MOVING BEYOND HEROES AND WINNERS:

Institutional Entrepreneurship in the Outbound Tour Operations Field in the Netherlands, 1980–2005

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MOVING BEYOND HEROES AND WINNERS:
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door

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geboren te Kitale, Kenia

Abstract

This dissertation was motivated by developments in the field of Dutch outbound tour operations – begun in the 1980s and still ongoing – toward more sustainable forms of tourism. Of these, different codes of conduct, ecolabels and hallmarks, particularly, offer a unique context in which to study individuals and organizations working for change in vivo and in situ. To achieve this goal, this dissertation draws on rich data from multiple sources to identify which actors have been central to this change process and what role has been played within it by business-interest organizations. In so doing, it integrates and extends existing perspectives on institutional entrepreneurship in institutional theory. Specifically, it challenges the literature's portrayal of institutional entrepreneurs as heroes by showing the distributed character of institutional entrepreneurship. In fact, this dynamic resembles a social movement in which field-level actors like trade associations can be goaded into institutional entrepreneurship. Hence, this dissertation moves beyond the framework of heroes and winners in institutional change to argue that institutional entrepreneurship can best be considered a portfolio of roles performed by different actors over time.

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1

Setting off

1.   Introduction

1.1   Problem statement

This thesis falls into the realm of theory-building in that it aims at contributing to institutional theory in general and institutional entrepreneurship theory in particular. Institutional theory in organization science studies the relationship between organizations and institutions. It views institutions as made up of "regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life" (Scott, 2008:48). Organizations are embedded in organizational fields, defined as "a community of organizations that partakes of a common meaning system and whose participants interact more frequently and fatefully with one another than with actors outside the field" (Scott, 1994:207–208). However, whereas institutional theory traditionally studied how institutions shape organizational behavior in such fields (e.g., DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977), recent developments in this theory focus on the question of how organizational life creates, modifies, disrupts and maintains institutions (Dacin et al., 2002; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006).

One central concept of institutional theory is that of the 'institutional entrepreneur,' introduced to call attention to agentic behavior within this theoretical framework (DiMaggio, 1988). It is defined as "organized actors with sufficient resources that see in new institutions an opportunity to realize interests that they value highly" (ibid.:14). The concept of institutional entrepreneur is related to institutional entrepreneurship, defined as "the activities of actors who have an interest in particular institutional arrangements and who leverage resources to create new institutions or to transform existing ones" (Maguire, Hardy, & Lawrence, 2004:657).

Empirical accounts of institutional entrepreneurship have shown that the role of institutional entrepreneur is performed by both individual (e.g., Fligstein, 1997; Maguire et al., 2004; Mutch, 2007) and organizational actors (e.g., Déjean, Gond, & Leca, 2004; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006). Studies have also identified a variety of activities produced by such actors, including defining membership identity and standardizing practices (Lawrence, 1999), providing discursive arguments for proposed changes (Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinings, 2002; Maguire et al., 2004; Munir & Phillips, 2005; Zilber, 2007), building and maintaining coalitions (Garud, Jain, & Kumaraswamy, 2002; Lawrence, Hardy, & Phillips, 2002; Wijen & Ansari, 2007) and engaging in political activities such as negotiating and bargaining (Fligstein, 1997; Maguire et al., 2004). Finally, scholars have examined the enabling and constraining conditions under which actors adopt the role of institutional entrepreneur, including their social network position (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Leblebici, Salancik, Copay, & King, 1991), status (Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003) and career path (Battilana, 2006). Also important in enabling actors to deploy agency are the conditions of an organizational field (Dorado, 2005; Fligstein, 1997). For instance, institutional entrepreneurship has been studied in mature (Greenwood et

al. 2002; Greenwood & Suddany, 2006) and emerging organizational fields (Déjean et al., 2004; Maguire et al., 2004).

Although previous studies on institutional entrepreneurship have provided useful insights into how institutional change occurs through agentic behavior, our understanding of institutional entrepreneurship remains limited. First of all, most research is oriented toward the dyadic relationship between a successfully institutionalized change project and the individual actors assumed to have been critical in this process (e.g., Fligstein & Mara-Drita, 1996; Lawrence & Phillips, 2004). Consequently, institutional entrepreneurs are portrayed as 'heroic' actors able to bring about field-level change autonomously (Hardy & Maguire, 2008). This imagery is over-simplified as it overlooks the types of institutional entrepreneurship that can be distributed across actors, actions, space and time (Garud & Karnoe, 2003; Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007; Quack, 2007). Second, by solely focusing on successful change projects, the literature has tended to overlook the fact that attempts at institutional change may fail (exceptions include Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Rao & Giorgi, 2006) and thus risks building a theory on agency within institutional change based on a sample with bias toward only successful institutional entrepreneurs.

1.2   Research goal and questions

There is thus reason to believe that the concept of institutional entrepreneur is more dynamic and complex than it has been portrayed in the literature so far. Specifically, the multiplicity and temporality of actors engaged in the creation and transformation of institutions has not yet been fully appreciated. Hence this thesis seeks to re-examine the hero portrayal of institutional entrepreneurs through a fine-grained analysis of actors engaged in institutional entrepreneurship over time in a mature organizational field. As part of this explorative research process, this thesis aims to develop a model that integrates and extends existing insights into the role of actors in the creation and modification of institutions over time. To do so, it draws on the process perspective in organization science (Mohr, 1982; Ring & van de Ven, 1994; van de Ven & Poole, 1990), and defines institutional entrepreneurship as follows (see Figure 1-1):

The sequence of different types of events as manifestations of actions produced by individual and organizational actors, which potentially contribute to the creation of new institutions or the transformation of existing ones in an organizational field.
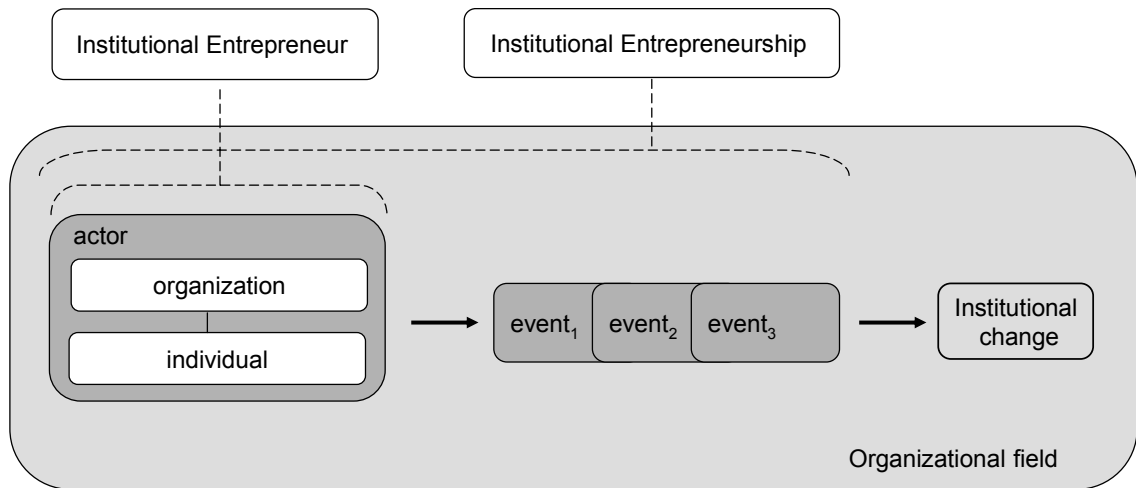
Figure 1-1 A process approach to institutional entrepreneurship

Based on the above, the research problem of this thesis is framed in terms of the following question:

How does institutional entrepreneurship in a mature organizational field unfold over time?

Answering this research question, however, calls for more than just a comprehensive study of the events produced by actors in order to develop, spread and implement new institutions. It must also seek to explain how and why the transformation process "got from point *a* to point *b* to point *c* on the timeline" (Poole, van de Ven, Dooley, & Holmes, 2000:13). Hence, the transformation of the mature organizational field under study is addressed through two separate but closely related studies, one that asks which actors are engaged in institutional entrepreneurship over time, and a second that examines the nature of and reasons for such engagement in institutional entrepreneurship by singling out one particular organization, that is a business-interest organization. Combined, these studies constitute a fine-grained analysis of how actors have worked for change in the mature organizational field under study and how and why a trade association responded to these calls for change. Each study is underlain by the specific research questions outlined below.

1.2.1 Who is engaged in institutional entrepreneurship over time?

One major challenge to the emergent theory of institutional entrepreneurship is understanding how actors can develop practices that deviate from an existing institutional order. After all, this institutional order simultaneously constrains and conditions their scope of action. One resolution to this 'paradox of embedded agency' (Beckert, 1999; Holm, 1995; Seo & Creed, 2002) is to view institutional entrepreneurship as distributed across actors (Garud, Hardy, & Maguire, 2007). However, whereas the notion of distributed agency is not new (e.g., Bijker, 1987;

Garud & Karnoe, 2003), there is little research that systematically traces the multiplicity of actors engaged in institutional entrepreneurship over time.

One primary reason for this paucity is that such investigation poses a challenging task methodologically. To use Hargrave and Van de Ven's (2006) metaphor of an optical lens, it requires that the research both 'zooms out' on the actors engaged in processes of change in an organizational field and 'zooms in' on the various actors working at different moments in time as institutional entrepreneurs in this field. Such a multilevel approach to institutional entrepreneurship is rare because most scholars only single out one particular actor performing the role of institutional entrepreneur. In addition, the literature offers few operational definitions of institutional entrepreneurs that help differentiate the institutional entrepreneur from the many other actors engaged in a change process. Instead, most scholars simply state that this or that actor *is* the institutional entrepreneur, usually because this actor is assumed to play a significant role in producing a successful change project (e.g., Lawrence & Phillips, 2004; Leca & Naccache, 2006; Munir & Phillips, 2005).

Thus, exploring the distributed character of institutional entrepreneurship requires the development of a methodology that captures the multiplicity of actors engaged in institutional change processes and that teases out the various activities they under-take at different points in time. Hence, the first subquestion for this study is: *Who is engaged in institutional entrepreneurship over time?*

1.2.2 How and why do business-interest organizations engage in institutional entrepreneurship?

Business-interest organizations like trade organizations and professional associations play a pivotal role in organizational fields (Scott, 2008; Washington, 2004). More specifically, when they possess authority and legitimacy, they define the rules of membership and the standards of practice (Lawrence, 1999) and facilitate the social construction of what is considered socially desirable and appropriate in a given field (Galvin, 2002).

Hence, it is reasonable to expect that trade and professional associations play some type of role in institutional entrepreneurship as it has been characterized as a collective, distributed activity in the previous section. Yet, although empirical studies support this notion (Greenwood et al., 2002; Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007; Patterson, 2006; Vermeulen, Büch, & Greenwood, 2007), such a role has been undertheorized in studies of institutional entrepreneurship (Greenwood et al., 2002; Munir, 2005).

This weakness may be remedied by studying business-interest organizations that seemingly promise ready identification of the mechanisms underpinning institutional entrepreneurship. As Lounsbury and Crumley (2007:1006) point out, "giving field- and organization-level actors equal billing" facilitates the emergence of "a more distributed notion of institutional entrepreneurship." Therefore, the second study takes business-interest organizations as the reference organization (van de Ven & Poole, 2002) and asks the following question: *How and why do business-interest organizations engage in institutional entrepreneurship?*

1.3 Empirical context

This thesis deals specifically with the Dutch field of outbound tour operations, which can be characterized as a mature organizational field for its shared practices and norms in developing and marketing outbound holidays and the configuration of central and peripheral players in the field. Outbound tour operators buy travel, accommodation, and leisure activities from different suppliers and sell them to consumers as newly branded holiday packages. They thus hold an intermediary position in the global tourism supply chain. In recent decades, however, the tour operating industry has been struggling with issues of corporate social responsibility (e.g., Cavlek, 2002; Lawrence, Wickins, & Phillips, 1997; Miller, 2001), including the impact of tourism on natural and cultural beauty, the role of tourism in climate change and the position of local communities in tourism development in developing countries. Hence, tour operators have been working increasingly on sustainable tourism (e.g., Budeanu, 2005; Budeanu, 2007; Font, Tapper, Schwartz, & Kornilaki, 2008). Following a brief introduction to the concept of sustainable tourism, this section continues to argue why the setting of the Dutch outbound tour operations field was chosen to explore the distributed and temporal characteristics of institutional entrepreneurship.

1.3.1 The concept of sustainable tourism

According to the 2008 statistics of the World Travel and Tourism Council, global travel and tourism accounts for almost 10% of the world's gross domestic product (GDP), a figure that is expected to continue growing (WTTC, 2008). However, tourism not only generates jobs and wealth. It also causes environmental, sociocultural, economic and political problems in holiday destinations (e.g., van Wijk, 2000) and contributes to global environmental problems including climate change (Gössling, 2002).

Given the adverse impacts of tourism, there is now wide recognition of the need for sustainable development in tourism. In the 1990s, the issue of sustainable tourism – which is "a positive approach intended to reduce the tensions and frictions created by the complex interactions between the tourism industry, visitors, the environment and the communities which are host to holiday makers…an approach which involves working for the long-term viability and quality of both natural and human resources" (Bramwell & Lane, 1993:2) – came to the fore and eventually redirected the discourse and practices in the tourism industry. How it did so is less clear.

After all, conceptualizations of sustainable tourism are numerous and include ecotourism, responsible tourism, environmentally friendly tourism, fair trade tourism, pro-poor tourism and cultural tourism. Moreover, the concept of sustainable tourism is highly contested as being multidimensional, normative and nonoperational (Saarinen, 2006; Liu, 2003). Hardy, Beeten, and Pearson (2002) argue that the concept has focused too much on economic and environmental issues rather than local community issues. In addition, whereas tourism contributes to global

environmental problems (Gössling, 2002), the sustainable tourism concept has been linked primarily to impacts at the local level.

Nevertheless, the concept has enabled stakeholders in the tourism industry to engage in deliberations on tourism's impacts (Saarinen, 2006). The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) embraced such participatory process among stakeholders in its 2004 definition of sustainable tourism. From this perspective, sustainable tourism is defined as guaranteeing the industry's long-term sustainability through environmentally, economically and socioculturally sound practices in both mass tourism and the various niche tourism segments. Accordingly, on its Web site, the UNWTO emphasizes the importance of environmental protection, nature conservation and biodiversity; respect for the sociocultural authenticity of host communities; and viable, long-term economic operations that provide socioeconomic benefits to all stakeholders in this development. It also argues that the realization of sustainable tourism requires the informed participation of all relevant stakeholders, strong political leadership, monitoring of impacts and a high level of tourist satisfaction.

1.3.2   The Dutch field of outbound tour operations

The change process toward sustainability in the Dutch field of outbound tour operations began in the 1980s and is still ongoing. Indeed, increasing numbers of tour operators are adopting sustainability as part of their business strategy and daily operations; for instance, by including visits to national parks and development projects in their itineraries and offering consumers the opportunity to offset their carbon emissions. It was for the pressures underlying the emergence and adoption of such corporate norms and practices that tour operators were chosen for this study. That is, given the different hallmarks and eco-labels proposed since the early 1980s to promote more sustainable forms of tourism (e.g., Beckers & Jansen, 1999; Hilferink, 2001), it is highly likely that this context involves institutional entrepreneurship. The broad conceptualization of institutional entrepreneurship holds promise for capturing the wide range of actors engaged in developing corporate norms and practices on sustainability in the tourism field.

In addition, the change process is still under way. Not only are some practices still in the institutionalization process (van der Duim & van Marwijk, 2006); they are also actively debated at conferences and meetings. The concept of organizational field allows studying noncompetitive relations between firms and such actors as governmental bodies and NGOs, both of which play a particularly relevant role in a field's transition toward sustainability (e.g., Hoffman, 1997). Most notable, viewing organizational fields as relational spaces (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008) makes it possible to study distinct organizations' engagement with one another, for instance at conferences and workshop meetings, while they make sense of the sustainability issue. Thus, this field offers a valuable opportunity to examine actors working for change in vivo and in situ.

Lastly, VRO/ANVR, the Dutch trade association of tour operators, has played a significant role in the entire change process. In the beginning, the association took

the view that tour operators were to inform their customers of the potential negative impacts of holidays and monitor the quality of holiday destinations. By 2003, however, the association introduced an obligatory environmental management tool by which individual tour operators were held accountable. The introduction of this scheme was all the more salient given that most member tour operators strongly opposed it (van Marwijk & van der Duim, 2004). Hence, overall, this setting promised a rich context for empirical study on the role of agency in institutional change.

1.4   Outline of the book

This chapter briefly introduced the research aim and questions that underlie the present thesis. To address the hero-portrayal of institutional entrepreneurs found in most studies of institutional entrepreneurship, this thesis explores which actors have been engaged in the change process toward sustainability in the Dutch outbound tour operations field and what in particular has been the role played by the trade association of ANVR tour operators. *Chapter 2* continues this introduction by highlighting the theoretical lens of institutional entrepreneurship theory. A detailed discussion of methods to construct the case history of the Dutch outbound tour operations field (*Chapter 3*) and the case history itself follow (*Chapter 4*). *Chapters 5 and 6* directly address the research questions of this thesis and thus constitute the analytical chapters. These two chapters differ from the other chapters in their organization, as they are set up as separate, sectionally structured academic papers (including an introduction, theoretical framework, methodological considerations, findings, discussion, and conclusion). These chapters are currently (Spring 2009) under review for publication. Consequently, some overlap between these chapters and other parts of this thesis is unavoidable. This is one unfortunate consequence of the various obligations and demands posed on PhD students to date: to publish a thesis, and to publish in academic journals. Finally, *Chapter 7*, by drawing on the findings and discussions in Chapters 5 and 6 and pertinent literature, presents an inductive model that integrates and extends existing insights regarding the role of actors in institutional change. All in all, this thesis thus comprises four parts aimed at building theory on institutional entrepreneurship. Following the first part in which the theoretical background of this thesis is presented, the second part progresses to construct the case history. The analysis of this case history follows in the third part, and the fourth part is the conclusion. The specific content of these parts is outlined in Figure 1-2 and briefly discussed below.

First, to provide an overview of the theoretical framework for this research, *Chapter 2* reviews the body of literature on institutional entrepreneurship, details why the concept of institutional entrepreneur was introduced into institutional theory and discusses how the concept has been deployed in both theoretical and empirical studies. *Chapter 3* then provides insights into construction of the case history on sustainable tourism in the Dutch outbound tour operations field. More specifically, it introduces the field, maps out the arguments for choosing it as the empirical setting and then outlines the research design, the data sources and the analyses on which

the historical case was built. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the research reliability and validity. *Chapter 4* provides a historical account of the change process toward more sustainable forms of tourism. This rich and detailed case history pays particular attention to the steps taken by the trade association VRO/ANVR with respect to the sustainable tourism issue. The focus then shifts to an analytical approach as *Chapter 5* addresses the first research question in the framework of institutional entrepreneurship theory. More specifically, drawing on a novel process research strategy, it discusses who can be considered an institutional entrepreneur in the change process toward sustainable tourism over time, and in what form, to what degree and at which stage of the change process. *Chapter 6* then addresses the second research question by analyzing how and why the trade association VRO/ANVR became involved in promoting sustainable tourism among its members. This chapter concludes with a process model of institutional entrepreneurship in mature organizational fields. To close, *Chapter 7* summarizes the study findings and proposes an integrative framework for institutional entrepreneurship. It also explains how the present work contributes to current understanding of institutional entrepreneurship, both theoretically and methodologically, outlines the practical implications of the findings and proposes promising avenues for future research.

Part I: Setting off

Ch 1: Introduction

Ch 2: Theoretical background

Part II: Constructing the case history

Ch 3: Methodology

Ch 4: Moving toward sustainable tourism, 1980-2005

Part III: Analyzing the case

Ch 5: Zooming out and Zooming in on IESHIP

Ch 6: IESHIP and business-interest organizations

Part IV: Closure

Ch 7: Discussion and Conclusions
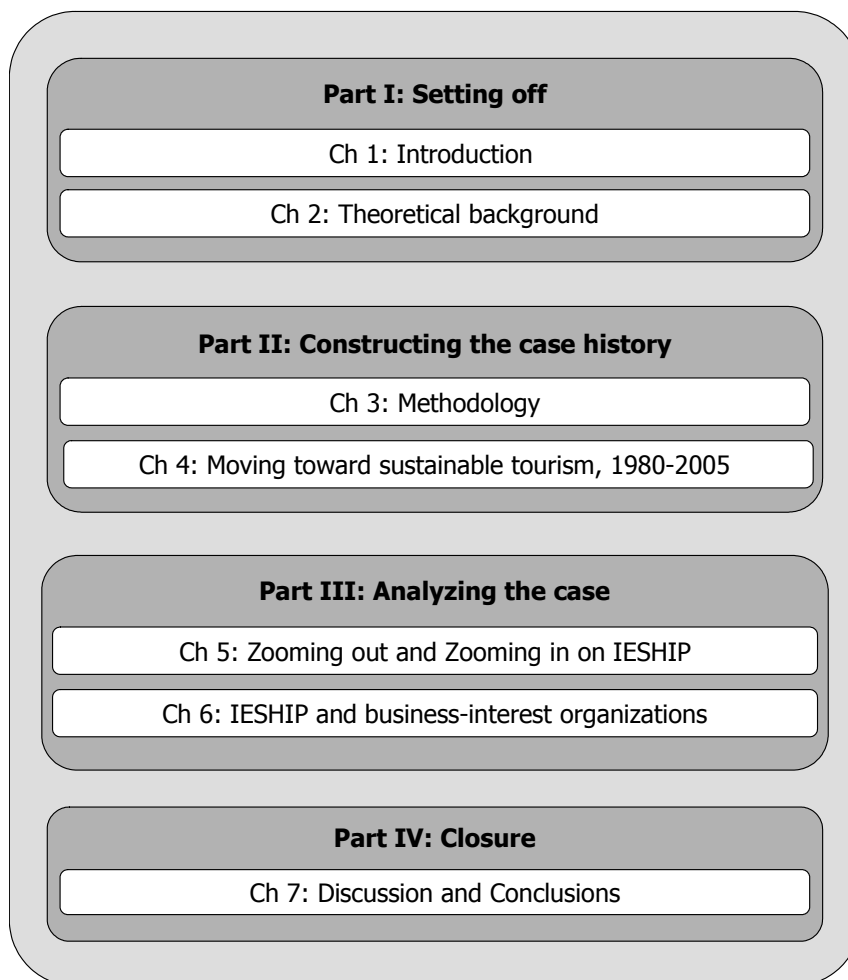
Figure 1-2 Outline of the book

2.   Theoretical background

2.1   Introduction

Because the analytical chapters of this book address particular facets of the emergent theory on institutional entrepreneurship, this chapter gives an overview of the theoretical framework by reviewing relevant literature. After clarifying the concept of organizational field to explain why the institutional entrepreneur construct was introduced into institutional theory, it examines the elements that make an actor an institutional entrepreneur; namely, reflexive capacity, skills, actions and interests. It then proposes a typology of institutional entrepreneurs based on two discriminating variables: an actor's intention to bring about change and its success in doing so. The chapter concludes by echoing the major concerns voiced recently in the literature about the very construct of institutional entrepreneur, critiques that will be addressed in more detail in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

2.2   Organizational fields

Central to institutional theory is the concept of organizational field, "those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies and other organizations that produce similar services or products" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983:143). Such a field may also be defined as "a community of organizations that partakes of a common meaning system and whose participants interact more frequently and fatefully with one another than with actors outside the field" (Scott, 1994:207–208). Thus, an organizational field is conceptualized as an industry expanded with diverse organizations that are critical to industry performance (Scott, 2008). This conceptualization is perhaps most clearly expressed in the term 'industry fields' (Galvin, Ventresca, & Hudson, 2005). For instance, the organizational field of whale watching in Canada comprises whale watching operators, researchers, government fishery departments, environmental non-governmental organizations (NGOs), travel agencies and other tourism-related firms (Lawrence et al., 1997). This illustrative example shows that organizational fields include both competitive relations among firms and noncompetitive relations. Hoffman (1999) argues that field members are those involved in a debate about a particular issue. Organizational fields thus form around issues rather than technologies, products or services.

Hence, organizational fields have two components: a set of institutions – including practices, meaning systems and regulations – and a set of organizations that are related to one another (Lawrence & Phillips, 2004). Because these features may vary between organizational fields, scholars talk of emerging fields (Déjean et al., 2004; Maguire et al., 2004), mature fields (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Greenwood et al., 2002), fragmented fields (D'Aunno, Succi, & Alexander, 2000) and turbulent fields (Farjoun, 2002), whose different field conditions are elaborated in Section 2.3.3.

The ways in which fields shape organizational life have long interested institutional theorists, who propose that organizations within the same field experience coercive, normative and mimetic pressures (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Whereas coercive pressures are exerted through external regulations, sanctions, lawsuits, political lobbying, public opinion and protests, normative pressures stem from industry standards, 'best practices' and the practical knowledge put forward by academics, consultants, and trade and professional associations. In contrast, mimetic pressures result from competitors setting the example for the industry (Hoffman, 1997). One major premise of institutional theory is that organizations strive for social approval and acceptance (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Meyer & Scott, 1983; Suchman, 1995); that is, they respond to the three pressures in a similar fashion, resulting in interorganizational homogeneity.

This emphasis on isomorphism and stability, however, has led to criticism that institutional theory pays scant attention to change processes (Brint & Karabel, 1991; DiMaggio, 1988; Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; Hirsch & Lounsbury, 1997; Oliver, 1991; Seo & Creed, 2002). Thus, scholars have recently begun to examine how change in organizational fields comes about (Dacin et al., 2002). Nevertheless, this stream of inquiry is also characterized by a troubling dichotomy. Whereas some scholars refer to exogenous shocks, 'jolts' or crises such as technological breakthroughs, social upheaval or regulatory changes that set a field in motion (Fligstein, 1991; Hoffman, 1999; Hoffman & Ocasio, 2001; Meyer, 1982), other theorists refer to endogenous sources of change, referred to as institutional entrepreneurship (e.g., Battilana, 2006; DiMaggio, 1988; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006).

According to Munir (2005), such a dichotomy between exogenous and endogenous sources of change overlooks the social constructivist roots of institutional theory (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). That is, the meaning of jolts to the field is socially constructed by actors who bring events to society's notice, events that Leca and Naccache (2006), in a departure from critical realism, argue are used by institutional entrepreneurs in their quest for change. Thus, from this viewpoint, institutional entrepreneurs are likely to be part of some process of institutional change.

Within such a framework, institutional entrepreneurship can be defined as "the activities of actors who have an interest in particular institutional arrangements and who leverage resources to create new institutions or to transform existing ones" (Maguire et al., 2004:657) and the actors engaged in such activities are called 'institutional entrepreneurs' (DiMaggio, 1988). It should be noted that by conceptualizing these actors as active and inventive agents rather than passive absorbers of institutional pressures, DiMaggio has put agency, interests and power

back on institutional theory's research agenda.[1] Moreover, this broadening of the conceptual lens from institutional entrepreneur to institutional entrepreneurship enables better understanding of (and places more emphasis on) the dynamics of creating new or altering existing institutions. Hence, the following discussion of the related literature uses institutional entrepreneurship as the theoretical lens through which to explain the occurrence of institutional change in organizational fields.

2.3   Institutional entrepreneurs

Institutional entrepreneurs, defined as *"organized actors with sufficient resources who see in the creation of new institutions an opportunity to realize their interests"* (DiMaggio, 1988:14), play a pivotal role in creating new institutions or changing existing ones. Scott (2008:98) defines institutional entrepreneurs as "people (or organizations) who participate in the creation of new types of organizations or new industries, tasks that require marshalling new technologies, designing new organizational forms and routines, creating new supply chains and markets, and gaining cognitive, normative and regulatory legitimacy." According to Strang and Sine (2002), institutional entrepreneurs can be categorized into three types: states and professions that take the lead in transforming fields 'from the top'; marginal actors, newcomers, outsiders and underperformers; and collective agents who work for change with a common interest. Somewhat similarly, Scott (2008) lists various actors that have the ability to perform the role of institutional entrepreneur, including nation-states, professions, trade and professional associations, corporate elites, marginal players, social movements and 'rank-and-file' participants.

The diversity of these actors is supported by empirical accounts of institutional entrepreneurship, which has also shown that they can be either individual (e.g., Fligstein, 1997; Maguire et al., 2004; Mutch, 2007) or organizational (e.g., Déjean et al., 2004; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006). More specifically, institutional entrepreneurs are to be found among authors (Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2004), activists (Lounsbury, Ventresca, & Hirsch, 2003; Maguire et al., 2004; Rao, 1998; Rao, Morrill, & Zald, 2000), professionals (DiMaggio, 1991; Zilber, 2007), elite firms (Garud et al., 2002; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Munir, 2005), peripheral firms (Leblebici et al., 1991; Vermeulen et al., 2007), small business entrepreneurs (Anand & Peterson, 2000; Lawrence & Phillips, 2004), organizational members (Zilber, 2002), governmental agents (Child, Lu, & Tsai, 2007; Fligstein, 2001a; Reay &

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[1] In general, institutional theory can be divided into three streams of thought. The earliest and most traditional was the *'old institutionalism'* typified by Selznick (1949) and colleagues, which focused on politics, conflicts and interests in local organizational life. Subsequently, there emerged a *'new institutionalism'* promoted by scholars like DiMaggio and Powell (1983, 1991) in which organizational fields became the main level of analysis. However, new institutionalism, rather than addressing change and diversity, emphasized stability and homogeneity through processes of institutional isomorphism. Hence, out of attempts to synthesize old and new institutionalism (e.g., Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; Lounsbury, 1997; Hirsch & Lounsbury, 1997), a third stream, *'neo-institutionalism'*, emerged, which pays increased attention to human agency, interests and power as expressed in the concept of the institutional entrepreneur.

Hinings, 2005) and collaborators (Lawrence et al., 2002; Wijen & Ansari, 2007). Nevertheless, even though each type of actor performs the role of institutional entrepreneur in his or her own way, the literature suggests that institutional entrepreneurs as actors share a number of commonalities: a reflexive capacity, particular skills and different behavioral activities to pursue their interests.

2.3.1   Reflexive capacity

One major challenge in developing a theory of institutional entrepreneurship is understanding how individual and organizational actors can work for change in an institutional environment that simultaneously constrains and conditions their actions (Battilana, 2006; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Leca & Naccache, 2006). This challenge thus touches upon the classic sociological debate on structure and agency (Giddens, 1984).

The general premise of institutional entrepreneurship theory is that actors can overcome the 'paradox of embedded agency' (Beckert, 1999; Holm, 1995; Seo & Creed, 2002) because of their capability "to take a reflective position towards institutionalized practices and [to] *envision* alternative modes of getting things done" (Beckert, 1999:786, emphasis in the original). Likewise, Emirbayer and Mische (1998:984) contend that actors are "capable of distancing themselves (at least in partial exploratory ways) from the schemas, habits, and traditions that constrain social identities and institutions." Drawing on critical realism, Leca and Naccache (2006:644) also ascribe a reflexive capacity to actors, claiming that they are able to "select skillfully the institutional logics, according to the context and to the interests and values of the other actors whose support they seek." Similarly, Mutch (2007) uses the concept of 'autonomous reflexivity' – internal conversations in isolation from others – to explain how actors may act as institutional entrepreneurs.

This reflexivity, the literature suggests, can be prompted by a variety of factors. For instance, Seo and Creed (2002:231) propose that field-level contradictions may engender an actor's shift from an "unreflective and passive mode to a reflective and active one." At the same time, institutional scholars, drawing on social network theory, argue that peripheral actors, who have been less infused with the dominant logics of the field, are more likely to take a reflexive stance toward the institutional order, while central organizations, being "more informed, continually socialized, better advantaged, and thus more embedded and resistant to change" (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006:30) are less likely to take on the role of institutional entrepreneur.

In contrast, Greenwood and Suddaby (2006) show how, in the Canadian field of professional business services, the elite Big Five accountancy firms have introduced multidisciplinary practices. Specifically, combining insights from both dialectical and social network theory, they suggest that actors who bridge fields become less susceptible to pressures for isomorphism and are more likely to experience field-level contradictions. That is, if motivated to change, elite firms are better able to draw on their more heterogeneous set of relationships for ideas, legitimacy and other resources with which to act on those contradictions. A similar argument put forward by Boxembaum and Battilana (2005) suggests that individuals embedded in multiple

fields, having been exposed to different logics and practices, are more likely to be reflective toward the prevailing institutional arrangements. Likewise, in developing a theory of institutional entrepreneurship at the individual level, Battilana (2006:666) argues that individuals who occupy positions high on the organizational hierarchy or switch jobs frequently are more likely to "distance [themselves] from the dominant institutional arrangements and to make judgments about them."

2.3.2 Skills

The literature also suggests that institutional entrepreneurs' skills set them apart from other actors in the organizational field. For instance, Fligstein (1997) argues that socially skillful actors, able to induce cooperation among field constituents through the provision of common meanings and identities, are better at producing desired changes. Other authors (e.g., Garud et al., 2002; Maguire et al., 2004), attribute to institutional entrepreneurs the political skills to negotiate, bargain and engage in the horse trading necessary to sustain cooperation in an organizational field. Likewise, Phillips et al. (2004:648) suggest that they are gifted with the rhetorical skills to produce "convincing texts that become part of central and enduring discourses in the field," while Phillips and Tracey (2007) portray them as opportunity seekers that must have the skills to identify both institutional and commercial opportunities. Finally, Perkmann and Spicer (2007) conceptualize institutional entrepreneurs as multiskilled actors who draw on political, analytical and cultural skills. These skills are related to different tasks. In order to maintain institutions, political skills like networking, bargaining and interest mediation are deployed. When reflecting on dominant institutional arrangements and seeking opportunities for change, actors draw on analytical skills. And cultural skills are essential for framing issues in such a way that they connect with broader values and normative attitudes and create common identities. Thus, Perkmann and Spicer (2007) integrate the literature on skills and institutional entrepreneurship by distinguishing skills per task in processes of institutional change.

2.3.3 Actions

To succeed, institutional entrepreneurs must mobilize "sufficient resources" around their change project (DiMaggio, 1988:14). Yet, despite the relevance of resource mobilization in institutional entrepreneurship, resources are little theorized in the literature (Hardy & Maguire, 2008). Rather, most scholars mention resources only in general terms like cognitive, social and material support (Dorado, 2005); symbolic and material resources (Maguire et al., 2004); legitimacy, finances and personnel (Rao et al., 2000); and political, financial, organizational (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006) and discursive resources (Phillips et al., 2004; Zilber, 2007). The strategies and tactics pursued by institutional entrepreneurs to garner support for their desired change projects have, however, been much studied under the rubric of institutional entrepreneurship. For Colomy (1998) in particular, studying institutional entrepreneurs means studying the projects through which they advance their

particular ideals and material interests; for example, how they acquire the resources, power and legitimacy necessary to implement their project, and how they enlist support for and defuse resistance against it.

Among the modes of action used by institutional entrepreneurs, the most studied appears to be the discursive activities by which institutional entrepreneurs attempt to enroll others in their change project. Such discourse not only provides common meanings and identities (Fligstein, 1997), it also frames issues and problems so that they connect to stakeholder routines and values (Maguire et al., 2004; Rao et al., 2000), theorizes about solutions (Greenwood et al., 2002; Maguire et al., 2004) and either deploys the cultural logics from the organizational field or imports logics from other fields (Rao & Giorgi, 2006).

Hence, in developing a discursive theory of institutional entrepreneurship, Munir and Phillips (2005) point to various discursive strategies used by institutional entrepreneurs, including blurring the boundaries of the field, defining new roles for field actors, and creating new institutions at the field level and altering existing ones. Likewise, Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy (2004) propose that institutional entrepreneurs can be successful when they draw on discourses from other fields or society in general, produce texts that are readable and clear, and ensure that such texts are noticed and consumed. This latter, however, can only be realized if the texts are spread throughout the field and the author's authority, legitimacy and centrality are increased.

To build upon this notion of language as an influential tool (Green, 2004), Suddaby and Greenwood (2005) explore the rhetoric by which institutional entrepreneurs attempt to gain legitimacy for their desired change. Based on their study of the contestation over multidisciplinary partnerships in the professional field of accountancy, the authors suggest that institutional entrepreneurs draw on contradictions in professional logics to legitimate their innovation and then align their call for change with broader cultural templates. To Zilber (2007), on the other hand, institutional entrepreneurship involves the telling of stories that frame past events and cast actors in certain roles. Through such storytelling, institutional entrepreneurs offer other field constituents a frame of reference of both the past and future.

Nevertheless, institutional entrepreneurs are not merely rhetoricians: to mobilize field actors to cooperate and to sustain cooperation, they must also engage in political activities (Garud et al., 2002; Maguire et al., 2004). Thus, bargaining and brokering, allying, offering incentives and a diversity of 'behind the scene' actions may be productive in convincing field actors that the institutional project is in their interest (Fligstein, 1997). Likewise, these entrepreneurs can jumpstart change processes by setting up collaborations, coalitions and alliances (Dorado, 2005; Lawrence et al., 2002; Wijen & Ansari, 2007).

In other cases, however, institutional entrepreneurs may act more restrictively by deciding on the definition and meaning of an institutional community's membership rules and the establishment of technical, legal or market standards that define the 'normal' processes involved in the production of some good or service (Lawrence, 1999). Change in a field may also be imposed from the top by field

reformers (Strang & Sine, 2002). For instance, Reay and Hinings (2005) show how governmental interference changed the structure and logic of the health care system in the province of Alberta, Canada.

Nonetheless, whether the calls for change are heard, resonate in the field and are enacted depends on the existence of 'political opportunities' (Rao & Giorgi, 2006; Rao et al., 2000) or for that matter macrolevel 'cultural opportunities' (Lawrence & Phillips, 2004). Thus, Dorado (2005) speaks of 'opportunity opaque, transparent or hazy' organizational fields. In addition, following Fligstein's (1997) claim that institutional entrepreneurship is contingent on the conditions of the organizational field, researchers have studied institutional entrepreneurship in both mature (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Greenwood et al., 2002) and emergent organizational fields (Déjean et al., 2004; Lawrence, 1999; Maguire et al., 2004), whose differences are delineated in Table 2-1 based on several studies.[2]

Table 2-1 Mature versus emerging organizational fields

	Mature field	Emerging field
Field boundary	- Established, although implicitly contested	- No clear boundaries yet; boundaries are permeable
Discourse	- Stable and coherent	- Shared values and norms and common language still need to be developed
Social interactions	- High level, structured and organized	- No established patterns of social interactions; relationships are fluid and vulnerable - No coordinated action
Governance structures	- In place and functioning	- Still need to be developed - Channels for communication and diffusion are weak or still need to be established
Institutions	- Widely diffused and legitimate	- Narrowly diffused and weakly entrenched
Set of actors	- Relatively homogeneous with a clear hierarchy of elite and peripheral actors - Dominant actors control the economic and cultural capital	- Relatively heterogeneous with no clear leaders

2.3.4 Interests

Engagement in institutional entrepreneurship, however, requires more than sufficient reflexivity to foresee opportunities for change and the skills and actions to exploit these opportunities: actors must also be *motivated* to work for change (Greenwood &

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[2] This table is based on Greenwood et al. (2002); Maguire et al. (2004); Reay and Hinings (2005).

Suddaby, 2006). Indeed, DiMaggio's (1988) seminal definition suggests that such motivation is the case when actors have an interest in creating an alternative institutional order.

To Fligstein (2001b:113) institutional entrepreneurs are not narrowly self-interested but rather focus on "the evolving collective ends." Such ideologically driven institutional entrepreneurs are exemplified by activists in the field of HIV/AIDS treatment practices (Maguire et al., 2004), the chefs in the French nouvelle cuisine movement (Rao et al., 2003), the organizations combating child labor in Pakistan (Khan, Munir, & Willmott, 2007) and the individuals and organizations working against climate change (Canan & Reichman, 2002; Wijen & Ansari, 2007). According to Hinings, Greenwood, Reay, and Suddaby (2004), this type of institutional entrepreneur – like the insurgents of social movement theory that attempt to improve situations of grievance and disadvantage – is goaded by political considerations.

Colomy (1998:271), on the other hand, emphasizes that institutional entrepreneurs are not "disinterested, altruistic agents of greater systemic effectiveness or efficiency." Rather, their institutional work is inseparable from their own particular material and ideal interests. In the words of Greenwood and Suddaby (2006:28), they are "interest-driven, aware and calculative." For instance, the Big Five accountancy firms these authors studied saw the introduction of multidisciplinary practices as an opportunity to sustain their economic performance and growth rates (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006). Likewise, Munir (2005) illustrates how Kodak acted strategically when its economic and technological dominance in the photographic field was threatened. Specifically, Munir and Phillips (2005:1667) found that "Kodak managed strategically to embody its interests in the evolving institutional framework through carefully planned and executed discursive practices." Somewhat similarly, based on her study of the high-tech field in Israel, Zilber (2007) argues that the stories about the end of the dot.com bubble were driven by vested interest in the prevailing institutional order. Taken as a whole, these actors are seemingly motivated by what Hinings et al. (2004) call technical considerations. That is, when current practices are not effective in dealing with the conditions and challenges of the field, agents develop alternative practices that challenge the existing institutional order and associated interests.

2.4   A typology of institutional entrepreneurs

Whereas Section 2.3 presented several commonalities shared by institutional entrepreneurs, this section identifies the primary discriminating variables among institutional entrepreneurs and other field constituents. Most particularly, according to the literature, institutional entrepreneurs differ from other actors in the field along two dimensions: their *intention* to bring about institutional change and the *consequences* of their actions to organizational fields (see Table 2-2). Actors for whom these two observations do not hold, in contrast, can be thought of as ordinary members of the field who reproduce its taken-for-granted norms and practices (the lower-right quadrant in Table 2-2).

Yet, as Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) point out, the reproduction of institutions requires agency. Thus, under the rubric of 'institutional work,'[3] these authors list a range of activities purposively produced by individuals and organizations to create, disrupt and maintain institutions. Institutional work is hence to be viewed as institutional entrepreneurship expanded by activities for institutional maintenance, a view echoed by Hardy and Maguire's (2008) suggestion that institutional entrepreneurship might include activities to ensure the reproduction of institutions. Following this line of thought, the actors in the lower-right quadrant in Table 2-2 can be considered the institutional workers in the field. That is, they constitute a subset of institutional entrepreneurs: actors who intentionally aim *not* to bring about institutional change and whose efforts thus bring *no* institutional change.

Table 2-2 Typology of institutional entrepreneurs

		Do this actor's efforts bring about institutional change?	
		Yes	No
Does the actor intend to bring about institutional change?	Yes	'Successful' institutional entrepreneurs	'Failed' institutional entrepreneurs
	No	'Accidental' institutional entrepreneurs	'Institutional workers'

2.4.1 Intentions

An actor's intention to bring about institutional change is strongly related to a corresponding interest in changing the institutional order. For example, intention is explicit in Beckert's (1999:789) suggestion that "routinized practices are selectively and partially open to reflexivity, i.e. to intentionality and purposiveness" and in Lawrence et al.'s (2002:289) definition of institutional entrepreneurs as "organizations wishing to effect change in institutional fields." Greenwood and Suddaby (2006:29) also attribute intentionality to institutional entrepreneurs by defining them as "organized actors who envision new institutions as a means of advancing interests they value highly yet which are suppressed by extant logics." Likewise, Dacin et al. (2002:47) conceive of institutional entrepreneurs as "agents of legitimacy supporting the creation of institutions that they deem to be appropriate and aligned with their interests."

Nevertheless, other scholars suggest that the intention to work for institutional change is not always a precondition for institutional entrepreneurial actions. As Battilana (2006:657) puts it, "[i]ndividuals may not be willing to change their institutional environment, they may not even be aware of the fact that they are

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[3] It should be noted that DiMaggio's seminal work (1988:13) also mentions the concept of institutional work, defining it as work "undertaken by actors with material and ideal interest in the persistence of the institution."

contributing to changing their institutional environment; however, they may break with the dominant institutional logic(s), and thereby act as institutional entrepreneurs." In a similar vein, Lawrence (1999:167–68) distinguishes between an intended institutional strategy and an emergent unintentional strategy, "a pattern of organizational action that affects or influences institutional structures while being associated with some other intentions." Scott (2008) also stresses that actors, whether wittingly or not, are engaged in the reproduction and reconstruction of the institutional arrangements, while Fligstein (2001b:113) emphasizes the emergent nature of institutional entrepreneurship by arguing that entrepreneurs "keep their goals somewhat open ended and they are prepared to take what the system will give." The nature of institutional entrepreneurship can thus be seen as "emergent, contingent and reactive" (Lawrence & Phillips, 2004:705).

Empirical studies support these notions of emergence, contingency and reactivity. For example, Leblebici et al. (1991) find that some marginal radio stations' adoption of new formats for raising revenues eventually changed the business model of the entire industry. Likewise, in a study of the emergence of the commercial whale watching industry in Canada, Lawrence and Phillips (2004) show that the entrepreneurial behavior of one individual can have significant institutional consequences in creating a novel industry, albeit not because of the intention to bring about institutional change. Thus, such individuals can be considered 'accidental' institutional entrepreneurs (cf. Aldrich & Kenworthy, 1999).

Finally, Quack (2007), drawing on Holm (1995), attempts to reconcile this issue of intentionality in institutional entrepreneurship by arguing that unintended and incidental actions aimed at solving practical problems intertwine with deliberate institution-building activities.

2.4.2 Institutional consequences

The second discriminating variable between institutional entrepreneurs is the success of an actor's efforts in bringing about institutional change. Therefore, most empirical studies of institutional entrepreneurship examine those actors that have been successful in bringing about institutional change. For example, chefs in the French field of gastronomy have succeeded in replacing the classical cuisine with nouvelle cuisine (Rao et al., 2003). Likewise, in the Canadian field of business services, the jurisdiction of the accountancy profession has been successfully extended to include business advisory services (Greenwood et al., 2002); and in the Canadian field of HIV/AIDS treatment advocacy, new practices of consultation and information exchange have been introduced (Maguire et al., 2004). Still other studies show how institutional entrepreneurial activities have successfully contributed to the emergence of new industries like commercial whale-watching (Lawrence & Phillips, 2004), forensic accounting (Lawrence, 1999) and socially responsible investments (Déjean et al., 2004; Louche, 2004). More recently, however, an interest has emerged in the dark side of 'successful' institutional entrepreneurial projects. For instance, Khan et al. (2007) show how ideologically motivated work against child

labor in the soccer ball manufacturing field has led to negative outcomes for local communities in Pakistan.

Occasionally, the literature does report studies of failed attempts at institutional entrepreneurship, such as Greenwood and Suddaby's (2006) study on the Big Five accountancy firms on which the authoritative power of the SEC quashed attempts at change by these firms. Likewise, Rao and Giorgi (2006) present several cases in which institutional entrepreneurs failed to glean support for the change they were promoting. Their study suggests that institutional entrepreneurs may fail when the political opportunity structure in an organizational field does not support their framing of the desired change project.

2.5   Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the literature on institutional entrepreneurship, the theoretical framework for which is clearly in its infancy. The literature offers evidence of several different conceptualizations of institutional entrepreneurs, ranging from activists to authors and from business entrepreneurs to collective agents. In addition, scholars draw on divergent theoretical perspectives to explain the phenomenon of agency in institutional change, including social movement theory (Fligstein, 2001b; Hensmans, 2003; Rao et al., 2000), cultural frame theory (Fligstein, 2001a), regime theory (Wijen & Ansari, 2007), social network and dialectical theory (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006) and discourse theory (Lawrence & Phillips, 2004; Munir & Phillips, 2005; Zilber, 2007). Finally, the extant literature on institutional entrepreneurship is plagued by the "cries of faulty conceptualizations, inadequate ways of operationalizing the concept, and equivocal empirical results" (Hunt, 1999:131) that typify the evolution of constructs (e.g., Cooper, Ezzamel, & Willmott, 2008; Hardy & Maguire, 2008; Meyer, 2006).

Hence, this current research must necessarily fall into the realm of theory building. Accordingly, it addresses the main criticism of how the institutional entrepreneur is represented in the literature. That is, in their case narratives of institutional change, scholars have ascribed overly heroic qualities to the individuals or organizations they present as institutional entrepreneurs. Likewise, by tracing the change project back directly to a single actor or small number of actors, these scholars frequently overlook the role of other actors in the change process and pay scant attention to such dramatics in institutional entrepreneurship as failures and competition over practices and meanings (Hardy & Maguire, 2008).

Whereas Chapter 5 details this critique and proposes an alternative conceptualization of institutional entrepreneurship that moves beyond heroes and winners in institutional change, Chapter 6 explores the role of a field-level actor in institutional entrepreneurship over time using the Dutch outbound tour operations field as an empirical setting. Hence, the next two chapters detail the features of this field and the methodologies used to construct an overview of the change process toward sustainable tourism in this field (Chapter 3), and the case history (Chapter 4).

PART

2

Constructing the case

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the theoretical lens of institutional entrepreneurship through which this thesis empirically examines the field of outbound tour operations in the Netherlands, including all actors, services and procedures aimed at developing and marketing holidays abroad. This present chapter discusses this field in more detail and presents the methodology used to construct the narrative of the change toward sustainability in this field, which is developed in Chapter 4 and analyzed in Chapters 5 and 6 to provide answers to the two primary research questions. After introducing the research site and justifying the choice of a case study design, this chapter outlines the data sources, including documents, public sources, interviews and participant observation and then describes the drafting of the case history. It concludes with a discussion of methodological reliability and validity.

3.2 Research site

3.2.1 The holiday market

Available statistics illustrate that the Dutch are fond of traveling. In 2007, 81% of the Dutch population went on vacation, with 12.5 million persons spending 35.2 million holidays. Fifty percent of these vacations were spent abroad, with Belgium and Germany being the favorites for short-term holidays and France the holiday destination par excellence for long-term holidays.[4] Of the European countries, Germany, Spain, Austria and Belgium were also among the top holiday destinations. Countries in the Mediterranean (Spain, Italy, Turkey and Greece) were popular for sun holidays. In addition, during the 2006/2007 winter season, Dutch people took 1.0 million winter sports holidays, with Austria taking the lead as a winter sports destination. Among non-European countries, the United States was the most popular destination (CBS, 2008a). Figure 3-1 presents an overview of the outbound holiday destinations in 2007 (CBS, 2008c). Outbound holidays are mostly organized holidays, and particularly, long-term outbound holidays are booked with tour operators and travel agents (CBS, 2008a). In 2007, the car again became the most popular means of transportation for a holiday abroad, although the airplane still accounted for 38% of the long-term outbound holidays and has continued to grow in popularity as a means of transportation. In that same year, the train and touring car had a market share of 2% and 6%, respectively, of the total number of long-term outbound holidays.

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[4] Holidays are long term if they include at least four overnight stays spent outside the private address for leisure or recreation purposes (CBS, 2008a:142).
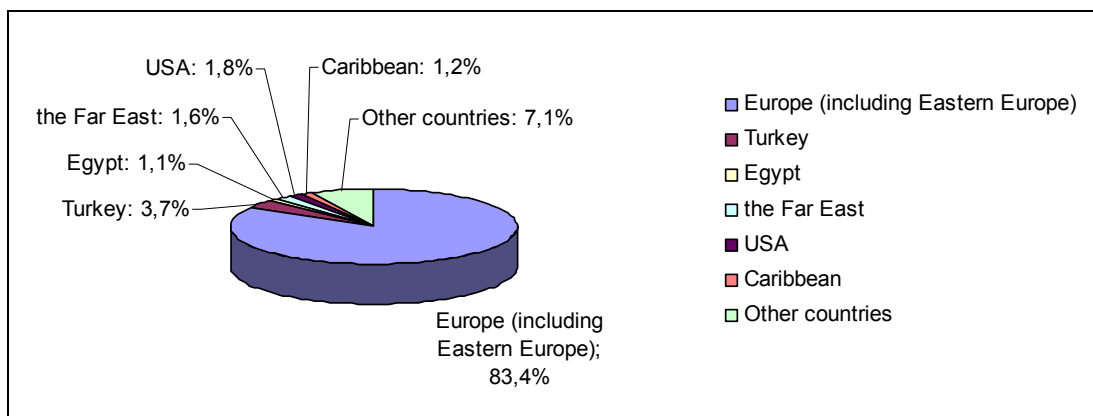
Figure 3-1 Outbound holidays per destination (2007) based on CBS (2008c)

3.2.2 Tour operations firms

Whereas some tourists prefer to travel independently by booking their flights and hotels directly with suppliers, others prefer packaged tours, a prearranged combination of at least two components of transport, accommodation and other tourist services offered for sale at an inclusive price (EC, 1990). Hence, tour operators purchase such services and sell them as newly branded products to consumers through their shops, travel agencies, call centres and the Internet. Thus, by connecting tourism suppliers with consumers, tour operators hold an intermediary position within the tourism supply chain (Figure 3-2). This package holiday concept – instigated by technological innovations in the aircraft industry, changes in labor regulations that allowed for paid holidays, and changes in the tour operations industry itself (Evans, 2003) – became established in Western Europe in the 1960s and helped transform tourism into a mass product. In developing and marketing such holidays, tour operators work closely with transportation firms, accommodation representatives, incoming agents, leisure operators, retailers, national tourism authorities, communications and marketing companies and so on (Molenaar, 2007).
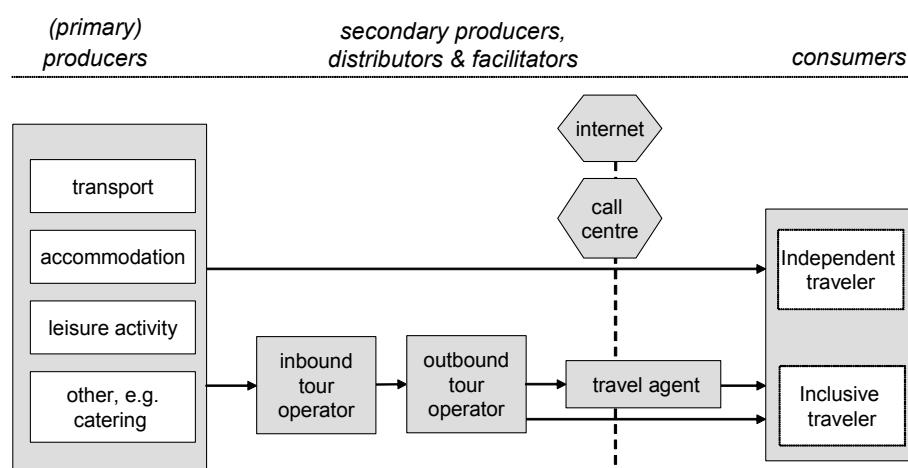
Figure 3-2 Trade structure in the travel and tourism industry
(adapted from CBI, 2005:51; EC, 2003:7)

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In 2007, an estimated 770 tour operators were active in the Netherlands (CBS, 2008b, see Table 3-1). Because the holiday market is satiated in terms of holiday expenditures as a degree of personal consumption, the producers of such holidays in Western Europe operate in a very competitive arena (van Woelderen, 2003). This fierce competition is expressed in small profit margins (normally 1–3%), the axiom 'time is money,' a strong focus on price and volume rather than on quality, and little attention to service quality management in parts of the industry (van der Duim & van Marwijk, 2006). To deal with such cut throat competition, large firms are increasingly becoming vertically and horizontally integrated, while the smaller firms respond with products specially designed for niche markets (Evans, 2003). Thus, the market is differentiated between mainstream tour operators using different brands to sell products across the entire market (e.g., long-haul travel, short city breaks, budget trips and luxury all-inclusive resort holidays) and specialists. These latter aim at a specific target population (e.g., youth, singles, business travelers, families), destination (e.g., USA, Asia or Antarctica), means of transportation (e.g., fly & drive, bike, train, cruises), leisure activities (e.g., golf, clubbing, adventure sports, wellness, culture) or accommodations (e.g., design hotels, ecolodges, country houses).

Table 3-1 Number of tour operators in the Netherlands over time

Year	1995	2000	2005	2006	2007
Number	460	650	720	780	770

Source: CBS, 2008b

One market study of the long-haul tourism market in Europe (CBI, 2005) distinguishes three types of tour operators in the Netherlands, based on passenger volume. Large tour operators like TUI–Netherlands and OAD handle more than 250,000 passengers per year; medium-sized firms, such as Special Traffic, Djoser and Olympia, handle 20,000–250,000 passengers per year; and specialized companies like Avontuur.nu, VNC and Sawadee Travel handle 1,000–20,000 passengers yearly. The latter tour operators serve travelers looking for more exclusive tours at an average price of €1,550 (compared to €687 spent in 2001 for a standard long-term outbound holiday) (van Woelderen, 2003). Table 3-2 provides an overview of the largest tour operators in the Netherlands.

Table 3-2 Top 10 tour operators in the Netherlands (2006)

Name (turnover in millions of euros)	
1. TUI–Netherlands (721)	6. De Reisspecialisten Groep (111.5)
2. Thomas Cook Netherlands (470)	7. Sudtours (100)
3. Oad (458)	8. De Jong Intra Vakanties (95)
4. GoGo Tours / Sunweb (160)	9. ER Travel Group (92.5)
5. Kuoni Travel Nederland (115)	10. Corendon (82.3)

Source: de Reus, 2007

3.2.3 The outbound tour operations field

The field of outbound tour operations in the Netherlands emerged with the advent of travel organizations and tour operations firms in the 1920s. Pioneers included Lissone Lindeman (1928), OAD (Overijsselse Autobus Diensten, 1924), NBBS (Nederlands Bureau voor Buitenlandse Studentenbetrekkingen, 1929), Arke Reizen (1934) and Hotelplan (1935). With the rise of charter airlines like Martin Air (1955) and Transavia (1966), outbound tourism really took off (Eldering, 2001; Looijen, 1997). This field's development may be understood as a process of professionalization. Important developments in this professionalization include the creation of trade associations; the emergence of a body of knowledge expressed through educational institutions, a specialized press and publishing houses; and the establishment of market, technical and legal standards and practices. This section briefly addresses these developments.

Trade associations. The Dutch Association of Travel Agents (Algemene Nederlandse Vereniging van Reisbureaus, ANVR) was founded in 1966 through the merger of the General Association of Travel Organizers (Algemene Vereniging van Organisatoren van Reizen, AVOR) and the Netherlands Association of Passage and Travel Agents (Nederlandse Vereniging van Passage en Reisbureaus, NVPR). Later, members of the Federation of Dutch Travel Advisors (Federatie van Nederlandse Reisadviseurs, FNR) also joined the ANVR (Looijen, 1997), and then in 1988, the association became a federation of the following four independent associations:
− Association of Travel Agents (Vereniging van Reisagenten – VRA)
− Association of Tour Operators (Vereniging van Reisorganisatoren – VRO)
− Association of Inbound Tour Operators (Vereniging van Reisorganisatoren Inkomend Toerisme – VRI)
− Association of Ticketing and Business Travel Agencies (Vereniging van Luchtvaartagenten en Zakenreisbureaus – VLZ)

Because its overall mission is "to join forces to protect the common socio-economic interests of its members in order to become recognized nationally and internationally as representative of the travel industry" (www.anvr.nl), ANVR strives for high standards within the travel and tourism industry in general and among its members in particular. The association is also concerned with the industry's image, consumer issues, aviation, conditions of employment[5] and education. In addition, it acts in the interests of its members by lobbying the government and by representing the members in several national and international organizations, including the Confederation of Netherlands Industry and Employers (VNO–NCW), the International Federation of Tour Operators (IFTO), the European Travel Agents' and Tour Operators' Associations (ECTAA) and the United Federation of Travel Agents' Associations (UFTAA).

One primary reason for firms to become a member of ANVR is its logo, which is widely recognized by consumers as a hallmark of quality. For instance, ANVR, in cooperation with the Dutch Consumers' Association, standardized its members'

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[5] ANVR has been an employers' organization since 1994.

Travel and Booking Conditions and installed the Travel Complaints Board. In addition, the Consumers' Association regularly checks whether firms are using the ANVR logo legitimately (e.g., Consumentenbond, 2004b).

In January 2007, ANVR again became one association, named the Dutch Association of Travel Agents & Tour Operators (Algemene Nederlandse Vereniging van Reisondernemingen), within which operate a tour operations platform and a retail operations platform. Previously, the Netherlands Association of ANVR Tour Operators (VRO/ANVR) had been governed by a board and secretariat and represented on the Board of the Federation. To become a member of the association, firms must meet different criteria such as having an annual turnover of €500.000, being trustworthy and financially healthy according to the board and being a member of the SGR Fund.

Table 3-3 displays the number of tour operators associated with VRO/ANVR over time. In terms of membership, interview respondents from VRO/ANVR suggested that it represents 85–90% of the organized holiday market. For instance, in 2002, the three largest tour operators (TUI, OAD and Thomas Cook) had a market share of 47% in the tour operating market, while the top 10 accounted for 71% of the turnover in the same year (van Woelderen, 2003).

Table 3-3 Membership of VRO/ANVR over time

Year	1995	2000	2005	2006	2007
Number	148	212	172	170	175

Source: ANVR, 1996; 2008

Nevertheless, historically, VRO/ANVR has not been the only professional association for tour operators. At some time before 1995,[6] the Association of Organizations in Adventure Tours (Vereniging organisaties Avontuurlijke Reizen, VAR) united tour operators specializing in adventure holidays, who felt that ANVR's Travel and Booking Conditions were incompatible with their line of business (Avontuur, 1995). Such tour operators, many of whom entered the market in the 1970s, included Baobab Travel (1972), Ashraf (1973), Afriesj Expeditions (1979) and SNP (1983) (Fraaye & van der Post, 1988; Genova, 2003; van Beek, van Vendeloo, Bosma, & van Rooijen, 1987). Such alternative tour operators would be among the first to adopt sustainability issues in their operations (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.1). The managers of such firms tended to be 'free birds,' former students who have traveled through Africa, Latin-America and Asia and were initially unwilling to become affiliated with VRO/ANVR. In 1995, 12 tour operators were associated with VAR, including Sawadee Reizen, Baobab, Afriesj Reizen, Nepal Reizen and Thika Travel (*Algemeen Dagblad*, 1993; Bos & Westerlaken, 1995). Yet, with the growth of their business, most firms eventually became VRO/ANVR members and the VAR ceased to formally exist. Indeed, ANVR's magazine reveals that an executive committee on adventurous and active holidays was installed in early 1997 to discuss the specifics of this type of holiday (*ATLAS,* January 1998b).

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[6] No information was found on the year that VAR was founded.

Body of knowledge. The professionalization of the industry was also visible in the emergence of a shared idiom and knowledge system. For instance, the Netherlands Scientific Institute for Tourism, NWIT, was founded in 1966 (now known as the NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences) and the ANVR vocational training school in 1973. Likewise, the emergence of a specialized press (Bluiminck & Emeis, 2001; Overdijkink, 2001) is evidenced by the launch of the Netherlands Consumer Association's travel magazine *Reisgids* in 1973 with the aim of providing objective information to consumers (*De Reisgids,* 2003) and the first publication of the trade magazine *Reisrevue* in 1982 (Eldering, 2001). Annual trade fairs, beginning with the first Holiday Fair organized at the Utrecht trade mart in 1970 (van Schoonhoven, 2003), also became important channels for marketing holiday offerings.

Standards and practices. The establishment of market, technical and legal criteria also mark the professionalization of the field. For instance, following a market study, also commissioned and financed by the ANVR, the Ministry of Economic Affairs laid down basic criteria for tour operators and travel agents in 1978, including creditworthiness and professional knowledge, to regulate the growth of the industry (Eldering, 2001). With respect to consumer protection standards, in 1971, the ANVR Guarantee Fund was established, as were uniform travel terms (Eldering, 2001). Following a number of company failures, in 1983, this fund was replaced with a new Travel Compensation Fund (SGR), built by adding a surcharge of 4.50 euros to the price of each booking (Maas, 2001). In 1972, the ANVR, together with the Netherlands Consumer Association, installed the Travel Complaints Board (Geschillencommissie Reizen) in place of the Travel Dispute Commission of 1954 (Stichting Nederlandse Reiskamer) (Looijen, 1997). In 2000, following natural disasters and political unrest in some holiday destinations (e.g., in Indonesia during 1998), a calamity fund was established to which each client on a package tour pays a contribution (de Reus, 2001). Remarkably, unlike many other countries, the Netherlands has no Ministry of Tourism; rather, tourism policy is fragmented across different departments.[7] At the international level, the European government (Directorate of General Enterprise, Tourism Unit) and specialized agencies of the United Nations (e.g., the World Tourism Organization, UNWTO, and the United Nations Environment Program, UNEP) are important governing bodies.

Overall, in terms of DiMaggio and Powell (1983), the outbound tour operations field may be considered a mature organizational field: it consists of a well-organized set of elite and peripheral organizations that are aware of their engagement in the

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[7] For instance, the Ministry of Economic Affairs (EZ) is in charge of stimulating domestic and incoming tourism, but the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (OC&W) is in charge of tourism education. Likewise, the Ministry of Transport, Public Works and Water Management (V&W) is involved with mobility and infrastructure issues, but regulations on spatial planning of tourist and recreation facilities in the Netherlands, and policies on sustainable development are the purview of the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM). Nature conservation and recreation are overseen by the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality (LNV), which, although focused primarily on inbound recreation, has received recognition in the outbound tourism arena for its (international) policy on biodiversity. Finally, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (BuZa) is involved with the tourism field through its travel safety warnings and development cooperation.

production and marketing of holiday services; members engage in competitive and cooperative relationships with each other; and they operate according to standardized and legitimate procedures, norms and practices.

3.3   Research design

3.3.1   A case study approach

This investigation of institutional entrepreneurship adopts a case study approach for the following reasons. First, because institutional entrepreneurship is a complex social phenomenon that involves individuals, organizations, modes of action and triggering conditions, it is hard to separate institutional entrepreneurship from its context. Not only is a case study approach the most appropriate research strategy in such instances (Yin, 2003), but this method is also useful for theory-building during the application of a fresh perspective to an already-researched topic (Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). Thus, the aim of this investigation is to add to existing theoretical insights into institutional entrepreneurship by determining which actors engage in institutional entrepreneurship over time and what role business-interest organizations play. In addition, studying institutional change processes requires contextual and longitudinal data (Schneiberg & Clemens, 2006), which is facilitated by the case study approach's focus on time and multiple sources of evidence (Yin, 2003).

Following Pettigrew (1990:275), the empirical setting chosen for the phenomenon of interest – that of institutional entrepreneurship – is likely to be "transparently observable." Most particularly, the different hallmarks and ecolabels put forward since the early 1980s to engender more sustainable forms of tourism (e.g., Beckers & Jansen, 1999; Hilferink, 2001) make it clear that institutional entrepreneurs are active in the field of outbound tour operations. Moreover, because this move toward sustainability in the field is ongoing, some practices have failed to become institutionalized while other practices are still in the process of institutionalization (van der Duim & van Marwijk, 2006). Thus, this context offers the opportunity to examine actors working for change in vivo and in situ.

3.3.2   The embedded case study

The primary focus of this study is the field of outbound tour operations in the Netherlands, which is formed around the production and consumption of package holidays in foreign countries. Thus, this arena necessarily comprises a diverse set of actors, including tour operators, tour guides, travel agents, information technology firms, trade associations, trade press, educational institutions, airline representatives, national tourism authorities, insurance companies, publishing houses, regulatory agents, investors, consumers and consumer associations.

Since the transformation toward sustainable tourism has centrally involved the trade association of ANVR tour operators, VRO/ANVR, this analysis makes close examination of this organization's role in the change process. Most notably, the

VRO/ANVR developed an obligatory product-oriented environmental management scheme (POEMS) to enhance the level of sustainability of their member firms. This scheme, however, was not developed in a social vacuum but was the outcome of several initiatives that not only brought the issue of sustainable tourism to the fore but pushed developments in the field even further (van Marwijk & van der Duim, 2004).

The study of the VRO/ANVR is what Yin (2003) calls an embedded case study, a design that allows researchers to examine particular cases in depth and in detail while still taking the larger context fully into account (see Figure 3-3 for an outline). Here, this design takes the form of a case study of institutional entrepreneurship in the context of the outbound tour operations field in the Netherlands. The association's development of the POEMS scheme, particularly, exemplifies institutional entrepreneurship.
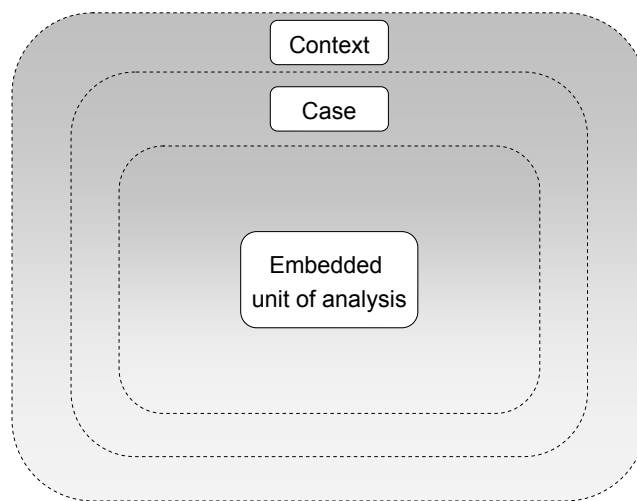
Figure 3-3 An embedded, single case study design

3.3.3 The research journey

It should first be noted that the choice of an embedded case study emerged from insights gained in the initial stage of data collection. That is, guided by the emerging literature on institutional entrepreneurship, my research journey started in early 2004 with explorative interviews and a document analysis designed to give an overall impression of the change process under study. Having been a policy advisor at the Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency, a regular attendant of the tourism industry's annual fairs and an avid follower of the debate on sustainable tourism, I gained easy access to the field. This field work showed that the introduction of the POEMS scheme had caused substantial turmoil in the industry (van Marwijk & van der Duim, 2004). Thus, implementation of the scheme provided an interesting account of how institutional entrepreneurs overcome disinterest, ignorance and opposition from a change process's targeted adopters.

Inspired by the work of Greenwood et al. (2002), I was particularly interested in the theorization strategy pursued by the VRO/ANVR. Therefore, from early 2004 to early 2005, data collection focused on the introduction of POEMS, including

interviews with actors directly engaged in the scheme's development, documentary data from the association and participant observation at meetings in which the scheme was presented and discussed. This data collection was complemented by a modified form of content analysis of two VRO/ANVR publications to extrapolate the association's theorizations on sustainable tourism over time.

Both the field work and the textual analysis drew my attention to two issues. First, the introduction of POEMS was rather unique in an industry characterized by harsh competition and a strong focus on making money. Although making money is clearly a dominant principle in all economic sectors, the price-based competition in the tour operations industry may hamper the creation of sufficient revenues to invest in upgrading tourism services (Horner & Swarbrooke, 2004), such as upgrading toward sustainability. As one respondent put it, "[e]verybody knows each other; it is an old boys' network – friendships, coziness, afternoon drinks, parties – but in the end one would not hesitate to 'cut another's throat' for a better market share" (Interview Respondent D). Another respondent typified the business as follows: "[e]very measure should be feasible. Thus, we approach issues from an economic perspective: is it commercially desirable and is it commercially feasible? That has always been the dominant principle of our work" (Interview Respondent O_1). Second, the relevance of the broader context in which the association was embedded became apparent. More specifically, the data revealed the involvement of numerous actors in the promotion of sustainable tourism whose actions played some type of role in engaging the VRO/ANVR in this issue.

As a result, even though my initial intention had been to conduct a comparative case study of different theorization strategies by institutional entrepreneurs, I realized that another question was more pressing: *In this setting, who is the institutional entrepreneur?* It was at this point that I understood that the context in which the trade association operates is crucial to understanding the development and spread of POEMS as an instance of institutional entrepreneurship. In addition, because my field work revealed that the actors involved often switched jobs or were affiliated with several organizations simultaneously, I recognized the need to capture such dynamics in order to understand institutional entrepreneurship as both an individual and organizational phenomenon (cf. Maguire et al., 2004).

This latter motivated two decisions. First, to take the context fully into account within the time constraints of a PhD project, I adopted the embedded case study design of institutional entrepreneurship in the outbound tour operations field with the VRO/ANVR as an illustrative case. Hence, the second wave of data collection (from mid-2005 to late 2006) focused on events, actions and actors related to sustainable tourism in the wider context of the VRO/ANVR. Second, because events, as phenomena, can be analyzed at both the organizational and individual level (Ring & van de Ven, 1994), I took events as the key units of observation for institutional entrepreneurship. Thus, based on the events that indicate institutional entrepreneurship in the Dutch outbound tour operations field, I was able to identify the individuals who have contributed to the unfolding of change to date (see Chapter 5) and studied the role of the trade association as institutional entrepreneur within this process (see Chapter 6).

3.3.4 Boundaries of the case study

To keep the research manageable, the study field is demarcated geographically and the case study restricted to events occurring within the Netherlands. Hence, international events are taken into account only when mentioned in the data as significant for the change process in the Netherlands. It should be noted, however, that drawing boundaries between the Dutch outbound tour operations field and the wider (global) tourism field of transportation, hospitality and leisure is somewhat arbitrary and artificial (see Section 3.4.4). Nevertheless, constructing a field – "an empirical trace" (Hoffman & Ventresca, 2002:5) – helps scholars determine the scope of their empirical endeavors (Mazza & Strandgaard Pedersen, 2004).

Case studies must also be bounded in time (Yin, 2003); that is, any research on change must capture the movement from change to stability and from stability to change (Pettigrew, 1990), dynamics most easily represented by longitudinal data. Therefore, in this research, whose data spans two decades, time is captured both retrospectively – to enable identification of patterns in the change process – and in real time – to gain a close-up of such patterns as they unfold (Leonard-Barton, 1990). Specifically, because the debate on sustainable tourism in the Netherlands first manifested in the 1980s through the founding of organizations and the organization of conferences, the year 1980 provides the starting point for the historical account.

In 2005, all members of the association of tour operators had implemented the POEMS scheme, thus presenting a natural endpoint to the case history. For the real-time close observations, the temporal span begins with initiation of this PhD research project in September 2003 and ends with the participant observation and collection of emerging records, documents and field notes carried out in January 2007. The ongoing research process also included the amassing of further materials and informal talks with those involved in the change process as of June 2008, which unearthed the actual changes in the ways tour operators develop their holiday packages and interact with NGOs. Therefore, even though for pragmatic reasons 2005 forms the temporal boundary of the case study, the case history (see Chapter 4) includes recent developments up to the Groeneveld Conference of 2007.

3.4 Data sources

One strength of a case study research strategy is the use of multiple sources of evidence, which allows scholars to address the contextual, historical, attitudinal and behavioral issues of the phenomenon under study (Yin, 2003). In this qualitative study, the use of multiple data sources is not only relevant for validity but is a necessity for the empirical setting because the tour operations business is a research-deficient sector. That is, even though consumer holiday behavior has been widely studied by organizations like Statistics Netherlands and the Netherlands Board of Tourism & Conventions, research institutes have paid far less attention to the production side of the holiday market in general, let alone recent developments like sustainable tourism. Hence, only multiple data sources could capture the key

players, products and procedures of the outbound holiday business, on the one hand, and the stakeholders, issues and solutions involved in the sustainable tourism debate, on the other.

Specifically, the materials collected, which, as Table 3-4 illustrates, include documentation, public sources, interviews and participant observation, point to two major waves of data collection. The first wave (early 2004 to early 2005) encompasses many types of data on the development, introduction and spread of the POEMS scheme; the second wave (mid-2005 to late 2006) includes data on the debate on sustainable tourism and its actors in the wider field, and extends the research scope to the context in which the VRO/ANVR is embedded.

Table 3-4 Overview of data sources

	Description of materials used
Documentation	- Firm histories - Trade journals and other journals (including some special issues) - Statistical data - Newsletters - Textbooks - Investment reports - (Governmental) research reports - Conference proceedings (including Groeneveld Conferences from 1995 onwards) - Personal archives
	- ANVR's annual reports, policy documents, press releases, public brochures, ATLAS magazine (1996–2000) and POEMS Bulletins (2002–2004), POEMS materials such as a coursebook and action program, minutes of the meetings of the IDUT platform and the Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism, internal memos and correspondence.
Public sources	- Internet and Web archives - PiCarta database - LexisNexis database
Interviews	- Formal interviews (n=22) - Secondary interviews (n=12) - Informal interviews (numerous, some transcribed, n=12) - Confirmatory interviews (n=2)
Participant observation	- Annual Groeneveld Conferences (from 2004 onwards) - Annual Holiday Trade Fair (from 2004 onwards) - Quarterly meetings of the IDUT Platform (December 2004–January 2007) - Numerous national/international meetings and workshops (n>12)

3.4.1 Documentation

Extrapolation of an initial impression of the main products, procedures and business principles in the outbound tour operations field began with analysis of published histories on the tour operators Hotelplan and NBBS Travel (Kloosterziel, 2002; Looijen, 1997). These books detail the founding of both firms and how they evolved with the emergence of the outbound tour operations business in the Netherlands. Also included were articles in the trade journals *DIT Reismanagement* and *Reisrevue*, most particularly a special 2001 issue of *DIT Reismanagement* that presents historical accounts of the tourism trade press, tourism education, consumer protection and sustainable tourism. The information from these datasets was then supplemented by statistical and textbook data, as well as annual reports from the trade association and investment reports from financial institutions.

A broader understanding of the debate on sustainable tourism in this field was derived from several textual sources, which, as Ventresca and Mohr (2002) argue, register what has been said and thought. Since business-interest organizations are known for their substantial data recording (Greenwood et al., 2002), they serve as a good starting point for data collection. Hence, once allowed access to the association's archives, I spent 12 days over 2 months collecting data not only from annual reports but also from press reports, public brochures on sustainable tourism and corporate social responsibility, and the monthly magazine ATLAS issued between January 1996 and December 2000. All these materials were originally distributed to both association members and interested outsiders.

Other materials collected were targeted primarily at VRO/ANVR members, including the *POEMS coursebook*, the *POEMS action program* and the 12 *POEMS Bulletins* distributed between January 2002 and January 2005, which included eight attachments.[8] The electronic *POEMS Bulletins* and the *ATLAS magazine* together cover a decade of communications on sustainable tourism targeted at member tour operators. They therefore provide invaluable historical insights into the key events and issues of the debate. Also consulted were the minutes of the meetings of the Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism and the IDUT Platform (a national multi-stakeholder organization), correspondence between members and outsiders and internal memos. Thus, the materials that tell the official story of sustainable tourism were supplemented with materials that provided informal and off-the-record detail.

One disadvantage of archival records, however, is that they may be intentionally omitted or unintentionally deleted, meaning that archival materials may be incomplete or biased (Poole et al., 2000). Hence, these trade association materials were supplemented with materials from different field constituents. For example, research reports commissioned by the government highlighted the main issues of debate, the projects running at that time and the key actors involved (e.g., Beckers &

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[8] It should be noted that during 2001, there was no communication on the issue of sustainable tourism, as the association was very much occupied with the unanticipated issue of legionnaires disease in tourist accommodations, following an outbreak of this disease in the Netherlands and the 9/11 Terrorist Attacks.

Jansen, 1999; Waagmeester, 2001). Newsletters from the Reisbewijs Foundation (January 2000–June 2002) and the IDUT Platform (from 2003 to present) as well as newsletters within the framework of the UN Year of Ecotourism (2002) also provided enduring texts on the events unfolding in the field. Likewise, the proceedings of conferences on sustainable tourism (e.g., Blauw, 2003; Cosijn, 1993; Schelhaas, 2005; Schelhaas & Zandvliet, 2004) provided insights into the issues at stake and the actors involved in the debate. The conference proceedings and the participant list from the Groeneveld Conferences were particularly valuable since these conferences have been organized almost annually since 1995 (with the exception of 1997 and 1998).

In addition, a search of the Picarta database[9] generated articles from *Recreatie & Toerisme* (Recreation & Tourism), *Onze Wereld* (Our World), *Vrijetijdstudies* (Leisure Studies) and *Ecologie & Ontwikkeling* (Ecology & Development) that frequently cited the proponents of sustainable tourism. Further insights into the perceptions of the tour operations business on sustainable tourism were gleaned from articles on sustainable tourism in the trade journals *Reisrevue* and *DIT Reismanagement*.

Finally, several interview respondents shared their personal archives, including newspaper articles published before 1993 (which were irretrievable through the newspaper database LexisNexis). I was also allowed access to the archives of TUI–Netherlands, where I spent one day making notes. All these materials were used to further substantiate the VRO/ANVR materials.

3.4.2 Public sources

The background information on particular projects and stakeholders was retrieved from public sources. Specifically, these consisted of itemized written documents available from Web sites and databases. For instance, a download from the Web site of the project Netherlands Antilles included an evaluation report. Likewise, an Internet archive search brought to light the home pages of several organizations involved in the change process, including those of the IDUT Platform, ANVR, NHTV, the Netherlands Environmental Study Group on the Alps, and Foundation Retour. The Foundation ReisbeWijs Web site (www.duurzaamtoerisme.nl) was also particularly helpful because it not only reported but also commented on current events in the field. The Internet, particularly the Web site of the Netherlands Association of Tourism Journalists (TourPress Holland) and its archives (from 2004 to present), was also useful for keeping close track of developments on sustainable tourism in the industry. TourPress Holland, particularly, is the prime medium through which tour operators announce new products and services, including sustainable tourism projects. Finally, a search of the newspaper database LexisNexis using such keywords as 'sustainable tourism,' 'environment and tourism,' 'biodiversity and tourism,' 'climate change and tourism' and 'child sex tourism' engendered a number

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[9] PiCarta is a major interface in the Netherlands that contains the bibliographic information for all books, journals, journal articles, research reports, and other publications available in Dutch academic and large public libraries.

of news clippings on the change process. This tool not only allowed cross-verification of events mentioned by respondents or in other documents, it filled in some gaps in the historical account. In addition, once the key players in the change process (see Chapter 5) had been identified, another search on LexisNexis using their names and affiliated organizations was executed. In total, over 500 documents on sustainable tourism were retrieved.

3.4.3 Interviews

Interviews are particularly useful when the researcher is seeking a rich, vivid, in-depth, processual and holistic understanding of a phenomenon that goes beyond the observational capacity of a single person (Weiss, 1994). Therefore, this research included semistructured interviews with past and current actors in the change process. Specifically, these interview respondents were representatives of the VRO/ANVR, ANWB, tour operations firms, consultancy firms, NGOs, publishing houses, governmental advisory councils, ministries and educational institutions. Whereas they were first identified based on my own prior and in-depth understanding of the field, additional respondents were generated from references to them in policy and research documents and snowball sampling techniques. In total, I conducted 22 interviews that lasted between 1.5 and 4 hours, with some respondents being interviewed a number of times.

To identify the key events in the change process being studied (cf. van de Ven & Poole, 1990), I asked respondents about the evolution of the change process with a focus on the key activities, events and actors. Thus, besides identifying the 'turning points' in the change process, the probes were aimed at a deeper understanding of the underlying mechanisms that made these events significant and meaningful (cf. Pettigrew, 1990). To help interviewees remember what had happened during the change process and to corroborate insights and information gained from previous interviews, each interview session was separately prepared. To ensure a sufficient degree of comparability across the interviews, a general topic list was used for each interview (see Box 3-1). The interview content was tape-recorded,[10] transcribed verbatim and returned to the respondents for additional comments.

These data were supplemented by transcribed data from 12 interviews on the same change process conducted as part of a research project at the Wageningen University for which I was a reviewer. Specifically, in early 2004, immediately after the introduction of POEMS, these researchers interviewed 5 respondents who had been directly engaged in the development of the POEMS scheme and 7 environmental managers of tour operations firms that had adopted the scheme. I integrated the data from the 5 interviews with the POEMS scheme developers into my formal interview dataset for a final sample of 27 formal interview transcripts totaling 323 pages.[11]

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[10] One recording failed but a report was made immediately after the interview based on the field notes and sent to the respondent for verification and additional comments.
[11] Times New Roman 11 points, 1.5 line spacing.

The fieldwork also included numerous informal interviews with a diverse set of people involved in the change process. Even though many of these took place at trade fairs and conferences, I was able to take field notes for 12 interviews, which were transcribed and returned to the respondents for additional comments. Also of great value were informal comments made on developments in the Netherlands by interviewees working on sustainable tourism in the United Kingdom and operating at the global level on this issue. Likewise, informal talks with tour operator representatives revealed their perception of the calls for sustainable tourism by proponents of change, including their own trade association. To these informal interview data were added the data from the Wageningen University researchers' 7 interviews with environmental managers, which together provided background information to substantiate the formal interviews.

Lastly, in early 2008, after the analysis had been completed, I conducted 2 confirmatory interviews to assess the validity of my interpretations. Hence, the overall dataset of original and supplemental interview data, both formal and informal,

comprises 48 interviews conducted with 38 persons, which are summarized below in Table 3-5.[12]

To protect participant privacy as much as possible, the names of the research respondents and some organizations have been altered and some direct quotations adjusted accordingly in the analytical chapters of this thesis. In addition, no list is provided of the research participants.

Table 3-5 Overview of interview set

Formal interviews		Informal interviews		
Interviews	Secondary interviews: POEMS developers	Secondary interviews: POEMS adopters	Numerous chats & interviews at trade fairs and conferences	Confirmatory interviews
(*n*=22)	(*n*=5)	(*n*=7)	(*n*=12)	(*n*=2)
Formal material (n=27)		*Supplementary material (n=21)*		

3.4.4   Participant observation

Participant observation of the real-time process, conducted from 2004 to January 2007, comprised the monitoring of three types of cyclical events. First, I watched change agents at work at the annual *Vakantiebeurs* (Holiday Trade Fair) where most proponents of change meet at the trade fair booth of the Centre for the Promotion of Imports from developing countries (CBI) at which an exotic breakfast is served. The national IDUT Platform also usually organizes an activity to call attention to the issue of sustainable tourism, for instance, a 2003 meeting with politicians to discuss their manifesto on sustainable tourism. At the 2006 fair, IDUT organized a 'wall on the sensation of sustainable tourism' to promote sustainable tourism among the public. Besides visiting such gatherings and observing the change agents in action, I observed whether tour operators were using artifacts in their promotional booths to express their commitment to protecting the natural and cultural environment of their holiday destinations (see Chapter 4).

The second cyclical event consisted of annual conferences on sustainable tourism, the so-called Groeneveld Conferences. Here, all individuals interested in the issue of sustainable (outbound) tourism met for a day or half a day to hear keynote presentations, participate in parallel workshops and gather for drinks afterwards. By participating in such social events each year, I earned the trust of the proponents of

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[12] From the individuals who have been identified as highly engaged in the change process (see Chapter 5), 62% were interviewed. Departing from this data set, the "blind spots" are individuals who have participated relatively little in the change process. There is no indication that this has influenced the research findings, particularly because their cofounders who continued to be engaged were interviewed. In addition, some interview respondents had multiple affiliations and could thus provide insights from multiple perspectives. Another blind spot concerns the individuals who have become engaged only recently. These individuals, however, were interviewed informally during conferences and trade fairs.

sustainable tourism, observed strategic networking as it happened and gained insight into the political struggles between the proponents of change.

Lastly, I attended the quarterly meetings of the IDUT Platform on Sustainable Outbound Tourism and received the agenda and minutes of the meetings from December 2004 to January 2007. Following a meeting of the IDUT Platform on September 23, 2004 at which the results of the Wageningen University study on the POEMS scheme were presented and discussed, I was allowed to take a seat on this platform as a participant observer. This field work allowed immersion in the collective of actors working for change, and thus an insider view of the issues and interests at stake as well as the actors' perceptions of the change process to date and their view of sustainable tourism's future.

In addition to these cyclical events, I attended over a dozen workshops and meetings on sustainable tourism, including those organized by the governmental advisory council RMNO (April and November 2006) and a front-runner meeting organized by VRO/ANVR (September 2004). This latter yielded valuable insights into how business-interest associations provide an arena in which the identity and practices of their members are socially constructed (Greenwood et al., 2002). I also attended meetings outside the Netherlands, including the World Tourism Organization's conference on ecolabeling (Marianske Lazne, October 2004), the German trade fair Reisepavillon (Hanover, February 2005) and the EU conference on sustainable tourism (Brussels, September 2005). At all these gatherings, I observed how the Dutch proponents of sustainable tourism were lobbying for their initiative among the representatives of the European Commission and World Tourism Organization. These meetings also revealed the competition between the different European initiatives and helped me realize the global scope of sustainable tourism.

Besides the above, collecting archival materials at the offices of VRO/ANVR and TUI–Netherlands provided me a look behind the scenes of the actors working for change as they answered phone calls, discussed matters with colleagues over coffee and so forth. Such observation provided valuable insights into their difficult position as proponents of change, on the one hand, and representatives of an incumbent organization, on the other. In sum, over the past few years, I have been engaged in numerous field events for which the notes taken and transcribed in a field diary total over 35 pages.

3.5   Data analysis

Contrary to the usual portrayal in the literature, the collection, processing and analysis of data for this research was not an orderly process with distinct stages; rather, it was a 'messy process' with overlapping stages. Suddaby (2006:634) makes a similar observation in his discussion of 'the myth' of a clean separation between data collection and analysis. Hence, in line with Smith (2002:395), my data analysis was "the outcome of intense discussions, trial-and-error drawings, and what, in the end, felt right and true to the data." This section, therefore, elaborates the procedure for constructing the case history (see Chapter 4); the actual analysis of how and why institutional entrepreneurship "got from point *a* to point *b* to point *c* on the timeline"

(Poole et al., 2000:13) is detailed in Chapters 5 and 6. The discussion begins by introducing the research strategy and then describes how the case history was drafted.

3.5.1 A process approach

To examine the dynamics of institutional entrepreneurship, I adopted a process approach (Langley, 1999; van de Ven & Poole, 2002; van de Ven & Poole, 1990) that "conceptualizes development and change processes as sequences of events which have unity and coherence over time" (Poole et al., 2000:36). One major challenge of such an approach, however, is making sense of voluminous amounts of data (Smith, 2002); that is, scholars run the risk of dying from "data asphyxiation – the slow and inexorable sinking into the swimming pool, which started so cool, clear, and inviting and now has become a clinging mass of maple syrup" (Pettigrew, 1990.:281). Thus, for data organization, Langley (1999:695) recommends a narrative strategy that involves the drafting of a detailed, thick and rich story from the raw data, although no standard format exists for such descriptive analysis (Eisenhardt, 1989). In this study, the approach consisted of three phases: data tabulation, data coding and drafting of the case history.

3.5.2 Tabulating and coding process data

The primary step in process research, which resembles the 'event listing' method of Miles and Huberman (1994:111), is compiling a chronologically arranged database of actions and incidents that indicate how the phenomenon under study has unfolded (van de Ven & Poole, 1990). In order to know 'what' events to record and 'where' to look for them, clear subjects and conceptual categories are required (van de Ven, 1992). Not surprisingly, the concept of institutional entrepreneurship served as the "sensitizing construct" (Poole et al., 2000:129) in this study to trace and isolate such critical incidents related to outbound sustainable tourism in the Netherlands. Because the VRO/ANVR was the initial central object of study, the tabulation process began with events related to the trade association's engagement with the issue of sustainable tourism. Thus, database compilation of pertinent events drew on the associations' publications covering the period from January 1996 to December 2004 (see Chapter 6 for details).

Once the research focus had extended to the wider context in which the VRO/ANVR was embedded, I analyzed the formal interview transcripts with the help of the ATLAS.ti qualitative data analysis software in two rounds of coding. The first round consisted of 'open coding,' close examination of texts to determine codes that fit the data. Because these emergent codes are tentative and primarily a means to sort and organize data (Berg, 2004:280–1), this phase included data immersion using responses from 6 separate interviews. Here, text fragments (quotations) were assigned a code – for example, industry features (INDUF) and industry image (IMAG) – that captures what respondents had stated about the outbound tour

operations field, the change process toward sustainable tourism in this field and their engagement in this process.

These codes were interpreted in the next round of coding through linkages to the concept of 'institutional entrepreneurship.' For instance, the code STUD (study) was related to the broader code of antecedents of institutional entrepreneurship (ANT), which indicates how an individual became interested in the issue of sustainable tourism (e.g., they studied biology or political sciences). Likewise, the code CONF (conference) was linked to institutional entrepreneurial activities (ACT), which delineates the range of actions in which proponents of sustainable tourism engage. Hence, this round of coding can be described as 'axial coding,' intensive coding around one category (Berg, 2004:280–1); in this case, institutional entrepreneurship.

Besides codes related to the concept of institutional entrepreneurship, the analysis produced codes related to case specifics like the INDUF (industry features) code referring to dominant business principles and practices or the POLDER (consultative model) code designating the way that respondents typified the change process in this field. This latter is an example of an 'in vivo code' (Berg, 2004:271) in that the interviewees themselves used the Dutch term *polder model* ('consultative model'). Eventually, the list of codes was frozen and applied to all 27 formal interviews.

This round of coding identified four types of events as proxies for institutional entrepreneurship: projects, organizations, conferences and publications. Therefore, longitudinal data on these four types of events were then collected that described the date of occurrence and the actors involved. This information was entered in a second database and added to the event listing of the change process toward sustainable tourism (see Chapter 5 for details).

3.5.3   Drafting the case history

By the time that the events had been organized and sorted in two major databases, I had become "intimately familiar" with the material (Eisenhardt, 1989:540) and thus ready to draft the case history. As suggested by Langley (1999), the analytical tools for this task consisted of a narrative strategy, temporal bracketing and visual mapping.

The drafting began with a narrative account – based on the primary event database – of how the VRO/ANVR became engaged with the issue of sustainable tourism over time. This narrative was extended with events not covered in the dataset (thus prior to January 1996 and after December 2004), and the main events in the database were then cross-verified using further sources. Subsequently, information from the second database, together with the interview materials, was used to draft a case history of developments in the wider field.

The narrative was structured using a temporal bracketing strategy that organized the string of events at different stages. This approach was designed to engender an increased understanding of the generative mechanisms underlying the

change process: such data decomposition "into successive adjacent periods enables the explicit examination of how actions of one period lead to changes in the context that will affect action in the subsequent periods" (Langley, 1999:703). Nevertheless, since the case history covers over two decades, the temporal bracketing here was somewhat rough and primarily focused on the main turning points in the change process. Hence, the approach conformed to what Pozzebon and Pinsonneault (2005:1365) call 'broad-ranging bracketing'. To validate the interpretations derived from the initial data, in the confirmatory interviews respondents were asked to identify the triggering events in the unfolding of the change process. Their answers corresponded with the turning points identified in the case history, thereby confirming the plausibility of the four stages discerned.

Development of the narrative also involved the creation of several visual maps of the change process. These visual displays – for instance, the graphics accompanying presentations at conferences, meetings and summer schools – helped my understanding of how actors, issues, practices and major triggering events were interrelated. For example, the early stages of field work included actor mapping, the grouping of actors together according to the central issues or projects at hand. Such engagement was later traced by drafting the historical timelines. Most particularly, the analysis of VRO/ANVR's role was designed to capture the coevolution between this trade association and the field (see Figure 3-4). Eventually, the detailed and rich case description, intended to help readers experience the dynamics of the change processes for themselves (cf. Langley, 1999), extended to over 50 pages.
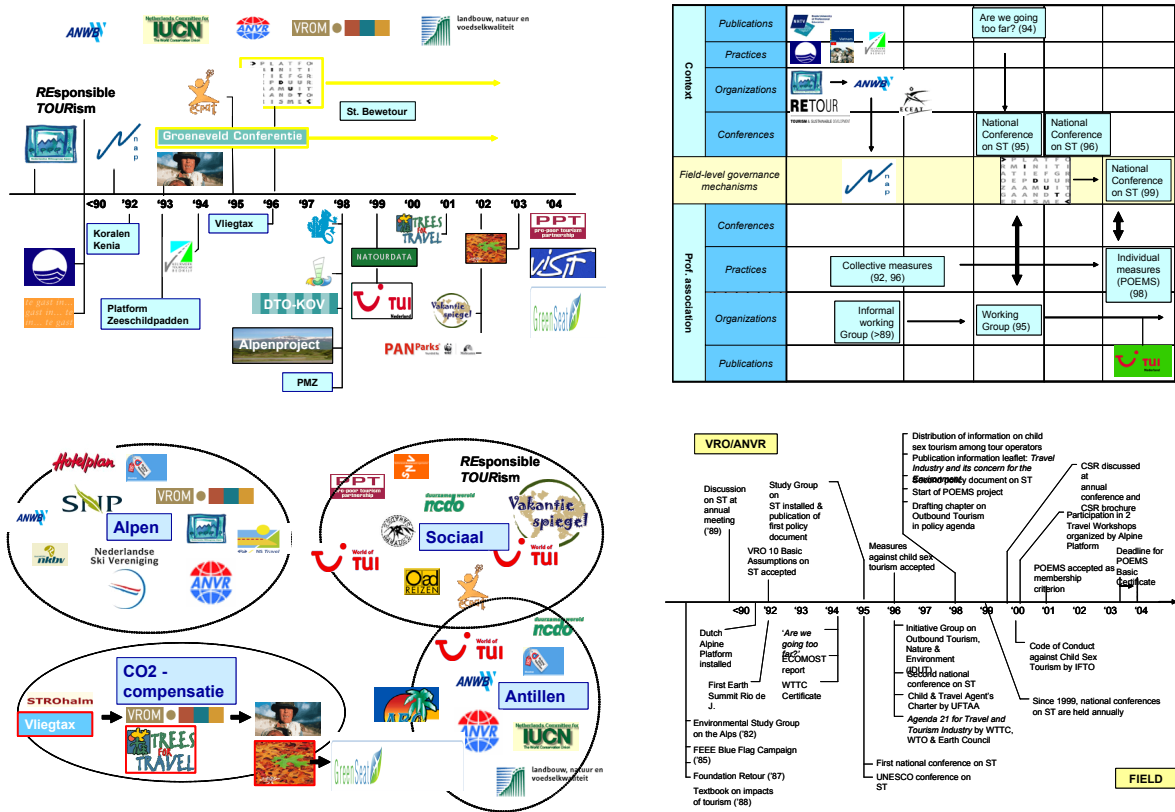
Figure 3-4 Examples of visual displays used in data analysis

As argued in Section 3.3.3, by using events as key observational units, phenomena can be studied at both the organizational and individual levels (Ring & van de Ven, 1994). Thus, in analyzing the constructed case history, institutional entrepreneurship has been studied at both levels. Chapters 6 examines the role played by the trade association of tour operators in the change process toward sustainable tourism, whereas Chapter 5 singles out the individuals who have put sustainable tourism on the tour operator's agenda. The choice for the individual level of analysis in Chapter 5 was primarily motivated by interview respondents' indication that the promotion of sustainable tourism hinges on motivated individuals. After all, *individuals* have founded and continue founding (field-level) *organizations* that are currently engaged in the change process. By tracing such events as the launch of new organizations and their "founding fathers," the antecedents of institutional entrepreneurship were sought.

3.6   Reliability and validity

Obviously, two keys to good research are its reliability and validity; therefore, this final section outlines the procedures followed to ensure research quality.

3.6.1   Reliability

To ensure replication with the same results, this thesis describes the research steps as explicitly as possible (Yin, 2003). The analytical phases of the case history construction have been detailed in this chapter, while Chapters 5 and 6 detail the data analysis of the two studies that make up the thesis. In addition, all (electronic) documents, interview transcripts and field notes have been stored in an orderly manner and the important steps in data reduction logged. Such data storage included records for the key words used in retrieving news clippings and articles on sustainable tourism in the PiCarta and LexisNexis databases and research notes on how the interview data coding scheme was developed in the ATLAS.ti software. These steps are designed to maintain a 'chain of evidence' (Yin, 2003:105) that allows outsiders to trace the progression from raw data to case history interpretations and conclusions.

Another important component in establishing reliability is researcher reflexivity on his or her beliefs, assumptions and biases (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Such reflection is particularly relevant for researchers who become very much involved in the empirical setting under investigation, thereby themselves becoming an important component of the research process (Suddaby, 2006). Such circumstances were at play in this research. Having followed the debate on sustainable tourism in the Netherlands for quite some time, I already had some ideas of what had been happening in the field prior to this PhD project. Specifically, with qualitative research being a social and vivid process – not simply a technical and distant process (Pettigrew, 1990) – my real-time study made it difficult for me to maintain distance. That is, through the intensive fieldwork for this research, including my regular participation at the Groeneveld Conferences and other workshops, I became part of

the network of actors engaged in the issue of sustainable tourism. Hence, my role in the change process is discernable in the data on institutional entrepreneurship in this field ('participation in conferences', see Chapter 5). However, because I did not compete for a high ranking in the measures of institutional entrepreneurship my engagement has made no significant impact on the course of events. Rather, it has helped me to interpret my data.

Notwithstanding, I was aware of this potential bias, as evidenced in my field diary, and thus remained open to insights gained throughout data collection and analysis and to observations made by outsiders. Hence, key informants and scholars functioned as peer reviewers by questioning my interpretations and challenging me to look for alternative explanations. Such reflexivity is illustrated by the decision to conduct an embedded single case study rather than the multiple case study on institutional entrepreneurs' theorization strategies originally intended.

3.6.2 Validity

To ensure that what was observed in social reality adequately reflected the meaning of the concept under study (here, institutional entrepreneurship), this research deployed a number of strategies. Above all, it made use of multiple sources of evidence and different methods of data collection so as to allow for triangulation: "the process [in which] researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study" (Creswell & Miller, 2000:126). By enabling different interpretations of the change dynamics, these data from different sources contribute to a contextualized understanding of the change process.

Another procedure to ensure validity is the use of member checking of factual facts, findings and interpretations (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Yin, 2003). For instance, respondents were given the opportunity to verify the transcripts of their interviews and invited to provide comments or additional information, and initial ideas and hunches, as well as chapter drafts, were shared with a 'confidant,' a key informant in the process (Miles & Huberman, 1994:275). Likewise, a conference paper detailing the VRO/ANVR's case history with the issue of sustainable tourism was shared with key informants, and my work was presented twice to members of the IDUT Platform (on December 7, 2005 and August 24, 2006). The analysis was also verified using two confirmatory interviews. This tactic of member checking not only prevented the false reporting of facts; it also increased confidence in the accuracy of the account. That is, in most cases, the analytical findings presented respondents with nothing previously unknown and met with their approval.[13] To them, the findings provided a structured and stylized view of the change process toward sustainable tourism in their field as they experienced and reported it.

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[13] The comments led to some minor changes. For instance, one of the underlying mechanisms of the trade association's engagement in the change process (see Chapter 6) was rephrased, as a key informant felt that the wording did not quite capture the dynamics at play. Most of the text however remained the same after verification.

Prolonged researcher engagement in the field also ensures the validity of qualitative research (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Not only am I well grounded in the field through intensive field work over two years, but because of my participation in numerous events in real-time, respondents felt comfortable talking to me. This familiarity both eased my access to archives and encouraged respondent disclosure of confident and off-the-record details. Prolonged engagement also facilitated corroboration of the findings throughout the research process.

Regarding external validity, case studies have been criticized for the limited ability to generalize their results beyond the immediate case setting (Yin, 2003). However, this generalizabilty can be increased by embedding the case study in a conceptual framework. Here, that framework is institutional entrepreneurship theory, a strategy that Yin (2003:37) calls analytic generalizability. The research design also facilitates an in-depth examination of the change process toward sustainable tourism in the outbound tour operations field in all its detail. Not only do such detailed accounts help readers decide on the transferability of the findings to other settings (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Langley, 1999), but the rich, thick description brings them closer to the phenomenon studied and allows them to experience the dynamics of change as if they themselves were participants in the process. Such proximity provides the 'force of example' (Flyvbjerg, 2001: 228) in illuminating the actors working for change in an organizational field. In sum, every effort has been made to make the case construction and case analysis as complete and accurate as possible. Of course, any errors and omissions are entirely my own responsibility.

4.   Moving toward sustainable tourism, 1980–2005

4.1   Introduction

This chapter on the change process toward sustainable tourism in the Dutch outbound tour operations field from the 1980s to the present describes how the issue of sustainable tourism hit the field and how the trade association of ANVR tour operators responded to this issue over time. The primary objective of the chapter is to help the reader experience the dynamics of institutional change by providing a chronological account of the many conferences, publications, projects and organizations that saw the light during this period of over two decades. The subsequent chapters then draw on this detailed story to examine institutional entrepreneurship in a mature organizational field. Specifically, Chapter 5 explores which individual actors were central to the change process, in what form, to what degree and at which stages of the process, after which Chapter 6 examines how and why trade associations engage in the development and spread of new corporate norms and practices.

The change process toward sustainability in the field of Dutch outbound tour operations began in the 1980s and is still ongoing. Since the 1980s, the field has moved from being challenged and critiqued for tourism's negative impacts to dialoging on and experimenting with ways to enhance tourism's positive impacts. Indeed, recent developments suggest that sustainable tourism has attained legitimacy through the formation of a niche market within the field. Clearly, developments in the Netherlands have been influenced by the international discourse on sustainable development and sustainable tourism. However, since the focus of this analysis is on events within the geographical boundaries of the Netherlands, this international context only enters the discussion when relevant for the Dutch process. Instead, this historical outline of the field is organized around the pivotal points of the national conferences on sustainable tourism, also known as the Groeneveld Conferences. They were and still are the premier venue at which actors interested in (outbound) sustainable tourism can share information and discuss the future of sustainable tourism development. This evolution in the field can be summarized as the four stages outlined in Table 4-1.

In the first stage (1980s–1994), the issue of sustainable tourism emerges to be followed in the second stage (1995–1998) by the emergence of a stakeholder dialogue on sustainable tourism that finds expression in the organization of the first two Groeneveld Conferences. The third stage (1999–2003) is then marked by annual Groeneveld Conferences that bind together numerous initiatives aimed at putting sustainable tourism into practice. The fourth stage (2004–present) is characterized by an increased legitimacy of the sustainable tourism issue, with the Groeneveld Conferences providing the input for drafting the so-called Groeneveld Papers used by proponents of sustainable tourism to lobby government for support of their envisioned change project.

Table 4-1 Evolution of the Dutch field of outbound tour operations

	Stage 1: 1980–1994 Emergence of the issue	Stage 2: 1995–1998 Toward a stakeholder dialogue	Stage 3: 1999–2003 From theory to practice	Stage 4: 2004–present Sustainable tourism as a legitimate issue
Major events	- Environmental Study Group on the Alps ('82) - Foundation Tourism & Third World ('86) - Conf. Tourism & Third World ('86) - Conf. Ecology & Economy ('87) - Textbook 'Tourism: Fraternization or Degeneration?' ('89) - Founding Netherlands Alps Platform (NAP) ('91) - Textbook 'The Earth as Holiday Resort' ('93) - Report by Council for Nature Policy ('94)	- First Groeneveld Conference ('95) - Founding of the Initiative Group on Outbound Tourism, Nature and Environment ('96) - Second Groeneveld Conference ('96) - Nomination of an environmental manager TUI–Netherlands ('98) - Publication of Policy Agenda Environment, Tourism & Leisure ('98)	- Supply chain projects like the Netherlands Antilles Project ('99) and Wintersports 2005 ('99) - Public deliberation on tourism and sustainable development ('99) - Groeneveld Conference as annual event (>'99) - Nomination of a Chair of Sustainable Tourism at NHTV ('99) - Political manifest within the context of the 2002 International Year of Ecotourism ('03)	- TourLink project (late '04) - Launch of web portal for sustainable holidays ('05) - Public brochure, P+ Tourism and Travel Industry ('06) - Launch of the Dutch Travel Foundation ('07)
Dominant discourse	Tourism causes severe impacts on the natural and sociocultural environment in holiday destinations; particularly damage from holiday flights. Tour operators are the 'Black Peters'.	The question is not whether tourism is bad or good, but how tourism can be managed in a responsible manner. Tour operators are partners in implementing the principles and ideas of sustainable development into tourism for the intermediary position they occupy in the tourism supply chain.	Tour operators should implement principles of sustainability in their daily operations through practical and workable solutions. Holiday mobility is bad for the environment but cannot be stopped. Yet impacts can be compensated through carbon-offsetting schemes.	Tourism is a mechanism for nature conservation and poverty alleviation in developing nations. Tourism thus contributes to sustainable development.

Table 4-1 (continued)

	Stage 1: 1980s–1994 Emergence of the issue	Stage 2: 1995–1998 Toward a stakeholder dialogue	Stage 3: 1999–2003 From theory to practice	Stage 4: 2004–present Sustainable tourism as a legitimate issue
Industry's institutions	- Founding of the informal Executive Committee of Sustainable Tourism (around '89) - Inclusion of environment in Code of Conduct ('92)	- Policy documents on sustainable tourism ('95 & '98) - Founding of a formal Executive Committee of Sustainable Tourism ('95) - Code of Conduct against Child Sex Tourism ('96) - Public information brochure on travel & tourism industry & its care for the environment ('98)	- Information file on child sex tourism ('99) - Mobility Project ('99) - Public information brochure on CSR in the travel & tourism industry ('00) - POEMS accepted as a membership criterion ('00) - POEMS Course ('02)	- POEMS implemented ('05) by all ANVR tour operators
Industry's discourse	The first responsibility for a balance between tourism and the environment lies with the countries of destination, which must set and enforce norms. Tour operators can support projects in holiday destinations for their expertise and knowledge of tourism.	Consumers have the right to travel. Yet collective measures are necessary to safeguard the future of the industry, preferably at the international level.	Consumers have the right to travel. Next to collective measures, tour operators have their own responsibility in implementing measures. The product-oriented environmental management scheme (POEMS) enables firms to do so.	Tour operators should implement measures on sustainable tourism as part of their corporate social responsibility (CSR).

It should be noted, however, that these stage characterizations are for descriptive purposes only, to give an overview of the dominant developments in the discourse over sustainable tourism; the interplay between proponents of sustainable tourism and incumbents; and the practices proposed in the Netherlands.

The chronologically arranged discussion of these four stages, in which the narrative of each stage ends with a summary, also highlights how the trade association VRO/ANVR reflected on the developments in the field and worked on the issue of sustainable tourism. The chapter concludes with an assessment of the observable changes for tour operators; most particularly, significant changes in the social interactions in the field (from ad-hoc to structured interactions between proponents of change and incumbents), the responsibility of tour operators for sustainable tourism development (from collective to individual responsibility) and the practices of sustainable tourism (from dispersed and unrelated practices to single framework). Such changes are apparently profound enough to alter the daily operations of a small group of frontrunner tour operators, including both specialist tour operators and mainstream tour operators.

4.2   Stage 1: Emergence of the issue (1980s–1994)

Congruent with the macrocultural discourse on sustainable development[14] and the first scientific publications on tourism's negative impacts (e.g., Krippendorf, 1975; Turner & Ash, 1975), the first stage is marked by a growing awareness that (mass) tourism may harm the natural and social environment of holiday destinations. In this stage, which began in the early 1980s and extended to 1994, a series of events set this process in motion (see Figure 4-1). Simply put, tourism was seen as something inherently bad for both people and planet. Thus, organizations concerned with tourism to developing nations pointed to such issues as the exploitation of local culture and customs and unequal trading relations. At the same time, environmental and nature conservationist organizations pointed to signs of environmental degradation in popular European holiday destinations and called attention to issues like air pollution and depletion of natural resources. Nevertheless, although the concept of sustainable tourism appeared in the industry discourse at that time, industry attention to sustainable tourism was low. This situation changed dramatically, however, in 1994 when an advisory council of the Dutch government openly questioned whether Dutch citizens' increasing number of outbound holidays was an acceptable development and brought about a confrontation between the industry, government and NGOs on tourism's negative impacts.

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[14] Touchstones in this debate were the 1980 *World Conservation Strategy* by IUCN, UNEP and WWF and the 1987 *Our Common Future* by the WECD, as well as the 1992 UNCED Earth Summit conference in Rio de Janeiro (for a detailed overview of the discourse on sustainable tourism, see Van der Duim, 2005b).

4.2.1 Tourism and developing nations

Whereas in the late 1970s/early 1980s both educational institutions[15] and alternative magazines like *Onze Wereld* (Our World) paid some attention to the negative impacts of (mass) tourism on developing countries, criticism of the tourism industry became manifest with the installation in 1986 of the Foundation on Tourism & the Third World. Dutch travelers to developing nations that had experienced the negative side of tourism joined the SIW International Volunteer Projects organization, which prepared volunteers going to developing countries for their trip. This preparatory course was obligatory and quite broad in scope, dealing not only with tourism-related issues but also with the general background of the problems facing developing countries. To encourage its volunteers to reflect on their role and position as tourists in such nations, in 1981, the SIW published a reader (Boerma, 1981). The tone of this reader, which was set against the emergence of the global social movement on fair trade tourism (Botterill, 1991), was critical and radical. Tourists were compared with the former colonial ruler, "a rich, curious and demanding white person" (Boerma, 1981:28). Thus, together with the SIW, concerned travelers set up the Foundation on Tourism & Third World. The goals of this foundation were twofold: to establish a platform for (travel) organizations engaged in tourism to developing countries and to inform and educate tourists visiting such countries. The underlying rationale was that through behaviors like taking pictures without asking, dressing inappropriately and being noisy, Western tourists were showing little respect for the local culture and preventing the development of more participatory and beneficial forms of tourism in tropical countries.

To launch their ideas, in late 1986, the foundation organized the Conference on Information and Education for Tourists to the Third World at the Royal Tropical Institute (KIT), a meeting financed by the National Platform for Sustainable Development (later known as NCDO). According to the conference proceedings, the director of the NWIT tourism school chaired the conference, and participants originated mainly from development organizations (e.g., the National India Study Group, NOVIB), the tour operations industry (e.g., Cross Country Travel, NBBS, Travel Air, UniTravel Beheer), universities (e.g., Nijmegen, Tilburg) and the press (e.g., KRO's Ver van mijn bed show, Trouw). Keynote speeches were given by members of the global social movement of fair trade tourism (Box 4-1) and a representative of the foundation.

Although most participants welcomed the idea of educating tourists on responsible behavior, the platform never became operational. The radical tone of the keynote speeches delivered by representatives of social movement organizations seemingly played a role in this failure. As one respondent recalls, "[s]everal tour operators were quite shocked; they thought that this was becoming too critical" (Interview Respondent K). Likewise, another respondent remembers that "[t]he majority of the audience conceived of the tourism industry as the 'big, angry commercial world' and preferably condemned its practices" (Interview Respondent I).

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[15] For instance, the NWIT Netherlands Scientific Institute for Tourism (1977) and the Institute for Individual Education IVIO (Hermans, 1980; Punt, 1981) published textbooks on the negative impacts of tourism.

These observations are supported by the 1987 conference proceedings, in which, in reaction to the debate, a representative of the tour operations industry stated that the keynote speeches reminded him of the 1970s: "Tour operators are again criminalized."

Nevertheless, the idea of educating and informing tourists was carried over into practice. Inspired by the German *SympathieMagazine*, in 1987 a series of booklets, titled *Being a guest in [destination]*, was developed to inform tourists about the local culture and customs of popular holiday destinations. These booklets were distributed among tourists through the Travelers Inform's Travelers Days regularly organized at that time by the KIT. The booklets were also distributed through (mostly adventure) tour operators who offered them to their customers. The booklets are still being published. However, since the name of the Foundation on Tourism & the Third World had a negative association among tour operators, in the early 1990s, the name of the foundation was changed to Foundation for Information on Long-haul Travel (IVR) and the organization became independent in 1996.

The years to follow saw different initiatives to create more socially and ethically oriented forms of tourism in developing nations. For instance, Foundation Retour, an abbreviation of REsponsible TOURism, was founded in 1987 as a split-off organization of the Foundation on Tourism & the Third World. This foundation aimed particularly at giving voice to the interests of local communities in the developing world. It focused on issues such as empowerment, participatory processes and knowledge sharing. For instance, its 1994 study, commissioned by the development organization SNV, explored the possibilities for empowering local communities in Tanzania through tourism and contributed to the launch of SNV's Cultural Tourism Program in 1995 (see Section 4.3.6). In the same year, the foundation also updated the SIW International Volunteer Projects reader on traveling to developing nations (de Man, 1994).

In 1989, another organization, the Foundation ReisbeWijs (not directly translatable but meaning 'wise travel license'), was founded with the aim of providing tourists with information on holiday destinations not offered by tourist guidebooks. It also organized regular meetings for tourists to the most popular holiday destinations in developing countries (Enzlin, 1996). Nevertheless, efforts to market holidays as sustainable did not begin until the early 1990s, and although adventure tour operators like Baobab, Afriesj International, Ashraf and SNP were often referred to as 'responsible firms' (e.g., Fraaye & van der Post, 1988; O'Grady et al., 1982), sustainability was not at the core of their operations.

In contrast, Multatuli Travel was founded in 1993 with the specific aim of bringing the principles of 'fair trade tourism' into practice in every single stage of the tourist product: pretravel, travel, accommodation and tours. Multatuli travelers not only visited the country's tourist attractions but also its development aid projects. Thus, these visitors experienced local life by staying at local accommodations and gained a thorough understanding of local culture and customs through the services of trained local tour guides. Other responsible tour operators at that time were the Foundation Vital Link Travel, tour operator ViaMundi and tour operator Wolftrail (*Brabants Dagblad*. 1994; Bos & Westerlaken, 1995).
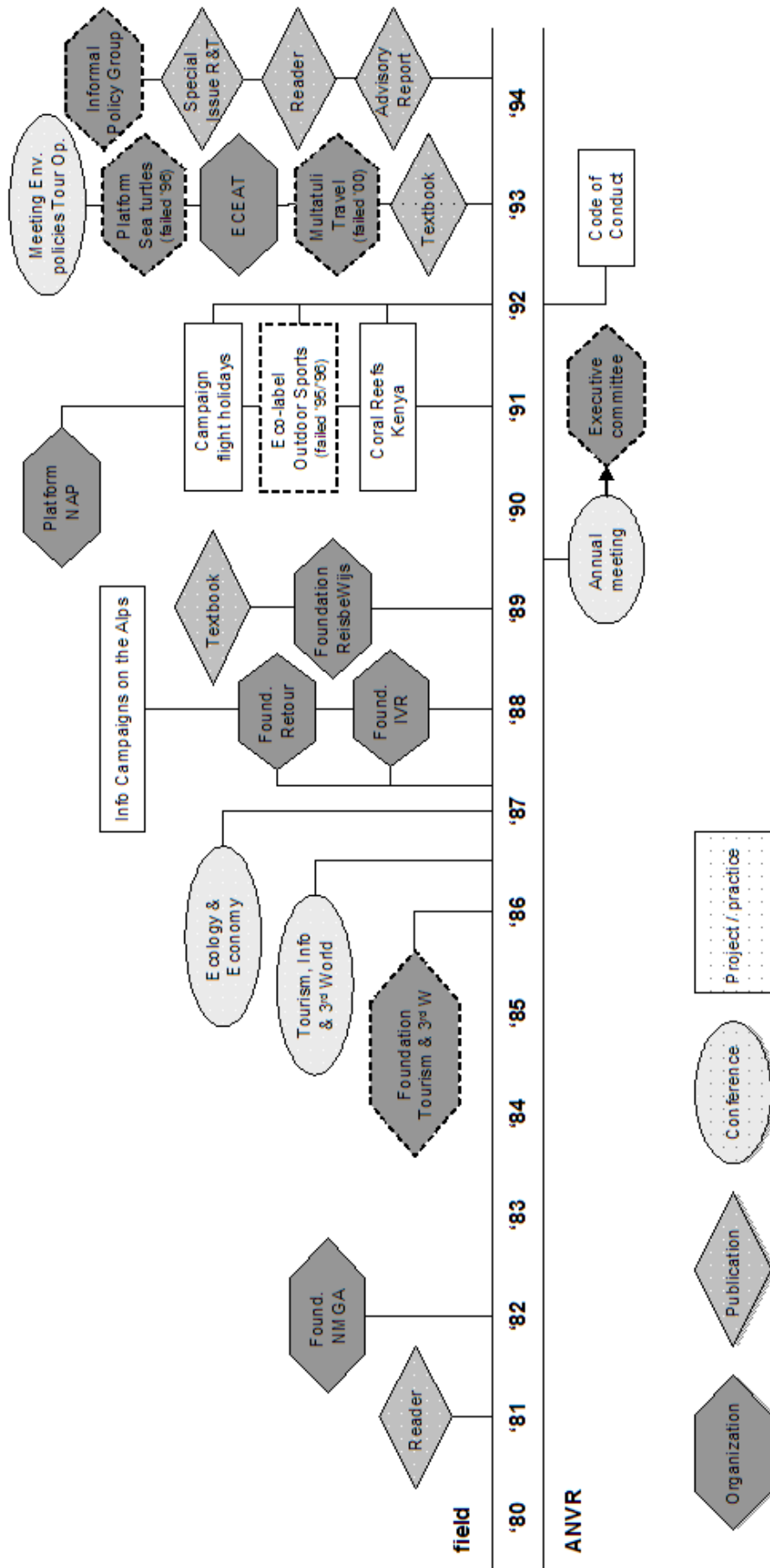
Figure 4-1 Timeline Stage 1 (1980s–1994)

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Box 4-1: The global social movement of fair trade tourism

The debate on the impacts of tourism in developing nations began primarily with missionary organizations that questioned the role of the Church in tourism. Accordingly, in 1980, several regional churches organized an International Conference on Tourism in Manila, which led to the founding of the Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism (ECTWT), now the Ecumenical Coalition on Tourism (ECOT), an NGO aimed at supporting people's actions to "harness tourism for social justice and to ameliorate its most destructive elements" (Richter, 1989). Subsequently, in his book *Third World Stopover* (1981), Father O'Grady expressed the fundamental critique of Western tourism by people from developing countries. This book was translated by the Dutch Foundation for Joint Missionary Work (Stichting Gezamenlijke Missiepubliciteit) in 1982 to explain "why tourist behavior or let alone their presence in third world countries is so disturbing for local people" (O'Grady, Goddijn, & Glebbeek, 1982:5).

In 1984, a European branch of ECTWT, the Third World Tourism Ecumenical European Net (TEN) was founded, which "understands tourism within the context of the North-South conflict and denounces and fights unjust practices in tourism" (ECTWT, 1986:137). Organizational members included (and still include) the Dutch Foundations IVR and Retour, the British Tourism Concern, the Swiss Akte and the German Institute for Tourism and Development (www.eed.de/fix/ten-tourism).

In 1986, TEN and ECTWT, in cooperation with the World Council of Churches, organized a conference entitled "Third World People and Tourism" in Bad Poll, West Germany. The meeting's purpose was "(1) to hear at first hand the voices of representative "victims" of Third World Tourism speak about their experiences related to access to land and water, loss of cultural identity, racial and cultural genocide, prostitution tourism, working conditions and life-style changes; (2) to enable an unambiguous public exposure of the effects of tourism on Third World People; and (3) to create a dialogue between some of the victims of Third World Tourism and some of those who have the power to move towards a tourism which may be beneficial to all" (ECTWT, 1986:10).

As Van Teeffelen points out (1988:12), there was a clear gap between the commercial logic of the tourism industry and the call for change from developing nations, as expressed in the reaction of a representative of the major German tour operator TUI to the presentations: "It cannot be the responsibility of tour operators and their commercial parties to economically support third world countries or to change the economical, social or political situation of these countries. This is the primary responsibility of people and governments over there." Nevertheless, the conference resulted in a joint statement calling for "a New Tourism Order where victims of tourism are supported; knowledge and expertise is shared; people, both tourists and host communities, participate directly in shaping the tourism experience; alternative forms of tourism are set up (e.g., locally owned, local-style, small-scale accommodations); governments and tourism industry are pressurized; and peoples' expectations and images of third world tourism created through the mass media and promotional media are re-oriented" (ECTWT, 1986:12).

By the end of 1987, ECTWT had launched an advocacy and action study project on tourism and child prostitution in Asia, which led to the worldwide network organization End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking in Children for Sexual Purposes, ECPAT, which still exists today and has a branch in the Netherlands.

Although Multatuli Travel was the best known in the 1990s among the organizations that marketed sustainable tourism, 1993 also saw the founding of the European Centre for Eco Agro Tourism (ECEAT), which focused particularly on marketing sustainable holiday products. Together with tour operator SNP, ECEAT offered farm holidays in Eastern Europe and published *Green Holiday Guides* with the addresses of sustainable rural accommodations across Europe. The center, together with the Netherlands Tourist Association, ANWB, still publishes these books. Nevertheless,

even though these alternative tour operators received considerable media attention, they were marginal players in terms of market share.

4.2.2   Tourism and the Alps

The debate on the negative environmental impacts of tourism originated mainly with alpinists who were concerned about the increase in winter sports holidays in the Alps. Together, in 1982, they established the Environmental Study Group on the Alps (NMGA) as part of the Netherlands Mountaineering Club (NBV) and the Royal Netherlands Alps Association (KNAV).[16] A few years later, the NMGA became an independent foundation.

For the NMGA, the Alps were under threat from the development of mass tourism in the region. Therefore, the organization aimed at protecting the mountains "by informing tourists and students about what is happening to the Alps as well as pressuring governments and tourist organizations to change their policies" (NMGA brochure, year unknown). Although the NMGA primarily spread information among members of the mountaineering clubs, it also published critical articles in the ANWB's magazine, the *Kampioen* (e.g., Viëtor, 1982). It was also involved in the promotion of an ecolabel for outdoor activities (Keurmerk 'Buitensport'), which was launched in 1992 as an initiative of the Foundation for Recreation and the Netherlands Association of Outdoor Sports. This label was awarded to tour operators like SNP who took care of the environment and used good materials and qualified guides (*Algemeen Dagblad,* 1992). The NMGA also organized a conference in November 1993 entitled 'Environmental policies at outdoor sports organizations and tour operators: Why and how?' According to the conference proceedings, participants concluded that both consumers and producers of holidays lack the vision and knowledge to design sustainable holiday trips (Cosijn, 1993).

The information on the negative impacts of winter sports holidays was well-received by the Royal Netherlands Tourist Association ANWB, which, following the publication of the *World Conservation Strategy* (IUCN, UNEP, & WWF, 1980), became involved in drafting a Dutch strategy for nature conservation (NC–IUCN, 1988). As a member of the Dutch branch of the nature conservationist organization IUCN (NC–IUCN) and historically interested in issues related to sustainable tourism (e.g., littering and water quality for swimming[17]), the ANWB suggested including the tourism and recreation industry in the nature conservation strategy for the Netherlands (Barkhof, 1988; Sinke, 1981; 1984). The Alps served as an exemplary case for the impact of Dutch consumption patterns on the natural resources in the

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[16] In 2000, both clubs merged into the Royal Netherlands Climbing & Mountaineering Association (NKBV).

[17] In 1916, the ANWB launched a campaign against littering. In addition, its campaign, 'Please, do not go in the reeds,' aimed to protect the watersides from water sports tourism. In a similar vein, a code of conduct for horsemen was drafted in the seventies (Schaap, 1983). In the 1980s, algae were a major problem on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea because of weak water treatment and the use of fertilizer (Boers & Bosch, 1993). Members of the ANWB (consumers) complained about this issue, resulting in the organization's engagement in the issue of swimming water quality at holiday destinations (Interview Respondent II).

world: in 1984, about 500,000 Dutch people went skiing in winter, causing negative environmental impacts like acid rain, erosion, loss of biodiversity, and landscape pollution (Sinke, 1984). Hence, the UN shared this concern for the Alps, nominating them in 1987 as the most threatened mountain region in the world (NC–IUCN, 1994).

The publication of the 1980 *World Conservation Strategy* report instigated a general debate on the boundaries of economic growth. In 1987, the Advisory Council for Nature Policy, together with the Advisory Council for Environmental Protection, organized a conference to explore the relationship between ecology and economy. In addition to sessions devoted to the chemical industry and agriculture, there was also a session on the tourism industry presided over by the chair of the ANWB who questioned whether tourism should be seen as a friend or foe of the *World Conservation Strategy*. Representatives of the NMGA, the Wadden Sea Society and the tour operator Arke gave keynote speeches. The debate at this conference also had a critical tone as indicated by the subtitle of the presentation given by the director of Arke: "The tour operator venturing into the lion's den." However, the chair concluded the session by stating that "it is not useful to nominate any actor as the Black Peter. Rather, we need to co-operate to move in the right direction. For that, important suggestions have been made today such as educating tourists and developing a code of conduct for tour operators" (Natuurbeschermingsraad & Centrale Raad voor Milieuhygiëne, 1988:163). As the next section will show, this suggestion to educate tourists and tour operators was indeed put into practice.

4.2.3   Educating tourists on responsible behavior

The advocacy for sustainable tourism that was canalized through conferences and publications found expression in the late 1980s in several educational campaigns on sustainable tourism. In 1988, the NMGA, ANWB and the Netherlands Skiing Association (NSkiV) joined forces and launched the campaign 'The Alps going downhill' (De Alpen Bergaf). Other information campaigns launched in the next years were 'The Alps, also of our concern!' (De Alpen, ook onze zorg!) and 'The Alps, the world's most threatened mountains' (De Alpen, het meest bedreigde bergebied ter wereld) (see Figure 4-2), both of which sought cooperation with tour operators De Jong Intra Holidays and NS Travel. The founding of the Netherlands Alps Platform (NAP) in 1991 formalized the cooperation between the NMGA, ANWB, NSkiV and the two mountaineering clubs.

In 1992, ANWB expanded the scope of sustainable tourism from the Alps to coastal regions and supported a project by the Kenya Wildlife Service, the regional IUCN office and the Dutch embassy in Kenya that was presented at the first Groeneveld Conference of 1995. This project aimed to use informational materials (e.g., leaflets in hotels, informative billboards) to educate beach tourists on the fragility of coral reefs and support the preservation of a marine park.

To call attention to the tourism in another favorite holiday destination of the Dutch, the Mediterranean Sea, the ANWB, the Foundation for Recreation, the European Union for Coastal Conservation (EUCC), the Foundation Natour, the

Netherlands Association of Turtles, SME Environmental Consultants and the Ministry of Nature Conservation (LNV) came together in 1993 to found the Foundation for Tourism and Sea Turtles. Using information campaigns, the foundation called attention to the problems with beach tourism in general and sea turtle nesting in particular (Figure 4-3).
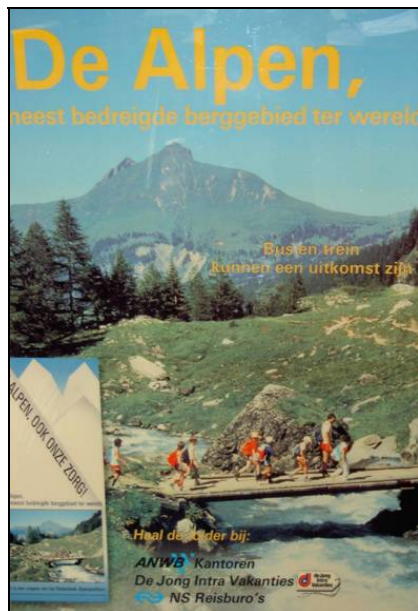
Figure 4-2 Educational poster on endangered Alps (NAP)

Figure 4-3 Educational poster on endangered sea turtles

4.2.4   Flight holidays and air pollution

However, whereas the NAP platform and the Sea Turtle platform were concerned with the impacts of tourism in holiday destinations, environmental NGOs worried about the impacts of getting to those destinations. In 1992, the Netherlands Friends of the Earth and the Netherlands Society for Nature and Environment, together with other regional and local environmental organizations, organized a demonstration at the doors of travel agents and tour operation firms to call attention to the negative environmental impacts of holiday flights, including air pollution and the hole in the ozone layer. Consumers were urged to consider other means of transportation for their holidays, and VRO/ANVR was pressured to stimulate its members to offer holiday packages by bus, train and boat (*Trouw*, 1992a; 1992b).

4.2.5   VRO/ANVR: Signaling the issue of sustainable tourism

The emergence of the debate on sustainability in tourism was signaled by VRO/ANVR in the late 1980s, when, at the association's annual conference in Cyprus in 1989, the director of Arke, who was also chairperson of the VRO board at that time, gave a keynote presentation on sustainable tourism. He justified the association's attention to this theme by pointing to several key publications in the

field. These included the 1989 *National Environmental Policy Plan*, which propagated a structural adaptation of production and consumption structures; the NWIT's textbook *Tourism: Fraternization or Degeneration?* (van Egmond, 1989); and the International Federation of Tour Operators' (IFTO) inventory report on environmental management in holiday destinations. The chair advised members to read the NWIT textbook, "not because I agree with all its conclusions, but because in my view an entrepreneur in our line of business *must* take an interest in the subject as well as be open to all standpoints in order to arrive at well-founded insights of his own" (Archival materials, ANVR, 1989, emphasis in the original). The chair also argued that it is the country of destination that is primarily responsible for sustainable tourism development, followed by the tourist and thirdly the tour operator. Specifically, the tour operators' responsibility in sustainable tourism was seen as twofold. On the one hand, tour operators were to stimulate the holidaymakers to behave like 'good guests' and inform them that experiencing different customs, habits and conditions is a natural part of visiting other countries. On the other hand, tour operators were to warn the receiving holiday destinations when conditions necessary for tourist attraction were on the downgrade. In brief, tour operators were conceived of as advisors to holiday destinations and consumers of the sustainable development of tourism.

Around the time of the conference, VRO set up an informal Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism to facilitate the intraindustrial debate on the bottlenecks in the protection of the sites' beauty. This executive committee drafted *Ten basic assumptions on tourism and the environment* (Box 4-2), which the members accepted in 1992 as part of the association's code of conduct. This code expressed the association's commitment to the role of tour operators as advisors in the tourism supply chain.

Among the firms represented on the executive committee were Holland International and Arke Reizen, which had already paid some attention to environmental management. For instance, Arke had an environmental policy plan in place by 1994 (Warmink, 1995). Nevertheless, Arke's proactiveness must be seen in light of the steps taken by the largest German tour operator TUI, which had held shares in Arke Reizen since 1989. Following a campaign by Greenpeace Germany and a research publication that indicated German consumers' willingness to pay for environmentally friendly holidays, TUI–Germany nominated an environmental manager as early as 1991 (Ringlever, 1992).

In response to a campaign by environmental activists against holiday flights (Section 4.2.4), the ANVR drafted a letter to the public that reassured consumers that they need not feel restricted in their choice of holiday transportation. Specifically, the organization argued that the Dutch fleet of airplanes, being one of the youngest in the world, was relatively clean and that reliable emission figures were nonexistent (Peters, 1992). However, criticism of the impact of holiday transportation grew with a 1994 publication by the Advisory Council for Nature Policy and led to a confrontation between the industry and environmental NGOs.

4.2.6   Publications on tourism and environment

Besides the campaigns on sustainable winter sports holidays and sea turtles, the ANWB was involved in several initiatives, including a special issue of its *Recreation & Tourism* magazine devoted to the impacts of tourism in the European context. It was also involved with NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences and SME Environmental Consultants in publishing the textbook, the *Earth as Holiday Resort* (Boers & Bosch, 1993), which it sponsored with the European Commission, the Ministry of Economic Affairs (EZ) and the Foundation for Recreation. This text not only describes how tourism impacts the environment but suggests measures by which tourism businesses, governments and consumers might prevent or mitigate these impacts.

Also in 1994, together with the Ministry of the Environment (VROM), the ANWB founded an informal policy group to exchange information and ideas on sustainable tourism policies (Interview Respondent II). This group was the predecessor to the

Coordination Committee on Environment, Tourism and Leisure (CETL) that would provide financial support for several projects in the late 1990s (see Section 4.3.6).

More significantly, in December 1994, the Advisory Council for Nature Policy published a critical report on tourism tellingly titled *Are we going too far?* In this document, the council questioned Dutch citizen's increasing number of outbound holidays given the associated environmental impacts. The council also criticized the government for neglecting this issue in its major policy documents. The report listed several recommendations for the government, tourism industry and consumers, including the introduction of an ecolevy on air traffic, the promotion of ecolabels within the tourism industry, the encouragement of inbound holidays and public educational campaigns (Raad voor het Natuurbeheer, 1994). Since the council expected the report to cause controversy, the document included an explanatory leaflet that acknowledged the complexity of the sustainable tourism issue and emphasized that the report's primary purpose was to stimulate a debate on the relationship between tourism, sustainability and environment.

4.2.7 Summary

Of the three Ps of sustainability – people, planet, profit – the first two became prominent issues of debate in this first evolutionary stage. Proponents of the *people discourse,* including missionary organizations, universities, SIW and the Foundation for Tourism & Third World, were centrally concerned with the scale and nature of tourism's impacts on people in the developing world. Thus, they put forward issues like the exploitation of local culture and customs and unequal distribution of benefits. The main landmark in this debate was the 1986 conference on tourism to the Third World, following which the Foundation Retour, Foundation Reisbewijs and Foundation IVR continued to work for ethical tourism. Their work is particularly marked by the dissemination of information to consumers on the 'do's and don'ts' of traveling to developing nations. More specifically, by marketing sustainable holiday products, ECEAT, SNP, Multatuli Travel and to some extent adventure tour operators like Baobab, Ashraf and Afriesj Travel moved beyond information provision and awareness raising.

The *planet discourse* was heard in the voices of mountaineers and other nature lovers who witnessed the environmental degradation of their favorite holiday spots in Europe. Its primary proponents were the NMGA, the mountaineering clubs NBV and KNAV, the ANWB, the NC–IUCN, the Foundation for Recreation, the Netherlands Skiing Association, the European Union for Coastal Conservation, the Foundation Natour, the Netherlands Association of Turtles, SME Environmental Consultants and the Ministry of LNV. The issues they raised included loss of biodiversity, erosion, energy and water use by snow machines, congestion and air pollution. Although the NAP platform and the Foundation for Tourism and Sea Turtles were the first field-level organizations created to spearhead the debate on sustainable tourism in the Dutch people's favorite holiday destinations, tour operators De Jong Intra and NS Travel supported the NAP's campaigns by putting into practice the advisory role of tour operators in sustainable tourism development.

With the issues related to people and planet as touchstones, 1989 and 1993 saw the publication of the first textbooks on sustainable tourism. However, as the Advisory Council for Nature Policy's 1994 report pointed out, governmental attention to the relationship between outbound tourism and the sociocultural and natural environment was weak. Nevertheless, collectively, the initiatives resulted in a growing awareness in the outbound tour operations field that mass tourism may negatively impact the social and natural environment in holiday destinations, an awareness expressed in the installation of an informal executive committee in 1989/90 and a code of conduct for tour operators in 1992. Thus, although the countries of destination were believed primarily responsible for sustainable tourism development, tour operators were seen as its advisors and supporters.

4.3   Stage 2: Toward a stakeholder dialogue (1995–1998)

The second stage, from 1995 to 1998, was characterized by the emergence of a dialogue between the stakeholders in sustainable tourism, beginning with a first national conference on sustainable tourism organized in 1995 in response to the critical report by the Advisory Council for Nature Policy. The conference in turn led to the founding in 1996 of a national platform on sustainable tourism, the Initiative Group on Outbound Tourism, Nature and the Environment. As one of its first activities, this group organized a second national conference in the same year. It was in this context of growing public and political concern for the environmental impacts of tourism, particularly, that the VRO/ANVR formalized its Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism, which drafted two policy documents on sustainable tourism and worked on their implementation. Against this backdrop of two national conferences and the installation of the initiative group and the ANVR executive committee, other important developments (outlined below in Figure 4-4) were also occurring in the field.

4.3.1   The Advisory Council's report

In February 1995, the Advisory Council for Nature Policy organized a press conference on its report *Are we going too far?* in the pressroom of the Parliament in The Hague that was attended by all relevant stakeholders, including the tourism associations ANWB and ANVR. This report's assertion that one return ticket from Airport Schiphol to Athens used enough energy to heat a household for one year led to turmoil in the industry. On the one hand, environmental groups like the Netherlands Friends of the Earth and the Netherlands Society for Nature and the Environment welcomed this assertion because it supported their campaign against the increasing number of holiday flights (de Raad, 1995). On the other, the ANVR and particularly the charter companies reacted defensively and emphasized the individual right of mobility and the need for measures at the international level (Beckers & Jansen, 1999).

field

'95 '96 '97 '98

ANVR

Cultural Tourism Program

ECPAT campaign

Groeneveld I

Press Conference

Technical Committees SDA (failed '02)

Initiative Group

Groeneveld II

FlightTax (failed '02)

emission report

KLM env. report

Quick Scan

Airship campaign

CETL: Policy Agenda

Meeting emission figures

TUI Manager

Executive committee

policy docu I

Code of Conduct

public brochure

TIP & Toeristiek Database adjusted

policy docu II

Start POEMS project

Project / practice

Conference

Publication

Organization

Figure 4-4 Timeline Stage 2 (1995–1998)

The following excerpt is representative of this uproar over the report: "The report shook up touristy Netherlands a few months ago. Such far-reaching measures – an eco levy on kerosene, an eco-label for the tourism industry – of an advisory council of the government with such a prominent figure as mister Vonhoff, nobody expected this" (Warmink, 1995:10). Although the report was offered to the Assistant Secretary of Economic Affairs, who was formally responsible for tourism, it was the Ministry of LNV that took the lead in responding to the call for governmental action.

4.3.2 The first Groeneveld Conference

The Ministry of LNV felt particularly responsible for continuing the debate on sustainable tourism because tourism was one of the themes in its 1996 to 2000 Program for International Nature Conservation (PIN). Together with the ministries of VROM and EZ, the ministry organized a conference at Castle Groeneveld in June 1995 that aimed at exploring possibilities for cooperation between the different stakeholders in the tourism industry. Presided over by the chair of the ANVR, this conference drew a broad audience that reflected the different organizational actors engaged in the debate at that time (Table 4-2).

Table 4-2 Participants in the first Groeneveld Conference

Type of actor	Organization
Travel and tourism industry	TUI–Germany, Afriesj Travel, Air Holland, Arke, Asia, Centerparcs, ECEAT, Green Flag International, Hotelplan, De Jong Intra, Royal Hotel and Catering Association, KLM Royal Dutch Airlines, Martinair, Transavia, Multatuli Travel, NBT Netherlands Board of Tourism, Nepal Travel, NS Travel, Pacific Asia Travel Association, SNP Travel, Foundation for Information on Long-haul Travel IVR, Wolftrail, Foundation Tourism & Recreation/AVN
Consumer organizations	ANWB, Netherlands Consumer Association
Government	Ministries of Economic Affairs (EZ), Nature Conservation (LNV) and Environment (VROM); Netherlands Forest Service.
Advisory councils	Advisory Council for Nature Policy, Advisory Council for Recreation
Educational & knowledge institutions	Erasmus University, University of Tilburg, NHTV, Foundation Recreation/KIC and Foundation Nature/IKC
Nature and environmental organizations and consultants	CBI, Ecoplan, European Centre for Nature Conservation, NC-IUCN, Platform for Sustainable Development, Platform for Recreation, SNV, The Netherlands Society for Nature and Environment, SWOKA Consumer research, Tauw Environmental Consultancy, The Netherlands Friends of the Earth, NAP, SME Environmental Consultants
Press	*DIT Travel* magazine, and the magazines *Recreation & Tourism*, *Reisrevue*, and *Volkskrant*

Source: Verheijen, 1995

Specifically, the keynote speakers were the environmental manager of the German tour operator TUI, the manager for external affairs of the charter company Transavia, the director of the Foundation for Tourism & Recreation (Toerisme en Recreatie/AVN) and a professor emeritus in communication science. The parallel sessions dealt with issues related to outbound and inbound tourism, including holiday transportation, public information campaigns and environmental management at holiday destinations.

Whereas the 1995 conference proceedings do reveal hostility between the tourism industry and sustainable tourism advocates, they also suggest awareness that cooperation was the way forward. For instance, Transavia's manager expressed strong disapproval for the council's assertion on airplane energy use yet concluded his speech with "the hope for a balanced discussion on the future of tourism with the right people and the right intentions." Likewise, the ANVR chair concluded by saying that "[s]ometimes we are going against the tide, but we are still on our way to sustainable tourism." He thus pleaded for the creation of a platform to keep the parties informed of ongoing initiatives, to bring and keep together the numerous different organizations interested in the issue. This recommendation found expression in 1996 with the founding of a multi-stakeholder organization.

4.3.3 The national platform on sustainable tourism

The Initiative Group on Outbound Tourism, Nature and the Environment was created in 1996 to spearhead the debate on sustainable tourism and the development of sustainable tourism initiatives. The participants were the Ministries of EZ, LNV and VROM, the tourism associations ANWB and ANVR, the NAP platform, the Foundation for Tourism & Recreation, the Foundation for Recreation and SME Environmental Consultants. This group had the following goals: to operate as an intermediary organization for parties with initiatives that might be of interest to the outbound tourism market; to assess and spread information; to fuel debates; and to stimulate initiatives (Beckers & Jansen, 1999). Initially, the Ministry of LNV chaired the platform; however, believing that the role of the government was only to facilitate processes, it sought commitment from the tourism associations. Accordingly, the ANVR took on the role of platform chair and the ANWB agreed to be its secretary.

4.3.4 The second Groeneveld Conference

As one of its first activities, the initiative group organized a second Groeneveld Conference in May 1996 (see Table 4-3 for the participants). The main goal of this conference, which was presided over by the director of the ANWB, was to translate sustainable tourism into practical measures. Its keynote speakers were the secretary of the trade association of ANVR tour operators (VRO/ANVR) and the chair of NAP, who strengthened his argument that ecology is not a threat for the tour operations business by citing the environmental policies of German tour operator TUI and Swiss tour operator Hotelplan. The VRO spokesperson reported on IFTO's ECOMOST project (see Section 4.3.7) and stressed the VRO's commitment to the issue of

sustainable tourism as evidenced by the creation of its executive committee and its 1995 policy plan.

The afternoon sessions comprised debates organized around three propositions related to the Alps and the Mediterranean: (1) tour operators should not simply wait for sustainable management in holiday destinations but should take measures themselves; (2) sustainable tourism management is good for the company image; and (3) pilot projects are needed that seek cooperation. In his concluding remarks, the ANWB's director emphasized the commitment of the initiative group "to act as a focal point for actors with questions and ideas for initiatives; spread knowledge on 'best practices'; and facilitate the creation of inter-organizational networks." He also applauded the fact that "many parties that in the past would have been classified as enemies, now jointly strive for initiatives and solutions" (Initiatiefgroep Uitgaand Toerisme en Natuurlijk Milieu, 1996). These propositions implied the subsequent exploration and development of collaborative relationships between different stakeholders.

Table 4-3 Participants in the second Groeneveld Conference

Type of actor	Organization
Travel and tourism industry	Air Holland, ANVR, Aruba Tourism Authority, Baobab Travel, Belvilla, Hotelplan, KLM Royal Dutch Airlines, Netherlands Board of Tourism NBT, NBV, NCRV/Image Travel, NS Travel, Foundation for Tourism & Recreation, VrijUit Car Holidays
Consumer organizations	ANWB, Consumer Association
Government	Ministries of EZ and LNV, Province of Noord-Holland
Advisory councils	Advisory Council for Nature Policy, Advisory Council for Recreation
Educational & knowledge institutions	University of Tilburg KUB, Foundation Recreation/KIC, NHTV
Nature and environmental organizations and consultants	Ecoplan, NC-IUCN, IVN Association for Environmental Education, NAP, NMGA, Platform on Tourism and Sea Turtles, SME Environmental Consultants, ECEAT
Press	The magazine *Recreation & Tourism*, RVU television

Source: Initiatiefgroep Uitgaand Toerisme en Natuurlijk Milieu, 1996

4.3.5   The beginning years of the national platform

Archival materials suggest that after the organization of the second Groeneveld Conference, the initiative group focused on internal affairs. For instance, the agenda for a meeting in 1997 reveals that members searched for agreement over the groups' scope of action and function, the issues to be dealt with and the audience to be targeted (Archival materials VRO/ANVR, Agenda 17/06/1997). As regards the first, eight premises were presented for discussion at the meeting:
− The growth of outbound tourism should not be restricted.
− Nature, environment and culture are unmistakably part of the tourism product.
− The development of outbound tourism should become as sustainable as possible.

- Tourism can generate revenues for nature conservation in destination countries.
- Tourists should be able to choose their type of holiday and holiday destination from a range of (socially acceptable) holiday products.
- National and international governments should not only contribute to policy preparations but also take concrete measures.
- Stakeholders in outbound tourism have their own responsibility and should be made aware of this responsibility.
- Outbound tourism is an international business; thus, to produce effects, sustainable tourism measures should have an international character.

The same agenda listed seven tasks, to be discussed at the meeting, that the initiative group should carry out, such as collecting and sharing information, stimulating and coordinating initiatives, and instigating public debate. The issues proposed included holiday destinations (e.g., monitoring), transportation (e.g., stimulate technological developments, information provision), education of tourists and industry (tour operators, travel agents, transportation firms, national tourist boards, educational institutions), internal environmental management and the temporal distribution of the holiday seasons. However, it soon became clear that inbound tourism needed its own consultative group to effectively debate sustainable tourism development. Hence, stakeholders of inbound tourism split off and founded their own platform, the Initiative Group for Nature/Environment and Tourism/Recreation, with the Foundation for Tourism & Recreation as its secretary. These stakeholders stayed informed as 'agenda members.'

In 1998, the Initiative Group on Outbound Tourism, Nature and the Environment was composed of the Ministries of EZ, LNV, VROM, V&W, ANWB, ANVR, NAP, NC–IUCN, the CBI and KLM Royal Dutch Airlines (Archival Materials, VRO/ANVR, 1998). Not only the Ministry of V&W (Transport, Public Works and Water Management) but also the organizations NC–IUCN, CBI and KLM were new to the group. The first, NC–IUCN, was working on the relationship between tourism and biodiversity, which later would turn into the Natourdata project. The second, CBI, a centre for promoting imports from developing countries, adopted the issue of sustainability in its training for tourism entrepreneurs and the governments of developing countries. For instance, in 1997, it published the report *Quick Scan Sustainable Tourism*, which included checklists and indicators for sustainable tourism development. Finally, the third, KLM, implemented a corporate environmental care system and published its first environmental report in the mid-1990s.

4.3.6 Developments in the wider field

Developments other than the Groeneveld Conferences and the installation of the initiative group added to the momentum for sustainable tourism. These developments, discussed in more detail below, are necessarily heterogeneous because of the diversity of actors working under the 'sustainable tourism' banner.

Flight tax. In 1996, against the backdrop of the debate over holiday transportation, the activist organization Strohalm introduced a voluntary levy for plane tickets they called 'flight tax' (Vliegtax). Criticizing the privileged position of air traffic as exempt from taxation, Strohalm introduced this voluntary levy to discourage holiday flights and to contribute to the reduction of CO_2 emissions and noise. The revenues it generated were invested in energy-saving measures. This scheme, which was supported by several ministries, financial institutions and energy firms (Bargeman, Beckers, van Es, van den Broeke, & Korver, 2002), fitted well with Strohalm's broader slogan 'the polluter pays.'

Development cooperation. Whereas the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had little interest in tourism as a theme for development cooperation (Westerlaken, 1998), the bilateral sustainable development agreement between the Netherlands and Costa Rica opened opportunities for sustainable tourism projects. In addition, development organizations started to experiment with tourism projects as a mechanism for poverty reduction in developing countries.

Sustainable development agreements. In 1994, the governments of the Netherlands, Benin, Bhutan and Costa Rica signed sustainable development agreements (SDA) intended to enhance sustainable development based on the principles of equity, reciprocity and participation. Tourism was one program set up under the SDA with Costa Rica. In 1995, under the auspices of the executive bodies of the agreements (Ecooperation in the Netherlands and Fundecooperacion in Costa Rica), a Dutch and a Costa Rican technical committee on sustainable tourism were founded that represented the private sector, the public sector, NGOs and universities. The committees together drafted the *Sustainable Tourism Program Costa Rica – the Netherlands* in 1997, which in 1998 was translated into an action program for the primary purpose of community development. Although two small bilateral projects had already been initiated in 1996, the main projects were launched in 1999 (for an extensive discussion, see van der Duim, 2005b).

Development organizations. In the mid-1990s, some development organizations started to experiment with commercial tourism activities on the initiative of their partner organizations in the developing world. For instance, in the wake of its pilot project in Tanzania, in 1995, SNV launched the Cultural Tourism Program in which different villages were selected to provide unique tour packages to tourists. Such packages typically included the serving of a local dish, a visit to a traditional crafts(wo)man and a performance by traditional dancers (SNV, 1999). The development organization NOVIB also experimented with tourism projects, including one in the Philippines, and tour operators like Multatuli Travel, Afriesj Reizen and Baobab included visits to such development aid projects in their itineraries (Westerlaken, 1998). As the chair of the independent Association of Adventure Tour Operators VAR explained, "[l]iving culture is becoming an increasingly important element in our tour packages. Our customers know what is going on in a country, they know about the people living there and they want to experience some local culture during their holidays" (Westerlaken, 1998).

Failures. During this period of initiative start-up, some initiatives failed. For instance, the Foundation for Tourism and Sea Turtles, which aimed to address the negative aspects of mass tourism in the Mediterranean Sea using the sea turtle as a pettable symbol, was disbanded in 1996. The problems related to tourism in this region went far beyond the issue of the sea turtles's nesting sites. As one respondent explained, "[i]t turned out to be an enormous file (…) The scope of our symbol of the sea turtle was too narrow to raise the full issue of the Mediterranean Sea and tourism" (Interview Respondent J_1).

The ecolabel 'Buitensport' for outdoor sports tour operators also died a slow death after the ANWB hosted it for about a year but returned it in 1995 to its founding organization, the Foundation for Recreation, primarily because it was not profitable to manage the label. The foundation hoped the label would be adopted in 1996 by the newly founded Society of Outdoor Enterprises (VeBon); however, this association believed that the VeBon membership was equal to meeting the quality standard (de Raad, 1996).

Airships. From April 1997 to August 1999, the National Youth Organization for Environment and Development (NMJO) launched an information campaign entitled 'Airships – who sees them fly?' This campaign, sponsored by the Ministry of VROM, NCDO and the Rabobank (VROM, 2002), aimed at creating support for the revival of this old form of air transportation, which was seen as energy friendly, noiseless and a cost efficient and effective alternative for other means of transportation to holiday destinations within Europe. Critics, however, argued that airships could never compete with airplanes because of their relatively low speed (Bargeman et al., 2002).

The Policy Agenda on the Environment, Tourism and Leisure. Following the 1997 publication of the policy document *Environment & Economy* by the Ministries of VROM, EZ, LNV and V&W, the informal policy group of 1994 became the Coordination Committee on the Environment, Tourism and Leisure (CETL). This committee, chaired by the ANWB and representing 5 ministries, the Association of Provincial Authorities (IPO) and 11 intermediary organizations in tourism and recreation in the Netherlands, drafted the 1998 *Policy Agenda on the Environment, Tourism and Leisure*, which outlined 13 themes for project funding in the 1998–2002 period. Outbound tourism was one of these 13 themes with the VRO/ANVR as the focal organization (Coördinatieoverleg Milieu, Toerisme & Recreatie, 1998).

Policy preparation and the exchange of information occurred through CETL as a national forum, with a Web site as the key medium. The CETL Web archive reveals that four projects were to be financed through this policy agenda: (1) a pilot study on internal environmental management systems within tour operations firms (the POEMS project), (2) research on emission figures per mode of transportation (the Mobility Project), (3) research on an information system for nature conservation and tourism (the Natourdata project), and (4) the installation of a chair on sustainable tourism at NHTV Breda.

4.3.7 VRO/ANVR: Formally taking sustainable tourism on board

Against the backdrop of the uproar over the advisory council's report and the subsequent debate over a possible ecolevy, the association VRO/ANVR formally installed the Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism in 1995. This executive committee included representatives of the firms Arke Reizen, de Jong Intra, Hotelplan, NCRV, OAD, Trans and Vrij Uit. The secretary of the VRO chaired the group, which held an advisory role to the board of the VRO and the ANVR federation. In addition to this executive committee, an executive committee of adventure tour operators was installed by the end of 1996, representing tour operators like Baobab and Djoser, which joined VRO/ANVR as their business expanded with the growing market demand for long-haul holidays. The adventure tour operator committee, although primarily concerned with issues like travel and booking conditions and travel warnings systems, sometimes discussed the issue of sustainable tourism as well (*ATLAS*, January 1998b:13). The following discussion addresses the sustainable tourism executive committee's main activities chronologically.

Publication of the first policy document. August 1995 saw the publication of the first policy document on sustainable tourism, which recognized that sustainable tourism was necessary for the survival of the industry and proposed that measures should be taken collectively and at the international level. The association also emphasized that consumers have the right to travel. The association departed from those two central assumptions when it proposed the promotion of sustainable tourism to the international association IFTO, which at that time was studying tourism development on the islands of Majorca and Rhodes. This project, named the European Community Models of Sustainable Tourism (ECOMOST), hoped to develop guidelines on how to enhance sustainable tourism development at the destination level. Funded by the European Commission, it resulted in the 1994 publication *Planning for Sustainable Tourism*. In line with the IFTO, VRO/ANVR saw governments in holiday destinations as primarily responsible for sustainable tourism, with tour operators supporting destination countries by monitoring the quality of holiday destinations and informing their travelers about responsible tourist behavior. The IFTO was seen as the legitimate body to draft 'destination reports' and a tourist code of conduct (ANVR, 1995).

The policy document also listed about a dozen somewhat heterogeneous measures to be taken that reflected the relevant issues of that time.[18] However, it made no attempt to relate or integrate the various measures under a broader umbrella. Specifically, the proposed measures related to informing and educating both suppliers and governments in holiday destinations and consumers, preferentially selecting accommodations with environmental management systems in

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[18] The policy document refers to the following issues as "requiring attention": waste, wastewater, algae, mountain biking, delays, forest fires, coral reefs, artificial snow, vulnerable areas, landscape pollution, noise, local communities, mass tourism, mobility, the hole in the ozone layer, outdoor sports, ecotourism, energy use, erosion, wildlife, golf courts, souvenirs made from the material of endangered species, congestion, sex tourism, uninterested and ignorant tourists, pollution of beaches, acidification, water use, sea turtles and the temporal distribution of holidays (ANVR, 1995:4–5).

place and stimulating hoteliers to do so, and stimulating the temporal distribution of holidays (which was seen as particularly relevant for winter sports holidays in the Alps). Other issues covered in the policy document, which the association explained is a discussion document, included holiday transportation, sex tourism, protection of flora and fauna, ecolabels, the Blue Flag label for clean beaches,[19] local communities, internal environmental management systems, reduction of travel leaflets and education (ANVR, 1995).

Evidence that the adoption of the issue was quite a step for the association is found in the documents' concluding section which emphasizes that "the trade association should be granted the opportunity by its members, but especially by interested others to develop its own policy without being criticized immediately for its policy being too ambitious or being too general. First stating the policy and working on measures that are feasible. Then, discussing about future measures" (ANVR, 1995:16).

Implementing the first policy document. After the acceptance of the first policy document in 1995, the executive committee contacted different organizations to implement the proposed measures. By aligning with existing initiatives in the field, the association aimed for a practical and workable approach to sustainable tourism. According to the association's magazine *ATLAS,* the executive committee met with representatives of NAP to explore possibilities for cooperation. In 1996, it also exchanged ideas with the environmental manager of TUI–Germany and asked Amsterdam Airport Schiphol for information on a project to decrease traveler motor traffic to the airport. At the same time, it asked the firm Toeristiek to include environmental performance indicators in its ongoing research on accommodations and display the results in its database, which was (and still is) used by the majority of travel agents and tour operators. The association also asked the Foundation for Environmental Education in Europe (FEEE) to provide information on its Blue Flag label for clean beaches, so this information could be included in the existing TIP database to assist tour operators and travel agents in their advisory role to consumers. Both Toeristiek and FEEE responded positively and the two databases were updated with this information in 1998. Finally, it solicited the Institute for Public Opinion and Market Research NIPO to include questions on environmental awareness in its ongoing survey among consumers. Unfortunately, the results of this study were disappointing – when booking their holidays, Dutch consumers barely took the environment into consideration (ANVR, 1998a).

Monitoring societal developments. In the capacity of chair of the newly founded Initiative Group on Outbound Tourism, Nature and the Environment and as focal organization for outbound tourism in the interministerial CETL, the VRO/ANVR engaged in regular meetings with different field constituents. Specifically, the association argued that participation in both groups would enable the monitoring of societal expectations and developments (Archival materials VRO/ANVR,

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[19] The Blue Flag label was set up in France in 1985 to encourage compliance with the EU Bathing Water Directive, and marinas and beaches that fulfill criteria related to water quality, environmental education, environmental management and safety issues are eligible to apply for it (www.blueflag.org).

09/05/1995). The association also organized ad-hoc meetings, for instance, inviting Amnesty International to the committee table after it published a critical article on the relationship between tourism and human rights in its magazine. The report of this meeting shows that the association stuck to the axiom of consumer choice:

> "In a meeting with Amnesty, the ANVR pointed out the starting point of the association. That is, tour operators have the task of offering the widest range of products from which consumers can choose. It should not be the case that the Dutch tourism industry determines which countries the Dutch tourist may visit or not. Official international boycotts and travel warnings alone can impose constraints on the industry. It is up to organizations like Amnesty International, the government, the parliament and the press to point out the other side of the picture so that travelers can make their own informed decision on traveling abroad." (*ATLAS*, October 1996:8)

Drafting a new code of conduct. Whereas the policy document of 1995 did not refer to issues of child prostitution and pornography, several international developments spurred the association's adoption of this issue in 1996. First, the organization ECPAT raised (and continues to raise) the issue of child sex tourism (see Box 4-1). Although there is no direct relationship between the tour operations industry and the sex industry, tour operators, through whom abusers book their holidays, were seen as partners in the combat against child sex tourism. As partners, tour operators could train their staff on holiday destinations and inform travelers that child sex tourism is a criminal offence. When the United Federation of Travel Agents' Associations (UFTAA), the largest travel agent association in the world, started to support the ECPAT campaign in 1994, industry attention to the issue emerged. Following the 1995 WTO Statement on the Prevention of Organized Sex Tourism and the 1996 World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Stockholm, other tourism industry associations – for example, the European Travel Agents' and Tour Operators' Associations (ECTAA) and IFTO – drafted a code of conduct (www.ecpat.org; *ATLAS*, March 1996).

Within the Netherlands, Foundation Retour took up the coordination of the international ECPAT campaign in 1995, several years before ECPAT became an independent foundation in the Netherlands. With the international developments sketched above and the activities of the Dutch branch of ECPAT, VRO/ANVR was encouraged to take measures also. At the annual meeting of 1996, members agreed on four measures to combat child sex tourism: (1) to include a clause in the VRO Code of Conduct forbidding VRO members from organizing holidays that offer opportunities for child prostitution; (2) wherever possible, to include a clause in their hotel contracts stating that the contract can be ended immediately when the hotel offers opportunities for child prostitution; (3) wherever necessary or useful, to provide information on the problems of child prostitution; and (4) to promote the fight against child prostitution at the international level (*ATLAS*, March 1996:8-9).

Publication of a public information brochure. To raise consumer awareness on sustainable tourism, in December 1997 the association published a 15-page public information brochure entitled, *The tourism and travel industry & environmental care*, in which it outlined the measures taken so far to enhance sustainability. It also listed tips on how to behave as a socially responsible tourist. The brochure presented sustainable tourism as "not being a fad that fades out but a lasting goal for all travel agents and tour operators associated with ANVR" and claimed it as evidence of "progress in the national ANVR campaign" (ANVR, 1998b:3). In addition, the brochure listed the partners in the change process toward sustainable tourism: The Ministries of LNV, V&W, EZ and VROM, CBI, KLM, NS, Toeristiek, KNV Touring Car Association, FEEE Netherlands, NIPO, NAP, NC-IUCN, ANWB and NCDO (ANVR, 1998b). The brochure was printed under the sponsorship of the Ministries of EZ and LNV and NCDO (ANVR, 1998a), and two million copies were distributed among the public through travel agencies.

The second policy document. In August 1998, the members of the trade association adopted the second policy document on sustainable tourism. Whereas most measures in this document aligned with the first policy document (e.g., public awareness raising, development of educational materials and international cooperation with the IFTO), two shifts are observable. First, the document proposed actions with respect to holiday transportation. Specifically, it referred to the 1997 report by the CE research institute, commissioned by the Ministry of VROM, on emission figures per mode of transportation (Roos, Bleijenberg, Dijkstra, & Brok, 1997), which until a Spring 1998 meeting had been the centre of discord between the environmental NGOs and the tourism industry (Beckers & Jansen, 1999). With reliable figures in place, the association proposed the initiation of a project to provide information on emission figures to consumers, enabling them to make an informed decision about their mode of holiday transportation (the Mobility Project).

The second shift was one toward individual responsibility; that is, whereas the VRO/ANVR explicitly emphasized the need for collective measures in sustainable tourism to keep all members on board and guarantee a level playing field on this issue, the association also recognized that tour operators had an individual responsibility. This shift found expression in the proposal to develop a product-oriented environmental management scheme (POEMS) for tour operators. Specifically, the consultancy firm CREM brought the idea of POEMS to the fore in a March 1998 letter to the VRO/ANVR (Archival Materials VRO/ANVR, 03/03/1998). While applauding the association for the measures taken so far (e.g., the Blue Flag label, environmental performance data on accommodations and the public brochure), CREM argued that the question would soon be raised of how these and other measures were to be implemented at the individual firm level. In answer the association put forward the POEMS scheme as the right tool to enable individual firms to structurally and systematically pay attention to sustainability issues in their daily business.

Sustainable tourism thus became a serious issue within the VRO/ANVR and was accompanied by an increase in expectations about VRO/ANVR's role in the

movement toward sustainable tourism. This development is illustrated in the following excerpt from the second policy document:

> "The ANVR has observed that in the Netherlands numerous people and organizations are working for nature conservation and environmental protection. This is increasingly done by starting up pilot projects whose results are to serve as an example for tour operators. It should be stressed that members of the ANVR and thus the ANVR cannot respond to all the pilot projects because of limited commercial latitude. The ANVR will not be pressurized to take measures that are not feasible for its members. The ANVR will be receptive to any suggestions and proposals but will decide itself whether it will participate in initiatives or not." (ANVR, 1998a).

Implementing the second policy plan. Around the time of acceptance of the second policy plan, the Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism welcomed two new members. The first was the environmental manager of Travel Unie Netherlands (TUI–Netherlands), which formed in 1996 when Arke Reizen and Holland International merged with the German tour operator TUI as a large shareholder. In an unusual move for the field,[20] TUI–Netherlands nominated its first environmental manager in September 1998. The second new member was a representative of NHTV who was invited onto the executive committee to facilitate cross-fertilization between industry practices and tourism education (ANVR, 1998a). Thus, by 1998, this committee comprised representatives of de Boer&Wendel, de Jong Intra, Hotelplan, Image Travel, InterAir, NHTV, NS Travel, Transavia, TUI–Netherlands and Vrij Uit (ANVR, 1999).

After the acceptance of the second policy document, the executive committee, together with consultancy firm CREM, started developing the POEMS scheme. Subsidized by a grant from the Ministry of VROM, this project kicked off in November 1998 with two pilot studies at the firms Holland International and Image Travel. It would, however, take several years to develop the scheme and get all tour operators to support it.

4.3.8   Summary

The second evolutionary stage, which began in 1995 and lasted until 1998, is characterized by the emergence of a stakeholder dialogue on sustainable tourism. Triggered by the critical report *Are we going too far?* and facilitated by the first Groeneveld Conference, a national platform on sustainable tourism was founded with ANVR as chair. The parties represented in this Initiative Group on Outbound Tourism, the Environment and Nature were those mainly affiliated with the planet discourse; that is, the Ministries of LNV and VROM, NAP, and ANWB, the Foundation for Recreation and SME Environmental Consultants (as well as the Ministry of EZ and AVN, in addition to ANVR). The central question at this stage was

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[20] See, for example, Bruinooge, M. 1998. Touroperators op termijn verplicht tot milieukeurmerk, *DIT Reismanagement*: 26–28 and *Reismanagement*, 1999.

how to translate the ideas and principles of sustainable development into industry practices. This practical orientation was stimulated by the availability of funding through the 1998 *Policy Agenda: Environment, Tourism and Leisure*.

Against this backdrop, the concept of sustainable tourism was explored in the context of development cooperation. The issue of global warming because of holiday flights was also tackled by the introduction of a voluntary flight tax and a campaign in favor of airships. Nevertheless, some initiatives failed to become institutionalized, including the Foundation for Tourism and Sea Turtles and the ecolabel for outdoor sports tour operators.

Concurrent with the increased public and political attention to sustainable tourism, the ANVR formalized its Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism, which represented the firms de Boer&Wendel, de Jong Intra, Hotelplan, Image Travel, InterAir, NHTV, NS Travel, Transavia, TUI–Netherlands and Vrij Uit. Its first policy document on sustainable tourism stressed the advisory task of tour operators in the tourism supply chain and expressed the association's commitment to an international and collective strategy for sustainable tourism. Indeed, the issue of child sex tourism, brought to the fore through the international campaign by ECPAT and its Dutch coordinating body Foundation Retour, was translated into a collective code of conduct. Other such measures were the inclusion of environmental information in databases and research on consumer attitudes toward sustainable tourism.

The publication of the public brochure and the second policy document mark growing attention within the trade association to the issue of sustainable tourism. Most particularly, proposed development of an environmental management tool for tour operators signaled a shift in emphasis from the VRO/ANVR's collective responsibility to the individual responsibility of involved companies. TUI–Netherlands was among the first tour operators associated with the VRO/ANVR to express its commitment to the issue by nominating an environmental manager. The actual development of the POEMS scheme would then spur an avalanche of initiatives in the years to come, placing increasing demands on the association to mobilize its members at the same that it confronted an unwilling membership base.

4.4   Stage 3: From theory to practice (1999–2003)

This third stage, whose highlights are summarized in Figure 4-5, is characterized by an avalanche of initiatives to turn sustainable tourism into practice. What all these initiatives by different proponents of change shared was an attempt to make sustainable tourism tangible for both tour operators and consumers. As these activities accelerated, the annual Groeneveld Conferences became the premier venue for actors to come together and exchange information about them. Collectively, these initiatives spurred the development of the POEMS scheme for tour operators associated with VRO/ANVR. Although it was difficult to get all tour operators behind the scheme, the first POEMS Basic Certificates were awarded in late 2003.
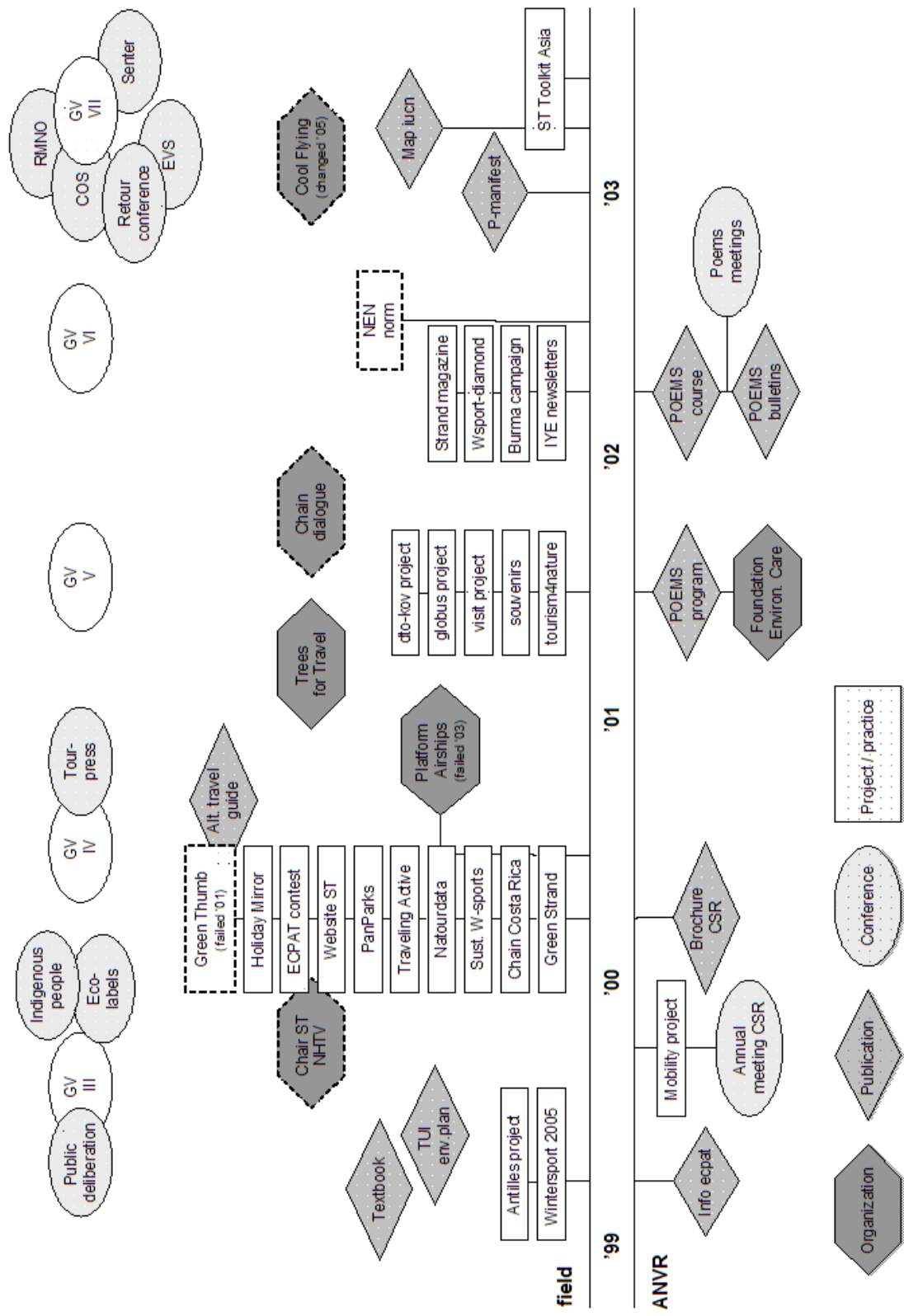
Figure 4-5 Timeline Stage 3 (1999–2003)

4.4.1 Public deliberation on tourism and sustainable development

In February 1999, in preparation for the April 1999 seventh session of the UN Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD–7) in New York – whose central theme was tourism – the NCDO, joined the Foundation Ecooperation in organizing the Public Deliberation on Tourism and Sustainable Development. The Dutch viewpoint was prepared within the Netherlands by an interministerial working group that included representatives from the Ministries of BuZa, VROM, LNV and EZ, as well as NGO-representatives NCDO and the NMJO. Seen as a premeeting of the NGOs, the public deliberation gave representatives of the tourism industry an opportunity not only to learn about the vision of the Dutch delegation to the CSD–7 but also to express points of view for consideration in the preparatory meetings and at the CSD–7 itself. In preparation for this deliberation, the organizers drafted and distributed to participants a discussion document in which stakeholders – including the NCDO, Foundation Retour, Foundation Ecooperation, the Ministry of LNV, ANVR and ANWB – explained their vision on sustainable tourism and their role in the promotion of this issue (van der Pol, 1999).

   According to the report on the public deliberation, the participants believed that until that date, the concept of sustainable tourism had been interpreted too narrowly in the Dutch change process. Specifically, they argued that sustainable tourism was not only about nature conservation and environmental protection but also about sociocultural aspects like child prostitution, fair working conditions and cultural exchange. They also saw supply chain projects in which local initiatives were linked with Dutch tour operators as the way forward (Rodenburg & Hagendoorn, 1999).

4.4.2 TUI–Netherlands, NHTV and sustainable tourism

In June 1999, TUI–Netherlands published its first environmental policy plan (TUI, 1999), which outlines the measures to be taken in the period 1999–2002, such as the execution of an impact assessment of holiday products and the training of staff on sustainable tourism. The document also reveals that TUI aimed at playing an active role in the sustainable tourism debate through the ANVR:

> "Through active participation in the ANVR working group on sustainable tourism [the Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism] and the subcommittees of this working group that are related to different themes, as well as through the socially broader Initiative Group on Outbound Tourism, Nature and the Environment, Travel Unie will continue to play a guiding role in making the Dutch travel product more sustainable. This will be done with the point of view that – where in an umbrella organization [the VRO/ANVR] the speed is often determined by the slowest partner – Travel Unie will not hesitate to be ahead of competition, [including] on the issue of sustainability." (TUI, 1999) .

The environmental department of TUI consisted of the environmental manager and an assistant, working part time at the NC–IUCN and becoming the secretary of the

Initiative Group in 2000. Later that year, as part of a European educational project, the environmental manager was also appointed professor at the NHTV, occupying a chair on sustainable tourism development created with financial support from NHTV, TUI–Netherlands, the Ministry of LNV, NCDO and the Rabobank. With the inauguration of the professorship in December 1999, TUI–Netherlands launched an annual award for the best master's thesis on sustainable tourism and transportation that still exists today. In December 1999, the lectureship also organized a workshop on ecolabeling in the tourism industry. Subsequently, beginning in 2000, NHTV began offering training courses related to sustainable tourism (Reisbewijs, 2000b).

4.4.3   The third Groeneveld Conference

In June 1999, NHTV hosted that year's Groeneveld Conference, organized by the Initiative Group together with the ANVR Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism, which paid special attention to developments within the VRO/ANVR. First presented was the Mobility Project, which aimed at developing a calculation model for emissions per means of transportation. This information was to be shared with consumers, enabling them to make an informed decision on their preferred means of holiday transportation. Second on the agenda was the POEMS project aimed at developing a tool to systematically include environmental issues within tour operations firms. In plenary session, the NAP platform gave a presentation on the Alps project, after which the Ministry of LNV was presented two NAP publications and the textbook, *The tourism phenomenon: past, present, future* (van Egmond, 1999).

The ministry official also expressed his views on the role of the government in sustainable tourism, arguing that sustainable tourism is not a subject that can be easily managed by the government through regulation. Rather, the government should give a positive direction to the change process by stimulating cooperation between itself, the tourism industry and the consumers both at the international and national level.

Overall, the parallel sessions suggested that this cooperation was gradually emerging. For instance, different stakeholders in the tourism supply chain between the Netherlands and the Netherlands Antilles had begun a project to create environmental awareness among consumers. Additionally, educational institutions were looking for synergy in setting up sustainable tourism courses. Nature conservationist groups, the Ministry of LNV and tour operators were exploring the relationship between biodiversity and tourism within the context of the PIN Policy Program. The presentation on the Platform Airships, however, which aimed at the development of airships as an economically viable means of transportation, was cancelled, although it was formally launched later in March 2000 following the NMJO's 1997 campaign (see Section 4.3.6).

4.4.4   Project Antilles Naturally

Also begun in 1999 was the Antilles Naturally (Natuurlijk Antillen) project, which ran until 2003, initiated by the ANWB, together with the Department of Environment and Nature of the Antillean Ministry of Health and Social Development within the framework of the 1998 UN International Year of the Oceans and financed with a grant from the Ministry of LNV and NCDO, which supported its engagement by the 1998 working group Coastal Tourism of the *Policy Agenda Environment, Tourism and Leisure* (van der Pol, 1999). This project aimed at enhancing environmentally friendly tourism on the islands of Curacao and Bonaire, which, with the support of the Ministry of LNV, had been working on sustainable tourism since 1995. Hence, when the ANWB began looking for a pilot project to express its commitment to the UN Year of the Oceans, it saw the Netherlands Antilles as a natural partner.

Specifically, the project focused on connecting all parties in the tourism supply chain in order to enhance sustainable tourism development on the islands. Therefore, diving schools and hotels on Bonaire and Curacao were certified with the Naturally Antilles logo, and tourists received information on the project in general and on the availability of green suppliers in particular through ANWB's magazine, travel brochures of Arke and Holland International, an in-flight video shown on all KLM flights to Curacao and Bonaire, posters at diving schools and hotels and an information brochure. Arke and Holland International also informed their product managers about the 'green' hotels (Zandvliet, 2003). Knowledge of the supply chain project was further shared through a Web site. VRO/ANVR supported the project in its POEMS Action Program (see Section 4.4.14).

4.4.5   Project Winter Sports 2005

The millions of tourists visiting the Alps, particularly those traveling by car to this mountainous region (about 70% of all tourists), burden the environment and cause severe negative environmental impacts. Therefore, the NAP brought together all parties involved in the production of winter sports holidays in Austria – including governments, nature conservationist groups, hoteliers, transportation firms and tour operators – to propose mitigating measures (Nijenhuis, 1999), which were then presented in the brochure *Wintersport 2005*. Dutch contributors to this brochure, which was presented to the environmental manager of TUI–Germany at the 1999 ITB Holiday Trade Fair in Berlin, included the ANVR, ANWB, NAP, NCDO, LNV, TUI–Netherlands and Arke.

The follow-up for this project, Sustainable Winter Sports Holidays, began in 2000 and ran until 2004 and can also be classified as a supply chain project aimed at the development of sustainable holiday trips. To this end, the project included travel workshops to Austria and Switzerland, the first of which took place from 8 to 12 December 1999 and was organized by the NAP, ANVR, NS Travel, Austrian Tourist Board, Salzburgerland Tourism Board and NCDO. These workshops invited tour operators to learn about initiatives taken by Austrian suppliers to minimize the negative impacts of winter sports holidays (e.g., ski lifts using solar energy, car-free

villages and environmentally friendly accommodations). According to the ANVR magazine, the environmental manager of TUI–Netherlands and the secretary of the NAP were rewarded during this workshop for their efforts by the Director of Austrian National Parks (*ATLAS*, January 2000). The second travel workshop, organized by the NAP, SME Environmental Consultants and Swiss Tourist Board and sponsored by NS Travel and NCDO, took place in Switzerland in early 2000. The workshop participants were SNP, TUI–Netherlands, Image Travel, the Netherlands Skiing Association, ANVR, Haagland Tourism, NKBV, NS Reizigers en TNT Netherlands (*ATLAS*, May 2000).

4.4.6   Books, Web sites, certificates, tourism education and failures

In 2000 an array of initiatives was launched to inform tourists about sustainable tourism, some of which failed to become institutionalized. Those launched are organized below according to two categories – the people discourse and the planet discourse – which were also addressed in an educational project targeted at students.

People. Following a December 1999 conference on the relationship between tourism and indigenous peoples, in March 2000, the Netherlands Centre for Indigenous Peoples (NCIV) published an *Alternative Travel Guide*, sponsored by the SNV development organization (Reisbewijs, 2000a), which drew on several cases to illustrate the positive and negative impacts of tourism for indigenous peoples. In the same year, the Dutch coordinator of the ECPAT Campaign (Foundation Retour) organized a contest, now organized annually, that challenged tourism students to write a business plan for a campaign to promote ECPAT in the tourism industry. The best proposal was awarded the funding to put the campaign into practice.

At the Holiday Fair of January 2000, using space at CBI's promotional stand, Foundation Retour launched a Web site named the Holiday Mirror (Vakantiespiegel), which listed certified accommodations in different countries and informed travelers how local people perceive the tourists visiting their country and how to behave as a responsible tourist. The site was financed by the NCDO because it believed that producing more participatory forms of tourism required tourists to know how local people think about them (Nijenhuis, 2000). A related aim was to get information about the Web site published in tour operators' travel brochures (Moeller, 2000).

Another Web site, Sustainable Tourism (Duurzaam Toerisme), launched in February 2000 by the Foundation ReisBewijs, served as a reference site for information resources and developments occurring in the field.

Despite the enthusiasm among Multatuli Travelers for its trade philosophy and the tours offered, the market demand turned out to be insufficient for economic survival (*de Volkskrant*, 2000) and in 2000, Multatuli stopped selling tour packages.

Planet. Whereas the 1994 report of the Advisory Council for Nature Policy called holiday flights into question, the industry kept tourism mobility out of range (Beckers & Jansen, 1999). Therefore, in 1999, as a compromise, there emerged the

carbon-offsetting scheme, Trees for Travel, which began as a project initiated by Foundation Natour, an NGO specialized in innovations at the interface between ecology and tourism. Specifically, the project, sponsored by the ministry of VROM, aimed at drafting a business plan for making carbon offsetting a commercially viable product. The underlying idea was to sell certificates to consumers to generate revenues for planting trees and hence offset the climate-warming impact of trips by air. By 2001, Trees for Travel was commercially operational.

At another trade fair, the *Op Pad Beurs*, the Dutch branch of the World Wide Fund for Nature (WNF) launched its promotional campaign 'Discover the jungle of Europe' to inform consumers about Europe's national parks. This campaign was part of a larger project, the PAN-Parks project, in which the WNF and the Molencaten Groep opened national parks to sustainable tourism (Avontuur, 2000). Another nature conservationist group that aimed to connect tourism with nature conservation was NC–IUCN, whose Natourdata project aimed to include data on nature conservation projects in the Toeristiek database (NC–IUCN, 2001). In 2000, NC–IUCN, together with SME Environmental Consultants and the outdoor equipment company Bever Zwerfsport, launched the Traveling Sustainable Active (Duurzaam Actief op Reis) project, which aimed at educating nonorganized travelers about exotic destinations (NC–IUCN, 2001).

In October 2000, TUI–Netherlands launched its ecolabel for sustainable accommodations, the Green Thumb (de Groene Duim), which was introduced to highlight sustainable accommodations in the travel brochures. However, after one year the scheme was cancelled, primarily because consumers interpreted it as a sales trick and a way to promote more expensive accommodations. Nevertheless, although TUI–Netherlands stopped printing the label in its travel brochures, it continued to use the criteria in selecting accommodations for tour packages (Nijenhuis, 2001). TUI also engaged in other tourism projects. For example, in 2000, Wageningen University and the consultancy firm Bureau Buiten organized a tourism supply chain project with Costa Rica within the framework of this country's SDA (see Section 4.3.6). Specifically, this project constituted a cooperative venture between TUI–Netherlands and its brand De Boer & Wendel (Caalders, van der Duim, van Mispelaar, & Ritsma, 2003).

Educational project. To inform students about the people and planet aspects of tourism, educational materials were developed within the Green Strand (Groene Draad) project that ran from 2000 to 2001. Specifically, intermediary tourism organizations (the ANVR, ANVV, HISWA and RECRON), together with vocational training schools (MTRO and NHTV), produced a course on sustainable tourism, six business cases and an annual instruction day for tourism teachers. The project was sponsored by Senter and supported by Centerparcs, the Rabobank, TUI–Netherlands, NHTV, OTR and the directors of the MTROs (www.duurzaamtoerisme.com).

4.4.7 The fourth Groeneveld Conference

In 2000, the secretary of the Initiative Group on Outbound Tourism and Nature, moved from the ANWB and NCDO to NC–IUCN to become became part of its tourism program launched in that same year and sponsored by the Ministry of LNV. Following this move, the platform launched a Web site, members of the group contributed to the secretary with an annual grant, and the initiative group was renamed the Initiative Group on Sustainable Outbound Tourism (IDUT). In the same year, NC–IUCN's magazine *Ecology and Development* also published a series of articles on sustainable tourism, written by members of the IDUT Platform.

The platform again organized a Groeneveld Conference at NHTV in May 2000, entitled 'Man and environment in tourism destinations.' The ANVR's chairman opened the conference by expressing his delight that the issue of sustainable tourism now had a more international scope and scale in the tour operations industry, with the Tour Operators Initiative as the most visible manifestation (Box 4-3). Referring to the slogan, 'Think globally, act locally,' the chairman also stressed individuals' moral duty to support sustainable tourism initiatives in holiday destinations. He also called upon tour operators to take action if they hoped to sell holidays in future. Subsequently, representatives of the tourism boards of Bonaire, Surinam and the French Alps outlined the challenges and opportunities for sustainable tourism in their regions.

Box 4-3: The Tour Operators Initiative (TOI)

The TOI (see www.toinitiative.org) is a network of tour operators who voluntarily work for sustainable tourism. As of October 2007, 20 tour operators were listed on the TOI Web site, including founding members TUI Group, TUI–Northern Europe, LTU Touristik, VASCO, First Choice, British Airways Holidays, Aurinkomatkat-Suntours and Hotelplan (Miller, Twining-Ward & Carbone, 2005). The TOI, formally launched in March 2000 by the UNWTO together with UNEP and UNESCO, aims "to share information, demonstrate best practice, and raise awareness of environmental and social issues that affect the tourism industry" (Miller et al.:262). Examples of best practices include corporate philanthropy, provision of information to tourists, use of internal codes of conduct and training, partnerships with NGOs, projects with local communities and sustainable product development (Tepelus, 2005). Nevertheless, despite praise for the initiative, Mowforth and Munt (2003:194) express their concern that the TOI can be used as "a means of marketing, lending false moral and ethical high ground to those whose principal and overriding aim is to make a financial profit."

At this conference, the parallel sessions aimed to create a comprehensive understanding of the relationships between tourism and biodiversity, community development, culture preservation and environmental management in tourist destinations. These sessions were also connected to the projects running at that time, such as the Pan-Parks project (tourism and biodiversity), the Holiday Mirror (community development), the Alternative Travel Guide (culture preservation) and

the Netherlands Antilles project and Environmental Barometer[21] (environmental management).

4.4.8 Governmental research projects on sustainable tourism

In November 2000, CREM published a research report commissioned by the Ministry of VROM (CREM, 2000) that analyzed the direct and indirect environmental impacts caused by Dutch tourists in the Netherlands and abroad. Following this report, the ministry aimed at setting up a tourism supply chain dialogue (Ketenoverleg Recreëren) between the parties involved in inbound and outbound tourism. This dialogue was to result in a policy agenda and action program (VROM, 2001). Although a first session was organized in December 2001, the chain dialogue never continued because, a report of the meeting reveals, given that the IDUT Platform was already running, the stakeholders in outbound tourism questioned the added value of a new consultative group.

Later, VROM commissioned the research institute GLOBUS to study tourist mobility from a consumer perspective. This research explored the environmental impacts of holiday mobility, the innovations available in the field and the bottlenecks and opportunities for implementing such innovations. Specifically, the researchers studied innovations such as the airship, ANVR's Mobility Project, sustainable Alps tourism, Trees for Travel and the flight tax. As a result, in August 2001, a workshop was organized for policy makers, experts and proponents of the selected innovations (Bargeman et al., 2002).

The same time frame, 2000 to 2001, also saw the execution of the research project *Innovations in tourism*, a project of the interdepartmental research program Sustainable Technology Development-Knowledge Sharing and Building (DTO-KOV).[22] Characterized by a particular research approach called backcasting, which starts from a desired future perspective, these researchers deduced which radical changes were needed for this change process to be realized. Stakeholders in the inbound and outbound tourism industry identified projects that would enhance ecological, social and economical sustainability using this methodology. Table 4-4 summarizes the outbound tourism project proposals.

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[21] The Environmental Barometer was launched by RECRON (the Dutch Association of Entrepreneurs in Recreation) within the framework of the 1998 *Policy Agenda on the Environment, Tourism and Leisure*. Since 2006, it has operated under the name Green Key, an ecolabel for campsites, holiday villages, hotels, conference centers, beach pavilions and events. This initiative is not included in the narrative because it focuses predominantly on inbound tourism (although one hotel in the Netherlands Antilles has been awarded this label).

[22] DTO–KOV was the follow-up to the interdepartmental program Sustainable Technology Development (DTO), which began in the 1990s and aimed at exploring how technological innovations could stimulate the economy while protecting the ecology at the same time. To spread the knowledge gained in this program, the DTO–KOV program was launched in 1998 and ran until 2001.

Table 4-4 Overview of DTO–KOV project proposals

Project name	Initiator	Description
Sustainable Supply Chains	- Wageningen University - Bureau Buiten	Proposal to start up a new tourism supply project like that executed within the framework of the SDA between the Netherlands and Costa Rica, using different types of tourism supply chains (organized and unorganized tourism) with different holiday destinations.
Netherlands Antilles project	- ANWB - VOMIL Department of the Netherlands Antilles	Proposal to continue the supply chain project between the Netherlands and Netherlands Antilles, focusing more strongly on the social aspects of tourism and monitoring the effectiveness of the measures taken so far.
Sustainable Alps Tourism 2005	- NAP	Proposal to develop 'green' products based on tourism supply chain projects between the Netherlands and Alpine countries and to establish alliances between destination countries and countries of origin.
Ecolabels for Sustainable Tourism	- ECEAT - RECRON	Proposal to standardize the criteria of numerous ecolabels for accommodations available in Europe and to enhance their market penetration.
Holiday Mirror	- Foundation Retour	Proposal to continue the Holiday Mirror project that examines how citizens in holiday destinations (in developing nations) perceive tourism in order to enhance "informed participation" of local communities in sustainable tourism development.
Airships for Tourism	- Airships Platform	Proposal to develop airships as clean and quiet tourist transportation.

Source: Waagmeester, 2001:45–49

4.4.9 Meetings, nature conservation and ecolabels

In December 2000, the Netherlands Association of Tourism Journalists, TourPress, organized a meeting with the provocative title 'Traveling, it should be prohibited,' at which representatives of the Netherlands Society for Nature and the Environment, TUI–Netherlands, the UNEP Tourism Program and Multatuli Travel gave lectures. Quoting the environmental manager of TUI–Netherlands, the meeting announcement stated that the "environment is out of fashion, sustainability is yet fashionable, Corporate Social Responsibility is the concept to be" (*TourPress Holland,* 2000).

At the Holiday Trade Fair of January 2001, the NC–IUCN presented tour operators with a brochure on the project 'Tourism for nature, nature for tourism,' launched in late 2000 with the aid of SNV and NCDO and aimed at getting tour operators interested in supporting local nature conservationist organizations in the countries visited (NC–IUCN, 2001). Also in 2001, the WNF launched a brochure on forbidden souvenirs, 'Look, look, but don't buy' (Kijken, kijken & niet kopen),

designed to educate travelers not to buy souvenirs made with material from endangered species. From 2001 onwards, this campaign was supported by the VRO/ANVR (*Trouw*, 2001).

In 2001, ECEAT, together with the German NGO ECOTRANS, initiated the VISIT initiative, the Voluntary Initiatives for Sustainability in Tourism, designed to address the dozens of different labeling systems that proliferate across Europe, leading to market confusion and limited market share. Thus, the VISIT initiative, funded by the European Union's LIFE program and in place until 2004, aimed at harmonizing these different labels and increasing their market share through cooperation between different European ecolabel organizations. The participants of this project, for example, included the Green Key (Denmark), Legambiente (Italy), and Milieubarometer (the Netherlands). Among the different products originating from this project were the standardization of criteria and verification procedures for ecolabels, the setting up of a Web-based database for tour operators that listed all certified holiday products in Europe (the Green Travel Market) and promotional campaigns for consumers on the European ecolabels (see, e.g., the *VISIT Holiday Guide*).

4.4.10 The fifth Groeneveld Conference

The fifth Groeneveld Conference took place in September 2001 with the future of tourism as its theme. Most particularly, the conference aimed at sharing the knowledge gained from the DTO–KOV research program's tourism project. The morning program consisted of interviews with tourism experts to identify the conditions necessary to realizing a transition toward more sustainable forms of tourism, while the afternoon program centered on the project proposals generated by the research program. Thus, the overall aim was to "present the proposals, generate ideas and to create support" (Waagmeester, 2001:56).

The conference report details the discussion, which was kicked off by a presentation by the founder of a UK-based Web site that offers sustainable tourism holidays. Following this presentation, Dutch tour operators explained the steps being taken in the Netherlands. The debate centered on the question of how to promote sustainable tourism given the lack of consumer demand for such holidays. Proponents of sustainable tourism argued that tour operators should take measures anyway to preserve 'the goose that lays the golden egg' but doubted if a fragmented industry like the tour operations industry could realize this change on its own. The central questions thus became the following: Who bears the responsibility in the tourism supply chain to realize sustainable tourism development, tour operators, consumers, governments or NGOs? Does this realization depend on the introduction of an ecolevy on tickets or on educating tourists? From the afternoon sessions, it became clear that the fragmentation of the industry and its global character were hampering the implementation of more radical measures.

4.4.11 The sixth Groeneveld Conference and other initiatives

International Year of Ecotourism. The United Nations General Assembly nominated 2002 as the International Year of Ecotourism (IYE), aimed at gaining a comprehensive understanding of ecotourism as a mechanism for sustainable development. Whereas the focus on ecotourism was heavily criticized for its implicit assumption that ecotourism is always positive (Mowforth & Munt, 2003), numerous activities were organized by the UN, governments, and NGOs in preparation for this year. The landmark event of the IYE was the World Ecotourism Summit, held in Quebec in May 2002, which resulted in the Quebec Declaration on Ecotourism.[23]

In the Netherlands, several activities were organized within the context of the IYE; for instance, the NCDO sponsored the publication of the journal *Strand Magazine*, which was distributed at the Holiday Trade Fair of 2002 and 2003. In addition, the Ministry of VROM sponsored the publication of monthly newsletters, and the Netherlands Skiing Association organized the election of a Winter Sports Diamond, the most sustainable winter sports destination. The latter contest also coincided with the nomination of 2002 as the UN's Year of the Mountains (*TourPress Holland,* 2002; *de Volkskrant,* 2002a).

Sixth Groeneveld Conference. The sixth Groeneveld Conference was also sponsored by VROM within the framework of the UN's IYE. In line with the year's aims, the CO_2 emissions of the participants traveling to the conference were compensated with a certificate bought from Trees for Travel. Chaired by the president of the ANVR Foundation for Environmental Care (see Section 4.4.14), this conference focused on the role of consumers because NHTV research – sponsored by Foundation Bewetour, a coalition of industry partners striving for more scientific research on the tourism industry – showed that 68% of Dutch consumers had no clue what sustainable tourism meant (Nijenhuis, 2002). The conference's keynote speaker, however, a representative of NHTV, was positive that, because Dutch tourists greatly appreciate small-scale tourism; a quiet, virgin environment and tour operators that actively inspect hotels and apartments, sustainable tourism offered solid business opportunities.

The other keynote speakers supported this positive outlook, with the representative of the UNEP's Sustainable Consumption Unit pleading for 'sexy' products, a scholar from the University of Westminster stressing the importance of including sustainability issues in product information, and the Swedish My Travel Group, a tour operator with experience in offering this type of holiday, outlining their approach to consumers. In the parallel sessions, kicked off by specialists in the field of marketing and communications, discussants explored how to bring more consumers on board. As the conference report shows, there was unanimous consensus that sustainable tourism should not be used for holiday marketing because the concept confused consumers and had a soft (*geitenwollensokken*) image. Rather, to overcome the 'chicken and the egg dilemma' (no demand for

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[23] Several organizations involved in the Dutch movement toward sustainable tourism also participated in the summit.

sustainable holidays, so no offerings; no offerings, so no demand), the uniqueness of such holidays needed to be touted.

Other conferences. In January 2003, Foundation Retour organized a conference sponsored by the VROM and NCDO, 'Building partnerships for a sustainable tourism,' which invited several suppliers from the developing world to explore business opportunities with Dutch tour operators. These latter, however, were not well-represented at the meeting (Reisbewijs, 2003).

In April 2003, another conference, 'Sustainable travel: Is it possible?', was organized by COS Rijnmond, a regional centre for international cooperation, to round out the IYE. Sponsored by the province of Zuid-Holland, this meeting included presentations by SME Environmental Consultants, Foundation Reisbewijs, TUI–Netherlands, the NHTV, ECPAT, Hotelplan, the IVN and the publisher Toerboek (Blauw, 2003).

Political manifest. The IYE came to an end with the presentation of a political manifest to three members of parliament at the January 2003 Holiday Trade Fair. This manifest, signed by the industry representative ANVR, members of the private sector (Bureau Buiten, SME Environmental Consultants and STEP Consultants), NGOs (ECEAT, ECPAT–NL, NAP Platform, NC–IUCN, Foundation Reisbewijs and Foundation Retour), educational institutions (Fontys University of Applied Sciences, Wageningen University, NHTV) and the development organization SNV expressed these different organizations' concern about the lack of governmental interest in outbound sustainable tourism. Specifically, the manifest listed 10 recommendations for the government (Box 4-4). This content was debated at the meeting following presentations by ANVR's director, the Lector on Sustainable Tourism and the newly appointed Lector on Sustainable Transport and Tourism at NHTV.

Human rights cases. Whereas subscribers to the political manifest worked in a concerted manner on sustainable tourism, the industry was challenged that same year on the issue of human rights. That is, in Spring 2002, following different international calls to boycott tourism to Burma because of the military dictatorship, the Burma Center Netherlands (BCN) launched a very critical campaign against tour operators working in Burma *(NRC Handelsblad*, 2002; *de Volkskrant*, 2002b), most particularly, the largest like Djoser, Koning Aap and Shoestring, by asking consumers to send preprinted letters to the board of directors of these tour operators (*NRC Handelsblad*, 2002; Reisbewijs, 2002). As a result of this campaign, several tour operators excluded Burma from their holiday offerings, and in February 2003, the labor unions FNV and CNV filed a formal complaint against tour operators that continued to offer holidays in Burma with the National Contact Point of the OESO Guidelines for Multinationals (Burma Centrum Nederland, 2003).

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Box 4-4: Political Manifest

- Arrange for optimal coordination and cooperation between all ministries that play a role in outbound tourism and tourism and recreation within the Netherlands.
- Formulate a strategy on the development of sustainable tourism including the use of financial incentives.
- Create conditions for more sustainable transportation to and from holiday destinations.
- Create conditions for more sustainable accommodations for tourism and recreation in the Netherlands.
- Create conditions for sustainable forms of recreation.
- Enhance the promotion and marketing of products of sustainable tourism.
- Develop mechanisms that help compensate for the environmental costs of all tourism products including international transportation.
- Improve attention to sustainable tourism development in tourism education at universities, colleges and professional schools.
- Stimulate the emergence of educational programs that enhance awareness among consumers of the environmental and social impacts of their holidays.
- Enhance the cooperation between the tourism industry and social organizations, aiming at a more sustainable behavior by both the tourists and the tourist organizations in holiday destinations.

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4.4.12 Rivalry, failures, and partnerships

New players and their impacts. Whereas the flight tax project was over by the end of 2002, a new organization entered the stage of carbon-offsetting programs, the organization Cool Flying, set up by Multatuli Travel and others, launched in 2003 (Nijenhuis, 2003). The goal of Cool Flying was to sell credits to offset the global warming impact of flight trips and create public awareness on this issue. Hence, Cool Flying was engaged in direct rivalry with the Trees for Travel scheme. Although the industry was at first not too enthusiastic about the idea of compensation, tour operators began adopting carbon offsetting in their operations. For instance, in 2003, tour operator Robinson, a brand of TUI–Netherlands, included flight offsets in the price of its holiday products (Eldering, 2003). At the same time, the Airships Platform stopped its activities because of the lack of market interest in developing this means of air transportation.

In the field of ecolabeling, a new player came upon the stage. While ECEAT was engaged in standardizing the ecolabel criteria in the accommodations sector through the VISIT project, the Netherlands Standardization Institute (NEN) aimed at developing one standard for sustainable tourism. Specifically, arguing that it was time to standardize the numerous norms, NEN explored support for this idea through a survey among participants of the 2002 Groeneveld Conference (Husslage, 2003). However, as of October 2007, NEN had developed no such norm.

In March 2003, the Dutch National Initiative for Sustainable Development[24] (NIDO) and the Advisory Council for Research on Spatial Planning, Nature and the Environment (RMNO) also organized a meeting aimed at identifying research questions for the publication of a *Knowledge Agenda on Sustainable Tourism*. Experts from TUI–Netherlands/NHTV, Foundation Retour, Tilburg University and Leiden University drafted preparatory essays. This workshop aimed at identifying knowledge gaps that were preventing a transition toward sustainable tourism (Dobbinga & Verkerk, 2003).

One month later, in April 2003, at the annual Africa Day of the Evert Vermeer Foundation,[25] one session was devoted to tourism and included presentations by STEP Consultants, the Africa Study Centre of Leiden University, Sawadee Travel, Foundation Retour and the Dutch Labor Party (PvdA). The agency for the promotion of sustainable development and innovation of the Ministry of EZ, Senter, also organized a meeting on sustainable tourism in emerging markets in July 2003, at which speeches were given by representatives of TUI–Netherlands, the consultancy firm EuroLeisure, the CBI, the Ministry of EZ and the Netherlands Board of Tourism & Conventions.

First formal partnerships. In December 2003, TUI–Netherlands was the first tour operator to sign a Memo of Understanding with the WNF, stating that it would inform its travelers about prohibited souvenirs made with endangered plants and animals. In the same year, TUI–Netherlands also cooperated with the WNF and others in a research project carried out by the consultancy firm CREM to develop a sustainable tourism toolkit for Asia. TUI–Netherlands had also been the first to sign ECPAT's Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism in May 2002 (ECPAT, 2002). This code requires tour operators to draft an ethical policy for the abolishment of commercial sexual exploitation of children, train their personnel in both the country of origin and the travel destinations on this subject, include a clause on the common repudiation of commercial sexual exploitation of children in its contracts with suppliers, provide information to their customers and local agents on the issue, and report annually on the measures taken (www.thecode.org). OAD followed TUI–Netherlands in signing the code in October 2003 (ECPAT, 2003).

4.4.13 The seventh Groeneveld Conference

Following NC–IUCN's publication in 2003 of a map showing the relation between outbound tourism by the Dutch and the degradation of the global environment and nature, the seventh Groeneveld Conference focused on nature and tourism. Organized by the NC–IUCN, this conference presented nature conservation and

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[24] NIDO was a governmental program (1999–2004) that aimed at promoting sustainability within society. This organization directed 10 programs in which business, government, NGOs and science cooperated (www.nido.nu).

[25] The Evert Vermeer Foundation is the scientific bureau of the Dutch Labor Party (PvdA). It aims at promoting international cooperation and international solidarity with developing nations as part of the political and public agenda.

tourism as potential partners rather than enemies. For example, one presentation by a UNEP representative supported the view that, as illustrated by a case from Brazil, rather than being inherently bad, tourism is a mechanism for poverty alleviation and nature conservation in developing countries. Representatives of the VRO/ANVR and TUI–Netherlands promoted the role of tour operators in such developments, touting the POEMS scheme as the key instrument. During the afternoon sessions, in a game developed by the NC–IUCN for educational purposes, conference participants, playing the roles of project developer, conservationist, regulator, tour operator or tourist, simulated the negotiations of parties engaged in the development of a tourism site located in a fictitious holiday destination in managing this destination. This Groeneveld Conference also saw the awarding of the first POEMS diplomas.

4.4.14 VRO/ANVR: Developing and promoting POEMS

Against the backdrop of the waterfall of initiatives presented above, the VRO/ANVR trade association continued its work on sustainable tourism. The touchstone of its policy was the development of an obligatory environmental management tool for tour operators. Although getting tour operators behind this POEMS scheme proved to be difficult, the association did manage to award all its members a POEMS basic certificate by early 2005. The development of the POEMS scheme is chronologically outlined below.

Activities of the Executive Committee. After acceptance of the second policy document in August 1998, the Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism actively engaged in the implementation of the proposed measures. For instance, it started the Mobility Project aimed at providing consumers with reliable figures on CO_2 emissions per mode of transportation. Such information was to be published in travel brochures and on Web sites, enabling consumers to take the environment into account when booking their holidays. The Mobility Project team consisted of representatives of ANVR; tour operators specialized in bus, car, train and flight holidays (NS Travel, KLM, KNV Touring Car Association, Image Travel, TUI–Netherlands, Vrij Uit); and the Ministry of LNV (Archival materials VRO/ANVR, 04/06/1999). In 1999, the association also spread information on child sex tourism, drafted by ECPAT and tourism teachers, among all associated tour operators (*ATLAS*, August 1999a).

In addition, the association continued to seek support for its environmental policies at the international level through IFTO, primarily because IFTO represented a market force of over 50 million package holidays and so made for a stronger appeal to the accommodation and transportation sector to move in the direction of sustainable tourism. Indeed, archival materials reveal that the VRO/ANVR actively lobbied the IFTO for industry self-regulation, referring to developments such as the CSD–7 and the steps taken by individual elite tour operators in Europe (Archival materials VRO/ANVR, 03/02/1999). That VRO/ANVR was successful in its attempt is evidenced by an invitation to VRO/ANVR and the German trade association DRV to cooperate in drafting IFTO's environmental policy document and to represent IFTO

at the conference on sustainable tourism in the Caribbean in December 1999 (*ATLAS* July 1999; January 2000). Finally, the group continued its work on the development of the obligatory POEMS scheme, which was intended to enable individual firms to pay structural and systematical attention to sustainability issues in their daily business.

Development of POEMS. The pilot projects that commenced in November 1998 to assess the negative impacts of holiday products and identify potential measures for mitigating those impacts were still running in 1999. Association members were informed about the progress made at annual meetings, through the association's magazine *ATLAS* and from 2002 onward in the electronic *POEMS Bulletins*.

At the annual meeting of the ANVR in 1999, the central theme was corporate social responsibility (CSR). According to the associations' magazine, the development of the POEMS scheme was part of a long-lasting tradition of socially responsible behavior on the part of the association. As the ANVR's president concluded in his editorial statement, "ANVR has got not a single reason to become defensive when the tourism branch is addressed on its corporate social responsibility or on responsible travel" (*ATLAS*, August 1999b:7). This publication also reaffirmed the route taken by the association, arguing that responding proactively to the growing public concern for the environment was necessary to determining the rules of the game and making clear that the association stood for responsible travel. At the same time, the trade press signaled the emergence of a discourse on CSR and reported on tour operators' responses to the proposition that CSR is mainly a PR tool (*DIT Reismanagement,* 2003).

In September 2000, ANVR published a special brochure on CSR in the tourism industry, which outlined the measures taken to protect consumers; for example, the Travel Guarantee Fund and the Travel Complaints Board (see Chapter 3). Measures taken by the association with regard to sustainable tourism were also listed under the CSR heading, such as the inclusion of the Blue Flag label in the Toeristiek database, the POEMS project and the Mobility Project (ANVR, 2000).

POEMS as a membership criterion. By the end of 2000, the pilot projects with De Jong Intra and Image Travel were finalized and resulted in a draft *Action Program* whose potential measures were further tested with the corporations Baobab and NS Travel. In January 2001, CREM drafted the final *Action Program*. Meanwhile, at the annual meeting of December 2000, the VRO Board followed the Executive Committee's advice and proposed the adoption of the POEMS scheme as a membership criterion; primarily to guarantee a level playing field in the industry on this issue.

In the announcement of the meeting in its magazine, the association justified the introduction of POEMS with 10 arguments (Box 4-5), and, in line with the Dutch recreation industry's practice of awarding entrepreneurs a bronze, silver or golden ecolabel, also proposed the introduction of a differentiated certificate.

Source: *ATLAS,* December 2000:12

The vote at the annual meeting was published in the *POEMS Bulletin* of January 2001: 178 to 2 members agreed to acquire a POEMS certificate before April 2003 as part of their VRO/ANVR membership. However, additional sources reveal that these results mask the fact that the meeting was not well attended, resulting in votes being solicited by the tour operators present, who mobilized the members that did not attend.

POEMS requirements. After the acceptance of POEMS, in January 2001, VRO/ANVR installed an independent Foundation for Environmental Care tasked with assessing the application requirements for a POEMS certificate. It was decided that to receive the Basic Certificate at a cost of 150 euros, tour operators should draft an environmental policy statement; draft an environmental program, including at least five measures related to accommodation, transportation, leisure, communications and environmental management; appoint as the internal POEMS coordinator an individual within the firm who had successfully passed the POEMS exam; and exclude unethical tourism products from their offerings.[26] The VRO/ANVR also assigned NHTV the task of developing the electronic course and exam for POEMS.

The Action Program and POEMS course. In March 2002, the association produced a shorter version of the *Action Program* (CREM & ANVR, 2001/2002) that explained the rationale for introducing POEMS in the tour operations industry as follows:
> "During the past years, the Association of ANVR Tour Operators has done a lot in the field of sustainable tourism. Based on the ANVR policy documents on sustainable tourism I and II, most attention has been paid to collective measures, which have always been reported extensively in the VRO. It has now become time that the VRO members themselves

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[26] Selling tour packages related to child sex tourism; promotion of souvenirs made from endangered species; selling tours that involve child labor; holidays to Antarctica unless executed in a responsible way; hunting holidays on endangered species unless this is explicitly tolerated by the government for wildlife management reasons were considered unethical (ANVR, 2003:10).

express their commitment to the environment by taking independent measures in this subject area. The possibilities to do so have improved because more insight has been developed into the measures that are possible. The POEMS system offers the best basis for such initiatives." (CREM & ANVR, 2001/2002:2)

The program also identified several advantages to tour operators of adopting POEMS, including the improvement of the company image, cost reductions, and improvement of the relationship with suppliers in the tourism supply chain and the communities in the holiday destinations. Other topics it covered were a list of potential measures and how to implement POEMS within the firm.

In September 2002, NHTV finalized the POEMS course commissioned by VRO/ANVR, a Web-based offering that provided comprehensive information on sustainable tourism. Based on the key elements of the holiday product – that is, communication, transportation, accommodation, leisure and internal management – the course described and explained the numerous ecolabels and hallmarks available in the field. For instance, with respect to *holiday transportation,* the program made reference to the Web sites on flight tax, Trees for Travel, the Airship Platform and the Foundation for the Hallmark Touring Car. It also mentioned the Web sites of the Netherlands Antilles project (diving), the brochure 'Wintersport 2005' (skiing) and the Blue Flag label (swimming) with respect to *leisure*. Under the heading of *destination management*, it discussed the Holiday Mirror, Natourdata and PanParks. The course also highlighted international developments such as the Tour Operators' Initiative and presented 'best practice' firms, including TUI–Netherlands. The course was also made available for NHTV students (Verstoep & van Egmond, 2002), and since November 2002, on completion of the course, all applicants have been able to take an on-line exam for a fee of 50 euros.

Promotion of POEMS. Anticipating April 2003 as the date of compliance, VRO/ANVR began to send electronic *POEMS Bulletins* to its members from January 2002 onwards. Besides the bulletins, in 2002, the executive committee also conducted several focused group meetings with POEMS coordinators to share knowledge and ideas on sustainable tourism. The meetings not only helped tour operators understand what POEMS was but also made them realize that POEMS was for real (van Marwijk & van der Duim, 2004).

Although most tour operators were not opposed to sustainable tourism management, they were concerned about the feasibility of the requirements; most notably, the differentiation of a bronze, silver and gold standard. Not all potential measures, they argued, were applicable to or feasible for all tour operators. For example, tour operators operating in Sweden could apply more easily for the gold standard because of the existence of certified hotels in that country. Tour operators also objected to the measure to provide information on the negative environmental impacts of different means of transportation in their travel brochures. Finally, discord existed over the requirement that the firm CEO pass the POEMS exam. This opposition must also be seen within the context of a worsening economy in the

2000s: the end of the dot.com bubble, the September 11th terrorist attack, SARS and the Iraq conflict all negatively influenced the market opportunities for tourism.

To overcome this opposition and bring the tour operators into line with the POEMS project, the VRO/ANVR had to revise its promotional strategy and reconsider some elements of the scheme. *First*, in the summer and fall of 2002, to address the sector's heterogeneity, the VRO/ANVR replaced its general meetings with specialized gatherings for particular groups of tour operators (e.g., those specializing in beach holidays and those specializing in cruises). These meetings introduced and explained the POEMS course and included discussions of 'best practices.'

Second, having noticed that future coordinators were barely reading the texts on POEMS, in January 2003, three members of the VRO/ANVR Executive Committee again summarized the *Action Program*, outlining how to implement POEMS within the tour operators' business model and suggesting several concrete measures. This listing of potential measures supports the observation made earlier that numerous initiatives in the field were connected to the POEMS framework. The summary document, which mentions initiatives like the Blue Flag label, the WNF Souvenir Campaign, the ECPAT Campaign against child sex tourism, Trees for Travel, the Environmental Barometer, Natourdata, the work of NAP and the Netherlands Antilles project (ANVR, 2003), was sent to the VRO members in April 2003.

Third, the Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism reconsidered the requirement to provide emission figures in travel leaflets per means of transportation because some members found the calculation method disputable. Thus, the committee withdrew this requirement. The VRO also dropped the requirement that the director pass the POEMS exam to apply for a Basic Certificate and postponed the introduction of a differentiated scheme. Tour operators could now only apply for a Basic Certificate, whose compliance deadline was postponed from April 1st to November 1st 2003. The first POEMS certificates were awarded in late 2003. Whereas the wider membership base thus did not come along, the VRO/ANVR did win praise from outsiders. In late 2003, the POEMS scheme was nominated for the *Ei van Columbus*, a Dutch governmental innovation award on sustainability.

4.4.15 Summary

The foregoing sections provide a historical account of the third stage in the change process over the years 1999 to 2003, which is characterized by numerous initiatives aimed at turning sustainable tourism into practice. Specifically, it connected sustainable products of inbound suppliers to Dutch tour operators through supply chain projects aimed at developing commercially viable products, and encouraged Dutch consumers to opt for sustainable holidays through Web sites and brochures. Educational projects on sustainable tourism were also launched in this stage.

The Groeneveld Conferences functioned as the touchstone in these developments. It was the annual rhythm of the conference's occurrence that made it the premier venue on sustainable tourism. Conference presentations addressed

research reports and policy documents, project proposals and running projects, and the 'best practices' found in the Netherlands and abroad.

The VRO/ANVR linked up with available solutions in the field in developing its POEMS scheme and connected with NHTV to develop the POEMS course. Although persuading all tour operators to support the scheme proved difficult, tour operators could now be held accountable for the impacts of their holidays.

Nevertheless, whereas the trade association and several member tour operators became committed to the issue of sustainable tourism, two stakeholders failed to join the developments. First, as illustrated by the failure of both Multatuli Travel and the Green Thumb, when booking their holidays, consumers barely considered sustainability issues. Second, despite several research projects and ad-hoc funding, governmental support for sustainable tourism dwindled over time. Hence, as indicated by the RMNO Knowledge Agenda meetings and Political Manifest, change proponents called upon the government to show its commitment to the change process. Notwithstanding, as the next section shows, several tour operators have seemingly been successful in carving a niche in sustainable tourism.

4.5 Stage 4: Sustainable tourism as a legitimate issue (2004 to the present)

The fourth stage, begun in 2004 and still continuing today, is characterized by the increased legitimacy of sustainable tourism. Following the introduction of the POEMS scheme, some mainstream and specialist tour operators took the lead in adopting sustainable tourism in their daily operations and holiday products. At the same time, the POEMS scheme opened up possibilities for change advocates to promote their initiatives at the individual firm level. As preserving the natural and cultural beauty of holiday sites became recognized as a shared objective, alliances increased between individual tour operators, development organizations and nature conservationist groups. This positive attitude toward tourism finds expression in the concepts of pro-poor tourism and pro-nature tourism. Hence, at this point, sustainable tourism is increasingly becoming a strategic issue. All these events are summarized below in Figure 4-6.
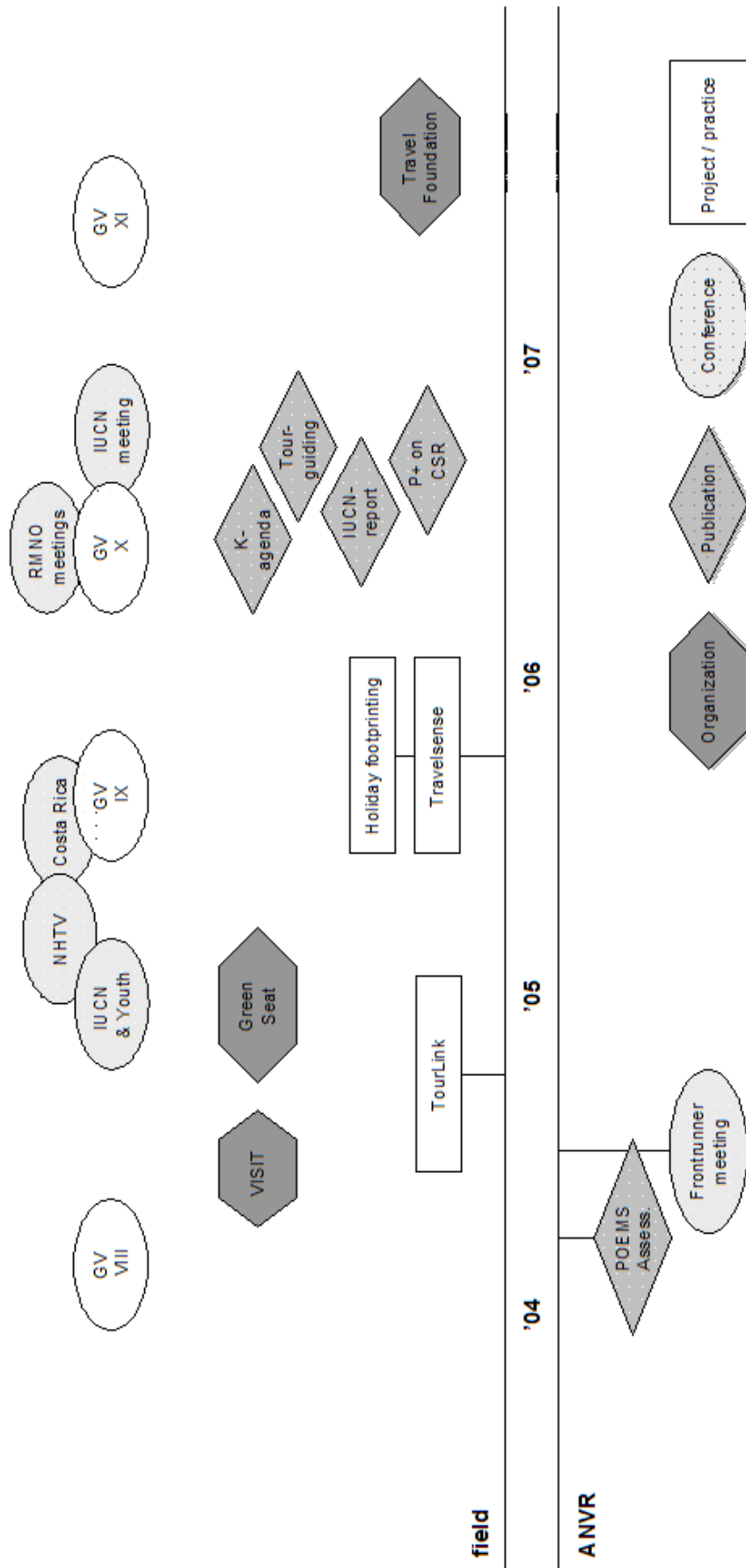
Figure 4-6 Timeline Stage 4 (2004–the present)

field

ANVR

GV VIII · '04 · VISIT · Green Seat · TourLink · POEMS Assess · Frontrunner meeting · '05 · IUCN & Youth · NHTV · Costa Rica · GV IX · Holiday footprinting · Travelsense · '06 · Organization · RMNO meetings · GV X · IUCN meeting · K-agenda · Tour-guiding · IUCN-report · P+ on CSR · Publication · '07 · GV XI · Travel Foundation · Conference · Project / practice

4.5.1   The professionalization of the IDUT Platform

According to the proceedings of the eighth Groeneveld Conference, in addition to its old members (e.g., the Ministry of LNV, NC–IUCN, the NAP Platform, NHTV, NS Travel, SNV[27] and TUI–Netherlands), in 2003/04, the IDUT Platform also opened up to new members from NGOs (ECEAT, ECPAT, WNF, Foundation MilieuCentraal[28]), the tourism industry (Thomas Cook, Zwitserland Toerisme, KNV Touring Car Association) and educational institutions whose training included sustainable tourism (Wageningen University, Fontys University of Applied Sciences and InHolland University of Applied Sciences) (Schelhaas & Zandvliet, 2004).

This growth in IDUT membership has been linked to the government's lack of interest in sustainable tourism and the need for the IDUT Platform to professionalize as a network organization in order to apply for funding (Interview Respondents M & L). Hence, besides opening up for new members and introducing membership dues, the platform also began lobbying government over sustainable tourism in the so-called *Groeneveld Papers*. From late 2003 onwards, it also distributed regular *IDUT Newsletters* among interested outsiders. Over the next years, it would also welcome new members (e.g., tour operators Baobab and Sawadee; ICIS/Maastricht University, Foundation IVR, the development organization Cordaid), while other members (e.g., Thomas Cook and Zwitserland Toerisme) would leave the platform.

4.5.2   The eighth Groeneveld Conference

In June 2004, with support from the Ministry of LNV, the IDUT Platform organized its eighth Groeneveld Conference around the theme of Europe. A representative of the Tourism Unit of the DG Enterprise and Industry of the European Commission informed participants about recent developments in European tourism policies, and representatives of the NHTV and the German NGO ECOTRANS addressed 'best practices' in sustainable tourism development. These presentations were followed by a plenary debate between representatives of the Ministry of LNV, tour operator Buro Scandinavia and the Netherlands Consumer Association.

Parallel sessions dealt with biodiversity and tourism, chaired by representatives of LNV and NC-IUCN; transportation and tourism, chaired by representatives of NHTV and NAP; accommodations and ecolabels, convened by representatives of TUI–Netherlands and ECOTRANS; and culture and tourism, led by representatives of NHTV and Odysee Travel Guides. Several recommendations resulting from these sessions were presented in the *Groeneveld Paper 2004* and targeted at the Dutch government (Schelhaas, 2004). Most specifically, this paper concluded that despite increased awareness and numerous projects, sustainable tourism remains a narrow niche market.

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[27] Since 2001.
[28] Foundation MilieuCentraal is an independent organization that provides consumers with information on the environmental impacts of numerous products.

4.5.3 International projects: VISIT and TourLink

The attempt to move beyond this niche market required international cooperation. For instance, in 2004, the VISIT project (see Section 4.4.9) was transformed into an independent umbrella organization for the European ecolabel organizations. The founding of the organization was intended to enhance the effectiveness of tourism ecolabeling in Europe, to harmonize the criteria and procedures of the different ecolabels, to connect to the other labels and certification schemes in the field and to promote the certified products among consumers and tour operators. Simply put, VISIT aims "to ensure that ecolabeling in tourism is successful, practical and responsible" (www.visit21.net).

Nonetheless, even though the launch of the VISIT organization reflected a positive attitude toward ecolabeling, a more negative stance was also in evidence. That is, ecolabels were seen as tools that reinforce Western dominance in the tourism supply chain and considered insufficient because most labels neglect the impacts associated with transportation to the holiday destinations. Therefore, in 2004, a series of articles appeared in the journal *Vrijetijdstudies* that dealt with the question of whether ecolabels are useful instruments in sustainable tourism development (see van der Duim, 2004, for the introduction to this special issue).

Another international project was the TourLink project, launched in late 2004 and in place until late 2007. Initiated by ECEAT and sponsored by the European Union's LIFE Program, this project aims to help tour operators gain experience of sustainability in the tourism supply chain by connecting them and their associations with tourism certification schemes in Europe. The VRO/ANVR, the British Federation of Tour Operators, the Catalonian Ministry of the Environment, the Austrian Ministry of the Environment and several research institutes all joined with ECEAT as project partners. One major product of this project is the Web site Travelife.eu, which not only provides information, an online training module and different management tools but also connects the sustainability initiatives of European tour operators, their trade associations and suppliers. In addition, the Web site its4travel.com, used by all participating tour operators, provides a self-evaluative tool for tour operator suppliers.

4.5.4 Tourism's contribution to poverty alleviation and nature conservation

In November 2004, the development organization SNV and the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) signed a 'Memorandum of Understanding' within the framework of UNWTO's Sustainable Tourism – Eliminating Poverty (STEP) program, launched in 2002 by the UNWTO and UNCTAD at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg. Specifically, the STEP program centers on the issue of pro-poor tourism, defined as "an approach to tourism development and management that enhances the linkages between tourism businesses and poor people, so that tourism's contribution to poverty reduction is increased and poor people are able to participate more effectively in product development" (www.propoortourism.org.uk). The ceremony was attended by the Minister of

Development Cooperation, who expressed her commitment to the theme (Vermaas, 2005). This covenant between SNV and UNWTO was not the only event related to pro-poor tourism. For instance, in December 2004, the NC–IUCN and the National Youth Council organized a conference on the potential benefits of tourism for nature conservation and poverty alleviation in developing countries. Tellingly entitled 'Tourism: Big money or big problems?', this conference included presentations by the NC–IUCN (a simulation game), WNF (PAN Parks), NHTV (the role of consumers), the Green Development Foundation (a coffee tour in Tanzania) and Sawadee (the role of tour operators).

In March 2005, the NHTV also organized a seminar on pro-poor tourism with representatives of the consultancy firm Rekwest and the NHTV as keynote speakers. In the same year, Wageningen University orchestrated the publication of a series of related articles in the journal *Vrijetijdstudies*, asking different experts in the field whether pro-poor tourism is a blessing or a threat for developing countries (see van der Duim, 2005a).

4.5.5   The ninth Groeneveld Conference

In June 2005, with the NC–IUCN, WNF, and NCDO as cosponsors, Wageningen University hosted the ninth Groeneveld Conference with a focus on the increased interest in pro-poor tourism. The keynote speeches, given by the president of UNWTO's Department of Sustainable Tourism, addressed the STEP initiative, after which a representative of the UK Overseas Development Institute illustrated the pro-poor tourism approach with examples from Africa. Subsequently, representatives of SNV and Wageningen University discussed their experiences with the Cultural Tourism Project in Tanzania (see Section 4.3.6), and tour operators Baobab and Sawadee provided a business perspective on community-based tourism projects.

In the plenary debate, representatives of the CSR Netherlands Platform[29] and the tour operators Sawadee and TUI–Netherlands drew on their experiences with community-based projects in their tour packages to suggest ways that tour operators could contribute to poverty alleviation. For instance, since 2004, in its itineraries in Tanzania, Sawadee has included a visit to a coffee plantation, and TUI–Netherlands has been cooperating with development organization Terre des Hommes to develop a tourism school in Sri Lanka, a country severely damaged by the tsunami of December 2004[30] (*Tourpress Holland*, 2005a; Quak, 2005). As a result of the conference, the *Groeneveld Paper 2005* lists recommendations for tour operators, accommodation owners, NGOs, governmental bodies and educational institutions with respect to pro-poor tourism (Schelhaas, 2005).

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[29] In 2004, the Ministry of EZ launched the network organization CSR Netherlands to stimulate CSR practices in the Dutch business world.

[30] The Asian tsunami of December 2004 resulted in numerous activities by the Dutch travel and tourism industry to financially support the afflicted region. Together the industry collected about 1 million euros (*Tourpress Holland*, 2005b).

4.5.6　Conferences and Web sites

Just before the Groeneveld Conference in June 2005, the consultancy firm Rekwest organized a six-day conference in Costa Rica within the framework of the SDAs between the Netherlands and this country (see Section 4.3.6). The aim of this conference was to connect Dutch tour operators with sustainable suppliers in Costa Rica so as to make the purchasing of tour operators more sustainable. TUI–Netherlands, Sawadee, Baobab-Summum, Hotelplan and TravelTrend all participated in the meeting (Donkers, 2005).

A few months later, in October 2005, Rekwest engaged in the launch of the Web portal Travelsense, which, supported by the newspaper *de Volkskrant*, the NC–IUCN, NHTV and the Foundation Doen (www.travelsense.nl) only offers products considered sustainable. In 2005, the Centre for Sustainable Living in Boxtel and the NHTV launched a Web site on holiday footprinting as a tool to measure the individual impacts of holidays (Newsletter, IDUT Platform 2004/2005). In the same year, the carbon-offsetting organization Cool Flying became the organization GreenSeat.

4.5.7　Holiday Trade Fair 2006

Sustainable tourism was also the central theme of the Holiday Trade Fair of January 2006. As the fair's project manager explained in a press release,

> "sustainable tourism is an actual theme; not only with respect to nature conservation and environmental friendly tourism, but also with respect to culture and local development. During your holidays, you can give something back to the host community by building houses and schools or by teaching. In that way, you really get to know your host community. After such a holiday, you go home energized and inspired. Actually, you go on holidays for others" [through volunteer tourism]. (*TourPress Holland*, 2006)

At this fair, the IDUT Platform put up a wall full of symbolic items through which visitors could experience the 'feel-good' notion of sustainable tourism (Figure 4-7). Prior to the wall's being formally opened by Surinam's Minister of Tourism, representatives of the NHTV and CBI gave speeches on sustainable tourism.

Figure 4-7 Sustainable tourism: That feels good!

4.5.8   The tenth Groeneveld Conference

In May 2006, the tenth Groeneveld Conference, sponsored by the NC–IUCN, the InHolland University of Applied Sciences, the Ministry of EZ and the development organization Cordaid, was organized at the InHolland campus in Diemen around the theme of CSR. A professor in sustainable business development of Utrecht University gave the keynote speech, after which several workshops dealt with implementing CSR in the tourism business (convened by the CSR Netherlands Platform), the future of CSR (TNS/NIPO and the ANVR, drawing on a holiday market outlook (TNS/NIPO, 2005)), corporate communications on CSR (Accor Hotels and ECPAT on the code of conduct), supply chain management and CSR (TUI–Netherlands and Hupperts Consultancy) and research and CSR (Wageningen University).

4.5.9   Research agendas, brochures and other publications

In 2006, the RMNO published its *Knowledge Agenda on Sustainable Development of Tourism* (see Section 4.4.12) whose rationale it explained as follows: "[T]ourism is a research-deficient sector, a sector which is almost completely ignored by policy-makers" (In 't Veld, Bartels, & Meuleman, 2006:7). Thus, to discuss and promote its research agenda, the RMNO organized two conferences. At the first, in April 2006, representatives of Tilburg University, TUI–Netherlands, the NHTV, ANVR and ANWB discussed the future of sustainable tourism. A keynote speech was also delivered by the Minister of VROM. The second conference, in November 2006, was more international, with speeches from representatives of the Sustainable Tourism Units of the European Commission and UNEP among others. However, despite the effort, RMNO failed to create a sense of urgency at the political level (van der Duim, 2005b; 2006).

In August 2006, the CSR Netherlands Platform published a special brochure on CSR in the tour operations industry. Sponsored by the Rabobank and distributed among tour operators and travel agents, this brochure portrayed TUI–Netherlands and Sawadee as responsible operators and also mentioned tour operator OAD as working on sustainable tourism. Other "pioneers in CSR in the travel and tourism industry and partners of the CSR Netherlands Platform" mentioned in the brochure include Fairgroundsessions, Foundation Commundo, Raptim Netherlands and the WNF (P[+] & MVO Nederland, 2006:11).

In December 2006, the NC–IUCN published an assessment of its 27 pro-nature tourism projects (Olsder & van der Donk, 2006), which was then discussed at a conference it co-organized with NHTV and TUI–Netherlands in the same month. In March 2007, Foundation IVR published a book, entitled *Sustainable tourism in practice,* initiated by Sawadee Reizen in response to the recurrent questions of its tour guides and supported by NC–IUCN and NCDO on ethical dilemmas for tour guides and travelers to developing nations (Geels, 2007). Several tour operators use this publication in their tour guide training program.

4.5.10 The eleventh Groeneveld Conference

Riding the wave of climate change awareness, the eleventh Groeneveld Conference of June 2007, entitled 'Tourism and Climate Change: A Climate Survival Kit,' took place at Inholland Haarlem (Eldering, 2007). Events included Al Gore's movie *An Inconvenient Truth* followed by a presentation by a weather forecaster from MeteoConsult. Researchers from ICIS/Maastricht University and NHTV then presented their work on tourism both as perpetrators and victims of climate change. During the afternoon sessions, participants brainstormed over innovations given different future scenarios. The conference ended with a debate between the CEO of TUI–Netherlands, a professor of Erasmus University Rotterdam, and a journalist from the trade journal *Reisrevue.*

4.5.11 VRO/ANVR: Implementing POEMS

Although the first basic certificates for POEMS had been awarded to tour operators in 2003, it would take until spring 2005 before all tour operators had obtained their Basic Certificate (van der Duim & van Marwijk, 2006). Nevertheless, the implementation of POEMS drew attention from different field constituents. Not only did the trade press report on the POEMS scheme (e.g., *Reisrevue*, 2002; 2003), in one general press release, the NAP stated that tour operators Holland International, Hotelplan and SNP were offering sustainable tour packages to the Alps, "thereby fulfilling the requirements of POEMS set by the ANVR" (*Tourpress Holland*, 2004). Thus, proponents of sustainable tourism referred to the POEMS scheme to call attention to their initiatives. In March 2004, the Dutch Consumer Association published a benchmark on CSR policies among six tour operators, including Arke/TUI, Neckermann/Thomas Cook, De Jong Intra, Evenements Reizen, Hotelplan and Sonar (Consumentenbond, 2004a).

Researchers at Wageningen University also assessed the scheme's implementation (van der Duim & van Marwijk, 2006; van Marwijk & van der Duim, 2004). Specifically, based on interviews with POEMS coordinators about their perceptions of the scheme, they classified the VRO members into three groups: unconvinced minor participants (10–15%), open-minded yet skeptical participants (60–70%) and loyal actors (20–30%). Their analysis, submitted to the association, revealed that most tour operators were opting for measures related to environmental problems that posed few discretionary constraints on their daily operations. In brief, the researchers concluded that "with the exception of 'loyal actors,' [POEMS] is hardly institutionalized within tour operations firms for they have mainly proposed 'soft' actions and quite a few of them have gone back to business as usual after fulfilling their [POEMS] obligations" (van Marwijk & van der Duim, 2004:467–8).

It was the identification of these loyal actors that inspired the association to continue working on this issue and to organize a September 2004 meeting for frontrunner tour operators, which the VRO/ANVR linked to the TourLink project (see Section 4.5.3). Within this context, it shared the principles and ideas of POEMS with other European trade associations like the UK Federation of Tour Operators (Font,

Tapper, & Cochrane, 2006; Font et al., 2008). Following a period of reorganization, the trade association ANVR continues to work for sustainable tourism.

4.5.12 Emergence of a frontrunner group

Although the introduction of POEMS has not resulted in substantial changes in tour operators' daily operations, some mainstream and specialist tour operators are taking on the issue of sustainable tourism more structurally (van der Duim & van Marwijk, 2006), and some indications exist that they are successfully carving themselves out a niche. One of the most significant examples is the Web site of the annual Holiday Trade Fair of 2007 on which for the first time exhibitors could be identified in the digital catalogue through the search option 'sustainable tourism.' Artifacts of sustainable tourism were also in evidence on promotional stands at the 2008 Holiday Trade Fair (see Figure 4-8).

Figure 4-8 Artifacts of sustainable tourism at the 2008 Holiday Trade Fair

Another indication of the emergence of a niche market is that public relations have begun playing a growing role in the tour operating business. For example, frontrunners now publish press releases on sustainable tourism (e.g., *TourPress Holland*, 2007a,b,c) and receive positive publicity in the trade press (e.g., de Vos, 2007). Moreover, several tour operators have recently joined forces to enhance sustainable tourism in the industry. Specifically, following the example of the UK

Travel Foundation, in October 2007 Askja Reizen, Buro Britain/Scandinavia, OAD, Sawadee Reizen, Sundio Group and TUI–Netherlands launched the Dutch Travel Foundation (www.travelfoundation.nl), which aims at implementing sustainable tourism projects in holiday destinations using voluntary donations per booking from corporations and travelers. The initial funding for the foundation came from the Ministry of LNV and EZ within the framework of the 2007 action program *Duurzame Daadkracht*, which implements the 2002 Johannesburg agreements of the WSSD (LNV & EZ, 2006). Drawing on recent press releases from the TourPress database, Table 4-5 lists some measures taken by firms considered frontrunners. It should be stressed, however, that this overview is by no means exhaustive and is only intended to illustrate the formation of a frontrunner group.

4.5.13 Summary

The fourth stage, begun in 2004 and ongoing, is marked by the increased legitimacy of sustainable tourism. Whereas the change process toward sustainable tourism in the previous stages was primarily orchestrated by the VRO/ANVR and its Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism, several mainstream and specialist tour operators have now apparently taken the lead in enhancing the sustainability performance of tour operators. Accompanying the formation of a frontrunner group is a more positive stance toward tourism, which is not only conceived of as an industry that harms the natural and sociocultural environment but is also considered a means to alleviate poverty and preserve nature. Moreover, organizations like the SNV, NC–IUCN and WNF have taken tourism structurally on board and have sought partnerships with tour operators. Educational institutions like Wageningen University and InHolland University of Applied Sciences have also included sustainable tourism in their curricula. These changes are reflected in the IDUT membership profile. At the same time, the role of organizations like the ANWB, NAP and the Ministry of LNV have seemingly become less prominent.

Table 4-5 Examples of recent measures by tour operations firms

Product development and marketing	- Sawadee, SNP and Thika Travel have a partnership with WNF. They include visits to national parks in their itineraries, share knowledge with the local tourism partners of the WNF, and inform their travelers about and financially support the work of the WNF. Sawadee was one of the nominees of the WNF Business Award (*TourPress*, 02-10-2007).
	- Sawadee includes tours to plantations and vineyards in their holidays to South Africa and Tanzania, generating extra revenues for local farmers (*TourPress*, 26-03-2007). It aims at including development and nature projects in each tour package it offers (*TourPress*, 23/01/06).
	- Arke and Holland International, two brands of TUI–Netherlands, have launched the Green Snowstar, a label for sustainable winter sports destinations that is published in their travel brochures (*TourPress*, 07-09-2007).
	- Arke, Holland International, Sawadee, Vliegwinkel.nl, Shoestring and Oad actively promote the carbon-offsetting program GreenSeat among their travelers. Robinson, a brand of TUI, includes flight offsets in the price of their holiday products (*TourPress*, 09-01-2007). Sawadee has incorporated the option to compensate an individual's flight in their electronic booking procedure. In 2006, more than 25% of their customers voluntarily chose to pay for their emissions (Sawadee, 2006).
	- TUI–Netherlands drafted guidelines for whale and dolphin watching tourism together with the Coastal Union EUCC and other organizations within the framework of the 2007 UN Year of the Dolphin (*TourPress*, 04-04-2007).
Consumer awareness raising	- Arke and Holland International launched an information campaign on sustainable winter sports holidays in 2006. The campaign Wise on winter sports (*Wijs op Wintersport*) aimed to stimulate bus and train holidays to the Alps and promote car-free villages among other things. In developing this campaign, TUI cooperated with several organizations, including NAP and the organization MilieuCentraal (*TourPress*, 20-07-2006).
	- Since March 2006, TUI–Netherlands has shown in-flight videos against child sex tourism developed by ECPAT during its ArkeFly-fights (*TourPress*, 03-03-2006).
Fundraising	- Following the example of the UK Travel Foundation, in late 2007, Askja Reizen, Buro Britain/Scandinavia, OAD, Sawadee Reizen, Sundio Group and TUI–Netherlands launched the Dutch Travel Foundation (www.travelfoundation.nl).
Participation in platforms	- Tour operators like TUI–Netherlands, Sawadee, Baobab, the Reisspecialisten Groep, the International Travel Group ITG are members of the IDUT Platform.
	- TUI–Netherlands and Sawadee participate in the CSR Netherlands Platform and TUI–Netherlands participates in the NC–IUCN program Leaders for Nature.

4.6   Discussion

The developments described in this chapter permit some preliminary observations on what has happened and what is changing in this field.

What happened in the field? Foremost is the observation that different actors have been engaged in the promotion of sustainable tourism in the Dutch outbound tour operations field, including individual actors such as mountaineers, students and researchers, and organizational actors like commercial organizations, NGOs, governmental bodies, universities, religious groups and development organizations. Whereas most organizations include sustainable tourism as a theme in their organizational portfolio, some have focused entirely on sustainable tourism (e.g., the Foundation Retour and Foundation Reisbewijs).

The case history also shows that these actors have produced a variety of actions aimed at directing the outbound tour operations field toward sustainability; for example, founding (field-level) organizations; starting up projects; writing articles, Web logs (blogs), books, press releases and policy documents; giving interviews and keynote speeches; organizing conferences and workshops; and sponsoring conferences, publications, organizations and books. These initiatives, however, are highly intertwined. For instance, the founding of new organizations has often accompanied by project start-ups or vice versa. Likewise, publications have often been related to conferences and meetings. To complicate matters further, there is a confluence between these initiatives and international developments, as, for example, between the Netherlands Antilles project and the UN Year of the Oceans. In addition, the recent pro-poor tourism projects of development organizations and tour operators reflect a changing international discourse, which, once focused on how to translate the principles of sustainable development into tourism, now centers on how tourism serves as a vehicle for enhancing sustainable development (van der Duim, 2005b).

Moreover, the degree of institutionalization per initiative varies. Whereas some initiatives have formally failed to become institutionalized or have ceased to exist (e.g., Foundation for Tourism and Sea Turtles), others only exist on paper and have not continued to mature (e.g., the Holiday Mirror Web site and the Naturally Antilles logo). Even the POEMS scheme, which exemplifies an initiative maintained by a trade association, the frontrunner tour operators and outsiders like trade press, researchers and the Netherlands Consumer Association, is still in the process of institutionalization.

What bound all these initiatives together were the Groeneveld Conferences. Even though the first two conferences resulted from harsh criticism of both the tourism industry and the government for neglecting the sustainable (outbound) tourism issue, from 1999, they began to form the medium through which initiatives were debated and spread throughout the field. Hence, collectively, sustainable tourism has moved from single, isolated and unrelated issues (e.g., child sex tourism, fair trade tourism, the Alps, clean bathing water, sea turtles, climate change, human rights and indigenous people) to become a more comprehensive, organized and institutionalized issue in the outbound tour operations field.

What changed in the field? With respect to what is actually changing in this field, Van der Duim (2005b) observes that, despite the numerous activities, substantial change has not occurred in the Dutch outbound tour operations field. While fully acknowledging that sustainability takes time to mature, he contends that sustainable tourism development in the Netherlands is still in a predevelopment stage of considerable experimentation. This assumption is supported by the lack of a clear problem definition and sense of urgency, the weak knowledge infrastructure on sustainable tourism (e.g., little scientific research or R&D within the industry), a dearth of problem ownership and governance mechanisms, and a lack of market demand and social pressure for sustainable tourism. Van der Duim also argues that economy of scale (high volumes at low prices) still dominates how business is done in the tour operations industry, meaning that sustainability is only acceptable as far as it conforms to this economic logic.

Without calling into question these conclusions, I argue that the good intentions of various actors laid the groundwork for the more substantial changes to which Van der Duim refers. Specifically, four changes for tour operators are discernible. First, social interactions between the proponents of sustainable tourism and the tour operators have changed from being ad-hoc and unstructured to being regular and structured. Second, the responsibility of tour operators for sustainable tourism development has shifted from the collective to the individual firm level. Third, the originally dispersed and heterogeneous set of initiatives to promote sustainable tourism (e.g., Web sites, brochures and ecolabels) has become integrated under an umbrella framework. Finally, these changes (summarized in Table 4-6) have been profound enough to lead to incremental changes in the daily operations of a small group of frontrunner tour operators.

4.6.1   From unstructured to structured and institutionalized interactions
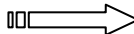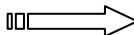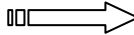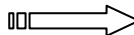
Structurally, patterns of interaction in the field of tour operations have changed at both the institutional and industrial level. Before 1996, members of the industry met occasionally with representatives of NGOs, the ministries and educational institutions to discuss the environmental and social issues of tourism. After 1996, social interactions between proponents of sustainable tourism and representatives of the tour operations business became organized in two ways. First, interactions occurred within the Initiative Group on Outbound Tourism, Nature and the Environment/IDUT Platform. Second, change advocates and incumbents met at the annual Groeneveld Conferences, one of the platform's main activities.

Other changes have occurred in the pattern of social interactions *within* the industry. In 1995, in order to discuss and develop a sustainable tourism policy, the VRO/ANVR founded its Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism, whose members internalized the sustainable tourism issue (van Marwijk & van der Duim, 2004). Yet, despite the association's efforts to generate support for sustainable tourism in its wider membership base through the dissemination of information and the organization of meetings for POEMS coordinators, as resistance to the scheme shows, no similar internalization process occurred among most tour operators.

Nonetheless, several tour operators have taken on the role of frontrunners and continue to work for sustainable tourism.

Table 4-6 Major changes for tour operations firms

	Unstructured ⟹	Structured & Institutionalized
Interactions	- Ad-hoc conferences in 1986 and 1987 without formal representation of VRO/ANVR - First Groeneveld Conferences (1995, 1996) - Informal ANVR Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism (after annual meeting in 1989)	- IDUT Platform (since 1996) - Groeneveld Conferences (annually since 1999) - Formal ANVR Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism (since 1995)
	Collective ⟹	**Individual**
Responsibility	- Code of Conduct (1992) - Code of Conduct (1996) - Information in databases (1998) - Public information brochure on the environment (1998) and CSR (2000)	- Obligatory POEMS scheme (since 2003) - Creation of a new occupation within the tour operations business: the POEMS coordinator
	Dispersed ⟹	**Single framework**
Practices	- Exemplified by the Holiday Mirror, Blue Flag label, WNF Souvenir Campaign, ECPAT campaign against child sex tourism, carbon-offsetting programs Trees for Travel and GreenSeat	- POEMS Action Program - POEMS course
	Individual players ⟹	**Frontrunner group**
Market segmentation	- Typified by De Jong Intra, NS Travel and SNP in the Alps projects and Arke and Holland International in the Netherlands Antilles project	- Typified by Askja Reizen, Buro Britain/Scandinavia, OAD, Sawadee Reizen, Sundio Group and TUI–Netherlands' launching of the Dutch Travel Foundation

4.6.2   From collective to individual responsibility

Before the 1980s, tour operators were thought of as holiday sellers with little responsibility for the negative impacts caused in holiday destinations. Congruent with the emerging discourse on sustainable development, awareness emerged that tourism was one of the economic activities threatening the world's natural and cultural beauty. Thus, even though the concept of sustainable tourism was ambiguous, ranging from fair trade tourism to ecotourism, proponents of the concept shared the view that tour operators had both the responsibility and the capability to take action. Hence, in response to the criticism, the VRO/ANVR drafted its 'Ten basic assumptions on tourism and the environment' and adopted them as part of its

1992 Code of Conduct, which attributed to tour operators the role of advisors and educators in the tourism supply chain. The same logic underlay the inclusion of a clause on child sex tourism in the 1996 Code of Conduct.

In the late 1990s, the role of tour operators broadened: they were not only to advise organizations on holiday destinations and tourists on responsible behavior but were also to take measures. Hence, the decision to develop the POEMS scheme for tour operators and the nomination of an environmental manager at TUI–Netherlands mark the shift from a conception of sustainable tourism as a collective responsibility to a view of it as an individual responsibility. Specifically, the implementation of POEMS has made tour operators accountable for the impacts of their holiday offerings, which finds expression in benchmarks set by researchers and the Netherlands Consumer Association. Moreover, the requirement of nominating a POEMS coordinator within each firm has created a new occupational function within tourism firms. Thus organizationally, at least in theory, sustainable tourism has become embedded within the firms associated with the VRO/ANVR, even though most firms seemingly returned to business as usual after having obtained their basic certificate (van der Duim, 2005b). On the other hand, as Section 4.6.4 will show, some firms adopted sustainable tourism structurally.

4.6.3   From dispersed practices to a single framework

Before the early 2000s, the proponents of sustainable tourism were dispersed and heterogeneous with each proponent developing its own initiative, including ecolabels, hallmarks, brochures and Web sites. This dispersion changed, however, with the introduction of the POEMS scheme, which, with the ANVR's independent Foundation for Environmental Care as accrediting body, served (and still serves) as an evaluative system for tour operators in terms of sustainable tourism. Specifically, by presenting myriad initiatives based on a tour packages' main components in the texts of the POEMS course and POEMS Action Program, the scheme provides meaning and order to the sustainable tourism concept. The POEMS scheme has also been tested for feasibility and practicality through pilot projects, which enabled the association to keep its members on board and enhance tour operators' understanding of sustainable tourism.

As Van der Duim (2005b) concludes, the relative success of POEMS' introduction into the tour operations field stems partly from reinforcement of the POEMS philosophy by other projects, including ECPAT, Cool Flying and Trees for Travel. Connecting with initiatives in the field not only reinforced POEMS' development but also spurred the promotion of these initiatives among individual tour operations firms. Thus, the POEMS scheme was not only the outcome of numerous attempts to enhance the sustainability performance of tour operations firms, it was also, and still is, the medium through which actors continue to work for change.

4.6.4 From individual firms to a frontrunner group

In the early years of the change process, tour operators engaged in sustainable tourism through projects initiated by proponents of the issue. For instance, De Jong Intra and NS Travel supported NAP projects, SNP cooperated with ECEAT in developing farm holidays, and Multatuli Travel and Baobab visited SNV and Novib projects in developing nations. With the creation of the Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism, the VRO/ANVR brought together the individual ANVR tour operators interested in sustainable tourism and orchestrated the development of new norms and practices so as to guarantee a level playing field on this issue.

Nevertheless, throughout the ongoing experimentation and social interactions, the change toward sustainable tourism has seemed to be increasingly directed by a frontrunner group of tour operators rather than the association. Specifically, these tour operators are building competence in the niche of sustainable tourism holidays through the development and marketing of (elements of) green products, strategic partnerships, public relations and communication, fundraising for sustainable tourism projects, participation in consultative groups and the structural incorporation of sustainable tourism within daily operations. In doing so, according to some indications, these tour operators are successfully carving a niche for themselves, making sustainable tourism a strategic issue and pressuring other firms in the field to move forward.

4.6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a detailed and rich case history of the currently unfolding change process in the field of Dutch outbound tour operations. Yet, how and why did the change process toward sustainable tourism unfold in this way? The next two chapters address this two-part question by adopting the theoretical lens of institutional entrepreneurship. Specifically, Chapter 5 examines which actors acted as institutional entrepreneurs in this process, in what form, to what degree and at which stage of the game, while Chapter 6 explores the role played by the VRO/ANVR in the change process. Most particularly, it examines how and why this trade association became aware of and open to the issue of sustainable tourism and motivated to adopt and promote practices that put this issue into practice.

PART

3

Analyzing the case

5. Zooming out and zooming in on institutional entrepreneurship: A process study of actors and events in the Dutch outbound tour operations field, 1980–2005[31]

5.1 Introduction

The emerging theory of institutional entrepreneurship explores how individual and organizational actors create or modify institutions to further their material or ideological interests (Colomy, 1998; DiMaggio, 1988). Research in this area shows the range of actors that may act like institutional entrepreneurs, the various activities in which they engage to bring about change, and the conditions that affect their success in doing so (e.g., Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Maguire, Hardy, & Lawrence, 2004).

Nevertheless, even though these studies advance our understanding of the role of agency in processes of institutional change, their tendency to zoom in on a single actor or small groups of actors working for change has resulted in a portrayal of institutional entrepreneurs as 'heroic' actors (Hardy & Maguire, 2008). Such an image overlooks the types of agencies distributed across actors, space and time (Garud & Karnoe, 2003; Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007; Quack, 2007). Past literature has also tended to understate the failure of attempts at institutional change (e.g., Rao & Giorgi, 2006), thereby creating a sample selection bias toward successful institutional entrepreneurs.

Other studies, in contrast, emphasize the collective nature of institutional entrepreneurship (Hargrave & van de Ven, 2006; Lounsbury, 1998; Rao, Morrill, & Zald, 2000; Wijen & Ansari, 2007); most particularly, the social interactions experienced in social movements and communities that show the involvement of various actors in bringing about institutional change. However, zooming out on the collective of actors engaged in the shaping of a new institutional order ignores the distinct roles played by individual actors. The challenge, then, is to understand the interplay between the distinct activities and roles of individual actors and the broader process of institutional change.

This chapter addresses this challenge by adopting a process approach to institutional entrepreneurship that takes into account the various types of events and individuals involved in the transformation of an organizational field. Combining unique qualitative and quantitative data on institutional change in the outbound tour operations field in the Netherlands between 1980 and 2005, the analysis focuses particularly on which actors in this field can be described as institutional entrepreneurs, in what form, to what degree and at which stage of the change process.

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[31] This chapter presents a paper written together with Wouter Stam, Tom Elfring and Frank den Hond which is currently under review. Earlier versions of the paper were presented at the 2006 EGOS Colloquium, the 2007 Academy of Management Meeting and the 2007 Cornell-McGill Conference on Institutions & Entrepreneurship.

This study contributes to institutional entrepreneurship literature in several ways. First, it is a rare account of institutional entrepreneurship that moves back and forth between the actors and events that are relevant to field transformation processes and the actors who engage in institutional entrepreneurship within them. Thus far, by examining the dyadic relationship between a successful change project and the actor assumed to be responsible for bringing about this change, most studies have overlooked the role that other actors play in the change process (Hardy & Maguire, 2008). This study, however, reveals the need for a dual focus if the multiplicity and temporality of actors engaged in institutional change processes are to be understood.

As a result, this analysis paints a more dynamic and complex picture of institutional entrepreneurship than presented in extant research. Specifically, it shows how the actions of a variety of actors are intertwined, how practices fail to become institutionalized when other practices are on the rise and how actors come and go in the course of the change process. It also reveals how actors meet in project meetings, at conferences and in executive committees, and how they interact through publications. In so doing, this investigation responds to recent calls for studies on how social interactions among variegated actors can lead to institutional change (Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007).

The results of this process approach further allow us to contribute to the 'creation' perspective on entrepreneurial opportunities, which is underdeveloped in the entrepreneurship literature (Alvaraz & Barney, 2007). This perspective, in contrast to the 'discovery perspective' in which opportunities are seen as given, views opportunities as being enacted by entrepreneurs. Hence, this study addresses the challenge of conceptualizing opportunities as endogenous by showing the interactive processes in which various closely related actors develop and exploit opportunities in a way characterized by trial-and-error. As such, this work addresses the call for more synthesis between institutional entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship literature (Phillips & Tracey, 2007).

Methodologically, the study contributes to existing literature by developing a process approach to institutional entrepreneurship in answer to the call by several scholars (Hardy & Maguire, 2008; Langley, 2007; Perkmann & Spicer, 2007) for research into institutional entrepreneurship from a process-oriented perspective. Most especially, by using events as key observational units in tracing institutional entrepreneurship, it provides scholars with an empirical tool to determine which actors engage in institutional entrepreneurship in any organizational field, in what form, to what degree and at which stage of the change process.

5.2   A process approach to institutional entrepreneurship

5.2.1   Institutional entrepreneurship as distributed over agents and time

Institutional entrepreneurship, "the activities of actors who have an interest in particular institutional arrangements and who leverage resources to create new institutions or to transform existing ones" (Maguire et al., 2004:657), is increasingly

viewed as an important construct in explaining how institutions emerge (Dacin, Goodstein, & Scott, 2002; Garud, Hardy, & Maguire, 2007). Yet, most studies on institutional entrepreneurship tend to attribute agency to individual actors or small groups of actors in an organizational field. For instance, Lawrence and Phillips (2004) attribute the role of institutional entrepreneur to a small business entrepreneur in the emerging whale-watching industry in Canada, while Munir and Phillips (2005) study how Kodak brought about changes in the field of photography. Likewise, Hargadon and Douglas (2001) highlight the role of Thomas Edison in the development of the electric light. Thus, these studies portray institutional entrepreneurs as heroes that single-handedly bring about change within organizational fields (Hardy & Maguire, 2008; Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007).

Such an approach, however, ignores the dynamic nature of institutional change in three ways. First, it is highly unlikely that individual actors possess all the skills, resources, power and legitimacy to do all that is needed to bring about field-level change. Rather, to be successful, institutional entrepreneurs need the support of 'subsidiary actors' (DiMaggio, 1988:15), which means that other actors also play a role in institutional change. Secondly, institutional change is characterized by different temporal dynamics (Lawrence, Winn, & Jennings, 2001); that is, as Sutton and Dobbin (1996) suggest, different sets of agents operate in different phases of institutional change. By studying one particular actor and defining that actor as an institutional entrepreneur at a specific juncture, scholars run the risk of ignoring the actors who display or stop displaying institutional entrepreneurial behavior during the course of change. As Fligstein (2001b:123) put it, "the people who ultimately are successful in bringing the field together may not be the ones who start it." Thirdly, because attempts to bring about institutional change may fail (e.g., Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Rao & Giorgi, 2006), the prominent tendency in institutional theory to focus on successful change projects (Jaffee & Freeman, 2002) introduces a sample selection bias to theory-building on agency in institutional change.

Alternatively, recognizing that institutional entrepreneurship is essentially a 'multiagent process' (Lawrence et al., 2001:641), some scholars use social movement theory to examine agency in processes of change (e.g., Fligstein, 2001b; Hensmans, 2003; Rao et al., 2000). Others introduce the concept of 'collective institutional entrepreneurship' (Wijen & Ansari, 2007) to account for the multiplicity of actors engaged in processes of change. Zilber (2007), in an attempt to move away from portraying institutional entrepreneurs as heroes, uses discourse theory, in which texts are produced, consumed and distributed by multiple actors on an ongoing basis. Yet other scholars emphasize the distributed nature of institutional entrepreneurship (Garud & Karnoe, 2003; Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007; Quack, 2007) or argue that there are various kinds of institutional entrepreneurs operating in organizational fields (Hinings, Greenwood, Reay, & Suddaby, 2004).

Although the suggestions discussed above do much to break down the assumed heroic nature of institutional entrepreneurship, other problems remain: the identification of institutional entrepreneurs (Child, Lu, & Tsai 2007), the dichotomous on-off nature of the construct, the temporal dynamics involved in institutional entrepreneurship and the role of distinct actors in this process. Hence, this study adds to the existing literature by examining forms of institutional entrepreneurship

that are distributed across actors and time within the broader process of institutional change.

5.2.2   The dynamic interplay between actors and events

One underling assumption of this present research is that understanding institutional entrepreneurship as distributed across actors and time requires that a process-oriented approach (van de Ven & Poole, 1990) be combined with an affiliation network analysis (Faust, 1997; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Thus, in line with such thinking, institutional entrepreneurship is here defined as the temporal sequence of different types of events as manifestations of the actions of individual and organizational actors with the potential to create new institutions or transform existing ones in a given organizational field. Accordingly, institutional entrepreneurship is seen as a result of the interplay between actors and events over time (Figure 5-1).

Insert Figure 5-1 about here

Affiliation network analysis is particularly suited to examining this interplay because its main premise is that social ties between actors exist on the basis of their coattendance at events. This duality between actors and events implies that actors can be defined in terms of events, and events can be conceived as sets of actors (Breiger, 1974). This logic is evident, albeit implicitly, in studies of institutional change. For instance, Greenwood, Suddaby and Hinings (2002) show that elite firms that have acted as institutional entrepreneurs in the Canadian field of professional business services have been well represented on the committees and executive councils of the professional associations of accountants. Likewise, in the emerging field of HIV/AIDS treatment advocacy in Canada, Maguire et al. (2004) identify 29 individuals affiliated with different event types, including membership in a newly established organization, participation in meetings and assistance in drafting documents, two of which they identify with institutional entrepreneurship. Indeed, Lounsbury (1998) points out that the participation of a few recycling coordinators in an annual meeting in the field of recycling programs in US universities eventually resulted in the foundation of a professional interest association. Along the same lines, in their study of French nouvelle cuisine, Rao, Monin and Durand (2003) suggest that new recipes diffuse rapidly because elite chefs meet each other frequently, for instance at a culinary academy.

One major challenge in collecting affiliation process data is determining which events are relevant to the subject under investigation (Langley, 1999; van de Ven, 1992), in this case, institutional entrepreneurship. The array of events proposed in empirical accounts as proxies for institutional entrepreneurship include the creation of new organizations (Lawrence & Phillips, 2004; Maguire et al., 2004; Perkmann & Spicer, 2007); start-up (pilot) projects (DiMaggio, 1991; Child et al., 2007); membership in advisory committees or boards of directors (Greenwood et al., 2002; Maguire et al.,

2004; Vermeulen, Büch, & Greenwood, 2007); and theorizing about change in publications like annual reports, advertisements, books and policy documents (Munir, 2005; Munir & Phillips, 2005; Svenjenova, Mazza, & Planellas, 2007). Other such activities include delivering keynote speeches at conferences (Garud & Rappa, 1994; Rao et al., 2003; Zilber, 2007), giving courses and lectures (DiMaggio, 1991; Svenjenova et al., 2007) and organizing or sponsoring national meetings (DiMaggio, 1991; Lounsbury, 2001; Perkmann & Spicer, 2007).

To qualify as institutional entrepreneurs in this collection of actors, individuals must be *actively* engaged in the events under study, irrespective of their intention to bring about change or their success in doing so (cf. Battilana, 2006). Moreover, the extent to which they engage in the events depends on their skills, resources and motivation to deviate from existing institutional arrangements, which are also likely to change as the organizational field in which they are embedded evolves in a process that their engagement itself helps bring about (cf. Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006). Hence, the role of institutional entrepreneur is likely to be played by different actors, to different degrees and at different junctures.

In general, this present research defines institutional entrepreneurs in a way that differs from existing approaches. First, it views institutional entrepreneurship as a collective phenomenon distributed across actors and time. Secondly, it shifts attention away from actors toward events as key observational units. That is, agency is not something found in actors; it is also present in, and the result of, social interactions. Thirdly, it views institutional entrepreneurship as a continuous concept. Thus, the issue is not whether or not a particular actor is an institutional entrepreneur but to what extent that actor engages in institutional entrepreneurship by taking part in certain events at particular junctures (see also Table 5-1). Accordingly, the primary research question is now as follows: *Who is engaged in institutional entrepreneurship in an organizational field over time?*

Insert Table 5-1 about here

5.3   Methods

5.3.1   Research design and site

This investigation of institutional entrepreneurship adopts a case study approach for three reasons. First, because institutional entrepreneurship is a complex social phenomenon that involves individuals, organizations, modes of action and triggering conditions, it is hard to separate it from its context, meaning that a case study approach is the most appropriate research strategy (Yin, 2003). Secondly, case studies are particularly useful for theory-building when a fresh perspective is applied to a topic already studied by earlier research (Eisenhardt, 1989). The intention in this study is to add to existing theoretical insights into institutional entrepreneurship by determining which actors have engaged in institutional entrepreneurship over time. Thirdly, studying institutional change processes requires both contextual and

longitudinal data (Schneiberg & Clemens, 2006), which are particularly suited to the case study approach's focus on time and multiple sources of evidence (Yin, 2003).

Following Pettigrew (1990:275), the empirical setting selected – determined geographically as the Netherlands and temporally from 1980 to 2005 – is one in which the phenomenon of interest, institutional entrepreneurship, is likely to be "transparently observable." Not only do outbound tour operations in the Netherlands form a mature organizational field facing the need to move toward sustainable tourism, but proposals since the early 1980s of different hallmarks and ecolabels to enhance more sustainable forms of tourism (e.g., Beckers & Jansen, 1999; Hilferink, 2001) make clear that institutional entrepreneurs are active in this field. In addition, the move toward sustainability in the field is ongoing; even though some practices have failed to become institutionalized, other practices are still in the process of institutionalization (van der Duim & van Marwijk, 2006). Hence, this field provides an opportunity to examine actors working for change in vivo and in situ.

5.3.2 Data sources

This investigation draws on several data sources, not only to secure the validity of the study but also to identify key players, products and procedures of the tour operations business and outline the debate on sustainable tourism in terms of stakeholders, issues and solutions. The result is a dedicated dataset based on interviews, archival materials, public sources and participant observation.

Interviews. The primary source of material was semistructured interviews conducted with individuals involved thus far in the change process; specifically, tour operators and representatives of the tour operators' trade association (VRO/ANVR), consultancy firms, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), publishing companies, advisory councils, ministries and educational institutions. Selection of these interviewees relied primarily on the first author's prior, in-depth knowledge of the field based on regular attendance since 1999 at the industry's annual trade fairs and conferences on sustainable tourism; although some participants were identified through references to individuals in reports and through snowball sampling techniques.

The total number of interviews, which lasted between 1.5 and 4 hours, was 22, and some participants were interviewed a number of times. Specifically, respondents were asked about the evolution of the change process, with a focus on key activities, events and actors. To help them remember events and corroborate insights and information gained from previous interviews, each interview was separately prepared, tape-recorded,[32] transcribed verbatim and returned to the respondent for additional comments.

Also of use were the 12 verbally transcribed interviews on the same change process collected by researchers from another university, in which process the first author was personally involved as a reviewer. Five of these interviews were

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[32] Although one recording failed, a report made immediately after the interview based on notes taken was sent to the respondent for verification and additional comments.

particularly valuable because they featured people involved in promoting sustainable tourism. In all, the transcript dataset contained 27 formal interviews, totaling 323 pages, supplemented by numerous informal interviews with a diverse set of individuals involved in the change process. The notes from this fieldwork produced 12 informal interview transcriptions. Finally, after completion of the analysis and identification of the institutional entrepreneurs in this field, we validated the findings using two confirmatory interviews.

Archival data. The document analysis includes archival data that throws added light on the holiday sector and the debate on sustainable tourism, including secondary studies, firm histories, policy documents, research reports, investment reports, newsletters, press releases, conference proceedings and special issues of magazines and journals. Among these, the proceedings of the annual national conferences on sustainable tourism (the Groeneveld Conferences) provided particularly rich longitudinal data. Also part of the archival materials, and collected at the ANVR office, were the trade association's minutes of meetings of the Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism and the national platform on sustainable outbound tourism (IDUT Platform), correspondence, annual reports, policy documents, organizational magazines (1996–2004) and communiqués on sustainable tourism targeted at tour operators.

Public sources. Background information on particular projects and stakeholders mentioned in the written documents and by respondents was derived from public sources, like Web sites, the bibliographic database PiCarta and newspaper database LexisNexis. The Internet was also very useful for monitoring ongoing developments in the field.

Participant observation. Since 2004, the first author has observed the process under investigation through participant observation, attending all Groeneveld Conferences and Holiday Trade Fairs, as well as over a dozen workshops and meetings on sustainable tourism. Such participant observation also included the quarterly meetings of the IDUT Platform, from December 2004 to January 2007, at which all stakeholders are represented. A field diary kept throughout this fieldwork produced additional notes and transcriptions.

5.3.3 Data analysis

The data analysis comprised a five-step process. After analysis of the formal interview data to determine which types of events are relevant to institutional entrepreneurship in this empirical setting, we extrapolated such events and their participants over time and compiled them into a database to produce a chronological account of the change process toward sustainable tourism in the field and map the changes to date. We also developed two operational strategies to distinguish institutional entrepreneurs from the other actors involved in the change process. Finally, several further analyses identified the institutional entrepreneurs according

to the operational definitions, which results were then interpreted through reexamination of the formal interview data and text materials to assess how the actions of those identified as institutional entrepreneurs had thus far contributed to the change process. These five stages are elaborated below.

Identification of events. The identification of relevant events – defined here as manifestations of the actions of individual and organizational actors that potentially contribute to the creation of new institutions or the transformation of existing ones in a certain organizational field – adopted a retroductive approach (Poole et al., 2000). That is, following a careful reading of the written materials to gain insight into the events that seem to have been important in changes occurring thus far, and with careful consideration of the types of events that proxy for institutional entrepreneurship, we conducted a qualitative analysis of the formal interview data using the software tool ATLAS.ti to gain a deeper understanding of how these events become manifest. Specifically, our analysis showed that individuals interested in the issue of sustainable outbound tourism engage in six activities: (1) participating in conferences, (2) delivering keynote speeches at conferences, (3) convening and chairing workshops at conferences, (4) initiating projects on sustainable tourism targeted at the consumers and providers of outbound holidays, (5) launching new organizations aimed at developing and promoting sustainable practices and (6) writing publications on topics related to sustainable tourism, such as pro-poor tourism and ecotourism. The various types of events as manifestations of institutional entrepreneurship in this organizational field are further illustrated by the quotes provided in Table 5-2.

Insert Table 5-2 about here

Tabulating event data. Once the initial analytic phase had identified the ways in which actors are involved in the various relevant events, the second stage focused on the development of a database of all individuals engaged in these events. Even though we measured institutional entrepreneurship at the individual level, to account for the role of organizations in relation to the key individuals once identified, the data collected did include these individuals' affiliations with organizations. Development of this database involved the consultation of several data sources (Table 5-3) discussed below.

Insert Table 5-3 about here

Data analysis began with the national Groeneveld *Conferences* on sustainable tourism, organized every year since 1995 (except for 1997 and 1998). The list of participants provided longitudinal data on the individuals interested in the issue of outbound sustainable tourism, while the conference proceedings named the keynote speakers and parallel session (workshop) leaders. We reduced structural bias in these data using information on 16 different workshops and conferences other than the Groeneveld Conferences, located using the data from the interviews, documents and newsletters. This compilation included only those meetings that took place within

the Netherlands and dealt with the issue of outbound sustainable tourism. Moreover, because participant lists were unavailable for some meetings, these data served only to identify keynote speakers. Lists of participants at meetings organized in the context of different government initiatives supplemented the dataset of participants at conferences other than the Groeneveld Conferences.

The rich set of overall materials also identified the *projects* and newly founded *organizations* aimed at developing standards and practices concerning outbound sustainable tourism, either for the providers of outbound holidays (tour operators and travel agents) or for their consumers. Specifically, the database included projects and organizations set up by Dutch individuals that were aimed at promoting a more sustainable approach to outbound tour operating. To increase the reliability and validity of this overview, six key informants reviewed the database prior to its finalization.

Finally, we used the bibliographic database PiCarta to identify *publications* on outbound sustainable tourism between 1980 and 2005. This analysis adopted a three-stage approach. After identifying the individuals who participated in more than half the Groeneveld Conferences, indicating a genuine interest in the subject, we looked for publications by those (24) individuals in the PiCarta database. Then, based on in-depth knowledge of the organizational field, we were able to retrieve publications by those who had worked for relevant key organizations; for instance, articles published in two special issue magazines on sustainable tourism. We then supplemented the resulting list of references with publications found using key words derived from the references identified in the preceding steps.

Overall, the record of the various individuals' actions provides a comprehensive overview of the key events that have unfolded in the change process toward sustainable tourism in the Dutch field of outbound tour operations. Appendix A shows the number of events recorded for each type of activity (N = 246), as well as the number of individuals engaged in each. In total, 1,195 unique persons had engaged in at least one activity in the time frame under investigation.

The case history. The third stage of data analysis used the dataset of key events and other materials to map the change process toward sustainable tourism between 1980 and 2005. Specifically, this process identified four stages. The first, from the early 1980s until 1994, is characterized by the emergence of the outbound sustainable tourism issue. Initially, in the early 1980s, when the impact of mass tourism on the natural and sociocultural environment in developing nations and popular European holiday destinations became clear, some organizations and individuals, including missionary organizations, mountaineering clubs, concerned academics, NGOs and alternative tour operators, tried to bring the issue to people's attention. Then, when the trade association of tour operators VRO/ANVR became aware that the issue of sustainable tourism had found its way onto the public agenda, it installed an informal Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism, which in 1992 drafted an environmental code of conduct for tour operators. Even though, as far as the VRO/ANVR was concerned, the sustainable development of tourism was primarily the responsibility of the countries of destination, the association encouraged tour operators to support this development. The 1994 publication of a

report by the Advisory Council for Nature Policy, which was highly critical of the national government for paying scant attention to the issue, put an end to the relative lack of commitment.

The second stage, 1994–1998, was characterized by stakeholder dialogue. In response to the critical report, the first national conference on sustainable tourism was organized in 1995, resulting in the launch of the IDUT Platform to spearhead the debate. Chaired by the VRO/ANVR and made up of several ministries, tourist organizations and NGOs, the platform organized a second national conference in 1996 (the Groeneveld Conference) to discuss how the ideas and principles of sustainable development could be translated into concrete actions in the outbound tour operations field. Against the backdrop of this dialogue, the VRO/ANVR formalized its Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism, published two policy documents and a public brochure on environment and tourism, and accepted a code of conduct opposing child sex tourism. Such steps marked an increase in attention to the issue of sustainable tourism within the industry in general and on the part of the VRO/ANVR in particular.

The third period, 1999–2003, was marked by a sharp increase in the number of initiatives – including supply chain projects, informative and educational projects aimed at consumers and tour operators, the launch of Web sites, and a carbon-offsetting scheme and ecolabels – for which the annual Groeneveld Conferences served as a touchstone. The VRO/ANVR also began to translate its ideas into action by integrating various solutions from the field into an overarching framework, a product-oriented environmental management scheme (POEMS). This scheme was intended to allow tour operators to embed sustainability measures within their daily operations structurally and systematically. To guarantee a level playing field, near the end of 2000, ANVR tour operators agreed on the POEMS scheme as a membership criterion. However, the association found it hard to rally all tour operators behind the scheme, which resulted in several modifications to the requirements and postponement of the deadline.

The fourth period, from 2004 to the present, is characterized by the increased legitimacy of sustainable tourism. In line with the 2000 decision by VRO/ANVR members to advance sustainable development in outbound tourism, by early 2005, all ANVR tour operators had implemented POEMS. At the same time, a number of mainstream and specialist tour operators took the lead in acting in a socially responsible manner. This formation of a frontrunner group was accompanied by a more positive attitude toward tourism, which was no longer considered merely harmful to the natural and sociocultural environment but also a potential mechanism with which to alleviate poverty and preserve nature. Thus, development organizations and nature conservationist organizations have increasingly begun to engage in partnerships with tour operators, thereby making sustainability a strategic issue in the outbound tour operations field.

Overall, over the last two decades, the Dutch field of outbound tour operations has changed significantly; perhaps not (yet) as much as proponents of change would have liked (van der Duim, 2005b) but enough to make it feasible to speak of institutional change. First, social interactions between proponents of sustainable tourism and tour operators developed from ad-hoc and unstructured contacts with

regular and structured interactions. Secondly, the tour operators' responsibility to enhance sustainable tourism, at first considered a collective responsibility, became increasingly defined at the individual firm level. Thirdly, the initially dispersed and heterogeneous set of initiatives aimed at promoting sustainable tourism became integrated into a single framework (POEMS). Fourthly, a group of frontrunner tour operators emerged who act as socially responsible firms. We validated these interpretations of the primary changes in the field, as well as the accuracy of the case history, by sharing them with a 'confidant' in the process (Miles & Huberman, 1994:275).

     Instrument development. The development of an instrument to distinguish institutional entrepreneurs from the other actors involved in bringing about change in the field began by drawing on two exemplary studies that empirically identified institutional entrepreneurs. For instance, the study by Maguire et al. (2004) adopts a behavioral approach, nominating those actors most engaged in different institutional entrepreneurial activities that result in change as institutional entrepreneurs. In contrast, Canan and Reichman (2002:161) employ a relational perspective, defining an institutional entrepreneur as someone "who establishes the conditions for collaboration by creating and mobilizing the social connections between heretofore disparate actors." Hence, these authors identify the institutional entrepreneur as the individual who brings together otherwise unconnected actors and events (see Appendix B). Implicitly, most scholars adopt a behavioral approach to institutional entrepreneurship by detailing the activities that lead to the change involved. However, the relational perspective, despite its appreciation of the collective character of institutional entrepreneurship, has been used to a much lesser extent. This present study combines both approaches to address institutional entrepreneurship and develops three measures within each.

     First, to identify actors that perform particular roles in the change process, we made a distinction between the *scope* of institutional entrepreneurial activities and the *intensity* of that activity. Whereas the scope allows identification of generalist entrepreneurs that perform many different types of activities, the level of intensity facilitates identification of specialist entrepreneurs who may have extensively performed only one particular type of activity. However, because these measures of scope and intensity ignore the timing of entrepreneurial activity, we supplemented them with a measure of *continuity*. Applying all three core variables – scope, intensity and continuity – in both the behavioral and relational approach to institutional entrepreneurs yielded a total of six measures (see Table 5-4).

Insert Table 5-4 about here

The analysis first determined the *behavioral scope* of entrepreneurial activity by assessing the total number of different institutional entrepreneurial activities of each individual in the period under study. This measure ranges from 1 to 6 and reveals who has been engaged in what type of institutional entrepreneurial activity during that period. We then refined this basic measure based on *behavioral intensity*, the frequency with which each individual performed the activities in question*,* and

defined *behavioral continuity* by calculating the total number of years each individual ranked among the 5 highest scores in terms of the behavioral scope of activity. Institutional entrepreneurs with high scores on behavioral continuity are those that contributed to the change process by engaging in a wide range of activities over a number of years.

To identify institutional entrepreneurs from a relational perspective, we drew on social network theory and applications (Wasserman & Faust, 1994) and used the data on individuals and their participation in events to create affiliation networks that record ties between individuals on the basis of their joint participation in events. Because an affiliation network consists of a set of actors and a set of events, it is often referred to as a two-mode network (Faust, 1997). In this present study, the primary network data consisted of the affiliations of each individual with the various types of events as proxies for institutional entrepreneurship, arranged in six separate two-mode matrices, one for each type of activity, where $X_{ij} = 1$ when individual *i* participated in event *j*.

The methods used to analyze the data are based on Borgatti and Everett (1997) and Faust (1997). First, in developing a measure for the relational scope of institutional entrepreneurial activity, we calculated the betweenness centrality for all individuals over the period under study. Specifically, betweenness centrality evaluates the extent to which an actor occupies a strategic position in a network by linking previously unconnected actors and events (Faust, 1997; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Prior to calculation, as recommended by Faust (1997), we transformed each two-mode matrix into a bipartite graph and then performed the calculations using the UCINET6 social network software program (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman, 2002). To assess an actor's *relational scope*, consistent with the measure of behavioral scope, we counted the normalized betweenness centrality in the affiliation network of all events during the study period and then assessed the *relational intensity* of entrepreneurial activities by calculating continuous betweenness centrality scores for all individuals per activity. This procedure enabled detection of those individuals who have played the most critical role in connecting different actors and events within a particular activity. Finally, we analyzed the *relational continuity* of entrepreneurial activities by determining the extent to which individuals have consistently acted as critical links between actors and events, and generated a measure of relational continuity by constructing 12 two-mode matrices (one for each year of the study period) to record the participation of all individuals in the events of that particular year. Consistent with our measure of behavioral continuity, we then calculated the total number of years each individual ranked among the 5 highest betweenness centrality scores.

Addressing the research question. The final step comprised a number of analyses to identify – based on the above measures – which actors could be considered institutional entrepreneurs in the change process. Because high scores on each of the six operational measures for each individual in the dataset suggest higher levels of involvement in institutional entrepreneurship, we first ranked the highest scores (Table 5-5 to Table 5-10) and then aggregated the results of the

ranking (Figure 5-2[33]). These interpretations could then be verified by sorting all the written material and interview transcripts by key actors and highlighting text fragments referring to their involvement in the change process. These findings in turn could be corroborated through a keyword search of LexisNexis using the names of the actors identified as institutional entrepreneurs. The impact of these individuals' activities on the change process emerged through an analysis of either their own interview transcripts (if they had been interviewed) or those of other respondents who had commented on their activities. Finally, we checked the validity of these interpretations by sharing the text with the individuals involved (whose names, together with those of their organizations, have been changed for confidentiality purposes).

5.4 "Zooming out" on institutional entrepreneurship

To answer the primary research question, *Who is engaged in institutional entrepreneurship in an organizational field over time?*, we applied both a behavioral and relational approach. The findings – which show how different actors engage in different activities, to different degrees and at different stages throughout the process – offer empirical support for the notion of distributed agency in institutional entrepreneurship. They also reveal that, because many different actors must jointly carry out diverse activities to set a change process in motion, institutional entrepreneurship is a multidimensional construct.

5.4.1 Scope

The measure of behavioral scope involves the number of different institutional entrepreneurial activities an individual carried out during the study period, whereas relational scope refers to the degree to which one actor was the most critical link between actors and events while engaging in institutional entrepreneurship during this period. As Tables 5-5 and 5-6 indicate, the two approaches to some extent identify different sets of individuals as having contributed to the change process.

Insert Tables 5-5 and 5-6 about here

For example, whereas Roy–8, Gary–168, Winston–828 and Harry–804 can be considered institutional entrepreneurs on the basis of the behavioral approach; Walter–65, Jamar–251 and Candy–127 emerge among the relevant change agents from a relational perspective. Thus apparently, engaging in a large number of different activities in a change process does not automatically imply that an individual is acting as a crucial link between actors and events. For instance, although Roy–8 was engaged in six different institutional entrepreneurial activities, he is not among the top individuals that have connected different events and actors.

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[33] The results of the behavioral and relational intensity measure are aggregated through inverse ranking.

This finding suggests that the two approaches tap into different dimensions of institutional entrepreneurship.

5.4.2 Intensity

Whereas behavioral intensity reflects the frequency with which an individual is involved in a particular activity, relational intensity captures the betweenness centrality of the actors for each type of activity. Comparing the intensity measure results from the behavioral perspective with those from the relational perspective (see Table 5-7 and 5-8) reveals that, although several actors appear prominently in both sets (e.g., Marvin–16 and Abram–92), there are significant differences. For instance, with regard to the publication of books and articles, the behavioral approach reveals that as of 2005, Tim–200 had produced six publications, which puts him in the top five of individuals performing this activity. However, based on the relational approach, Tim–200 does not place in the top five, meaning that he has played this role in relative solitude. In contrast, Candy–127 and Woody–147 have produced relatively few publications, but those they did write were in cooperation with individuals involved in the change process, which increased their score for the relational measure. Similar observations were made with regard to the other activities.

Insert Tables 5-7 and 5-8 about here

5.4.3 Continuity

The measure of continuity assesses which individuals have contributed to the entire change process consistently and which were only active during particular time periods. Thus, the analysis identified those individuals that carried out the highest number of different activities in a particular year (behavioral continuity; see Table 5-9) and those with the highest betweenness centrality in this field for each year (relational continuity; see Table 5-10).

Insert Tables 5-9 and 5-10 about here

Again, as Tables 5-9 and 5-10 show, the behavioral and relational approaches yield different sets of change agents. Equally important, the results indicate significant turnover in the composition of these agent groups. For instance, the measure of behavioral continuity suggests that Abram–92, Javier–76, Marvin–16, Geoff–272, Roy–8, Yoel–24 and Percey–62 were engaged from the very beginning of the change process (before the first Groeneveld Conference in 1995), whereas Jamar–251, Tim–200, Bob–472, Jasper–27 and Harris–781 became visible as institutional entrepreneurs only from 2002 onwards. A similar pattern is also observable with regard to the measure of relational continuity. Hence, there is no single individual who can be said to have acted as an institutional entrepreneur throughout the

change process. Moreover, juxtaposing the findings from the two approaches provides evidence for the notion that each approach measures different dimensions of institutional entrepreneurship. This difference is made particularly clear by the case of Marvin–16 who, although behaviorally involved in the change process from the very beginning, only became relationally visible as an institutional entrepreneur in 2000.

5.4.4 Summary

The summary of findings given in Figure 5-2 supports two conclusions. First, a relatively high number of individuals have contributed to the change process by engaging in institutional entrepreneurship. Nonetheless, to suggest that because Marvin–16 has a top ranking in almost all our measures of institutional entrepreneurship, he is *the* institutional entrepreneur would do injustice to the many other actors involved; most notably, Eliot–59, Abram–92 and Geoff–272, who are also included in the top five individuals that promoted change up to 2006. Second, depending on which measure is considered, these individuals' involvement was complemented by a series of other individuals. For example, Jalene–338, Roy–8 and Roger–39 only make it into the top five based on the behavioral approach, whereas Woody–147 and Walter–65 make it to the top five from a relational perspective. This finding suggests that the behavioral and relational approaches measure different, albeit complementary, dimensions of institutional entrepreneurship, different contributions to the change process that are outlined in the next section.

5.5 "Zooming in" on institutional entrepreneurs

Whereas the previous section identified individuals that have contributed to the change toward sustainable tourism, this section describes *how* their agency contributed to promoting alternative standards and practices in the outbound tour operations field in the Netherlands. For reasons of brevity, we present only illustrative cases. As Figure 5-2 suggests, Marvin–16, Abram–92 and Geoff–272 played a central role in the change process, although other individuals – for instance, Hakan–88, Ian–289, Abey–129, Zef–90, Len–77, Buck–451 and Winston–828 – also made important, although perhaps less visible, contributions.

5.5.1 Marvin–16

Marvin–16, who has a top ranking in almost all measures of institutional entrepreneurship and on a radio talk show was dubbed "the Al Gore of sustainable tourism" (*NRC Handelsblad*, 2007), has performed all institutional entrepreneurial activities, mostly to a high degree and for a relatively long period. For instance, his 1991 paper argued that tourism should no longer be seen as an enemy of nature conservation but rather as a mechanism for generating revenues to protect nature. When posted to Kenya in 1992 for a government ministry, he put this idea into

practice. Together with regional nature conservationist groups and the Netherlands Tourist Association ANWB, he initiated an educational program on beach tourism and nature conservation that was presented by an ANWB representative at the 1996 (second) Groeneveld Conference. Marvin–16 then left for the Netherlands Antilles for another government ministry, where he set up an environmental department.

Nevertheless, prior to his 1998 nomination as environmental manager for Travel Abroad, one of the largest Dutch tour operators, Marvin–16 had played only a modest role in the emerging debate on sustainable tourism in the Netherlands. Then, at the first Groeneveld Conference in 1995, Marvin–16 met both Travel Abroad's CEO and the German mother firm's environmental manager, who gave a keynote presentation at the conference. Here, the idea originated of also nominating an environmental manager in the Netherlands. In December 1999, Marvin–16 was also inaugurated as Professor of Sustainable Tourism Development at the University of Applied Sciences in Tourism. In his capacity as both environmental manager and professor, he launched projects, delivered keynote speeches and set up organizations. As Marvin–16 himself put it, "I like pioneering, enjoy starting up things" (*DIT Reismanagement*, 1999:33). Although still affiliated with the educational institution as a professor, in January 2004, Marvin–16 again began working for his former ministry, and his assistant Evita became the new environmental manager.

Broadly speaking, his activities spearheaded the change process in three ways. *First*, pressure to move toward sustainable tourism now came from *within* the industry rather than from outsiders like governmental advisory councils and NGOs. For instance, in late 2000, Marvin–16 launched an ecolabel for accommodations that was printed in Travel Abroad's travel brochures. However, consumers, believing that the label meant more expensive packages, saw it as a commercial ploy by the tour operator, which resulted in its being abolished. Nonetheless, although unsuccessful, this initiative shows that Travel Abroad was taking the sustainable tourism issue seriously. Most especially, by generating publicity for the initiative, Travel Abroad set a goal for the rest of the industry to move toward sustainable tourism. Marvin–16 also promoted change from within the industry by participating on the VRO/ANVR's Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism and engaging intensively in the development of the POEMS scheme. As one environmental consultant involved in the scheme's development stated, "[Marvin's] participation was also easy for us from time to time. I have felt this occasionally myself, he could say things just a little bit differently from us and [the other tour operators on the committee] may then have agreed more readily" (Interview Respondent G). At an international level, Marvin–16 contributed to the development of the Tour Operators Initiative, a voluntary program set up by several UN organizations and tour operators, including Travel Abroad's mother firm.

Second, Marvin–16's position helped provide outsiders access to the industry and offered them support in their sustainable tourism projects: "When Marvin came, things really changed structurally. Marvin with Travel Abroad – that was the breakthrough. [...] Marvin played a role in Travel Abroad, of course, but he also had a much wider role. The course that he took was totally different from that of the mother firm in Germany: 'I am going to use my position in Travel Abroad to get the field, the colleague organizations going.' [...] He had to play his role as

environmental manager of a tour operator. He was not an NGO representative, but he went quite far. Travel Abroad was, of course, ahead of its time. It had something like 'we are the frontrunners; we are going to participate in this kind of projects.' Marvin was the man for the proponents of change, because the other clubs [the tour operators] did not yet support the POEMS scheme. At that time, such clubs had no other reason to participate than a kind of goodwill from people with a green heart, but apart from that there was nothing in it for them. Nobody asked for it, no consumers, the branch did not require it; people knew nothing about it, full stop. Travel Abroad was different" (Interview Respondent A_2).

Third, sustainable tourism became formally embedded in the educational system. Whereas several professors at the educational institution were already involved in the issue, there was no critical mass until the late 1990s. As one respondent explained, "[w]ith Eliot [59] and Nicholas, a basis had already been established, but people had not yet joined hands. Later, they became a central group that was joined by Forrest and Winston [828]" (Interview Respondent L). This connection between developments in the industry and in education is perhaps best expressed by Travel Abroad's annual award for the best master's thesis on sustainable tourism and the university in question's use of the POEMS course developed for ANVR tour operators as part of its curriculum.

5.5.2 Abram–92

The continuity measures for both the relational and behavioral approaches (see Table 5-9 and 5-10) also reveal that Abram–92 was engaged from the very beginning of the change process. As a mountaineer, he observed how the Alps were suffering from the increasing number of skiing tourists. Therefore, together with a fellow student, he wrote his master's thesis on this issue, generating substantial media attention, and in 1982 went on to launch an environmental study group on the Alps within his mountaineering club. This study group, which later became an independent organization, primarily distributed information among mountaineering club members but also published critical articles in the tourist association ANWB's magazine, which was founded in 1883 and has more than 3.5 million subscribers. Specifically, the study group, believing in a "need to do more than preach to the choir," approached the ANWB for cooperation in spreading "its message more widely" because its subjects of tourism and the environment "also concern the ANWB" (Interview Abram–92).

Around that time, the ANWB, represented among others by Ron–8, was involved in drafting a Dutch version of the *World Conservation Strategy* report published in 1980 by the International Union for Nature Conservation. The ANWB suggested including the tourism and recreation industry in the Dutch nature conservation strategy, using the Alps as an example. As Ron–8 explained, "I had read about this in the study group's publications. It was an example of the impact of Dutch holiday behavior on nature."

The study group's request to work together was thus well timed and in the late 1980s, resulted in several public information campaigns on responsible holiday

behavior. Ron–8 and Abram–92 also engaged in political activities to bring the skiing association, the mountaineering clubs and the ANWB behind their idea of launching a field-level organization for the promotion of sustainable winter sports holidays. In 1991, this Platform on the Alps was eventually established (and still exists today) and over the years, has initiated several supply chain projects on sustainable winter sports in which various ANVR tour operators have participated.

Drawing on the information campaigns on the Alps in the late 1980s, the ANWB expanded its scope of action in the 1990s to include coastal regions. One such project was a tourism supply chain project with the Netherlands Antilles, active from 1999 to 2003. This project, managed by Abram–92 and implemented within the framework of the UN's Year of the Oceans (1998), contributed to collective learning processes in the field by demonstrating how the principles and ideas of sustainable tourism can be put into practice. As one respondent explained, "[i]t really was a joint project. (…) The in-flight video, the hostesses, the diving schools, the brochures – I enjoyed this project because it followed the tourists on their journey and provided information on sustainable tourism at the right moments in this process" (Interview Respondent L). The VRO/ANVR would later refer to the project as a 'best practice' in its educational material on the POEMS scheme.

5.5.3   Geoff–272

Geoff–272 also ranked high on the indicators of institutional entrepreneurship; however, whereas Marvin–16 and Abram–92 were primarily concerned with planet-related issues, Geoff–272 worked from the early stages of the change process on people-related issues. More specifically, against the backdrop of the emerging global social movement on fair trade tourism (Botterill, 1991), several organizations in the Netherlands became concerned with the negative sociocultural effects of tourism on developing nations. This movement comprised two schools of thought: proponents of sustainable tourism who believed in the possibility of a more participatory and beneficial form of tourism through tourist education on responsible and respectful traveling, and those who adopted the more political stance that the existing economical order must be changed. Geoff–272 belonged to the latter group, which he referred to as the 'leftist and Marxist' group of believers in sustainable tourism. He thus published textbooks, cofounded three organizations aimed at educating Western tourists and giving voice to the interests of local communities in the developing world, delivered keynote speeches and launched information campaigns.

In doing so, Geoff–272 contributed to the change process in several ways. First, he lent his voice to the change process. Known for his sharp wit and critical stance with regard to the tourism industry at large, he has sometimes been labeled a rebel, a persistent challenger of the status quo: "Geoff can say, sell and push things well. Sometimes I thought 'gosh you are impertinent.' He had a lot of nerve. He showed this in many ways: he could speak very easily in front of a large assembly, he had good ideas" (Interview Respondent K). These leadership qualities were confirmed by another respondent: "There are people who can start a discussion, put themes on the social agenda. (…) Geoff is one of those people" (Interview

Respondent C$_2$). Likewise, another respondent described him as "an outspoken NGO person; he had a sharp tongue, he was also a member of the European forums, I do not exactly remember the names, but those were the boys who really criticized the travel sector" (Interview Respondent A$_2$). Geoff–272 himself assessed his contribution to the change process in terms of discourse development: "I sometimes felt we had a window-dressing role, like 'in this way, the NGOs and the criticism are represented as well' [...] We were taken seriously, but our arguments were not always taken into account in project decisions."

In addition, his activities related to child sex tourism helped get this theme adopted by the VRO/ANVR in the mid-1990s. Initially, in the late 1970s, it was missionary organizations in Asia that questioned the role of the church in relation to sex tourism, which eventually led in the late 1980s to a worldwide campaign against child sex tourism. As a representative of the European social movement organization on fair trade tourism, Geoff–272 coordinated the campaign in the Netherlands from 1995 to 2001 as one of his organization's projects. However, establishing a relationship with the Dutch tourism industry proved difficult. Under pressure from several international bodies, including the first World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Stockholm in 1996, the VRO/ANVR drafted a Code of Conduct against Child Sex Tourism for its members in the same year and distributed information on the issue among its members in 1999. Even though the code of conduct for individual firms was only signed by two large tour operators at the start of the new millennium, in 2003, the campaign became institutionalized in a still-extant independent organization in the Netherlands.

Finally, in the early 1990s, Geoff–272 explored the possibility of using tourism to empower local communities. Even tough most development organizations were at that time reluctant to start tourism projects, the development organization Geoff–272 conducted the research for, on the initiative of its partner organizations in the developing world, began experimenting with commercial tourist activities. The research provided the input for launching a cultural tourism program within this development organization. Adventure tour operators, as well as alternative tour operators like the firm founded by Ian–289, included visits to community-based tourism projects in their itineraries. In 2004, this development organization signed a covenant with the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) to combat poverty in developing countries through tourism. Today, the organization employs dozens of tourism advisors in developing countries, working under the rubric of pro-poor tourism.

5.5.4   Hakan–88

Based on the measures of behavioral and relational intensity (see Table 5-7 and 5-8), Hakan–88 emerges as an institutional entrepreneur because of conference participation and publications on sustainable tourism in journals and books. Through these latter, he enriched the process with new ideas and reflections on progress being made; for instance, by writing about the sustainable projects carried out within the framework of the Dutch and Costa Rican government's 1994 Sustainable

Development Agreement (SDA), which codified a new approach toward development cooperation based on principles of equity, reciprocity and participation. Under the SDA, technical committees on tourism from both countries – representing the private sector, public sector, NGOs and universities – implemented a tourism program in which the most active participants were Hakan–88, Geoff–272, Yoel–24 and Candy–127, all working for different organizations.

In 2004, in an article assessing the implementation of the POEMS scheme among tour operators, Hakan–88 concluded that most operators had not yet fully internalized the POEMS philosophy. He did, however, identify a small group of frontrunner firms, which inspired the VRO/ANVR to continue working on the issue of sustainable tourism by setting up a frontrunner group late in 2004. As a representative of the VRO/ANVR put it, "[t]he categorization was not very surprising, but it made us think again about how to move forward (…) By classifying companies into the laggards, the in-betweens and the frontrunners, Hakan's [88] classification made us sit up [and take notice]" (Interview Respondent B_1).

This assessment also helped the VRO/ANVR in its quest to internationalize the POEMS scheme, eventually leading to the British and Belgian trade associations' adoption of the POEMS philosophy. As the same respondent pointed out, "I also like it that they have written their research results in English, because this helps me in my international communications." In 2004, after obtaining funding from the European Union, Yoel–24, who worked for an NGO, spearheaded an international project aimed at connecting providers, tour operators and ecolabeling organizations within Europe. The VRO/ANVR is one of the trade associations that collaborated in this project, which ended late 2007.

5.5.5   Ian–289

The intensity measures in both the behavioral and relational approaches (see Table 5-7 and 5-8, respectively) reveal that by founding different organizations, Ian–289 in particular played an important role in the change process. For instance, in 1993, he founded Travel Fair, a tour operations firm based on the principles of 'fair trade tourism,' which put sustainable tourism at the core of its business model. Travel Fair had not only visited the various countries' tourist attractions but also development aid projects. Thus, travelers experienced local life by staying at local accommodations and gained a thorough understanding of local culture and customs through the services of trained local tour guides. However, even though hundreds of travelers were enthusiastic about the fair trade philosophy and the tours offered by Travel Fair, it was not enough to turn it into an economically viable proposition. Therefore, in 2000, Travel Fair stopped selling these tour packages.

Despite this failure, Travel Fair contributed to the change process by redefining the meaning of outbound holidays and by putting the principles of fair trade tourism into practice. As one respondent explained, "Travel Fair has also been a pilot on how to make sustainable tourism concrete (…). I did not always agree with Travel Fair's choices, but if there was one organization that has integrated sustainable tourism from A to Z in its operations and which had an ideal that went beyond running a

business, it has been Travel Fair" (Interview Respondent N). Likewise, another respondent pointed out that "[u]ntil today, it has always been an example for others. The company has often been used as a model, in the sense of 'this is how it should be done; Travel Fair is doing the same'" (Interview Respondent L). A third respondent argued that Travel Fair played a role in countering criticism that emphasized the negative impacts of tourism: "For the sector, it was a useful means to divert attention – for all critical questions, you could direct the press to Travel Fair. You could really use it as an excuse for the sector, to point out that there are some good initiatives going on in the industry; that while we could not do it, damage could be avoided: look at what Travel Fair does!" (Interview Respondent M).

Moreover, even though Travel Fair's tour operating business was a commercial failure, the sustainable tourism practices it developed have since been adopted by tour operators who incorporate elements of sustainable tourism into their operations. Reflecting on this failed attempt, Ian–289 himself stated, "Well, we decided to go 'full monty' so to speak; we aimed at organizing a sustainable holiday at all frontiers because I wanted to see if we could pull this off, and what you see now ... and perhaps we should have done the same although I probably would not feel comfortable with it .... perhaps, what you see now is that sustainability is incorporated only in particular parts of the holiday product, like 'we visit a development aid project' or 'we employ a local as bus driver.'" Another respondent shared this view: "The idea was that we really could develop a market for sustainable tourism; that was our sales argument. Yet sustainable tourism has more and more become part of the standard holiday packages and that is also good. It is thus more about making the standard packages more sustainable rather than developing specific sustainable tourism holidays" (Interview Respondent GG).

Ian–289 was also involved in the launch of a carbon-offsetting scheme, a result of the domination in the long-standing debate on sustainable tourism of the issue of the negative environmental effects of holiday flights. As early as 1992, environmental NGOs organized a demonstration at the doors of travel agents and tour operations firms to draw attention to this issue, and as the number of holiday flights continued to grow, several initiatives were launched to offset their environmental impact. For instance, in 1996, one environmental activist group introduced a voluntary levy for plane tickets, after which the first true carbon-offsetting scheme emerged a little later in 1999. From 2001 onwards, revenues were generated to plant trees and hence offset the global warming impact of trips by airplane through the sales of certificates to consumers. Based on his extensive knowledge and experience in the tour operating industry, Ian–289 believed that the potential of carbon offsetting was not being fully exploited; hence, he launched a new carbon-offsetting organization in 2003 that became a direct rival to the first carbon offsetting scheme. The voluntary levy of the activist group did not survive past the end of 2002. Several respondents suggested that this tax was not conceived as a serious initiative: "It was conceived as a media campaign" (Interview Respondent L) and "[t]hey were too leftist, too small a group, too critical a story, (..) It was too fragmented; it did not fit well enough into the strategic consultations between the government and the sector to achieve some widely supported initiatives" (Interview Respondent A_2). As of July 2008, the Dutch

government has introduced an ecolevy on all plane tickets, and a major airline company has engaged in a partnership with a major nature conservationist organization to offset their contribution to climate change in July 2007.

5.5.6 Others

Whereas, according to our measures, the top-ranking individuals have acted the most as institutional entrepreneurs, other individuals have complemented their efforts in different ways or are in the process of taking over the lead positions in the movement toward sustainable tourism. For instance, Abey–129 and Zef–90 scored highly on the intensity measure (see Table 5-7 and 5-8), both having been active as workshop leaders. Likewise, Abey–129, who worked for a governmental agency involved in development cooperation and sustainable development, proposed more participatory and beneficial forms of tourism to developing countries and sponsored several initiatives, including a Web site aimed at educating people on responsible tourist behavior, developed in 1999 by Geoff–272's organization and presented at the 2000 Holiday Trade Fair.

Also in 1999, Abey–129's organization called a public meeting on the issue of sustainable tourism at which representatives of the industry, NGOs and government gave the keynote speeches. This meeting has contributed to the change process in two ways. First, it was one of the earliest gatherings to bring together the people-related and planet-related issues of sustainable tourism. Indeed, the report on the meeting reflects participants' belief that, thus far, the concept of sustainable tourism had been interpreted too narrowly in the change process in the Netherlands. Specifically, they argued that sustainable tourism was not only about nature conservation and environmental protection but also about sociocultural aspects like child prostitution, fair working conditions and cultural exchange. Secondly, the meeting was a preparatory meeting for the seventh session of the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD–7 in New York, 1999), which monitors the implementation of *Agenda 21*, the UN document accepted in Rio in 1992.

Within the Netherlands, Zef–90 was the central figure in an interministerial working group that prepared the Dutch viewpoint and was involved in the implementation of a policy program on tourism and nature conservation. Although the CSD-7 meeting was not successful in terms of formulating binding guidelines, the participation of ANVR's chair helped increase commitment within the industry. The association, for instance, referred to the CSD-7 conference in its lobby for sustainable tourism at the International Federation of Tour Operators (*ATLAS*, July 1999).

The VRO/ANVR, represented by Len–77 among others, emerged as an institutional entrepreneur in 1996 (see Table 5-9 and 5-10), when the ANVR was challenged to respond to the criticism raised by a government advisory council and NGOs of mass tourism's negative impact. Len–77 then became a central figure in promoting sustainable tourism among tour operators, with the introduction of the POEMS scheme as a major landmark.

Likewise, according to the continuity measures (see Table 5-9 and 5-10), Buck–451 and Winston–828 increasingly took on leading roles in the change process. Having studied biology and tourism, Buck–451 worked first in tourism as a tour guide with several operators, including Travel Fair, and then cofounded two consultancy firms on sustainable tourism management. In 2005, he launched a Web portal that sells only sustainable holidays, and in 2007 he was also involved in the launch by several frontrunner tour operators of a foundation aimed at starting and sponsoring sustainable tourism initiatives in holiday destinations. As one respondent put it, "[i]n sustainable tourism, there are pioneers who start things up, but at a certain moment their time is over, because the awareness has been created and a new generation then takes over (..) And there is a new generation now, such as Yoel [24], Buck [451], Hank, Pablo and Lilly [246], the implementation people" (Interview Respondent C$_2$).

Winston–828 became active in the change process following his 2002 nomination as Professor of Sustainable Transportation at the University of Applied Sciences in Tourism, which also made him a colleague of Marvin–16 and Eliot–59. An expert in the field of climate change and holiday transportation, he actively draws attention to this issue in the outbound tour operations field through publications and conferences; specifically, the fact that holiday transportation contributes significantly to climate change, but climate change in turn affects tourism (e.g., reduction of mountain snow for winter sports holidays). Winston–828 is also part of an international research community – founded in 2003 and acknowledged by the UNWTO – that focuses on the issue of climate change. However, because the number of holiday flights continues to grow, the climate change issue is a delicate one in the tourism industry. Nevertheless, following Al Gore's movie *An Inconvenient Truth* and the introduction of the Dutch ecolevy on plane tickets, the tide is turning for institutional entrepreneurs working on tourism and climate change.

5.5.7   Summary

The above cases highlight three interrelated facets of institutional entrepreneurship. *First*, actors working for change in this field are diverse in terms of their affiliations with public, private or field-level organizations (e.g., government agencies, ministries, tour operators, educational institutions, NGOs), the scope of change they envision (e.g., alteration of the global politico-economical structures or including information on responsible tourist behavior in the travel documents), the issues they address (e.g., nature conservation, fair trade tourism, child sex tourism, climate change), the solutions they propose (e.g., ecolabels, carbon-offsetting schemes, informative Web sites) and their connectivity with international developments (e.g., the UN Year of the Oceans, CSD–7).

Second, their activities are interdependent in time. Whereas some innovations failed to become institutionalized, the underlying ideas continued to spread or elements of the innovation blended with existing practices or were adopted only recently. This dynamic is illustrated by the following response: "Actually, the ideas of the earlier activists that operated in the periphery are now being executed by the

suit-and-tie people; the language has changed and the appearance, but the ideas are not new" (Interview Respondent GG). In other instances, the activities produced by one institutional entrepreneur have been taken over by his or her successors (e.g., Evita took over the position of environmental manager from Marvin–16).

Third, the actors are socially embedded: individuals working for change come into contact with each other at different types of events and are aware of the fact that they do not operate in a social vacuum: "I can remember a certain point (…) you know, we started and at a certain point you meet others: after two years, I met Geoff [272] and after one year Hakan [88], so you increase your network gradually. Jamar [251] I only met after six years (…). You know that they exist, but you do not yet cooperate. You are so specifically working on your own business, and you hear about the others, but there is no connection yet. And after a while, the initiatives converge more and more, you meet each other and then the whole thing starts integrating; perhaps you become a competitor or you start to coordinate issues" (Interview Respondent C_2). Hence, these cases embody agency by showing that the individuals who promote more sustainable forms of tourism are not only found at the pinnacle of institutional entrepreneurship but also at lower levels.

5.6 Discussion and conclusions

The purpose of this chapter has been to understand who can be considered an institutional entrepreneur in an organizational field over time. Specifically, it applied a process approach toward institutional entrepreneurship to the empirical context of the Dutch outbound tour operations field, which is moving toward sustainable tourism. The examination of the dynamic interplay between actors and events in this setting for over two decades adds to existing knowledge on institutional entrepreneurship not only theoretically but also methodologically.

This study of institutional entrepreneurship is unique because it simultaneously considers the actors and events involved in field-transformation processes and the individuals who act as institutional entrepreneurs in the unfolding of such change. Previous studies, in contrast, have tended to trace back a successful change project to the actions of individual actors or small groups of actors, portraying institutional entrepreneurs as heroic figures and paying little attention to the role of other actors (Hardy & Maguire, 2008). Instead, to draw on Hoffman's (1999) metaphor of institutional change as war, this study has revealed that the war cannot be understood by only studying the victorious commander in the field.

The analysis also provides a more dynamic and complex picture of institutional entrepreneurship than presented in earlier studies. Most particularly, it shows how the activities of multiple actors are intertwined (e.g., with respect to the issue of climate change); how practices fail to become institutionalized (e.g., Travel Abroad's ecolabel and Travel Fair), converge (e.g., the POEMS scheme as an integrative framework) and relate to international developments (e.g., the Netherlands Antilles project and the UN Year of the Oceans). It also demonstrates how actors come and go in the course of the change process (e.g., Evita taking over the role of Marvin–16), meet in project meetings, at conferences and in executive committees, and work

together in publications. It thereby responds to recent calls to identify how social interactions among different kinds of actors can lead to institutional change (Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007).

In addition, by untangling *how* different actors affect the trajectory of change in the field of outbound tour operations in the Netherlands, the study lends empirical support to the theoretical notion of distributed institutional entrepreneurship (Garud & Karnoe, 2003; Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007). More specifically, by demonstrating that, over time, the nature of particular actors' contributions may and will change considerably, it goes beyond the mere suggestion that institutional entrepreneurship involves various actors and particular activities. Rather, although some individuals in the center of the two Figure 5-2 diagrams have unmistakably played an important role in instigating institutional change in this research setting, other individuals have been critical at only particular stages of the change process (e.g., Zef–90) or have become more central to the process only recently (e.g., Buck–451 and Winston–828). The question of who can be considered an institutional entrepreneur thus depends on the time frame taken into account.

The results also reveal that institutional entrepreneurship is a multidimensional concept that encompasses many different activities necessary to the realization of change. Whereas existing literature has identified a wide range of behaviors that are relevant to institutional entrepreneurship, knowledge of how these behaviors collectively produce institutional change remains incomplete. Most typically, scholars examine a particular type of institutional entrepreneurial behavior, such as discursive work (e.g., Greenwood et al., 2002; Munir & Phillips, 2005; Zilber, 2007) or political activities (e.g., Fligstein, 1997; Garud, Jain, & Kumaraswamy, 2002; Levy & Scully, 2007). This study extends this line of research by examining the joint occurrence of such behaviors as they are expressed in events. It thus provides an analytical division of institutional entrepreneurship into six activities that together may affect changes in a particular organizational field.

Finally, this study addresses a core theme in entrepreneurship theory: how entrepreneurs recognize opportunities for new business ventures. Building on Baker and Nelson's (2005) finding that the discovery of opportunities and the enactment of resources are often the same process – and drawing on field-level event data and the way various individual actors interactively negotiate, create and learn – we extend that work by showing how actors develop and exploit opportunities. That is, at the field level, we observe some actors' engagement in the promotion of the global social movement's ideas on fair trade tourism in the Dutch context. For example, the early 1990s' launching of community-based tourism projects created opportunities for tour operators, so one actor began its own tour operations firm (Travel Fair) and was able to exploit the opportunities created or negotiated at the field level. Likewise, adventure tour operators included visits to development aid projects in their itineraries. Other actors, slightly more peripheral but connected to the core as proponents of more participatory and beneficial forms of tourism in developing countries, sponsored several related initiatives, such as a Web site aimed at educating people about responsible tourism. Nevertheless, despite the favorable changes in the opportunity structure enacted by some of these actors, Travel Fair was a commercial failure. Other players in the field, however, learned from this

failure and, by adopting only parts of the business model, have been able to develop more sustainable tourism products. Thus, it seems, such opportunities were not simply out there awaiting discovery (Alvaraz and Barney, 2007) but rather were created with the primary goal of countering the negative impacts of mass tourism in developing countries. Only through that process could one involved actor realize that tourism could also contribute positively to the developing world by including local communities in the holiday experience, a premise on which Travel Fair was founded. Thus, the process of opportunity enactment involves different and well-connected actors' negotiating institutional changes that affect the opportunity structure while, at the same time, some involved actors are seeking to operationalize their ambitions by founding new organizations that can profit from the changes in the institutional structure. As such, this study has responded to recent calls for exploration of the linkages between institutional entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship theory (Phillips & Tracey, 2007).

Methodologically, the study contributes to the institutional entrepreneurship literature by developing a new approach that allows researchers to trace the actors involved in the change process and identify the institutional entrepreneurs among them. Nevertheless, endemic to institutional theory (Haveman, 2000) is the tendency for scholars to define the concept in a relatively descriptive and rhetorical fashion as a type of *deus ex machina* in their narratives of field-level change (Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007:1006). Instead, drawing on two exemplary studies, this present work uses both a behavioral and a relational approach to empirically identify institutional entrepreneurs. The behavioral approach measures what institutional entrepreneurs do to bring about change, whereas the relational approach demarcates the concept by questioning whom institutional entrepreneurs engage with to realize change. We then refine the two approaches using the variables 'scope,' 'intensity' and 'continuity' to capture the distributed nature of institutional entrepreneurship.

Above all, the findings suggest that it is important whether scholars adopt a behavioral or a relational approach to distinguishing institutional entrepreneurs from other individuals involved in the change process. Although some individuals scored positively on all the indicators of institutional entrepreneurship, others played a role on specific measures only. Hence, the measures developed here offer scholars an empirical tool for identifying institutional entrepreneurship in different forms, to different degrees and at different stages in any organizational field under study, both retrospectively and in real time.

Limitations and future directions. Although the results of this study draw attention to the dynamics involved in institutional entrepreneurship, the specifics of its empirical setting may limit the generalizability of the findings. That is, the tour operations business is a global business in which myriad actors operate. Moreover, tour operators link the services of several specialized firms, including the providers of accommodation, transportation and entertainment, into marketable holiday packages. Hence, actors who strive for change in the field, if they are "to unlock a complex pattern of exchanges and reciprocal dependencies" (Vermeulen et al., 2007:535), must engage in institutional entrepreneurship in a concerted manner.

Such unity is all the more relevant when the change project involves solutions to complex issues (Dorado, 2005) like child sex tourism, human rights, the environment and fair trade. Above all, the multiplicity and temporality of actors in institutional entrepreneurship can be expected to vary according to the specifics of the field in question and the envisaged change project. Therefore, unlike other scholarship that explores institutional entrepreneurship in mature and emerging organizational fields (e.g., Déjean, Gond, & Leca, 2004; Greenwood et al., 2002; Maguire et al., 2004), this research focuses particularly on how institutional entrepreneurship may vary in contested industry-based fields (Galvin, Ventresca, & Hudson, 2005). Also of primary interest is the extent to which the desired change is at odds with dominant logics in the field (Colomy, 1998); such conflict is likely to play a role in the nature of institutional entrepreneurship. Hence, future research might apply this approach in different empirical settings in which different types of change are in progress.

A second promising line of inquiry would be to further understanding of the relationship in institutional entrepreneurship between individuals and organizations. Although our study measures institutional entrepreneurship at the individual level, this element is also present in organizations (e.g., Lawrence, 1999; Munir & Phillips, 2005). Thus, future research might expand the analysis to the organizational level, using the approach outlined here, and systematically explore the attributes of the organizations engaged in institutional entrepreneurship. Such an exercise would advance understanding of why some organizations engage in institutional entrepreneurship while others do not. Explanatory variables already suggested in the literature include social network position (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Leblebici, Salancik, Copay, & King, 1991) and status (Battilana, 2006; Washington, 2004); however, other factors, including organizational' exposure to activist group pressures (den Hond & de Bakker, 2007) and the CEOs' personal values (Bansal & Roth, 2000) are also likely to play a role. Another possible research aim, based on Patterson and Washington's (2007) claim that institutional entrepreneurship moves from individuals to organizations and from organizations to associations, would be to trace the entities of institutional entrepreneurship over time. Such a pattern is certainly discernable in our case study, in which some individuals began working on sustainable tourism, then founded organizations, then approached incumbent field-level organizations for support and ultimately launched a new field-level organization concerned with sustainable tourism.

By differentiating six measures of institutional entrepreneurs, scholars might also explore the recent contention that some actors specialize in mobilizing certain skills (Perkmann & Spicer, 2007) and perform particular roles in the change process (Hinings et al., 2004). For instance, Hakan–88 emerged as a key actor by publishing his view on sustainable tourism, performing the role of 'author' (Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2004). Other actors, however, have performed the same role but not to such an extent as to secure a high ranking on our measures. This observation raises the question of whether roles are available for any actor in the field or whether some actors are institutionally bound to play a particular role. As in the case of authorship, scholars, consultants, policy analysts, intellectuals and professionals are likely to take on this same role in institutional entrepreneurship (Strang & Meyer, 1993). Future research might also explore the constellation of roles in institutional

entrepreneurship over time. For instance, Hinings et al. (2004) suggest that the roles of 'insurgent,' 'catalyst' and 'innovator' are significant in the early stages, while the 'engineer' type of institutional entrepreneur becomes crucial when innovations must be promoted and diffused.

A final line of inquiry might be the routes to institutional entrepreneurship. That is, our interview data make clear that some individuals began their work on sustainable tourism as students, others became concerned through their work as tour guides, while still others became involved accidentally because of their professions. Such individual engagement with sustainable tourism and the related actions imply different routes to institutional entrepreneurship. For example, researchers might begin by investigating how these activities affect the individuals' subject positions (Maguire et al., 2004). Likewise, exploring individual biographies might shed light on the social construction of the institutionally entrepreneurial roles that individuals enact. That is, through behavior aimed at changing the organizational field, actors not only manifest themselves as challengers of the existing institutional order, they also raise behavioral expectations among other field constituents.

Practical implications. The findings of this study have several practical implications. First, its view of institutional entrepreneurship as the interplay between actors and events provides managers with a lens through which to understand how organizational fields transform over time and how management can actively partake in this process. As Van de Ven (1993:223) argues, "an individual firm must make strategic choices concerning the kinds of proprietary, resource endowments, and institutional functions in which it will engage, and what other actors it will transact with to achieve self-interest and collective objectives." Our approach can also help managers determine who the important players are, through which activities and at which points in time. Likewise, it enables government agencies and intermediary organizations that desire change in their organizational field to identify the types of events that must be sponsored or organized, and which actors should at least be brought on board to set a process of change in motion.
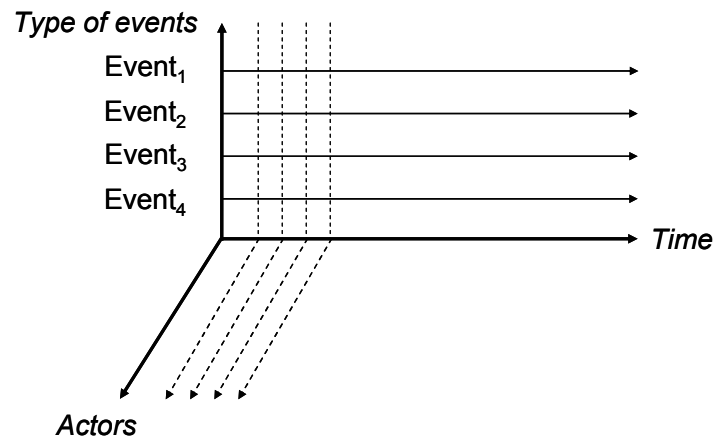
Figure 5-1 Institutional entrepreneurship as a process

Table 5-1 Two approaches to the role of institutional entrepreneur

	Institutional entrepreneur	
	as heroic role	**as shared role**
Phenomenon	Individual	Collective
Locus of agentic power	Within actor	Within social interactions
Concept	Dichotomous	Continuous

Table 5-2 Events as instances of institutional entrepreneurship

Event type	Illustrative quotes
Conference	- "I know Yoel from the very beginning of the change process; we met at a conference to which we were both invited." - "We organized a conference to launch the idea of a national platform and information booklets to tourists and tour operators." - "At the first Groeneveld Conference, Ashley and I discussed in-flight videos; the thinking was already quite practical." - "The Groeneveld Conferences are an annual event. Yes, and for the veterans [in sustainable tourism] it is a meeting place for everyone."
Project	- "We executed a project for the Ministry of the Environment and because of this we developed expertise and contacts in the tourism industry, and then we mentioned the existence of the subsidy for a project to the trade association." - "We were working on ecolabels, and they were working on sustainable winter sports holidays, and eventually we got to know each other in this European project." - "Well, Yoel and Don came up with this project; they applied for a grant with the idea that we needed some harmonization between all labels." - "This period was marked by projects, which I could not always follow – electric carts, car-free villages ... sometimes it was outside reality."
Organization	- "It was my idea to launch this firm and just begin putting sustainable tourism into practice." - "As a member of the executive committee, you are constantly confronted with the facts. There are guest lectures and so on." - "The fact that there was already a structure, that was nice of course. You did not have to start all over again, so I contacted the group working on sustainable winter sports holidays." - "This foundation was launched; it was an activity of the study group, and it is here where it all started."
Publication	- "When Eliot's book got published, I gave it to the members of the executive committee or read it myself and told them what was important for our business." - "This report really put sustainable tourism on the agenda as a social issue." - "I wrote something about winter sports holidays and the Alps. I knew about it through the study group's publications. For this, I talked with Abram." - "Yes, that has been quite a study; the results were published in the consumer association's journal, and I have no idea how tour operators responded to it."

Table 5-3 Overview of data sources used per type of event

Instances of institutional entrepreneurship	Data sources
Attending conferences as participant	- List of participants of the national conferences on sustainable tourism (Groeneveld Conferences) held between 1995 and 2005 - List of participants of meetings organized in the context of national policy initiatives between 2001–2005
Attending conferences as keynote speaker or workshop leader	- Conference proceedings of the national conferences on sustainable tourism ('Groeneveld Conferences') held between 1995–2005 - Conference proceedings of conferences other than the 'Groeneveld Conferences' held between 1986–2005
Initiating projects	- Secondary resources - Internet: websites, web archives - Documents - Archival materials - Interviews
Founding organizations	- Secondary resources - Internet: websites, web archives - Documents - Archival materials - Interviews
Publishing articles and books	- PiCarta database of all articles and books on sustainable tourism and outbound tourism, 1980–2005

Table 5-4 Measures

	Measure	Definition
Behavioral approach	Scope	The number of different types of institutional entrepreneurial activities an individual has performed in the period under study (Table 5-5)
	Intensity	The frequency with which an individual engaged in an institutional entrepreneurial activity during the period under study (Table 5-7)
	Continuity (scope)	The number of years during which the individual performed the largest number of different entrepreneurial activities (Table 5-9)
Relational approach	Scope	The degree to which an individual occupied a strategic network position by linking previously unconnected actors and events during the period of study (Table 5-6)
	Intensity	The betweenness centrality of an individual per institutional entrepreneurial activity during the period under study (Table 5-8)
	Continuity (scope)	The number of years during which the individual had the highest level of betweenness centrality (Table 5-10)

Table 5-5 Behavioral scope

Ranking	Actor	Being a Participant	Being a Workshop Leader	Being a Keynote Speaker	Writing Publications	Initiating Projects	Founding Organizations	Total
1	Marvin–16	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
2	Eliot–59	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
3	Abram–92	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
4	Geoff–272	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
5	Jalene–338	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
6	Buck–451	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
7	Roy–8	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
8	Hakan–88	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		5
9	Gary–168	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	5
10	Winston–828	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	5
11	Harry–804	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	5

[a] The ranking of actors according to the number of different institutional entrepreneurial activities they have performed up to and during 2005

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Table 5-6 Relational scope

Ranking	Actor
1	Abram–92 (73.65)
2	Marvin–16 (57.91)
3	Eliot–59 (53.29)
4	Walter–65 (43.09)
5	Hakan–88 (40.21)
6	Geoff–272 (38.85)
7	Buck–451 (26.45)
8	Jamar–251 (22.71)
9	Candy–127 (20.14)
10	Jalene–338 (18.71)

[a] *The ranking of actors according to their normalized betweenness centrality scores (in brackets) in the affiliation network of all events that have occurred from 1980 until 2005.*

Behavioral approach   *Relational approach*
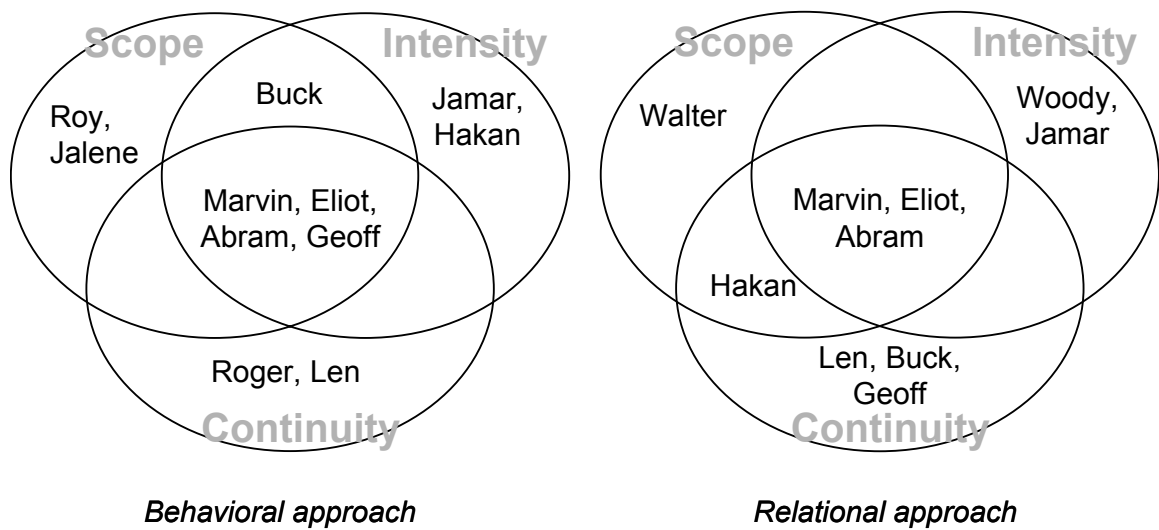
Figure 5-2 Summary of findings

Table 5-7 Behavioral intensity

Ranking	Being a Participant	Being a Workshop Leader	Being a Keynote Speaker	Writing Publications	Initiating Projects	Founding Organizations
1	Marvin–16 (11)	Jamar–251 (3)	Marvin–16 (8)	Hakan–88 (12)	Abram–92 (10)	Ian–289 (4)
2	Eliot–59 (10)	Woody–147 (3)	Buck–451 (5)	Eliot–59 (8)	Marvin–16 (6)	Geoff–272 (3)
3	Abram–92 (10)	Marvin–16 (2)	Jamar–251 (5)	Roy–8 (8)	Yoel–24 (5)	Abram–92 (2)
4	Hakan–88 (9)	Abram–92 (2)	Eliot–59 (4)	Tim–200 (6)	Len–77 (5)	Marvin–16 (2)
5	Kery–181 (9)	Zef–90 (2)	Geoff–272 (4)	Roger–39 (6)	Andre–1061 (5)	Yoel–24 (2)
6	Don–121 (9)	Geoff–272 (2)				Len–77 (2)
7	Jalene–338 (9)	Abey–129 (2)				Percey–62 (2)
8	Buck–451 (9)					Buck–451 (2)
9						Kamal–38 (2)
10						Woody–147 (2)

[a] *The ranking of actors per activity according to the number of times they performed that particular activity up to 2005. For each ranking, the five actors with the highest scores are reported.*

Table 5-8 Relational intensity

Ranking	Being a Participant	Being a Workshop Leader	Being a Keynote Speaker	Writing Publications	Initiating Projects	Founding Organizations
1	Abram–92 (5.41)	Jamar–251 (.094)	Marvin–16 (.35)	Hakan–88 (.024)	Marvin–16 (.080)	Marvin–16 (.005)
2	Walter–65 (4.16)	Woody–147 (.080)	Eliot–59 (.18)	Roger–39 (.012)	Abram–92 (.055)	Ian–289 (.004)
3	Eliot–59 (3.14)	Abram–92 (.036)	Jamar–251 (.18)	Roy–8 (0.010)	Valentino–402 (.034)	Buck–451 (.002)
4	Marvin–16 (3.04)	Geoff–272 (.030)	Geoff–272 (.11)	Eliot–59 (.009)	Habib–105 (.023)	Yoel–24 (.001)
5	Hakan–88 (2.03)	Zef–90 (.024)	Buck–451 (.08)	Candy–127 (.009)	Eliot–59 (0.010)	Woody–147 (.001)
6			Len–77 (.08)	Woody–147 (.009)		Geoff–272 (.001)
7						Kamal–38 (.001)
8						Abram–92 (.001)
9						
10						

[a] The ranking of actors per activity according to their normalized betweenness centrality scores (between brackets) in the affiliation network of that particular activity. The affiliation network of an activity includes all events related to that activity up to 2005. For each ranking, the five actors with the highest scores are reported.

Table 5-9 Behavioral continuity of scope

Actor	<1995	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Total # of yrs in top 5
Abram–92	x		x	x		x		x					5
Javier–76	x		x										2
Marvin–16	x				x	x	x		x	x	x		7
Geoff–272	x				x		x	x		x			5
Roy–8	x			x									2
Yoel–24	x				x								2
Percey–62	x			x									2
Edison–7		x	x										2
Roger–39		x		x	x	x							4
Simon–40		x			x								2
Len–77			x		x	x			x				4
Eliot–59					x	x	x		x	x	x		6
Hakan–88				x						x		x	3
Candy–127							x	x		x			3
Jalene–338							x		x	x			3
Buck–451								x	x		x		3
Winston–828										x	x	x	3
Walter–65				x	x								2
Gary–168				x				x					2
Zef–90					x	x							2
Lilly–246					x					x			2
Jamar–251									x	x			2
Tim–200									x	x			2
Bob–472									x	x			2
Jasper–27									x	x			2
Harris–781									x	x			2

[a] *The table details which individuals ranked among the five highest scores for performing the most activities in that particular year (denoted by an 'x')*

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Table 5-10 Relational continuity of scope

Actor	<1995	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Total number of years in top 5
Abram–92	x		x			x							3
Eliot–59	x					x		x	x		x		5
Geoff–272	x				x			x		x			4
Roger–39		x				x							2
Len–77			x		x	x		x	x				5
Hakan–88				x			x			x		x	4
Candy–127							x	x					2
Marvin–16							x		x	x			3
Buck–451								x			x	x	3
Tim–200									x		x		2
Winston–828											x	x	2

[a] *The table details which individuals ranked among the five highest betweenness centrality scores in the affiliation network of that particular year (denoted by an 'x'). The affiliation network for a given year includes all events that occurred during that year.*

Appendix A: Number of events and participants for each activity over time

	<1995	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Total
Groeneveld conferences (participants)	0	1 (75)	1 (42)	0	0	1 (180)	1 (179)	1 (208)	1 (225)	1 (149)	1 (121)	1 (171)	9 (961)
Groeneveld workshops (leaders)	0	1 (5)	1 (2)	0	0	1 (7)	1 (12)	1 (12)	1 (11)	0	1 (12)	1 (5)	9 (57)
Other conferences (participants)	1 (76)	0	0	0	0	0	0	4 (98)	0	1 (31)	0	0	6 (168)
Keynote lectures Groeneveld (speakers)	0	1 (4)	1 (2)	0	0	1 (7)	1 (5)	1 (10)	1 (4)	1 (3)	1 (3)	1 (4)	9 (38)
Keynote lectures other (speakers)	2 (9)	0	0	0	1 (6)	3 (21)	4 (15)	0	0	3 (19)	1 (9)	2 (6)	16 (65)
Publications (authors)	44 (72)	5 (6)	1 (1)	7 (12)	4 (5)	6 (7)	19 (28)	4 (6)	4 (5)	4 (8)	11 (18)	7 (14)	116 (107)
New projects (initiators)	9 (15)	1 (1)	3 (3)	1 (1)	6 (12)	10 (21)	4 (6)	6 (11)	5 (14)	4 (6)	5 (7)	3 (4)	57 (58)
New organizations (initiators)	9 (15)	2 (2)	1 (1)	0	1 (2)	1 (2)	2 (3)	1 (5)	3 (7)	2 (5)	2 (3)	1 (1)	25 (33)
Total	65 (84)	11 (93)	8 (50)	8 (13)	12 (18)	23 (241)	31 (239)	18 (353)	15 (264)	17 (220)	22 (167)	16 (199)	246 (1,195)

[a] *The total number of participants indicates the number of unique individual participants and is therefore lower than the sum of all the participants.*

Appendix B: Two exemplary studies on the identification of institutional entrepreneurs

Behavioral approach to institutional entrepreneurship. Maguire et al. (2004) describe the emerging field of HIV/AIDS treatment advocacy in Canada. Drawing on interviews, participant observation, documents and secondary sources, the authors first identify the practices that have changed in this field. Next, they differentiate the main activities and roles that have contributed to the institutionalization of those practices. Examples include participation in meetings, drafting discussion documents and being a board member of a newly established organization. They then list all the individuals who participated in the various activities, resulting in 77 individuals. Individuals who only participated in one or two activities are excluded from this list, leaving a total of 29 potential institutional entrepreneurs. Finally, to identify the 'real' institutional entrepreneurs, the authors examined the "actors' attributions of responsibility for the changed practices" (Maguire et al., 2004:662). This left four individuals, two of whom were perceived as institutional entrepreneurs by their interviewees. Although Maguire et al. acknowledge that the two individuals did not foster the change process on their own, they were the central figures in motivating others to support the process. Thus, institutional entrepreneurs are identified from a behavioral perspective, which raises the question of what institutional entrepreneurs do to bring about change. The actors who have been most engaged in relevant institutional entrepreneurial activities for a particular period of time are identified as the institutional entrepreneurs.

Relational approach to institutional entrepreneurship. Canan and Reichman (2002) apply a different approach to identifying the institutional entrepreneur in the emerging field of global environmental governance. Their empirical setting is the policy-making process involving the protection of the ozone layer, which was started after the ratification of the 1987 Montreal Protocol. The Technology and Economic Assessment Panel (TEAP) and its Technical Option Committees (TOCs) were founded to advise the parties on alternatives to the use of ozone-depleting substances. By tracking down all the participants cited in the TEAP reports, the authors were able to provide an overview of the experts involved in the global ozone protection regime. From this list, they surveyed participants on their personal background and their involvement in the TEAP and its TOCs. In particular, they asked participants to name the individual who invited them to become a member of the advisory panel and the five individuals that they felt had most influenced them. Drawing upon social network methodologies, Canan and Reichman reconstruct the social network of the global ozone community. Departing from their definition of an institutional entrepreneur as someone "who establishes the conditions for collaboration by creating and mobilizing the social connections between heretofore disparate actors" (ibid:161), the authors draw on the structural holes concept of Burt (1997). Stephen Andersen of the US EPA is identified as one of the most important institutional entrepreneurs, because of his ability to bring together a number of otherwise unconnected actors, and because of the number and intensity of his relationships with other involved actors. Qualitative data support this focus on

Andersen. Thus, institutional entrepreneurs in this study are identified from a relational perspective, and the central question is with whom institutional entrepreneurs interact to bring about change. The actors who bring together otherwise unconnected actors and events are conceived of as institutional entrepreneurs.

6.   The creation of POEMS: Institutional entrepreneurship and business-interest organizations

6.1   Introduction

Institutional entrepreneurship, "the activities of actors who have an interest in particular institutional arrangements and who leverage resources to create new institutions or to transform existing ones" (Maguire et al., 2004:657), has become an increasingly popular concept in studies of institutional change (Garud et al., 2007; Hardy & Maguire, 2008). However, to date, studies on institutional entrepreneurship have tended to concentrate on the actions of a single organization or a small set of organizations assumed to be central in producing the change project under study. As a result, scholars have portrayed institutional entrepreneurs as heroic actors and have paid scant attention to the role of other actors in processes of change (Hardy & Maguire, 2008). Most particularly, even though it is through the study of field-level organizations as trade and professional associations that a more nuanced understanding of agency in institutional entrepreneurship can be gained (Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007), the role of such business-interest organizations remains little understood (Greenwood et al., 2002; Munir, 2005).

This chapter addresses this gap by examining the engagement of business-interest organizations in institutional entrepreneurship over time, specifically, the trade association of tour operators (VRO/ANVR) in the mature field of Dutch outbound tour operations as it transitions toward more sustainable forms of tourism. During its engagement in this change process (1980–2005), the responsibility of tour operators to promote more sustainable tourism has moved from the collective to the individual firm level. In the beginning, the VRO/ANVR took the view that the consumers' right to travel left tour operators with the sole obligation to inform their customers of the potential negative impacts of holidays and monitor the quality of holiday destinations. If measures needed to be taken, the VRO/ANVR argued, it should be done collectively and preferably at the international level. By 2003, however, the VRO/ANVR had developed and promoted an obligatory Product-Oriented Environmental Management Scheme (POEMS) by which individual tour operators were held accountable. The introduction of this scheme was all the more salient given that most member tour operators strongly opposed it (van Marwijk & van der Duim, 2004). Hence, the related case study is an account of how and why business-interest organizations engage in institutional entrepreneurship; that is, how and why they become *aware* of alternative practices, *open* to these practices and *motivated* to adopt and promote these practices (cf. Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006) even when their wider membership base does not favor the promoted change project.

This chapter makes three contributions to the institutional entrepreneurship literature. First, the analysis provides empirical evidence in support of the notion of distributed agency in institutional entrepreneurship (Garud & Karnoe, 2003;

Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007; Quack, 2007). That is, the trade association, albeit crucial in connecting the 'new guard' with the 'old guard,' was but one of many actors engaged in the promotion of sustainable tourism.

Secondly, as called for by Hardy and Maguire (2008), the findings offer insights into the origins of institutional entrepreneurship. Echoing DiMaggio (1988), institutional entrepreneurship has commonly been depicted as a rational and intentional process in which institutional entrepreneurs are "interest-driven, aware and calculative" (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006:29). The findings reported here, however, suggest another route to institutional entrepreneurship: actors can be goaded into this role while responding to challengers to the field.

Finally, by examining the underlying mechanisms that gave rise to this form of institutional entrepreneurship, this study integrates and extends current knowledge of how actors can overcome the 'paradox of embedded agency' (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Holm, 1995; Seo & Creed, 2002). Most especially, the case history throws light on the ways in which ongoing social interactions in meetings and at conferences carve out a free space between the prevailing institutional order and established field actors, thereby allowing them to act innovatively (cf. Hargrave & van de Ven, 2006).

The remainder of this chapter is structured as follows. After a brief review of the literature on business-interest organizations in institutional entrepreneurship, I develop the chapter's explorative research question. Subsequently, I describe the methodology used to examine the role of VRO/ANVR over time and then present the results of the analysis of the underlying mechanisms of VRO/ANVR's engagement in the change process. The chapter ends with a discussion of the findings and suggestions for future research.

6.2   Theoretical orientation

6.2.1   Institutional entrepreneurship

Organizational fields are sets of organizations that produce similar services and goods, share a set of values, norms and beliefs, and engage in intensive social interactions (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Scott, 2008). Although scholars have long been concerned with how organizational fields normatively and cognitively constrain organizational life (e.g., Barnett & Carroll, 1993; Carroll & Hannan, 1989), theorists have more recently begun to examine how change in organizational fields comes about (e.g., Hoffman, 1999; Reay & Hinings, 2005; Washington, 2004). Whereas some scholars refer to *exogenous* shocks or 'jolts' like technological breakthroughs, social upheaval or regulatory changes that set a field in motion (Greenwood et al., 2002; Hoffman & Ocasio, 2001; Meyer, 1982), others point to *endogenous* sources of change, referred to as institutional entrepreneurship (Battilana, 2006; DiMaggio, 1988; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006).

More specifically, institutional entrepreneurs are individual and organizational actors with reflexive capacities that allow them to foresee opportunities for change in the prevalent institutional order (Beckert, 1999; Leca & Naccache, 2006; Mutch,

2007). Motivated to seize these opportunities for their material or ideological interests in new institutional arrangements (Colomy, 1998; DiMaggio, 1988; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006), they engage in different forms of 'institutional work' (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006), including advocacy, vesting, educating and theorization (see also Table 6-2). In doing so, they deploy particular skills, including social skills (Fligstein, 1997), political skills (Garud et al., 2002; Maguire et al., 2004) and discursive skills (Phillips et al., 2004; Zilber, 2007).

Empirical accounts of institutional entrepreneurship tend to focus on either elite or peripheral firms in the field; for example, Munir and Phillips' (2005) study of Kodak's discursive strategies in promoting the roll-film camera, Greenwood and Suddaby's (2006) examination of how the Big Five of Canadian professional business services worked to introduce a new organizational form, and Louche's (2004) investigation of how banks at the margins of the Dutch financial industry promoted ethical investment. By zooming in on a single actor or small number of organizations assumed critical to producing the change project under study, scholars have contributed to the portrayal of institutional entrepreneurs as heroic actors able to produce field-level change autonomously (Garud et al., 2007). However, this limited focus has resulted in minimal understanding of the role in institutional entrepreneurship of other organizations (Hardy & Maguire, 2008), such as business-interest organizations.

6.2.2 Business-interest organizations

Business-interest organizations like professional and trade associations are considered key actors in organizational fields (Scott, 2008; Washington, 2004). More specifically, they are intermediary organizations that operate between their members and outsiders like governmental bodies, educational institutions and NGOs (Greenwood et al., 2002; Oliver, 1990; Staber & Aldrich, 1983). When they possess authority and legitimacy, business-interest organizations define the rules of membership, as well as the standards of products and services in the field (Lawrence, 1999). In addition, being "formally chartered to do the discursive work and claims making in a field" (Galvin, 2002:674), they also construct the set of norms, values and beliefs that govern organizational life in such fields. However, because related empirical work is minimal, there is limited understanding of the role of business-interest organizations in institutional entrepreneurship (Greenwood et al., 2002; Munir, 2005).

Most often, business-interest organizations belong to the old guard in an organizational field, the actors who have vested interests in maintaining the status quo[34] (Maguire et al., 2004:675). For instance, Vermeulen, Büch and Greenwood

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[34] The terminology used in the literature to capture the dynamics between institutional entrepreneurs and other field constituents is confusing. Although Maguire et al. (2004) refer to the old guard and new guard, they also cite Hensmans (2003), who uses the rhetoric of incumbents and challengers, which Fligstein (2001), drawing from Gamson (1975), defines as dominant groups and outsider groups, respectively. However, for all these scholars, new guards and challengers refer to institutional entrepreneurs, whereas in this present study, following Rao and Giorgi (2006), institutional entrepreneurs (or the new guard / challengers) can be both insiders and outsiders to the field.

(2007) show how the professional and trade associations in the Dutch concrete industry backed the resistance of large incumbent firms against the introduction of new materials by the government and peripheral firms. Likewise, Scott, Ruef, Mendel and Caronna (2000) describe how the American Medical Association worked against several governmental health reforms. In some instances, however, business-interest organizations support the new guard in a field, the actors working for change in the dominant institutional order. For instance, Greenwood, Suddaby and Hinings (2002) demonstrate how the professional associations of accountants in the Canadian field of professional business services engaged in institutional entrepreneurship by legitimizing the shift in the profession's identity from accountant to business advisor. Similarly, Rees (1997) illustrates the transformation of the Chemical Manufacturers Association (CMA) from a service organization to a regulatory agent through the development of its Responsible Care Program, which has become the leading example of industry self-regulation.

Hence, the portrayal of business-interest organizations as conservative forces in the field is not absolute. Rather, the literature suggests that business-interest organizations may perform innovative roles when challenged to do so. For instance, Greenwood et al. (2002:70) suggest that the Big Five accountancy firms used their professional association to present their interests to outsiders like the national government out of political correctness. For the professional association "not to support the Big Five was almost unthinkable." In the case of the US chemical industry, King and Lenox (2000:699) argue that the CMA was "the natural vehicle" for responding to the industry's legitimacy crisis caused by the environmental movement. Likewise, Bansal and Roth (2000:730) suggest that professional associations in "fields under intense scrutiny" may engage in institutional entrepreneurship by spreading information on 'best practices,' lobbying the government for regulatory changes, and working for a positive image of the industry.

Thus, business-interest organizations can play "multifaceted roles, whose degree of emphasis and importance may vary according to the stage of the change process" (Greenwood et al., 2002:76); however, of particular interest to this current study are the instances of institutional entrepreneurship in which business-interest organizations perform innovative parts. Specifically, as Lounsbury and Crumley (2007:1006) point out, these instances reveal a more nuanced understanding of agency in the change process: "By giving field- and organization-level actors equal billing, a more distributed notion of institutional entrepreneurship emerges." However, there is as yet little understanding of the process by which business-interest organizations become engaged in institutional entrepreneurship. That is, how they become *aware* of new practices, *open* to new practices and *motivated* to work for the diffusion and implementation of new practices (cf. Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006). Accordingly, the explorative research question of this chapter is as follows: *How and why do business-interest organizations engage in institutional entrepreneurship in mature organizational fields?*

6.3   Methods

6.3.1   Research design and site

This investigation of the role of business-interest organizations in institutional entrepreneurship adopts a case study approach because of its ability to address complexity, its value for theory-building when a fresh perspective is applied to an already researched topic (Eisenhardt, 1989), its facilitation of a temporal focus and its emphasis on the collection of multiple evidence sources (Yin, 2003). As regards the first, because institutional entrepreneurship involves individuals, organizations, modes of action and triggering conditions, it is a complex social phenomenon that is difficult to separate from its context. In addition, not only does this study aim to extend theoretical insights into institutional entrepreneurship through the examination of little researched business-interest organizations but doing so requires deeply contextual and longitudinal data (Schneiberg & Clemens, 2006).

Moreover, following Pettigrew (1990:275), the selected empirical setting for the phenomenon of interest, here institutional entrepreneurship, must be one that is likely to be "transparently observable." The choice of outbound tour operations in the Netherlands, a mature organizational field facing the challenge of moving in the direction of sustainable tourism fulfills this requirement. Most especially, the different hallmarks and ecolabels put forward since the 1980s to enhance more sustainable forms of tourism (e.g., Beckers & Jansen, 1999; Hilferink, 2001; WTO/OMT, 2002) make clear that institutional entrepreneurs have been active in this field and that change toward sustainability in the field is still underway. Even though some practices have failed to become institutionalized, other practices remain in the institutionalization process (e.g., van Marwijk & van der Duim, 2004). Therefore, this setting offers an opportunity to examine actors working for change in vivo and in situ.

The primary analytical focus within this empirical setting is the field of outbound tour operations in the Netherlands as it moves toward sustainable tourism. The analysis also pays particular attention to the business-interest organization of tour operations (VRO/ANVR), whose probable entrepreneurship is signaled by its development of an obligatory environmental management tool (POEMS) for its members (van Marwijk & van der Duim, 2004). This analysis of VRO/ANVR is what Yin (2003) calls an embedded case study, a design that allows examination of VRO/ANVR's role over time with full appreciation of the context in which this role has been enacted and performed. As noted in Chapter 3, because the field is defined geographically, international developments are only pertinent when relevant to the Dutch process. The case study is time bound (Yin, 2003), covering the period from 1980 to 2005.

6.3.2   Data sources

As already outlined in Chapter 3, data were collected in the period from early 2004 to late 2006. The semistructured *interviews* that comprise the major data source were held with informants involved in the change process toward sustainable tourism who

represent the VRO/ANVR, tour operations firms, consultancy firms, NGOs, publishing companies, advisory councils, ministries and educational institutions. Identification of potential respondents drew on prior in-depth understanding of the field (e.g., regular attendance at industry annual trade fairs and conferences on sustainable tourism), references in policy documents and snowball sampling techniques. The 22 separately prepared, tape-recorded and verbally transcribed interviews (ranging from 1.5 to 4 hours and sometimes conducted with the same respondent) asked respondents to narrate the evolution of the change process so far, with a focus on key actions, events and actors. Transcripts were then returned to the respondents for verification and additional comments. Added to this dataset were the 12 verbally transcribed interviews produced by the Wageningen University study (for which I was a reviewer), 5 of which dealt with the trade association's development of the POEMS scheme. The resulting dataset of 27 formal interview transcripts (323 pages) was then supplemented with the transcribed notes from 12 informal interviews with diverse participants in the change process and the 7 remaining interviews of Wageningen University.

Documentary evidence was collected for two purposes: to gain a profound understanding of the structure, actors, products and dominant values in the field of outbound tour operations and to better understand the debate on sustainable tourism in terms of the issues at stake and participants involved. These documents included secondary studies, policy documents, research reports, investment reports, newsletters, press releases, conference proceedings and special issues of magazines. Access to the archives of the trade association VRO/ANVR also enabled analysis of minutes of meetings of the Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism, correspondence, annual reports, policy documents, the organizations' magazine *ATLAS* (issued monthly from January 1996 to December 2000), and communiqués on sustainable tourism such as the *POEMS course book* and the 12 electronic *POEMS Bulletins* (including 8 attachments) distributed from 2002 to 2004.[35] One day at the archives of a large tour operator also produced archival materials, while *public sources* such as Web sites (particularly 'www.duurzaamtoerisme.nl'), Web archives and bibliographic databases (e.g., LexisNexis and PiCarta) also proved valuable data sources.

These data were supplemented by the transcriptions of field notes from real-time *participant observation* (from September 2003 to January 2007) at the quarterly meetings of the IDUT Platform, at which all stakeholders in outbound sustainable tourism are represented, perusal of emerging records and documents, and participation at annual conferences on sustainable tourism and holiday trade fairs. In addition, I attended over a dozen workshops and meetings on sustainable tourism, all of which allowed me to become part of the network of actors engaged in this issue. Thus, even though, as Chapter 5 has shown, my engagement made no significant impact on the course of events, my intimate knowledge of the field facilitated my accurate interpretation of the data collected.

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[35] It should be noted that during 2001, there was no communication on the issue of sustainable tourism.

6.3.3 Data analysis

The data analysis for this research, organized in four stages, is characterized by a highly iterative process, moving back and forth between data and relevant literature. After developing a chronological account of VRO/ANVR's engagement in the change process toward sustainable tourism in the Dutch field of outbound tour operations, I analyzed the association's magazines to become "intimately familiar" with the material (Eisenhardt, 1989:540) and identify what made the VRO/ANVR an institutional entrepreneur. Finally, I analyzed the interview materials to identify the mechanisms underlying this institutional entrepreneurship.

Developing the chronological account of VRO/ANVR's engagement began with a detailed reading and highlighting of text fragments of the trade association's magazines *ATLAS* and *POEMS Bulletins* using the theoretical concept of institutional entrepreneurship as the "sensitizing construct" to isolate meaningful events (Poole et al., 2000:129). Specifically, these text fragments referred to any activity by VRO/ANVR related to sustainable tourism (e.g., reporting on meetings and events, announcing conferences, starting off projects, publishing policy documents, providing education and training). These extracts were then coded by date and standardized using a subject-verb-object framework, staying as close as possible to the original wording to maintain a contextualized understanding of institutional entrepreneurship. The result was 666 records from the two magazines, which were entered into an Excel spreadsheet (see Appendix 1 for an example of record creation from one particular text fragment). Since the magazines covered only 1996 to 2004, the other VRO/ANVR materials (e.g., annual reports, policy reports, public brochures and archival materials) were sorted chronologically to corroborate and extend the events found in the two magazines. To triangulate the data (Yin, 2003), I also went through the formal interview transcripts to trace events considered relevant to the change process and a subsequent collection of news clippings on these events from LexisNexis and other sources was added to the event history. The final step was to write the case history of the steps that VRO/ANVR took to enhance the sustainability performance of its member tour operators in the context of developments in the field. The results of this analysis, detailed in Chapter 4, are summarized in Table 6-1 and Figure 6-1.

Insert Table 6-1 and Figure 6-1 about here

Overall, the findings suggest that in the last two decades, the Dutch field of outbound tour operations has changed significantly – perhaps less than proponents of change would like (van der Duim, 2005b), but enough to speak of institutional change. First, social interactions between sustainable tourism proponents and tour operators transformed from ad-hoc unstructured contacts into regular structured interactions. Secondly, the tour operators' responsibility for enhancing sustainable tourism, at first considered a collective responsibility, became ever more defined at the individual firm level. Thirdly, the initially dispersed and heterogeneous set of initiatives aimed at promoting sustainable tourism became integrated into a single framework

(POEMS). Finally, a group of frontrunner tour operators emerged who act as socially responsible firms. The sharing of the case history with a key informant in the process (Miles & Huberman, 1994:275) confirmed the accuracy of the case history and validated the interpretation of the main field changes.

Following Greenwood and Suddaby (2006), the second stage involved a textual analysis of the associations' journals, identifying and counting recurrent sentences in the database of records, such as references in the journal *ATLAS* to different *issues* and *practices* of sustainable tourism and VRO/ANVR reports on its *social interactions* both at the national and international level. Other phrases that ran repeatedly through the texts referred to *justificatory arguments* for VRO/ANVR's adoption of the issue of sustainable tourism and *motivational arguments* why its member tour operators should support and adopt sustainable tourism management measures (Appendix 2). Counting the relative number of records per year for each of these empirically driven codes produced a profile of their occurrence over time (Appendix 3).

Through this descriptive analysis and the continuing field-work, I realized that the VRO/ANVR was one of many players working for sustainable tourism in the field of the Dutch outbound tour operations. For instance, NGOs who aimed at sustainable tourism also promoted several issues mentioned in the VRO/ANVR journals.[36] In addition, their repetitive statements on social interactions with such field constituents gave rise to the following question: *Who, in this empirical setting, is the institutional entrepreneur*? Hence, to justify my qualification of the VRO/ANVR as an institutional entrepreneur in this process, I turned again to the literature.

The third stage, then, sought for criteria that would help specify the innovative aspects of the VRO/ANVR. The work of Lawrence and Suddaby (2006), particularly, which summarizes the different actions necessary to create, disrupt and maintain institutions, seemed promising for assessing how and why the VRO/ANVR's actions were institutionally entrepreneurial. More specifically, their theoretically derived categories served as a classification for a careful rereading and sorting of the VRO/ANVR actions reported in the 666 record dataset. This analysis revealed that the innovative part played by the VRO/ANVR particularly found expression in the introduction of the obligatory POEMS scheme (see Table 6-2).

Insert Table 6-2 about here

Juxtaposition of respondent evaluations of the role of the POEMS scheme in the change process across the formal interviews supports my reading of the VRO/ANVR

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[36] For instance, the issue of child sex tourism is associated with organizations like UNICEF, Terre des Homme and ECPAT (e.g., *ATLAS*, March 1996) and the Blue Flag label was put forward by FEEE (e.g., *ATLAS*, February 1998).

as an institutional entrepreneur.[37] More specifically, the scheme can be considered relevant to the change process for five reasons (Table 6-3):

First, the scheme was seen as an innovation; the tour operations industry had previously made few efforts to enhance sustainability (Tepelus, 2005) and those taken were primarily voluntary (WTO/OMT, 2002). *Second*, the POEMS scheme increased awareness among tour operators of tourism's potential negative and positive impacts. Whereas previously only a limited number of tour operators had known about sustainable tourism, by 2004 all ANVR tour operators had been informed about these impacts. *Third*, because of the scheme, firms adopted the issue organizationally to remain VRO/ANVR members, which implied putting an environmental policy into place and nominating a POEMS coordinator that had passed a specially developed POEMS course. Sustainable tourism thus moved from a collective responsibility overseen by the VRO/ANVR to the individual responsibility of its member operators. *Fourth*, the numerous ecolabels and hallmarks in the field became interlocked in the POEMS framework, thereby providing order and meaning to the notion of sustainable tourism.[38] *Fifth*, the obligation to take sustainable tourism seriously opened up possibilities for change advocates to promote their initiatives at the individual firm level. However, even though the introduction of the POEMS scheme has contributed significantly to the change process, at this juncture, the profoundness of these changes is still limited. That is, after having obtained their certificate, most tour operators return to business as usual (van der Duim, 2005b). Nevertheless, some tour operators are acting as frontrunners in the field and seem to be successful in carving a niche for themselves in sustainable holidays.

The fourth stage directly addressed the primary research question of this case study: How and why did the VRO/ANVR engage in the change process toward sustainable tourism and develop the POEMS scheme? The qualitative data analysis, using the ATLAS.ti software, first examined the formal interviews as primary data beginning with open coding (Berg, 2004) of six interviews as separate cases so I could immerse myself in the data. Text fragments (quotations) were assigned a code that captured what respondents had said about the change process and their engagement in this process. Consistent with the textual analysis, the next round of coding used the concept of 'institutional entrepreneurship' as the sensitizing construct and code interpretation was effected by tying the codes to the concept of institutional entrepreneurship. This process produced a final coding list that was then

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[37] In addition to this qualitative analysis, the role of the VRO/ANVR can also be identified from the data on institutional entrepreneurship presented in Chapter 5. Len-77 as representative of this organization was identified as an institutional entrepreneur in both behavioral and relational approaches to institutional entrepreneurship, providing additional support to the notion of VRO/ANVR as an institutional entrepreneur.

[38] Other data sources support this observation. For instance, the 2002 *POEMS course textbook*, using the different elements of the tourism product as an ordering mechanism, lists numerous ecolabels and hallmarks available in the field. It mentions several carbon-offsetting schemes under the heading of *transportation* and lists ecolabels for diving and skiing in a discussion of the *leisure* aspects of holidays. The quantified textual analysis also effectively displays how the various sustainable tourism themes were captured over time under the headings of POEMS and CSR (see Appendix 3, Figure A).

applied to all texts of the 27 formal interviews (see Chapter 3 for more details on coding).

Using frequency counts of all codes, I then searched for evidence of the theoretical ideas that had emerged so far. For instance, the appearance of political justificatory arguments found in the texts of 1996 suggested that the VRO/ANVR had been pressurized to take action on the issue of sustainable tourism rather than freely adopting this issue (see Appendix 3, Figure C). Systematic evidence for this notion of pressure was clearly observable in the interview transcripts and gave validity to this theoretical assumption.[39] Additionally, the interviews provided insight into the question of how and why these pressures had been channeled through the VRO/ANVR and how the association's engagement spearheaded the change process. For instance, the themes 'clique' and 'polder model'[40] ran unmistakably through the interview responses, thereby supporting the field notes of own personal feelings on becoming part of the inner circle of sustainable tourism proponents[41] and the observations made by a journalist in a trade journal.[42] These findings also matched the repeated reports in the associations' magazines of praise by outsiders for the steps taken (see Appendix 3, Figure D).

During the several rounds of iterating between the interview data and other materials, relevant literature and emergent theoretical ideas, I identified three dynamics that explain how and why the VRO/ANVR engaged in institutional entrepreneurship. The first, labeled *occupying a bridging position*, refers to the central position that the VRO/ANVR occupied in the field by operating in different environments simultaneously. This bridging position was also noted by challengers to the field who sought support among VRO/ANVR members for their ideas and practices. A second dynamic, *being wary of governmental interference*, explains what motivated the VRO/ANVR to formally adopt the issue of sustainable tourism, and a third, *engaging in sustained social interactions* between the old guard and the new explains why the VRO/ANVR developed the obligatory tool for its members. I thus conclude that through these sustained interactions, the VRO/ANVR isolated itself from the institutional pressures associated with the old institutional order. In developing this argument, I used "member checking" (Creswell & Miller, 2000), discussions on various occasions with several participants of the mechanisms in the change process.

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[39] For instance, the code 'societal pressure' appeared 59 times and was mentioned in 21 interviews.

[40] 'To polder' is a Dutch expression for negotiating until everyone is satisfied with the compromise achieved.

[41] For example, at a conference organized by a governmental advisory council in November 2006, I particularly experienced the existence of 'insiders' and 'outsiders.' At the opening of the conference, I was greeted by the insiders with a kiss and at dinner time, insiders, including myself, hurried to the dining room so as to sit at the same table (Field notes, 02/11/06).

[42] One journalist typified a national meeting on sustainable tourism as follows: "The whole Groeneveld Conference oozes an in-crowd atmosphere, full of abbreviations, voluminous reports, incomprehensible symbols and technical jargon" (Eldering, 2005:6).

6.4   Institutional entrepreneurship by business-interest organizations: The case of VRO/ANVR

The three dynamics outlined above have driven the engagement of VRO/ANVR in the change process toward sustainable tourism. As detailed in the following sections, the likelihood of governmental interference soon waned, while the mechanisms of occupying a bridging position and sustained social interactions continued to be operative in the field.

6.4.1   A bridging position

In the early 1980s, the debate on sustainable tourism took root in the Netherlands: put simply, tourism came to be seen as something inherently bad for both people and planet. Most particularly, as pointed out in Chapter 4, against the backdrop of the emerging global social movement on fair trade tourism (Botterill, 1991), organizations associated with tourism to developing nations (e.g., NGOs, alternative tour operators and missionary organizations) pointed to such issues as the exploitation of local culture and customs, (child) sex tourism and unequal trading relations. At the same time, because of signs of environmental degradation in popular European holiday destinations (e.g., the Alps and the Mediterranean Coast), mountaineering organizations, environmental organizations and tourist organizations other than VRO/ANVR called attention to problems like air pollution and depletion of natural resources. The numerous activities begun by representatives of both groups included the organization of conferences, the launching of ecolabels and public campaigns, and the publication of information brochures and textbooks. Collectively, these initiatives created awareness that (mass) tourism may harm the natural and social environment of holiday destinations.

According to my analysis, the VRO/ANVR became aware of the emerging issue of sustainable tourism because of the bridging position it occupied in the field of tour operations. That is, the wide recognition of the ANVR logo as a quality hallmark for consumers is not the only motivation for tourism firms to apply for its voluntary membership. Rather, in addition to its regular meetings on consumer issues with the Dutch Consumers' Association, the VRO/ANVR is affiliated with other organizations to protect members' interests and identity. For instance, the association is affiliated with the International Federation of Tour Operators (IFTO), the European Travel Agents' and Tour Operators' Associations (ECTAA), the United Federation of Travel Agents' Associations (UFTAA) and the Confederation of Netherlands Industry and Employers' Platform for Recreation and Tourism (VNO-NCW), which represents national tourist and recreation organizations. Thus, the VRO/ANVR operates in multiple environments simultaneously, which enhances its reflexivity toward the dominant ways of doing business in the outbound tour operations field in four ways.

First, the VRO/ANVR became aware of the emerging debate on tourism's negative impacts[43] through its affiliation with IFTO, which in the early 1990s, as the negative impacts of mass tourism's explosive growth became manifest in the Mediterranean, engaged in a study of these impacts on the islands of Majorca (Balearics) and Rhodes (Greece). The so-called ECOMOST project resulted in guidelines on sustainable tourism development at the destination level. As one respondent affiliated with the VRO/ANVR stated, "[w]e had four IFTO meetings per year – once in London and three times on location; we then went to locations with problems, for example Majorca, which had a water problem similar to that in Cyprus, where they had made appropriate arrangements. So we dealt with what we would now call 'sustainable tourism,' as well as labor problems. In Majorca, many people from the rural areas worked in tourism. The term 'sustainable tourism' just did not exist at the time" (Respondent O_1, 04/05/06). At this juncture, the organizations represented on the VNO–NCW platform were also working on the issue of sustainability. For instance, in the late 1980s, the tourist association ANWB, together with the Environmental Study Group on the Alps, was engaged in promoting sustainable winter sports holidays.

Second, the VRO/ANVR learned about the issue through minor developments in its membership base, for instance, the support shown by two of its member tour operators for the public information campaigns on sustainable winter sports holidays. In addition, in 1991, two years after entering the Dutch market by buying shares from Arke Reizen, the large German tour operator TUI, one of the foremost tour operators worldwide, nominated an environmental manager. Nonetheless, in general, most elite and peripheral tour operators associated with the VRO/ANVR were not working on the issue at that time.

Third, proponents of sustainable tourism challenged the VRO/ANVR as a representative organization to act on the issue. For instance, in 1987, the director of the elite tour operator Arke – who at that time was also chair of the VRO/ANVR – was invited to give a keynote speech at a conference organized by two advisory councils to the Dutch government. Following the international publication *World Conservation Strategy* (IUCN, UNEP & WWF, 1980), this conference aimed at exploring the relationship between ecology and economy, a relationship on which the tourism industry, in addition to the chemical and agricultural sectors, was invited to reflect. Somewhat later, in 1992, environmental organizations believed VRO/ANVR to be capable of and responsible for acting on the sustainable tourism issue and demonstrated at the doors of travel agents and tour operation firms. They protested the increase in holiday flights for their contribution to the hole in the ozone layer and global warming. They thus called upon the VRO/ANVR to stimulate its members into offering holiday packages by bus, train and boat (*Trouw*, 1992a; 1992b).

Fourth, proponents of sustainable tourism contacted the VRO/ANVR in search of resources and support for their initiatives. As evidenced by archival materials, for instance, the Foundation on Tourism & the Third World requested VRO/ANVR for a letter of support in 1988. This organization aimed for more participatory and

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[43] Even though critical reports by scientists on the negative aspects of tourism had already been published in the 1970s (e.g., Krippendorf, 1975), the discussion on tourism and sustainable development only really took off in the 1990s (van der Duim, 2005b).

beneficial forms of tourism in developing countries by educating tourists traveling there through informative books. As one respondent said, "[w]e already had the support of Mister B. [who was the director of the national tourism school]……ANVR could not stay behind. The idea was that if we had the support of ANVR, this would help us in spreading our booklets among the large and mainstream tour operators" (Interview Respondent K).[44]

Hence, my results suggest that information on sustainable tourism flowed naturally to the central organization VRO/ANVR, making the association aware of the debate from the very beginning of the change process. Indeed, as early as 1989, the association's annual meeting centered on the issue of sustainable tourism after which the organization clearly responded to the changing discourse on holidays by founding an informal executive committee within VRO/ANVR. This so-called Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism drafted ten basic assumptions on tourism and the environment, which were accepted as part of the association's code of conduct in 1992. Besides the moral responsibility, the decision to adopt the issue of sustainable tourism was also inspired by a material interest in the issue. Since the natural beauty and cultural heritage of destination sites are key assets of tourist products, there is a clear economic interest in protecting them, an argument that the association would deploy throughout its theorizations on sustainable tourism (see Appendix 3, Figure C).

6.4.2 Wariness of governmental interference

Against this backdrop of VRO/ANVR's careful exploration of the meaning of sustainable tourism for the tour operations business, the Dutch government remained aloof from the emergent discourse. It was this exact failure of any major governmental policy documents of that time to pay attention to the impacts of outbound tourism that was put forward in a December 1994 report by the Council for Nature Policy, an advisory council of the Dutch government (Raad voor het Natuurbeheer, 1994). Specifically, by questioning Dutch residents' increasing demand for outbound holidays, this publication, *Are we going too far?*, challenged the appropriateness of industry practices. To garner reactions and give more weight to the report, in February 1995, the council organized a press conference in the parliamentary pressroom at The Hague to which it invited all stakeholders, including the VRO/ANVR (Interview Respondent H). This report led to turmoil in the industry,

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[44] This mechanism was also operative later on in the change process. For instance, in the late 1990s, the Foundation Trees for Travel approached the VRO/ANVR for support of its carbon-offsetting scheme because, as revealed in the minutes of a meeting, "[w]ith the ANVR behind the scheme, the initiative will increase in its credibility" (Archival materials VRO/ANVR, 27/10/1999). And in early 2000, an NGO approached the VRO/ANVR for a letter of support: "[the project] starts with an application for a grant, right, if you apply, it is strategically wise to show that the purpose of the application, the aim of your project, is supported by parties of interest, so we collected recommendation letters" (Interview Respondent C$_2$). Finally, at several conferences and meetings, I have observed how proponents of change lobbied for support among representatives of the VRO/ANVR (Field notes, 28/09/05; 08/02/06; 04/04/06).

particularly over the council's recommendation of an ecolevy on plane tickets (Warmink, 1995).

The government responded to the report by organizing the first so-called Groeneveld Conference (1995) aimed at exploring the opportunities for a stakeholder dialogue on sustainable tourism, after which the VRO/ANVR formalized its Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism and published its first policy document on sustainable tourism. Subsequently, in 1996, the newly founded national platform on sustainable tourism, chaired by the VRO/ANVR, organized the second Groeneveld Conference. VRO/ANVR's executive committee also began to advocate industry self-regulation, searched for cooperation with several actors in sustainable tourism management and developed a 1996 Code of Conduct against Child Sex Tourism. In 1998, it also included environmental information in its databases and spread a public information brochure on environment and tourism. Why, then, did the VRO/ANVR formally adopt the issue of sustainable tourism?

Apart from being motivated by a sense of moral responsibility and the view that environmental care is part of VRO/ANVR's tradition of quality management, another motivation to act on the issue appears to have been political (Appendix 3, Figure C). That is, the advisory council's report put the issue of sustainable tourism prominently on the political agenda and forced the VRO/ANVR to publicly show its colors with respect to this issue. As one respondent put it,

> "Well, the report was not exactly a hit – so much was going on at the time – but that the Advisory Council for Nature Policy was the instigator ... that came as a shock; criticism from an advisory council for the Dutch government! The title of the report was 'Are we going too far?,' but it was perhaps also a bridge too far. It was exciting, however, because it inspired the question of what the attitude was of the travel industry, they suddenly had to reveal themselves. It was almost a frontal attack on the tourism industry. You had to defend yourself constantly. Tourism has its positive sides, too, and the report stated them correctly, but the general tendency of the report was that tourism is bad; in any case that is what came out in the publicity. Journalists of course like that kind of thing...Politicians were at the time really infected by the environment and nature virus." (Interview Respondent J_1)

Archival materials such as minutes of the meetings of the Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism support the trade association's political motivation to act on the issue:

> "The Board has repeatedly argued in the numerous meetings that it does not want any imposed regulations by parties that do not have a strong position in this industry. The association will run its own course as far as possible, yet it will take [the] information and advice of relevant parties into account." (Archival materials. VRO/ANVR, 9-5-1995)

"Governmental policies are not clear and unambiguous as was shown in our conversation with the Ministry of Economic Affairs. (…) Yet, it is clear that there is political pressure on politicians coming from - amongst others – the lobby of the Council for Nature Policy." (Archival materials VRO/ANVR, 13-8-1996)

"The trade association should not be ahead of the developments, [but rather] should be well-prepared by having information on emissions per mode of transportation available." (Archival materials VRO/ANVR, 11-9-1996)

Likewise, in a speech delivered at the 1995 meeting at which the first policy document on sustainable tourism was presented, the chair of the ANVR argued that: the ANVR had of course "heard of the plans of Minister De Boer to ask the European Commission to make airtravel more expensive by introducing a levy on kerosene" (Archival materials VRO/ANVR, 26-5-1995).

Since signs of environmental degradation in popular European holiday destinations were evident, the VRO/ANVR could also not deny the legitimacy of the claims that tourism could harm the environment and, as evidenced in its 1992 Code of Conduct, nor did it do so. Yet, the potential introduction of an ecolevy on plane tickets was taken as a direct threat to international competitiveness and the logic of consumer sovereignty (Beckers & Jansen, 1999). Therefore, the VRO/ANVR reasoned that, by adopting a particular position in the unfolding institutional entrepreneurial movement, it could influence the direction and pace of the change process. This rationale is evidenced in interviews with respondents affiliated with VRO/ANVR:

"The idea was that as VRO/ANVR we must take the lead, otherwise we shall be caught up by new regulations which we have to accept, so we can better begin ourselves and keep the initiative; and well, this has been a very wise decision until today." (Interview Respondent D).

"Being active, that is what we chose after that story of 'Are we going too far?' among other things. If you remain on the sideline, you continue to be overthrown by criticism." (Interview Respondent O_2)

"Well, [the association's sustainable tourism policy] was of course also instantiated to be ready if the development toward the environment and tourism would really take off, to be part of that in time. In fact, to be ready in full armor, that has been one of the motivating factors." (Interview Respondent B_1)

Since the government believed that its role was only to facilitate the change process toward sustainable tourism, the VRO/ANVR was also granted a leading role in the change process. As a representative of the government stated, "I think that for the ANVR, the fear of imposed regulations has played a role. That has been a motivating factor for the ANVR: to keep things in their own hands (…) And the government has

entrusted action to the ANVR; it has positioned itself on the side of the ANVR" (Interview Respondent Q). Another governmental representative clarified the situation further: "That was of course fashionable at that time; there were all kinds of working groups and consultative meetings [...] Our proposal was to install a platform on sustainable tourism, especially because of the 'ensuring that' role [of the government], the lubrication role. You then create a meeting place where things have to happen" (Interview Respondent L).

Up to this point, the emergent story of VRO/ANVR's role in the change process toward sustainable tourism is consistent with the literature; that is, as a representative membership organization, VRO/ANVR was the natural vehicle through which to respond to the critique of mass tourism as a dirty activity in order to protect the industry's image and to fence off potential governmental intervention (cf. Bansal & Roth, 2000; King & Lenox, 2000; Oliver, 1990). Yet these two dynamics are not powerful enough to explain why the VRO/ANVR developed the obligatory POEMS scheme rather than sticking to its codes of conduct and information brochures, which would have been more rational for a number of reasons.

First, there was little consumer demand for sustainable holiday products and thus little interest among member tour operators in working on the issue. Although the elite firm TUI–Netherlands had nominated an environmental manager in 1998, the other tour operators gave the VRO/ANVR only lukewarm support for this issue. As one respondent explained it "[s]ector wide, there was hardly an initiative to be seen regarding sustainability, except for TUI–Netherlands, which had an environmental manager and except for the members of the ANVR working group [the Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism], which was motivated for change. But if you looked at it in practice, things did not move very fast (..) The change did in any case not come from within the industry; that has also been the major problem, right, to get the support of the industry" (Interview Respondent B_1). Another respondent argued that "at that time, tour operators had no other reason to participate than a kind of goodwill from people with a green heart, but apart from that there was nothing in it for them. Nobody asked for it, no consumers, the branch did not require it; people knew nothing about it, full stop" (Interview Respondent A_2).

Second, governmental interest in sustainable tourism and therewith the wariness of governmental interference soon diminished: except for the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature Conservation and Fisheries, the ministries only occasionally visited the IDUT Platform (Beckers & Jansen, 1999). As evidenced by the textual analysis of the magazines (Appendix 3, Figure C[45]), the usage of political justificatory arguments also diminished in the years after the installation of the IDUT platform.[46]

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[45] With the 1999 annual conference's theme on CSR, political justificatory arguments were prominent in the magazine *ATLAS* as this theme was strongly associated with the concept of industry self-regulation.

[46] Even more so, interviews and minutes of meetings of the Platform IDUT reveal attempts to gain the interest of several ministries in the change process (e.g., Archival Materials IDUT, 27-4-1999). Later, the Platform IDUT offered a political manifest to three members of parliament at the January 2003 Holiday Trade Fair, pleading for the government to support the change process (see Chapter 4, Section 4.4.11). Likewise, participants of a 2007 meeting of the Platform IDUT discussed the politics of

Third, no regulations were extant even at the international level: the few business associations in the tourism industry that had engaged in promoting sustainable tourism had adopted measures voluntarily (e.g., Rivera, 2002; Rivera & de Leon, 2004). Indeed, the next section offers the argument that the development of POEMS – and thus the shift from collective measures to individual measures – can be explained by the existence of sustained interactions between representatives of the old guard and the new.

6.4.3   Sustained social interactions

One premise of institutional theory is that social interactions drive the creation and perpetuation of institutions (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Lawrence et al., 2002), and indeed such processes were at play in the change process toward sustainable tourism. For instance, the textual analysis of the trade associations' magazines reveals that over time the VRO/ANVR engaged in social interactions with representatives of the tour operations industry (intraindustrial interactions), representatives of adjacent fields like the RECRON and Amsterdam Airport Schiphol (interindustrial interactions), and representatives of governmental bodies and NGOs (institutional interactions) (Appendix 3, Figure B). Moreover, whereas institutional interactions dominated the early years of this change process, from 1998 onwards interactions with representatives of the tour operations industry took over. Yet social interactions with field constituents other than industry representatives – that is, *social interactions with the new guard* – were sustained.

The study data also suggest that the creation of the IDUT Platform was critical to developing a consensus definition of sustainable tourism that enabled these continuing social interactions. Through ongoing social interactions, the VRO/ANVR, on the one hand, became ever more detached from the dominant logic of the outbound tour operations field, but on the other, became increasingly embedded within the movement toward sustainable tourism. These parallel processes set the VRO/ANVR free from the prevailing institutional order and made it receptive to the development of more far-reaching measures like the POEMS scheme.

Creation of a consensual definition. The IDUT Platform served as a venue in which actors with different perspectives actively searched for a point of convergence for cooperation, a collaboration which, according to Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy (2000), is a highly political process. In fact, archival materials reveal that members seriously discussed the role of the newly founded platform in the change process, the issues to be dealt with and the audience to be targeted (Archival materials VRO/ANVR, Agenda 17/06/1997). The interview responses confirmed that the old guard and new guard engaged in negotiations over the concept of sustainable tourism. As one respondent put it, "[t]he platform functioned as a kind of catalyst that helped to make sustainable tourism debatable." When asked for an example, the respondent offered the following: "Well, the perceptions of sustainability among the

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engaging ministries, arguing that the platform needed the support of the Ministry of Economic Affairs in order to bring on board other ministries like the Ministry of the Environment (Field notes, 31/01/07).

industry and the other organizations involved in the process were discussed and this resulted in uniformity of definitions and points of departure, what do we understand as sustainable? And yes, partly due to this exchange of ideas, the debate toned down a bit as well as the oversimplified vision on tourism" (Interview Respondent M).

According to Beckers and Jansen (1999), the VRO/ANVR has been successful in taking over the debate and redefining the problem definition by stressing environmental care during transportation, accommodation and leisure activities. However, it ignored the issue of mobility because holiday flights – although the largest tourism pollutant – lie at the core of the holiday business. This image of the industry being in the driver's seat in defining the scope of action is supported by the following excerpt:

> "Yes, in those days people stood diametrically opposite each other, but in the IDUT Platform the process was very collegial and friendly; here and there were some issues – for example, the discussion with the transportation sector; should we forbid people to fly to their holiday destinations? Those were of course forbidden topics for the ANVR and KLM, but it never led to real conflicts, it was at most a difference of attitudes and inconverging opinions. (…) The transportation component of holidays is a theme which has a huge corn and you do not tread on it if you can avoid it, because talking about limiting or restricting holiday flights means cutting into their commercial flesh – for a part of the group this is out of the question." (Interview Respondent M)

Also negotiated, as one government respondent pointed out, were the tasks of the collaborative platform: "We [had] a discussion over the nature of the IDUT Platform: was it purely to inform each other and share knowledge or [could] such a group also initiate projects, write letters to policy makers, have its own bank account? The ANVR's line was very much one of 'No, only discussion and sharing of information,' which we had to finally accept, although it was less strict in the end, because IDUT did organize the Groeneveld Conferences" (Interview Respondent Q).

With the little interest in sustainable tourism among the wider membership base, proponents of change understood the precarious position of VRO/ANVR as a membership organization. Yet, as the following response illustrates, they wished for greater change through the platform: "For the ANVR, the platform was some kind of monitoring club, you know, so IDUT was allowed as much leeway in going ahead with the environmental theme as the ANVR allowed. [...] Something more, a working plan or something like that, or projects, was not in order, IDUT was not allowed to be more than 'let's tell each other nice stories about all the things that we have achieved,' and we organized conferences, that was an addition, but nothing more. That is what was criticized" (Interview Respondent A$_2$). The government representative supported this view of NGOs: "Occasionally there was also some frustration about the ANVR – they sometimes hampered progress. They needed to get used to NGOs, what they are and what they could mean for them. After two to three years, they had learned that [NGOs] were not only a threat, but that [ANVR] could also do something with them" (Interview Respondent Q). Another respondent

also emphasized that NGOs and corporations in general were not quite used to each other in those years (Interview Respondent C$_2$).

Thus, the IDUT Platform was the organizational vehicle through which actors became acquainted and searched for a common ground for collaboration on sustainable tourism. That this common ground contributed to VRO/ANVR's commitment to work on the issue is clearly indicated in a public brochure that the VRO/ANVR published in December 1997. Not only does the brochure reflect a more positive stance on sustainable tourism – touting sustainable tourism as "a lasting goal for all travel agents and tour operators associated with ANVR" rather than "a fad that fades out" and "evidencing the progress made in the national ANVR campaign" (ANVR, 1998b:3) – it also implies a cooperative posture. Specifically, the brochure highlights eight points of departure for "an effective shared policy" (ANVR, 1998b:3) and, under the heading, "They play the game with us" (ibid:15), lists the diverse organizations engaged with the issue, including the ministries, the ANWB, the Netherlands Alps Platform, KLM, the NS, the NCDO, CBI and the NC–IUCN.

Formation of ties. The IDUT Platform also facilitated the formation of social ties among the old and new guards that were useful for acquiring resources, sharing ideas and knowledge and promoting practices. In fact, archival materials reveal that platform participants activated social ties by asking for practical support for their project proposals. For instance, as announced in its 1995 policy document, VRO/ANVR had contacted the representative of the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment with a request to support research on consumer behavior and sustainable tourism (Archival materials VRO/ANVR, 05/03/1997). In 1999, the chair of the VRO/ANVR provided the NCDO with a mailing list of all ANVR tour operators so it could invite them to its public deliberation on sustainable tourism (Archival materials VRO/ANVR, 05/03/1999), and the nature conservation organization NC-IUCN asked the VRO/ANVR to mention the problems with sea turtle nesting in Mexico when it attended the next IFTO meeting (Archival materials VRO/ANVR, 12/11/1998). Likewise, ECPAT requested that VRO/ANVR promote its campaign against child sex tourism among IFTO members, which the association did successfully (*ATLAS*, November 1998).

Interview respondents also confirmed IDUT's supportive role in mobilizing resources: "To summarize the role and the atmosphere: from the start, it was about uniting knowledge and people from government, the private sector and NGOs. Later, the educational sector also joined. In the beginning lots of things were done jointly, the Netherlands Antilles project is an example, everyone participated in that project. Later, it was more that you reported what you were doing and if others wanted to join, they could" (Interview Respondent L). Another respondent confirmed the ministries' financial support: "People from the Ministry of Nature Conservation and the Ministry of Economic Affairs, especially, had some funds here and there from which things could be financed and stimulated; it was actually a very pragmatic set-up through which several actions were started in a very simple manner" (Interview Respondent M). Participant observations at meetings of the Platform IDUT, even though they illuminate the political struggle over financial resources, confirm the platform's supportive role (Field notes, 08/02/06).

By organizing the (now annual) Groeneveld Conferences as one of its main activities, the platform facilitated the formation of social relationships beyond its own boundaries. Even though other conferences and meetings were also organized, it was the annual rhythm of the Groeneveld Conferences – at which research reports and policy documents, project proposals and existing projects, and 'best practices' in and outside the Netherlands were presented and discussed – that bound together the ongoing activities. As one respondent put it, "[i]t brought people together who already knew each other and had interactions, interactions that also emerge outside the conference; but Groeneveld was a kind of signboard for the movement and also a kind of legitimacy. Organizing a conference with ministries signifies the importance of the theme (…) As far as I am concerned, the Groeneveld Conference has become a kind of ritual. The ritual is very important – it is a signpost, everyone comes and you can see that there is a lot of networking behind the scenes, you see the network expanding and you see new faces" (Interview Respondent C_2). Another respondent agreed: "The Groeneveld Conferences were relevant to getting the subject well established on the agenda and to forming a group of people who indeed had the feeling of 'yes, things must change'" (Interview Respondent P_1).

Thus, the IDUT Platform and its later Groeneveld Conferences facilitated the creation of a sense of community of sustainable tourism proponents. This sense of belonging is evidenced by interview respondents' references to "cliques," "super polder model," "cozy club," "in-crowd of people who all know each other," "small group of committed people" and "old hands."

Through its engagement in the process, the VRO/ANVR increasingly became embedded in this collective, an embedding that coincided with the increased expectations of VRO/ANVR as an active member of this new guard. For instance, the consultancy firm that bid on the development of the POEMS scheme for tour operations firms applauded the VRO/ANVR for the measures taken so far but argued that measures at the individual firm level were also needed. As their letter stated, "[t]he question that soon will be asked is how tour operators will efficiently and effectively implement these and possibly future activities in their daily operations. [...] the attention for sustainable tourism [should not remain] limited to single and isolated events involving just a few individual tour operators" (Archival materials VRO/ANVR, 03/03/1998). The second policy document of 1998 confirms this depiction of VRO/ANVR as tied up in a web of social relationships and associated expectations and obligations: "The ANVR has come to the conclusion that a very large number of persons and organizations in the Netherlands are committed to nature conservation and environmental protection. Partly and increasingly, this happens by taking up demonstration projects whose results should also set an example for tour operators on how to act. It should be noted that the members of the ANVR and with them the ANVR itself cannot take up all examples because the commercial relations limit the scope for doing so" (ANVR, 1998a). Such commitment, one respondent explained, was not only shown by "the ministries, IUCN, [and] the partners of the [IDUT Platform]":

> "The Executive Committee also had regular discussions outside this circle
> of people. People who came all had splendid ideas about what tour

operators should do. I said, 'Ho, stop, we set our own pace, you may propose lots of things which we shall consider carefully, but we decide in the end what should happen. However, as managing committee, we understood that we should do something and we also did want to do so, provided it was feasible. On the one hand, the commercial limitations provided a pressure against doing something, and on the other hand we were pressurized to do something. The latter came from ministries, partners of the Initiative Group [IDUT], conferences, NGOs and people from the ANWB. There was pressure to take action." (Interview Respondent O_2)

The picture, then, is of the VRO/ANVR increasingly isolating itself from the dominant way of doing business; that is, a strong focus on making money in a very competitive arena (see Chapter 3). Rather, the repeated social interactions with the new guard within the IDUT Platform, at conferences and at project meetings brought new insights, ideas and knowledge which prompted a reflexive stance toward this market logic, making the association receptive to the POEMS scheme as management tool for its members. Specifically, VRO/ANVR judged that by developing the scheme, it could make sustainability a part of the market logic and by making it obligatory for membership, it could create a level playing field on this issue. This positive position on sustainable tourism was further enhanced by TUI–Netherlands' nomination of an environmental manager, the emergent discourse on CSR,[47] the increased recognition of ANVR as a relevant actor in sustainable tourism development, for instance, by its international counterpart IFTO. Accordingly, the VRO Board proposed the adoption of the POEMS scheme as a membership criterion at the 2000 annual meeting. Member tour operators agreed to acquire a POEMS certificate before April 2003 as part of their VRO/ANVR membership.

Parallel to this process, sustained interactions enabled change proponents from outside the industry to learn the language of the industry and understand the logics that govern the tour operating business. A respondent typified this logic as follows: "[e]very measure should be feasible. Thus, we approach issues from an economic perspective: is it commercially desirable and is it commercially feasible? That has always been the dominant principle of our work" (Interview Respondent O_1). He goes on to clarify: "[I] could not always follow [the projects proposed] – electric carts, car-free villages ... sometimes it was outside reality" (Interview Respondent O_2). Indeed, the new guard learned about the possibilities and interests of tour operators, given the limited commercial leeway in this line of business: "We could test our course of action [through our presentation on the Executive Committee]" (Interview Respondent A_2). Thus, the new guard became infused with the values and norms of the old guard. As a result, dozens of initiatives have been launched since the late

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[47] For instance, archival materials reveal that the VRO/ANVR participated in a meeting on environmental management organized by the employers' organization VNO-NCW in which different industrial branches participated (Archival materials, 19/03/99). At the 1999 annual meeting of the ANVR, at which the keynote speech was given by the high-status chair of the Social and Economic Council, CSR was the central theme (*ATLAS*, November 1999).

1990s, ranging from information campaigns to research projects and the development of sustainable tour packages (see Chapter 4, stages 3 and 4 in the evolution of the field). Moreover, because the practices put forward by proponents of sustainable tourism were feasible and aligned with the market logic of the tourism business, most initiatives posed few discretionary constraints on firms' daily operations. For instance, the touchy issue of global warming and holiday flights was tackled by offering carbon-offsetting schemes to consumers through a link on their Web site.

This orientation toward feasible measures – also evidenced in the association's theorizations (Appendix 3, Figure D) – enabled the VRO/ANVR to act concretely on its reflexivity and bring sustainable tourism into practice, as text in the *POEMS Action Program* illustrates:

> "During the past years, the Association of ANVR tour operators has done a lot in the field of sustainable tourism. Based on the ANVR policy documents on sustainable tourism I and II, most attention has been paid to collective measures, which have always been reported extensively in the VRO. It is now time that the VRO members themselves express their commitment to the environment by taking independent measures in this subject area. The possibilities to do so have improved *because more insight has been developed into the measures that are possible.* The POEMS system offers the best basis for these initiatives." (CREM & ANVR, 2001/2002:2, emphasis added).

The scholarly model for collective action in institutional innovation, as Hargrave and Van de Ven (2006) point out, includes the notion of isolation. Specifically, drawing on the technology innovation management literature, these authors suggest that repeated social interactions in the same networks isolate technology entrepreneurs from the dominant technological system and industry and allow them to develop their own system. Thus, the narrative presented here illustrates how sustained interactions carve out a free space between the prevailing institutional order and VRO/ANVR as an established field constituent, thereby allowing the association to perform innovative parts in this field.

The strong resistance by member tour operators to both the scheme and the compliance date (van der Duim & van Marwijk, 2006) validates this isolation argument. The members who had been actively engaged on the Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism, IDUT meetings and the Groeneveld Conferences increasingly internalized the issue.[48] As one VRO/ANVR representative explained (in van Marwijk & van der Duim, 2004:23), "[w]hat was already on the

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[48] After a meeting with frontrunner tour operators, I witnessed how such frontrunner organizations help set the standards for the rest of the industry. On the way back in the car, the VRO/ANVR representative discussed the issue of compliance with the POEMS scheme. Specifically, she pointed out that the association was planning to monitor the scheme's implementation. The frontrunner tour operator, then, suggested a peer-review methodology that would augment the learning process (Field notes, 16/09/04). At another meeting, one frontrunner tour operator met a representative of a nature conservation organization at the bar. After they talked about their ideas to link tourism with biodiversity, the nature conservationist immediately called a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to secure funds for such a project (Field notes, 14/12/06).

working group members' minds was not yet on the tour operators' minds." Such internalization is also evidenced by the textual analysis of the magazines: sustainable tourism is increasingly framed as a moral duty (Annex 3, Figure C). Whereas those ANVR tour operators were thus in favor of the POEMS scheme and had the support of the VRO Board, the wider membership base did not come on board with the proposed change. The repetitive requests for participation found in the texts support the notion that there was lukewarm support for sustainable tourism measures among the wider membership (see Appendix 3, Figure D). Thus, to bring its members behind the scheme, the VRO/ANVR had to increase its promotional efforts and adjust the scheme requirements. It did so, and by spring 2005, all member tour operators had implemented the scheme. Today, the association continues working on sustainable tourism among its membership base and at the international level.

6.4.4 Summary

As a basis for developing a model of institutional entrepreneurship by business-interest organizations, this chapter has sought to understand how and why the VRO/ANVR became engaged in the change process toward sustainable tourism in the field of outbound tour operations in the Netherlands. The process model produced draws on Greenwood and Suddaby's (2006:29) model of elite institutional entrepreneurship, which centers on organizational fields – defined as a set of actors occupying distinct network positions associated with different degrees of institutional embeddedness (i.e., the degree to which an actor is *aware* of alternative practices, *open* to alternative practices and *motivated* to support, spread and adopt them). Their model generally assumes that central organizations are less likely to take on the role of institutional entrepreneur because they are "more informed, continually socialized, better advantaged, and thus more embedded and resistant to change" (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006:30). Peripheral organizations, in contrast, are less institutionally embedded and thus more likely to act like institutional entrepreneurs. However, the authors' case study of the Big Five accountancy firms suggests that central actors that bridge across fields may also sometimes engage in institutional entrepreneurship.

My own findings suggest that business-interest organizations occupy such bridging positions in an organizational field by intermediating between their members and outsiders and by controlling "the taken-for-granted symbolic and material resources and institutionalized channels of diffusion available in mature fields" (Maguire et al., 2004:659). Because of their heterogeneous set of relations with interindustry, intraindustry and institutional actors at both the national and international levels, information on developments in the field and adjacent fields naturally flows to them:

> *Proposition 1:* Business-interest organizations occupy bridging positions in an organizational field by operating in different environments simultaneously, which exposes them to different information flows and increases their awareness of alternative practices.

Greenwood and Suddaby (2006) also suggest that field-level governance mechanisms like trade and professional associations lag behind the evolution of elite actors in a field. Interestingly, VRO/ANVR's engagement in institutional entrepreneurship was not seemingly inspired by the moves of its elite members. Even though TUI–Netherlands' nomination of an environmental manager clearly played a role in the change process, most elite, as well as other, members had little interest in taking on the sustainable tourism issue. This finding contrasts with those of Greenwood et al. (2002) and Vermeulen et al. (2007), who find that professional and trade associations follow the interests of their elite members working for or against change. Rather, the empirical setting here more closely approximates what Bansal and Roth (2000:730) call a field "under intense scrutiny," a setting in which challengers to the field – for example, social movement and governmental organizations – goad business-interest organizations into the role of institutional entrepreneur.

In addition, this present work finds that various organizations promoted the issue of sustainable tourism, including those concerned with tourism to developing countries and environmental organizations worried about the impacts of mass tourism in holiday destinations. The variety of events these produced (e.g., conference organization, textbook publications and project launches) made the VRO/ANVR aware of the emerging discourse on sustainable tourism. Most notably, the Advisory Council for Nature Conservation's challenge to the trade association as a representative body of the tourism industry and the implied threat of unfavorable government measures like an ecolevy triggered the association to formally take up the issue. This dynamic is formalized as follows:

> *Proposition 2:* Business-interest organizations as representative bodies will be challenged by actors seeking change in the extant institutional order, which will increase their motivation to support alternative practices.

Nevertheless, adopting a certain position in the institutional entrepreneurial movement does not automatically signify that business-interest organizations play innovative parts: they may support the change process in a ceremonial way (Brunsson, 2002; Colomy, 1998). My findings suggest, however, that such ceremonialism is unlikely to occur if social interactions between challengers and business-interest organizations are sustained. Thus, from a social movement perspective, the IDUT Platform, as the key venue at which social interactions between representatives of the new and old guard took place, constituted a 'free space,' a small-scale setting "within a community or movement that [is] removed from the direct control of dominant groups, [is] voluntarily participated in, and generate[s] the cultural challenge that precedes or accompanies political mobilization" (Polletta, 1999:1). Because free spaces are relevant to the creation of shared identities, cultural frames and solidarity among change agents (Kellogg, 2007), the term is helpful in capturing the IDUT Platform's impact on the VRO/ANVR's institutional embeddedness. Specifically, the IDUT Platform facilitated two developments: formulation of a consensus definition of sustainable tourism and activation and expansion of social ties. Both developments facilitated the exchange of ideas, knowledge and resources and the generation of a sense of community

among the actors involved. Collectively, this worked as a motivational frame in which to sustain cooperation and launch collaborative projects, and it was through the sustained engagement in IDUT Platform meetings, as well as conferences and project meetings, that the VRO/ANVR became increasingly isolated from the prevailing institutional order (cf. Hargrave & van de Ven, 2006). This isolation in turn affected the VRO/ANVR's institutional embeddedness, finding expression in the introduction of the innovative practice of POEMS. This process can be expressed as follows:

> *Proposition 3:* Sustained social interactions between challengers and business-interest organizations increase the isolation of business-interest organizations from the dominant institutional order, thereby increasing their openness to alternative practices.

Figure 6-2 integrates these three propositions into a process model. Taken together, the three propositions explain how and why business-interest organizations may play innovative parts in institutional entrepreneurship, even when their wider membership base is not in favor of their doing so.

Insert Figure 6-2 about here

6.5   Discussion and conclusions

This chapter has aimed at enhancing insights into how and why business-interest organizations act as institutional entrepreneurs within mature organizational fields. Drawing on an intensive case study of the VRO/ANVR, it has identified three dynamics that gave rise to this organization's institutional entrepreneurship. Whereas the first two, occupying a bridging position and being wary of governmental interference, explain how and why the VRO/ANVR became engaged in the institutional entrepreneurial movement toward sustainable tourism, the third, sustained social interactions between challengers and business-interest organizations, throws light on how and why the VRO/ANVR developed the obligatory POEMS scheme, even against the wishes of its wider membership base. This narrative thus provides four insights into institutional entrepreneurship and business-interest organizations' role within it.

First, this analysis contributes to a more distributed notion of institutional entrepreneurship (Garud & Karnoe, 2003; Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007; Quack, 2007). Whereas much theory and research on institutional entrepreneurship focuses on explaining how a practice came about through the activities of a single actor assumed critical in the process, this case study illustrates that institutional entrepreneurship is a process in which numerous actors take part over time. That is, several organizations brought the issue of sustainable tourism to the fore by arguing that the prevailing industry activities did not align with societal values like protecting Mother Earth and international solidarity. These charges challenged the legitimacy of the industry practices (Galvin et al., 2005). Therefore, my findings support the recent

critique that heroic actor models of institutional entrepreneurship are an oversimplification of the role of agency in institutional change (e.g., Garud et al., 2007; Zilber, 2007).

Second, by examining the VRO/ANVR's process of engagement with the issue of sustainable tourism over time, this study heeds Hardy and Maguire's (2008) call for greater insights into the origins of institutional entrepreneurship. More specifically, rather than supporting the dominant conception of institutional entrepreneurship as a rational and intentional process (e.g., Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence, 1999; Maguire et al., 2004), the findings suggest that actors can be goaded into the role of institutional entrepreneur by the activities of challengers to the field. That is, whereas, because of its bridging position, the VRO/ANVR had been *aware* of the sustainable tourism issue since the late 1980s, it was the wariness, right after the publication of the 1994 Council's report, of governmental interference that *motivated* the VRO/ANVR to begin actively working on this issue by installing the Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism, chairing the IDUT Platform and introducing sustainable tourism measures. This finding underscores the need to understand institutional entrepreneurship as an emergent and contingent process (Lawrence & Phillips, 2004).

Third, by examining the mechanisms underpinning such institutional entrepreneurship, this analysis integrates and extends current knowledge of how actors overcome the 'paradox of embedded agency' (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Holm, 1995; Seo & Creed, 2002), how they foresee opportunities for change in an institutional environment despite the operative institutional pressures that simultaneously constrain and condition them. Specifically, the findings suggest that repeated social interactions carve out a free space between the prevailing institutional order and established field actors, which permits the actors to play innovative parts in institutional entrepreneurship. Moreover, it brings to the forefront not simply the isolation through repetitive social interactions recognized in the literature as an important mechanism behind institutional innovation (Hargrave & van de Ven, 2006) but also the *process* of such isolation. For example, even though the launching of the IDUT Platform was one of many events that mark the change process toward sustainable tourism in the field, the platform became the province of both the new and old guard as they searched for a common ground for sustainable tourism management. Thus, the platform formed the free space (Polletta, 1999) necessary to sustain social interactions, which contributed to the detachment of the association from the institutional constraints of the existing order.

Fourth, the narrative illuminates the role of business-interest organizations in institutional entrepreneurship. That is, the VRO/ANVR case study supports Greenwood, Suddaby and Hinings' (2002) idea that business-interest organizations play multifaceted roles in institutional change. For instance, initially, the VRO/ANVR played a rather conservative part in institutional entrepreneurship, opting for collective measures like codes of conducts and public information brochures. Later, however, it began to play more innovative parts such as introducing the obligatory POEMS scheme for its member tour operators. This finding supports the need to study institutional entrepreneurship through a process perspective (Langley, 2007; Hardy & Maguire, 2008; Perkmann & Spicer, 2007).

Limitations and future research. Despite these valuable insights, the limitations of the study must also be acknowledged. First, because it consists of only a single case study of the VRO/ANVR, more research is clearly needed to validate its findings on the generative mechanisms behind business-interest organizations' institutional entrepreneurship. Two characteristics of this empirical setting, particularly, might have limited the generalizability of the research findings. First, outbound tour operations is a complex, global, competitive industry that is fragmented in terms of the number of firms involved and their level of differentiation in providing the holiday product (e.g., transport, accommodation, leisure activities). Secondly, the issue of sustainable tourism is what Trist (1983), calls a 'meta-problem' – that is, one that goes beyond the capacity of a single actor to deal with or manage. Under such circumstances, collaborative arrangements are necessary to jumpstart a change process (Dorado, 2005). Hence, additional understanding could be gained by studying cases of institutional entrepreneurship in tour operations fields in which business-interest organizations are not or are very little engaged or by studying issues that are less complex. Doing so would enhance understanding of the conditions under which field-level organizations play innovative parts in change processes.

A further limitation concerns the boundaries of the case study's organizational field, which here is defined geographically. In reality, developments in the Netherlands have been and still are influenced by the international debate on labor conditions, child protection, biodiversity, corporate social responsibility and climate change. Thus, studies on institutional entrepreneurship would benefit from cases that analyze how macrodiscourses work as a motivational frame for actors to act as institutional entrepreneurs (e.g., Lawrence & Phillips, 2004). Since institutions are nested at different levels (Holm, 1995), institutional entrepreneurship theory could also profit from studies that examine the different organizational fields in which institutional entrepreneurs operate. For example, the interviews and participant observation conducted for this study plainly reveal that some proponents of sustainable tourism began with activities at the national level but are now attempting to bring intergovernmental organizations like the World Tourism Organization and the United Nations Environment Programme behind their initiatives.

In addition, in examining the VRO/ANVR's engagement with the issue of sustainable tourism, this study draws on institutional entrepreneurship theory. However, the characteristics of institutional entrepreneurship it identified – including the contestation over the negative impacts of (mass) tourism in general and flight holidays in particular, the emergence of collaborative networks like the IDUT Platform, the creation of a consensus definition and body of knowledge of sustainable tourism, and the sense of community – suggest that social movement processes (DellaPorta & Diani, 1999) were at play here. Hence, future research could benefit from combining social movement theory and neoinstitutional theory. For example, even though the range of actions produced by institutional entrepreneurs to garner support for their desired change project is well studied (e.g., Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006), very little is known about the consequences that one institutional entrepreneur's actions may have for the repertoire of strategies and tactics available to other institutional entrepreneurs in the field (cf. Taylor & van Dyke, 2004; Whittier,

2004). For instance, the choice to set up a stakeholder dialogue on sustainable tourism in the Dutch field of outbound tour operations has probably influenced the tactics available for proponents of change in this field. Most notably, in the early years of the IDUT Platform, the more revolutionary NGOs were excluded from participating in this collective, which potentially marginalized their position.

Another line of inquiry might be to examine the 'mobilizing structures' (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996) that enable institutional entrepreneurs to mobilize resources as exemplified in this current study by the IDUT Platform and the Groeneveld Conferences. Indeed, Rao and Giorgi (2006) specifically call for research that analyzes the role of formal and informal structures in institutional entrepreneurship. Such research may contribute especially to the emerging body of literature that combines social movement theory with neoinstitutional theory (e.g., den Hond & de Bakker, 2007; Fligstein, 2001b; Hensmans, 2003; Lounsbury et al., 2003; Rao et al., 2000).

Practical implications. Pragmatically, the results of this study offer business-interest organizations insights into how to respond to developments in the organizational field. For example, the findings reveal that business-interest organizations may not only respond to institutional pressures (Oliver, 1991) but may also actively try to challenge, modify and use these pressures to guard their members' interests and identity. However, by so denying the emergence of an issue, these organizations run the risk that others may define the corporate norms and practices for them (cf. Hoffman, 1999). Such a strategic focus is particularly relevant for trade associations in the tourism industry in which NGOs are now actively working to establish an international accreditation body, the Sustainable Tourism Stewardship Council (Font, Sanabria, & Skinner, 2003). Within this context, this research not only provides an analytical lens through which to observe developments in the field, it also suggests a clear strategy for defining the field's standards and norms.

Table 6-1 Evolution of the field

Stages
1980–1994: Emergence of the sustainable tourism issue When in the early 1980s, the impact of mass tourism on the natural and sociocultural environment in developing countries and popular European holiday destinations became clear, some organizations and individuals, including NGOs, alternative tour operators, missionary organizations, and concerned academics and mountaineers, tried to bring the issue to people's attention. When the trade association VRO/ANVR became aware that the issue of sustainable tourism had found its way on to the public agenda, it installed an informal Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism, which in 1992 drafted an environmental code of conduct for tour operators. Nevertheless, despite the VR/ANVR's view that the countries of destination were primarily responsible for the sustainable development of tourism, the organization encouraged tour operators to support this development. The publication of the Advisory Council for Nature Policy's 1994 report, which was highly critical of the national government and industry for paying scant attention to the issue, put an end to the relative lack of commitment.
1995–1998: Toward a stakeholder dialogue In response to the critical report, the first national conference on sustainable tourism was organized in 1995, resulting in the launch of the IDUT Platform to spearhead the debate. Chaired by the VRO/ANVR and including several ministries, tourist organizations and NGOs, the platform organized a second conference in 1996 (the Groeneveld Conference) to discuss how the ideas and principles of sustainable development could be translated into concrete actions. Against the backdrop of this dialogue, the ANVR formalized its Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism, published two policy documents and a public brochure on environment and tourism, and accepted a code of conduct opposing child sex tourism. Such steps marked increased attention to the issue of sustainable tourism within the industry in general and on the part of the ANVR in particular.
1999–2003: From theory to practice From the late 1990s, the number of initiatives increased sharply and included supply chain projects, informative and educational projects aimed at consumers and tour operators, the launch of Web sites, a carbon-offsetting scheme and ecolabels. The annual Groeneveld Conferences served as the touchstone for these developments. The VRO/ANVR also began to translate its ideas into action by integrating various solutions from the field into an overarching framework, the 'product-oriented environmental management scheme' (POEMS), designed to allow tour operators to embed sustainability measures in their daily operations in a structural and systematic way. To guarantee a level playing field, near the end of 2000, ANVR tour operators agreed on the POEMS scheme as a membership criterion, but the association still found it hard to rally all the tour operators behind it, which resulted in several modifications to the requirements and postponement of the deadline.
2004–the present: Sustainable tourism as a legitimate issue Developments following the 2000 decision that committed VRO/ANVR members to advancing sustainable development in outbound tourism suggest increased legitimacy of the sustainable tourism issue. Not only had all VRO/ANVR members implemented POEMS by early 2005, but a number of mainstream and specialist tour operators have taken the lead in socially responsible action. Accompanying this formation of a frontrunner group is a more positive attitude toward tourism. That is, tourism is no longer considered merely harmful to the natural and sociocultural environment but is also seen as a potential mechanism to alleviate poverty and preserve nature. Thus, development organizations and nature conservationist organizations increasingly engage in partnerships with tour operators, which has made 'sustainability' a strategic issue in the outbound tour operations field.

VRO/ANVR

Discussion on ST at annual meeting ('89)

Executive Committee installed & publication of first policy document on ST

VRO 10 Basic Assumptions on ST accepted

'Are we going too far?'

Code of Conduct against child sex tourism accepted

Publication information leaflet: *Travel Industry and its concern for the Environment*

Second policy document on ST
Start of POEMS project
Outbound Tourism Chapter in gov. Policy Agenda
Environ.info in databases

Info file on child sex tourism

Mobility Project

CSR discussed at annual conference and public CSR brochure published

Participation in 2 Travel Workshops organized by Alps Platform

POEMS accepted as membership criterion

POEMS magazine & meetings

Deadline for POEMS Basic Certificate

<90   '92   '93   '94   '95   '96   '97   '98   '99   '00   '01   '02   '03   '04

FIELD

Dutch Alps Platform installed

Campaign against flight holidays

Eco label Outdoor sports

Environmental Study Group on the Alps ('82)

Foundation Tourism & Third World ('86)

Textbook on impacts of tourism ('89)

Platform Sea turtles

ECEAT

Multatuli Travel

Textbook

Initiative Group on Outbound Tourism, Nature & Environment (IDUT Platform)

Flight Tax

Second national conference on ST

Airship Campaign

CETL Policy Agenda

TUI Environmental Manager

Since 1999, national conferences on ST are held annually

Netherlands Antilles project

Winter sports 2005

Public deliberation on ST

First national conference on ST

ECPAT Campaign

Cultural Tourism Program SNV

Tourism Technical Committee Sust. Dev. Agreements

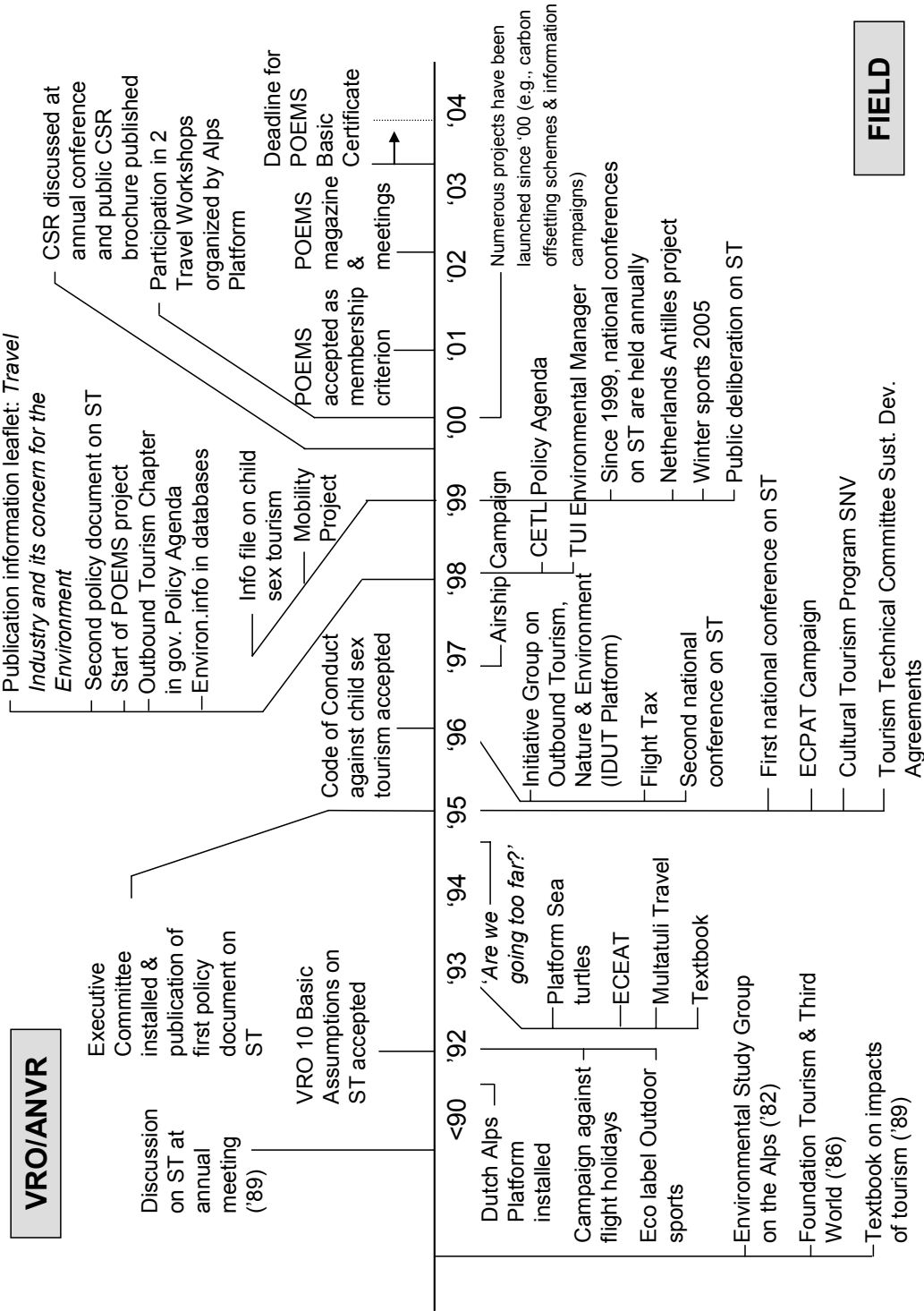Numerous projects have been launched since '00 (e.g., carbon offsetting schemes & information campaigns)

Figure 6-1 Evolution of the field

Table 6-2 *Instances of institutional entrepreneurship by VRO/ANVR*

Code (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 221 & 230)	Illustrations
Advocacy = The mobilization of political and regulatory support through direct and deliberate techniques of social persuasion	- Lobby for sustainable tourism at the IFTO (e.g., *ATLAS*, July 1999) - Lobby for stretching out the holiday season at the Dutch government and European Committee (e.g., *ATLAS*, October 1996) - Lobby for financial support of the publication of a public information brochure (e.g., *ATLAS*, July 1997)
Defining = The construction of rule systems that confer status or identity, define boundaries of membership or create status hierarchies within a field	- Introduction of Codes of Conduct (1992 and 1996) - Introduction of obligatory POEMS scheme (2000)
Constructing identities = Defining the relationship between an actor and the field in which that actor operates	- Constructing the identity of 'responsible' tour operators (e.g., ATLAS, June 1999) - Constructing the occupational identity of the POEMS coordinator (e.g., *POEMS Magazine*, 01-03-02)
Changing normative associations = Remaking the connections between sets of practices and norming the moral and cultural foundations for those practices	- Presenting POEMS as part of the tradition of quality management in ANVR (e.g., *ATLAS*, March 1996) - Presenting sustainable tourism as part of the tradition of CSR in ANVR (e.g., *ATLAS*, August 1999)
Constructing normative networks = Constructing inter-organizational connections through which practices become normatively sanctioned and which form the relevant peer group with respect to compliance, monitoring and evaluation	- Founding of the Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism (1995) - Organization of meetings for POEMS coordinators (2002)
Mimicry = Associating new practices with existing sets of taken-for-granted practices, technologies and rules in order to ease adoption	- Embedding sustainable tourism in extant routines and practices; e.g., information on Blue Flag label and environmental management of hotels is included in the TIP and Toeristiek databases (e.g., *ATLAS*, December 1996)
Theorization = Developing and specifying abstract categories and the elaboration of chains of cause and effect	- *Internal*: Discursive arguments on sustainable tourism expressed in *ATLAS* magazine, Public information brochures on tourism & environment (Dec 1997) and CSR (2000), POEMS meetings, POEMS bulletins - *External*: Discursive arguments on sustainable tourism expressed at Groeneveld Conferences, IDUT meetings, Holiday Trade Fair events and other conferences. As chair of IDUT, VRO/ANVR was cited in numerous trade journal articles and newspaper articles
Educating = Educating actors in skills and knowledge necessary to support the new institution	- Distribution of information brochure against child sex tourism (1998) - Development of online POEMS Course (2002) - Distribution of 'best practices' fact sheets as part of POEMS promotion (2003) - Organization of POEMS meetings in which the implementation of the scheme was discussed (2002)
Policing* = Ensuring compliance through enforcement, auditing and monitoring *This activity is categorized by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) as 'maintaining institutions'	- According to Van der Duim and Van Marwijk (2006:458), reminders were sent to tour operators that had not acquired the POEMS Basic Certificate before the deadline - According to Van Marwijk and Van der Duim (2004:24), it is estimated that five members gave up their membership because of POEMS - Assessment of the implementation of POEMS by Wageningen University (2004)

Table 6-3 The role of POEMS in the change process

Role of POEMS	Illustrative quotes
Innovation	- "The POEMS Scheme has been a breakthrough within the tour operations industry, not with respect to consumer awareness, but for the awareness of the industry, also at the European and global level; it has an enormous impact" (Interview Respondent C_2) - "But if you look how this all evolved. From 1993 when they were very skeptical to the recent developments, the ANVR with its package of measures on sustainable tourism, the POEMS story. The change process has developed admirably well" (Interview Respondent I) - "If ANVR had not taken up the theme of the environment through the POEMS scheme, this would not have become an issue in the industry" (Interview Respondent A_1). - "What has happened within the tour operations industry is fairly unique, because it has obtained a very obligatory character" (Interview Respondent R_1)
Awareness raising	- "You should regularly reflect on the goal of POEMS. Given the possibilities we have, I believe we have made some progress here. The goal to make tour operators aware that there exists something like the environment and sustainable tourism has been met" (Interview Respondent S) - "The educational aspect is just very important here. The way the [POEMS] course has been written helps; sustainable tourism for dummies so to say. I find this very good – I learned a lot myself too. If you want to develop an understanding of sustainable tourism which is useful for you as firm, the course is very useful" (Interview Respondent R_1) - "You asked what changes can be observed in the industry? Well, the POEMS coordinators, environmental programs are drafted, you see that they purchase from a different perspective, they start looking at their accommodations, so what do you purchase in terms of environmental impacts, so you see the emergence of support for the theme and simply knowledge of the theme because that was nonexistent" (Interview Respondent B_1)
Individual responsibility	- "The phenomenon of POEMS has of course also achieved that each tour operating firm has to assign a coordinator, someone who has to be interested in the theme, and this is beginning to have an impact as they have to implement the POEMS scheme" (Interview Respondent L) - "Look, POEMS is a signboard, which does not mean a lot; what impact does it have on sustainability? Very little so far; it is a first start, an important investment for the future to really work actively on the theme, but if you want to see what has really changed in the market thanks to POEMS, the changes are minimal" (Interview Respondent C_2)

Table 6-3 (continued)

| Role of POEMS	Illustrative quotes
Providing order & meaning	- "Later we could use [the Netherlands Antilles project] as an example for POEMS. When people asked what they could do as tour operators, well, we could then present the deluge of ideas from other people and tell them to choose what they wanted to try [...] These ideas finally became useful because members who had specialized, for example, in holidays in the Netherlands Antilles, really could do something using this project as a source of inspiration. Tour operators specialized in tourism in the Alps could do something with the Alps projects" (Interview Respondent O_1) - "POEMS was a good means to support the operationalization of sustainable tourism" (Interview Respondent S) - "We are discussing with a number of tour operators how they can include a visit to a field project in their itineraries. They can then present this as one of their measures [in the context of POEMS]. This also goes for Trees for Travel. A number of NGOs or third parties have developed tools which tour operators can apply within the framework of POEMS" (Interview Respondent T) - "So, I began doing it individually, and within a year, I had the tour operating business behind me. We did have the good luck that the POEMS story came up at that time, and we just said, 'If you do this, you already fulfill the obligations of the POEMS scheme'" (Interview Respondent I)
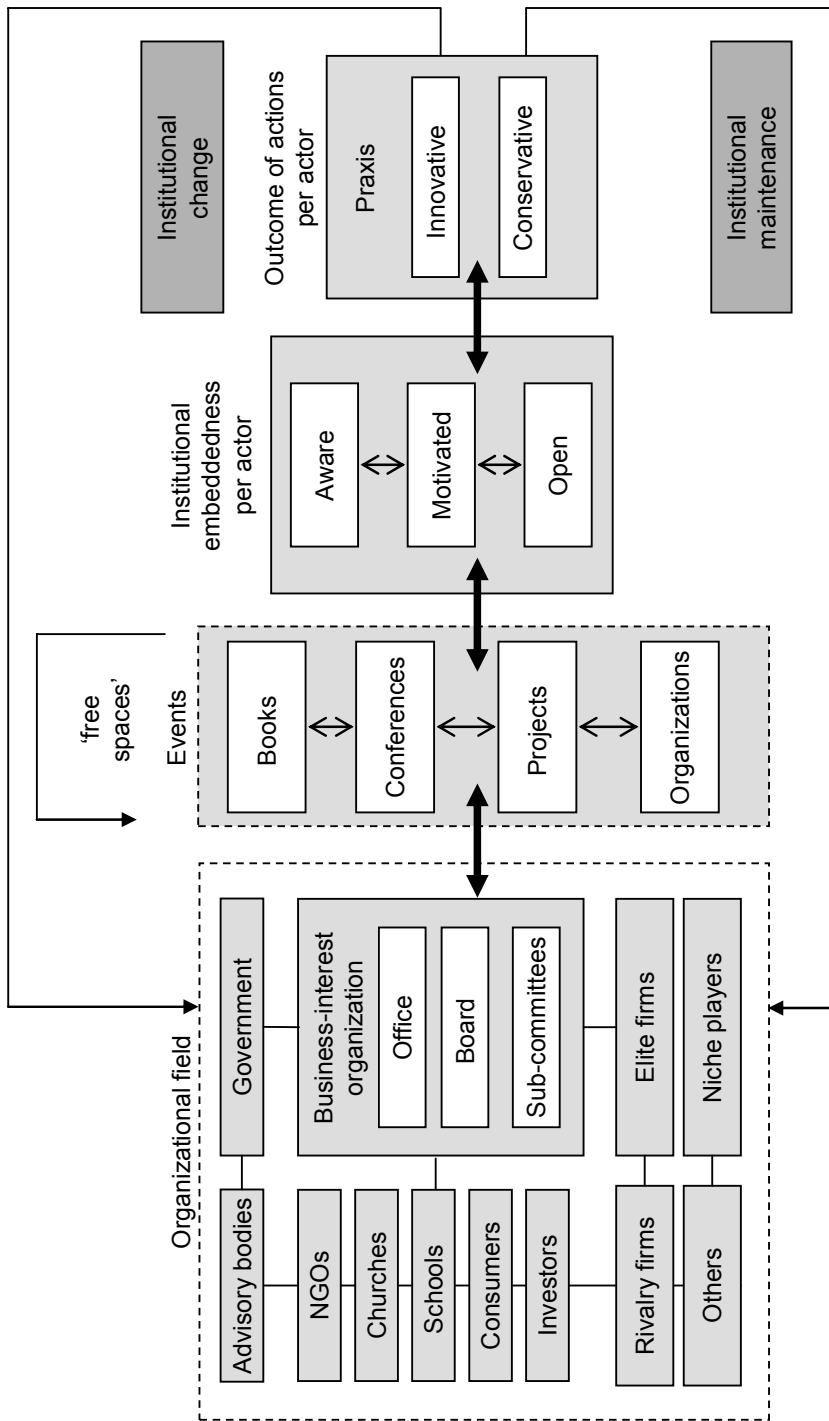
Figure 6-2 A process model of institutional entrepreneurship

Appendix 1: Tabulating process data

 Text fragment from *ATLAS* magazine (October 1997):

"Following ECTAA and UFTAA, IFTO adopted a code of conduct on the abuse of children. According to VRO the code correctly represents the points of view of the tour operators that are represented in IFTO. If all of the IFTO members strictly adhere to the code, the fight against child abuse will be effective."

Data-making from this text fragment using subject-verb-object structure:
- *Record 1 [October 1997]:* VRO reports that IFTO adopted a code of conduct on the abuse of children following ECTAA and UFTAA.
- *Record 2 [October 1997]:* VRO believes that this code correctly represents the points of view of the tour operators that are represented in IFTO.
- *Record 3 [October 1997]:* VRO believes that if all of the IFTO members strictly adhere to the code, the fight against child abuse will be effective.

Appendix 2: Recurrent phrases in the associations' magazines (1996–2004)

Empirically derived codes		Illustrations
Issues & Practices	Issues	- Accommodations & environment, mobility & environment, child sex tourism, human rights, CSR
	Practices	- Sustainable winter sports holidays, safe bus label, Blue Flag label, public brochure, POEMS, spread of holiday season, reduction of travel brochures
Interactions	Intra-industry	- *National level*: ANVR, executive committee on travel brochures, executive committee on adventure tour operators - *International level*: IFTO (International Federation of Tour Operators), DRV (German Tour Operations Association), ABTO (Association of Belgian Tour Operators), TUI–Germany
	Inter-industry	- Amsterdam Airport Schiphol, BOVAG (Dutch Association for Car Dealerships), RECRON (Dutch Association of Entrepreneurs in Recreation)
	Institutional	- Platform on the Alps, Airships Platform, ECPAT, Amnesty International, Ministry of Economic Affairs

Empirically derived codes		Illustrations
Justificatory arguments	Moral duty	- "ANVR finds the work of Amnesty International highly relevant. This finds expression in our sponsorship of the organization and our brochure on travel terms and conditions in which we refer to Amnesty International as an organization that shows the other side of the medal of holidays" (*ATLAS*, October 1996:8) - "We deal with the issue of sustainable tourism from a societal point of view" (*ATLAS*, March 1998:16) - "By supporting the work of ECPAT, the travel industry shows that it is against the exploitation of children and moves beyond a passive rejection of such practices" (*ATLAS*, November 1998:29)
	Political reasons	- "Industry self-regulation is important. If the tour operations industry does not manage to [secure] an agreement with the consumer associations on the liability issue, chances are high that European regulations will be imposed" (*ATLAS,* June 1996:18) - "It is important for Dutch tour operators to be on the ball with respect to this issue. If you do not take measures for the future now, you will be behind the times as an industry on this issue. That could work out badly" (*ATLAS*, June 1999:5) - "ANVR has taken its responsibility toward consumers [seriously] from the very beginning of its existence, also to prevent governmental regulations in favor of consumers" (*ATLAS*, November 1999a:7) - "The travel industry does not await new regulations. Given the changing position of the government as outlined by Mister Wijffels, however, industry should hold on to the ball in the developments. The consumer demands responsible travel, and the ANVR should be known for this" (*ATLAS*, November 1999b:11) - "A great advantage of the Dutch travel industry is that the industry, by taking measures itself, can determine the content [of sustainable tourism policies]" (*POEMS Bulletin*, 11-04-02)
	Material reasons	- "And in 20 years time, we still want to enjoy the treasures of Egypt, the nature in South Africa and the mountains in the Alps region" (*ATLAS*, June 1999:5) - "Without beautiful holiday destinations, tour operators do not have a product to sell" (*ATLAS*, December 2000:12) - "Nature and the environment are important for the quality aspects in future and hence crucial for the holiday product" (*ATLAS*, March 1998:16)
	Normative reasons	- "It is important to market ANVR as a guarantee for responsible travel in the new millennium" (*ATLAS*, August 1999b:6) - "With respect to all elements of our quality focus, we should consider whether the commercial conditions should determine the scope of measures to be taken" (*ATLAS*, May 1996:9) - "We have made great progress in managing the environmental issues as part of the quality focus within ANVR" (*ATLAS*, September 1996:9) - "We are involved in the POEMS project that aims at promoting environmental consciousness behavior within all ranks and within all activities of tour operations firms; tour operators should not only act commercially and qualitatively, but also [in an environmentally friendly manner] as part of their quality management" (*ATLAS*, March 1999:14)

Empirically derived codes		Illustrations
Motivational arguments	Report on success	- "The Initiative Group – with four ministries represented – was impressed by the pragmatic approach of ANVR toward its sustainable tourism policy. No mere intentions and discussion papers, but measures aimed at a clear and twofold goal. First, the stimulation of useful and responsible environmental initiatives in the national and international travel industry. Second, the provision of relevant information to travelers, enabling them to include environmental aspects in their decision making process on their holidays" (*ATLAS*, April 1997:10) - "The ANVR managed to get Toeristiek involved in the collection of data on environmental management in the hospitality industry. This information will be included in their database from 1998 onwards" (*ATLAS*, April 1997:10) - "One success has been achieved already: the top 12 UK tour operators will also adopt the POEMS scheme" (*POEMS Bulletin*, 07-08-03)
	Request for participation	- "The executive committee invites business contacts and members to express their comments and proposals as it is not the intention to view the policy document [on sustainable tourism] as a static document for the coming years" (*ATLAS*, June 1998:12) - "The Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism is in search of members for the executive committee [on education & environment] that will be in charge of drafting policy recommendation on this important issue" (*ATLAS*, July 1997:11) - "The Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism is very much willing to answer questions and provide comments on the public information brochure. Because it is not our intention to have one-way traffic on this theme from the board and executive committee to members and counter staff" (*ATLAS*, January 1998a:13) - "Members who are interested in participating in the 'frontrunner group' meeting are requested to send an e-mail to VRO@anvr.nl" (*POEMS Bulletin*, 01-06-04)
	Execution of policy	- "The executive committee reports on the progress made in executing the Action Plan with nine measures as accepted by members of VRO at the annual meeting of 1996 and stemming from the policy document on sustainable tourism" (*ATLAS*, February 1997:8) - "The Blue Flag label is included in the database and thereby supports the Foundation FEEE as was also proposed in the policy document on sustainable tourism" (*ATLAS*, February 1998:10) - "The POEMS project directly stems from the second policy document on sustainable tourism that was accepted by the ANVR members "(*ATLAS*, June 1999:5) - "Despite the information provided, some of the VRO members do not fully understand how to implement the binding decision on POEMS. This decision obliges all members of ANVR to implement a POEMS scheme before November 1, 2003" (*POEMS Bulletin*, 09-08-02)

Empirically derived codes		Illustrations
Motivational arguments	Practical approach	- "In the next meeting, the executive committee will discuss feasible possibilities for tour operators to monitor the environmental quality of holiday destinations and accommodations and to inform travelers on this issue" (*ATLAS*, September 1996:9) - "After research and pilot projects, the POEMS Action Program was drafted with a feasible set of environmental measures for tour operations" (*ATLAS*, June 2000:15) - "The POEMS meetings of the summer and fall of 2002 have been very informative. The concrete approach of the POEMS Action Program was sufficiently discussed" (*POEMS Bulletin*, 10-12-02) - "VRO currently explores how to proceed with the POEMS project. The idea is to continue with feasible and successful self-regulative projects" (*POEMS Bulletin*, 16-09-04)

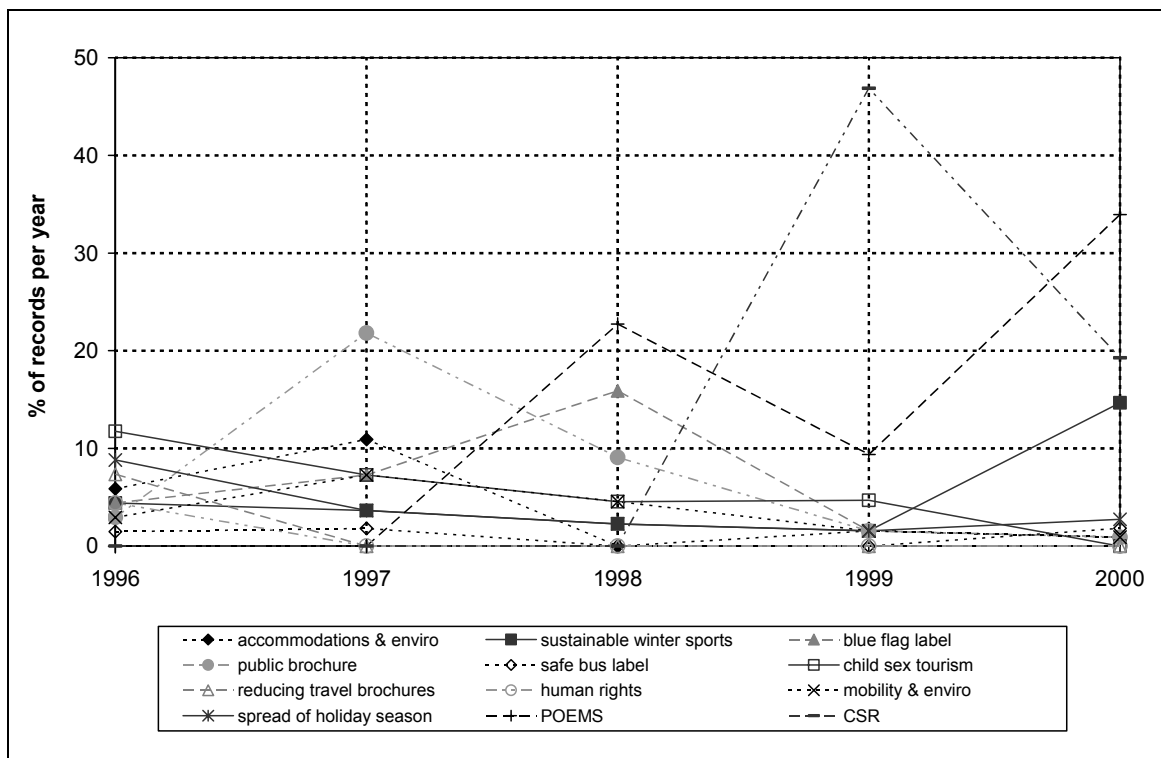*Appendix 3: Results textual analysis*

Figure A: Issues and practices related to sustainable tourism in the ATLAS Magazine over time
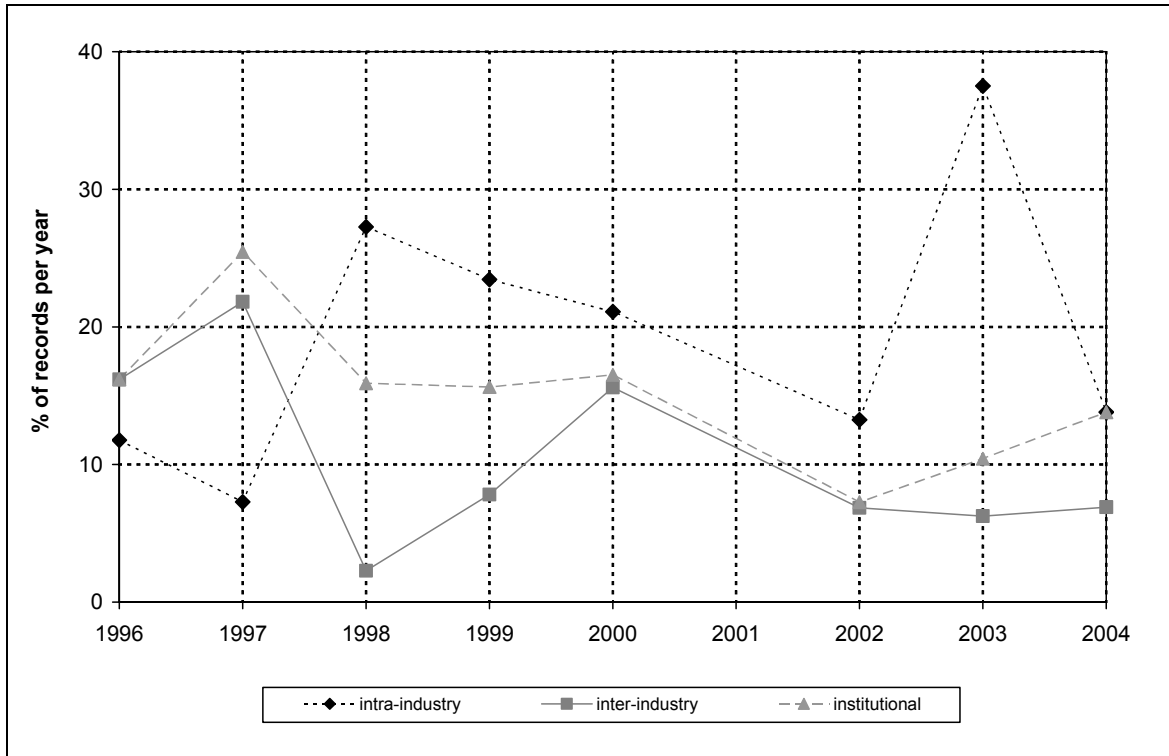
Figure B: Social interactions between the VRO/ANVR and field constituents over time
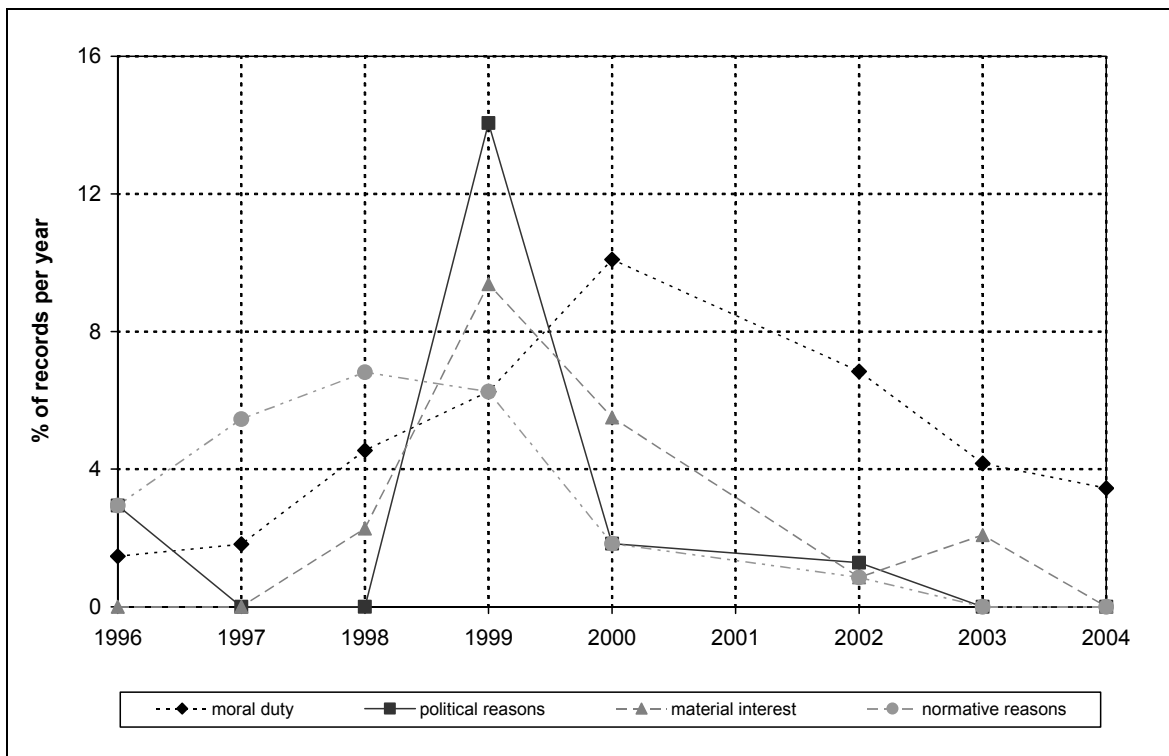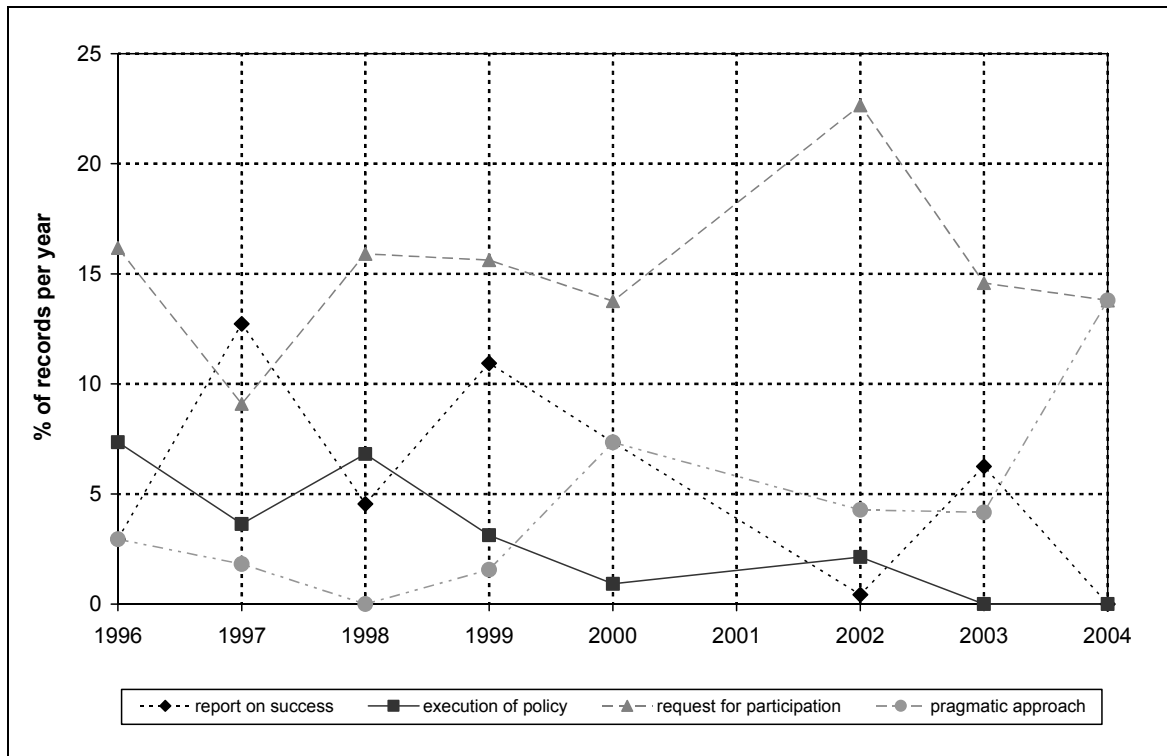

Figure C: Justificatory arguments over time

Figure D: Motivational arguments over time

PART

4

Closure

7.   Discussion and conclusions

7.1   Introduction

This dissertation falls into the realm of theory-building on institutional entrepreneurship to rectify past research's attribution of the institutional entrepreneurial role to a single actor or a small group of actors assumed central to a change project. This tendency has resulted in a heroic image of institutional entrepreneurs that pays little attention to the other actors involved in the change process or the temporal dynamics of their engagement and dramatics like failures and contestation. This study therefore sought to move beyond this perception of heroes and winners in institutional change.

Specifically, it addressed these weaknesses in two studies. First, by moving back and forth between the actors and the events involved in the field-transformation process, it identified the individual actors – and particularly the institutionally entrepreneurial actors – working for change in the mature organizational field of outbound tour operations in the Netherlands from 1980 to 2005. Second, by examining how and why business-interest organizations become engaged in institutional entrepreneurship, it sought a more nuanced understanding of institutional entrepreneurship, most especially, the role of the tour operators' trade association in promoting sustainable tourism over time.

Therefore, this chapter first summarizes the findings for each study and then synthesizes the results by proposing institutional entrepreneurship as a portfolio of roles. After a subsequent discussion of how this research contributes to the literature on institutional entrepreneurship, both theoretically and methodologically, the discussion turns to the study's practical implications and limitations, as well as possible lines of future inquiry.

7.2   Summary of findings

7.2.1   Who is engaged in institutional entrepreneurship over time?

Because the organizational field of outbound tour operations in the Netherlands is characterized by shared practices and norms in developing and marketing outbound holidays and the configuration of central and peripheral players in the field, it can be characterized as a mature field (see Chapter 3). This field is in the midst of transitioning toward more sustainable forms of tourism. As a result of the discussion of (mass) tourism's negative impacts on holiday destinations, field-level transformations occurred in the social interactions between proponents of sustainable tourism and incumbents (from ad-hoc to structured interactions), the responsibility of tour operators for sustainable tourism development (from collective to individual responsibility), and the practices of sustainable tourism (from dispersed and unrelated practices to a single POEMS framework). Such changes were apparently profound enough to alter the daily operations of a small group of

frontrunner tour operators (see Chapter 4). Who, then, were the institutional entrepreneurs that set this change process in motion?

The Chapter 5 analysis reveals that a number of individuals are and have been engaged in promoting sustainable tourism and contributing to the observable changes in this field. The activities of these institutionally entrepreneurial actors were both discursive (publishing articles, chairing workshops or presenting keynote speeches) and entrepreneurial (founding organizations and starting off projects). Nevertheless, even though the investigation identified some individuals as central to the sustainable tourism movement, their efforts were complemented by a series of others who worked for change in parallel or who successively became more central to the change process. The actors involved varied in their affiliation with public or private organizations, their relational embeddedness, the issues they addressed, the degree of change they envisioned, the practices they promoted and their success in doing so. Hence, the analysis provides evidence that no single actor or small group of actors can be held accountable for the changes unfolding in this field. Rather, it is the confluence of multiple actors working for change in different ways, to different degrees and at different stages of the game that leads to incremental transformation of the field.

7.2.2 How and why do business-interest organizations engage in institutional entrepreneurship?

The trade association VRO/ANVR, most notable for its obligatory POEMS scheme membership, not only played a significant role in the change process by signaling increased attention for the sustainable tourism issue, it made the individual tour operators associated with VRO/ANVR, at least in theory, responsible and accountable for the impacts of their holiday offerings. Given that tour operators operate in a highly competitive global market with little consumer demand for sustainable holiday products and governmental regulations on this issue, the introduction of POEMS was particularly salient. How and why, therefore, did the VRO/ANVR engage with the sustainable tourism issue and develop the POEMS scheme?

The Chapter 6 case study of VRO/ANVR's role suggests three mechanisms at play of which the first and third are ongoing. First, through its bridging position in the field, the VRO/ANVR became aware of the emerging debate on sustainable tourism in the late 1980s. Secondly, the wariness of governmental interference, right after the publication of a critical advisory report, motivated the VRO/ANVR to actively engage in industry self-regulation in the mid-1990s. Thirdly, through sustained social interactions with proponents of change, the trade association became amenable to more far-reaching measures, which found expression in the development of the obligatory POEMS scheme in the late 1990s. Hence, the findings illustrate that business-interest organizations, whose degree of institutional entrepreneurship may vary over time with developments in the field, play multifaceted roles in change processes.

7.3   Toward an integrative model of institutional entrepreneurship

One strength of using case studies is their potential for generating novel theoretical insights (Eisenhardt, 1989). As stated in Chapter 1, this dissertation aims to develop a comprehensive framework that integrates and extends existing insights into agency's role in processes of institutional change. Hence, the section below presents an integrative model of institutional entrepreneurship (see Figure 7-1 below) that furthers the notion of distributed agency. Specifically, drawing both on the pertinent literature and insights gained from the case study on institutional entrepreneurship in the Dutch field of outbound tour operations, I propose a conceptualization of institutional entrepreneurship as a portfolio of roles. The following discussion therefore reviews the model's theoretical background, details the roles that constitute institutional entrepreneurship (illustrated with case study evidence) and then explains how the model furthers the notion of distributed agency.

7.3.1   Rationale

Recent work suggests that different types of institutional entrepreneurs are operative in processes of institutional change. For example, drawing on Dorado (1999), Suddaby (2001) discerns three ideal types of institutional entrepreneurs – innovators, catalysts and engineers – to which set of roles Hinings et al. (2004) add insurgents. Likewise, Vermeulen, Uiterwijk and Zietsma (2005), in a case study of the emergence of FSC certification in the Netherlands, distinguish between issue entrepreneurs, arbiters, firm-level institutional entrepreneurs and field-level institutional entrepreneurs, while Hensmans (2003) divides reformers in institutional change into classic, modern and revolutionary. Drawing on their case study of the activities of a university technology transfer office, Jain and George (2007) distinguish three sub-roles of institutional entrepreneurs: protector, propagator and influencer. Institutional scholars also point to the roles in change processes of educators (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006), theorizers (Rao et al., 2003; Strang & Meyer, 1993), field makers or field takers (Child et al., 2007) and arbiters (Zietsma & Winn, 2005). Recent theorizing on role activity suggests that roles may function as coordinating mechanisms in settings governed primarily by social relations (Bechky, 2006). Since institutional entrepreneurship is partly a relational phenomenon (see Hargrave & van de Ven, 2006 and Chapter 5 of this dissertation), a focus on roles may shed light on the process by which the multiplicity of actors collectively foster institutional change.[49] The suggestion is, then, that the actors engaged in institutional entrepreneurship are somehow organized by the roles they perform. Hence, institutional entrepreneurship is to be conceptualized as a portfolio of roles.

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[49] The notion of roles to examine the complexity of human activity is also found in the literature on network management (Harland & Knight, 2001), technology innovation (Howell & Higgens, 1990; Howell, 2006) and leadership (Denison, Hooijberg & Quinn, 1995; Kets de Vries, 2006). Rather than examining the roles performed within single organizations or teams, the model presented here plays at the wider level: it aims at understanding agency in organizational fields.
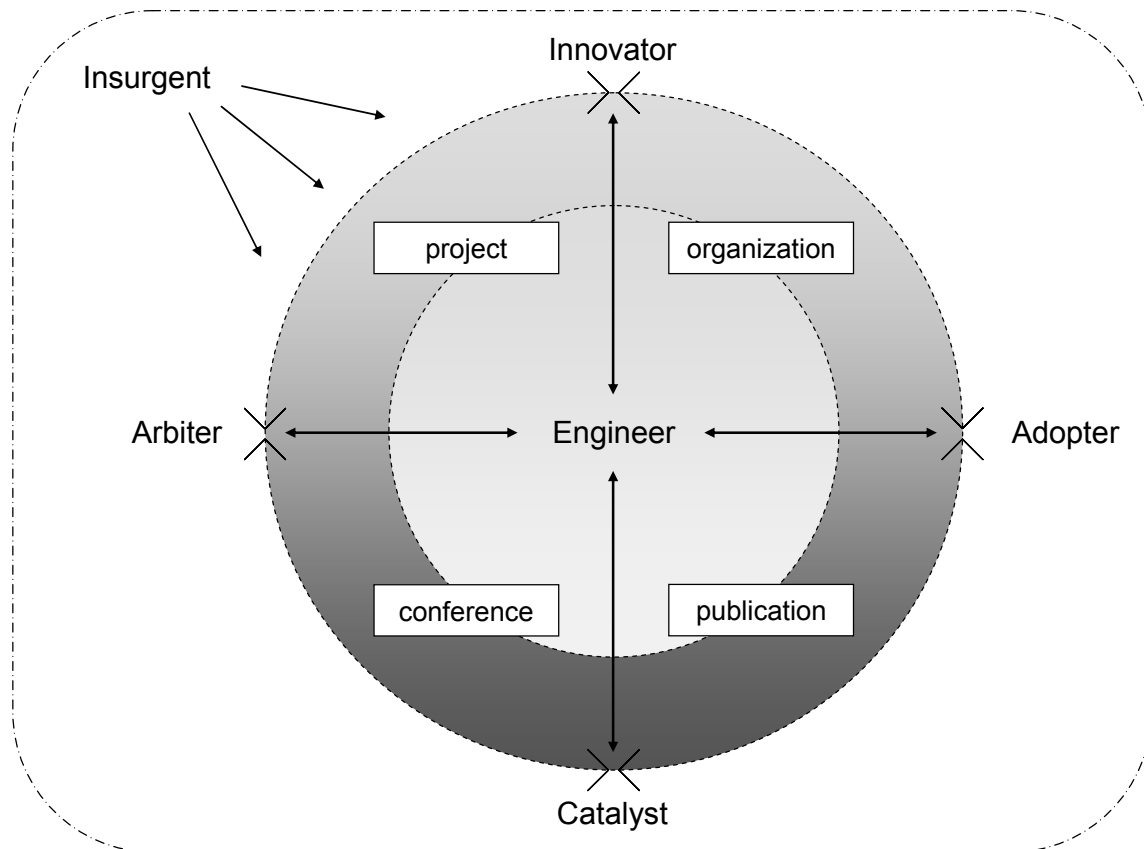
Figure 7-1 The portfolio of roles and events in institutional entrepreneurship

To define which roles constitute institutional entrepreneurship, I identify five tasks that must be performed to produce change.[50] The first, labeled institutional disruption, refers to activities that challenge and disrupt extant institutional arrangements in an organizational field. Specifically, introducing alternative practices, technologies and norms to the field offers field constituents an alternative change perspective – the second task of institutional entrepreneurship. The third task, institutional change approval, refers to the activities that assess the alternative practices, technologies and norms as socially desirable and necessary; the fourth task, institutional diffusion, is the spreading of these innovations throughout the field; and the final task, institutional maintenance, is routinizing these innovations in the field. Using these tasks as dimensions of institutional entrepreneurship, this analysis decomposes institutional entrepreneurship into a set of six roles – insurgent,

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[50] The five tasks are derived from Greenwood et al.'s (2002) stage model of institutional change, which analytically decomposes institutional change into six stages: (1) precipating jolts; (2) de-institutionalization; (3) pre-institutionalization; (4) theorization; (5) diffusion; (6) re-institutionalization. Stages (1) and (2) constitute the disruption of extant institutions, for which alternatives are put forward in stage (3). These innovations then gain legitimacy in stage (4) after which, in stage (5), the innovation spreads throughout the field. By stage (6), the innovation is taken for granted; if not, it becomes simply a fad or fashion.

innovator, catalyst, adopter, arbiter and engineer[51] – to produce the task-role based model of institutional entrepreneurship discussed below. It should be noted, however, that these roles do not necessarily play out successively in the change process (see also Section 7.3.7).

7.3.2 Institutional disruption

The first task in institutional entrepreneurship – usually the purview of *insurgents* – is to disrupt the prevalent way of working and thinking in the organizational field. As Colomy puts it, (1998:273) "contemporaneous general movements (e.g., progressivism, populism, feminism) crystallize new perspectives and normative environments that enable entrepreneurs (and others) to redefine arrangements and practices previously considered an integral part of the natural order of things." Insurgents are outsiders who contribute to the macrocultural discourse that affects all actors in a field. Specifically, these actors challenge the dominant logics in the field to improve the deprived situation of the group of actors they represent (Hinings et al., 2004). Examples of such insurgents in the institutional entrepreneurship literature include HIV/AIDS treatment activists (Maguire et al., 2004), organizations combating child labor (Khan et al., 2007) and those working against climate change (Canan & Reichman, 2002; Wijen & Ansari, 2007).

The role of insurgent is also discernible in the change process toward sustainable tourism in the Dutch outbound tour operations field. For example, the global social movement on fair trade tourism (Botterill, 1991) took root in the Netherlands in the early 1980s with missionary organizations and NGOs as its main representatives. Most particularly, the group of actors that pointed to the North-South divide (between the developed and less developed world) such as Foundation Retour, critically questioned the role of mass tourism in developing nations and called for changes in the global politico-economical structures were considered 'revolutionary reformers' (Hensmans, 2003). In the early 1990s, the environmental movement also played a part in the change process by opposing the increasing number of holiday flights, which are still a major issue of debate.

7.3.3 Alternative change perspective

The second task in institutional change – the provision of alternative practices, technologies and logics – is the purview of both innovators and catalysts.

The concept of institutional entrepreneur as introduced by DiMaggio (1988) is inextricably related to the role of *innovators*, the "movers and shakers" (Colomy,

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[51] The addition of arbiter and adopter thus extends Hinings et al. (2004) classification. The other roles found in the literature are either comparable to this role-set (e.g., issue entrepreneur is similar to insurgent, firm-level entrepreneur to innovator, field-level entrepreneur, propagator and protector to engineer, field-taker to adopter) or too broad (i.e., field makers or reformers may encompass insurgents, innovators, engineers or arbiters). I view the influencer, educator, or theorizer role as an activity rather than a distinctive role.

1998:271) *within* the organizational field (Hinings et al., 2004). These actors perform a creative role by introducing innovations to the field, innovations that range from incremental to radical (Colomy, 1998). Drawing on Schumpeter's (1991) notion of entrepreneurs, Beckert (1999) argues that these innovations occur through creative destruction that simultaneously destroys traditional ways of acting and thinking in the field. Examples of innovations introduced through institutional entrepreneurship include identities (Lounsbury, 1998; Rao et al., 2003), organizational forms (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Sherer & Lee, 2002; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005), technologies (Garud et al., 2002; Hargadon & Douglas, 2001; Munir & Phillips, 2005), and practices (Déjean et al., 2004; Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007; Maguire et al., 2004; Mutch, 2007). According to empirical accounts, the innovator role may be performed by organizations at the periphery of the field (Leblebici et al., 1991; Louche, 2004; Vermeulen et al., 2007), although other studies provide evidence that central organizations may take on this role (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Sherer & Lee, 2002). Given that all innovators respond to problems independently, it is likely that several of them are active in the field (Tolbert & Zucker, 1996; Dorado, 2005).

In the context of sustainable tourism, various actors perform the innovator role over time. For instance, Ian–289 clearly exemplifies a business entrepreneur who brought the concept of fair trade tourism into practice by founding a new tour operations firm. The VRO/ANVR also performed the role of innovator by developing the obligatory POEMS scheme for its member tour operators, a scheme that gave impetus and direction to the change process and crystallized the formation of a group of frontrunner tour operators in the field. These frontrunners, in turn, have acted as innovators in the industry by offering travelers carbon-offsetting schemes, including development project visits in their itineraries and engaging in partnerships with nature conservationist groups.

Catalysts also introduce alternative ways of thinking into the field, but act from *outside* the field (Hinings et al., 2004). This role may be performed by either new entrants to the field (Hensmans, 2003; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999) or newly created actors (Reay & Hinings, 2005). Indeed, the way in which outsiders provoke such change is effectively demonstrated in DiMaggio's (1991) case study of how the Carnegie Corporation's sponsorship of various activities – educational programs for museum professionals; book, periodical and directory publication; American Association of Museums conferences and pilot projects – collectively led to the professionalization and structuration of the US art museology field. That case study also provides evidence that one role may be performed by different actors: the Rockefeller Foundation and federal government joined the Carnegie Corporation as important catalysts to the change process. In the US chemical industry, scientist Rachel Carson and her book *Silent Spring* acted as a catalyst by putting environmental issues on the corporate agenda (Hoffman, 1999; Hoffman & Ocasio, 2001). However, although scientists play a pivotal role in producing convincing stories about problems in an organizational field, as well as possible solutions (Strang & Meyer, 1993), not all scientists or authors perform the role of catalyst. As Hoffman (1997) argues, Carson was not the first author to write about the environmental impacts of chemicals; rather, it was attention to her work by high-

status players that made it a triggering event. This observation confirms Munir's (2005) argument that to set a field in motion, events must be brought to public notice.

In this Dutch case study, several actors performed the role of catalyst. For instance, the Advisory Council for Nature Policy acted as a catalyst by publishing its critical 1994 report on the impacts of outbound tourism, which brought about a confrontation between industry, government and NGOs on tourism's negative impacts. The Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality can also be classified as a catalyst for subsequently taking the lead in organizing the first Groeneveld Conference in 1995 and setting up the national IDUT Platform in 1996. This ministry also sponsored numerous projects aimed at bringing the concept of sustainable tourism into practice in the field of nature conservation and for some time, sponsored the IDUT Platform's secretariat, thereby allowing the platform to professionalize. Likewise, the National Committee for International Cooperation and Sustainable Development, NCDO, sponsored projects, publications and meetings, mostly related to the sociocultural impacts of tourism. Consultancy firms like SME Environmental Consultants, ECEAT, CREM, and Bureau Buiten instantiated the role of catalyst when they applied for grants and started up sustainable tourism projects together with VRO/ANVR and some member tour operators.

7.3.4   Institutional change approval

Once innovations are introduced, they need to be recognized and approved as socially desirable and necessary; if not, they remain marginal practices or disappear from the scene (Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007). It is here that the roles of arbiter and adopter come into play.

Arbiters can be defined as "that group or individual which holds the most significant influence within the field at any given time; it is the rule-making authority or the organization whose directives are generally followed by other field members" (Zietsma & Winn, 2005:14). For example, based on their rich case study of the conflict over logging practices in the British Columbian forest industry, Zietsma and Winn (2005) show how the role of arbiter has been instantiated by different actors over time, ranging from provincial and federal governments to local communities and international customers. Whereas no arbiters are in evidence in some stages of the logging debate, at other stages, coarbiters are discernable. Hence, based on their study findings, the authors suggest that actors who have legal power and authority that field constituents perceive as legitimate are likely to perform the arbiter role.

The role of arbiter is also observable in the Dutch change process toward sustainable tourism. For example, by supporting the work of the Environmental Study Group on the Alps, the ANWB provided legitimacy to the claim that the Alps were suffering from the growing number of winter sports holidays. Likewise, the Advisory Council for Nature Policy played arbiter by criticizing both the industry and the national government for not taking sustainable tourism seriously and not considering measures like ecolabels and levies on plane tickets socially desirable. Following the

council's report, the Ministry of the Environment took over this role by exploring the possibilities for introducing such a levy. However, the government's role as arbiter soon waned. Instead, government delegated it to the IDUT Platform, which resembles what Trist (1983:275) calls a 'referent organization,' an interorganizational collaboration aimed at solving complex issues by regulating relationships and activities, recognizing pertinent trends and developments in the field, and mobilizing resources and social networks.

By adopting and acting upon an innovation, actors implicitly express their need or desire for it: *adopters* thus perform the task of institutional change approval. Consumers clearly exemplify actors performing this adopter role as shown in the case study of Kodak's introduction of the roll-film camera (Munir & Phillips, 2005); for example, the superyacht owners were the adopters of changes in the dominant design and build of superyachts (Delbridge & Edwards, 2008). In the case of the Big Five accountancy firms, it was their global corporate clientele that were interested in multidisciplinary practices (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006), while in the case of SUN Microsystems, both developers and vendors adopted Java technology (Garud et al., 2002). It should also be noted that the manner of implementing the innovation may differ across adopters, particularly in the early stages of a change process (Tolbert & Zucker, 1996). Within institutional theory, several scholars argue that actors always adopt innovations in a way that fits their context and belief system, a phenomenon that Czarniawska and Joerges (1996) call 'translation' and Zilber (2008) terms 'the work of meaning.'

In the Dutch change process, different players performed the adopter role. For instance, several ministries and the Dutch Parliament have bought certificates to offset the contribution that their flight trips made to climate change. Likewise, several ANVR tour operators offer carbon-offsetting schemes to their customers and provide information on the ECPAT campaign on their Web sites. The travelers of Sawadee have also acted as adopters by voluntarily buying carbon-offsetting schemes and booking tours that include visits to development projects. Nevertheless, consumers have not yet enacted this role to their full potential in this field.

7.3.5 Institutional diffusion

Engineers are powerful actors that can affect the flow of resources in the field in which they are located. Indeed, their support is crucial if innovations are to gain legitimacy after introduction to a field (Hinings et al., 2004). More specifically, engineers perform the task of spreading the innovation throughout the field and connecting it with extant practices, values and routines. This role of engineer, the literature implies, is likely to be adopted by actors who have control over or access to the channels of communication and diffusion. For instance, by creating a perception of similarity among the chefs in different regions, the theorization of culinary journalists played a major role in promoting and spreading the ideas of nouvelle cuisine in France (Rao et al., 2003). Likewise, trade journalists in the US chemical industry promoted corporate environmentalism in this field (Hoffman, 1999). Other

actors likely to perform the role of engineer include rating agencies (Déjean et al., 2004; Rao, 1994) and professional associations (Greenwood et al., 2002; Lounsbury, 2001; Rao & Giorgi, 2006; Swan & Newell, 1995), while according to Hirsch (1972), mass media are more likely to play a gatekeeping role in diffusing fads and fashions.

In the Dutch case, VRO/ANVR, for instance, instantiated the role of engineer when it translated the debate on sustainable tourism into a convincing story for member tour operators and created support for the promoted change process. In particular, the VRO/ANVR representatives affiliated with the IDUT Platform operated as 'boundary spanning individuals' (Aldrich & Herker, 1977; Swan & Newell, 1995) operating in external networks in which they could learn about the sustainable tourism debate and spread the knowledge gained among member tour operators. The national tourist association, ANWB, also performed the engineer's role when, as a member of the Platform on the Alps, it granted access to millions of consumers affiliated with the tourist association. However, over time, the ANWB's role as engineer waned. The role of engineer is also reflected in NHTV activities like hosting the Groeneveld Conferences and facilitating the annual award for the best master's thesis on sustainable tourism. By being highly embedded in the industry and educating future professionals, the NHTV has played a relevant role in spreading knowledge about sustainable tourism throughout the field.

7.3.6 Institutional maintenance

The final task, maintaining institutions, requires both agency (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006) and the involvement of adopters, engineers and arbiters. Specifically, *adopting* alternative practices and applying them in daily life leads to such maintenance being taken for granted in any field. That is, whereas early adopters may be aware of adopting a practice that deviates from the dominant institutional order, late adopters may reproduce the practice in a more routinized fashion. *Arbiters* that have the authority to enforce and sanction the implementation of new practices also play a role in maintaining institutions. Likewise, *engineers* may maintain new practices by sustaining the belief systems and routines that support it.

In this present study, the VRO/ANVR performed the task of institutional maintenance as an arbiter in late 2003 by sending reminders to tour operators that had not yet applied for their POEMS certificate (van der Duim & van Marwijk, 2006). The association, together with researchers of Wageningen University, also acted as engineer by assessing the implementation of POEMS among its member tour operators in 2004. Likewise, journalists keep POEMS alive by reporting on the scheme and its implementation. And when travelers file a complaint to their tour operator – for instance, on dirty beaches or unjust practices in their hotel – adopters contribute to the maintenance of POEMS.

7.3.7   Summary

The conceptualization of institutional entrepreneurship as a portfolio of roles (see Figure 7-1) explicitly appreciates the dynamics in institutional entrepreneurship in three ways. *First*, actors may adopt elements of different roles (Suddaby, 2001) to different degrees and at different stages of the game. Since actors are institutionally bound, their accessibility to roles varies and may even be nonexistent, a phenomenon that Maguire et al. (2004) claim depends on 'subject position.' Each field has a limited number of formal and socially constructed legitimate identities available from which actors can produce actions. Similarly, to act as institutional entrepreneurs, actors must have a low institutional embeddedness (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006). Nonetheless, although roles may be associated with normative and structural positions in a field, both Greenwood and Suddaby (2006) and my findings for the trade association VRO/ANVR (see Chapter 6) show that the institutional embeddedness of actors may vary over time. As a result, actors may switch roles or perform different roles simultaneously.

   Second, my conceptualization calls attention to the fact that events play a dual role in institutional entrepreneurship. On the one hand, events are the output of actors performing a particular role; for instance, the innovator may set up new organizations or launch projects, while the catalyst typically produces publications or organizes conferences. In the aggregate, these events may lead to field-level change (see Chapters 4, 5 and 6). Events also facilitate role enactment. Hence, through sustained social interactions in particular events (e.g., project meetings and conferences), the institutional embeddedness of established field actors may decrease over time. That is, the actors may become more aware, motivated and open to new ways of acting and thinking, which in turn allows for role switching or role accumulation (see Chapter 6).

   Third, by presenting the portfolio of roles of institutional entrepreneurship in a circle diagram, my model emphasizes the connectivity between the roles. For example, insurgents influence the cultural and political environment in which all roles are performed. Innovators need other roles to perform their respective tasks to get the innovation accepted to some degree (Tolbert & Zucker, 1996). Specifically, they need arbiters who generate public recognition for their innovation, engineers who grant legitimacy to the innovation and help spread it throughout the field and adopters who assess the innovation's desirability and feasibility and may subsequently adopt it. Particularly, peripheral innovators, lacking access to potential adopters, are likely to contact engineers to activate such contacts (Stevenson & Greenberg, 2000). Moreover, as the number of adopters implementing the innovation grows, the roles of arbiter and engineer are likely to become less prominent – assuming that they are supportive of the change process – because of the existence of normative and mimetic pressures (Dimaggio & Powell, 1983). Likewise, catalysts typically address their calls for change to engineers or arbiters and enthuse early adopters with their ideas. Since engineers can affect the flow of resources and the content of debate in the organizational field and thereby may influence all role players, they lie at the center of the role set.

Nevertheless, the interrelatedness between roles does not imply that all roles must be enacted. At some junctures of the change process, roles may be absent (e.g., Zietsma & Winn, 2005) or may be latent (see Chapter 6). Hence, the constellation of roles may be dynamic over time. In addition, roles may be enacted in such manner that progression of change may be hampered. For instance, engineers may slow down the process by ritually adopting the innovation (Brunsson, 2002) or opposing the promoted change (Vermeulen et al., 2007). Engineers may also play more supportive parts in the change process over time (see Chapter 6). Likewise, adopters and arbiters may not be supportive to the desired innovation. Rather than viewing the opposition against change as a distinct role in institutional change processes (Delbridge & Edwards, 2008), the model presented here argues that roles may be enacted in favor or against change.

In sum, my model provides scholars with a tool for examining agency in processes of institutional change. Most specifically, the portfolio of roles performed within an organizational field can be studied over time, roles that may be performed by individuals, organizations or field-level organizations. This model also allows scholars to single out a particular facet – such as the relationship between innovators and adopters (Munir & Phillips, 2005; van Wijk & de Bakker, 2008) or between innovators and arbiters (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005) – and thus opens up some potentially fruitful lines of further inquiry (discussed in Section 7.6.2).

7.4   Contributions to institutional entrepreneurship theory

7.4.1   Theoretical contributions

This study of institutional entrepreneurship in the Dutch outbound tour operations field offers three unique insights into institutional entrepreneurship theory. *First,* by tracing actors and events over a period of more than two decades, it reveals that numerous actors have contributed in diverse ways to the change process toward sustainable tourism. Hence, the findings challenge the hero accounts of institutional entrepreneurship that dominate the literature. The study's major contribution to institutional entrepreneurship theory, therefore, is to provide empirical grounding for the notion of distributed agency in institutional entrepreneurship (Garud & Karnoe, 2003; Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007; Quack, 2007). In addition, the findings throw light on *how* agency is distributed across actors by showing that actors differ from one another in the range of activities they engage in (scope), their degree of engagement (intensity), and the temporal patterning of their engagement (continuity). Actors also differ in their relational embeddedness: whereas some act in relative solitude, others are well connected one to the other, allowing an institutional entrepreneurial movement to emerge around an issue. Finally, the study furthers the notion of distributed institutional entrepreneurship by proposing a view of institutional entrepreneurship as a portfolio of roles. Although the typology of these roles is preliminary, it highlights the multiplicity of actors engaged in creating new institutions or modifying and maintaining existing ones in an organizational field over time. In so doing, the study responds to the recent call for the articulation of the institutional

roles performed by field members in advancing their institutional setting (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008).

Second, by detailing the trade association VRO/ANVR's engagement in institutional entrepreneurship over time, this study proposes that it was exactly those social dynamics between the different set of actors in the field of outbound tour operations that goaded the VRO/ANVR into institutional entrepreneurship. This observation suggests that, contrary to claims in the extant literature, agency does not originate simply from a single actors' reflexive stance toward the prevailing institutional order (e.g., Mutch, 2007). Rather, agency is present in and produced by social interaction, and it is here that institutional entrepreneurship resembles a social movement. This study has therefore responded to Lounsbury and Crumley's (2007) call for an emphasis on how social interactions among various actors can produce institutional change.

Third, this study constitutes a rare account of institutional entrepreneurship in both retrospect and real-time. That is, despite the considerable value of the vast number of retrospective studies on institutional change (Jaffee & Freeman, 2002), these often fail to bring to the fore issues that a real-time analysis can highlight. In contrast, this contemporaneous analysis of the outbound tour operations field shows that some initiatives have either failed to become institutionalized or are at an impasse, whereas other initiatives seem to be on the rise. The real-time data also throw light on how institutional entrepreneurs constructed a sustainable tourism niche that is currently occupied by several mainstream and specialist tour operators. This observation implies that sustainable tourism has become a legitimate issue in the industry. Most specifically, this study contributes to institutional theory by presenting a detailed, rich narrative of the evolution of an organizational field, a process of field transformation that, although key to institutional theory, is little understood (Mazza & Strandgaard Pedersen, 2004). Hence, Galvin et al. (2005) specifically call for studies on the dynamics in industry fields, for an examination of who is making claims on the industry's products, services, procedures, guiding principles and general contribution to society. My findings provide empirical evidence that the concept of institutional entrepreneurship is a useful lens through which to examine such change processes in both the past and the present.

7.4.2   Methodological contributions

Methodologically, this work contributes to institutional entrepreneurship theory in three ways. *First*, it responds to recent calls for more process research in general (Aldrich, 2001; Langley, 2007) and in institutional entrepreneurship in particular (Hardy & Maguire, 2008; Perkmann & Spicer, 2007). This call for process-oriented narratives fits with the recent appreciation in institutional theory for stages (Greenwood et al., 2002; Hinings et al., 2004), critical turning points (Meyer, Gaba, & Colwell, 2005) and other temporal dynamics (Lawrence, Winn, & Jennings, 2001) in institutional change. Nevertheless, even though the process perspective is not entirely new to the institutional entrepreneurship literature (e.g., Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006), most such scholars adopt a *historical* process approach that tends

to focus on those events that are central in explaining the dyadic relationship between a successful change project and the actor assumed central to bringing about this change. Hence, these researchers have tended to concentrate on how a particular outcome came about. By working backward in time, however, they risk filtering out particular events (and thus actors) that do not fit with their success story on institutional change (Poole et al., 2000).

In contrast, this present study identifies a broad set of events that serve as indicators for institutional entrepreneurship and charts their occurrences over more than two decades. Moreover, unlike earlier work on institutional entrepreneurship, which can be characterized as outcome-driven explanations (Aldrich, 2001), this current analysis aims to build event-driven explanations for the change toward sustainable tourism. In addition, despite the contingencies of entrepreneurial behavior (and hence events) that are related to the characteristics of the organizational field and institutional project under study, the findings point to four types of events that stand out as proxies for institutional entrepreneurship: conferences, projects, publications and organizations. These four events provide scholars with an important analytical tool for tracing agency in any empirical setting, both retrospectively and in real time.

Second, by combining the process perspective with affiliation network methodology to trace the actors engaged in the change process, this study responds to the call for a methodology to trace field formation processes (Child et al., 2007). Although several scholars emphasize the potential of social network methodologies for examining organizational fields (Kenis & Knoke, 2002; Powell, White, Koput, & Owen-Smith, 2005), these methods have been little applied to date. Hence, Anand and Watson (2004) specifically call for the use of network methodologies in studying how relationships affect the ordering of organizational fields. From this perspective, the present work shows that affiliation process data not only hold promise for such research endeavors but allow for the appreciation of organizational fields as 'relational spaces' (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008:138).

Third, this study contributes to the conceptualization of institutional entrepreneurs by proposing six operational definitions for this concept. In so doing, it meets the calls to replace the weakly defined concepts endemic to institutional theory (Haveman, 2000; Zucker, 1987) with more precise definitions of institutional entrepreneurs (Child et al., 2007; Hardy & Maguire, 2008; Mutch, 2007). Hence, scholars would benefit from using the empirical approach reported here to make "studies more comparable, the efforts of scholars better coordinated and the findings of multiple studies more easily accumulated into a coherent body of knowledge" (Haveman, 2000:478). Without precise definitions and consensus on them, institutional entrepreneurship will remain a 'you know it when you see it' phenomenon like too many concepts of institutional theory (Strang & Sine, 2002:510).

7.5   Practical implications

This research investigated one of the world's largest industries, one that is expected to continue growing; namely, the tourism industry. Within this framework, sustainable tourism, with its potential for mitigating negative impacts and enhancing positive impacts, is central to any involved actors, be they tour operations firms, governmental bodies, trade associations, NGOs, tourists, teachers or students. More specifically, the study findings have two managerial and policy implications.

First, in the face of limited current understanding of the mechanisms underlying the emergence and spread of 'proto-institutions' (Lawrence et al., 2002), this study provides insights into the process by which corporate norms and ecolabels on sustainable tourism emerge and spread throughout the tourism field. Until now, most studies on sustainable tourism have focused on the outcomes of certification programs (e.g., Budeanu, 2005; Rivera & de Leon, 2004), while paying less attention to the question of how those programs came into being. Admittedly, this certification dynamic is of particular relevance given the increasing number of proposals for ecolabels, hallmarks and codes of conduct (Font, 2002). However, as Budeanu (2004:79) explains, "[i]dentifying how tourism can contribute to sustainable development requires a good understanding of the interactions among the actors of the tourism system and the power structures that govern engagement in fostering sustainability goals." Thus, enriching tourism research with the concept of institutional entrepreneurship, as this study has done, has proved helpful to identifying the key actors working for change and the mechanisms underlying their engagement with the issue.

More specifically, approaching institutional entrepreneurship as the interplay between actors and events provides organizational managers with a strategic lens through which to observe changes in the field in which they operate, transformations that may be effected through new organizations, projects, publications and conferences. By participating in such events, organizations can actively shape the pace and direction of the change process. As Hoffman notes (1999:352), "[i]f an organization or population chooses to disregard an emerging issue, others may crystallize the field formation process for them." Hence, organizations must decide whether or not they want to engage in institutional entrepreneurial activities. The portfolio of roles, as presented in Section 7.3, helps managers to understand the context in which they operate and thus to make strategic decisions. As Wooten and Hoffman (2008: 140) put it, "[l]abeling organizations in this manner [i.e., according to the type of institutional activities performed] will provide deeper clarity on the collective understanding held by each field member regarding which actors perform what roles in the field. (…) Field members can also reduce the level of uncertainty they face by developing a corresponding understanding of what type of work each field member is responsible for given their role within the field."

Second, this dissertation is one of few in the Netherlands to examine the tourism industry. As the Advisory Council for Research on Spatial Planning, Nature and the Environment (2006:11) put it, "[t]ourism not only suffers from a lack of policy, which is surprising given the enormous economic and social significance of the industry, the sector is also decidedly under-researched." This observation applies

particularly to the issue of sustainable tourism (van der Duim, 2005b; van Wijk & Persoon, 2006). In addition, this study's field-level approach to institutional entrepreneurship fits appropriately with the current focus within Dutch environmental policy on transition management – "a form of governance and policy-making fit for a complex network-society that aspires to achieve a sustainable future through far-reaching innovation" (Loorbach, 2007:12). It also underscores the importance of collaborative arrangements like the IDUT Platform and annual meetings like the Groeneveld Conference in such transitions toward sustainability. Finally, the finding that the wariness of governmental interference contributed to the trade association VRO/ANVR's commitment to the sustainability issue implies that governmental transition managers should learn from the experience with industry-self regulation in the outbound tour operations field and stimulate (and finance) comparative studies on transition management processes in different empirical settings.

7.6 Avenues for future research

7.6.1 Distributed institutional entrepreneurship in other empirical settings

As already acknowledged in the analytical Chapters 5 and 6, this research has several limitations; most particularly, its single case study design. Thus, the study should clearly be replicated in other empirical settings to assess the extent to which its findings can be generalized to the broader theory of institutional entrepreneurship. In addition, the distributed character of institutional entrepreneurship identified here may be contingent upon the specifics of the outbound tour operations field or the issue of sustainable tourism. That is, tour operators operate in a very competitive global market with a myriad of tourism service suppliers that they link together by developing holiday packages. Thus, actors that strive for change in this field must engage in institutional entrepreneurship in a concerted manner if they are "to unlock a complex pattern of exchanges and reciprocal dependencies" (Vermeulen et al., 2007:335). These observations are all the more relevant when the change project aims to solve social issues too complex to be handled by a single individual or organization (Dorado, 2005). For example, the work presented here relates sustainable tourism to such diverse issues as environment, nature conservation, indigenous people, human rights and poverty alleviation, all issues put forward by different stakeholders with their own interests and unique interpretative and evaluative frameworks (Lawrence et al., 1997). Under such circumstances, institutional entrepreneurs must cooperate and coordinate their activities to some extent if they are to bring about change.

Moreover, even though multiple agents are also likely to be operative in other economic sectors, the distributed notion of institutional entrepreneurship may take different forms or may be characterized by different temporal dynamics. Hence, future research might explore change processes toward sustainability in other service industries in the Netherlands; for example, the financial (e.g., Louche, 2004) and information technology industries. Another option would be to examine the same field and issue but in another geographical context. For instance, in countries like the

United Kingdom and Switzerland, several strong and critical social movement organizations are actively promoting fair trade tourism in the outbound tour operations field. Thus, institutional entrepreneurship in these nations, in contrast to the cooperative model that characterizes the Dutch change process, is likely to be marked by conflicts and confrontations between the social movement organizations and incumbents. Hence, more empirical analyses of institutional entrepreneurship at the field level might shed light on how and under what conditions institutional entrepreneurship is likely to be distributed.

7.6.2   The portfolio of roles in institutional entrepreneurship

The forward-looking model of institutional entrepreneurship as a portfolio of roles also merits further exploration, most probably through four potential avenues of research. First, more research is needed on which roles collectively create new institutions or transform existing ones. Most extant studies on institutional entrepreneurship are oriented toward the role of innovator and pay scant attention to other roles that complement it (Hardy & Maguire, 2008). This current work has identified five complementary roles, but this portfolio might be enlarged or refined using roles from the product-innovation literature; for example, champions (Howell & Higgens, 1990), sponsors, critics, and institutional leaders (van de Ven & Grazman, 1997) and godfathers (Smith, 2007). Additionally, there is currently little understanding of who performs these roles over time. Although studies in institutional entrepreneurship have examined peripheral and central organizations, scholars have paid far less attention to field-level organizations (Greenwood et al., 2002; Munir, 2005). Moreover, even though it is recognized that actors may perform different roles over time or multiple roles at the same time, little is known about which roles are performed collectively or individually. Furthermore, there is minimal understanding of how these roles are performed; for instance, which mechanisms underlie role accumulation or role switching and when the different roles are played out in a change process. Finally, the literature suggests that even though roles are institutionally bound, they are also created through social interactions (Rosenkopf, Metiu, & George, 2001). This observation calls attention to the question of where the roles of institutional entrepreneurship are defined and become manifest. Thus, as argued below, researchers into institutional entrepreneurship must take events seriously.

7.6.3   Events in institutional entrepreneurship

Even though this present research treats all events equally, the literature suggests that events come in different forms and play different roles in change processes. For example, Meyer and colleagues (2005:467) distinguish 'field-configuring events,' "settings where people from diverse social organizations assemble temporarily, with the conscious, collective intent to construct an organizational field. These events are microcosms of nascent technologies, industries and markets. They are places where business cards are exchanged, networks are constructed, reputations are advanced,

deals are struck, and standards are set." Such settings are exemplified by trade shows and trade fairs, conferences, technological contests, public hearings and business ceremonies (Lampel, Meyer, & Ventresca, 2005).

Hoffman and Ocasio (2001:414), having defined 'critical events' as "contextually dramatic happenings that focus sustained public attention and invite the collective definition or redefinition of social problems," also suggest that events may set mature organizational fields in motion. Variously referred to in the literature as 'shocks' (Fligstein, 1991), 'jolts' (Meyer, 1982), 'disruptive events' (Hoffman, 1999) and 'triggering events' (Rao et al., 2003), such events include natural disasters, regulatory changes, technological innovations, protests and strikes. In the same vein, drawing on Oliver's (1992) work on the antecedents of deinstitutionalization, Hinings et al. (2004) suggest that jolts may find expression in political pressures, which transform the flow of resources and power structures in a field; functional pressures generated by market developments and technological shifts; and social pressures like changes in the frames of reference through which actors perceive social reality.

Nonetheless, whereas events may trigger change in mature organizational fields, they may also sustain its status quo. For instance, Greenwood et al. (2002) propose that such events as annual ceremonies and training modules contribute to the maintenance of a field's institutional order. Likewise, drawing on their case study of the Grammy Awards in the commercial music field, Anand and Watson (2004) emphasize the role of ritual events like trade shows, expos, conferences and seminars in interlocking actors in the organizational field. In the same vein, Zilber (2007) demonstrates how institutional entrepreneurs participate in a professional conference to guard their vested interests while simultaneously strengthening their position for future change projects. Rao and Giorgi (2006) also show how events may contribute to the maturing of a field. Beer festivals were used to educate consumers on craft brewing after this form of brewing was introduced. Hence, future work could benefit from examining how different sorts of events play out in the evolution of an organizational field over time. In the case of the findings reported here, for instance, the Groeneveld Conferences of 1995 and 1996 may be seen as 'field configuring,' whereas the conferences since 1999 have probably taken on a more 'field-maintaining' character. Some participants even go a step further and suggest that the Groeneveld Conferences, by having become too much of an incrowd meeting, hamper the change process.

Another possible line of research would be to explore how institutional entrepreneurs draw upon events as they attempt to refashion an organizational field, because although events are generally depicted as external forces to which organizational actors respond (e.g., Hoffman & Ocasio, 2001; Meyer, 1982), they are actually socially constructed (Munir, 2005). Therefore, how institutional entrepreneurs make use of events in their institutional work serves as another possible research venue. For instance, in the cases reported here, several institutional entrepreneurs successfully made use of United Nations theme years to secure material support for their projects, a tactic that reflects the importance, acknowledged in the entrepreneurship literature, of embedding activities in a broader discourse to acquire resources (e.g., Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001; Martens, Jennings,

& Jennings, 2007). Hence, this rich body of work could be the starting point for investigating how institutional entrepreneurs make use of events in their resource acquisition. Indeed, Phillips and Tracey (2007) specifically call for more cross-fertilization between institutional entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship literature.

7.6.4 Failure and success in institutional entrepreneurship

The vast majority of studies of institutional entrepreneurship focus on successful change projects (Hardy & Maguire, 2008; Mutch, 2007); however, as the findings reported here reveal, attempts at institutional change may fail. For instance, the tour operating section of Multatuli Travel failed and the use of the ecolabel Green Thumb in travel brochures by TUI–Netherlands was halted.

Above all, studies of failed attempts are needed to prevent the building of a theory on agency based on a sample selection bias toward only successful institutional entrepreneurs. For example, very little is known about resistance, opposition and disinterest against institutional entrepreneurship (Hardy & Maguire, 2008) or how institutional entrepreneurs respond to such resistance. In the words of Hinings et al. (2004:317–18), "What happens when institutional entrepreneurs run into difficulties in legitimizing and disseminating their ideas? Do they give up, or do they co-opt other institutional players?" Likewise, Colomy (1998:279) suggests that "when a strategy proves unsuccessful, is perceived as too costly or as discordant with the project, or is effectively blunted by opposition, instrumental considerations goad entrepreneurs to select another option within their repertoire or to invent new strategies." In the Dutch case, some individuals stopped striving for sustainable tourism (at least temporarily) because they started another professional career or retired from their job. Hence, researchers must study not only the antecedents of institutional entrepreneurship but also its endings.

Another possibility for researching failures would be to examine why some attempts for change fail while others succeed. Rao and Giorgi (2006), in one of the few comparative case studies on failed and successful instances of institutional entrepreneurship, suggest that the success of institutional entrepreneurship is contingent upon the political opportunity and mobilization structure in the field that supports an entrepreneurs' framing of the desired change project. However, Van de Ven (2005) argues for another type of explanation, that actors who 'run in packs' are more successful than actors working in solitude. More specifically, comparing entrepreneurs with a team of race cyclists, he conceptualizes 'running in packs' as entrepreneurs coordinating their activities in the development and commercialization of their innovation. It should also be noted that such coordination includes both cooperation and competition.

Both propositions merit further exploration. For instance, subsequent research could explore whether fair trade tour operators in the Dutch change process failed to survive because of their lack of coordination with other innovators in the field (e.g., adventure tour operators) or by their weak connectivity with engineers like VRO/ANVR and arbiters like the IDUT Platform. The failure of the fair trade tour operators is also explainable by the weak opportunity structure of the field, since the

issue of corporate social responsibility was not in fashion at that time. However, success or failure in institutional entrepreneurship is difficult to assess. For instance, some failed attempts may have been crucial in sparking a debate within the field and could thus be considered successful in moving the change process forward. The time frame adopted is also likely to influence such assessment: a change project judged successful at one juncture may not be so stable at another. After all, this current study has shown institutional entrepreneurship to be a highly dynamic process.

Summary (in Dutch)

Samenvatting

VOORBIJ HELDEN EN WINNAARS. INSTITUTIONEEL ONDERNEMERSCHAP IN DE NEDERLANDSE UITGAANDE TOUROPERATING INDUSTRIE, 1980–2005

Tegenwoordig zijn steeds meer reisorganisatoren actief aan de slag met duurzaam toerisme. Zo stimuleert de brancheorganisatie ANVR haar leden op het gebied van Duurzaam Toeristisch Ondernemen en werken zeven reisorganisatoren in de Travel Foundation Nederland aan de bescherming van mooie vakantieplekken in de wereld. Waarom is duurzaam toerisme een thema voor deze reisorganisatoren? Er is immers amper overheidsbeleid op uitgaande vakanties en de consument let er nauwelijks op. Het hoe en waarom achter de opkomst van duurzaam toerisme in de Nederlandse reisbranche in de periode 1980–2005 staat in dit proefschrift centraal. Vanuit het theoretisch perspectief van institutioneel ondernemerschap bestudeert dit proefschrift (a) welke actoren in deze periode de drijvende kracht zijn geweest achter het veranderingsproces naar duurzaam toerisme en (b) welke rol de brancheorganisatie van reisorganisatoren VRO/ANVR hierin heeft gespeeld. Met deze twee deelstudies beoogt dit onderzoek bij te dragen aan de theorievorming over de rol van actoren in institutionele veranderingsprocessen. Hieronder volgt een overzicht van de belangrijkste bevindingen en conclusies.

Op weg naar duurzaam toerisme *(hoofdstuk 3 en 4)*

Duurzaam toerisme gaat over de bescherming van de natuurlijke en culturele rijkdom op deze wereld, een rijkdom waar we graag van genieten op onze vakanties, of we nu met zijn allen in een vakantiedorp zitten of met een rugzak de wereld over gaan. De discussie over duurzaam toerisme speelt in Nederland vanaf begin jaren 80. In die tijd worden de negatieve gevolgen van het (massa) toerisme voor mens en milieu zichtbaar en bekritiseerd: de aanleg van skipistes zorgt voor kaalslag op de Alpen en aantasting van de eeuwenoude tradities in de kleine bergdorpen. Algen als gevolg van slechte afvalwaterzuivering en overmatig mestgebruik maken het zwemmen in de Middellandse Zee niet echt aanlokkelijk. In Thailand komen minderjarige meisjes in het sekstoerisme terecht. En het reizen door Afrika in een Jumbo Camper draagt niet bij aan een gelijkwaardig contact tussen toeristen en de Masai. Ineens begint iedereen zich druk te maken over deze negatieve effecten: wetenschappers, bergsporters, reizigers, NGO's, de ANWB, missieorganisaties en alternatieve reisorganisatoren. Dat geldt niet voor de brancheorganisatie voor reisorganisatoren, de VRO/ANVR. Die signaleert weliswaar de opkomst van het debat, maar ziet het vooral als een zaak voor de vakantielanden zelf. Deze houding verandert als de Raad voor het Natuurbeheer in 1994 met een zeer kritisch rapport komt, getiteld *Gaan we te ver?* Als adviesorgaan van de regering uit de Raad vooral zijn zorg over de toename van vliegvakanties. De overheid krijgt op haar kop voor haar lakse houding ten aanzien van dit beleidsthema.

Het rapport van de Raad leidt tot nogal wat commotie in de sector, vooral de suggestie om een vliegtaks in te voeren veroorzaakt ophef. De overheid neemt de kritiek ter harte en organiseert een jaar later een nationale conferentie over duurzaam toerisme op kasteel Groeneveld. Dit leidt tot de oprichting van een nationaal platform voor duurzaam toerisme in 1996. In hetzelfde jaar organiseert het platform al meteen een tweede congres, opnieuw op kasteel Groeneveld. Tegelijkertijd gaat ook brancheorganisatie VRO/ANVR aan de slag met duurzaam toerisme. De VRO/ANVR wil collectieve maatregelen, liefst op internationaal niveau. Zo komt er een gedragscode en wordt milieu-informatie voortaan opgenomen in de databestanden van de reisbureaus. Het gaat dus niet om harde maatregelen: gedragscodes zijn papieren tijgers en consumentenvoorlichting verandert weinig aan de bedrijfsvoering van reisorganisatoren.

Vanaf eind jaren 90 barst het van de initiatieven om duurzaam toerisme in de praktijk te brengen. Zo komen er keurmerken, websites, een klimaatcompensatieprogramma, voorlichtingscampagnes, etcetera. Ook worden er projecten met de Nederlandse Antillen, Costa Rica en Alpenlanden gestart. Deze initiatieven worden besproken op de zogeheten Groeneveld Conferenties, vanaf 1999 een jaarlijks terugkerend congres over duurzaam toerisme. Ook de brancheorganisatie wordt actiever. De VRO/ANVR begint in 1998 met de ontwikkeling van een Productgericht Milieuzorgsysteem (PMZ) voor haar leden. Maar dit PMZ-systeem heeft nogal wat voeten in aarde. Zo moeten reisorganisatoren milieubeleidsplannen opstellen, en allerlei maatregelen nemen op het gebied van vervoer, vermaak, verblijf, communicatie en interne milieuzorg. Ook mogen ze geen onethische vakantieproducten aanbieden zoals reizen en excursies waarbij kinderprostitutie het doel is. Hoewel de reisorganisaties al in 2000 instemmen met dit systeem, duurt het tot 2005 voordat ze allemaal het PMZ-certificaat hebben. Om alle leden binnen boord te houden, heeft de VRO/ANVR water bij de wijn moeten doen: sommige eisen zijn geschrapt, er is meer informatie over PMZ verspreid en de deadline is uitgesteld.

Inmiddels is duurzaam toerisme een legitiem thema. Een aantal allround en specialistische reisorganisatoren profileert zich zelfs met verantwoorde reizen. De houding ten aanzien van toerisme is ook veranderd. Toerisme is niet alleen maar 'slecht', maar ook 'goed'; via toerisme wordt immers geld verdiend voor de bescherming van natuur, en kunnen bovendien de leefomstandigheden van de lokale bevolking worden verbeterd. Er ontstaan dan ook steeds meer partnerschappen tussen reisorganisatoren en natuurbeschermings- en ontwikkelingsorganisaties.

Hebben al die inspanningen nu effect gehad? Hoewel de bedrijfsvoering van veel reisorganisatoren nog niet erg is veranderd richting duurzaamheid (Van der Duim, 2005b), is er wel een 'institutionele infrastructuur' ontstaan die dit veranderingsproces kan ondersteunen. Zo is het contact tussen voorstanders van duurzaam toerisme en reisorganisatoren veranderd: van ongestructureerd en ad hoc naar gestructureerd en regelmatig. Ook is duurzaam toerisme steeds meer een individuele bedrijfsaangelegenheid geworden in plaats van iets waar de brancheorganisatie voor zorgt. Tevens heeft het PMZ-systeem orde gecreëerd in de grote brei aan keurmerken en eko-labels. Tenslotte trekken de verantwoorde

bedrijven steeds meer op als één koplopergroep en bepalen daarmee meer en meer de spelregels voor de rest van de industrie.

Institutioneel ondernemerschap in duurzaam toerisme *(hoofdstuk 1, 2, 5 en 6)*

Omdat de toerisme industrie steeds meer wordt gereguleerd door eko-labels, keurmerken en gedragscodes (Font, 2002) is het belangrijk te weten hoe deze normen tot stand komen en zich verspreiden in de industrie. Wie zetten zich in voor de verduurzaming van de reiswereld, hoe doen ze dat en waarom? De theorie van institutioneel ondernemerschap bestudeert de rol van actoren in dergelijke veranderingsprocessen. Waar institutionele theorie zich lang richtte op de vraag hoe organisaties reageren op sociale en culturele verwachtingen uit hun omgeving, is met de introductie van het begrip 'institutionele ondernemer' (DiMaggio, 1988) de vraag *hoe* deze verwachtingen en eisen ontstaan in een 'organisationeel veld'[52] actueel. Institutionele ondernemers kijken kritisch naar de huidige manier van werken en denken en zien daarin kansen voor verandering. Ze zijn gemotiveerd om deze kansen te grijpen omdat zij, vanuit economische of ideologische motieven, belang hebben bij verandering. Institutionele ondernemers kunnen commerciële bedrijven zijn, maar ook overheden, actiegroepen, netwerkorganisaties en individuen. Keurmerken, eko-labels en gedragscodes veranderen het speelveld voor reisorganisatoren. De reisindustrie is dus uitermate geschikt om 'institutioneel ondernemerschap' te bestuderen.

Om institutioneel ondernemerschap in kaart te brengen, selecteren de meeste onderzoekers eerst een succesvol veranderingsproject en bestuderen vervolgens wie zij verantwoordelijk houden voor dit succes. Met dit 'inzoomen' op één specifieke actor is het beeld ontstaan van de institutionele ondernemer als held die een organisationeel veld zelfstandig weet te veranderen. Dit beeld gaat voorbij aan de rol van andere actoren, mislukkingen en tijdgebonden aspecten van institutioneel ondernemerschap (Hardy & Maguire, 2008). Andere wetenschappers 'zoomen uit' op het geheel van actoren en benadrukken daarmee juist het gezamenlijke karakter van institutioneel ondernemerschap. Hoewel deze studies wél laten zien dat diverse actoren een rol spelen in een veranderingsproces, geven ze weer weinig inzicht in de specifieke rol die deze actoren hebben gespeeld.

De eerste deelstudie van dit proefschrift is zowel gericht op het 'uitzoomen' als het 'inzoomen' (hoofdstuk 5). Aan de ene kant wordt het veranderingsproces naar duurzaam toerisme in kaart gebracht door te kijken naar het geheel van actoren en gebeurtenissen, aan de andere kant worden de institutionele ondernemers getraceerd die in de loop der tijd een rol hebben gespeeld in dit geheel. Hierbij is gebruik gemaakt van diverse databronnen zoals interviews, documenten en publieke bronnen, kwalitatieve analysemethoden en methoden uit de sociale netwerk theorie. In tegenstelling tot het gangbare beeld in de literatuur van de institutionele

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[52] Een organisationeel veld kan worden opgevat als een industrietak, uitgebreid met organisaties die het presteren van bedrijven kunnen beïnvloeden zoals overheden, NGO's en media (Scott, 2008).

ondernemer als held, laat dit deelonderzoek zien dat institutioneel ondernemerschap verspreid is over verschillende actoren die elk op hun eigen wijze, in verschillende mate en op verschillende momenten bijdragen aan het veranderingsproces. Deze actoren werken voor verschillende organisaties; richten zich op verschillende thema´s binnen duurzaam toerisme; bezien verandering in verschillende gradaties; en werken aan verschillende oplossingen die al dan niet internationaal ingebed zijn, steun krijgen van de reisorganisatoren en consumenten en een succes zijn. Tevens laat de analyse zien dat innovaties van institutionele ondernemers verband houden met elkaar. Ook volgen institutionele ondernemers elkaar op in de tijd. Ten slotte laat deze studie zien dat institutioneel ondernemerschap een relationeel fenomeen is: actoren ontmoeten elkaar via congressen, projectbijeenkomsten en oprichtingsvergaderingen en via het lezen van elkaars studies en rapporten. Kortom, als institutionele verandering een oorlog is (Hoffman, 1999), dan laat deze deelstudie zien dat de oorlog niet kan worden begrepen door alleen naar de succesvolle generaal te kijken.

Eén van de actoren die een belangrijke rol in het veranderingsproces naar duurzaam toerisme heeft gespeeld is de VRO/ANVR. Waar de meeste initiatieven op het gebied van duurzaam toerisme een vrijwillig karakter hebben (WTO/OMT, 2002) en er überhaupt nog weinig initiatieven worden ontplooid in de tour operating industrie (Tepelus, 2005), kwam de VRO/ANVR met een verplicht PMZ-systeem voor haar leden. De vraag is dus hoe en waarom de VRO/ANVR deze innovatieve rol heeft opgepakt. In de tweede deelstudie van dit proefschrift wordt deze vraag beantwoord aan de hand van een gedetailleerde kwalitatieve studie (hoofdstuk 6). Voortbouwend op het werk van Greenwood en Suddaby (2006), betoogt dit proefschrift dat brancheorganisaties en vakverenigingen een innovatieve rol kunnen spelen in institutioneel ondernemerschap wanneer zij (a) een brugfunctie vervullen tussen leden en andere spelers in het veld waardoor informatie over alternatieve praktijken naar hen toestroomt en zij zich *bewust* worden van deze alternatieven; (b) worden uitgedaagd door (machtige) actoren die streven naar verandering in het veld, waardoor zij *gemotiveerd* worden om deze alternatieve praktijken te accepteren en aan te bevelen; en (c) deelnemen aan voortgaande interacties met deze uitdagers, waardoor zij geïsoleerd raken van de huidige manier van denken en handelen, kennis kunnen nemen van alternatieve praktijken, en zich kunnen *open*stellen voor deze praktijken.

Institutioneel ondernemerschap als een portfolio van rollen *(hoofdstuk 7)*

Geïnspireerd door de empirische bevindingen van dit onderzoek en recente discussies in de literatuur,[53] besluit dit proefschrift met een model dat de bestaande literatuur over institutioneel ondernemerschap integreert en uitbreidt. Dit model presenteert institutioneel ondernemerschap als een portfolio van rollen die worden gespeeld door verschillende actoren in de tijd (Figuur 1). Dit raamwerk beoogt inzicht

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[53] Zie bijvoorbeeld Dorado (1999), Suddaby (2001), Hinings et al. (2004), Vermeulen, Uiterwijk & Zietsma (2005) en Jain & George (2007).

te geven in de veelheid aan actoren die betrokken zijn bij processen van institutionele verandering.
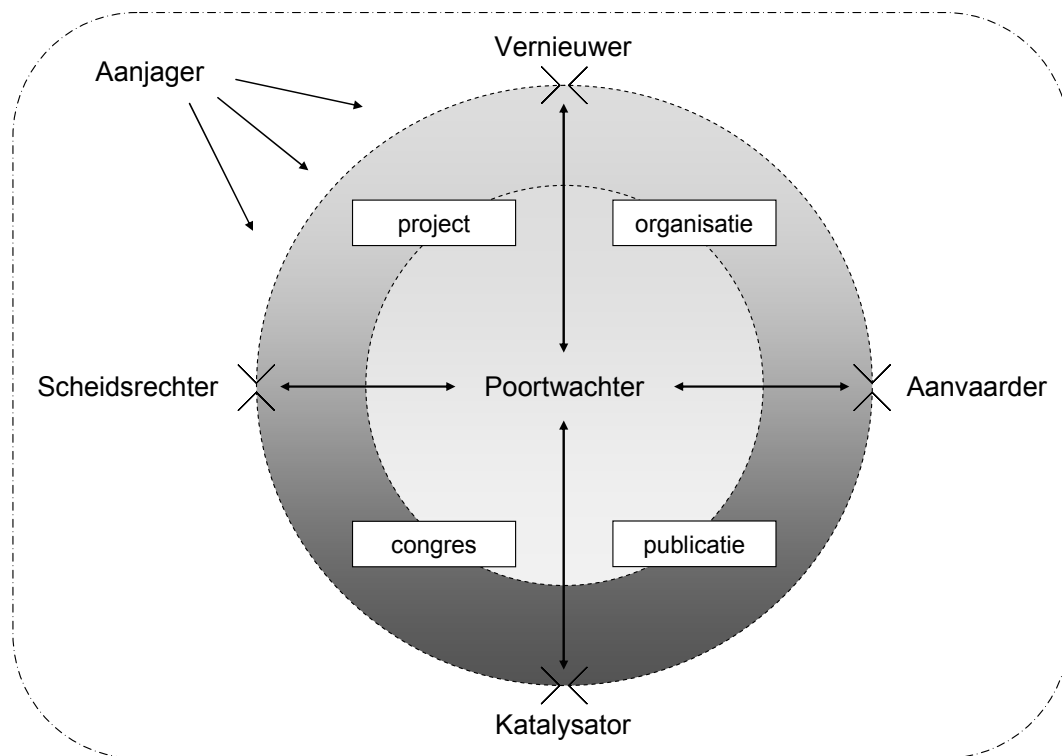
Figuur 1 De portfolio van rollen in institutioneel ondernemerschap

Op basis van het model van institutionele verandering van Greenwood et al. (2002) kunnen vijf taken in het proces van institutionele verandering worden onderscheiden: *ontwrichting* van bestaande instituties, voorstel tot institutionele *vernieuwing*, *goedkeuring* voor deze vernieuwing, *diffusie* van nieuwe instituties, en *handhaving* van de nieuwe instituties. Uitgaande van deze taken, onderscheiden we zes rollen in institutioneel ondernemerschap, die overigens niet altijd in deze volgorde worden gespeeld door actoren.

Om institutionele verandering in gang te zetten, moeten bestaande instituties ter discussie worden gesteld en omver worden geworpen. Dit doen *Aanjagers* (Hinings et al., 2004). Aanjagers dragen bij aan het maatschappelijke debat door misstanden in de samenleving aan de kaak te stellen. In deze studie kunnen bijvoorbeeld de milieubeweging en de 'fair trade' toerisme beweging worden gezien als aanjagers van het debat over duurzaam toerisme in Nederland. *Vernieuwers* en *Katalysatoren* brengen alternatieve manieren van denken en handelen voor het voetlicht. Waar Vernieuwers uit het organisationele veld komen, zijn Katalysatoren buitenstaanders die nieuwe zienswijzen inbrengen (Hinings et al., 2004). De brancheorganisatie VRO/ANVR en enkele koploper bedrijven zijn voorbeelden van vernieuwers in het veranderingstraject naar duurzaam toerisme, terwijl de Raad voor het Natuurbeheer en adviesbureaus de rol van katalysator hebben gespeeld. Deze alternatieven moeten worden erkend als wenselijk en noodzakelijk om tot wasdom te komen. Hier komen de rollen van *Scheidsrechter* en *Aanvaarder* om de hoek kijken.

Scheidsrechters zijn actoren die over autoriteit en legitimiteit beschikken om invloed uit te oefenen op het veld (Zietsma & Winn, 2005). Bijvoorbeeld, de Raad voor het Natuurbeheer speelde in 1994 de rol van scheidsrechter met zijn kritische rapport over het Nederlandse vakantiegedrag. Aanvaarders komen ook in beeld bij deze taak. Doordat zij een innovatie accepteren, geven zij impliciet uiting aan de wenselijkheid van de innovatie. Denk hierbij aan reizigers die vrijwillig de CO_2 uitstoot van hun vliegreis compenseren. *Poortwachters* zijn cruciaal om de alternatieven verder te verspreiden. Het zijn actoren die binnen het organisationele veld een centrale positie innemen en zo de inhoud van het debat en de uitwisseling van kennis en andere hulpbronnen kunnen beïnvloeden (Hinings et al., 2004). Zo speelde de VRO/ANVR de rol van poortwachter door de roep om duurzaam toerisme te verbinden met de wensen en belangen van haar achterban. Tot slot moeten de innovaties actief in stand worden gehouden willen ze als standaard worden gezien in de dagelijkse praktijk (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). Hier zijn de *Aanvaarders*, *Scheidsrechters* en *Poortwachters* relevant. Door de innovatie dagelijks te gebruiken (Aanvaarders), de implementatie ervan af te dwingen via sancties of beloningen (Scheidsrechters) en te verbinden aan bestaande instituties (Poortwachter) wordt de innovatie steeds 'gewoner' en dus standaard in het veld.

De conceptualisering van institutioneel ondernemerschap als een portfolio van rollen benadrukt de dynamiek van actoren die betrokken zijn bij institutionele veranderingsprocessen. Actoren kunnen meerdere rollen spelen, in verschillende gradaties en op verschillende momenten in de tijd. Hoewel rollen voor een deel institutioneel bepaald zijn door bijvoorbeeld de positie, status en hulpbronnen die een actor bezit, is de relatie tussen actor en rol dus niet statisch. Door deel te nemen aan gebeurtenissen zoals congressen en projectbijeenkomsten kan de institutionele inbedding van actoren veranderen, waardoor zij andere rollen of meerdere rollen kunnen gaan spelen in de tijd. Het kan ook zijn dat bepaalde rollen op bepaalde momenten niet worden vervuld of latent aanwezig zijn. Zo is de consument als aanvaarder van duurzame vakanties latent aanwezig: de verwachting is immers dat burgers steeds duurzamer gaan consumeren. Uiteraard kunnen actoren in verschillende rollen ook veranderingen tegenhouden, veranderen of afzwakken. Een ander kenmerk van dit rollenmodel is dat het gebeurtenissen als projecten, organisaties, publicaties en congressen centraal stelt. Ze maken integraal onderdeel uit van institutioneel ondernemerschap. Enerzijds vormen gebeurtenissen de manifestatie van rollen. De publicatie van een boek is bijvoorbeeld vaak het werk van een katalysator. Anderzijds faciliteren gebeurtenissen de adoptie van rollen zoals de deelstudie naar de VRO/ANVR heeft laten zien. In de tijd ontpopte de VRO/ANVR zich als vernieuwer in duurzaam toerisme. Tot slot laat Figuur 1 zien dat deze rollen aan elkaar gerelateerd zijn. Zo is een vernieuwer afhankelijk van aanvaarders, scheidsrechters en poortwachters voor de acceptatie en diffusie van zijn innovatie. En een katalysator richt zich veelal tot scheidsrechters en poortwachters met zijn innovatie. Aangezien een poortwachter de uitwisseling van hulpbronnen en de inhoud van het debat in een veld kan beïnvloeden, vormt deze rol het centrum van het rollenmodel.

Wetenschappelijke en maatschappelijke bijdrage *(hoofdstuk 7)*

Dit proefschrift draagt op drie manieren bij aan de theorievorming over institutioneel ondernemerschap. Allereerst toont de studie empirisch aan dat institutioneel ondernemerschap verspreid is over verschillende actoren (Garud & Karnoe, 2003; Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007; Quack, 2007) en *hoe* deze spreiding zich manifesteert. Door institutioneel ondernemerschap op te vatten als een portfolio van rollen, ontrafelt dit proefschrift het samenspel van actoren in institutionele veranderingsprocessen. Ten tweede onderschrijft dit proefschrift het belang van sociale interacties in institutionele verandering (Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007). Tot slot geeft deze studie een gedetailleerde beschrijving van de geschiedenis van duurzaam toerisme in Nederland en daarmee van de transformatie van een organisationeel veld, een fenomeen waar nog weinig over bekend is (Mazza & Strandgaard Pedersen, 2004). Ook in methodologisch opzicht draagt dit proefschrift bij aan institutionele theorie. Het beantwoordt de vraag naar meer procesonderzoek in institutioneel ondernemerschap (Hardy & Maguire, 2008; Perkmann & Spicer, 2007) en toepassing van de netwerkbenadering in onderzoek naar organisationele velden (vgl. Anand & Watson, 2004). Door operationele definities van institutioneel ondernemerschap te ontwikkelen gaat het ook in op de algemene kritiek op institutionele theorie, namelijk dat van vage begrippen en onduidelijke noties (Haveman, 2000; Zucker, 1987).

Dit proefschrift heeft ook een maatschappelijke relevantie: het rollenmodel biedt inzicht in welke gebeurtenissen van belang zijn bij het in gang brengen en houden van een institutioneel veranderingsproces, welke actoren daarbij betrokken zijn en welke rollen zij spelen in dit proces. Dit is van belang voor een ieder die betrokken is bij de transitie naar duurzaamheid in het algemeen en duurzaam toerisme in het bijzonder. Zo wordt de discussie over klimaat, aangewakkerd door de film van Al Gore, ook in de toerisme industrie gevoerd. Sommige reisorganisatoren spelen al handig in op dit debat met treinpakketreizen naar Italië en prijzen inclusief CO_2 compensatie. Het is dus zaak voor reisorganisatoren inzicht te hebben in de constellatie van rollen in dit debat en zich af te vragen of de rol van Vernieuwer noodzakelijk, wenselijk en kansrijk is om te spelen. Immers, als een organisatie of industrie een opkomend thema negeert, zal een ander dit thema oppakken en verder invullen (Hoffman, 1999). Kortom, begrip van de dynamiek tussen actoren en gebeurtenissen is cruciaal om de negatieve effecten van toerisme aan te pakken en toerisme als mechanisme voor duurzame ontwikkeling in te zetten.

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Glossary of terms and acronyms

Abbreviation	Dutch	English
ANVR	Algemene Nederlandse Vereniging van Reisondernemingen (voorheen: Algemeen Nederlands Verbond van Reisondernemingen)	Dutch Association of Travel Agents and Tour Operators (formerly the Dutch Federation of Travel Organizations)
ANWB	Koninklijke Nederlandse Toeristenbond ANWB (opgericht als Algemene Nederlandsche Wielrijdersbond)	Royal Netherlands Tourist Association ANWB
AVOR	Algemene Vereniging van Organisatoren van Reizen	General Association of Travel Organizers
BCN	Burma Centrum Nederland	Burma Center Netherlands
BuZa	Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
CBI	Centrum tot Bevordering van de Import uit Ontwikkelingslanden	Centre for the Promotion of Imports from developing countries
CETL	Coördinatieoverleg Milieu, Toerisme en Recreatie (CMTR)	Coordination Committee on Environment, Tourism and Leisure
CNV	Christelijk Nationaal Vakverbond	National Federation of Christian Trade Unions
CSD-7	–	The 7th session of the UN Commission on Sustainable Development
DTO-KOV	Duurzame Technologische Ontwikkeling - Kennis Overdracht en Verankering [onderzoeksprogramma]	Sustainable technology development - knowledge sharing and building [research program]
DTO	Duurzame Technologische Ontwikkeling [onderzoeksprogramma]	Sustainable technology development [research program]
ECEAT	Europees Centrum voor Eco en Agro Toerisme	European Centre for Eco Agro Tourism
ECTAA	–	European Travel Agents' and Tour Operators' Associations
ECPAT	–	End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking in Children for Sexual Purposes
ECOT	–	Ecumenical Coalition on Tourism
ECOMOST	–	European Community on Models of Sustainable Tourism [research program]
ECTWT	–	Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism
EUCC	De Kustvereniging	European Union for Coastal Conservation / Coastal Union
EZ	Ministerie van Economische Zaken	Ministry of Economic Affairs
FNV	Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging	Federation of Dutch Trade Unions

Abbreviation	Dutch	English
FNR	Federatie van Nederlandse Reisadviseurs	Federation of Dutch Travel Advisors
FEEE	–	Foundation for Environmental Education in Europe (now Foundation for Environmental Education, FEE)
IFTO	–	International Federation of Tour Operators
IPO	Interprovinciaal Overleg	Association of Provincial Authorities
IUCN	–	World Conservation Union (formerly, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature)
NC-IUCN	IUCN Nederlands Comité	IUCN National Committee of the Netherlands
IVN	Vereniging voor natuur en milieueducatie	Association for Environmental Education
IVR	Stichting Informatie Verre Reizen	Foundation for Information on Long-haul Travel
IYE	–	International Year of Ecotourism
KIT	Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen	Royal Tropical Institute
KLM	Koninklijke Luchtvaart Maatschappij	KLM Royal Dutch Airlines
KNAV	Koninklijke Nederlandse Alpen Vereniging	Royal Netherlands Alpine Association
KNV Bus	Koninklijk Nederlands Vervoer – Busvervoer	Royal Netherlands Touring Car Association
LNV	Ministerie van Landbouw, Natuur en Voedselkwaliteit (voorheen: Ministerie van Landbouw, Natuurbeheer en Visserij)	Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality (formerly, the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature Conservation and Fisheries)
MTRO	Middelbaar toeristisch recreatief onderwijs	Vocational education and training in recreation and tourism
NAP	Nederlands Alpen Platform	Netherlands Alpine Platform
NBT	Nederlands Bureau voor Toerisme (nu bekend als Nederlands Bureau voor Toerisme & Congressen, NBTC)	Netherlands Board of Tourism (now the Netherlands Board of Tourism & Conventions, NBTC)
NBV	Nederlandse Bergsport Vereniging	Netherlands Mountaineering Club
NBBS	Nederlands Bureau voor Buitenlandse Studentenbetrekkingen	–
NCDO	Nationale Commissie voor internationale samenwerking en Duurzame Ontwikkeling	National Committee for International Cooperation and Sustainable Development
NCIV	Nederlands Centrum voor Inheemse Volken	Netherlands Centre for Indigenous Peoples
NEN	Nederlands Normalisatie-instituut	Netherlands Standardization Institute

Abbreviation	Dutch	English
NHTV	NHTV internationale hogeschool Breda (voorheen: Nationale Hogeschool voor Toerisme en Verkeer)	NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences
NIDO	Nationaal Initiatief Duurzame Ontwikkeling [onderzoeksprogramma]	National Initiative for Sustainable Development [research program]
NKBV	Koninklijke Nederlandse Klim- en Bergsport Vereniging	Royal Netherlands Climbing and Mountaineering Association
NMGA	Nederlandse Milieugroep Alpen	Environmental Study Group on the Alps
NMJO	Nationale Jongerenraad voor Milieu en Ontwikkeling	National Youth Organization for Environment and Development
NS	Nederlandse Spoorwegen	Netherlands Railways
NSkiV	Nederlandse Ski Vereniging	Netherlands Skiing Association
NVPR	Nederlandse Vereniging van Passage en Reisbureaus	Netherlands Association of Passage and Travel Agents
NWIT	Nederlandse Wetenschappelijk Instituut voor Toerisme	Netherlands Scientific Institute for Tourism
OAD	Overijsselse Autobus Diensten	–
PIN	Programma Internationaal Natuurbeheer [beleidsprogramma]	International program on nature conservation [policy program]
POEMS	Productgericht Milieuzorg Systeem (PMZ)	Product-oriented Environmental Management Scheme
RECRON	Vereniging van Recreatieondernemers Nederland	Dutch Association of Entrepreneurs in Recreation
Retour	Stichting Retour (*Re*sponsible *Tour*ism)	Foundation Retour
RMNO	Raad voor ruimtelijk, milieu-, en natuuronderzoek	Advisory council for research on spatial planning, nature and the environment
SDA	Duurzaam Ontwikkelingsverdrag [beleidsprogramma]	Sustainable Development Agreement [policy program]
SGR	Stichting Garantiefonds Reisgelden	Travel Compensation Fund
SIW	Stichting Internationale Vrijwilligers-projecten	SIW International Volunteer Projects
SNV	SNV Nederlandse Ontwikkelings-organisatie (opgericht als Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilligers)	SNV Netherlands Development Organization
STEP	–	Sustainable Tourism – Eliminating Poverty [program]
TEN	–	Third World Tourism Ecumenical European Net
UFTAA	–	United Federation of Travel Agents' Associations
UNCTAD	–	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNEP		United Nations Environment Programme

Abbreviation	Dutch	English
UNESCO	–	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNWTO	–	United Nations World Tourism Organization
VAR	Vereniging organisaties Avontuurlijke Reizen	Association of organizations in adventure tours
VeBon	Vereniging van Buitensport Ondernemingen Nederland	Society of Outdoor Enterprises
VISIT	–	Voluntary Initiatives for Sustainability in Tourism
VLZ	Vereniging van Luchtvaartagenten en Zakenreisbureaus	Association of Ticketing and Business Travel Agencies
VNO-NCW	Verbond van Nederlandse Ondernemingen-Nederlands Christelijk Werkgeversverbond	Confederation of Netherlands Industry and Employers
VRA	Vereniging van ReisAgenten	Association of Travel Agents
VRI	Vereniging van Reisorganisatoren Inkomend Toerisme	Association of Inbound Tour Operators
VRO	Vereniging van Reisorganisatoren	Association of Tour Operators
VROM	Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting, Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer	Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment
V&W	Ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat	Ministry of Transport, Public Works and Water Management
WECD	–	World Commission for Environment and Development
WNF	Wereld Natuur Fonds	Netherlands World Wide Fund for Nature
WSSD	–	World Summit on Sustainable Development
WTTC	–	World Travel and Tourism Council

Acknowledgments

In his book *Platform* (2002), the French writer and philosopher Michel Houellebecq describes tourists' feverish search for new locations not yet spoilt by the presence of earlier tourists. This yearning forces each newcomer (and tour operator) to look ever further in his or her quest for uniqueness, like a man trying to run away from his own shadow. After reading this book, I became convinced that tourism, and the outbound tour operations industry specifically, is a fascinating phenomenon. Throughout this PhD, I was fortunate to satisfy this fascination, which would not have been possible without the knowledge, experience, enthusiasm and support of many others.

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Jakomijn   Utrecht, December 2008

Curriculum Vitae

Jakomijn van Wijk (Kitale, Kenya, 1974) studied political science of the environment at Radboud University Nijmegen and Linköping University (Sweden). Her master's thesis analyzed the role of public participation in environmental impact assessments. She specialized in this policy tool in the field of beach and golf resorts at the National University of Costa Rica. After working as a consultant for a short time, she was employed for over four years as a policy advisor at the Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency. During her PhD work at VU University Amsterdam, she has been a visiting scholar in the Department of Strategic Management and Organization, University of Alberta School of Business (Canada). In March 2008, she joined the NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences and the Maastricht School of Management. Her research interests include (institutional) entrepreneurship and social movement organizations in the field of sustainable development in general and corporate social responsibility and pro-poor market development in particular.