Sustainable Tourism, preaching or practicing?

Investigating Dutch tour operators and the development of sustainable outbound tourism in the Netherlands between 2005 – 2020

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Sustainable tourism, preaching or practicing: Investigating Dutch tour operators and the development of sustainable outbound tourism in the Netherlands between 2005 – 2020

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Preface

This slightly ominous quote introduced me to the "Gaan we te ver" project, and I was immediately interested. I found the lack of (online) resources regarding sustainable tourism in the Netherlands rather frustrating at times, so creating an online database seemed like a great idea. And with no background in tourism studies prior to starting MTO, I thought it could be fun to dive into the recent history of the sustainable tourism field in the Netherlands. I would only regret the decision a little, as delving through 15 years' worth of documents and experiences was a lot of work. Now that it is (almost) over, I can safely say that I learned so much more than I had expected. I am very glad to have been a small part of a larger project, and I am excited to see what will come of it.

Abstract

Since the 1980s, the Dutch outbound tourism industry has begun to move towards more sustainable forms of tourism. This thesis, which is part of a larger project that aims to document its 40 year history, follows up on research by Van Wijk (2009). That research showed that prior to 2005, sustainable tourism became a topic of discussion, and began a process of institutionalization. This thesis studies the developments in the field between 2005 and 2020, by looking at the ways in which tour operators have adopted more sustainable practices.

A practice theory lens was used to carry out the research, and aims to balance the influence of individual agency and social structures. A "Zoomed out" perspective was used to establish an overview of the different projects and efforts between 2005 and 2020, resulting in a timeline. "Zooming in" on the sustainable trade initiative (IDH) allows for a closer look into the dynamics that play out during such developments. By combining both perspectives, the thesis explores what connects the different actors in the Dutch sustainable outbound tourism industry, and the context in which it occurs. A wide range of sources was used in the data collection, with the primary methods consisting of document analysis and 11 semi-structured interviews with industry insiders.

The research shows that sustainable tourism emerges from collaborations between tourism organizations, NGOs, governments, and research institutions. This means many contextual practices influence the development and shape the outcomes, not just the tour operators themselves. The sustainable tourism networks have been essential in developing relationships between the different actors, and enabled collaborations. This has led to a growing awareness and knowledge of many issues in tourism, for example; plastic pollution, CO_2 pollution, child protection, and animal welfare. The most successful topics often benefit from wider contextual relevance, taking advantage of NGOs and government agendas and funding, or wider trends (like carbon compensation). While some tour operators have embedded aspects of sustainability on an organizational level, only a few "frontrunners" do so voluntarily.

As sustainability remains a secondary objective for the large majority of tour operators, few are willing to financially invest in it. Furthermore, over the past 15 years, there has been a slow decline in support (regulatory and financial) from both governments and NGOs, as sustainable tourism has fallen off the agenda. So despite best efforts, most developments consist of short-term projects, which often fail to last due to a lack of funding. Moreover, with the effects of COVID-19, what remained in terms of structure (funding, networks) has disappeared. Overall, it is clear that without regulations and financial incentives, systemic change from within the industry is not likely. Finally, suggestions for future research are made based on the outcomes of this study.

Keywords: practice theory, sustainable tourism, sustainable tourism development, Dutch outbound tourism, tour operators

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1. Introduction

1.1.   Sustainability, tourism and practice theory

1.1.1 The importance of sustainability in tourism

Sustainable development has been and continues to be a focal point for tourism actors, from policy makers to researchers, industry, and tourists. Concerns regarding the (un)sustainability of tourism are nothing new, as the problems associated with the limitless growth of tourism have been made explicit since the 1960s (Sharply, 2020). It has been argued that mass tourism is incompatible with sustainable tourism. Sustainable tourism emerged as an equitable alternative to mass tourism, with niche markets such as eco-tourism and responsible tourism. Currently, this discussion is picking up again, notably in relation to concerns regarding tourism (specifically air travel) and climate change. Furthermore, there is a growing negative perception of unsustainable tourism among consumers (Goffi, Masiero & Pencarelli, 2018). The awareness of the importance of sustainability for the long-term social, economic, and environmental wellbeing of tourism destinations has not led to significant changes to the industry. However, improvements are needed for all forms of tourism, as small scale and niche forms of tourism are not enough to achieve widespread sustainable tourism. This means that sustainability is a central concern in all areas of tourism, involving actors all along the supply chain from global to local scale. As such, it addresses economic, social, environmental, cultural, and governance dimensions (Bramwell, Higham, Lane & Miller, 2017).

Sustainability remains an elusive concept, going hand in hand with other notions like corporate social responsibility, green tourism, triple bottom line, and more. In tourism literature there are equally as many attempts to define and describe sustainable tourism; to the point where some have argued that concepts like sustainability, sustainable development, and sustainable tourism can be used interchangeably (Goffi et al., 2018). Broadly speaking, in the field of tourism the underlying orientation regarding sustainability is often the same, and follows a triple-p framework, namely people, planet, and profit (Van der Duim, 2006). In practice, sustainable tourism likewise seems difficult to pin down, as it is not a specific program or set of principles to carry out. Rather it remains a broad set of ideas with the goal of considering long-term and large-scale impacts of activities across boundaries, issues, and disciplines. Tourism as an industry, in particular, needs to consider its transdisciplinary nature since actions can have unforeseen consequences in adjacent areas. As there is no singular goal or objective, a multidisciplinary, international approach is necessary, which is very difficult to implement given the different priorities and interests. This means that for sustainable tourism to grow, there need to be changes in how we think about and engage with tourism.

1.1.2. The progress of sustainable tourism

Tour operators represent a significant stakeholder with their offer of organized trips, especially in the context of outbound tourism. Tour operators have an important role in shaping how tourism activities play out even if they are not directly in control of the activities once a tourist has reached the destination (Cetin & Yarcan, 2017). With market trends increasingly showing demand for sustainable products, there should be an increase in opportunities for sustainable tourism. And sustainable tourism has not been without success, as is evident in the growth of both supply and demand. The tourism sector has introduced a wide range of products and services to promote sustainability. Some examples in the Netherlands include certification schemes, eco-labels, self-regulating schemes, and more, mostly adopting a voluntary approach (Van der Duim, 2006). Sustainable tourism has been practiced at different scales, ranging from

destination-specific projects to national policy and global initiatives. In terms of global policy and awareness, many examples show the growing presence of sustainable tourism. A notable example is that the year 2017 was named the UN International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development (Sharpley, 2020). Research has noted a shift among tour operators, and an increase in both awareness and commitment regarding sustainability. However, these commitments have often been criticized for being too "soft" and not properly integrating the 3 elements of sustainability. The emphasis remains on short-term gains and favor sustainable activities that generate economic benefits (Goffi et al., 2018).

Unfortunately, this growing presence of sustainable tourism has not yielded the results it promises and in practice, there is little to show that tourism has actually become more sustainable. Research suggests that in practice the opposite is happening, and that tourism has in fact become more unsustainable (Hall, 2019). Climate change and loss of biodiversity are growing concerns regarding the negative impact of tourism on the environment (Hall, 2019). Popular destinations like Barcelona, Venice, Amsterdam are dealing with impacts of "over-tourism", which is deemed as socially and environmentally unsustainable. And with the current COVID-19 pandemic, the economic dependency on tourism has become a very real problem in a lot of destinations and protected areas. Also, only 1/6 of the global population is currently partaking in international tourism, and with emerging markets entering the playing field, the impacts of tourism are not likely to slow down. Even though sustainable tourism is growing, it continues to only represent a marginal part of the entire tourism industry.

1.1.3. Practice theory & tourism research

Tourism research has made use of a variety of theoretical and methodological approaches. Similarly, as a multidisciplinary field, tourism research has drawn on, and contributed to a range of fields of knowledge. Yet while there is multiplicity in tourism research approaches, social sciences and business studies make up the majority of research (De Souza Bispo, 2016). Recently, a new meta-analytical trend has emerged in tourism, which some have dubbed the "practice-based approach" (De Souza Bispo, 2016). Social practice theory (SPT) emphasizes that social structures and human behavior continuously shape and enable social practices by which context-specific and routinized social change can be observed. As such, practices can be described as interconnected "doings and sayings" (James et al., 2019). Which Reckwitz (2002, p. 249) defines as:

> *"A 'practice' is a routinised type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one another: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotions and motivational knowledge."*

By conceptualizing tourism with an epistemology of social practice, tourism can be defined as a set of ongoing practices, as entities that recurrently emerge in a plenum of contingent practices. This perspective highlights the ever-changing nature of tourism, as research emphasizes how tourism is enacted, organized, and (re)assembled through dynamic processes (Lamers et al., 2017).

Tourism research has been criticized for use of dualism (such as tourist / non-tourist, sustainable/unsustainable), as it is argued that this creates an oversimplification of the complex realities of tourism dynamics. Practice theory, on the other hand, seeks to overcome the limits of dualistic approaches. Concepts are not defined in relation or opposition to each other, rather they are understood to be part of a plenum of practices (De Souza Bispo, 2016). According to practice theory, changing attitudes

or introducing regulations are not enough to modify practices on their own. The complex nature of practices, as well as the fact that they are interdependent to other practices, makes this difficult to achieve. Practice theory emphasizes that the interrelatedness and embeddedness of actors and their contexts is a core characteristic of the social world (Watson, 2012). This is done by taking the activity itself as the unit of analysis, and as such actors cannot be separated from the action, or even be identified without it (Welch & Yates, 2018). Actors maintain their agency, which they can exercise within the limits that the social structures provide. In turn, the structures emerge and are shaped by the actions of individuals. It is neither the actor nor the structure that is responsible for change, rather it is the interaction between the two that defines the social world.

Practice theory has also been identified as a useful perspective for the study of (tourism) policy and can be used to generate new insights into ways sustainable tourism can be realized (Lamers et al., 2017; Hampton, 2018). Similarly, using practice theory to analyze policy can identify how practices can – or cannot - become durable entities that can stand the test of time. A practice-based perspective can thus provide an interesting angle to examine tourism in relation to sustainability. A range of different actors including businesses, consumers, NGOs, and governmental institutions are involved with the practice of tourism development. Meaning they are all able to exert varying degrees of influence over the creation and modification of tourism practices and sustainability.

Simply put, the development of tourism is extremely complex, consisting of a wide range of networks and products. All of which connect to and are embedded in a variety of other practices. Understanding how these networks, products, and practices fit together can provide new governance insights for tourism development. It has been argued that looking at the different links between tourism practices, or absence thereof can identify points of intervention. This can be helpful to further work towards a more sustainable sector. Similarly, the use of practice theory in the analysis of changes and innovation in tourism can provide insights into ways sustainable tourism can be realized. It should be noted that practice theory emphasizes the unpredictable nature of social change. Noting how "*transitions in practices cannot be fully planned, predicted or managed*" (Lamers et al., 2017, p.60). Therefore, it is key to examine practices as they evolve across time and space.

To study practices and their relations over time, Nicolini (2012) introduced the method of "Zooming in and zooming out". In tourism research using practice theory, these two main modes of analysis are suggested. A "zoomed in" perspective to take a close-up look at specific practices, and a "zoomed out" perspective to gain an understanding of the plenum of practices (Lamers et al., 2017). A zoomed-out approach can be particularly helpful, by providing an analysis of how sustainable tourism fits in the wider plenum of practices. For the study of complex and widespread phenomena such as sustainable tourism, Nicolini's "zoomed out" approach is recommended (Lamers et al., 2017; Nicolini, 2009). This type of analysis focuses on the broader scope and will provide the larger context in which sustainable tourism development takes place. This perspective is essential as practices do not exist in isolation, they are part of a complex tapestry of coexisting and competing practices. The success or failure of sustainable tourism hinges on its contingent practices and practitioners.

1.2. Problem statement

Sustainable tourism in the Netherlands has been growing from a niche to an increasingly commonplace aspect of tourism. It is increasingly normal to see tourism enterprises adopt aspects of sustainability. However, it is clear that current efforts have not been enough to overcome the negative consequences of tourism. The need for a more sustainable way of doing tourism is becoming increasingly important for tourists and businesses alike. And widespread change is hence deemed necessary to make this happen. The Dutch tourism sector has been actively working on introducing sustainability in outbound tour operator practices. Since the 1960's there have been numerous conferences, projects, organizations, publications, and more aimed at integrating sustainability into the sector. Yet this wide range of activities and effort has not led to significant output in terms of sustainable practices being adopted within tour operator business operation (Van Wijk, 2009).

Furthermore, there is little to show for this history, in terms of documentation, or records, barring a number of research papers (I.e. Van der Duim, 2006; Van Wijk; 2009; Buijtendijk, Blom, Vermeer & Van der Duim, 2018; etc.). The sustainable tourism industry is a rather insular one, leaving little traceable or accessible evidence. As such a lot of relevant knowledge is in the hands of individuals and organizations directly involved in the field. This means that a lot of knowledge and insights will disappear as organizations cease to exist and individuals in the field retire. The absence of historical knowledge makes it unclear what sustainable practices emerge and how the dynamics with other aspects of tourism play out. Being able to look at sustainable tourism as a specific field with its own history can reveal what processes lead to more sustainable outcomes. The type of practitioners involved in sustainable tourism varies widely, from those who specialize in offering sustainable products to those that see sustainability as a secondary objective. Collaboration is needed to transition to more sustainable tourism, which means a lot of different interests and practices need to connect. This lack of insight into the sustainable tourism industry also makes it difficult to consider how these connections are created, maintained, or disappear.

In the above context, a project was started in 2019 by several actors from the sustainable tourism industry. With the aim of creating a database of the developments that occurred in the Dutch sustainable outbound tourism field. This thesis is part of this broader project, aiming to investigate and document the period between 2005 – 2020. In doing so, it will follow up on research by Van Wijk (2009), which examined the industry until 2005.

1.3. Research goal

Sustainable tourism development takes place at the intersection of a wide range of practices, carried out by various practitioners across time and space. This range of perspectives can lead to conflicting agendas and makes the idea of "sustainable tourism" hard to define. By conceptualizing sustainable tourism to occur in a wider field of practices, it becomes possible to uncover "*the often surprising links between seemingly unrelated practices, the surrounding material infrastructure, legal, social and power relations as central to such interventions, even if they are normally neglected, or even actively bracketed out, in conventional accounts*" (Hargreaves, 2011, p. 95). That is to say, looking at the practices that are relevant to sustainable tourism and their connections can point to other influential practices. This can provide insights into how sustainable tourism gets adopted. By looking at shared elements and connections, dynamics relevant to sustainable transition are revealed.

This research will provide an overview of the most significant developments in the field of sustainable outbound tourism between 2005-2020. This will be done by looking at projects, organizations, conferences, and publications that have resulted from sustainable tourism practitioners. First and foremost, this will contribute to the preservation of a lot of knowledge that would otherwise get lost over time. By analyzing and organizing the dispersed and fractured efforts in this field, these will be put in their historical context. As such it becomes possible to examine how these historical events exist in relation to other aspects of tourism. By analyzing the dynamics of sustainable tourism and the broader context of practices, the strength of the connections becomes visible, and their compatibility (or lack thereof). Examining these connections can contribute to a better understanding of which particular sustainable initiatives have been able to influence wider and adjacent tourism practices, and which have not.

1.4.   Research questions

This research aims to create an overview of the development of sustainable tourism in the Dutch outbound tourism sector between 2005-2020. This involves examining which different practices and practitioners come together in the development of sustainable tourism. This includes looking at the activities, actors, and institutions that are involved, what connections are created and disappear, and how they are dispersed across time and space. By examining the interconnectedness of different practices, and how they come together to form sustainable tourism, its historical development becomes visible. A timeline will provide the context in which tour operators work to transition to more sustainable forms of tourism. Looking at how tour operators fit into, and link up with sustainable tourism development, it becomes possible to identify how this process plays out. In doing so, the research will examine how sustainable tourism practices emerged and disappeared among tour operators and aims to identify patterns. This should provide insights into how sustainable tourism practices have changed and evolved among tour operators over the past 15 years. As such, an analysis of its evolving relations over time and space can provide insights into institutional changes relevant to the implementation of sustainability in tourism. As well as identify what dominant pathways can impact the implementation of sustainable tourism.

To achieve these goals, the following research questions have been formulated:

Main research question: What practices led to the development and implementation of sustainable tourism among tour operators in the Dutch outbound tourism sector between 2005-2020?

Sub question 1: What are the most notable sustainable tourism practices between 2005-2020 according to practitioners?

Sub question 2: How are emerging sustainable tourism practices related to ongoing tour operator practices?

Sub question 3: How have the connections between sustainable tourism practices and tour operators changed over time?

1.5. Thesis outline

This thesis consists of a total of 7 chapter, in addition to a reference list and appendices. The main chapters contain the following:

Chapter 1 presents the context and background of this research. As well as the research problem, goals and questions.

Chapter 2 describes the theoretical background and covers the relevant academic literature. It covers the agency-structure debate, and the way practice theory aims to offer a more balanced view. Several analytical concepts used as the theoretical lens in this thesis will be explained.

Chapter 3 describes the methodological choices and research design that were used to study the research topic. It describes the broader context in which this research takes place, as it is part of a larger project. the methods of data collection and analysis are also described.

Chapter 4 is the first part of the findings, it presents an overview of the developments in the sustainable tourism field between 2005 and 2020. These findings are presented as a timeline, describing different events and trends of the respective periods.

Chapter 5 is the second part of the findings, and explores the different phases of a specific multi-year project that was identified to be relevant in chapter 4. By exploring the different types of dynamics between actors, it compliments chapter 4 by examining how some of the observed patterns play out up close.

Chapter 6 consists of a discussion that examines the findings of chapters 4 and 5 in light of the literature explored in chapter 2. This consists of a summary of 2005 – 2020, and compares it to previous years. The Way practice theory was used to study the phenomenon of sustainable tourism will be covered. And the role of networks, funding, and a shared agenda will be explored in more depth.

Chapter 7 answers the research questions presented in chapter 1. It also describes some of the limitations of the research, and opportunities for future research.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 The realm of social practices – balancing agency and structure

This thesis will examine the development of sustainable tourism using the theoretical framework of social practice theory. Social practice theory (SPT) is not a singular or unified model, rather it describes a set of traditions that can be grouped together (Ren, James & Halkier, 2019). It builds of the works by sociologists like Anthony Giddens (1984) and Pierre Bourdieu (1977), who are considered to be the pioneers of the agency-structure debate in social theory (Lamers et al., 2017). Social practice theory is gaining traction among environmental researchers, as there is a fast-growing call to change consumption habits that are detrimental to the environment (Sahakian & Wilhite, 2014). As practice theory aims to understand regular and routine behavior, it can highlight how practices may be changed or influenced to move towards more sustainable consumption (Welch & Yates, 2018). A practice-based approach has been used to study several fields including tourism, mobilities, and more (Lamers et al., 2017).

Spaargaren used SPT as a way to approach climate change that departed from the dominant models which emphasized either the individual or the system (Spaargaren, Lamers & Weenink, 2016). The individualist approach emphasizes the individual and their responsibility. While this approach contributed significantly to increasing environmental awareness, it has been criticized for not providing enough insight into what actually results in pro-environmental behavioral change. In contrast, the systemic approach tried to address the lack of change brought about by individuals. It proposes the idea that individuals will change their behavior to be more sustainable if the surrounding products, infrastructure, and technologies in place facilitate this (Spaargaren et al., 2016). As such, institutions and policies are seen as the way to encourage sustainable consumption. The individualistic approach frames the individual as the source of environmental problems and as such puts all responsibility on the individual (Hargreaves, 2011). A more systemic approach neglects the role of individuals and human agency. Simply put: putting all responsibility on one or the other leads to an incomplete approach. By aiming to find a balance between individual agency, and structure of existing systems, SPT considers how they mutually influence the shaping of social practices.

Proponents of SPT argue that social structures are produced and reproduced through interactions between actors and structure (Hargreaves, 2011). The connection between social structures and human agency is key to SPT, as it states that these cannot be understood in isolation. Rather, their interactions impact social practices, and they are in turn influenced by practices. As Lamers & Pashkevich (2015, p. 442) describe:

"In other words, agency 'draws upon' the structures of practices, thereby renewing these structures and participating in, and reproducing, practices"

As practice theory argues that behaviors are created and maintained through habit and repetition, it provides a multi-faceted model that can help address why changing behaviors isn't just a matter of appealing to an individual's psychology. In doing so, it combines a top-down and bottom-up perspective as both are recognized as important factors that shape the social world (Spaargaren et al., 2016). From this perspective, all aspects of the social world are structured by practices that are routinely performed across time and space (Shove, Pantzar & Watson, 2012).

2.2. A flat ontology

One of the more unique features of practice theory is its use of a flat ontology, which Schatzki (2001) describes as followed:

"(...) in social theory, consequently, practice approaches promulgate a distinct social ontology: the social is a field of embodied, materially interwoven practices centrally organized around shared practical understandings. This conception contrasts with accounts that privilege individuals, (inter)actions, language, signifying systems, the life world, institutions/ roles, structures, or systems defining the social. These phenomena, say practice theorists, can only be analyzed via the field of practices"
(Schatzki, 2001, p.3).

This means that there is no stratification of different practices, and that all practices take place concurrently. As such it does not matter at which level of the social realm a practice exists, they al take place in the same plenum. For example, there is no difference between practices that take place at a micro- or macrolevel as is often the case in analyses through an agency-structure perspective. That doesn't mean practices don't vary in size or scale, rather size and scale refer to which extent a bundle of practices exists across time and space. As such this doesn't affect how a practice should be analyzed (Nicolini, 2009).

Using a flat ontology in the context of organizational studies has two important consequences according to Schatzki (2005). For one, organizations are made up of many different connecting practices. This means that they are not entities in and of themselves. As such, studying organizations should take the links and connections between practices into account. Second, as all of the social world is made up of different practices and bundles, so is the context in which an organization exists. Rather than taking context for granted, relevant and connecting practices that make up the context should be emphasized. A strength of using the flat ontology is that it showcases how intertwined and interconnected practices and their context are. It highlights how phenomena we tend to see as separate entities are often closely linked.

2.3. Studying large phenomena like sustainable tourism

Practices do not exist in isolation, rather the social world is made up of countless practices that overlap and interconnect in different ways. This is particularly relevant, as sustainable tourism exists in a context where numerous practices overlap and interact. Social practice theory has been used to study sustainable consumption, it tends to be limited to the realm of the "everyday" and "lifestyle" (Welch & Yates, 2018). However, the social world is not just made up of small-scale social phenomena. Aspects of the social world such as markets, institutions, educational systems, organizations, companies and so on can be described as large social phenomena (Spaargaren et al., 2016). Yet one of the main criticisms levied towards practice theory is that it tends to fail to address larger-scale social phenomena:

"one key challenge for practice theory is whether it can develop conceptual schemes adequate to mapping and explaining large social phenomena"

(Welch & Yates, 2018. p 289)

The lack of accounts using practice theory to look at "large-scale" phenomena can in part be attributed to its use of a flat ontology (Welch & Yates, 2018). Using this logic, all larger scale phenomena are the result of the aggregation of interrelated practices. This means that all "large" phenomena such as organizations, institutions and so on are made up of countless "small" practices. This can lead researchers down an infinite rabbit hole, deconstructing large phenomena into a collection of its smallest parts. As a result, most practice accounts end up focusing on the micro aspects of larger phenomena, focusing on specific practices. While such accounts offer valuable insights into particular aspects, it doesn't provide a view of the "big picture". It can also lead to researchers being unable to see how different pieces make up the whole, as practices are not just the sum of its parts.

Nicolini (2017) used the idea of "connected situationalism" as a way to analyze larger practices and keeping a flat ontology. What differs from most practice accounts is that:

> *"the basic unit of analysis is not a single scene of action or a specific situation or instance of the accomplishment of a practice, but rather a chain, sequence or combination of performances **plus** their relationships – what keeps them connected in space and time" (p. 101)*

That is to say, connected situationalism foregrounds not just practices themselves, but the connections between them as well. Practices are seen as emerging from a very specific set of circumstances, a result of the "here and now". What happens beyond the initial emergence of the practice, is inevitably shaped by what came before. This means that the study of large phenomena should focus on following connections between practices, starting from a specific "here and now" to see how the phenomenon emerged and evolved from that point (Nicolini, 2017).

One way to understand large phenomena through a practice lens is by looking at them as the outcome of connections among practices. Schatzki (2016) proposes that large social phenomena like sustainable tourism require a certain type of explanation. Namely an historical account of the practice, how it came to be, and how it continues to exist (or ceases to exist) over time. He refers to several broad aspects that this entails, including the need to provide clear overviews to clarify the complexity. This includes both the practice-arrangement bundles that are a part of a specific phenomenon, and the actions that led up to them. As such, the goal is not to capture every detail or facet of the practices, but rather to provide a synopsis. This means that a general overview consists of "broad strokes", but that key events and chains of action can be highlighted. This type of research often used a narrative form to provide a compelling and comprehensive overview. As such this research will focus on the connections that form between different bundles that result in sustainable tourism outcomes, and what this process looks like over time.

To differentiate between "large" and "small" practices, several concepts have been used. Schatzki (2002) used the concept of "practice-arrangement bundles", which can be used to describe broad social phenomena including tourism. Practice arrangement bundles describe how practices, and their materials are tied together, and how these connections can be more or less strong and enduring. In fact, according to Schatzki (2011), the only difference between small and large phenomena is the number of practices, and how far it extends.

"A bundle is a set of linked practices and arrangements. A constellation is a set of linked bundles … the kinds of link that exist among bundles are the kinds of link that connect practices and arrangements. A constellation, consequently, is just a larger and possibly more complex bundle, a larger and possibly more complex linkage of practices and arrangements. (Schatzki, 2011 p.8)"

Different research makes use of a range of terms and concepts to describe connections of different kinds and strengths. Shove et al., (2012) use a practice lens to highlight how certain practices have well-defined, strong connections that tie them together, and refers to these as "chains" or "nexuses". Gherardi (2012) describes the "texture" of practices and how they are interconnected. Other terms such as "networks", "nets", "assemblage", "mesh" and more all evoke imagery that emphasize the connectivity of practices. The use of such terms is metaphorical rather than analytical, but it provides a captivating visual image. This research will follow Shove et al., (2012) naming conventions, using "bundles" as a way to describe interconnected activities on a larger scale.

However, there are still few empirical studies using practice theory to examine large-scale phenomena, and there is a lack of consensus as to how this should be done. Schatzki (2016) proposes that to examine large phenomena, the connections between bundles should be studied. Schatzki (2016) considers "practice-arrangement bundles" to be a combination of interconnected practices and material arrangements. While the specific concepts differ from the "meaning, material and competence" model proposed by Shove et al. (2012), the dynamics play out similarly. Material arrangements are the equivalent of the material dimension. The practices, or the doings and sayings of activities are reminiscent of a mix of the meaning and competences. It has been suggested that "practice-arrangement bundles" are suitable to analyze large phenomena like tourism (Lamers et al., 2017) Overall, the family of practice theories offers a broad perspective, incorporating different elements and conceptualizations. As such, it has been advised to take this pluralistic perspective into account and take advantage of the different strengths and weaknesses of specific theories (Nicolini, 2012).

2.4. Zooming in and out
To study practices, Nicolini (2012) suggests the use of "zooming in / zooming out" as a method. A "zoomed in" perspective to take a close-up look at specific practices, and a "zoomed out" perspective to gain an understanding of the plenum of practices (Nicolini, 2012). To fully understand a practice, both perspectives should be used, ideally through alternating between the two. Alternating between perspectives has been described as being particularly useful to help understand processes and dynamics of social change (Lamers et al., 2017). With practices being part of different practice-arrangement bundles, an analysis of its evolving relations over time and space can provide insights into institutional changes. This research will focus on a zoomed out perspective, which can be especially useful to contextualise wider processes of social change.

When discussing "zooming in and zooming out" it is important to note that this does not mean that there is a distinction between the micro and macro, keeping in line with the flat ontology. Rather, a zoomed out perspective is useful to examine "large" social phenomena (Nicolini, 2012). As such, zooming out refers to a broader examination of practices rather than a highly detailed account. Nicolini (2009) describes the process of zooming out as describing the texture of practices. This means having to look for connecting practices and moving between them to create an overview of the texture of practices. The process of zooming out is a combination of two core steps. First, connections between practices should be uncovered

by following the practices over time and space. Second, the connections and how they are kept in place should be studied.

2.5. How do bundles connect

Tourism is extremely complex, consisting of a wide range of networks and products. All of which connect to and are embedded in a variety of practice-arrangement bundles. Understanding how these fit together can provide new insights for the governance of tourism development. It has been argued that looking at the different links between tourism practices, or absence thereof can identify points of intervention. This can be helpful to further work towards a more sustainable sector (Lamer et al., 2017).

It is also argued that practices need to be studied in relation to their context, as other practices that connect and can exert influence need to be identified. As Nicolini (2012, p.229) put it:

"(…) to understand what happens here and now, we also need to understand what happens somewhere else – next door, or much further afield"

Zooming out can provide a helicopter view of the plenum of practices and help identify both large and small bundles. as it can provide an "outline" of a set of practices and show how they interlink (Nicolini, 2012). It can reveal more or less strongly connected practices and connecting practices. Interconnections between practices are highly complex due to their intertwined nature. The outcome of one practice can be one of the constituting elements of another (Nicolini, 2009). This leads to complex interdependencies. Practices are inherently tied to other practices, so it is essential to keep in mind how this affects the practice. Bundles don't just exist alongside each other, they join and connect in different ways. Practices exert mutual influence over one another when they interact in different ways (Welch & Yates, 2018).

Bundles can connect in different ways, as they can have elements, on entire practices in common (Schatzki, 2016). First, bundles can connect by sharing certain practices. For example, tour operators link up with air travel providers, as they share the practice of transporting tourists to their holiday destination. Second, bundles can connect by sharing elements of practices. As a causal relation, physical proximity and physical structure can also be the basis of relations between bundles (Schatzki, 2016). Airports are for example a space where the shared materiality (the airport itself) connects a range of different practice bundles such as selling goods (the different shops located in the airport) and providing travel services (airports are the physical point of departure). Not all practice bundles are made equal, and how strongly practices connect and depend on each other is contextual (Nicolini, 2009). In certain situations, practices and bundles are entirely dependent on each other and need each other for continued existence (Schatzki, 2013). However, other bundles are much more fluid and flexible. Bundles can combine in different ways and combine a range of practices. Tour operators have for example been able to adapt to the increased digitalization by adding online services to their range of practices.

Looking at different practice bundles, their connections, and how they can be modified can provide points of intervention for policy makers (Lamers et al., 2017). This can take different shapes, like the creation of links between practices. This was the case in Lamers & Van der Duim's (2016) analysis of conservation tourism partnerships. The study looked at the way change agents were able to generate sustainable tourism outcomes by coupling existing practices, eventually creating a new practice-arrangement bundle.

2.6. How do bundles and their connections co-evolve

From a temporal perspective, a zoomed-out view can reveal specific patterns of practices and their development or destruction. This can provide insights into what dominant pathways might be in place, and how the process of reproduction progresses.

What practices look like, or how they become enacted is highly contextual, as they represent:

"(…) conventional, normalized ways of behaving and understanding in different situations." (Lamers et al., 2017, p.57).

This is also what makes a practice "social", it is carried out by different people across time and space. Everyday practices such as dress code, greetings, meals, etc. exemplify how a practice can evolve, while still remaining recognizable as a singular practice. This can be a gradual process, as practices are highly contextual, they often change to fit the needs of specific temporal, spatial, institutional, or social context, etc. As people adapt and tailor practices to their needs, the practice changes as it is reproduced differently over time. Shove et al., (2012) explain how the process of bathing as part of personal hygiene evolved and transformed gradually. Through a combination of social norms and innovation, taking one bath a week transformed into daily showers.

Sometimes this is more abrupt or deliberate, for example, the introduction of new technology can abruptly break and form links that can rapidly change a practice (Warde, 2013). As such, introducing new practices means also having to compete with existing practices. This poses the challenge of having to either replace an existing practice or exist alongside it. As those that carry out the practices are often limited by time and resources, it can be challenging to make changes to habits and routine. With people repeatedly engaging with certain practices, the routinized nature of this process means people don't have to consciously be aware of practices to engage with them. As such, introducing a new practice, or modified version of a practice isn't enough. Practices have to be maintained, which can involve a lot of effort (Bruno & Nikolaeva, 2020).

It is argued that using historical records to study the "life of practices" can help identify "*how and when a practice emerged, how it developed, matured, aged and perhaps disappeared or dissolved into other practices*" (Lamers et al., p. 58). It can reveal what contextual conditions either strengthened or weakened the practice, and how resilient and robust the practice is. Similarly, it can reveal how a practice can group with other practices and how this plays out across time and space.

Bundles are ever-evolving, and as such, they tend to change over time. This can affect the practices themselves, as well as the relations between them. Schatzki (2006) notes that external events can often trigger changes to bundles. The extent to which such an event can modify a bundle depends. In some cases, little to no changes are made to a bundle. However, it can also lead to changes to specific elements of practices, or how a bundle functions. Over time, both small and larger changes affect the bundle which leads to the bundle evolving over time. Four types of changes can be identified based on Schatzki (2013):

1. The introduction of a new element or practice can lead to the creation of a new bundle. It can also cause a bundle to reconfigure with both old and new practices. For example, the introduction of a new technology or tool will often lead to new and re-arranged bundles.

2. Practices and bundles can evolve differently due to local circumstances. For example, different companies might have the same policies, but enact them in different ways.

3. In contrast, bundles can also hybridize as a result of merging with each other. This can for example occur when companies merge.

4. A bundle can evolve as a result of an "entity" leaving the bundle. This has 2 notable consequences. For one, the bundles have to adapt to the absence. Second, the "leaving" entity merges with another bundle. What should also be considered is the fact that practices have to continuously be performed or else they will disappear. As such, introducing a new practice, or modified version of a practice isn't enough. Practices have to be maintained, which can involve a lot of effort (Bruno & Nikolaeva, 2020).

3. Methodology

3.1. Context

This research was developed in the context of a broader project which aims to gather and archive a chronological history of the development of the sustainable outbound tourism field in the Netherlands. The members of this project group had been involved in the sustainable outbound tourism field as members of the "Initiatief Duurzaam Uitgaand Toerisme" (IDUT) (sustainable outbound tourism association), and representatives of their respective organizations (see Table 1). This means they were experienced practitioners within the field, and (former) insiders. This was especially relevant in the early stages as there was little existing data to guide the research. As such, the development of this research was partially informed by the interaction with the project group, with the shared goal of developing a timeline of events.

Table 1 Members of the IDUT project group

Name	Organization	Relevance
Marnix Vietor	ANWB	Former Project manager Sustainable tourism
Theo Noten	ECPAT (End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism)	Former manager ECPAT at Defence for Children
Elise Allart	TUI Benelux	Former manager sustainable tourism
Nico Visser	TUI Benelux	Former manager sustainable tourism
René van der Duim	Wageningen University & Research	Emeritus Professor & Special Professor in Tourism and Sustainable Development

This study focuses on sustainable tourism initiatives and agendas and how these have become engrained into bundled outbound practices among tour operators in the Netherlands between 2005-2020. To study this process of change, it is suggested to combine a "zoomed out" and "zoomed in" perspective (Nicolini, 2012). To understand the context of sustainable tourism, "Zooming out" will be used to develop a timeline of prominent events, establishing the plenum of practices. This will identify relevant actors, their interactions and establish an overview of activities in the studied timeframe. "Zooming in" focusses on the development of the "Initiatief Duurzame Handel" (IDH) (sustainable trade initiative), a cross-sector project. In doing so, the research takes a closer look at specific practices and practitioners involved. As this research focuses on the specific period of 2005-2020, there is a clear temporal context that will be examined. To study dispersed practices, specific instances can be used as a point of departure, providing insights into the processes that are relevant to the global phenomenon. Schmidt (2016, p. 55) describes this as:

> *"This is to study the associations, connections and networks, of which the local phenomena are nodal points and intersections, and to investigate how these associations emerge, transform, empirically globalize or collapse".*

With this, it has been suggested to use a multi-sited ethnography research approach (Schmidt, 2016). Meaning the complex phenomenon is made observable by studying local realities and identifying the systematic traits. This is done by "following" the trails of different actors, objects, or events (Van Duijn, 2020), hereby allowing the researcher to overcome organizational boundaries. This also borrows from transition studies, where historical research has been used to study pathways of change (Spaargaren et al., 2016). In this case, the project group provided the starting point, allowing the researcher to identify which trails to follow up on. In doing so, it becomes possible to "map" the historical developments over time. This process also identified the case to "zoom in" on, as it reflected many of the re-occurring dynamics identified earlier in the research.

Practice theory is not restricted to particular methods, as the methods depend on what is being examined and what questions are being asked (Shove et al., 2012). In general, the consensus favors qualitative methods as this allows researchers to collect the type of rich and detailed data that is useful to describe practices. Ethnographic traditions favor methods that provide in-depth understanding and insider perspectives (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). In this study, documents and interviews provided the primary sources of data. As the research aims to understand a phenomenon that is not well documented, an exploratory approach will be taken. This open-ended nature also fits with the use of practice theory, which emphasizes the complexity and unpredictable nature of practices and their connections. This allowed for alternating between data collection and analysis, as preliminary findings helped finetune further data collection (Boeije, 2010).

3.2. Data collection

The initial selection of sources relied primarily on the input of members of the project group. The members of the project group also established an initial chronology of developments and events, which acted as the starting point for the timeline. This research aims to provide insights into a specific community, including events, their context, and the meanings behind it. Such an in-depth account requires the insights of practitioners involved in the field. Therefore, the members of the project group were important sources of information and allowed the researcher to obtain such insights (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

3.2.1. Document analysis

Document analysis can be useful for qualitative studies, as it provides different types of empirical data on the subject of study (Bowen, 2009). Documents, both digital and physical, can provide insights into past events and their context. This is done by collecting and analyzing different types of texts or other formats (O'Leary, 2004). As this research concerns historical events that the researcher was not involved with, documents are essential to help identify what happened at which point. This allows the researcher to examine the research topic with multiple sources of evidence. Having multiple sources and methods can provide further insights, as they provide complimentary information. Document analysis can also help avoid biases by having multiple sources corroborate the findings and enhance the credibility. Initial findings that emerged from document analysis were also used to structure interview guides.

The majority of the documents collected for this study were derived from the personal archive of Emeritus Professor René van der Duim. This included notes from meetings, brochures, digital correspondences, drafted documents and more. As many of the documents were not archived or publicly available these were essential sources and provided insights into the process of development. For example, differences between draft versions of documents and their final iteration can showcase otherwise invisible changes

over specific periods of time (Bowen, 2009). Other relevant sources were found through online searches and interviewee recommendations.

Document analysis is an iterative process, where the researcher skims, reads, and interprets the data. In this case, documents were initially skimmed to identify their relevance to the research and highlight specific parts of importance. Document analysis has been described as a combination of content analysis and thematic analysis, which has been the case here. Content analysis refers to the organization of data into categories that are relevant to the research question. In this case, this involved looking for connections between actors, events, and organizations. Furthermore, the contents were examined through the concepts of the theoretical framework. Notably, how they provided insights in the ways different actors and organizations were able to connect (or not), and how this played out. Thematic analysis is a more emergent way of collecting relevant data. By looking for patterns, the researcher can uncover reoccurring and relevant themes. This is a more focused process, and involved re-reading documents to identify categories (Bowen, 2009). In this case, certain themes were identified based on different areas of expertise among the members of the project group.

3.2.2. Interviews

To gain insights into the different experiences of practitioners in the sustainable tourism field, qualitative interviews were conducted. Doing so allowed the researcher to gain insights into the different experiences and perspectives. As this research went through an iterative process of document analysis and interviews, the interviews were adapted accordingly. A total of 11 interviews were completed, with a total of 12 interviewees. The interviewees consist of several industry experts that fill the role of "insider practitioners" (see also, Table 2). In this study, the core unit of analysis are practices themselves, and not the people engaging with the practices. However, as (former) carriers of practices (Reckwitz, 2002), individuals are still a core source of insight into reconstructing particular practices and changes observed in them. As practitioners, people are aware of the practices they participate(d) in. Also, as "insiders" to specific practices, practitioners can provide detailed descriptions.

The interviews were conducted in Dutch, and had an average duration of 87 minutes, the audio was recorded and fully transcribed. The interviews were a mix of online and in person. The interviews were semi-structured to allow the interviewees to share their perspectives whilst making sure all relevant topics were covered. As the interviewees were questioned regarding their personal experiences, the questions were adapted to their situations. Furthermore, the interview guide (see appendix A) changed over time, and evolved to reflect the intermediary findings from other interviews and the document analysis. The initial interviewees were chosen based on their involvement with the project to create a documented history of sustainable tourism in the Netherlands. As these interviewees were chosen based on their relevant perspectives and their knowledge to fit the needs of the study, it conforms with purposive sampling (Boeije, 2010). Using the initial timeline as a starting point allowed the researcher to expand on missing elements and gain insights into the perceived relevance of events according to project group members. A second round of interviews was conducted, these interviewees were selected based on their relevance according to project group members. Table 2 shows the number of interviewees based on their respective backgrounds. As well as their availability, and ability to fill in the gaps that were identified through document analysis. These interviewees were approached by members of the project group, following a snowball method (Boeije, 2010). These were joint interviews with one project group member & one external interviewee. This took advantage of the existing relationships and created an informal and open setting for the interviews. The joint setting also allowed both interviewees to exchange their

perspectives and trigger different memories. This provided more in-depth data and allowed forgotten details to surface.

Table 2: interviewee backgrounds

Relevance	Tour operators	NGOs & B corporation	Research institutions	Industry associations
Number of interviewees	5	3	1	3

To establish a commonly agreed-upon timeline, a group discussion was held with the members of the project group. As the members represented the relevant research population, the meeting functioned as an informal focus group (Boeije, 2010). This meeting also led to a more specific list of historical events to investigate more thoroughly for the timeline (Appendix C, only available in Dutch). It also served in a limited capacity of participant observation, allowing the researcher to observe the social interactions between the different group members (Boeije, 2010). This provided insights into the group context and dynamics, which reflected a social setting similar to that of the former sustainable tourism network.

3.3. Data analysis

This research aims to gain an understanding of sustainable tourism practices and their evolution over time. This is a highly complex and dynamic environment, made up of many different interrelated practices. This can lead to researchers going deeper and deeper, looking at all the different micro-processes involved. However, the goal of "zooming out" is not to capture every detail or facet of the practices, but rather to provide a synopsis. This means that a general overview consists of "broad strokes", but that key events and chains of action can be highlighted. This type of research often uses a narrative form to provide a compelling and comprehensive overview (Schatzki, 2016). Based on the intermediary findings, the case of IDH was chosen to zoom in on, as it included different types of dynamics, which reflected the overall phenomenon. Zooming in allowed for a more detailed examination of these dynamics, and the roles of the actors involved.

The research went through several phases, combining data collection and analysis. This allowed the researcher to adapt the methods to suitably reflect and further investigate the emerging findings. The physical documents were organized based on their types and subject matter. A digital master list of documents was created to allow for easy access and identification of the relevance. These documents were assigned codes during analysis for easier reference (See appendix B). To analyze the interviews, MAXQDA was used which made it easier to navigate, identify and access relevant data. Initial analysis efforts focused on the development of a coherent timeline and gaining an overview of the field. Initial themes and topics were identified in the project group and data was sorted accordingly through a shared Google sheet. These were used as inductive codes in the early stages of the research and provided the initial structure to the interview guide. Through document analysis and interviews, an ongoing process of inductive coding expanded the list of categories and themes. Once data collection was finalized, a process of axial coding created overarching and sub-codes. Table 3 shows the phases of data collection and analysis throughout the research.

Table 3 Process of data collection and analysis

	Method	Goal	Preliminary analysis & output
Phase 1	Initial document analysis & organizing of data sources	Establish an initial overview of what occurred in the relevant timeline. Sorted and categorised data sources for easier access	Excel file with list of possible entries for the timeline. Including entries by project group members. Used to develop an initial interview guide
Phase 2	Semi-structured interviews with members of the project group going over their experience. Loosely structured based on the initial timeline.	Gain insights into the perceived relevance of events according to project group members. Identified relevant themes and topics for further investigation.	Interviews transcribed & analysed in relation to the initial timeline to expand one missing elements. Creation of a draft timeline for the group discussion.
Phase 3	Group session with project group members	Came to an agreement on the selection of relevant entries for the timeline. Observe dynamics of project group members	Shortlist of entries for the timeline. Provided insights into the dynamics of project group members. Field notes to reflect relevant input for the timeline. IDH identified as case to zoom in on
Phase 4 (concurrent with phase 5)	Expanded document analysis	Writing the findings chapter. Identify gaps in the documentation to be supplemented through interviews	Initial findings chapter & expanded interview guide.
Phase 5 (concurrent with phase 4)	Joint interviews with 1 project group member & 1 external interviewee	Fill the gaps identified through the document analysis when possible.	Interviews transcribed and uploaded for coding.

3.4.   Positionality

Within qualitative research it is important to be aware of potential factors and values that could impact the research. As this research was developed in the context of a broader project, there are different interests which might have affected my positionality (Creswell & Poth, 2018). While the project group members are very much relevant actors within the field, their experiences are not universal. Their strong influence on the contents of the timeline creates a risk of a potentially biased narrative. Especially as an "outsider", I lacked the experience to contextualize all the information. The triangulation of data sources, and methods did mitigate some of this risk. Having multiple sources to corroborate the findings enhanced the credibility (Boeije, 2009).

The benefit of the project group is the access it granted to interviewees that would have been difficult to connect with otherwise. Furthermore, the joint interviews allowed for an informal, and friendly setting. Being an "outsider" has also allowed me to keep an open mind, as I have no personal attachments which could affect my judgment. This was useful, as most actors in the field are familiar with each other, and there was often a fine line between personal opinions and professional insights.

3.5.   Ethics

All the interviews were recorded with informed consent (Boeije, 2010). Furthermore, interviewees were informed they did not have to answer questions they were not comfortable with. Additionally, interviewees could withdraw any information put forward, or leave it "of the record". Due to the aforementioned small size of the industry, interviewee names have been kept confidential. They are referred to by a combination of the letter P (for participant) and a number (For example, P1, P2, etc.). Quotes have been altered to leave out personal details. That said, the subject matter might limit the degree of confidentiality towards industry members.

4. Results part 1: Sustainability in the Dutch outbound tourism sector 2005 – 2020

The following chapter describes the changes that took place in the Dutch outbound tourism sector between 2005 and 2020. As the theoretical framing indicated, such processes are complex, intertwined, and often not straightforward. The chapter aims to portray the history through a chronological account. History however rarely fits into specific boxes defined by arbitrary dates, implying that some of the events are described somewhat out of order. To create a compelling narrative, events have been clustered thematically to facilitate easier comprehension. The events described have been sorted into three stages which display some specific characteristics. Each era will be summarized in terms of the notable trends and pivotal events or processes. As the eras serve a descriptive purpose, it should be noted that the described characteristics are by no means exclusive to the specific periods, rather it is an opportunity to highlight and recap some notable developments. Furthermore, it provides the context to explore some dynamics between tour operators and sustainable practices. As describing the entire history of sustainable outbound tourism represents an impossible task, the described events have been selected based on their perceived importance according to interviewees.

4.1. Period 1: Sustainable tourism as a shared responsibility | 2005 – 2009

4.1.1. The state of sustainable tourism by 2005 and POEMS

By 2005, sustainability had been part of the outbound tourism agenda for some time and had become a legitimate issue for both small and large tour operators. A notable development of the early 2000s was the development and implementation of a product-oriented environmental management scheme (POEMS) (Product en MilieuZorg or PMZ in Dutch) for tour operators (Van Wijk, 2009). This became mandatory for members of the "Algemene Nederlandse Vereniging van Reisondernemingen" (ANVR) (Dutch Association of Travel Agents and Tour Operators) and forced them to meet certain criteria regarding the sustainability of products in their tourism supply chain (Van der Duim & van Marwijk, 2006). The program launched in 2003, but it was only in the spring of 2005 that all tour operators would complete the basic requirements. Research by Wageningen University examined the process of the program's implementation. This showed that the POEMS helped tour operators identify and implement ways to improve the sustainability of their supply chain. However, its "soft" and voluntary nature meant that few tour operators implemented changes beyond the bare minimum (Van der Duim & van Marwijk, 2006). It does establish the ongoing efforts to include sustainability in the business operations of Dutch tour operators.

4.1.2. The sustainable outbound tourism association

In the Netherlands, the sustainable outbound tourism movement was spearheaded by the organization "IDUT" (Initiatief Duurzaam Uitgaand Toerisme; in English "initiative sustainable outbound tourism"). This national multi-stakeholder platform consisted of representatives from the private sector, the government, NGOs, and education institutions. The organization's main goal was to jointly promote sustainable tourism to the industry, stimulate the sector to contribute to sustainable development through tourism. The association held several meetings each year and served as a platform for knowledge exchange and a networking opportunity for the different stakeholders. The platform was established in 2000 and is considered to be the driving force that got sustainable tourism where it is today (P9; P5; P8; P11). In 2007, several members from IDUT took the initiative to look ahead and plan a course for the next 2 years for the organization. A discussion followed, with the goal of establishing a shared vision of what IDUT should be,

and the scope of activities that should be carried out to achieve the goals. While no clear vision was formulated, the discussion did evaluate the state of IDUT, and how members perceived the role of the organization.

A diverse network

IDUT main role was to serve as a networking organization, focused on establishing connections between organizations and knowledge sharing. IDUT was a unique platform where private sector, NGOs, educational institutions, and governmental agencies could get together. This allowed the group to address sustainability and put it on the agenda of industry members. IDUT was characterized by the debates and discussions among its members. The complex nature of sustainability made this unavoidable. Though this should be seen as a positive, as it contributed to awareness and new insights. In fact, it was noted that IDUT existed mainly as a platform to facilitate such debates. According to one former member:

"IDUT was very good in that regards, we had a lot of good discussions" (P5)

A facilitating platform

While IDUT did not organize or participate in projects, it played an important part in facilitating and developing projects among its members. IDUT could act as a broker to create coalitions between members, and facilitate the development of projects, namely by providing information and networking opportunities. IDUT also organized the yearly Groeneveld conference for those interested in sustainable tourism. Each year the conference was organized around a specific theme of topic with different workshops, presentations, and other activities for attendees. The conference was the key sustainable tourism event of the year, and the broader audience provided an opportunity to expand the network (P9). One interviewee described how IDUT brought motivated people together, stating:

"IDUT was for those that wanted to work together. (…) It was between the people themselves, IDUT was more of a facilitator. That was the nice thing about it, it was always fun and interesting. There would be speakers who would trigger new ideas of things we could do. And a few more people would join saying "we could do this together."" (P9)

Exclusive organization

With 26 members at the time, IDUT was an exclusive network. While the organization did not have the goal to grow, recruiting strategic new members would further strengthen the group. The balance between types of members was also important to maintain, as it was important to represent relevant stakeholders. While IDUT membership did not require anything beyond the membership fee (i.e. Compulsory attendance), it could be a possibility in the future. As organizations should not just become members to externally signal their involvement with sustainability. The group prioritized active and involved membership, to ensure all members were legitimately interested in being part of the group. This was seen as one of the strengths of the group, making it easy for members to establish a strong presence with their agenda as was – for instance - the case with ECPAT according to one interviewee:

"Because not that many organizations were members, I had the opportunity to convince them 1 on 1 that their involvement was in fact important. Showing our faces, showing our presence, constantly addressing child protection and the social elements (of sustainable tourism) was very important" (P3).

Essential invisible network node

IDUT remained a background organization, for the most part, acting as a broker rather than an active participant in projects that emerged between members. Without IDUT, Milieu Centraal (an independent consumer information organization) might not have been able to include tourism in their organization. Other coalitions and projects among members also emerged as a direct result from the IDUT group. However, as IDUT was not directly involved with projects themselves, their role remained mostly invisible to the outside world. As a result, non-members lacked a clear idea of what the organization concretely contributed. As such, IDUT had a reputation of being a "talking club" that is not effective. In return, IDUT wanted to be more explicit about their contributions by externally communicating their involvement in the development of different projects. Organizing activities for the sector was also a possible way to increase their visibility, however, the costs associated made this hard to implement in practice.

IDUT hoped to develop a collective outlook and shared points of view as an identity for the association. But its diverse membership did make it difficult for the organization to take any stances towards issues or position itself publicly. This had become a point of discussion during debates about the introduction of a flight tax, as members held opposing positions. While the IDUT members did not dispute the importance of debating issues and pushing boundaries between members, external communication would have to remain in broad terms. However, that did not negate the necessity to lobby towards both the government and private sector. Sharing information could be a means to do so without adopting any positions. IDUT had not been successful on this front so far and wanted to put more effort towards this in the future (IDUT-18).

IDUT as association | 2009

IDUT relied on external financing to support its activities, including the Groeneveld conference. Up until 2008, IDUT operated as a foundation that obtained funding through the International Union for Conservation of Nature Netherlands (IUCN NL). However, IUCN NL was no longer able to support IDUT, and as of January 1, 2009, IDUT changed its legal status to an association that allowed them to apply for funding directly. IDUT also hoped to organize more concrete activities which also required additional funds. While membership fees did cover the basic costs associated with the association, IDUT would continue to rely on external financing for other projects (IDUT-2).

4.1.3. Sector initiatives and developments

Travel Foundation Nederland | 2006 - 2010

In 2006, to make their industry more sustainable, several tour operators came together to establish a joint organization through the "Travel Foundation Nederland" (TFNL) (IDUT-13). TFNL was modeled after the Travel Foundation UK, which had already been operating successfully since 2003. As such, the TFNL worked closely with its UK counterpart and even collaborated on projects. The TFNL established a unique collaboration between small and large tour operators, aiming to improve the sustainability of holiday destinations, as well as an emphasis on consumers. TFNL would develop, support, and bundle sustainable initiatives in the Dutch tourism sector, as well as involve local entrepreneurs and communities at destinations. This would consist of 3 types of projects: destination-oriented, business operations, and consumers. The members of the foundation would help with the implementation of projects in destinations and communicate with their customers. This served the purpose of raising awareness among consumers, as well as the generation of more funding. The foundation was led by an independent board, with several members including Nico Visser, Bouwe Taveirne and Leontien Gast. The project committee, consisting of member tour operators, would propose projects for the foundation. The foundation was able

to attract several new members, such as the tour operator Baobab. The TFNL was further able to establish an agreement with the Rainforest Alliance. This type of collective approach was unique within the Dutch industry, as one interviewee noted:

> *"What the Travel Foundation was, it was one of the first collaborations (…) where they would really work together towards a collective outcome. Which was done on a project basis" (P8).*

The 12th of December in 2007 saw the launch of the travel foundation NL by founding partners; Askja Reizen, Buro Scandinavia, Oad Reizen, Sunweb Vakanties, Sawadee Reizen and TUI Nederland (NWL-1). To raise awareness among consumers about the foundation, a campaign took place during the holiday fair of 2008. A joint session organized by TFNL, IDUT and ANVR aimed to inform the industry and press about the foundation, by presenting several of the projects. Some project ideas presented were the development of a local souvenir market in Gambia, educating local tour guides in Costa Rica, or the protection of the Red Sea in Egypt. The goal was to develop projects that could be replicated in multiple destinations. By 2008, the TFNL was working with the UK foundation on two separate projects. The first project that would be done independently was also approved, which consisted of a diving project on Bonaire in collaboration with DCNA (Dutch Caribbean Nature Alliance). While the foundation had seen some growth with new tour operators joining as well as other partners such as the "European insurance", it was difficult to gain visibility (IDUT-8). In 2009 the TFNL started a project to create more awareness among the employees of its partners by allowing employees to propose projects which could win 10.000 euro funding to start the project.

The initial development of the TFNL was funded by the Ministry of LNV (Ministry of agriculture, nature, and food quality) and EZ (Ministry of economic affairs), IUCN NL, and its partners. This funding would be provided for the first two years and allow the foundation to establish and operationalize itself. It would also allow the foundation to link up with the UK foundations' projects, as well as establish its own. Similar to its UK counterpart, this business model mainly relied on two streams of income from the private sector. The first source of funding was intended to come from the voluntary contribution by the foundation members. The second source should come from members who would collect money from their customers, asking for voluntary donations which would specifically go to the foundation. The foundation's goal was to obtain funding from consumers by 2008. The foundation's target was to obtain 80 % funding from consumers (IDUT-2). The foundation wanted to collect funding by incorporating donation options for consumers in the online booking forms. Several members implemented the system for a while and were able to generate a lot of income. However, legislative changes regarding "opting in and opting out" during online transactions meant the TFNL lost an important source of money (P8). Online bookings no longer automatically approved the option for consumers to donate. And making it a voluntary option led to a fraction of the prior donations.

The underlying approach from TFNL emphasized the collective impact of the sector. As one interviewee noted, "*it was especially about the collectivity, the coral reefs in Egypt don't belong to anyone, we have to take care of it together*" (P8). All the members of the foundation had an equal say in the projects the foundation would undertake. Furthermore, projects that were implemented would be equally credited to all tour operators. With the differences between tour operators in terms of their project goals and destinations, it was hard to come to a collective agreement on projects. As was said by one interviewee:

"The travel organizations were entirely different. TUI wanted something else, and had very different problems in their supply chain. And Sawadee wanted to do something with tour guides". (P9).

The democratic character of the TFNL made discussions slow and difficult. Furthermore, larger tour operators were expected to provide more financial support, but projects would not necessarily reflect their interests. Furthermore, projects that were implemented would be equally credited to all tour operators, and not reflect their respective contributions. Therefore, several tour operators perceived little benefit to contributing more, as the benefits from the foundation were not proportionate (P9, P1).

"As tour operator you could decide how much money you wanted to contribute (…). But our say was equal. And if I were to donate 100.000 euros and you 1000, to me it felt like my voice should reflect that. In that case I wanted Turkey and not Indonesia" (P9).

The foundation was not able to establish a stable source of income or funding, and by 2010 the TFNL was officially abolished. Financing projects was a challenge from the start, and the foundation was not able to obtain as much income as hoped. While subsidies were a good starting point for projects, tour operators failed to invest enough to sustain projects further (P7). While the absence of larger tour operators had a significant impact due to the TFNL's financial reliance on their contributions, other members similarly failed to contribute sufficient funds.

ANVR reorganization & DTO implementation | 2007 - onwards
In 2007 the ANVR saw a restructuring of its organization (IDUT-13). This meant that the member associations would be fused under a single banner, turning into a single overarching body. The ANVR decided to focus on five core tasks: image/lobby, aviation, consumer affairs, labor relations, and education, and standardization. Sustainability was deemed to remain an important topic, mostly aligned with image and lobbying. Alongside the reorganization, in 2008 the ANVR evaluated the POEMS to transform it into "duurzaam toeristisch ondernemen" (DTO) (in English; corporate social responsibility in tourism). Part of the investigation would look at whether the DTO would expand to also include travel agents, and not just tour operators. While the DTO would effectively replace the POEMS, it would remain a compulsory aspect of ANVR membership for tour operators.

Furthermore, the DTO would be linked to Travelife, the common sustainability management system for all European tour operators. Travelife emerged from a previous EU-funded project, Tour link. Travelife combines several European initiatives under a single umbrella. Being developed as an international project, Travelife would not be under ANVR ownership. Instead, ECEAT (European Centre for Ecological and Agricultural Tourism) would host and maintain the tools. Other tour operator associations in Belgium, UK, and Germany would also introduce the program. It includes a website with tools and training programs for tour operators, as well as exams. It also implemented a standardized reporting system. Tour operators would have to obtain certificates by passing exams and appoint sustainable tourism coordinators (IDUT-3).

The ANVR organized workshops for tour operators when the new system replaced the POEMS, as well as other activities to facilitate the transition. Companies would have the opportunity to partake in a pilot and see what the changes would entail before the formal introduction of DTO. By September 2009, DTO had organized 4 workshops which had been positively received, and more than 60 tour operators had

completed their training. The first phase of the implementation of the DTO and Travelife certification was successfully completed by the end of 2010 (IDUT-11). All tour operators had appointed a sustainability coordinator and obtained their certification. The coordinators also delivered company reports for their respective organizations, which all met the requirements. In turn, these businesses obtained a certificate which would be valid for two years.

The first Green Feather Award | 2009

2009 was first time the "Groene Veer" (green feather) was awarded by the TFNL and the trade magazine "Reisrevue" (NWL-4). This marked the first time that the existing annual trade awards included a specific category for sustainability (P9). The feather awards are a coveted prize in the industry, and the inclusion of a green feather highlights how sustainability is increasingly recognized within the sector. The prize was awarded to TUI during the annual Holiday Fair in Utrecht, after a jury had selected its winner among many submissions. According to one of the jury members, TUI was chosen because the organization's position as front-runner when it comes to sustainable tourism (P9). One interviewee described how the award was important for the recognition of sustainability as a viable business option:

> *"If you win the green feather, and your CEO is standing on the stage looking happy. Well, that says something to everyone in the room. The fact that the big business boss is happy with the award is very important" (P9).*

The award aimed to recognize all sorts of sustainable initiatives in the industry, looking at social, environmental, and economic aspects. The following years, the award was given to a range of diverse contenders, from small to large tour operators. Other types of third parties to the industry also qualified, such as the CARMACAL carbon tool which received the award for their innovative contribution to the sector. In 2015 the award got renamed to the "Sustainable Travel Award" to make it internationally recognizable.

"Zin in vakantie" project | 2007 - 2009

The "Zin in Vakantie" project (approximately translates to "exited for holidays" project) originated from the IDUT group and was approved for funding by the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM) and "Subsidieregeling Maatschappelijke Organisaties en Milieu" (SMOM) (in English "subsidies social organizations and environment") by the end of 2007 (IDUT-13). The project involved the NHTV (Former name for Breda University of Applied Sciences), NAP (National Alpine Platform), IUCN NL, TUI NL, and Milieu Centraal. This multi-stakeholder project intended to develop a website which would provide objective and trustworthy information regarding sustainable tourism. People would be able to obtain tailored advice based on their specific destination and type of holiday. The platform was launched during the Holiday Fair (2009) with a special presentation by the ANVR/IDUT. Further promotion of the platform would be done through news articles (Trouw, Volkskrant, NRC), flyers, and other types of publicity.

Milieu Centraal would develop a database with both social and environmental aspects, and approach IDUT members and other organizations for input. The site would provide information and tips regarding transport, accommodation, activities, and sustainability. Milieu Centraal developed two documents with social and environmental aspects of tourism that the site should address. However, according to those involved the lack of approved scientific sources regarding sustainable tourism meant the content of the site was limited (IDUT-13). The intention was to have tour operators refer their customers to the website,

though they had not been approached regarding this project before its approval (IDUT-3). Furthermore, a specific toolkit was created to help tour operators refer their customers to the site, as the cooperation of tour operators was noted to be essential. Unfortunately, sustainability was not a visible item on most of their sites and failed to drive traffic. The platform hoped to reach 1% of Dutch tourists. However, results were disappointing with an average of 20-30 visitors per day. Despite efforts to obtain further funding, the platform was eventually shut down in 2009.

IUCN NL's "biodiversity and tourism" program |2007 - 2009
IUCN NL continuously included tourism in their program, with specific funding for tourism projects. In 2007 they published "Destination Conservation" regarding the contribution of tourism to nature conservation (IDUT-13). The publication described the outcomes and lessons learned from 27 projects that had been funded through a Micro Fund program that ran between 2002 and 2006. This was made possible by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs among others. The program was well-received, and the projects were regarded as a success.

This same year, IUCN NL extended their "biodiversity and tourism" funds for 3 years allowing the organization to continue the program. This led to over 100 proposals for projects wanting to take advantage of the funds. Furthermore, they looked for opportunities to collaborate with tour operators. By 2008, a total of 12 projects had been selected to receive IUCN NL funding and support. The projects aimed to generate alternative sustainable streams of income for communities that live near areas that tend to rely on the exploitation of natural resources. The projects were established near popular tourism destinations, allowing IUCN NL to link with tour operators (NWL-9). A successful example was the mountain bike project in Cambodia. Local community members were trained in different aspects of tourism such as customer communication and giving guided tours. IUCN NL purchased 12 mountain bikes which could be rented out by local community members (NWL-4).

4.1.4. Research and education
2006 saw the publication of the "Knowledge agenda on sustainable development of tourism" by the RMNO. The report noted the lack of research in the tourism sector, as well as the lack of policy action in the industry. This was followed up by a workshop organized by René van der Duim (from Wageningen University and Research, or WUR), with the intent to establish a research agenda based on the contents of the report. WUR was already actively working on different research projects for sustainable tourism. For example, the "Wetlands brochure" published in 2007, which stemmed from an initiative with several IDUT members (IDUT-13). More practical research was also being done, with a notable publication being the "Sustainable Tourism in Practice" guide by Jolijn Geels (Geels, 2007). This project involved both NGOs and tour operators and aimed to offer practical advice to industry professionals.

WUR & adopting a sustainable tourism agenda | 2009/2010
While WUR had already been actively involved with tourism and related research projects, it became a core area in 2009 (NWL-4). In collaboration with WWF, Cordaid, KLM, and IUCN NL, the university appointed René van der Duim as special professor. This was alongside the development of a research agenda, which would be developed by the collaborating parties. The relationship between tourism, nature conservation and poverty alleviation were some of the core research themes. Furthermore, the research agenda would be implemented in close collaboration with 7 African and 2 European universities. This emerged from the EU-financed EduLink project "African-European Academic Alliance for Sustainable Tourism Development, Environmental sustainability and Poverty reduction" (3A-STEP). Lecturers and

students from the MC (Master Course) "Leisure, Tourism and Environment" would contribute to the research, alongside PhD students.

WUR also collaborated with NHTV and developed the "Bachelor of Science Tourism" (BTO), which started September 2010 (IDUT-12). This was the first and only university-level bachelor program in the field of tourism. While there are many Universities of applied science that offer bachelors in tourism, BTO allowed students to study tourism from an academic perspective.

4.1.5. Child protection

ECPAT had been a fixed presence during the "Holiday Fair" since 1996, to raise awareness of the problem among industry members and consumers alike (P10). ECPAT Netherlands continuously recruited new members to "The Code"*. As well as work with their partners to implement the contents of the code and related affairs.

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*The Code

The Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism, also referred to as simply "The Code" (The Code, 2021). This code of conduct is aimed at the travel and tourism industry in an effort to combat child abuse in the sector. The Code aims to educate the sector and create awareness among industry members. Allowing them to recognize and prevent child abuse and create an environment where this is not tolerated. The Code is an independent, international organization developed by ECPAT and the WTO in 1998. ECPAT Nederland (now part of Defence for children) is the local agent in the Netherlands and supports travel organizations in their implementation of the Code. The Code is a list of criteria that tourism businesses can use as a toolkit to implement measures to protect children.

Offenders beware | 2009

In 2009, ECPAT Nederland published "Offenders Beware: Child sex tourism case studies", in cooperation with several other international ECPAT organizations (ECPAT, 2009). The project was funded by the European Union and PLAN Netherlands. The report analyzed several child sex tourism cases, looking into aspects like the country of conviction, types of offenders, NGO involvement, and more. The report aimed to increase awareness, skills, and knowledge regarding child sex tourism and how to combat it. The report also specifically aimed to inform policy makers, NGOs, and judiciaries on the subject. The report noted the lack of attention given to child sex tourism by both sending and destination countries, and the low rates of conviction. The importance of collaboration between different authorities and NGOs to combat child sex tourism was emphasized. The report included several case studies involving Dutch offenders. For one of the cases, ECPAT Nederland was able to get the Dutch court to grant damages to a foreign victim of child sex tourism for the first time. Projects like Offenders beware were important to the overall ties between ECPAT and the tourism industry. As one interviewee explained:

"Such projects were very important, we finally had more time to work with the tourism industry. This is when the number of the Code members in the Netherlands grew a lot, we actually had the time to work on acquisitions" (P3)

Launching "Meldkindersekstoerisme.nl" | 2009

In 2008 ECPAT's efforts to combat child sex tourism also involved lobbying the government. Notably that the government should give more attention to the subject matter. This took place in the period running up to the world congress in Brazil regarding sexual labor among children in developing countries. This international congress was organized by several NGOs and private sector organizations, including ECPAT and UNICEF. The problem of sexual exploitation in the tourism sector was one of the issues addressed at the conference. During the same period, ECPAT also launched a three-year campaign that promoted their code of conduct. This campaign would also show its presence in the Netherlands at the yearly Holiday Fair (IDUT-6). The following year (2009), ECPAT organized an expert meeting on combatting child sex tourism ahead of the ITB in Berlin. This panel invited parties from all over the world, and the invitation was extended to IDUT members. Furthermore, ECPAT continued to ask questions and address the topic in the Dutch parliament, asking for stronger government involvement. A corresponding policy document was also being developed at that time. At the same time, ECPAT also continued their efforts to include the private sector, which was considered an essential partner in the combatting of child sex tourism (NWL-5).

By the end of 2009, a joint campaign to combat child sex tourism was in the works between ECPAT and the Ministry of Justice. This involved developing a tool that would allow people to (anonymously) report acts of child sex tourism through a website or texting, which would notify local law enforcement. This collaboration led to the development of the site: Meldkindersekstoerisme.nl (currently available at https://www.dontlookaway.nl/). The site was launched during the Holiday Fair 2010 (13 January), by Hirsch Ballin the Minister of the Department of Justice, alongside an awareness campaign. This date also served as a symbolic starting date of a closer collaboration between the government and the tourism industry to combat child sex tourism. This would be emphasized further by the ANVR and the Ministry signing a joint declaration of intent. As part of their effort to involve the industry, ECPAT developed an e-learning tool aimed at relevant travel industry parties (including travel agents and tour guides). The e-learning course was available for free, and specifically intended as a cheap and effective way to teach tourism professionals what measures they can take to combat child sex tourism (P3).

4.1.6. Summary period 1

Timeline events

Relevant / in effect in 2020

YEAR

No longer relevant / applicable in 2020

Actors involved

● Tour operators
▲ NGOs
■ Governmental bodies
⬢ Knowledge institutions
▢ sustainable tourism network involvement
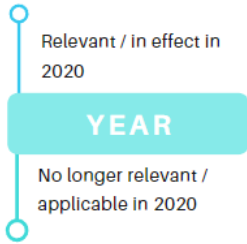
Figure 1 Legend for period summaries

Launch "Meldkindersekstoerisme.nl"
● ▲ ■ ⬢

First Green Feather Award
●

WUR tourism research Agenda
● ▲ ⬢

PMZ becomes DTO
● ▲ ■ ⬢

2005	2006	2007	2008	2009

RMNO Knowledge agenda
● ▲ ■ ⬢

"Zin in Vakantie" Project
● ▲ ■ ⬢

"Offenders Beware" published
▲ ■

Travel Foundation NL
● ▲ ■

Figure 2 Summary period 1

The state of the industry

A growing industry wide awareness

While sustainable tourism had by no means reached a mainstream status by 2009, there was a good amount of momentum from within the industry. The ANVR played an important role in continuing to raise awareness among all outbound tour operators through their DTO program. The creation of the Travel Foundation Netherlands highlights the common interest in the sector to approach sustainable tourism as a collective. The foundation was able to attract tourism organizations like Sunweb, who were not traditionally involved with sustainable tourism. The first green feather award outwardly legitimized sustainability as a topic to be taken seriously in the industry, rather than a niche reserved for the few.
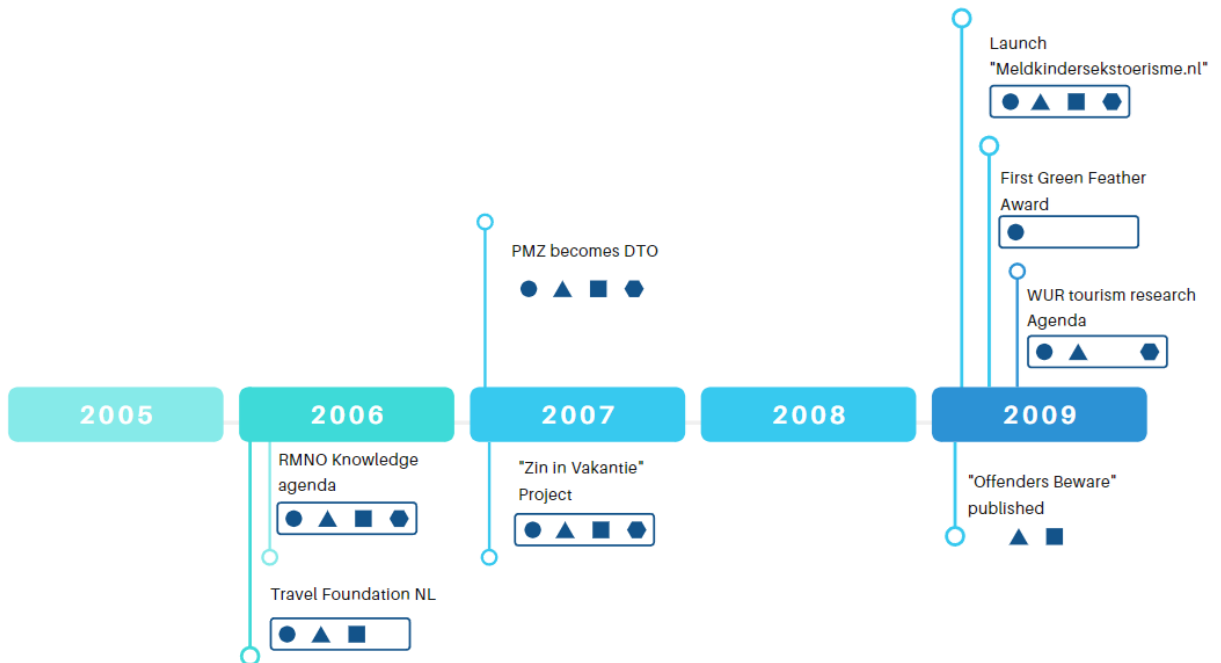
Formalizing sustainable tourism knowledge

Alongside the growing awareness regarding sustainable tourism, the need to document and study it as a legitimate field arose. The "offenders beware" report and subsequent efforts to systematically address child sex tourism highlight the potential impact research can have. Namely, providing additional legitimacy and empirical evidence to support a cause, which were used to lobby the government into action. Similarly, the difficulties with the development of the "Zin in Vakantie" platform were the result of a lack of scientific knowledge. Scientific and externally validated knowledge can legitimize a subject matter and provide a connection for different organizations to align over a common goal. With WUR's research agenda and appointed special professor on sustainable tourism, research on this theme was becoming a formal field embedded within a well-established educational institution.

A collective approach to sustainable tourism

Both NGOs and the government further continued their involvement with sustainable tourism. These parties often provided a desired source of funding which allowed for cross-sector collaborations. The "Zin in Vakantie" and IUCN NL projects showcase how tourism organizations tend to provide the connection to the market and expertise rather than financial contributions. The eventual discontinuation of the travel foundation (TFNL) similarly shows how sustainable tourism projects rely on funding for their continued existence. The desire to develop a collective vision of sustainable tourism marks the activities during this period. Both industry members and outsiders came together to develop projects and initiatives for the good of the sector, the TFNL being the strongest example. However, the different interests of the actors involved made it difficult to reach a collective agreement.

A practice-based perspective

IDUT as connecting structure

Looking at the situation by the end of this period from a practice theory perspective, we can identify several key social structures that shape sustainable tourism. From the findings, it is evident that the networking organization IDUT serves as a driving force behind the connections between tour operators and sustainability practice. IDUT did have its limitations, notably its reputation of being too much of a talking club with few tangible results. Practice theory provides an alternative perspective, when participating in the IDUT network becomes the unit of analysis. It is the act of participating in meetings, organizing Groeneveld conferences, communicating with other members, and more that binds involved actors together.

IDUT meetings provided the crucial setting – a structural practice provision - for practitioners to exchange their knowledge, expertise, and experiences. Specific projects and collaborations emerged between members that saw opportunities to align their practices. NGOs like ECPAT were able to leverage the

platform by continuously addressing the importance of tour operator involvement in their efforts to prevent child sex tourism. Governmental programs were introduced to the industry through IDUT, allowing resources to be distributed to those interested in being involved. Collective programs such as the Travel Foundation NL also emerged through IDUT to drive sustainable tourism from within the industry. In other words, participation in the IDUT network connected different bundles that make up sustainable tourism development. While the projects and outcomes themselves may not be tied to IDUT, there is little doubt they would not have emerged without IDUT to begin with.

Sustainable developments within contextual limits
Tour operators and their ongoing practices clearly set boundaries for what is, or is not likely to succeed. Several examples like the travel foundation NL and the failure of the "Zin in Vakantie" site demonstrate the lack of compatibility to be contributing to the failure. Developments like the green feather also demonstrate the development of sustainability practices is very much influenced by broader trends in the industry. Similarly, to institutionalize the DTO, the severity of the criteria was limited by the ANVR having to contend with their member's willingness to participate. Governmental bodies, especially through practices related to funding, shape what does get implemented. Similarly, NGOs and research institutions are able to steer developments, often related to their agendas. Finally, IDUT plays a role by providing the structure through which developments tend to emerge.

Individuals navigating structures
That said, the role of individuals should not be neglected. Interestingly, while IDUT is a structure, it also showcases the power specific individuals can have. As a small network in a relatively niche field, those involved can have a lot of impact on the outcome and decisions. For example, the advancements in child protection tie directly to many of the efforts by ECPAT. However, such an account overlooks how much of the success hinges on the actions of specific individuals. In this case, an ECPAT representative was well able to engage with other IDUT members on a personal level, acting as a driver for the cause. In doing so, child protection became increasingly embedded in the industry, which opened new doors for further actions. In other words, capable practitioners can play the role of change agents. By working with the social structures in place, they are able to affect practices, which in turn can lead to changes in the system.

The strength of the individual is equally relevant in the case of failures, as demonstrated by the Travel Foundation NL. Using the terminology by Shove et al. (2012), the lack of money (i.e. materials) was certainly one key element that was missing. On the one hand, several structures contributed to the financial problems, including changes to the online donation systems. On the other hand, individuals were equally influential, as disagreements regarding use of the budget was very much informed by personal experiences and preferences.

4.2. Period 2: Sustainable tourism as primary sector responsibility | 2010-2014
4.2.1. Sustainable tourism and the political agenda
For a while, the Dutch outbound tourism sector had been actively working with NGOs to improve sustainability in tourism. In fact, one of IDUT's strengths was their bridging position as a networking organization between NGOs and the private sector (P5). NGO's such as WWF, IUCN NL, CORDAID, and SNV were members of IDUT at some point. Different projects resulted from the collaborations, such as the aforementioned IUCN NL projects. By including tourism in their program, NGOs were also an important source of funding collaborative projects. Tour operators could participate with existing sustainability programs and be the link to the business side for the NGOs. While NGOs are still somewhat involved in

the tourism industry, there was a decline in their active presence in the industry. Where tourism had once been a core theme for several NGOs, this faded over time (P1; P11). One interviewee described the changing relation between NGOs and sustainable tourism as follows;

"The NGO world was not involved for very long. With the amount of cut backs,
several NGOs pulled back, notably SNV, CORDAID and IUCN NL. They left the networks
but also tourism as a topic" (P11)

Alongside the decline in NGO involvement was the lack of government interest in the field of (outbound) tourism as a core industry. Notably, in 2007 the LNV formulated the BBI 2 (Beleidsprogramma Biodiversiteit Internationaal), where tourism had not been included as one of the core themes. IDUT members wrote a letter to the ministries of LNV and EZ, emphasizing the importance of tourism. Noting that tourism presented numerous opportunities to connect with the BBI and its goals. (IDUT-1). LNV did not end up using tourism as a core topic, though it did appear as part of the "payment for biodiversity" theme (IDUT-6). As numerous NGOs were dependent on governmental subsidies, their agendas would typically reflect political interests.

The case of SNV
The "Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilligers ", SNV (Netherlands Development Organization) had been a front-runner in developing touristic projects and advising services till 2011 (Hummel & Van der Duim, 2012). Initially, a government organization, SNV had been implementing tourism projects as a tool for development and poverty reduction in numerous destinations. By the late 1990s, their efforts were nationally and internationally recognized. However, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs did no longer acknowledge tourism as part of Dutch development aid. Back in 2002, SNV became an NGO, meaning subsidies would be increasingly dependent on their results. SNV used to include tourism as a core theme and expanded its tourism program for several years. Through their successes, SNV became a global leader in terms of their implementation of development programs. Concepts such as "local participation", "community-based tourism", "pro-poor sustainable tourism" were introduced by SNV and made their way into the global tourism discourse.

By 2007, SNV's tourism program emphasized socio-economic impact and a value chain approach. SNV received grants, which emphasized the need to produce measurable results, notably through value chain analysis. This turned out to be challenging to implement, as it was difficult to find indicators for tourism and its impact on poverty. Furthermore, due to many stakeholders at local to global scales, it was very resource intensive to obtain measurements. Furthermore, SNV suffered from budget cuts in 2008, and by 2011 the decision was made to align their activities with donor priorities. As a result, SNV prioritized agriculture, water and sanitation, and renewable energy, while phasing out forestry, education, health, and tourism.

SNV's successes and eventual failure to implement a tourism development program highlight some of the difficulties the tourism sector faces. As the demand for measurable results grew, it became increasingly difficult to align tourism with general development agendas. The lack of interest from donors to finance tourism as a sector also highlights the importance of how the industry is perceived and fits within the broader discourse. Because SNV was financially dependent on donors, the organization had to adapt their practices to reflect those interests. As a result, tourism became less suitable over time, due to the inability to implement it in such a way to meet those interests (Hummel & Van der Duim, 2012).

Decline in NGO involvement

While SNV is only one specific organization, these challenges are reflected in the broader field. By 2011, IDUT discussed the effects of the decrease of government funding, as several members that were dependent on subsidies canceled their membership. Other NGOs were also shifting away from tourism, focusing their efforts on other issues (IDUT-16). IDUT felt these losses, as input from the civil sector had always been an important source of input, as well as financing. Even remaining members such as WWF were shifting away from tourism. A notable impact was felt when IUCN NL moved away from tourism, as the organization had an important source of funding, and was a major contributor for the organization of the yearly Groeneveld conferences (P8). IUCN NL had also been the secretariat for IDUT, meaning IDUT had to find a new partner to fulfill this role. In 2012, "Maatschappelijk verantwoord ondernemen Nederland" (MVO) (Dutch equivalent of corporate social responsibility (CSR)) took over from IUCN NL and were in charge of the organization of IDUT activities and meetings (MVO-1). The decrease in NGO involvement further emphasized how much sustainable tourism activities depended on NGOs for financial stability for their continued existence (P1, P11). According to one interviewee;

> *"At the time, WWF, SNV, IUCN NL, they al fell away. And it all had to do with finances." (P8)*

4.2.2. Private sector initiatives

Sawadee – NHTV carbon research | 2010

Around 2010, a collaboration started between Sawadee and the NHTV, specifically Paul Peeters and Eke Eijgelaar. The project emerged from Sawadee's interest in CO_2 reduction, which would be based on the CO_2 output of the holidays in their product portfolio (P7). Through shared networks, Saskia Griep from Sawadee had been aware of an ongoing project by Paul Peeters regarding holiday CO_2 footprints. And the Centre for Sustainability, Tourism and Transport (CSTT) within NHTV specialised in the area of tourism-related carbon emissions. This led to a two-year collaboration, resulting in two annual reports by the CSTT on Sawadee's carbon footprint and carbon reduction strategy (Eijgelaar & Peeters, 2011; Eijgelaar & Peeters, 2012). The research both calculated emissions, as well as investigating ways to reduce CO_2 without dissatisfying customers. Sawadee's efforts were internationally recognized through the 2012 responsible tourism awards, where they won the "best carbon-reduction initiative" for their work with CSTT (P7).

TUI Care foundation & other TUI NL efforts | 2011

On the 21st of September 2011, the TUI Care foundation was officially established as an independent organization. The TUI care foundation was created to act on issues of sustainability in the tourism sector, independent from business operations (P4; P9). TUI NL was already actively working on the implementation of sustainability in their supply chain. Certain projects that the sustainability department was interested in fell outside of the scope of TUI's supply chain. As such, these types of destination-based projects were difficult to approve for TUI funding. To overcome these limitations, TUI NL decided to create the "TUI care foundation". The foundation's primary funding came directly from TUI, mostly through voluntary donations from their customers.

TUI's involvement as a founding member of TFNL had a similar goal, as a sector-wide initiative for such projects. However, after the failures of the TFNL, TUI NL chose an in-house approach to avoid the issues encountered while working together. Having a proprietary foundation meant TUI NL was able to invest in projects of their choice, rather than contributing to projects outside of their interests. Elise Allart, the sustainability manager at the time was closely involved in the creation of the TUI care foundation. Her position allowed her to shape what the foundation would focus on. The three main areas of interest were

child education, the environment (specifically animal welfare), and economic development. This was subject to change, as the sustainability mangers withing TUI NL maintained a degree of agency. As described by one interviewee:

"There are themes that TUI will focus on, and those really depend on what the sustainability manager is interested in. They are the one to have to put in the time and effort." (P9)

Areas of interest to TUI NL would directly benefit through TUI Care foundation projects. However, this meant projects outside of TUI NL's scope lost a potential source of funding, as TUI NL had often been an important contributor to sector-wide initiatives such as the Travel Foundation NL.

Sustainability was also further implemented on a corporate level, as shown by TUI NL's "Sustainable Tourism Plan 2012-2015" published in 2012. TUI NL was the first tour operator to document and publish a specific sustainability strategy in the industry. The plan laid out specific targets TUI NL aimed to achieve, serving as a roadmap for the coming years. The plan included different types of goals, addressing different aspects of the supply chain, for corporate to destination level. TUI NL would report their progress in their annual reports and communicate their efforts to the industry and consumers. In 2013, TUI NL received international praise by winning two "World Responsible Tourism Awards". The "child protection" category was awarded following a project in Brazil to combat child prostitution. More importantly, TUI NL also received the overall "world responsible tourism award", a first for TUI. It also made TUI NL the first Dutch tour operator to receive the overall award. The international recognition further empowered TUI NL and served as recognition of their efforts on the highest level.

TUI NL continued to cement itself as frontrunner in terms of sustainability, positioning the organization as a leading example for the Dutch industry. Through the foundation, TUI was able to address sustainability even outside of the bound of the business and focus on implementing sustainability in different destinations. Unlike other front runners, TUI NL had both manpower and financial means to tackle sustainability on a broad scope. This reflects a corporate social responsibility (CSR) approach, which often uses sustainability as a competitive advantage and branding. While TUI clearly deserves its frontrunner status, the foundation also provided TUI with strong marketing opportunities, while not necessarily implementing sustainability to the degree the image might suggest. While still heavily involved with the Dutch outbound tourism sector, TUI NL's resources would shift away from a collective approach as had been the case with the TFNL. One interviewee describes the effects of the TUI Care foundation on an industry level accordingly:

"The benefits of the TUI Foundation are for TUI, not for the entire sector" (P8)

4.2.3. Cross-sector initiatives and projects

Green deal tourism | 2013 – 2016

In 2013, several parties including government, travel organizations, educational institutions and NGOs came together to try and establish a "green deal" for the tourism sector. The "green deal" originated in 2011 as a broader government-supported approach to help establish sustainability initiatives in different sectors. The green deal tourism would support existing sustainability certifications such as QualityCoast and ECO-IXXX, and facilitate knowledge exchange through a shared database for sustainability criteria (GOV-1). Furthermore, training materials would be developed to help tourism destinations become more sustainable. Several meetings occurred between 2013 and 2014, with a green deal sustainable tourism

being signed towards the end of 2014 (NEWS-1). However, not long after, the database came under fire for not providing accurate information, as it only looked at the sustainability of destinations themselves, neglecting the impact of transportation towards the destination (NEWS-2). The green deal came to its conclusion in 2016. Although participants were reportedly satisfied with the outcomes, no plans for continuation were made (GOV-3).

Animal welfare Groeneveld conference | 2013
The yearly Groeneveld conference of 2013, titled "Animals as tourism product: good or bad" was particularly important for animal welfare in tourism. Animal welfare had been an active topic that year, with the ongoing discussion regarding elephants in tourism, and Association of British Travel Agents (ABTA) planning on publishing their animal welfare guidelines (P8). Previously, there had been occasional collaborations between the tourism sector and NGOs working on animal welfare. However, tourism wasn't a core sector for most animal welfare activists and wasn't generally a focus for campaigns. Several animal welfare organizations were invited to this conference, either as attendants or speakers. This was the first time both sectors came together, and many organizations were able to network and establish new connections. This Groeneveld conference was regarded as one of the most successful ones in terms of concrete output, with several new alliances being formed (IDUT-16). AAP (adoption and protection), WAP (world animal protection), SPOTS (Save and Protect Our Treasures), and IFAW (International Fund for Animal Welfare) are some of the notable NGOs that have maintained strong ties to the Dutch outbound tourism sector.

This led to the creation of a specific working group within the ANVR dedicated to animal welfare. One outcome of this group was the creation of the ANVR animal welfare policy in 2015. These guidelines were based on the ones published by ABTA. ABTA's guidelines were very extensive, which made it complex for tour operators to implement (P8). To make the guidelines easier to implement, the group developed a "Do's and Don'ts" list. This list combined the industry knowledge from the tour operators, with the animal welfare expertise the NGOs brought. According to one interviewee, this approached proved very effective, stating:

> *"We were very practical in our approach to this project, so we could take very tangible steps. We directly stated what could, or could not be allowed." (P5)*

The ANVR guidelines that resulted from this collaboration also went further than the ABTA one, notably when it came to elephants (P5; P9). Overall, animal welfare has been well integrated into ANVR policy, making it compulsory for its members. Research conducted by the University of Surrey in 2018 found ANVR to be the number one trade association world-wide in terms of animal welfare (P5).

4.2.4. ANVR & sustainability
Between 2008 and 2013, a large-scale collaboration took place between the tourism industry and the government funded IDH (sustainable trade initiative). The program went through several stages, and (indirectly) contributed to several notable changes in the sustainable tourism field. For one, it led to the development of a Travelife for accommodations certification scheme. Much like the existing Travelife for tour operators, ECEAT would take ownership of the tool. ANVR also took an active role in other activities that emerged through IDH. This includes the "Changes in Tourism Day", which expanded the presence of sustainability at the annual holiday fair. And the publication of "Future vision 2025", which describes the

goal ANVR and its members have regarding sustainability in tourism. The second chapter will look at further details of the IDH tourism program and zoom in on some of the developments involved.

The IDH program also led to hiring a sustainable tourism manager within the ANVR. This anchored sustainability within the association, and eventually led to the development of a "sustainable frontrunner" group in the ANVR. The frontrunner group consisted of member tour operators that were highly motivated to implement sustainability, wanting to serve as an example to follow. There was some overlap between IDUT members and the ANVR frontrunners. However, ANVR had a broader appeal, and the more moderate approach meant more tour operators would be involved. Furthermore, as part of the ANVR members did not have to pay additional fees for membership unlike IDUT. However, sustainability is not a core priority for the ANVR, so the extent to which sustainability is enacted is limited. It has to contend with the interests of the majority of its members, as one interviewee mentioned:

"Well, the frontrunner group happens to be steered by the ANVR. So, it is not a revolutionary club. We all have to get along, and that includes bigger tour operators"
(P1)

4.2.5. Child protection
Plan van aanpak kindersekstoerisme | 2013 – 2014
Combatting child sex tourism had become firmly embedded in the Dutch political landscape by 2013. Due to the relative newness of the issue, the Ministry of Safety and Justice presented the "Plan van aanpak kindersekstoerisme" (in English; plan of action child sex tourism) to the House of Representatives on October 11th 2013. ECPAT had been calling for closer collaboration between the Ministries of Safety and Justice, and Foreign Affairs for a long time. It was announced that from the 1st of January 2014 would see this go into effect (Ministerie van Veiligheid en Justitie, 2013).

4.2.6. Summary period 2
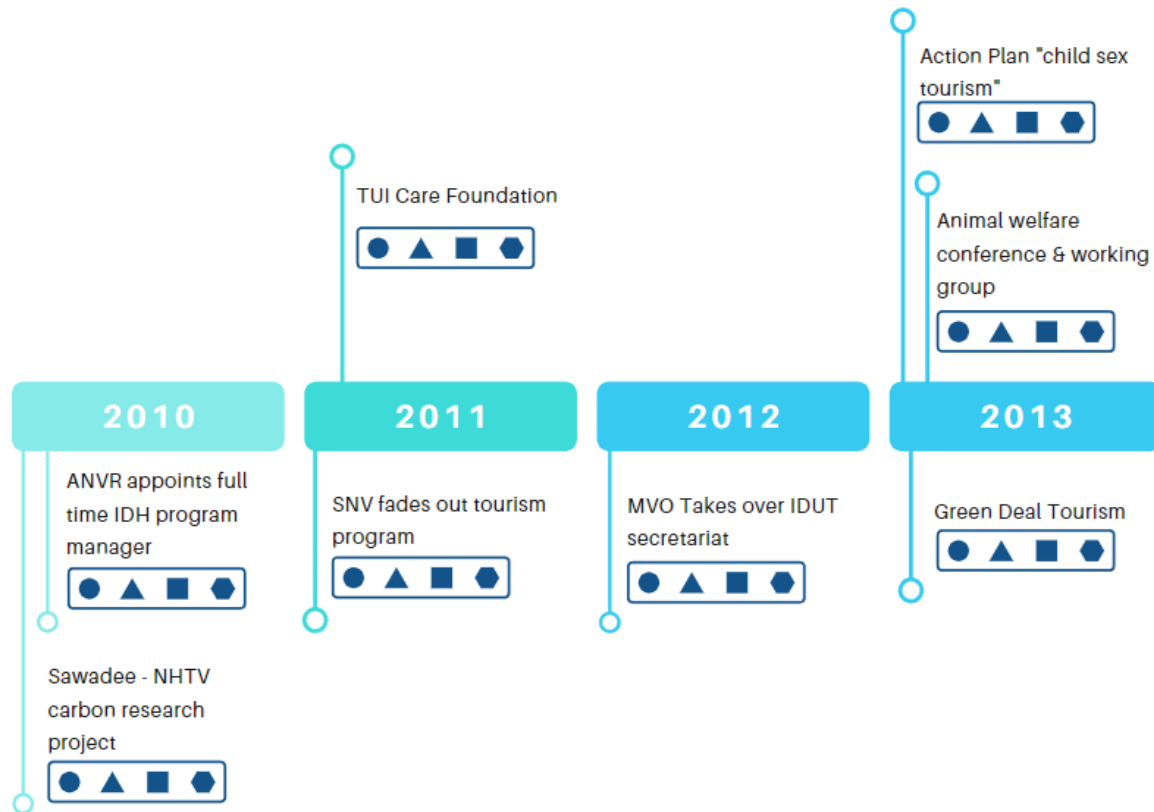
Figure 3 Summary period 2

The state of the industry

Disconnecting tourism & NGOs

The second stage between 2010 and 2014 is marked by the changing role of NGOs within the sustainable tourism field. NGOs such as SNV, WWF and IUCN NL that had close ties with the tourism industry were moving away from the industry. Looking at the broader context reveals this to be a consequence of changes in the political landscape. Many of the NGOs involved with sustainable tourism through IDUT had to contend with less funding. Furthermore, NGOs relying on government funding had to adapt their practices to meet the governments requirement, which were increasingly result-oriented. This made sustainable tourism projects less suitable, as obtaining measurable results was often too complex. NGOs had been an important source of financing for sustainable tourism due to low private sector contributions. As a result, the slow decline of NGO involvement represented the loss of an important stakeholder for sustainable tourism. The NGOs had also been an important driver of the development agenda. Following their departure, sustainable tourism projects for international development became less common.

Networking & adapting

The field of animal welfare was a notable exception, as this period saw the development of strong ties between animal welfare NGOs and the tourism sector. Prior to the Groeneveld conference, there had been a lack of mutual awareness. Establishing the connections opened the floodgates leading to several activities. Thanks to the working group in the ANVR, animal welfare was able to establish a foothold and

start embedding itself in the industry. NGOs with a focus on child protection also seemed less affected, with tourism being an essential component of their efforts. The decay of NGO involvement was a blow for IDUT, as the secretariat of the association was partly financed by IUCN-NL. The consequences were twofold, fewer members led to a lower budget for the association. Furthermore, the ANVR frontrunner group provided tour operators with a free alternative. The organizations were able to complement each other in some ways, as initiatives emerging from IDUT would be shared with the frontrunners. While the groups coexisted, there was a fair amount of overlap between what the organizations had to offer.

Towards a tour operator driven sustainability
IDUT also saw fewer attempted collective projects emerge between members; projects like the green deal failed to leave a lasting impression. Smaller-scale projects and collaborations did continue, like the Sawadee – NHTV carbon project. This project also marked the beginning of the CO_2 reduction and compensation agenda taking of, which will continue in the next period. This project also serves as an example of a tendency among frontrunners to focus their efforts on sustainability within their own organization. The trend is best displayed by TUI NL, with the creation of their own philanthropic organization, TUI CARE Foundation, as well as the development of a TUI sustainability strategy.

A practice-based perspective
NGOs, government and the context of sustainable tourism
In this period, the sustainable tourism field saw drastic changes in the social structures that had previously defined the field. With the governmental bodies taking a back seat, we start to see the how connecting practice bundles evolve and/or dissolve. Looking through a zoomed-out lens, the interconnectivity of the field is highlighted, as there is somewhat of a domino effect. This points to the dependencies that exist in the sustainable tourism bundle, particularly the dependency on governmental entities and their practices. For one, governmental bodies were essential for connections between sustainable tourism and NGOs, particularly related to funding practices. As NGOs adapted their practices to link up with government practices, the connections to sustainable tourism weakened or disappeared. This isn't limited to institutional boundaries, rather it highlights the intertwined nature of practices and the broader context. As explained through the SNV case, these events coincide with an increasingly result-oriented approach to sustainable development in general, nationally and globally. Unquestionably, the government didn't just disappear nor did the funding, as shown by the "green deal" and the IDH project. Both show that changes on the institutional side shaped the development of sustainable tourism practices. Both projects can be seen as attempts to link tourism to broader sustainability initiatives in a governmental structure. However, both failures point to the difficulty of creating lasting connections in such a context.

Agency in the context of established practices
Over time, it seems to be increasingly common for organizations to adopt sustainability on a voluntary basis. Still, the history shows this to be limited to a handful of frontrunners, and the influence of a handful of highly motivated individuals. Tour operators like Sawadee, TUI NL, and even organizations like the ANVR were able to embed elements of sustainability thanks to the efforts of specific people. Similarly, the interest in animal welfare among IDUT members led to the dedicated Groeneveld conference which established long-term connections. As a result, the way sustainability is implemented varies highly, depending on the skills and interests of the practitioners involved. This also makes sustainable tourism highly dependent on such individuals for their continued existence.

Furthermore, the extent to which said individuals are able to implement sustainability depends on their respective organizations. This points to the broader challenge of the seemingly inherent incompatibility of tourism practices and sustainability. For example, the formal frontrunner group in the ANVR was an important step for the association. However, ANVR's priority remains to support the needs of the majority of its members, with sustainability remaining a secondary activity. Similarly, TUI's development of a sustainability policy set an example of a large tour operator voluntarily implementing aspects of sustainability. However, it can be questioned whether such a policy influences the overall, ongoing practices of the entire organization. In fact, such practices have often been criticized for their focus on sustainable activities that generate economic benefits, and not properly integrating the 3 elements of sustainability (Goffi et al., 2018).

4.3. Period 3: sustainable tourism as social responsibility | 2015 – 2020
4.3.1. Sustainable outbound tourism networks
The end of IDUT | 2013

Addressing IDUT's limitations
By 2013, MVO had taken over from IUCN NL as the secretariat of IDUT. Following the changes NGOs experienced in the previous period, the distance between IUCN NL and the tourism industry grew. As a result, there were fewer funds available for IDUT since IUCN NL no longer financially supported activities to the same extent as before. Furthermore, members expressed a desire to breathe new life into IDUT, and address some of the shortcomings of the network. While the exchange of knowledge and experiences was an important feature of IDUT, there was a desire for more "doing". While discussions are good, it needs to be combined with actions, as this leads to new projects and products. The group wanted to step up the level of quality the network offered. Not only by attracting new quality members, but also by improving the content they offered. A need for more depth, cross-sector knowledge exchange, and better follow-ups were suggested. The network should be flexible, allow members to join and leave, making it accessible and attractive to new members and a broader target group. Finally, the visibility of the network, and external communications should also see improvement. This led to the discussion regarding the future of the network, and how to adapt to the new circumstances.

Linking up with MVO
At the time, MVO was involved with a range of networks, and it was suggested that a similar networking organization could be created especially for tourism. The director of MVO had observed that cooperation and collaboration had been an important trend in the sustainability discussion, alongside a desire to innovate. An MVO network could provide additional value, which the director described as its ability to help inspire, educate, and showcase. Moreover, MVO would allow the network to expand its membership to include a broader range of organizations such as hotels and transport. As well as tourism businesses that were actively working on sustainability of the sector within the Netherlands. The MVO name would also provide some additional weight to the network, and a professional and recognizable image.

The continuation of the network was definitive, though what form this would take was not certain. 2 main possibilities were discussed within the group. The discussions regarding the future of the network mainly focused on whether the group should remain independent or link up with the established MVO. The first proposal suggested the creation of an MVO tourism network. The second consisted of a re-launching of the existing group as "IDUT 2.0", which would remain an independent group. All of the members of IDUT

were individually contacted over the phone and polled regarding their preference and reasoning. The majority favored the MVO proposal, and it was decided to create the MVO tourism network. Those in favor of the MVO tourism network saw a number of benefits that the link with MVO could provide. For one, linking up with MVO was seen as a logical step for the group, as many other networks were being streamlined and bundled through MVO. This would allow IDUT to be a part of a larger collective, which would also make it easier to align perceptions and expectations regarding sustainability with a broader vision.

Concerns about the future
The choice between MVO and IDUT 2.0 largely revolved around the question whether IDUT should expand their scope to also include domestic tourism or continue as the small network. While the MVO tourism network was favored by most, the issue of broadening IDUT's scope was not so clear-cut. The majority of IDUT members either did not express a clear preference or were undecided. Those in favor of MVO saw it as an opportunity to attract new members and create new connections with other organizations. Including other types of tourism would also provide new insights and examples. The fact that tourists remain the same consumer, whether they go abroad or not, was also noted. The end goal remains influencing the consumer and stimulating them to make sustainable choices. As such, collaborating with other types of tourism businesses would still pursue the same ends.

On the other hand, those in favor of an IDUT 2.0 saw the broader scope of MVO as a risk rather than a benefit. There were concerns that growing too much would dilute the quality of the network, and that the scope of MVO was too broad for IDUT's goals. It was noted that the small and close-knit character of IDUT might be lost, and that the existing way of working was fitting for the goals of the organization. There were doubts whether domestic tourism could provide insights that would be relevant. The fact that outbound tourism faces more complex issues made some IDUT members concerned that there would be little overlap. If the network wanted to focus on specific themes and topics in the future, those could be too different for domestic and outbound tourism to collaborate on.

During the discussion regarding the future of IDUT, it was also found that financing remained an issue for members. As the new network would require continued funding, whether through MVO or otherwise, any plans had to take budgeting into consideration. Furthermore, it would have to be made clear what members expected from the network in return for their contribution. MVO's existing structure meant members would have to pay 1000 euros per year for their membership (IDUT-17). This would double the costs compared to IDUT, which was 500 euros per year. As a result of these concerns, negotiations with MVO were able to lower the required contribution to 750 euros excluding taxes for organizations with fewer than 500 employees. Organizations that were already involved with MVO's "large company network" could join the tourism network with no additional costs (MVO-4). The lowered costs did come with the condition that the network should grow, getting at least 35 members by the end of 2014 (IDUT-17). If not, the contributions would not be enough to cover the costs of maintaining the network.

MVO tourism network | 2014 – 2020
Organising the new network
Following the dissolution of the IDUT group, MVO network tourism officially launched during the holiday fairs "Changes in tourism day" in 2014 (MVO-2). The MVO tourism network developed a new structure, moving away from the collective meetings IDUT had organized. A "steering group" was created to represent the network and serve as a connection for MVO's representatives. This group would also

determine the agenda for the upcoming year and choose which themes and topics to focus on. The agenda served as a starting point for general meetings where all members would come together to discuss content. A common vision was developed to steer the network, and function and an overarching framework for future activities: "In the future travel and holidays are no longer a burden for the planet and people, but it adds value to the sector. Tourism does good" (MVO-10). Members were satisfied with this vision, but found it remained abstract and vague. More concrete and specific goals would be developed in separate working groups, allowing members to implement the vision in different areas.

The working groups
To develop more concrete plans, five working groups (see Table 4) would develop their own action plan, each with a specific theme as shown in the table below. The thematic structure of the network was developed in response to feedback dating back to IDUT, noting that discussions were often too generic. Each topic would have a separate working group, allowing members to work on specific topics that reflected their interests. This also facilitated the inclusion of domestic tourism partners who could join groups with similar interests. Furthermore, focusing on specific topics would make it easier to take advantage of existing knowledge as groups could deepen their knowledge on specific topics. Not all members found this approach to be effective, as one interview stated:

> *"The discussions in MVO were very theoretical. We would talk in groups about how tourism should save the world" (P1)*

The working groups were self-steering and in charge of organizing their own meetings and developing their own goals and missions (MVO-5). While the groups operated independently, it remained important to find overlapping interests and ways to synergize. MVO would facilitate this process and help with the process of exchanging knowledge. The progress of the different working groups would be shared through e-mail updates and the general network meetings which were held 3 times a year.

Table 4 Overview of working groups

Group	Goals & missions (December 2015) (MVO-8)	Participating Members (March 2016) (MVO-7)
CO_2 reduction	Explore the future use of existing carbon management tools such as CARMACAL. Investigate how other tourism enterprises outside of the steering groups could be convinced to work with the tools, for incoming and outbound tourism. The group emphasised B2B communications, and possibly overlap with the customer communication groups for B2C aspects. Conducting research and identifying good "business case" examples and best practices to present on a platform.	NHTV, Greenkey, Greenseat, ANVR, Trees for all
Travel professional of the future	Explore to what extent sustainability is integrated in tourism education. Conducting a GAP-analysis to identify themes that are overlooked in the curriculum. Investigate what businesses expect from newly graduating students and integrating this into educational curriculum.	TUI Benelux, ECEAT, Stenden, Saxion, NHTV, ANVR, Reiswerk, InHolland
Customer communication	How to convince consumers that sustainability is the future of tourism. Focus on communicating to customers what benefits tourism can bring to a destination. Investigate which channels and platforms would be most suitable to spread the message.	Avontuur.nu, Footprint travel, ECPAT, ANVR, Fontys, Trees for all, Landal parks, Stenden, Saxion
Impact measurement	Identify and collect information on what is known about the impact of tourism on destinations and presenting good examples. Sharing the outcomes with other businesses with the goal of providing concrete examples to follow. Explore the possibility of a covenant for the tourism sector.	TUI Benelux, Avontuur.nu, CBI, NHTV, Wageningen University, ECPAT, ANVR, Footprint travel, UNICEF Nederland, Trees for all
Circular destination	Explore what is known among companies already following the principles of the circular economy. While no destinations are 100% circular, investigate what elements are already in place. Develop examples and investigate what next steps to take. Take a holistic perspective, and include the 3 elements of sustainability; planet, people and profit.	TUI Benelux, Avontuur.nu, Bureau Buiten, Landal parks, SNP reizen, ANVR, UNICEF Nederland, RECRON, Greenkey

MVO 2.0
In 2018, MVO went through several changes which impacted the tourism network. Following a merger with "De Groene Zaak" (the green business), MVO's strategy shifted its focus towards *facilitating* projects with their different networks, and innovative cross-sector projects (MVO-11). In doing so, MVO wanted to emphasise sector interests by allowing businesses to come forward with their priorities. Topics able to gain traction within specific networks should in turn represent sector interests. MVO would facilitate industry

efforts to tackle such issues through collaborative projects among members in the different networks. The new strategy was presented to the MVO tourism network as "*MVO tourism network 2.0; from talking to doing*". The network had been struggling to implement ideas beyond discussion in the working groups. This new phase presented an opportunity to address some of the problems the network had faced by putting projects as the first priority.

For projects to be implemented under MVO, three criteria would have to be met (MVO-12). For one, projects should first and foremost come from within the industry. In doing so, the network hoped to bridge the gap between incoming and outbound tourism. Previous attempts had shown the lack of overlap between the two sectors made it difficult to develop projects. The previous working groups had been structured around topics first, which in turn allowed businesses to join specific themes. The new structure flipped this order, allowing businesses to come up with topics, which would in turn lead to a working group. Second, a minimum of three network members would have to be actively involved in the project. Any project idea or proposal that failed to do so would be rejected. Finally, projects able to link with other MVO programs would be prioritized as these seemed more likely to succeed. Such cross-sector projects would have more resources at its disposal and have a broader reach. These projects also had the further benefit of cross-sectoral impact. This approach led to the development of the "plastic pledge", which will be discussed later.

MVO tourism network progress & end
MVO's tourism network was generally well received by its members, with 22 out of 26 members partaking in at least one group by the end of 2015 (MVO-9). One notable outcome from the "Travel professional of the future" was the development of the yearly student conference for higher education students. This addressed a clear need from the industry, as it had become increasingly time consuming for different tourism businesses to visit the different educational institutions to interact with students. Inviting all tourism students to a singular event, gave businesses the opportunity to address all students simultaneously. Furthermore, it created an opportunity for students to network with the different organizations as well as encounter fellow students engaged within the sector.

Also, despite the intent to broaden the scope of the members, few new members were recruited to the network. MVO network tourism hoped that new members would be attracted by specific topics addressed in the working groups. While some domestic tourism businesses did join, the overall number of members failed to meet the goal of 35 to maintain the lowered membership costs (MVO-9). Several steering group members noted the group should be more active in their efforts to recruit new members (MVO-9). One interviewee describes another failure of the MVO tourism networks, saying:

> *"[embedding the tourism network in a wider movement] was one of the underlying goals of switching from IDUT to MVO. But very little came of it." (P11)*

Despite the new structure and members, the network was not able to meet expectations in terms of its results and overall progress was slow. Not all groups were equally active, some achieving more results than others. The network also held fewer meetings compared to IDUT, with fewer opportunities for members to connect. The funding issue remained equally relevant, and the lack of resources meant the annual Groeneveld conferences disappeared. Much like IDUT, the network received criticism for spending a lot of time and effort on discussions with little tangible output. While MVO 2.0 aimed to overcome some of the limitations, it did not lead to significant changes. Furthermore, the COVID-19 pandemic severely

impacts any ongoing and planned activities at the time. In 2021, the MVO tourism network was officially disbanded, with no plans (yet) for a replacement.

4.3.2. Sector initiatives & projects

CARMACAL | 2016

The Dutch Holiday Fair in 2012 gave Sawadee an opportunity to share their experiences and outcomes of the two-year collaboration with CSTT. The presentation was given to members of the ANVR frontrunner group and was well received. Several tour operators, SNP among others, were also interested in conducting similar research on their carbon footprint. It was generally agreed that the issue should be tackled as a group, rather than individually (P7; P1). A lot of the research already existed at CSTT, and upscaling could help develop a tool for the whole industry. The project was funded by the government through a Regional Attention for Knowledge Circulation (RAAK) subsidy. By 2013, the project took off under the "CARMATOP" name and was headed by CSTT. The project aimed to develop a carbon management strategy for the travel industry through a collaboration between travel organizations and knowledge institutes (P5). CARMATOP came to an end in 2016, and the new carbon management calculator (CARMACAL) was introduced. The CARMACAL foundation (ANVR, NHTV, SNP, operated by the Climate Neutral Group) took over the operational aspects of the tool once the CARMATOP project cycle ended. Tour operators could purchase a license and use the tool to calculate the carbon footprint of their product portfolio, as well as identify possible modifications to decrease said footprint (Buijtendijk et al., 2018).

While tools to calculate CO_2 output from flights were already on the market, CARMACAL was a specific tool for the travel industry. It allowed tour operators to calculate the CO_2 footprint from any travel package based on the specific details, such as the mode of transport to the accommodation. CARMACAL gained international praise, winning the "WTTC Tourism for Tomorrow award" and the "2017 UNWTO Award for Innovation in Research and Technology" (CAR-1). However, despite the initial enthusiasm and praise from the industry, CARMACAL was not able to financially sustain itself. The CARMACAL foundation was eventually disbanded, and CARMACAL became a part of Travelife (Nieuwboer, 2021). As of 2021, only one tour operator actively uses CARMACAL for their travel packages (P1). One notable reason was given by several interviewees, stating that the tool was not practical to use for tour operators (P1; P9; P7; P6; P5). While it would provide highly accurate data, it required tour operators to manually input the data needed to perform the calculations. It could require many hours to calculate all the variations for a single trip, having to input each type of transport, accommodation etc. As one interviewee put it *"The idea of calculating the carbon footprint is very interesting. But is has to be easy, and that was not the case."* (P7). With the end of the CARAMATOP project, the tool no longer received financial aid. As such, any possible development for the usability of the tool, and updates to the database ceased.

ANVR & South Pole - Carbon credits program | 2017

Through the CARMATOP project, it was determined that the travel industry needed to measure their CO_2 output to manage it. While CARMACAL fulfilled the first aspect, the actual "carbon management" continued within the ANVR even beyond the end of CARMATOP. The initial discussions under the CARMATOP raised the question of what to do with the output from the tool. This led to the further investigations into two aspects. First, the creation of a consumer-oriented label to raise awareness. Second, a compensation scheme where tour operators would include the cost of CO_2 compensation directly in their product portfolio. The development of a carbon labeling system resulted in the concept of a color-based grading system, from green to red, allowing consumers to easily identify the CO_2 output of a travel package (P5; P1). However, this meant some tour operators would have an entirely red product

portfolio, as long-distance trips automatically have a high CO_2 footprint. Other proposals were made, but no cohesive labeling system was ever implemented. One interviewee recalled some of the discussion that occurred at the time, and the difficult process of coming to an agreement among the different tour operators:

"We got together for 2 year, though we only met up 4 times a year, so not that often. We had countless options and proposals. But the long haul tour operators were not pleased with any of it. They would say "my entire product portfolio is red". I would say "Yes, that is the truth isn't it?" and they would say "well yes, but in that case I wont participate". (P1)

With tour operators now increasingly aware of their CO_2 footprint due to CARMACAL, interests grew to implement CO_2 compensation. ANVR approached several organizations that provided CO_2 compensation credits to obtain a deal for its members. One organization approached was the "Climate Neutral Group" (CNG), a Dutch organization already working together with several tour operators (P2). Another organization contacted was "South Pole" a Swiss organization that had already been working with the tour operator "Better Places". The organization South Pole provided the best offer, which would allow tour operators to directly include CO_2 compensation in their prices. ANVR's experiences with voluntary CO2 compensation in booking clients showed only few consumers did so (P5). Still, the fact that several tour operators started to include CO_2 compensation in the package prices was a big step.

To determine the amount of CO_2 that needed to be compensated for different trips, CARMACAL was used. While few organizations used CARMACAL for their own product portfolio, the pragmatic decision was made to use the calculation that a handful of tour operators had done. Furthermore, extensive use of the calculator showed the disproportionate impact of the transport to and from the destination. Taking the average CO_2 output based on a set of calculations per country and rounding it up ensured the estimates would always be sufficiently on the safe side (P1). With the existing calculations, South Pole was able to create a set of averages for different destinations that tour operators could use for their compensation. The contract between ANVR and South Pole made compensation much more accessible for small tour operators, that would not have obtained such favorable prices on their own (P5, P6). One interviewee reflected on the outcome of the deal:

"I think it was a big success. We got over 30 travel organizations to participate, including ones that were not part of the frontrunner group" (P5)

Plastic pledge | 2019
The issue of plastic pollution in the tourism sector has been addressed by various organizations and initiatives. For example, in 2010, Sawadee collaborated with "Dopper", a manufacturer of refillable water bottles. Based on surveys amongst their customers, Sawadee noticed an increased demand to address the issue of single-use water bottles. Sawadee provided their customers with free reusable water bottles, which was well received by both consumers and local agents.

MVO Netherlands had been financing projects through the "Omzet Met Impact" (in English; revenue with impact) program for several years, to improve sustainability in the supply chain of several sectors, including the chemical sector. One interviewee notes the projects success in combining different sectors:

"We as the tourism sector have a problem. We could do something about it ourselves and reduce the amount of plastic being used. But there would still be plastics. So how could we work with another sector to address the problem. And that was the chemical sector, they produce and recycle." (P8).

Around 2018, plastic pollution had been receiving an increasing amount of media attention. Including the impact, it had on tourism destinations, as the plastic pollution didn't fit with pristine beaches that tourists expect to see. As such, Bali, Indonesia became the setting for a project where several tour operators worked with local agents to identify where tour operators were able to exert influence and reduce plastics.

The project provided practical insights into the ways tourism businesses could reduce their plastic. While plastic pollution is a broader issue, the tourism industry is overall a large producer of plastic. This led to the development of a sector-wide initiative, encouraging tourism organizations to adopt voluntary measures to reduce their plastic use. On the 26th of September 26 in 2019, over 100 companies in the tourism sector signed the "International Tourism Plastic Pledge". Initially an initiative of MVO Nederland, the pledge became an international program, supported by the UNWTO, the Ellen MacArthur Foundation, and UN Environment. The pledge highlights the sense of urgency of the plastic pollution problem, and the need for a collaborative approach. However, there are limits to such pledges as they don't create real obligations, as one interviewee noted;

"I am not super enthusiastic about all the declarations, like the plastic pledge. I think singing it is too non-committal and open-ended. But still, why not sign it if we already meet the requirements." (P1)

IMVO covenant tourism sector | 2014 – 2019
In 2014, a government-commissioned report provided a "Sector Risk Analysis" (SRA) of 13 different sectors. This research provided a starting point for these sectors to establish the so-called "Internationaal maatschappelijk verantwoord ondernemen" covenants (IMVO) (in English; "international socially responsible entrepreneurship"). These covenants had the purpose of improving harmful outcomes established by the SRA and have a collective framework to overcome them as a sector (IMVO-1). At the time, the ministry of foreign affairs was promoting the use of covenants in different industries. This made tourism an outlier, as one interviewee described:

"our supply chain is very different from most, it is made out of many supply chain that connect with each other which makes it more complex. Unlike for example the textile industry, in that case you know what exactly you are talking about." (P6)

While tourism wasn't one of the 13 sectors in the SRA report, the ANVR saw the opportunity to develop an IMVO covenant for the tourism sector (IMVO-2). Within the newly established MVO tourism network, the "impact measurement" working group was dedicated to the potential development of an IMVO covenant (IMVO-2). The first phase would consist of conducting "risk analyses" in several destinations, emphasizing the specific risks of the chosen destinations. The initial goal was to conduct several pilot studies, including one in Indonesia and Suriname. Eventually, a single pilot project for an IMVO assessment was approved in Suriname, with fieldwork taking place in 2016. The project was headed by the ANVR, CREM (a Dutch research consultancy), and a local consultancy firm, the results were published in a report by February 2017 (IMVO-4). While the report did provide insights into potential impacts, there was no hard data or concrete measurements to indicate IMVO issues with possible positive or negative impacts.

As a sector-led initiative, the absence of political interest in outbound tourism made it difficult to obtain financial support. Unlike other sectors working on IMVO covenants, tourism was headed by a self-steering working group. While MVO Nederland was able to provide a supporting and facilitating role, there was not enough time or money for a guiding role dedicated to the working group (IMVO-3). In 2017 several stakeholders, including government, educational institutions, NGOs, and industry members, came together to discuss a potential IMVO-covenant. However, by 2019 it was decided to discontinue the project (IMVO-5). Few of the stakeholders were interested, noting that the existing collaborations and networks in the sector were already addressing the same issue an IMVO covenant would. As such, the added value of such an IMVO covenant would not be worth the time and money required. The possibility to continue investigating an IMVO covenant as a collaboration between the ANVR and the government, without other stakeholders was also proposed. However, this would also require a significant financial contribution from the ANVR, and the idea was scrapped. One interviewee describes the conclusion of the covenants as such:

"It was about risk, and there are risks in tourism. But the tourism sector was already well organized, that was the main conclusion of the covenants I believe. That is why it never amounted to much expect for paper work." (P8)

4.3.3. Child protection
Don't look away NL | 2015
Efforts to tackle child sex tourism continued in several national cross-sector projects and campaigns, often involving both sector, NGOs, and government parties. Furthermore, the problem of child sex tourism had become increasingly embedded in the international tourism agenda. The international focus led to the development of a European campaign by ECPAT international. The "don't look away" campaign is an ongoing collaboration, allowing different countries to collectively address child sex tourism under one banner. To qualify as a participant, a country needs to have a formal collaboration between the government, police, tourism sector and NGOs. For the Netherlands, this collaboration consists of the Royal Netherlands Military Constabulary (Koninklijke Marechaussee), the Hotline against Child Pornography (Meldpunt Kinderporno), the police, the ANVR, TUI Benelux, ECPAT, Terre des Hommes, Plan Nederland and Free a Girl. Alongside the campaigns aimed at the public, these different organizations meet 4 times a year to exchange their insights and plan further actions. Furthermore, once a year the international members meet up during an international conference which promotes mutual learning and exchange of information (P3, P10).

As the international character of the problem often involves different types of legislation, ECPAT (and other NGOs) emphasized an international approach. National ECPAT chapters continuously brought attention to the topic among tour operators and promoted "the Code". Global political bodies such as the UN and the EU were also approached to address the issue through various legislations and guidelines (P10). The don't look away campaign took an international approach, while adjusting the message to fit particular countries. The international character of the campaign also allowed ECPAT to further solidify child sex tourism as a global problem, and outwardly show the need for solidarity. As had been shown by the "Offenders Beware" report, countries often only address the problem when it involves national citizens. "Don't look away" aimed to further emphasize the problem of this approach, as the nationality of the sex offenders has no impact on the damages caused.

Stop orphanage tourism | 2018

Alongside child sex tourism, the topic of orphanage tourism became increasingly relevant in the sustainable tourism discourse. It became increasingly apparent that volunteering tourism, particularly in the context of orphanage tourism, strongly contributed to the sexual exploitation of children (P10; P3). ECPAT had noticed the pattern by looking at convictions of sex offenders, where orphanage tourism would often be involved. ECPAT Nederland was able to obtain financial support from the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which led to global study "Offenders on the move" in 2016. The formal research and inquiry into the sexual exploitation of children in tourism was a strong and credible source, further legitimizing the orphanage tourism problem (P10). Internationally, discussions regarding human rights in tourism had been addressing the issue of orphanage tourism. Notably in 2017, when Australia was discussing the possibility of adding orphanage tourism to their modern slavery legislation (P10, P3). One interviewee emphasised the importance of repeatedly engaging with different actors to create awareness regarding the topic:

> *"I was part of the (sustainable tourism) network, to make sure orphanage tourism would be included in the discussion. The same goes for lobbying the government, we had to clearly establish the connection between orphanages and sexual exploitations." (P3)*

In 2017, the Code formally changed the membership criteria to prohibit member involvement with certain types of orphanage tourism and volunteering tourism. The problems linked to orphanage tourism gained a lot of awareness among tour operators, even beyond the Code members. ANVR was actively involved and promoted the issue among its members, later adding it to their own membership requirements (P3). Following the growing awareness and lobbying around orphanage tourism, "Stop Weeshuis Toerisme" (stop orphanage tourism) was created as a yearly reoccurring campaign (P3). Students and schools were targeted in particular, as volunteering tourism is a popular type of holiday among young adults (P10). One interviewee described the approach that led to the advances in child protection as follows;

> *"We see it as a triangle. Government, industry and civil society. Those three have a collective responsibility. The government can makes sure there are obligations, and that they are enforced. And the industry has to implement it, which is equally important. (P10).*

4.3.4. Summary period 3
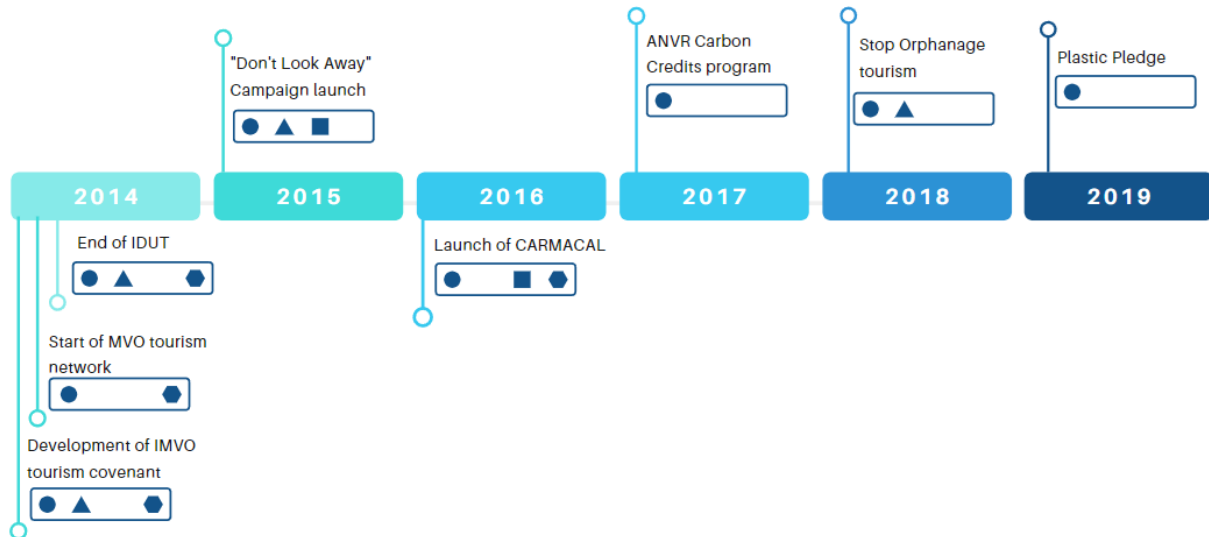
Figure 4 Summary of period 3

The state of the industry

Sustainable tourism and broader sustainability

Compared to previous periods, NGOs and governmental bodies became further disconnected to sustainable tourism practices between 2014 and 2020. But as part of the broader context in which sustainable tourism exists, their influence did not fully disappear. In fact, some projects are still closely tied to government and NGO bodies and funding, like the plastic pledge and the orphanage tourism campaigns. If the previous period described the changes in government and NGO involvement in sustainable tourism, in this period sustainable tourism practices tried to adapt to the new context. Sustainable tourism became linked to broader, cross-sector sustainability initiatives. Both IDH and the IMVO covenant, as well as the creation of the MVO tourism network as a renewed version of IDUT, are examples of tourism attempting to fit within the broader context of sustainable development.

Contrary to the downward trend in national governmental support, there are growing ties to the European tourism community. ECEAT in particular, now responsible for Travelife for tour operators and Travelife for accommodations, has made use of European funding schemes. As a result, sustainable tourism development shifted to reflect their interests, with tools such as Travelife for accommodation being developed with an international user-base in mind. Furthermore, this external ownership has also decentralized the management and maintenance of such tools.

Fading networks

Following IDUT's dissolution, the MVO Tourism network represented a next step in the efforts to embed sustainability in the industry. The diversity of actors had been a strength of IDUT, but with the lack of NGOs and government involvement the MVO tourism network lost some of this diversity. In an effort to broaden the appeal, the network sought to expand its relevance by including inbound tourism. The lack of new dynamics and limited tangible outputs led many tour operators to label the MVO network as an ineffective

"talking club". Despite the efforts, MVO tourism network was unable to recruit new members resulting in a platform with membership of a small group of tour operators and educational institutes. On top of this, costs involved with MVO membership made the network less appealing to tour operators, especially considering the free alternative provided by the ANVR frontrunner group. As a result, MVO eventually decided to terminate the network in Spring 2021.

A practice-based perspective

Gradual and unpredictable change
A zoomed-out perspective illustrates the gradual process of change, as carbon emissions had long been the "elephant in the room" when it comes to sustainable tourism. The failed attempts at the development of a flight tax illustrate the industry's unwillingness to address the issue. That said, Sawadee had been able to set an example with a well-researched carbon management strategy. With several other tour operators showing an interest in their approach, CARMACAL aimed to replicate the success on an industry level. While CARMACAL was highly praised and received worldwide recognition, it failed to gain traction and actually get used. This shows how something labeled as a success does not necessarily translate to more sustainable and long-lasting outcomes for tour operator practices. Still, zooming out also points to some key connections that would otherwise remain hidden, notably the connection between CARMACAL and the South Pole deal.

Competences and research
The concept of competences by Shove et al. (2012) provides some additional insights into the reason behind the CARMACAL failure. The tool ended up being very difficult to use, pointing to a lack of competence in terms of user-friendly design. However, such an explanation lacks nuance, as the reality is far more complex. Even here the intertwined nature of different elements factors in, with the set budget pre-emptively limiting development options. As one of the few research-driven projects in sustainable tourism, this also illustrates a broader disconnect between research regarding sustainable tourism and how tourism is actually practiced (Sharpley, 2020). Overall, a practice perspective illustrates the failure of the tool links to it being incompatible with actual tour operator practices, simply put it wasn't practical or usable on a day-to-day basis.

5. Results part 2: Zooming in on the IDH tourism program

To gain a better understanding of the types of dynamics that impact sustainable tourism, a zoomed-in approach is needed. IDH presents an example of a multi-year project, with several actors joining and leaving, including government, NGOs, and industry actors, educational institutions as well as trade organizations. The different phases of the program also illustrate several different types of connections that were formed over the project's life. Over time, the IDH practice-bundle evolved, taking different forms as the initiative adapted to changes. This chapter will follow IDH's tourism program from its initial conception to its conclusion. In doing so, it will be examined how the bundle and its connections changed over time.

5.1. Lead up to the creation of IDH | 2007

5.1.1. The political context

On June 30th 2007, 4 Dutch ministries, several NGOs, businesses, and knowledge institutes signed the so-called "Schockland Akkoord". Those signing the agreement pledged to work on the implementation of several of the millennium goals. This led to the creation of the "Initiatief Duurzame Handel" (initiative sustainable trade) or IDH (IDH, 2021). The IDH was created to scale and speed up the transition to a more sustainable supply chain in several sectors. Notably aiming to improve sustainability in developing countries, from a social, environmental, and economic perspective. IDH aimed to achieve this through two types of activities, through sector projects and cross-sector learning. The first aspect emphasized sector responsibility and aimed to improve bottlenecks in the supply chain. Rather than focusing on certification or monitoring, the IDH presented a multi-stakeholder initiative (social enterprises, organizations, unions, private sector, and government) to introduce improvement programs. Second, The IDH would serve as a junction for knowledge exchange regarding sector responsibility, and intersectoral learning. As many of the issues IDH aimed to resolve were found across sectors (i.e. child labor, pollution), a collaborative approach was encouraged. To do so, several sectors were analyzed as potential candidates for the IDH, including tea, cacao, electronics, and tourism.

5.1.2. Tourism and sector responsibility

The question of sector responsibility had been a point of discussion for some time in the tourism industry, even before IDH. In 2007, MVO Netherlands and CREM had been trying to develop projects in the tourism sector and approached IDUT for possible collaborations (IDUT-1). Previous efforts to address the issue included workshops on the legal and social aspects of sector responsibility. The use of a sector risk analysis to uncover social aspects of certain destinations was suggested, though there were questions regarding the desire for such a project. Members of IDUT like ECPAT and Sawadee recognized the necessity for such analysis. But, the usefulness was questioned, as it was noted that if problems were uncovered, actions would have to be taken. However, parties in the Netherlands like tour operators have limited capacity to act in destinations and are not in a position to create change. For example, the problem of child labor in India is well known, but tour operators don't see how they can tackle the problem. As such, for a risk analysis or similar project to be interesting, there would have to be opportunities for follow-up actions.

5.2. IDH tourism program development at IDUT | 2008 - 2009

5.2.1. Defining the IDH tourism projects

IDH was officially released/implemented/etc in 2008, at which point an initial five-year period (2008 – 2013) was subsided by the government. Projects should primarily be developed by actors in the private

sector and civil society, with IDH providing a less prominent role in the private-public partnership. IDH's secretariat would provide a supporting role, and co-fund the projects (providing generally half the funding). But the members themselves would be the ones executing the projects and have to take ownership of the projects. IDH could provide a supporting role of both project development and implementation, providing knowledge on aspects like sector responsibility and process management.

As one of the possible sectors, tourism was included in the development program of the IDH. The development of the IDH tourism projects started in the IDUT group, and Travel Foundation NL would fulfill the role of coordinator. To facilitate this process, Pierre Hupperts, a representative of IDH would assist IDUT (IDUT-3). Over the course of 2008, IDUT would be able to propose what projects could be created, who would be involved, what it would cost, what the destinations would be, etc. This would allow the projects to start being implemented in 2009. This would be the first phase of a long-term project, which was estimated to take 3-4 years to complete. Not all members of the sector would have to participate, though the different stakeholders would have to be sufficiently represented. A minimum of 5 tour operators per project was required, who would have to provide financial support and work on the project (IDUT-3).

5.2.2. Project implementation and shift in approach

Several members of IDUT conducted meetings early 2008, leading to a proposal submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for a tourism development program (IDUT-4). During the proposal period, Brazil, Thailand, Tanzania, and Cambodia were named as candidates for future projects. Initially, Cape Verde and South Africa were also proposed. However, Cape Verde was deemed unsuitable due to the low amount of organized Dutch tourism, and South Africa was questioned as a suitable destination due to the high number of existing projects. Once the IDH tourism proposal was approved, the development program provided 50.000 euros to research what interventions could take place with specific themes and destinations. This resulted in two projects being chosen halfway through 2008. In Brazil, there would be a project that would focus on the social problem of child prostitution in the tourism sector. Tanzania would start a project aiming to resolve some of the problems caused by waste in tourism destinations (IDUT-5). This coincided with the official start of IDH secretariat under the leadership of the newly appointed Joost Oorthuizen (IDUT-5). The projects and their development, as well as eventual departure from IDH are described in more detail below.

Waste reduction in Tanzania project
One of the two project destinations for the initial IDH projects was Zanzibar, which would focus on the ecological problem of waste created by tourists. To address the waste problems, the IDUT project group approached two waste management companies, "Meerlanden" and "Van Gansenwinkel Groep". While both were interested in participating, Meerlanden didn't see what role they could fulfill and declined for the time being. Van Gansenwinkel Groep did agree to participate and assigned a waste expert to the project. In Tanzania, ACRA an Italian NGO was approached, they had previously worked on a pro-poor tourism project by the EU and had established a relationship with another local NGO. IUCN Tanzania was also interested, and the project group was also looking for more tour operators to take part. IDUT members IUCN NL and Cordaid supported the project as representatives of NGOs, however, Sawadee was the only tour operator involved in the project. To attract more tour operators, IDUT members attempted to involve KLM in the project, though little came out of this (IDUT-5).

The goal was to organize an exploratory mission in October 2008, allowing everyone involved to get together at the project's destination. The Italian NGO ACRA had been making agreements with several stakeholders, notably the government. Unfortunately, the government turned out the be a difficult stakeholder, and appeared to mostly be interested in receiving financial aid. As a result, other local organizations were approached instead, notably ZATI, a local tourism enterprise association. As it turned out, a project proposal regarding waste management and tourism had been created 3 years prior. However, it had never been implemented, but the plans were deemed suitable as a starting point for the IDH project. The project would focus on three areas: tourism sector (through Travelife), waste management, and entrepreneurship/microfinancing.

However, over time it became increasingly difficult to align the project with IDH, leading to an eventual split. For one, the tour operator's sphere of influence was limited when it came to waste reduction, and the focus of the project shifted to the larger recycling businesses like Gansenwinkel. Because tour operator practices did not link up with waste management, it failed to connect with IDH's goals which aimed to exert influence over sustainability through tour operators. That being said, the project did leave traces in the IDH program going forward through lessons learned. The initial investigations revealed the challenge of linking waste reduction to tour operator practices. It was decided to focus on accommodation which fell within the tour operators' sphere of influence, with waste management being one of the aspects of a sustainable accommodation (P5).

> *"The project moved away from travel organizations, as it got pulled towards larger recycling companies like Gansewinkel. So they said it was not something the tourism sector's influence extended to. Instead, lets look broader than just waste and let's look at the sustainability of those accommodations." (P5)*

The project had also failed to meet IDH's requirements of a minimum of 3 tour operators, with only Sawadee involved as an industry partner. With the shift to a Travelife based sustainable accommodation focus, IUCN NL and Cordaid split of from the IDH group, as they were interested in the implementation of solutions for the Tanzania project. As a result, they continued the project on their own terms, in the hopes of linking up with the IDH projects at a later stage. It is unclear what further developments occurred, and the tourism sector did not get involved beyond this point.

PLAN & TUI project Brazil
In Brazil, the proposed IDH project would tackle the social issue of child prostitution in the tourism sector. On the tour operator side, TUI NL took charge of this project, as child prostitution was already on their agenda. As a member of "the Code", TUI followed their policies, but IDH represented an opportunity to finance a more practical project (P9). PLAN NL and ECPAT were approached regarding a possible collaboration, which was received positively. ECPAT had already established a local chapter and was actively promoting the Code among local tourism businesses. ECPAT also provided a local network through their existing relations with other local initiatives and organizations that were working to combat the problems. PLAN NL was even willing to be a leading role in the project, also involving the local PLAN Brazil organization. PLAN NL wrote their own proposal for the project and their vision of its execution. A member of PLAN Netherlands and TUI NL went to Brazil towards the end of 2008 to do some preliminary investigations, specifically in the regions Natal and Recife.

"There was an opportunity to obtain financing from IDH, and there was the opportunity to go out into the field and observe the subject matter in Brazil. We informed all of the child protection organizations that we were going, and if they would like to join. PLAN Nederland responded and so did ECPAT. ECPAT cannot implement projects, so you need someone to execute the project with and that was PLAN. So we developed a project that tackled child prostitution on several levels"
(P9).

Following the preliminary investigations in Brazil, two roadblocks that eventually contributed to the split from IDH were made apparent. As TUI's market consisted mostly of families and couples, there were no structural problems with their customer base related to child prostitution. The problem did impact their customers once they arrived at the destination, making it an area of interest for TUI NL. The local culture and attitudes towards sex meant that child prostitution was normalized to a degree. As such, the tourism sector didn't present the biggest issue, though it did contribute to the existing problem. The tourism sector could serve as an additional motivating factor in combatting the problems. Workshops and communication towards tourists could further promote the cause. However, from IDH's perspective, this fell outside of the tourism supply chain (P9). Second, TUI was the only Dutch charter that flew to the northern region of Brazil where the project would take place. As such there were only 3 major parties (TUI, First Choice Netherlands, and Fly Brazil) that might be interested in any projects. As a result, the project failed to gain support from tour operators outside of TUI, which was a core requirement for IDH. By 2010 the project officially separated from the IDH. Funding would instead be obtained through the National Postcode Lottery (P9).

IDH had primarily financed the project and had set certain criteria which the project had to meet. Going forward, the project in Brazil primarily involved PLAN Nederland and TUI NL and followed the shared vision. The program aimed to help young girls in Brazil by providing an education in the tourism sector. This provided the girls with new opportunities for a better life, giving them options to prevent falling into a life of prostitution. The project was considered very successful, with TUI NL receiving the responsible tourism award for child protection in 2013. Once TUI had their own source of funding through the TUI Care Foundation, the TUI Academy was developed to provide a tourism education for children with few opportunities. While not explicit, the Academy shared the underlying philosophy of the project in Brazil and could be considered an indirect successor based on the success of the initial project.

"I got the question, "you did it once in Brazil, can you do it again?" and I said yes, but I didn't have money. But with the TUI Care foundation, we have done several TUI Academies, about 8 I think. It is portrayed as an education for underprivileged youths. But the undercurrent is child protection, to make sure they have other opportunities and don't slide into the informal sector. There is a deeper story behind it" (P9).

While no longer involved directly, IDH's role does remain crucial as it set the stage for the collaboration between PLAN, ECPAT, and TUI. This had a lasting effect on the industry, even beyond direct results from the initial project. Notably, the IDH collaboration had put tourism on the agenda for PLAN NL. PLAN Netherlands was focused on the problem of child prostitution in general, and tourism had not been an area for their activities prior to the project. With the newly developed network ties, PLAN NL developed as an important partner for child protection in the tourism industry. For example, following the

accomplishments in Brazil, TUI implemented similar projects in other destinations with the support of PLAN and ECPAT.

> *"We started in Brazil. And later also in the Dominican Republic where we have a shared program. Those are the ECPAT partners in the Dominican Republic, the local PLAN in the Dominican republic, PLAN NL and TUI. We developed a shared program with the 4 parties" (P3)*

5.2.3. Adjust to a new approach

By the end of 2008, both pilot projects had been investigated, and the outcomes were shared with IDH. The underlying goal of the IDH projects was to address the sector as a whole, which needed an overarching approach. While the two initial investigations were well received, it was important to embed both pilot projects in a larger project. As a result, while the pilot projects were developed as part of IDH, shifts in the direction and goals of the program meant that both projects eventually broke away from IDH. While no longer a core part of IDH, the projects and the lessons learned shaped the direction of the program. Travelife would develop a sustainability certification system for accommodations in the chosen destinations. The limitations encountered led to the development of an umbrella project and a more cohesive sector approach with Travelife. The limited sphere of influence tour operators had had been a problem for both projects in the eyes of IDH. The boundaries of the tourism supply chain are not straightforward. However, for IDH's purpose, this connection had to be very direct. As explained by one interviewee, focusing on accommodations provided a solution as there are strong links between accommodations and tour operators in the supply chain:

> *"So we looked at what we could influence the most in the supply chain between transport, stay, entertainment, activities, excursions. And the answer was accommodations" (P5).*

The issue of influence also extended to the choice of destination, due to conflicting priorities between IDH and the tour operators. IDH was largely financed through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, meaning projects prioritized countries with a "developing country" status. But for tour operators to have the most impact, the choice should factor in the relevance as a tourism destination. Furthermore, even among the tour operators that were involved with IDH different destinations were prioritized based on their product portfolio. Through negotiations and compromise the 6 countries Egypt, Thailand, Kenia, Tanzania, Brazil, and Turkey were selected. These were destinations offered by 1 or more of the tour operators involved with IDH (P5). Turkey was a notable outlier as the country does not have a development status. It being a major destination for large tour operators like TUI meant there were more opportunities to exert influence down the line. One interviewee explained the difficulty of adapting to the demands from IDH, while staying relevant to tour operator priorities:

> *"And there (Turkey) you can create impact because it is a destination that 500.000 or 600.000 Dutch tourists would visit at the time. And as you could see with Brazil, there were very few that would travel there. So you can see with such a project that it developed from the requirements that came from IDH, and countries had to have such and such status. Instead of looking practically at what we could actually do. Let's say take the 10 most important destinations for Dutch tourists and see what we could do to help the supply chain become more sustainable" (P5).*

Developing a Travelife system and tools also provided a structure to obtain specific results. For IDH projects to be considered successful, there was the need to demonstrate progress. One interviewee noted the necessity of a such an approach, as the IDH project required progress to be measurable:

"And an important aspect was to integrate the Travelife tool for accommodations in those countries. That way we could monitor what the results were for the accommodations involved." (P5)

5.2.4. Tour operator involvement and contribution

While the IDH project had been in the works for several years by 2009, the only stakeholders from the tourism sector were ANVR, Travel foundation, Baobab, Sawadee and TUI Netherlands. Other partners included WUR, Cordaid, and IUCN NL. As that point it became a priority to obtain more commitment from the tourism sector, as this was one of the requirements from IDH. To do so, a representative from the ANVR would approach tour operators to bring the project to their attention. By 2010, a total of 10 ANVR tour operators (Baobad, Corendon, De reisspecialisten groep, Fox vakanties, Kuoni, Oad groep, Thika Travel, TUI Nederland, Sawadee Reizen, SNP) were involved with IDH (IDUT-19). The new members were interested in participating and would offer their commitment and manpower. Obtaining financial commitment was more difficult, which had been an ongoing issue from the start.

As early as 2008, discussions regarding the financing of the IDH program raised concerns among IDUT members (IDUT-5). While a budget had been set to develop the initial pilot projects, it was uncertain what IDH would contribute and how much money the private sector was expected to invest in the long run. IDH was designed around a co-financing model, where the sector was expected to contribute 50% of the money (P5). It was well known by IDUT members that financing was a big problem within the industry. Following negotiations with IDH, the agreement was reached which allowed the tourism industry to contribute "in-kind" rather than cash only. As such, tour operators could submit the hours they worked on the project and contribute through other non-financial means. IDH would still double the investment, by providing the equivalent value in money (P5, IDUT-7).

5.3. Travelife and ANVR as program drivers | 2010 – 2011

5.3.1. ANVR and sustainability through IDH

With the new turn towards sustainable accommodations in the context of Travelife, the IDH projects had changed drastically from their initial conception. To implement a more sector-wide approach, the number of destinations was expanded to include Turkey, Egypt, Thailand, Kenia alongside Brazil and Tanzania. As such, the project would now dedicate the first year to establishing a Travelife presence in the respective destinations. The actual implementation of any action to address bottlenecks would only be addressed in a second phase. Furthermore, it would be investigated if CO_2 emissions from the tourism industry could also be included in the project, possibly through a compensation program. To promote sector learning, other activities would be organized for tour operators. On the 15th of May 2009, the so-called "improvement program" was presented to the IDH council, obtaining approval not long after.

IDH was satisfied with the contents of the proposed Travelife project following the completion of the pilot projects, but explicitly addressed the need to look at the financing (IDUT-6). While the 3-year project would receive a large amount of funding, the private sector would have to contribute its own share. IDUT discussions noted that a three-year project costing 800.000 EUR total would still require 100.000 EUR from the private sector (IDUT-6). Later notes suggest this might be even lower, with private sector contribution

representing only 6.25% of the total costs (IDUT-6). Even with lowered rates, tour operators and their contribution were not expected to suffice. As a result, the ANVR was approached as a possible source of industry funding for the IDH projects. The led to the agreement that ANVR would be able to provide "in kind" support, which would be considered as financial contributions (P5).

With these developments, 2009 marked the start of ANVR's increasingly active role in the IDH project. ANVR's involvement was the driving force for the development of the Travelife accommodation component (IDUT-7). After the dissolution of the Travel Foundation NL in 2010, ANVR formally took over the role of secretariat. The initial period revolved around the development of the Travelife accommodation program, as well as sector-oriented activities. Taking up this responsibility also shifted the decision-making power towards ANVR and its members. For example, the ANVR DTO commission had the deciding vote where Travelife would be implemented and chose the 6 countries to work with. The influence ANVR had over the development of the IDH program was not strictly one-way. By working on the IDH program, changes occurred within the ANVR which lasted far beyond the conclusion of the program. For one, it led to the creation of a new position within the ANVR mid 2009, a part-time function for an IDH program manager. The role would revolve around the implementation of IDH projects, and generally the implementation of sustainability. Gerben Hardeman was hired for this position, making this the first time ANVR had someone dedicated to sustainability. It became a full-time position by 2010.

5.3.2 Implementing Travelife

With the renewed IDH approach, the first stage consisted of the implementation of the Travelife system. By auditing as many accommodations as possible, the outcomes would reveal bottlenecks to a more sustainable sector. Approximately 1000 accommodations were approached, and a total of 150-200 audits would be done. Accommodations would have to conduct a self-check, after which a free audit would be conducted. The end goal of the initial phase was to certify a total of 50 accommodations. The years 2010 and 2011 would mostly revolve around accommodations and getting them involved. The overall target would be to certify 15% of all accommodations in the 6 destinations. The initial phase revealed several barriers to the implementation of the Travelife accommodation certification scheme.

A trip to Turkey in early 2010 emphasized the importance of local stakeholders, specifically incoming tour operators who should be more involved in the implementation of the project. The role of local agents was not well defined in this iteration of IDH, which factored into their lack of involvement. Travelife was not well known, nor was it understood what Travelife stood for or what benefits it could provide. As a result, IDH planned to tour Egypt and Turkey to promote the program. Involving local organizations would be a key step in the continued implementation of the Travelife certifications and could be repeated in other destinations. Local organizations could play an important supporting role, by for example organizing follow-ups. Over time, Travelife's local projects would also come to focus on developing partnerships with local agents and governments. Though it was noted that it would be a challenge in some countries such as Kenia, where accommodations were spread out making it hard to organize centralized activities.

The Travelife certifications relied on market-based mechanisms, and market pressure from tour operators would have to serve as an important motivator for the accommodations. IDH also continuously worked on the promotion of the project among Dutch tour operators. This mainly involved having to pressure tour operators, who in turn had to motivate their accommodations to complete the self-assessment. The ANVR continued to look for tour operators willing to join the program and aimed to expand the relevance of the certifications. However, not all tour operators were able to integrate the Travelife certification scheme. For

some, the Travelife criteria were not suitable for the accommodations making the certification inapplicable as mentioned by one interviewee:

"We mostly work with small scale accommodations, like lodges, guesthouses, agritourisms and the like. We prefer those with only 10 or 15 rooms, and those types of accommodations are not featured." (P1).

ANVR also looked further outward, wanting to implement the program on a European level with the EU travel agents and tour operators association (ECTAA). This would further legitimize the Travelife certifications and create a larger international market. This meant Travelife would have to align with international standards, such as Global Sustainable Tourism Council (GSTC) criteria.

5.3.3. Failing to introduce a CO_2 based project

Attempts were made to develop a project tackling CO_2 emissions caused by tourism. Plans were made for a pilot project with KLM and several tour operators. Sustainable travel packages would combine CO_2-neutral transport with sustainable accommodations and be marketed as such directly towards consumers. It was found that the price-competitive nature of the market prevented collaboration between tour operators. Marketing the sustainable packages was a core element of the pilot projects, but tour operators were not willing to do so. The pilot project was canceled by the end of 2011 due to a lack of commitment from tour operators (IDH, 2011).

5.3.4. Sustainable tourism through sectoral learning

Other activities were also organized in an effort to provide knowledge and education to the sector as a whole, in line with the IDH program. To implement the Travelife accommodation certifications, training sessions were organized for product managers from different tour operators. The training showed what tour operators should look at in terms of sustainability in accommodations. The training sessions were able to spark enthusiasm among some participants. For example, looking at the number of energy-saving bulbs provided a new way of looking at sustainability (P1). Other activities were broader and oriented towards sustainability in tourism, as well as sustainable business practices for tour operators. These activities were an extension of what ANVR had already been doing. For example, the sustainable trade day during (and later the day after) the yearly national holiday fare.

A notable activity was a meeting organized by the ANVR December 2011 for CEOs from different travel agencies and tour operators. The event aimed to have CEOs discuss their vision of the future of the sector: including how sustainability fits in the broader picture, and what the tourism sector should stand for. The event targeted CEOs, as their position allows them to push for a stronger commitment towards sustainability in their organizations. The event concluded with the collective agreement to implement sustainability in a broader and faster way, with the "Vision 2025". This event provided the foundation for the next phase of the IDH program.

5.4. Disconnecting IDH & the tourism program | 2012 – 2013

The development stage of the Travelife certifications marks a high point in the collaborations between IDH and the tourism sector. Advancements were made on a destination level with training and workshops. ANVR was able to expand their activities regarding sustainability with the newly developed position thanks to the financial support from IDH. Collaboration on the industry side also grew in scope, with plans to expand Travelife for accommodations internationally. The first annual report published by IDH in 2011

contextualizes some of the shortcomings of the tourism sector from IDH's perspective. The program had failed to meet the milestones towards the end goal of 15% of the accommodations being certified by 2013. It had become evident that the lack of tour operator involvement presented the biggest problem, as well as the lack of financial contributions. The development of a CO_2 reduction project had been scrapped as a direct result. The Travelife certifications also suffered due to low involvement, as the tour operators were supposed to be the driving force in spreading the certifications to their accommodations. At this time, IDH went through several changes which shaped the final years of the IDH tourism program.

5.4.1. Developing the MVO tourism program

In 2012, the IDH tourism program went through another reorganization following an internal restructuring within IDH (IDH-1). Building on what had been done and learned the previous years, MVO Nederland and ANVR developed a tourism program for the remaining two years of IDH. While the objective of a more sustainable supply chain remained the same, four separate work streams would focus on the following:

1. Strengthening sustainability in the Dutch outbound tourism sector by raising awareness, improving knowledge and commitment.
2. Creating a European market pull by implementing the Travelife system in other European countries.
3. Strengthening the Travelife system by improving its workability and developing an internationally applicable standard.
4. Building capacity among incoming tour operators and increase the number of Travelife trained tour operators.

The first point aimed to address the overall issue the program had been facing since the start; the lack of tour operator involvement. The later 3 points aimed to resolve the issues that had been encountered during the development phase of Travelife. The program included planned activities corresponding to the different goals, as well as specific KPI (Key Performance Indicators) to hit within the timeframe.

5.4.2. A shared "Future Vision 2025" for the industry

The new structure was inspired in part by the discussion regarding "Vision 2025". The following months, more meetings with CEOs and sustainability coordinators were organized to further develop the contents of the "Vision 2025". The report would include practical steps and specific targets to reach the aforementioned four objectives. The "Toekomst Visie 2025" was presented during the "Changes in Tourism" event at the holiday trade fair of 2013 (ANVR, 2013). Several CEOs were present to sign the declaration, showing their commitment to the future of sustainability in tourism. The IDH tourism program continued to function throughout the final years, reaching completion in 2013. Unlike most other sectors that had been part of IDH since its inception, the tourism program was not extended. This was not unexpected for those involved, as IDH had slowly been distancing itself from the tourism sector as elaborated in the following contextualization of IDH management transitions.

5.4.3 Contextualizing the end of the IDH tourism program

So far, the evolution of the IDH tourism program has predominantly been shown in light of changes on the tourism side, with IDH itself in the background. However, this does not mean there were no such developments of the IDH side of things. The impact of internal IDH changes became particularly relevant around 2011, with one notable change directly affecting the tourism program. IDH had originally been conceptualized as a multi-year program with a limited time span, in which tourism represents one of

several industries. Following the positive response IDH received and its successful execution, the program was able to expand. In 2011, IDH became an independent entity, and continued on as a foundation with its own board (IDH, 2011). With this, IDH's outlook shifted further towards a long-term orientation, with plans beyond the 2008-2013 timeframe. This included shifting from a grant-based financing system to loans over time (IDH, 2011). This coincided with changes in IDH management, and a new intermediary between IDH and the tourism industry (P8, P5, P9).

As a result, the shift in IDH management completely changed the relations between IDH and the tourism industry. The IDH tourism project was made possible by an agreement made early on allowing the tourism sector to provide non-financial contributions. Without this arrangement, tour operators would not have been able to get involved in the first place. However, with the new IDH management this arrangement came to an unexpected end, as described by one interview:

"The Dutch government had given permission, and our in-kind contribution was accepted for the entire multi-year project. But then somebody just walked in saying "it's all well and good that somebody allowed that, but I am going to do things differently". (P5)

This was an unpleasant surprise for the tourism partners, as this agreement had been the foundation of the program. Within the industry, it was well known that the money was essential for the project to be viable. Tour operators were not able to provide sufficient contribution to make up for absence of IDH's budget. Prompting the ANVR to respond:

"If (cash) is a strict requirement, we might as well pull the plug now because the money simply isn't there" (P5)

Despite efforts to maintain the deal, this marked a slow decline in IDH's ties to tourism. Furthermore, the sudden reversal of the established agreement damaged the trust towards IDH. There was still sufficient funding to continue established activities, and the existing projects would continue over the remainder of the initial timeframe. Overall, this was an important turning point for the tourism stakeholders involved, marking the beginning of the end for the IDH tourism program. One interviewee described that the changes on IDH's side changed the overall agreement, causing the organizations to slowly part ways:

"If I am being honest, IDH pulled the plug on the project themselves. We had established the rules of the game early on, that tourism would exceptionally be able to contribute in-kind. But that was scrapped. And from there on out we got less and less every year." (P5)

5.5. Lessons learned from zooming in

As a "zoomed in" example, the IDH projects shows up close how several dynamics seen through the timeline play out in practice. For one, the IDH project shows that sustainable tourism does not seem to be a priority, especially compared to other sectors. IDH's emphasis was on supply chain interventions, mostly for specific products (i.e. tea, coffee). As several interviewees remarked, tourism was an outlier industry for the project from the start, being a more service-oriented sector. While there was a shared goal of sustainability, tour operators' practices didn't necessarily align with the types of interventions the program focused on. While IDH strived to create widespread impact through measurable results, the Travelife accommodation was not universally applicable to tour operating practices. Here, the differences between

the routinized activities between different types of organizations affected their ability to connect (Nicolini, 2009).

While the development of the program was a collective effort, the IDH tourism project was strongly influenced by specific actors. Tour operator representatives had a large say, especially in the development of the pilot projects. However, their ability to influence IDH was limited by the program's structure, as Travelife was developed to remain eligible for the funding. Competent actors were able to negotiate, exercising a degree of agency which allowed them to overcome some of the structural limitations of the project. For example, this allowed for the inclusion of Turkey as one of the destinations. However, the extent to which actors can manipulate these structures is highly contextual, as organizations are embedded in many social structures (Schatzki, 2011). The influence of the result-oriented approach and profit-driven character of the program reflects the wider context of sustainable tourism development shown by zooming out (Nicolini, 2012).

Due to the project's structure, tour operators had to adapt their practices to maintain the connection, which granted access to the funding. Funding was a key element that connected the tour operator bundle and the IDH program bundle. This suggests that the bundles connected through a shared element, creating an interdependency (Schatzki, 2013). This can create uncertainty for practitioners, which in this case manifested in the distrust following the change in agreement regarding the in-kind contributions (Schatzki, 2013). Once this material element no longer connected the bundles, they slowly separated and disconnected. This reflects a wider issue, as zooming out showed that many efforts ended once funding was no longer available.

Finally, zooming in on the development of Travelife shows the complex reality of tourism practices which are spatially and temporally dispersed (De Souza Bispo, 2016). The IDH program was developed in the temporal context of a multi-year project, which impacted the timing, planning, and projected outcomes (Schatzki, 2009). The awareness of the inevitable end of the program corresponded with the relatively limited engagement from tour operators in the final years. Zooming out showed similar patterns, as sustainable tourism is often limited to specific projects. This could explain the limited number of practices that have been embedded in tour operator practices over time. Furthermore, the challenge in developing a Travelife tool suitable for all destinations and tour operators shows the impact of the spatial context (Schatzki, 2009). Tour operators tested and experimented with the tool to adapt it to their own circumstances such as the type of their accommodations. Similarly, this could explain the difficulties with involving local agents, as the development of the tool did not take their spatial context into account. Thus, to connect with the local agents, the Travelife for accommodations toolkit had to be adapted to their practices. Zooming out also shows the limited success in developing industry-wide sustainability practices, implying the spatial diversity makes it difficult to create long-lasting connections.

6. Discussion

The goal of this thesis was to establish an overview of, and analyze, the development in the Dutch outbound tourism field between 2005 and 2020. A practice theory approach was adopted to foreground the links and connections that led to practice-bundles in this field. Doing so sheds an interesting light on some of the manifest but also hidden and surprising dynamics which have shaped the development of sustainable tourism.

First, the wider changes in the field will be briefly summarized in relation to tour operators. To further understand the process of change, recent developments will be contrasted to industry trends prior to 2005. Then, the connection between the actors that were identified to be relevant will be examined. As well as the implications of using a practice lens to study the field of sustainable tourism, particularly from a zoomed-out perspective. This research follows Nicolini's (2012) suggestion and takes a pluralistic perspective which takes advantage of the different strengths and weaknesses of specific theories. Using different concepts from practice theory, 3 phenomena that were shown to be relevant throughout sustainable tourism's recent history will be examined. First, networks are particularly relevant to the relational ties between the different actors and institutions. For instance, it gave organizations and actor the opportunity to exchange their knowledge and experiences. Second, financing and practices related to funding have shown to either make or break developments. This has been particularly evident in the case of IDH, which adapted several times to remain eligible for funding. Finally, the subject matter or agenda of specific efforts related to sustainable tourism will often impact how relations develop. Think of the progress with child protection, or the recent advances in animal welfare.

6.1. Comparing past and present

Table 5 illustrates an overview of over the changes in the field of sustainable tourism development. This builds of the work of Jakomijn Van Wijk (2009) who described major changes for tour operators in relation to their interactions, responsibilities, practices, and the actors involved in the field prior to 2005. The findings regarding the prior period also provide further contextual insights into the consequences of the events between 2005-2020. Hence, the same categories used by Van Wijk (2009) will allow to highlight the contrasts between the past and present. The following sections will provide further explanation of the table.

	Prior to 2005	By 2005	2005 – 2014	2015 – 2020
Interactions in the sustainable field	*Semi structured* • Ad-hoc conferences without formal industry asocial presence (1986 – 1987) • Informal ANVR Executive Committee on sustainable tourism (1989)	*Routinized Structures & Institutionalisation* • IDUT platform (since 1996) • Annual Groeneveld conferences (since 1999) • Formal ANVR Executive committee (since 1995)	*Gradual de-coupling* • MVO replaces IUCN NL as IDUT secretariat (2012) • Shrinking IDUT membership • IDUT disappeared (2014)	*De-institutionalision* • MVO tourism network starts and ends (2014 – 2020) • Final Groeneveld conference (2016) • Inactive ANVR frontrunner group
Responsibility and sustainability	*Collective* • Code of conduct (1992, 1996) • Information database (1998) • Public information brochure on the environnent (1998)	*Individual* • Obligatory POEMS scheme (since 2003) • POEMS coordinator position within tour operating businesses	*Pledges & Agreements* • POEMS becomes DTO (2007) • All ANVR members obtain DTO certificate (2010) • IDH tourism program (2007-2013) • TUI Care foundation (2011)	*Pledges & Agreements* • Plastic pledge (2019 – present) • ANVR - South Pole deal & Carbon credits (2017 – present)
Framing sustainability in the context of tourism	*Dispersed* • Blue flag label • WFN souvenir campaign • ECPAT campaign • Green Seat and Trees for Travel carbon offsetting	*Single Framework* • POEMS Action Program • POEMS course	*Shared frameworks* • Travel Foundation NL (2006 2010) • Green deal tourism (2013 – 2014) • IDH & Travelife for accommodations • CARMACAL	*Thematic frameworks* • ANVR animal welfare policy (2015) • ANVR Carbon compensation program • Stop orphanage tourism • ANVR animal welfare policy
Actors involved in sustainable tourism	*Individual players* • Typified by De Jong Intra, NS Travel, and SNP in the Alps project • Arke and Holland International in the Netherlands Antilles project	*Frontrunner group* • Typified by Askja Reizen, OAD, Sawadee, Sundio group, TUI Netherlands • Development of the Travel Foundation NL	*Frontrunner group* • Typified by TUI Benelux, SNP, Sawadee • ANVR sustainability manager	*Selective bubble* • Typified by TUI Benelux, SNP, Better Places

Table 5 Overview of major changes (columns "prior to 2005" and "by 2005" Adapted from Van Wijk (2009))

6.1.1. Interactions in the sustainable tourism field

Before 2005: From semi-structured, to semi-structured

To start, Van Wijk (2009) observed how interactions between 1980 and 2005 in the field of sustainable tourism were becoming increasingly structured and institutionalized. For one, ties between industry members, knowledge institutions, NGOs and governmental bodies were formalized. IDUT was particularly important, as previously sporadic, and unorganized interaction between different stakeholders were institutionalized and became a regular occurrence. The yearly Groeneveld conferences were also an important moment, allowing new and old faces to get together to specifically address sustainable tourism. Second, the ANVR started the development of the POEMS program (the precursor to DTO), which represented the first-time sustainability became compulsory to all members. Even though it wasn't well-received by most general members at the time, several tour operators emerged as front runners.

2005 – 2020: Structure and de-institutionalization

Up until the early 2010, the sustainable tourism field continued to thrive within the established structures. IDUT continued to provide a structured context for sustainable tourism, allowing industry members and outsiders to foster connections. In fact, IDUT was at the core of most sustainable tourism developments and considered to be *the* place for sustainable tourism by those involved. This period saw other efforts to formalize and institutionalize sustainability, examples being the Travel Foundation NL and the Green Feather. The ANVR continued their efforts, adopting additional guidelines (i.e. animal welfare), creating a dedicated sustainability position, formalizing the frontrunner group, and more. Furthermore, efforts to institutionalize sustainability to the general tour operating audience continued through DTO. While this represents a major success in terms of institutionalizing sustainability, it has seen limited effects on most tour operators that were not already actively engaged. This is reflected in the limited growth of the sustainable tourism networks. As such, institutionalization alone has not been sufficient, there also needs to be a degree of sustained effort. The amount of progress made in the area of child protection shows how institutionalization combined with actively engaged individuals contribute to change.

Contrary to what was expected, in the mid 2010s, the trend of institutionalization shows signs of reversing. This is reflected by the changes in IDUT, where dwindling resources and a shrinking membership eventually led to the dissolution of the organization. While the MVO tourism network was an attempt to renew and expand the group, it was not able to bring in as many new tour operators as hoped. Consequently, the Groeneveld conferences which had been an important yearly opportunity to structurally address sustainable tourism also came to an end. Overall, this de-institutionalization coincides with fewer and weaker ties between the industry, and in particular the government and NGOs. Due to changes in the wider political landscape, including the Dutch international development agenda, sustainable tourism development has lost a great deal of its appeal. As sustainable tourism developments were often dependent on governmental bodies for financing, either directly or indirectly through NGO projects, this resulted in an important loss. Furthermore, as zooming in on IDH illustrated, the lack of communication and mutual understanding further challenges the ties between the diverse organizations in the sustainable tourism field. If we further zoom in on more recent events, the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic seem to have further de-institutionalized sustainable development amidst outbound tourism practices in the Netherlands. Just zooming in on some recent events, the ANVR no longer has a sustainability manager, and the MVO tourism network just got dismantled in spring 2021. While elements of institutionalized sustainable tourism seem to remain (i.e. DTO, frontrunner group), they are currently not actively maintained.

6.1.2. Responsibility and sustainability

Before 2005: Collective to individual responsibility

The findings by Van Wijk (2009) suggest that the question of responsibility has always been a fundamental part of the broader sustainable tourism discussion. The emerging sustainable tourism discourse of the 1980s saw tour operators as being ultimately responsible for the negative consequences of tourism. This led the ANVR to adopt aspects of sustainability in their code of conduct, attributing tour operators a role as advisors and educators. This gradually shifted over time, with the responsibility falling mostly to tour operators themselves by the late 1990s. The POEMS program represented efforts to hold tour operators accountable and created specific requirements for individual tour operators. The program aimed to embed sustainability in tour operators on an organizational level. Essentially, previously the ANVR took the responsibility of dictating shared guidelines through their policies that tour operators had to adhere to. With the POEMS, the ANVR still created obligation for tour operators. Now, tour operators could pick and choose which aspects of sustainability to work on. However, most tour operators continued their business as usual after obtaining the required certificates. That said, certain front runners were taking sustainability more seriously, such as TUI NL by appointing an environmental manager.

2005 – 2020: from individual to pledges and agreements

Responsibility remains a complex topic, and this is reflected in the case history. Overall, the period beyond 2005 places the responsibility in the hands of tour operators. This sentiment can be found within the industry, as most efforts described come from, or directly involve tour operators themselves. The trend of individual responsibility continues, as many tour operators take their own stances and adopt individual sustainability policies. Some frontrunners are examples of the potential success of this approach, like Better Places, TUI NL or SNP. These frontrunners are also set apart by the fact that sustainability is enacted on all levels of the organization. In many cases, sustainable tourism is a core mission of these tour operators, and top-level management is involved. The successes seem limited to the frontrunners, as most tour operators only did the bare minimum required to obtain the DTO certificates. As such, relying on individual responsibility alone seems to have little effect towards the inclusive embedding of sustainability among tour operators.

While outbound tourism has never been subject to strong governmental policies, NGOs like SNV and IUCN NL reflected governmental interests. As a result, sustainable tourism developments were often shaped in line with existing policy agendas. As described, the IDH program reflected shifting government interests and the approach to sustainability. By the mid 2010s, the government stimulated the private sector to take responsibility, emphasizing the need for change to come from within the industry. The broader trend of "social corporate responsibility" normalized sustainability and put emphasis on market-based mechanisms. Furthermore, this approach has only tied sustainability closer to financial motivations, which is not a realistic expectation for the tourism industry as it currently stands. As a result, sustainability is not something tour operators can ignore, especially with the growing pressure from consumers (Goffi et al., 2018). However, tour operators saw few opportunities to profit from sustainability and not many were either willing or able to invest their own funds. It seems that tour operators are adopting sustainability according to broader movements, such as lobbyists or customer demands. This corresponds with an uptake in actions to address specific issues or topics like plastic or CO_2 pollution, which are getting difficult to ignore. These issues are not just relevant to tour operators, and different actors in the tourism supply chain have to come together to make progress. This has led to the development of many types of pledges, deals and agreements, which give tour operators the choice to opt-in, and take specific actions within a

broader effort. The Plastic Pledge shows this can lead to widespread action, as the pledge got adopted by the UNWTO and led to global cooperation.

6.1.3. Framing sustainability in the context of tourism

Before 2005: Dispersed to single framework

Van Wijk (2009) describes the sustainable tourism efforts prior to the early 2000s as being dispersed and heterogenous. As sustainable tourism was an emerging concept, there were many interpretations and there were few established standards. Developments were often undertaken on an organizational level, meaning there was no cohesive industry approach. The introduction of the POEMS scheme is described as an evaluative system for tour operators in terms of sustainability. It aimed to create a collective understanding of sustainability, and a feasible and practical solution for tour operators. Furthermore, it acted as somewhat of an umbrella for other projects including ECPAT. Essentially, it connected different sustainability initiatives and acted as a medium for tour operators to think about and implement sustainability.

2005 – 2020: Shared to thematic frameworks

The POEMS were a major step in the development of a shared framework for sustainable tourism. The following years saw its proper implementation, and further finetuning into the DTO program. However, in practice, the application of the collective framework differs between tour operators. To remain feasible for a general audience, the requirements remain limited. The ANVR has been able to further some aspects of sustainability by adopting some additional requirements, for example regarding orphanage tourism. Between 2005 and 2014, there were other attempts at developing similarly widely appealing sustainability initiatives like the Travel foundation NL with limited success. Zooming in on IDH also showed the challenges associated with the practical implementation of a shared framework. The Travelife certifications for accommodations, despite its specific nature, was difficult to adapt to all tour operators due to the wide variety of the product portfolios.

Looking at the case history, certain themes and topics have been adopted on a larger scale. One common factor among the more successful topics is the ability for tour operators to address them with little changes to the primary business model. Most of the case history fits the description of "symptom relief", rather than embedded sustainability. The ANVR carbon credits show how there are some fundamental conflicts of interest when it comes to outbound tourism and sustainability, especially in the context of climate change. As such, topics like carbon management, plastic reduction, and animal protection provide more feasible opportunities for the industry to implement sustainability. While not mainstream, these topics have a relatively wide reach, providing a shared framework for tour operators to address specific elements of sustainability. These thematic frameworks can be subjected to criticism much like the POEMS, as the strength of action is often sacrificed to maintain a broad appeal.

6.1.3. Actors involved in sustainable tourism

Before 2005: From individual firms to a frontrunner group

The initial wave of sustainable tourism existed on a mostly individual firm level. Certain tour operators engaged with sustainability through specific efforts and initiatives (Van Wijk, 2009). While this never stopped, the following years saw an increase in collective efforts and the emergence of a group of frontrunners (including Sawadee, TUI NL, SNP etc.). These frontrunners were key in the development of norms and standards regarding sustainability within the ANVR. The aim was to develop a level playing field in terms of sustainable tourism, giving both small and large tour operators suitable options for

sustainability. However, there were signs that this contributed to sustainable tourism development becoming more of a niche development. As the frontrunners were building competences and using sustainable tourism as a strategic element with for example green marketing and sustainable holiday packages. By framing it as a strategic issue, frontrunners could pressure other tour operators to move by having to catch up.

2005 – 2020: Frontrunner group & selective bubble
Over the course of the described period, sustainable tourism development has mostly come from a specific group of tour operators. The tour operators also tend to be represented by a handful of specific individuals. As such, many of the developments arise in relation to these practitioners and their interests. This can lead to great results and have effects beyond the initial developments. For example, the Sawadee-NHTV carbon project served as inspiration and contributed to the development of the ANVR carbon compensation scheme. NGOs have been able to leverage their position and ties to the industry through the frontrunner group to push specific agendas, as demonstrated by the advances in child protection. However, even within the frontrunner group, conflicting individual interests can overrule the shared goals. This is best demonstrated by the end of the Travel Foundation NL, due to several disagreements between members.

These frontrunners have stayed the same for the most part and has seen limited growth. The stagnating membership of IDUT and the failure to recruit more members with the MVO tourism network highlight this. While frontrunners have taken some important steps in their own efforts, sustainable tourism remains a niche subject matter. In fact, the gap between front runners and the other tour operators has not been closed up until the present. Additionally, due to a relatively small number of individuals involved with sustainable tourism, the loss of a few practitioners has a disproportionate impact. Furthermore, the end of the period shows the risk of dependency on a select group, as the collapse of the MVO tourism network has further decentralized sustainability. As there is little recruitment, and few new faces in the sustainable tourism bubble there is a risk of it dying out.

6.2. What connects the sustainable tourism bundle?
To start, zooming out on the wider field of sustainable tourism identifies four essential types of actors. Tour operators, governmental bodies, NGOs, and knowledge institutions will interact, and through their connections, sustainable tourism development takes place. Over time, specific actors and institutions evolve, but these 4 actors and their influence remain recognizable. This implies that sustainable tourism practices are the outcome of connections between these four. As such, emphasis should indeed be placed on the practices and their relationships that may lead to sustainable tourism outcomes (Nicolini, 2012). These four types of actors exert their influence through individuals and through their institutional structure. For the majority, sustainable tourism is one of the many themes that are practiced within organizations observed in this thesis. But there are examples where sustainable tourism represents a core element of the organization, like the tour operator Better Places and the NGO ECPAT NL. These are still exceptions to how the majority operates with a profit orientation.

Many different efforts and activities are involved in the implementation of sustainability among tour operators. Conferences, award events, workshops, networking organizations, and other events bring actors together, strengthening existing connections and forging new relations. News publications, industry literature, scientific publications, newsletters, policy documents, guidelines, and other publications allow knowledge to be dispersed and shared. Other examples include collaborative projects, lobbying efforts,

advertising campaigns, the creation of new organizations and more. In practice, these are often intertwined, as projects lead to the creation of documents, and are organized through meetings etc. Furthermore, the case history shows that even seemingly unconnected events are in fact tied through their past. Zooming in on IDH highlights this, as one pilot project eventually became the TUI Academy. While this research is emphasizing the Dutch tour operators, the international influences should not be overlooked. The global context of tourism means that many international organizations are involved. International (chapters of) NGOs might influence the agenda and discourse as exemplified by the case of SNV. Their involvement can also be more direct, through funding or project execution like the development of Travelife for accommodations.

6.2.1. Defining sustainable tourism practices

As argued by Lamers et al., (2017), a historical perspective of the life of practices can indeed reveal contextual conditions that strengthen or weaken particular practices. It is the interrelatedness and embeddedness of actors and their contexts that are the core characteristic of the social world. In fact, a strength of using the flat ontology is that it showcases how intertwined and interconnected practices, and their context are. It highlights how phenomena we tend to see as separate entities are often closely linked in practice. This research aimed to examine a broader phenomenon, which further blurs the lines between practices, bundles, and context. This meant it was a challenge to define what exactly a practice or a bundle is, and where the lines between them are. As noted by Nicolini (2012), in theory, one can keep deconstructing practices into smaller and smaller components. As zooming out aims to establish a broader overview, it is difficult to distinguish where the lines between practices are, where one ends and the other begins. For example, participating in an IDUT meeting can be seen as a practice. At the same time, IDUT was often part of the context due to its (indirect) influence over sustainable tourism development. Especially due to the focus on mundane and routine activities (i.e. showering or walking), which are a rare occurrence from a broad perspective. While the use of 3 elements (meaning, materials, competence) can be useful to categorize and describe practices, there is the risk of oversimplification and it doesn't translate well to a zoomed-out view. Other authors have similarly described practice theory's limited capacity to develop suitable concepts for the study of large phenomena (Schatzki, 2014; Schatzki, 2016; Nicolini, 2017; Welch & Yates, 2018).

The challenge with the delineation of practices and contexts also plays into the debate regarding the "flat ontology", which puts all practices on equal footing, with no micro- or macro levels. According to Yates and Welch (2018), this leads practice theorists to leave the efforts of collectives like NGOs and government's out of their accounts, due to a perceived ontological incompatibility. Rather than eliminating the actors (collective or singular) from the equation, it only displaces them outside of the phenomenon being described (Yates & Welch, 2018). This research suggests this to be the case, as it proved to be impossible to provide any sort of insightful description or analysis without mentioning the roles different organizations and actors have played. In doing so it aligns with Schatzki's (2006) perspective which argues that organizations can be seen as bundles of practices.

6.3. Networks

Several of the interviews stated that many developments would not have existed without IDUT. Through meetings, newsletter communications, and more, IDUT and the MVO tourism network connected different stakeholders and provided a shared structure. Within the networks, individuals represented and acted on behalf of their respective organizations. For example, for the NGO ECPAT, the IDUT network was crucial for

the development of relationships with tour operators. Individuals have a lot of pull and influence due to the small size of the sustainable tourism field. As shown by zooming in, the initial IDH pilot projects were developed within the context of IDUT, thus reflecting the interests of the individuals involved.

In practice theory, change stems from the interaction between individuals and social structures, which cannot be understood separately (Hargreaves, 2011). Thus, the networks are not relevant just because of the structure provided, rather the interactions of individuals within the network led to changes. Meaning the networks provided the context for individuals representing the relevant organizations to connect and interact. Thus, rather than looking at the outcomes of the networks as the defining features, it is the very act of participating in and engaging with the network that is crucial to enable change in the sector. This holds true for more recent developments, as the disappearance of IDUT and the MVO tourism network corresponds with a decrease in activity in the field. Without a network, ties between the different stakeholders faded, as they were no longer being maintained on a regular basis. Thus, as one of the few structures dedicated to sustainable tourism, IDUT/MVO has been essential in the development and maintenance of such connections. This is in line with the findings by Van Wijk (2009), where the process of institutionalization that created IDUT provided structure for a previously unorganized field. This allowed for easier and more consistent interaction between different actors, leading to a more active field.

6.3.1. Crossing organizational boundaries

When it comes to analyzing large phenomena, it is suggested to look at them as the outcome of connections between bundles (Schatzki, 2016). From the historical account, it is clear that many institutions and actors are involved, and there are processes that go beyond organizational boundaries that are crucial. This means sustainable tourism exists in a context of complex interdependencies with other practices, including those of the 4 main stakeholders (Nicolini, 2012). Van Wijk (2009) assigns a similar importance to the function of trade associations and industry organizations. These types of institutions can act as a bridge between different actors, help motivate and challenge industry leaders, and support continued interactions between the different actors and expose each other to various ideas.

This also reinforces the importance of the multi-stakeholder character of the networks. By applying a flat ontological perspective, attention is not exclusively on specific individuals and institutions (Lamers et al., 2017; Hampton, 2018). Rather, emphasis lies on the process of implementation, and its relation to both social and material elements. Participating in conferences, going to events, partaking in meetings are a few of the practices that help overcome institutional boundaries. Through their interaction within the network's activities, different practitioners could create links between elements, allowing for sustainable tourism practices to emerge (Shove et al., 2012). Practitioners are able to consider the potential impact of related and connected practices that are outside of their own through their interactions (Nicolini, 2012).

6.3.2. The frontrunner gap

While the ANVR has a wide reach with DTO, simply providing the structure did not create motivated individuals (Van der Duim, 2006). The DTO program does require tour operators to appoint a sustainability coordinator, but it doesn't enforce the implementation of sustainability practices on an organizational scale. Thus, the agency of sustainability coordinators is limited by the organizational structure of the tour operator. Other studies have also shown that only intervening on an individual level and focusing on the behavior of employees has seen little success (Richards & Font, 2019). Interviewees also noted that unless "high-level management" of a tour operator is interested in sustainability, it won't be a priority. Thus, it seems that among the bulk of tour operators, there is a lack of motivated actors that are willing or able to

exercise their agency to implement sustainability. Other research has found the lack of understanding of sustainability among managers, and sustainability not being a part of company-level values to be a barrier for tour operators' ability to adopt more sustainable practices (Richards & Font, 2019).

Due to the character of the sustainable tourism networks, actors involved (usually) already worked in a pro-sustainability environment. Furthermore, these individuals would often be in an influential position within their organizations, like managers or CEOs. Similarly, research has shown that tour operators tend to be more engaged with sustainability if it is linked to the philosophy of the companies (Goffiet al., 2018). Tour operators like Better Places or SNP show how motivated actors in the right place have been successfully able to embed sustainability in their ongoing practices. That is to say, their participation in the network was enabled by the structure of the organization they represented (Spaargaren, 2011). In turn, the network's structure can be understood as being influenced by the individual members and their agency (Spaargaren, 2011). With a structure dedicated to sustainable tourism, the actors were able to effectively address issues relevant to their respective practices. That is to say, the network was built by sustainable tourism "experts", and inadvertently for those already engaging with sustainability. Those involved in the networks will continuously stimulate each other, leading them to implement sustainability in various ways. This could explain the limited success in growing the networks, as it is not structured for "non-sustainable" tour operators. Nor is it seen as desirable by members of the network, as concerns were expressed this could "dilute" the quality of the network. The sustainable tourism networks connected the already engaged individuals, but it simultaneously isolates them from the wider industry.

Zooming out and tracing the role of the sustainable tourism networks proved to be valuable to study the interrelatedness of practices and their context. Particularly through Nicolini's (2012) concept of "connected situationalism", which shifted the focus towards the relational component, and connections between practices. As the "here and now" the networks have had a widespread effect and shaped the context in which sustainable tourism development occurs. That is to say, the networks were the starting point for many developments, meaning the character of the network affected the wider outcome. For example, the absence of NGOs in the networks corresponds with the lack of NGO involvement in the wider sustainable tourism field. While there have been many successful outcomes, the network's influence has done little to close the gap between the frontrunners and the wider industry. In doing so, practice theory can provide insights into the wider process of social change and identify connected practices that exert their influence (Nicolini, 2012; Lamers & Van der Duim, 2016). The changing context, particularly the evolving relations between NGOs, the government, and industry, are shown to affect how sustainable tourism is developed and by whom. This is also in line with Hampton's (2018) study which found practice theory can highlight interdependencies in relationships at different levels of organizations, both as individuals and collectives.

6.3.3. Routinising sustainability

One of the core characteristics of a practice theory approach is the foregrounding of habits and routines. As such, it is even more striking that sustainable tourism development practices seem to do everything but address the established way of doing things. Sustainable tourism efforts often focus on dealing with the negative consequences of tourism, rather than addressing the root cause of the issue. The most prominent example being the focus on CO_2 compensation programs, rather than CO_2 reduction. Few tour operators, even those within the frontrunner group, implement sustainability consistently within their organization. However, these are isolated cases and do not reflect the overall industry. On an industry

level, IDUT/MVO is one of the few organizations with the development of sustainable tourism as its core. While DTO does focus on sustainability, it is only a small part of the broader scope of ANVR activities.

This makes the networks one of the few structures that ensures tour operators address sustainability on a regular basis. While the structure created by the network doesn't lead to sustainability by itself, it creates opportunities for practitioners to act (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008). Networks stimulate ongoing activities by creating deadlines and shared agreements, and regular meetings set a routine. Meaning, the structure of the networks served as a reinforcement for the action of the practitioners involved (Spaargaren & Van Vliet, 2000). However, if stakeholders don't adopt such structures and the practice isn't continuously enacted, the structure will disappear (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008). With the current lack of institutionalized sustainable tourism practices within the tour operator world, sustainability fits the description "out of sight, out of mind". There are also concerns that the disappearance of the networks means tour operators will have limited opportunities to engage with sustainability. Here, the importance of networks for maintaining sustainability practices through habit and repetition by routine performance is evident (Shove et al., 2012).

6.4. Funding

6.4.1. Need for financial stimulation

One clear outcome is that sustainable tourism development relies primarily on external funding. This is in line with studies that suggest tour operators are limited in their implementation of sustainability due to financial restrictions (Richards & Fonts, 2019). This means many connections are formed in relation to funding, for example between those that provide the funding and those that receive it. Meaning, the funding often comes first, not sustainable tourism itself. Consequently, sustainable tourism is often bound by the limits set by the funding practices. Zooming in on IDH shows the evolution was very much a result of the financial elements of the program. The priority placed on funding point to the disproportionate dependency that exists between sustainable tourism developments and funding.

6.4.2. Key contextual practices

Zooming out shows the relevance of wider funding practices, and how they cannot be seen as separate from sustainable tourism. This is evident throughout the history, as many developments are tied to goals and conditions to obtain funding. The SNV case describes the effects of increasingly result-oriented policies. As outbound tourism is a complex field that does not lend itself well to such practices, it has become a less attractive industry for NGO and government-funded projects since the 2010s. This emphasizes the importance of a broader context, as funding often comes from either NGOs or governmental bodies, making their respective funding practices highly influential. This also occurs between practitioners, as shown by zooming in on IDH. While there were institutional structures that shaped IDH developments, the interpersonal context played out similarly. Through a process of negotiation, actors circumvented the structure of the program, allowing the ANVR to contribute non-financially. However, the overarching structure of IDH was still in place, and eventually, the agreement came to an end.

6.4.3. How funding impacts tour operators

For tour operators themselves, the way funding for sustainable tourism is treated reflects its overall relevance within the broader organizations. Sustainability is not a priority for most, as such only few tour operators are willing to structurally invest in it. Research suggests that tour operators only take on minimal

risk and responsibility when it comes to sustainability (Richards & Fonts, 2019). It has been argued that this is due to the limited financial means tour operators have at their disposal (Goffi et al., 2018). However, it can be argued that this argumentation simply reflects the ongoing and dominant practices by tour operators (Lamers et al., 2017). Namely, that the priority is to make money and stimulating the growth of the business. As sustainable tourism remains a niche subject matter, tour operators see limited business opportunities which would justify major investments that hamper business-as-usual. This implies that sustainable tourism remains outside of the routine for tour operators, as few have a dedicated source of funding. Frontrunners such as TUI NL and SNP showcase organizations that have successful embedded aspects of sustainability and can dedicate funding to it. However, the extent to which sustainability is embedded and implemented differ per tour operator.

According to research, tour operators tend to use sustainability to achieve a competitive advantage (Richards & Font, 2019). The problems with IDH reflect this, as tour operators saw sustainability as a possible competitive advantage, and not a subject to collaboratively invest in. Furthermore, the relatively widespread adoption of the South Pole deal shows that profitability can motivate tour operators to adopt sustainability. This supports research that suggests that emphasis remains on short-term gains, and tour operators favor sustainable activities that generate economic benefits (Goffi et al., 2018).

6.4.4. Tracing material elements
The role of material elements has been a point of discussion in the context of practices. Schatzki (2012) places human agency at a higher level of importance, as an aspect that humans manipulate, employ and construct in the doings and sayings of a practice. IDH shows the dynamic process through which this material element of money initially allowed the different bundles to connect, and eventually contributed to the disconnection. These findings suggest that material elements both enable and restrict what actors can do. This is in line with Shove et al. (2012), where it is argued that non-human elements and human activity are equally important. As without money, there would be no opportunities for practitioners to act.

6.5. Sharing sustainability agendas
Within sustainable tourism history, the progress in the area of "child protection" is somewhat of an outlier. Practices to prevent child sex tourism have been institutionalized and received widespread support. The dimensions of competence and meaning from the three-element model by Shove et al. (2012) will be used to highlight some of the factors which have contributed to its success.

6.5.1. The problem with wanting to save the world
Despite the apparently shared motivation and willingness to adopt more sustainable practices, many efforts thus far seem to fail in practice. While there is an underlying assumption that stakeholders are held together by a common goal, practitioners can have different interpretation of the element of meaning (Shove et al., 2012). The range of meanings assigned to sustainability could explain why tour operators are often unable to go from talking to doing. This is amplified by the broad nature of sustainability itself, as there is a risk of attempting to "save the world" in its entirety, and this rarely leads to feasible actions, especially if economic prosperity remains a core objective. This could also explain why initiatives with a grand or vague scope often fail to leave a lasting impression, as had been the case with the Green Deal and the IMVO covenants.

Contrary, more targeted efforts benefit from a stronger, more cohesive meaning tied to the practices. The most notable example being child protection, which has achieved a lot in terms of voluntary tour operator

engagement and legislative changes. Here, the meaning (protecting children) itself provides a strong foundational aspect that can help connect to other bundles (Nicolini, 2012). A strong mission has the further benefit of being able to leverage the conviction of the practitioners involved. In doing so, actions like lobbying have proven useful to pull in other bundles like the government. Such involvement is considered critical as it led to widespread action, and the development of new regulations. As tour operator practices exist within the broader legal structure, it ensures that corresponding practices will be embedded. It also provides the cause with a broader societal relevance, as public perception has pushed tour operators to adopt sustainability measures to avoid customer backlash (Goffi et al., 2018).

6.5.2. Aligning skills and knowledge

While competence is often harder to grasp as it is a less tangible element, the zoomed-in perspective highlights its necessity. The Travelife accommodation certifications, while eventually successful, had to overcome the initial lack of knowledge and understanding of the tool among local agents. Training and workshops proved to be a key part of the process, and essential for the involvement of accommodations. Thus, there is a need to develop and share competences that can help tour operators adopt sustainability.

An organization dedicated to a certain area of sustainability can build specific competences in relation to sustainability and tour operators. In the case of child protection, this led to the development of highly specific e-learning modules, which for example addressed the issue concerning specific functions (i.e. receptionists, supply chain managers, etc.). ECPAT had been able to build the expertise regarding tour operator activities and combine it with their knowledge of child protection. Because ECPAT had the necessary resources and competences to develop such tools, they were, in turn, able to help tour operators build their competences and change their practices. Similarly, ECPAT has been able to conduct and publish research to further their agenda. This proved to be a key part in involving the government, where an evidence-based approach was found to be essential. The ability to leverage their activism to influence politics can also be seen as another set of competences. Essentially, organizations like ECPAT can possess many types of competences which tour operators do not.

6.5.3. Connecting and aligning practices

As experts in their field, ECPAT has developed a thorough understanding of the complex practices that have to be addressed, and the influence of the broader context. Still, in isolation, this serves little purpose, and ECPATs strength stems from the ability to connect with other relevant actors and building lasting connections. ECPAT is actively working with actors in the NGO, government, and private sector, and tour operators are one unique piece of the puzzle. This means there will often be dedicated structures in place, that are not dependent on tour operators or their resources for their continued existence. Rather, the organization ECPAT can connect with tour operators through their participation in tourism networks like IDUT. This will also allow motivated individuals to directly engage with tour operators, acting on behalf of their organization. In doing so, they can navigate the structures they encounter through interaction with tour operators, and tailor their approach to address specific practices. For example, "the Code" membership aims to modify the tour operator supply chain, and specific e-learning courses tailored to different roles within tour operators. In general, by taking advantage of the motivations, competence, and resources of their respective organizations, NGOs can overcome the limitations tour operators face. For example, animal welfare NGOs addressed specific activities with highly problematic aspects, raising awareness among both tour operators and tourists.

It shows that with enough pressure and dedicated effort, tour operators can adapt their practices. That said, in practice, this type of expertise comes mostly from outside of the tourism industry and tour operators. When it comes to sustainability and day-to-day tour operating practices, there is a lack of strong representatives. As a result, tour operators are not repeatedly confronted with the subject matter and don't regularly engage with it. Because many tour operators don't see sustainable business practices as a viable option, it is unlikely they will seek it out. Thus, having representatives that focus on sustainable tour operating business practices could be a way to stimulate tour operators.

7. Conclusions

7.1. Q1: What are the most notable sustainable tourism practices between 2005-2020 according to practitioners?

The period 2005-2020 saw a number of interesting and varied developments in the field of sustainable tourism. Several organizations, networks and projects emerged in the industry, involving the private sector, NGOs, governmental bodies, and knowledge institutions. Networks, especially IDUT, were instrumental in the development of sustainable tourism practices and established connections between tour operators that are still relevant today.

Within the field of sustainable tourism there have been several concrete practices that have been adopted in this period. Through specific interventions, actors and institutions have been able to embed such practices as part of the regular tour operating operations. The advances in animal welfare and more recently plastic reduction are clear examples. Recently, three themes in particular received a lot of attention, those being child protection, animal welfare, and climate change. Child protection has been further embedded through international collaboration and legislative changes. NGOs in the field of animal welfare have linked up with tour operators, to tackle issues specifically related to tourism. And the discussion around climate change and the impact of tourism has become an indisputable problem that the industry has to acknowledge, even if there has been a lack of corresponding action.

These practices are often a reflection of specific practitioners, which are informed by their respective experiences. In turn, the influence certain practitioners have had is evident by looking at the sustainable tourism field today. The themes, topics, and approaches that make up sustainable tourism haven't appeared out of nowhere but reflect the interests and experiences of those involved with their development. In general, sustainability has entered the vocabulary of the vast majority of tour operators over the past 15 years. This is perhaps best shown by the ANVR, where sustainability had been embedded with the appointment of a sustainability manager and the creation of a sustainability frontrunner group following the IDH program. That being said, the awareness has not led to systematic changes to the practices of tour operators.

This is due to the complex and varied nature of tour operators, as routinizing sustainability has proven to be a challenge at a wider scale. The shift towards a supply chain-oriented approach reflects an effort to overcome these limitations. This approach allows tour operators to be more targeted in their efforts to implement sustainability, suitable for their specific circumstances. Front runners such as TUI and SNP showcase how different practitioners have steered the development according to their respective goals and visions. However, the current lack of institutional oversight and accountability means that sustainability relies on specific practitioners. The decrease in governmental support and involvement has only exacerbated this problem, as outbound sustainable tourism has fallen off the political agenda. This has led to fewer collaborative efforts between the sector and both governmental bodies and NGOs such as SNV and IUCN NL. Furthermore, this has limited a key source of funding that sustainable tourism development had come to rely on. As a result, there is little incentive for tour operators that lack those individuals willing to advocate for sustainability. This has led to an increasing gap between the frontrunners, and the rest of the industry.

Nevertheless, both perceived successes and failures of practices have often offered opportunities for lessons learned, as knowledge regarding sustainable tourism continues to grow. Efforts to implement sustainability are often built on the foundations of previous efforts, even if they can seem unrelated. The IDH project demonstrates how knowledge accumulates and is shaped by what came before. The aforementioned lack of political interest and limited flow of resources has equally affected research in the field. While still limited considering the scope of the sector, there has been a growing research agenda, notably through WUR and BUas (Breda University of applied sciences). Much like the industry, this has been driven by a handful of motivated scholars and researchers.

The current state of sustainable tourism reflects the reliance on specific practitioners and limited supporting infrastructure. While individuals have been able to accomplish a lot over the past 15 years, little has been achieved in terms of institutionalization on an industry scale. Furthermore, the reliance on said practitioners presents a risk of the long-term viability of sustainable tourism development. As practitioners are aging out, or simply leaving the industry, there is a growing void that needs to be filled. If there are no new practitioners to pick up where others left off, and there are no attempts to structure future efforts it seems like sustainable tourism will only get further out of reach.

7.2. Q2: How are emerging sustainable tourism practices related to ongoing tour operator practices?

As sustainability remains a secondary practice for the majority of tour operators, there has been little change in terms of daily operations. That said, there are efforts within the industry to change that with varying degrees of success. This happens on an industry or collective scale, such as the ANVR and their DTO program, which obliges tour operators to have a sustainability coordinator and meet several criteria related to their internal practices. However, this has not led tour operators to adopt other sustainable practices beyond the required minimum. Still, this type of structure has been effective in the institutionalization of sustainability among tour operators. In some cases, this comes from within tour operators themselves, such as TUI implementing a sustainability policy. This highlights the influence individuals can have, though there is often a limited sphere of influence that does not go beyond the organization. The gap between the frontrunners and the rest of the industry shows that, ideally, structures are there to reinforce tour operators, with individuals in place to motivate them.

Sustainability practices can also relate to other parts of the tourism supply chain, aiming to change the industry as a whole. Tour operators link with transportation, activities, accommodations, incoming tour operators, and more. This means tour operators are often encouraged to influence other actors in the industry to adopt sustainable practices. These types of sustainability practice often appear in multi-stakeholder projects, with NGO and government involvement. These efforts will often be developed within structures, like IDH and other funded projects. This can promote change on a wide level, as issues can be tackled on multiple fronts. For example, IDH and the development of the Travelife for Accommodation certification show potential reach if tour operators are encouraged to adopt and promote sustainable practices. However, practices still need to be adapted for ongoing tour operator practices. This can be time and resource-intensive, as tour operator practices are complex and intertwined. As such, wanting to change too much at once can cause resources and efforts to be spread too thin. This is often tied to financial reasoning, as tour operators are rarely willing to invest in sustainability, unless it can serve as a competitive advantage. This means practices will either not be adopted or disappear once the initial project is no longer in place to encourage tour operator participation.

That said, ECPAT and the advances in child protection show that long-lasting change is possible. Through sustained efforts, the NGO recruited many tour operators to commit to "The Code". Their efforts went beyond tour operating practices and led to the development of new legislations. By changing the broader context in which tour operator practices exist (i.e. the law), tour operators inevitably adapted. This speaks to the broader relevance of NGOs, which can be entirely dedicated to a particular aspect of sustainability. These organizations prioritize sustainability in ways tour operators cannot and utilize their resources accordingly. Of course, it must be said that in practice theory tradition there is hardly only one single type of connection which characterizes how sustainability practices are implemented. As zooming in on the IDH case showed, there are many ongoing and overlapping ways sustainable tourism is developed.

7.3. Q3 How have the connections between sustainable tourism practices and tour operators changed over time?

One important conclusion is that many of the notable events on the timeline failed to establish a long-term or permanent presence. As such, there is a limited impact in terms of routinized behaviors, and few changes are made to further implement sustainability in the ongoing tour operator practices. As tour operators don't exist in isolation, practice theory suggests there are relevant contextual practices that have been influential in shaping sustainable tourism.

The most notable and possibly impactful change has been the decline in NGO and government involvement. While these don't represent practices in and of themselves, prior to end of the second period many sustainable tourism practice bundles were characterized by a strong governmental and/or NGO presence. Many projects emerged as a result of NGO agendas or governmental funding, which were equally intertwined as shown by the SNV case. As government practices related to funding requirements emphasized measurable outputs, the difficulty of measuring tourism impacts made the sector less interesting for NGOs. Aside from animal welfare and child protection, there is a notable absence of collective projects linking with NGOs and their practices. With the government supporting an increasingly market-based approach, emphasis has shifted towards sector responsibility when it comes to sustainability. As demonstrated by the failed IDH program and IMVO covenants, outbound tourism practices don't fit with the current broader sustainability agenda. Overall, there currently is a lack of pressure from both NGOs and the government for tour operators to change their practices.

Zooming in on IDH reveals some of the challenges particular to the tourism industry, which struggles to develop sustainability practices compatible with this approach. For one, there is a lack of willingness from within the sector to invest time, money, and effort into sustainability. As such, with the lack of money from within the industry, projects either fail to get off the ground, or sustain themselves once initial funding runs out. The price-competitive nature of the industry also means there is a lack of incentive to cooperate, as sustainability can serve as a competitive advantage to some.

The switch from IDUT to the MVO tourism network highlights the attempts from the industry to adapt the network to the changing context. The MVO tourism network reflected the limited NGO and governmental influence and resources, and the network was not able to attract new members. Sustainable tourism networks had previously been a key source of development, as motivated individuals would be encouraged to come together. However, for the already motivated tour operators, the lack of new dynamics meant the new network had little added value. Combined with the financial impact of the COVID-19 crisis, this has led to the closure of the network. Without a dedicated network, there are no structures to facilitate these connections and drive the development of sustainable tourism.

The current state of sustainable outbound tourism shows that tour operators are not just dependent on the industry. Rather, it is driven by the interaction between different stakeholders, and the exchange of material and immaterial resources. There are certain frontrunners such as TUI, SNP, or Better Places with motivated individuals in place to implement sustainability in accordance with their own ideals. However, these are few and far in between, and there is little evidence to indicate that significant changes to tour operators' practices will come from within.

7.4. Limitations & Future research

This research contributes to the collective knowledge regarding sustainable outbound tourism development in the Netherlands between 2005-2020. The outcomes of this research offer insights into the dynamics of the different actors and institutions in the sustainable tourism field. Thus, it should be noted that the outcomes are limited to the empirical setting and may not be generalizable beyond the spatial and temporal context. This is relevant with respect to the COVID-19 crisis, which has been especially impactful to the (sustainable) tourism industry. As COVID-19 was ongoing during the research process, the effects on the industry are not well accounted for. Follow-up research into the period beyond 2020 should consider the relationship between sustainable outbound tourism and the impacts of the pandemic.

This study also points to the relative importance of the DTO program, as one of the key structures that enable (non-frontrunner) tour operators to adopt sustainability. While this research suggests that DTO could be an important tool for sustainable tourism, it also showed that DTO fails to actively engage tour operators beyond the minimum requirements set by the ANVR. Here, a practice-based perspective suggests that this is due to the way DTO is currently implemented. Hence, future research should study the process of DTO's implementation, and the effect on tour operator engagement.

The methodological choices of this research also present some limitations. One important limitation is the reliance on the memory of the research participants. While the document analysis does provide an additional source of evidence, this limits the outcomes to what was available. Several interviews had no recollection of developments that were found in the documentation, especially ones that "failed". Also, focusing on the perspective of industry insiders means that the influence of consumers is not explicitly addressed in this thesis. Allusions were made to the fact that tour operators adapt their practices to suit consumer demands. Thus the connections between tour operator and consumer practices presents another area for future studies.

The outcomes of this research also suggest that sustainability in tourism is very different from other sectors. For one, as shown by IDH, the government is taking a more active role in pushing certain industries towards more sustainable practices. Even through an absence of action (i.e. not providing funding), the government has played a role in shaping how tour operators enact sustainability. Whether intentional or not, the way the government treats the tourism sector has contributed to its current state. This raises questions regarding the extent to which governmental bodies have a responsibility in terms of sustainable tourism. Also, it seems that there is little research in the tourism sector, both in terms of academic research and more practical research & development. Thus, research could investigate how sustainability in the tourism sector compares to other sectors in these areas, and to what effects.

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Glossary of terms and acronyms

Abbreviation	Dutch	English
ABTA		Association of British Travel Agents
ANVR	Algemene Nederlandse Vereniging van Reisondernemingen	Dutch Association of Travel Agents and Tour Operators
ANWB	Koninklijke Nederlandse Toeristenbond ANWB	Royal Dutch Touring Club ANWB
BTO		Bachelor of science tourism
BUas		Breda University of Applied Sciences
CNG		Climate neutral group
CSR		Corporate social responsibility
CSTT		Centre for Sustainability, Tourism and Transport
DTO	Duurzaam toeristisch ondernemen	Sustainble tourism entrepreneurship
ECEAT		European Centre for Ecological and Agricultural Tourism
ECPAT		End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism
EZ	Ministerie economische zaken	Ministry of economic affairs
IDH	Initiatief duurzame handel	Sustainable trade initiative
IDUT	Initiatief duurzaam Uitgaand Toerisme	initiative sustainable outbound tourism
IMVO	Internationaal maatschappelijk verantwoord ondernemen	International socially responsible entrepreneurship
IUCN NL		International Union for Conservation of Nature Netherlands
KLM	Koninklijke Luchtvaart Maatschappij	KLM Royal Dutch Airlines
LNV	Ministerie voor landbouw, natuur en voedsel kwaliteit	Ministry of agriculture, nature and food quality
MVO	Maatschappelijk verantwoord ondernemen	Coporate social responsibility (CSR)
MVOT		MVO tourism network
NGO		Non governmental organization
NAP	Nederlandse Alpen platform	Netherlands Alpine platform
NHTV (Currently BUas)	Nationale hogeschool voor toerisme en verkeer	Former name for Breda University of Applied Sciences
POEMS	Product gericht milieuzorg systeem (PMZ)	Product oriented environmental management scheme

RECRON	Vereniging van recreatieondernemers Nederland	Dutch association of entrepreneurs in recreation
SMOM	Subsidieregeling Maatschappelijke Organisaties en Milieu	Subsidies social organizations and environnent
SNV	Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilligers	Foundation of Netherlands Volunteers
SRA	Sector risico analyse	Sector risk analysis
TFNL		The Travel Foundation Netherlands
UN		United Nations
UNWTO		United Nations World Tourism Organization
VROM	Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting, Ruimtelijke Ordening	Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment
WUR		Wageningen University and Research
WWF		World Wide Fund for Nature

Appendices

Appendix A – Interview Guide

Pre-interview

- Explain goal of the interview
    - Create an overview of most important developments in terms of sustainable outbound tourism in the Netherlands between 2005 – 2020 & in the context of outbound tour operators
- Go over topics / themes & the interviewees experiences

Introduction

- What is your personal background with regards to sustainable tourism ? (Education, profession)
- When and how have you been involved with sustainable tourism ?
- What do you think have been 3 key developments in terms of sustainable tourism between 2005-2020?

History

Adjust specifics based on the background of the interviewee, the topics they were involved with etc.

- When did this discussion regarding sustainable tourism begin?
    - When, by whom
- What were the priorities of the different parties involved
- How was it being addressed
    - Inside the industry & outside of it
- Which actors were involved?
    - Role of ; NGOs, Governments, tour operators, IDUT/MVO etc.
    - What drove the collaboration between different actors
- What were the most important events that led to changes
    - Documents, meetings, events, training, conference etc.
    - Why, in what way
- The implementation & continuation of the project/theme
    - Was there any follow up? Why or why not
    - In what way
- Did it contribute in terms of long term change
    - Why or why not
    - In what way
- How does it relate to the broader context of outbound tourism in NL?

Relation to tour operators

- What was being asked of tour operators?
    - What were they expected to do? Compulsory or voluntarily ?
- How were tour operators involved in the process ?

- - What stage? The development, the implementation etc.
  - Through events, training, conference etc.
  - What was their role?
- How did tour operators respond & engage?
  - Positively or negatively? Why ?
- Did the reality (implementation) match the expectations (goals)?
  - Why or why not ? In what way?

Post interview

- Thank interviewee
- Anything to add?
- Any questions ?

Appendix B – overview of document analysis references

Reference	Type	name
MVO-1	proposal	Voorstel MVO Nederland voor het voeren van het IDUT secretariaat
MVO-2	press release	PERSBERICHT Lancering MVO Netwerk Toerisme
MVO-3	presentation	presentatie feedback belronde
MVO-4	document	aanmeld formulier MVO netwerk toerisme
MVO-5	MVO meeting notes	Verslag bijeenkomst Netwerk Toerisme 24 maart 2014
MVO-6	MVO meeting notes	Verslag stuurgroep bijeenkomst Netwerk Toerisme 28 October 2014
MVO-7	presentation	netwerkbijeenkomst MVO netwerk toerisme maart 2016
MVO-8	MVO meeting notes	Verslag bijeenkomst Netwerk Toerisme 8 december 2015
MVO-9	MVO meeting notes	Verslag stuurgroep bijeenkomst Netwerk Toerisme 2 december 2015
MVO-10	MVO meeting notes	Verslag bijeenkomst Netwerk Toerisme 15 september 2015
MVO-11	MVO meeting notes	Verslag bijeenkomst Netwerk Toerisme 21 juni 2018
MVO-12	document	MVO Netwerk Toerisme - van praten naar doen
rgd-1	report	Concept Verslag Green Deal Toerisme 4 dec 2013
rgd-2	report	Green Deal Duurzaam Toerisme concept vs 6d
rgd-3	report	Green Deal Duurzaam Toerisme concept 19-11-14 def 1
IMVO-1	government letter	imvo-convenanten
IMVO-2	meeting notes	Formulier plan van aanpak - impact meting
IMVO-3	meeting notes	20160303 Notulen werkgroep impact
IMVO-4	research report	Pilot IMVO-issue assessment Suriname Een imvo convenant voor touroperators?
IMVO-5	letter	Brief stopzetten verkenning Toerisme
IDH-1	report	IDH tourism program MVO Nederland & ANVR
IDUT-1	IDUT meeting notes	IDUT notes 26 april 2007
IDUT-2	IDUT meeting notes	IDUT notes 27 september 2007
IDUT-3	IDUT meeting notes	IDUT notes 13 february 2008
IDUT-4	IDUT meeting notes	IDUT notes 24 april 2008

IDUT-5	IDUT meeting notes	IDUT notes 3 september 2008
IDUT-6	IDUT meeting notes	IDUT notes 11 december 2008
IDUT-7	IDUT meeting notes	IDUT notes 11 february 2009
IDUT-8	IDUT meeting notes	IDUT notes 6 May 2009
IDUT-9	IDUT meeting notes	IDUT notes 24 september 2009
IDUT-10	IDUT meeting notes	IDUT notes 9 december 2009
IDUT-11	IDUT meeting notes	IDUT notes 17 february 2010
IDUT-12	IDUT meeting notes	IDUT notes 22 september 2010
IDUT-13	IDUT meeting notes	IDUT notes 31 january 2007
IDUT-14	IDUT meeting notes	IDUT notes 8 november 2006
IDUT-15	IDUT meeting notes	IDUT notes 15 february 2013
IDUT-16	IDUT meeting notes	IDUT notes 5 september 2013
IDUT-17	IDUT meeting notes	IDUT notes 10 december 2013
IDUT-18	IDUT meeting notes	IDUT 2008 - 2010 plan
IDUT-19	IDUT meeting notes	IDUT notes 8 december 2010
NWL-1	newsletter	IDUT newsletter march 2007
NWL-2	newsletter	IDUT newsletter October 2007
NWL-3	newsletter	IDUT newsletter October 2008
NWL-4	newsletter	IDUT newsletter January 2009
NWL-5	newsletter	IDUT newsletter April 2009
NWL-6	newsletter	IDUT newsletter juin 2010
NWL-7	newsletter	IDUT newsletter October 2012
NWL-8	newsletter	IDUT newsletter January 2013
NWL-9	newsletter	Nieuwsbrief vakantiebeurs 2008
news-1	article	Nederland helpt vakantiebestemmingen verduurzamen
news-2	article	Groene vakantielijst blijkt niet te deugen
gov-1	report	GD175 Duurzaam Toerisme

gov-2	report	GD175 samenvatting Duurzaam Toerisme
gov-3	report	GD175 eindverslag Duurzaam Toerisme

An early version of the timeline of events, outcome of a discussion held between members of the project group.

Highlights 2005 -2020

1997   oprichting stichting Pan Parks

2002   Oprichting Climate Neutral Groep (Green Seat)

Oprichting Cool Flying

Start PMZ

2006   RMNO Advies Knowledge Agenda Development of Tourism Advies A.07e

2007   Uitgaven boekje "informatie verre reizen" over duurzaamheids vraagstukken. geschreven door Jolijn Geels

TUI Nederland ontwikkelt en publiceert guidelines for responsbile whale and dolphin watching. Guidelines zijn onderschreven door IFAW en een andere stichting in Azoren.

DTO (Duurzaam Toeristisch Ondernemen) vervangt PMZ bij ANVR
(en vanuit deze verandering wordt Travelife wordt geïmplementeerd)

Travel foundation Nederland opgericht (12 december)

- In 2010 beëindigt

Uitgave brochure over wetlands en toerisme door WUR (vanuit initiatief met o.a. veel IDUT leden)

2008   Start Travelife

IUCN NL financiert 12 toerisme projecten rondom biodiversiteit (vervolg op 27 projecten die eerder vanuit het IUCN NL kwamen)

2009   Start van samenwerking tussen de ANVR en de overheid binnen het Initiatief voor Duurzame Handel (IDH). Travel Foundation was in de eerste jaren penvoerder. Toen Travel Foundation in 2010 ophield te bestaan heeft de ANVR het penvoerder schap overgenomen.

"Groene Veer" prijs voor het eerst uitgereikt (initiatief van Travel Foundation)

- 2017: (Sustainable Travel Award – vervangt Groene Veer; als extra info bij groene veer , niet eigen punt op de tijdlijn)

"Ik heb zin in vakantie" website online

"offenders Beware!" rapport. Internationaal rapport maar geschreven door ECPAT nederland.

Bachelor of science tourism door de NHTV en WUR gestalt (eerste en enige WO bachelor toerisme)

2010 TUI en Plan Nederland beginnen een samenwerking tegen kindersekstoerisme voor de toekomst van Braziliaanse meisjes. Samen met kinderrechtenorganisaties ECPAT, ANVR en andere betrokkenen ondertekenen ze een langdurig partnerschap om seksuele uitbuiting van minderjarigen in de toerismesector in noordoost Brazilie tegen te gaan.

Benoeming Rene v.d. Duim als buitengewoon hoogleraar (+ WUR stelt een research agenda op over duurzaam toerisme)

Meldkindersextoerisme.nl opgericht

Tui Nederland stop verkoop van olifant ritten en shows

2011 Uitfasering SNV toerisme programma (*rond deze tijd viel groot deel van overheidsfinanciering voor toerisme weg, en werd het ook een minder belangrijk thema binnen NGOs zoals WNF en IUCN NL)*

Oprichting TUI CARE Foundation

NHTV brengt in samenwerking met Sawadee een rapport uit over CO2 reductie strategie. (https://www.cstt.nl/publications/Sawadee-carbon-footprint-and-carbon-reduction-strategy-report-2010/69) (sawadee is later ook dicht betrokken geweest bij het aanvragen van de subsidie die later tot CARMACAL heeft geleid)

Formele oprichting "Rewilding Europe" (28 juni) (is internationaal maar komt uit Nederland)

2012 TUI lanceert als eerste in de branche een groen strategie: Duurzaam Toerisme Plan 2012-2015

2013 Eerste Changes in Tourism conferentie tijdens Vakantiebeurs

- o Er was al eerder een duurzaamheid vakdag (in ieder geval vanaf 2010, misschien eerder)

Groeneveld Conferentie over Dierenwelzijn en Toerisme bij Burgers' Zoo.

TUI Nederland wint de World Responsible Tourism Award 2013

Raport "Plan van aanpak kindersekstoerisme " door het Ministerie van Veiligheid en Justitie

Green Destinations opgericht (*jaartal niet zeker)*

2014 Green Deal Duurzaam Toerisme

Proposal voor een IMVO convenant voor de toeristische sector

2019: definitief stop gezet

Ontbinding IDUT

Oprichting MVO Toerisme Netwerk (15 januari 2014) (lancering was tijdens het Changes in Tourism conferentie https://www.duurzaam-ondernemen.nl/nieuw-mvo-netwerk-toerisme-werkt-aan-eerlijk-en-duurzaam-vakantievieren/)

ANVR neemt een policy aan om de verkoop van olifanten ritten en shows te stoppen

2015   rapport "Travel tomorrow" na samenwerking tussen ANVR en Capgemini.

Start van de Nederlandse "Don't look away" Campagne

2016   CARMACAL uitgebracht

2013: start CARMATOP project waar carmacal wordt ontwikkeld

2016: CO2 rekentool CARMACAL wint WTTC Tourism for Tomorrow award; aanvulling voor CARMACAL)

2017: CO2 rekentool CARMACAL wint 2017 UNWTO Award for Innovation in Research and Technology (*aanvulling voor CARMACAL)*

2017: CARMACAL wordt overgenomen door apparte "stichting CARMACAL" door ANVR, SNP en NHTV. Ondergebracht bij Green seat

2018: CARMACAL wordt bij travelife ondergebracht

Laatste Groeneveld conferentie Tilburg (eerste Groeneveld ook voor timeline)

Internationale studie gepubliceerd; "Offenders on the Move" → betaald door Nederlandse overheid

ANVR neemt nieuwe dierenrichtlijnen aan – gebaseerd op de ABTA richtlijnen maar die van de ANVR gaan verder (o.a. het stoppen van olifanten ritten → niet helemaal zeker of dat al eerder het geval was of dat het met deze richtlijnen is ingegaan)

2017   ANVR sluit een Deal met South Pole van het inkopen van CO2 credits. ANVR leden kunnen voor een laag bedrag credits kopen en zelf kiezen bij welke projecten ze willen compenseren. zo werd het ook toegankelijk kleine TO

Proefschrift Paul Peeters

Eerste studentenconferenties (Stichting Spots, ANVR, Stenden, InHolland Diemen en Haarlem, Wageningen, Saxion) → ieder jaar voor hoge opleidingen (gezamenlijk imp dat alle organisaties steeds naar school komen)

TUI en CELTH professionaliseren thesis award tot TUI-CELTH Sustainable Tourism Thesis Award. (voor tijdlijn → neem de eerste uitreiking (niet zeker welk jaar)

Global code of ethics omgezet in VN verdrag

Wereld Toerisme Dag evenement door ANVR, gastvrij Nederland, MVO nederland, NBTC, RECRON, en de Vereniging van kleine reisorganisaties

2018   Start campagne "Stop Weeshuistoerisme"

Better places is de eerste reis organisatie met B corps status in Nederland.

2019   100 bedrijven en organisaties tekenen de International Tourism Plastic Pledge. Na lancering volgens er snel meer. Binnen no time 200 ondertekenaars.

- *Na aanleiding van een succesvol project op Bali in 2018*
- *word in 2021 "Global Tourism Plastics Initiative"*

2020   "tourism declares" van start

2021   Ontbinding MVO Toerisme Netwerk

Proefschrift Harald Buijtendijk (o.a. over CARMACAL, PhD Paul Peeters en innovatie bij TUI)

TUI start "fair travel" concept waar 4 euro voor duurzaamheid bij de prijs in zit.