besef en onderdeel van het kiteboardjargon te maken, ondersteunen de sociale media dit zeker. De kiteboardgemeenschap stimuleert het (online) delen van informatie, bijvoorbeeld over locaties, windomstandigheden, *trick tutorials* en uitrusting.

Een praktijk als kiteboarden staat niet op zichzelf. Op warme dagen met harde wind kunnen kiteboarders en zwemmers elkaar in de weg zitten. Kiteboarden, zonnebaden en vissen gaan ook niet altijd samen. Afgebakende zones helpen voorkomen dat kiteboarders te dicht in de buurt komen van deze recreanten en andere watersporters, zoals golf- of windsurfers. De opkomende kiteboarddisciplines tezamen met een groeiend aantal beoefenaars vereisen ook meer ruimte, die niet vanzelfsprekend beschikbaar is door de regelgeving rondom natuurbehoud. Sommige plekken in Zeeland zijn al gesloten vanwege de vermeende impact op de natuur. Het lijkt erop dat een aanpassing van de regelgeving op de ene plaats het gebruik en de drukte op andere plaatsen beïnvloedt. Wat de ontwikkeling ten opzichte van andere praktijken betreft, blijken reddingsprocedures nu enigszins geïntegreerd in de praktijk van het kiteboarden, terwijl de relatie met natuurbehoud nog vrij gespannen is. Het wijzigen van de bestaande voorschriften die bepalen waar en wanneer mag worden gekiteboard, is een moeilijk en traag proces gebleken.

ZeelandPas

Bij de ontwikkeling van de ZeelandPas was het een uitdaging om tot een gemeenschappelijk begrip, duidelijke regels en een uniforme manier van uitvoering te

komen. De pas zette de bestemmingen op de kaart (*destination branding*), bood data voor marktonderzoek en stimuleerde het gebruik van openbaar vervoer. In het proces van bundeling van praktijken heb ik vier verschillende fases onderscheiden waarin de betrokken partijen er nauwelijks in slaagden de verschillen in hun einddoelen te overbruggen. De ZeelandPas is daardoor voortdurend veranderd en ontwikkeld. Steeds meer toeristen gebruikten de kaart dankzij uitbreidingen van het netwerk en talloze terugkerende en situatieafhankelijke gebruiksmogelijkheden.

In de beginfase ontstond op het eiland Schouwen-Duiveland het idee van een toeristische voordeelpas, wat leidde tot een ondernemingsplan. In de volgende fase werd op Schouwen-Duiveland een klein aantal passen uitgegeven die konden worden gescand bij een aantal lokale, kleine ondernemers die een beperkt aantal activiteiten met korting aanboden. In fase drie kon de pas niet alleen op het eiland Schouwen-Duiveland maar ook in de grotere deltaregio worden gebruikt en kwam er een boekingsportaal. In de vierde fase werd het concept in geografisch opzicht teruggebracht tot de provincie Zeeland en kwamen er vier verschillende passen, één voor elk van de vier verschillende delen van Zeeland welke betrokken waren. Elke kaart had een iets ander aanbod met een iets ander verdienmodel, maar bij alle vier was openbaar vervoer inbegrepen, en werden gezamenlijke marketingactiviteiten steeds gestimuleerd. Uiteindelijk bleken de verdienmodellen op lange termijn niet houdbaar. Daarom werd besloten dat de ZeelandPas vanaf maart 2019 niet meer kon worden gebruikt. De casus van de ZeelandPas illustreert dat de bundeling van praktijken - *destination branding*, marktonderzoek en het faciliteren van openbaar vervoer - op basis van een onderlinge regeling in de vorm van een voordeelpas vol obstakels zit.

Waterdunen

In de casus van Waterdunen werd een ‘ecologie van praktijken’ gebruikt om te laten zien hoe praktijken van elkaar afhankelijk waren en wederzijds werden geconditioneerd en gevormd. Het project Waterdunen combineerde zoutwaternatuurontwikkeling en kustverdediging met recreatie en toerisme. Landbouw werd steeds meer uitgesloten. Mijn analyse maakte duidelijk hoe cultureel-discursieve, materieel-economische en sociaal-politieke regelingen invloed uitoefenden op de processen van het bundelen en ontbundelen van praktijken.

Voor wat betreft de cultureel-discursieve regelingen, waarbij de nadruk ligt op wat er over praktijken wordt gezegd, werd duidelijk dat de voorstanders van Waterdunen de voorkeur gaven aan toerisme en recreatie in samenhang met natuurontwikkeling boven landbouw en wonen. De boeren, en tot op zekere hoogte ook de lokale bevolking, betwistten echter het ontbundelen van de landbouw, omdat zij voor hun levensonderhoud afhankelijk waren van het land en er een emotionele band mee hadden; landbouw maakte deel uit van hun identiteit als “Zeeuw” of “boer”.

Wat de materieel-economische regelingen betrof, moest het grondbezit van de boeren worden overgedragen aan de overheid, anders kon Waterdunen niet worden gerealiseerd. Het bleef lange tijd onduidelijk welke percelen deel zouden (gaan) uitmaken van Waterdunen, waardoor de boeren onzeker waren over hun economische toekomst.

Qua sociaal-politieke regelingen hebben drie sociaal-politieke mechanismen een belangrijke rol gespeeld in de processen van het bundelen en ontbundelen van praktijken: bemiddeling, de vorming van een lokale protestgroep tegen Waterdunen en de overdracht van verantwoordelijkheden van de lokale naar de regionale overheid. Uiteindelijk hebben de sociaal-politieke regelingen de cultureel-discursieve en economisch-materiële regelingen niet alleen doorkruist, maar ook tenietgedaan.

Centrale onderzoeksvraag

Op basis van mijn onderzoek concludeer ik dat een praktijkenbenadering op drie verschillende manieren inzicht kan bieden in de ontwikkeling van toeristische bestemmingen aan de kust.

In de eerste benadering ligt de nadruk op één praktijk. Het wisselen tussen “inzoomen” en “uitzoomen” helpt om de ontwikkeling van een bepaalde praktijk in relatie tot andere praktijken te doorgronden. Nadat die ene, centrale praktijk is bepaald, stelt “inzoomen” de onderzoekers in staat de actieve integratie van onderdelen te bestuderen. Uitzoomen laat zien welke andere praktijken de centrale praktijk beïnvloeden en wat daarvan de effecten zijn. “Inzoomen” en “uitzoomen” laten zien hoe een praktijk zich in de loop van de tijd ontwikkelt, meer ingeburgerd raakt en andere praktijken beïnvloedt.

De tweede benadering legt nadruk op een verbindende praktijk. Een verbindende praktijk heeft tot doel praktijken die nog geen direct verband met elkaar houden te bundelen. Dit kan leiden tot een wijziging van bepaalde aspecten van de verbonden praktijken ten behoeve van de bundeling, terwijl die praktijken op hun beurt ook de kenmerken van de verbindende praktijk kunnen veranderen.

In de derde benadering staat de ecologie van de praktijken centraal. De ontwikkeling of het project dat wordt onderzocht moet eerst als nieuwe praktijk in kaart worden gebracht in relatie tot andere bestaande praktijken. Het bundelen en ontbundelen van praktijken verandert de ecologie van de praktijken binnen het project. Een analyse van de architectuur van elk van de betrokken praktijken kan laten zien hoe cultureel-discursieve, materieel-economische en sociaal-politieke regelingen invloed uitoefenen op die bundeling en loskoppeling.

Een combinatie van de voorgestelde benaderingen kan een vrij volledig en gedetailleerd inzicht geven in de ontwikkeling van bestemmingen. De volgende drie stappen worden aanbevolen om de ontwikkeling van toeristische kustbestemmingen te bestuderen als een nexus van praktijken:

1. Breng de ecologie in kaart met gedetailleerde gegevens van de betrokken praktijken en hun samenhang.
2. Bestudeer de kenmerken van de relaties tussen de praktijken.
3. Leg uit hoe de regelingen de gedragsvoorwaarden mogelijk maken of beperken.

Deze drie stappen bieden een geïntegreerde, opeenvolgende maar ook iteratieve aanpak. De volgorde is logisch, maar een onderzoeker kan zo nodig tussen de stappen schakelen. Een grondig begrip van de betrokken praktijken, hun samenstellende delen en de manier waarop deze het bundelen of ontbundelen beïnvloeden, is belangrijk voor de toekomst van de ontwikkeling van de toeristische kustbestemmingen in Zeeland.

Het gebruik van deze stapsgewijze aanpak, die overigens ook aan beleidsmakers en ruimtelijke planners wordt aanbevolen, zou de ontwikkeling van bestemmingen of de beleidsvorming in de praktijk kunnen bevorderen. De toepassing ervan kan op vier manieren, die allen verband houden met participatieve beleidsvorming, het stimuleren van samenwerkend leren en de ontwikkeling van toeristische kustbestemmingen in Zeeland ondersteunen; 1) samen zorgen ze voor rijkere, meer diverse kennis die van belang is, omdat beleidsvorming alleen succesvol kan zijn wanneer de relevante belanghebbenden beschikken over de nodige inzichten in de betrokken praktijken; 2) samen stimuleren ze betrokkenheid en inclusiviteit bij de beleidsvorming, omdat het beschikbaar hebben van rijkere gegevens zal leiden tot meer inclusieve processen; 3) samen helpen ze om legitiemere beslissingen te nemen, aangezien ze beleidsmakers niet alleen voorzien van relevante informatie voor besluitvorming, maar hun ook de basis en het vertrouwen geven om daadwerkelijk knopen door te hakken en verantwoordelijkheid te nemen; 4) samen bieden ze cruciale knowhow voor projectmanagement, want een grondig inzicht in de mensen, hun belangen en hun gedrag is essentieel voor het sturen van ecologieën van praktijken door middel van planning en ontwikkeling.

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