

ACTIVISTS AND INCUMBENTS STRUCTURING CHANGE: THE INTERPLAY OF AGENCY, CULTURE, AND NETWORKS IN FIELD EVOLUTION

JAKOMIJN VAN WIJK
Maastricht School of Management

WOUTER STAM
Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

TOM ELFRING
VU University Amsterdam

CHARLENE ZIETSMA
York University

FRANK DEN HOND
Hanken School of Economics
VU University Amsterdam

We examine organizational field change instigated by activists. Contrary to existing views emphasizing incumbent resistance, we suggest that collaboration between incumbents and challenger movements may emerge when a movement's cultural and relational fabric becomes moderately structured, creating threats and market opportunities but remaining permeable to external influence. We also elucidate how lead incumbents' attempts at movement cooptation may be deflected through distributed brokerage. The resulting confluence of cultural and relational "structuration" between movement and field accelerates the pace but dilutes the radicalness of institutional innovation, ensuring ongoing, incremental field change. Overall, this article contributes to the emergent literature on field dynamics by uncovering the evolution and outcomes of collaborative work at the intersection of social movements and incumbent fields.

The agentic turn in institutional theory has marked a shift in attention from the isomorphic forces that stabilize organizational fields toward consideration of the dynamic processes by which fields form and transform (Dacin, Goodstein, & Scott, 2002). Following early work that focused on

exogenous jolts (Meyer, 1982) and institutional entrepreneurs (DiMaggio, 1988), field-level change has been increasingly characterized as the outcome of collective action involving social movements (Hargrave & van de Ven, 2006; Rao, Morrill, & Zald, 2000; Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2008). However, the connection between field change and collective action is not straightforward. In mature fields, for example, the ability of challenger movements to affect change is often severely undermined as powerful incumbents forcefully defend the field's status quo (Hensmans, 2003; Maguire & Hardy, 2009; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010). At the same time, Fligstein has suggested that "*occasionally*, incumbents might defect to the side of challengers and help produce change in the field" (2001: 118, *emphasis added*).

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Despite the insight that collaborative work between activists and field incumbents may form an important catalyst for field evolution, studies of this collaborative action model are still scarce (O'Mahony & Bechky, 2008). Addressing this knowledge gap is important for the advancement of current understandings in field dynamics, as collaborations are "potentially important context[s] for the process of structuration upon which institutional fields depend" (Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2000: 23). Accordingly, the present article asks, How does collaborative work between activists and field incumbents emerge and affect the organizational field under challenge?

To answer this research question, we examined the sustainable tourism movement in the Dutch outbound tour operations field from 1980 to 2005, which is an instructive site of collaboration between activists and field incumbents. This collaborative work, which is evident in the launch of a multistakeholder platform, joint projects, and the development of a shared meaning system, has resulted in field change. In the early 1980s, sustainable tourism was a fringe outsider movement that was of little interest to tour operators. By the mid-2000s, however, nearly all tour operators had committed to a sustainability framework, and major firms worked on developing sustainable tour packages, despite the absence of either a strong market pull or significant government pressure. Nevertheless, the changes were less radical than the movement initially envisioned.

Our findings led us to develop a process model of activist-instigated field change, providing key theoretical insights. Whereas previous studies have focused on opportunity structures external to movements to explain movement efficacy in affecting fields, we introduce the concept of "movement permeability" to emphasize that the opportunity structure of the movement itself is critical for explaining the emergence of collaborative work. Furthermore, we advance the extant understanding of cooptation by uncovering how attempts by field elites to coopt the movement can be deflected when multiple brokers connect actors and ideas across movement and field, activating a process of mutual cooptation. Finally, we offer new insights into how network outcomes are culturally constituted, noting the combined influence of a cultural template and a small-world network on the pace, radicalness, and persistence of innovative action. In so doing, we contribute to recent theory on the dynamics of small-world networks.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

Organizational Fields and Challenger Movements

The concept of organizational field refers to "a community of organizations that partakes of a common meaning system and whose participants interact more frequently and fatefully with one another than with actors outside the field" (Scott, 2001: 84). Although isomorphic forces stabilize organizational fields (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), institutional scholars increasingly examine how fields change (Dacin et al., 2002). While exogenous jolts (Meyer, 1982) and institutional entrepreneurs (see Battilana, Leca, and Boxenbaum [2009] for a review) have been found to contribute to change, field-level change has also been attributed to collective action by social movements that challenge a field's prevailing institutions (Hargrave & van de Ven, 2006; Rao et al., 2000; Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2008). We distinguish three main pathways for movements to affect fields: a conflictual approach focused on creating threats for incumbents, a market approach focused on creating favorable conditions for entrepreneurs, and a collaborative approach focused on affecting organizational fields from the inside.

In the conflictual approach to activism, movements pressure third parties to coerce changes in organizational fields. For example, Schneiberg and Soule (2005) found that anticorporate movements convinced governments to disrupt insurance markets through anticompetitive laws. Social movements have also mobilized consumers or industrial buyers to pressure firms to change practices (e.g., Bartley, 2010; Frooman, 1999; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010). Movements using a conflictual approach emphasize a strong collective action frame (Benford & Snow, 2000) to mobilize resources for contestation and exploit political opportunity structures (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996). Yet incumbent firms often countermobilize (Hensmans, 2003) and undertake "defensive institutional work" (Maguire & Hardy, 2009), turning organizational fields into "institutional war" zones (Hoffman, 1999: 352).

Second, social movements may create market opportunities for entrepreneurial actors by stimulating new market demands or changes in industry conditions (King & Pearce, 2010; Rao, 2009). For example, environmental movements have been credited with creating the regulatory conditions that encouraged wind-power start-ups (Sine & Lee, 2009) and stimulating market demand for grass-fed beef and dairy products (Weber, Heinze, &

deSoucey, 2008). However, these opportunities often involve niche markets; wind power and grass-fed beef, for example, accounted for less than one percent of total sales in their respective industries.

Third, social movements may take a collaborative approach, working directly with field members to help instigate change. In such instances, movements "enter into and operate *within* fields as institutional forces" (Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2008: 655, emphasis added). Lounsbury and colleagues (Lounsbury, 2001, 2005; Lounsbury, Ventresca, & Hirsch, 2003), for example, found that recycling activists initially took a conflictual approach to the waste industry but later forged ties with industry representatives, negotiated public policy changes and promoted the for-profit version of recycling favored by the industry. This collaborative action model holds promise for social movements when state and market actors are unwilling or unable to act as third-party enforcers, and when the market demand for movement-related innovations is weak, or when the movement wants to target more than just a small niche. However, research on collaboration between challengers and incumbents is scant (O'Mahony & Bechky, 2008).

Challenger movements may face difficulties when attempting to transform established fields by working with field incumbents. Mobilizing and maintaining a collective can be challenging when disparate actors have divergent interests, backgrounds, and resources (Fligstein, 2001; Garud, Jain, & Kumaraswamy, 2002). It may also be difficult to motivate field members to collaborate. Typically, movements' networks are not connected to those of field members, and their value frames tend to conflict, providing a limited base for collaboration. Moreover, movements lack access to the institutional maintenance mechanisms that reinforce extant ideas and practices in the field. These mechanisms are often controlled by elite, institutionally embedded incumbents (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006) and field-governing bodies like trade and professional associations (Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinings, 2002), which are either unable or unwilling to engage in challenger movements. How, then, do challenger movements succeed in mobilizing collaborative action? And, following O'Mahony and Bechky, what outcomes are produced when "challenging and defending parties meet at the table inside"? (2008: 452). These questions lie at the heart of organizational field theory, as they draw our attention to the relational and cultural

"structuration" of organizational fields (Phillips et al., 2000).

Relational and Cultural Structuration in Field Evolution

For challenger movements and field incumbents to collaborate, relational and cultural structuration must occur; members of movements and fields must interact and communicate intensively, recognize that they are part of an institutional change project and develop shared norms, beliefs, and frames of reference to guide their interactions (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Scott, 2001). Relational structures, or networks, emerge among actors who mobilize resources and forge relationships with supporters of their desired change projects (Battilana et al., 2009; Diani & McAdam, 2003; Hargrave & van de Ven, 2006). Network relationships function both as pipes through which resources and practices are diffused and as prisms that facilitate sense-making and the development of shared meaning among actors (Podolny, 2001). Thus, networks are not only critical resources for coordination among disparate actors but are also important for the development of cultural structures. Interacting actors shape shared meaning systems out of "heterogeneous bits of culture" (Weber & Dacin, 2011: 289), including "meanings, local practices, discourse, repertoires, and norms" (Pachucki & Breiger, 2010: 206) that are initially created by independent actors.

The nascent but growing literature on "whole" networks (Provan, Fish, & Sydow, 2007) offers valuable insights into the network properties that enable or constrain collaborative action and innovation in fields. At the micro level, coordination can be achieved by network cliques, which are defined as groups of actors who form more cohesive ties with one another than with other network members. Clique members tend to develop strong, overlapping ties that engender collaboration, trust, norms of reciprocity and social control (Provan & Sebastian, 1998; Uzzi, 1997). Thus, by mobilizing local actors around novel projects, cliques can be important generative structures for innovative action (Ohstfeld, 2005). Yet, the norms, languages, and ideas of clique members tend to converge over time, suggesting that cliques might also limit innovation.

At the macro level, the formation of bridging ties between previously unconnected cliques may foster coordinated innovative action among actors by

enabling creative material to quickly flow across distinct clusters. Network structures featuring both high levels of local clustering and short global path lengths between the clusters have been termed "small worlds" (Watts, 1999). Research on small worlds suggests that they are common, robust structures that speed diverse flows of resources, ideas, norms, and practices among network participants (Baldassarri & Diani, 2007; Kogut & Walker, 2001; Uzzi & Spiro, 2005). However, Gulati, Sytch, and Tatarynowicz (2012) have suggested that small worlds are only temporary centers of gravity within fields; they may fragment and decay over time as innovation opportunities dry up. Thus, the processes by which diverse actors and their ideas, norms, and practices intersect and create connections within and between social groups have important implications for collaborative work and innovative action in fields, although they remain understudied. Our research focuses on such dynamics by examining the interplay of cultural and relational structures and agency at the intersection of a challenger movement and an established field.

SUSTAINABLE TOURISM AND DUTCH OUTBOUND TOUR OPERATIONS

Congruent with the first scientific publications on the negative impacts of tourism (e.g., Krippendorf, 1975; Turner & Ash, 1975) and the broader discourse on sustainable development (e.g., WCED, 1987), the issue of sustainable tourism emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, broadly comprised of two subdiscourses. The first, inspired by *World Conservation Strategy*, the International Union for Conservation of Nature's (IUCN's) 1980 report, focused on the environmental impacts of tourism. The second, formalized by the Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism in 1982 and its European spin-off organization in 1984, focused on the sociocultural and economic impacts of mass tourism on communities in developing countries (O'Grady, 1981). Both subdiscourses prompted numerous actions to green the industry and develop alternative forms of tourism, such as ecotourism and community-based tourism.

In the Netherlands, fringe outsider groups criticized outbound tour operators in the early 1980s for neglecting sustainability issues. The outbound tour operations field, which emerged in the 1920s, features both elite and peripheral firms. The field is governed by the Association of Travel Agents and Tour Operators (ANVR), founded in 1966. Out-

bound tour operators bulk-purchase tourism services, such as transportation and accommodations, rebrand them as packaged vacations and sell them to consumers. As intermediaries in the supply chain, tour operators are important change agents for making tourism more sustainable. Initially, the campaign for sustainable tourism failed to resonate within the outbound tour operations field. By the mid-2000s, however, several key changes indicated that the field was engaging with the issue.

Drawing on indicators for field evolution as found in Scott, Deschenes, Hopkins, Newman, and McLaughlin (2006), the changes are as follows. First, a frontrunner group of tour operators emerged that made sustainability part of their commercial business logic. Their role shifted from merely selling vacations to being socially and morally accountable for tourism's impacts. Table 1 presents examples of measures taken by tour operators. Because environmentally friendly or socially responsible measures only form *elements* of mainstream vacation packages, we are unable to provide figures regarding the market penetration of "sustainable tour packages." However, it is relevant to note that the firms engaging in voluntary sustainable tourism projects and the multistakeholder platform not only include specialist firms serving niche markets but also elite tour operators that serve the mainstream organized outbound vacation market, with a combined market share of nearly 40 percent in 2009. Second, high-profile conferences, public events, and publications have emerged that are designed to stimulate discussion on this issue. These forums include an annual national conference on sustainable tourism (the Groeneveld Conference) and regular side-events at vacation trade fairs. Third, sustainable tourism became a membership criterion for the ANVR trade association in 2003, when the Product Oriented Environmental Management Scheme (POEMS) was introduced.¹ ANVR tour operators became obliged to draft a policy statement and action plan, appoint a qualified POEMS coordinator, and exclude any unethical tourism products from their range. The POEMS certificate is awarded by an independent foundation launched by ANVR. This is a remarkable development, as most sustainable tourism initiatives by the tourism industry had been voluntary (Tepehus, 2005; WTO/OMT, 2002). To use ANVR's inde-

¹ POEMS was replaced by a similar scheme in 2008, which remained enforced by ANVR in 2012.

TABLE 1
Examples of Sustainable Tourism Measures by Dutch Outbound Tour Operators

Level of Action	Sustainable Tourism Initiatives
<i>Organization</i>	Nominate a CSR coordinator to monitor the implementation of the firm's CSR policy and action plan; include sustainability as part of job descriptions; sensitize and train personnel such as purchasers, product managers, travel agents, and travel representatives on sustainable tourism; develop communication materials on sustainable tourism for partners and customers; develop green loyalty programs for travel agents; take internal environmental management measures such as energy, water, and waste management and sustainable purchasing; adopt environmental standards; carbon-offset air travel by company's employees; engage in strategic partnerships with NGOs and charities.
<i>Supply chain</i>	
Transportation	Reduce the carbon footprint of the product portfolio by promoting alternative transportation such as bus and train; improve transfers at destinations; actively promote carbon offsetting by its inclusion in the booking procedure or price; instate strategic partnerships with nature conservation organizations to combat climate change; passively promote carbon offsetting by including a link on the corporate website and information in travel brochures.
Accommodation	Preferentially select environmentally certified accommodations, which are promoted in the travel brochures through a separate logo; oblige all contracted hoteliers to submit information on their sustainability performance through a third party's central industry database; train product managers and purchasers on sustainability criteria to include these in the negotiations with hoteliers; include clauses on sustainable tourism in the contracts with hoteliers.
Leisure	Develop itineraries with sustainable components such as visits to local farmers (e.g., chocolate tours), reforestation projects, and community projects in which travelers work as volunteers for a few days; preferentially select suppliers such as porter organizations, diving schools, and whale-watching companies who take sustainability into account; train local chefs, cooks, and drivers to guide travel groups; train local guides on responsible tourism; exclude unsustainable, animal-unfriendly excursions from the offerings.
<i>Destination</i>	Train local partners on the issue of child-sex tourism; collaborate with stakeholders to address the main problems in popular vacation destinations; donate to local projects and organizations.

pendent brand, which is highly valued by consumers as a quality hallmark, most tour operators join ANVR. In 2010, voluntary membership included 213 tour operators, representing approximately 85–90 percent of the organized vacation market. Fourth, new field-level organizations dedicated to sustainable tourism have emerged. For instance, in 1996, a multistakeholder platform, Vereniging voor Duurzaam Uitgaand Toerisme (IDUT), the Association for Sustainable Outbound Tourism, was launched to spearhead the transition to sustainable tourism, and it became an independent foundation in 2009. ANVR chairs the platform. IDUT hosts over 25 organizations, including representatives of industry, government, NGOs, and education; publishes quarterly newsletters; and annually organizes the Groeneveld Conference. Fifth, monitoring of sustainable tourism achievements, consumer demand for sustainable tourism, and the carbon footprint of Dutch citizens' vacations has begun. Finally, sustainable tourism has been included in the curricula of various tourism schools, and a training program for tour operators was launched in 2002. In sum, the fringe sustainable tourism movement has been able to gain a foothold in the outbound

tour operations field, as evidenced by tour operators' increased engagement with sustainability issues. Nevertheless, a "profound transformation" of the field (Dacin et al., 2002: 50) has not occurred. Rather, the changes exemplify "piecemeal changes . . . in the constant playing of the game as conditions change within a field or between fields" (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011: 21). The next step is to examine how this incremental change came about.

METHODS

We used an explorative single case study that combined qualitative data analysis with quantitative social network analysis, enabling us to capture "a more complete, holistic, and contextual portrayal of the unit(s) under study" (Jick, 1979: 603). Hybrid research designs are particularly useful when exploring new questions that are pertinent to theory building (Edmondson & McManus, 2007). As this is one of the first studies to examine the recursive relationship among agency, culture, and networks during a collaborative change process, explorative research methods were well suited to our purposes.

Data Sources

Having defined the field of outbound tour operations geographically (cf. Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006), we collected data on the events and actors associated with sustainable tourism in the Netherlands, ranging from the first reported events in the 1980s through 2005, when all ANVR tour operators had implemented the POEMS scheme. Although formal data collection ran from 2004 to 2006, we continued to monitor field developments up until January 2010.

This research is based on interviews, documents, public sources, and fieldwork. We conducted 22 semistructured interviews with individuals involved in the change process. Respondent selection was based on references to individuals and affiliated organizations in reports, snowball sampling techniques, and in-depth knowledge of the field (the first author has frequently attended industry trade fairs and sustainable tourism conferences since 1999). The interview protocol focused on movement issues, actors, activities, and outcomes and was customized for each interviewee to best capture his or her role in the change process. Some of the respondents were interviewed more than once. Interviews were recorded, transcribed verbatim, and returned to the respondent for additional comments. These data were supplemented with 12 verbally transcribed interviews on the same change process that were collected in another research project but reviewed by the first author. We also conducted numerous informal interviews at trade fairs and conferences.

Documents, such as firm histories, policy documents, research reports, press releases, conference proceedings, newsletters, and journal articles, were also analyzed. Because trade organizations are known for their substantial data recording (Greenwood et al., 2002), additional materials were collected from ANVR, including minutes from the IDUT platform and industry meetings, correspondence, annual reports, policy papers, magazines, and brochures. The proceedings of the annual Groeneveld Conferences and ANVR's magazine provided rich longitudinal data on the issues, innovations, and participants in the change process. Public sources, such as websites, web archives, and bibliographic and newspaper databases, were used for cross-verification. Intensive in-situ and in-vivo fieldwork was conducted by the first author, who attended the Groeneveld Conferences, vacation trade fairs, and quarterly meetings of the IDUT

platform as well as over a dozen workshops and meetings on sustainable tourism between December 2004 and January 2007. A field diary was kept throughout this period.

Data Analysis

The data analysis comprised five stages. We used the identification of events (Stage 1) to create affiliation network databases (Stage 2) and draft a case chronology (Stage 3). We then examined the multilevel nature of institutional agency through the change process by intensively corroborating insights from the analysis of qualitative and social network data (Stages 4 and 5).

In the first stage, we identified events as key observational units (van de Ven & Poole, 2002), adopting a process-centric approach to agency (Hardy & Maguire, 2008; Langley, 2007). We define events as manifestations of individual and organizational actors' actions that potentially contribute to the creation of new institutions or the transformation of existing ones in an organizational field. We used the events suggested in the literature as proxies for institutional agency as our analytical categories for a careful examination of the interview transcripts.² Aided by ATLAS.ti software, we found that individuals working to create or change institutions in outbound tour operations engaged in five types of events (Table 2): (1) delivering keynote speeches at conferences, (2) convening and chairing workshops at conferences, (3) initiating projects on sustainable tourism targeted at consumers and vacation providers, (4) launching new organizations to develop and promote sustainable practices, and (5) writing publications on related topics.

The main premise of affiliation network analysis is that social ties between actors develop on the basis of joint involvement in common events (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Accordingly, we identified all actors that were agentic in sustainable tourism through the events listed in Table 2. In the second

² These include the creation of new *organizations* (e.g., Lawrence & Phillips, 2004), start-up of (pilot) *projects* (e.g., DiMaggio, 1991), membership on *advisory committees* or *boards of directors* (e.g., Greenwood et al., 2002), delivering keynote speeches at *conferences* (e.g., Garud & Rappa, 1994), giving *courses* and *lectures* (e.g., Svejenova, Mazza, & Planellas, 2007), theorizing about change in *publications* such as annual reports and advertisements (e.g., Munir & Phillips, 2005), and organizing or sponsoring *national meetings* (e.g., Lounsbury, 2001).

TABLE 2
Events as Manifestations of Institutional Agency

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

stage, we tabulated the data by linking each event to its affiliated individuals. Following Ring and van de Ven (1994), our data also included these individuals' organizational affiliations.³ We consulted several data sources to develop this database (Appendix A, available from the first author, provides an overview). In total, we found 237 unique persons affiliated with at least one of the 233 events we recorded.⁴ In the third stage, we drafted a case chronology (Table 3) and then ascertained the extent to which the outbound tour operations field had been transformed, also looking into changes at the firm level (Table 1).

The fourth stage involved using sociometric techniques to examine institutional agency at three levels of analysis: the global network, clique, and individual actor. First, we studied the movement's

overall network by creating two-mode affiliation networks (Faust, 1997) that linked individuals based on their joint participation in events. We grouped conference keynotes, workshops, and publications together as theorizer activities and classified the founding of organizations and projects as founder activities. Accordingly, for each year, we created three separate two-mode data matrices: a founder network matrix ($N_{\text{actors}} = 68$, $N_{\text{events}} = 82$), a theorizer network matrix ($N_{\text{actors}} = 202$, $N_{\text{events}} = 151$) and a merged network matrix ($N_{\text{actors}} = 237$, $N_{\text{events}} = 233$) that combined both. In these matrices, $X_{ij} = 1$ when actor i is affiliated with event j , and $X_{ij} = 0$ otherwise.

As in prior work (Rowley, Greve, Rao, Baum, & Shipilov, 2005), we used a five-year moving window to construct affiliation network matrices. Our starting networks were based on all actor-event affiliations observed in 1995. Working forward in time, we added new events and actors to the networks each year. If an individual remained inactive (i.e., was not affiliated with any event) for five years, that individual and his or her links were removed in year five. We reran the analyses using

³ Some events were difficult to attribute to individuals (e.g., a government ministry's activities). In such instances, we only recorded the organization's affiliation with the event.

⁴ These figures thus only list the *initiators* of challenger activities. If we took conference participation into account, the movement comprised 1,195 unique persons.

TABLE 3
Overview of the Main Incidents in the Change Process toward Sustainable Tourism

Year	Main Event
1982	Founding of the Environmental Study Group on the Alps
1986	Founding of the Tourism and the Third World Foundation
1989	Publication of the textbook <i>Tourism: Fraternization or Degeneration?</i>
1991	Founding of the Netherlands Alpine platform (NAP)
1992	Adoption of the ANVR Environmental Code of Conduct Demonstration by environmentalists against the growth of flight vacations Launch of ecolabel for outdoor activities
1994	Publication of the Advisory Council for Nature Policy's report
1995	First Groeneveld Conference ANVR policy document on sustainable tourism I Formal launch of the ANVR Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism
1996	Founding of the IDUT platform and its second Groeneveld Conference Adoption of the ANVR Code of Conduct against child-sex tourism Launch of the voluntary flight tax
1998	Publication of <i>Policy Agenda: Environment, Tourism, & Leisure</i> ANVR policy report on sustainable tourism II, public brochure, start of POEMS project
1999	Initiation of supply-chain projects such as the Antilles Project and Wintersports 2005 Public deliberation on tourism and sustainable development Groeneveld Conference becomes an annual event (post-1999) Development of the first carbon-offsetting scheme
2000	Launch of several informative websites targeted at consumers and tour operators Launch of an educational project and government research projects Publication of ANVR's public brochure on CSR in the travel and tourism industry ANVR's POEMS accepted as a membership criterion
2001	Launch of a European project on ecolabeling
2002	Launch of vacation packages that include visits to national parks Launch of ANVR's POEMS course Campaign against tour operators operating in Burma
2003	Political manifesto related to the 2002 UN International Year of Ecotourism Launch of a new carbon-offsetting scheme First formal partnerships between tour operators and NGOs on nature conservation and the prevention of child-sex tourism
2004	Launch of a European supply-chain project First assessment of the implementation of POEMS among ANVR tour operators
2005	Launch of a web portal on sustainable vacations
After 2005	Publication of a brochure on CSR in the tourism and travel industry (2006) Launch of the Dutch Travel Foundation (2007–10) Launch of the new ANVR sustainable business program (replacing POEMS, post-2008) Launch of assessment tool of sustainability performance of tourism suppliers (post-2008) Inclusion of tourism in the Dutch Sustainable Trade Initiative to promote sustainable tourism in popular vacation destinations (post-2009) Launch of partnership among 11 European tour operator associations to enhance the sustainability performance of tour operators (2010–13)

alternative time windows to ensure that the findings were robust to these specifications.

To assess the evolving topologies of the founder, theorizer, and merged networks in relation to field-level change, we extracted several global network properties. These properties included size (number of actors and events), turnover (entry and exit of actors), and cohesion (number of network components and cliques) (Table 4). After visual inspection of the network graphs (Figure 1), we formally assessed the "small-worldliness" of the networks'

main component (i.e., the largest subset of mutually reachable nodes), transforming them into one-mode networks in which $X_{ij} = 1$ when actor i is connected to actor j through at least one common event affiliation, and $X_{ij} = 0$ otherwise. We assessed the small-worldliness (SW ratio) of the annual networks (Table 4).⁵ The greater the SW ratio,

⁵ The formula used to calculate the SW ratio is $[CC_{actual} / L_{actual}] \times [L_{random} / CC_{random}]$, where CC_{actual} is the clus-

TABLE 4
Descriptive Statistics of Founder, Theorizer, and Merged Networks

Variables ^a	Pre-1995	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Total
<i>Founder Network</i>													
New organizations	9	2	1	0	1	1	2	1	3	2	2	1	25
New projects	9	1	3	1	6	10	4	6	5	4	5	3	57
Cumulative number of founding events	18	21	25	26	33	44	50	57	65	71	78	82	82
New founders	13	2	2	1	5	11	6	6	12	5	2	3	68
Founder exits	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	2	0	3	11	7	29
Main component size (actors/events)		3/7	3/9	3/9	4/9	11/15	10/15	13/18	18/20	24/31	23/45	22/48	
Average density		4.67	5.33	5.33	4.50	4.18	3.40	3.85	4.00	4.83	4.52	5.05	
Average path length		1.33	1.33	1.33	1.00	2.42	2.33	2.27	2.34	2.50	2.88	2.31	
SW ratio		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.82	1.40	1.83	2.46	3.57	3.53	3.20	3.13	
<i>Theorizer Network</i>													
New publications	43	5	2	8	4	6	19	4	4	4	11	7	117
New keynotes	2	1	1	0	1	4	5	1	1	4	2	3	25
New workshops	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9
Cumulative number of theorizer events	45	52	56	64	69	80	105	111	117	126	140	151	151
New theorizers	56	7	5	7	5	24	27	17	14	15	16	9	202
Theorizer exits	0	0	0	0	0	24	5	4	9	1	17	27	87
Main component size (actors/events)		13/18	14/19	14/21	14/21	41/41	61/62	79/76	81/77	101/86	99/90	87/84	
Average density		3.23	3.14	3.14	3.14	7.46	7.80	9.06	9.78	9.55	9.88	9.79	
Average path length		2.24	2.33	2.33	2.33	2.49	2.55	2.65	2.60	2.63	2.54	2.53	
SW ratio		3.54	3.97	3.97	3.97	3.59	5.28	5.74	5.46	7.24	6.89	5.84	
<i>Merged Network</i>													
Total actors	63	72	78	85	94	78	95	108	127	137	132	117	237
Total events	63	73	81	90	102	101	133	146	160	175	196	211	233
Number of cliques ^b		3	3	4	5	7	13	17	17	20	24	25	32
Number of network components ^c		7	8	8	7	4	4	3	3	2	2	2	
Main component size (actors/events)		14/25	15/29	15/31	19/36	51/70	72/105	92/127	101/134	120/150	115/165	106/157	
Percent actors in main component		19.44	19.23	18.29	20.21	65.38	75.79	85.19	79.53	87.59	87.12	90.60	
Average density		3.14	3.07	3.07	3.16	6.86	7.31	8.59	9.05	8.97	9.46	9.09	
Average path length		2.30	2.38	2.38	2.87	2.71	2.67	2.74	2.68	2.72	2.62	2.64	
SW ratio		4.02	4.46	4.46	4.61	4.82	6.74	7.07	7.50	9.12	8.33	7.84	

^a "SW" is "small world."

^b Cliques with a minimum size of two actors and two events.

^c Minimum of five nodes.

the more the network exhibits small-world properties (Davis, Yoo, & Baker, 2003; Uzzi & Spiro, 2005). A higher SW ratio indicates that the network has substantially higher levels of local clustering than a

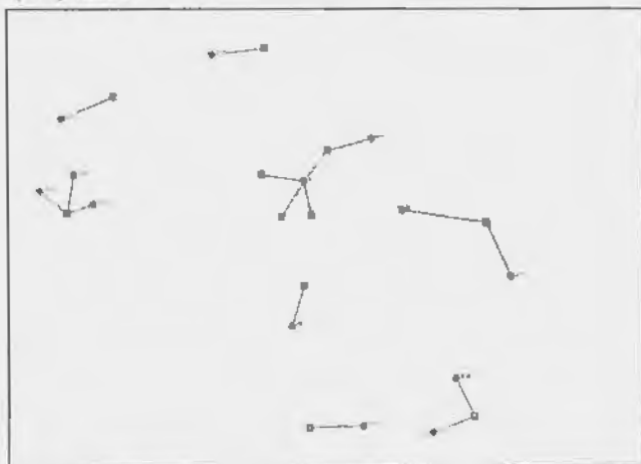
comparable random network, while the average path length between its nodes is still similar to the random network (Baum, Shipilov, & Rowley, 2003). All measures were calculated using UCINET 6 (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman, 2002).

Next, we identified *cliques* of actors in our network data set. Following Rowley et al. (2005), we used an *N*-clan procedure that considered only cliques in which members were at most two steps apart from all others, setting the minimum clique size at two individuals and two events (cf. Borgatti & Everett, 1997). We found 32 unique cliques in the

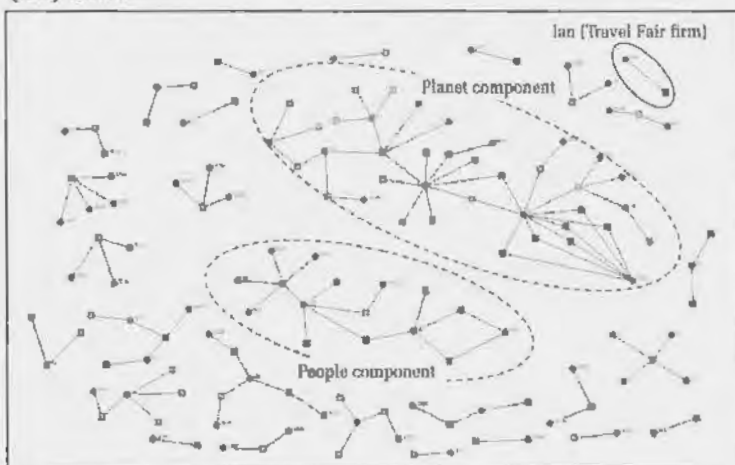
clustering coefficient in the actual network, L_{actual} equals the average shortest path between any two actors in the actual network, CC_{random} is the average clustering coefficient in the randomized network, and L_{random} equals the average shortest path length in the random network (see Kogut and Walker [2001] and Uzzi and Spiro [2005] for details).

FIGURE 1
Merged Network of Movement Actors and Events, 1980–2005

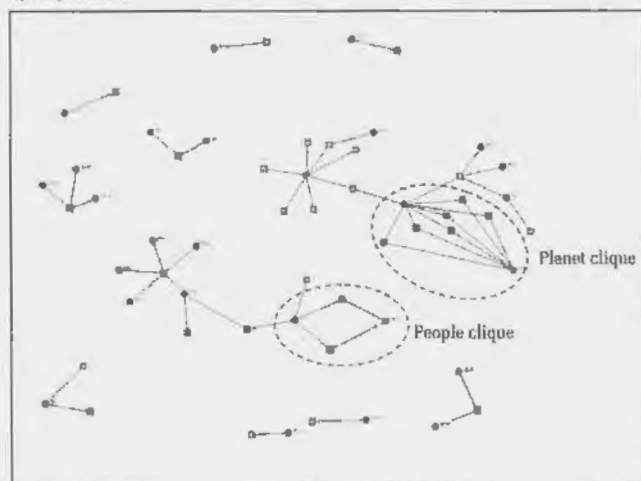
(1A) 1985



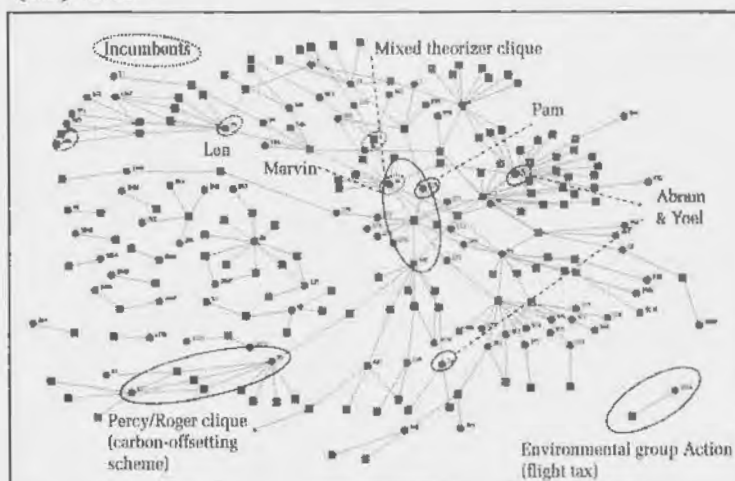
(1C) 1995



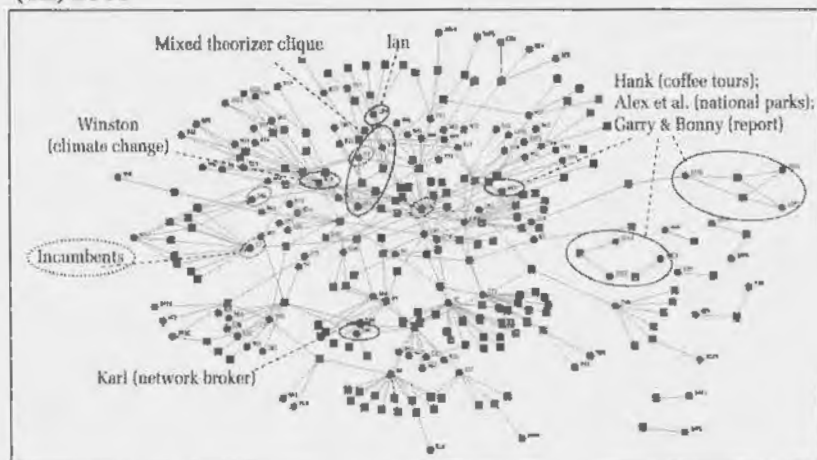
(1B) 1990



(1D) 2000



(1E) 2005



Node key:

Circles = Movement members, including activists and field incumbents
 Dark squares = Founding events
 Gray squares = Theorizing events

merged network that produced “empirically traceable effects” (Rowley et al., 2005: 515) on the change process, in that the cliques’ issues and practices had been included in ANVR’s 2004 POEMS course book (Appendix B, available from the first author, provides examples).

Finally, we focused on the *individual* level. We recorded the annual frequencies with which actors performed founder and/or theorizer activities to assess the intensity of their engagement with the movement. We also identified brokers who bridged “structural holes” (Burt, 1992) by calculating betweenness centrality scores for all individuals in the annual founder, theorizer, and merged networks. Prior to calculation, we transformed each two-mode matrix into a bipartite graph (Faust, 1997) and then performed the calculations using UCINET 6 (Borgatti et al., 2002).

Parallel to the network analysis, we followed Berg (2004) in coding our interviews, focusing on instances of agency and their effects on the movement’s and field’s norms, practices, and interaction patterns. Four clear themes emerged. First, respondents used role labels such as “rebel” to refer to individuals who consistently challenged the industry and “project addict” or “innovator” to describe their peers who consistently launched new projects and ventures, alerting us to distinct roles performed based on actors’ activities. Second, sustainability was defined in terms of “People” and “Planet,”⁶ suggesting that different cultural materials were produced in the movement. Third, respondents typified the collective as “cliquish” and as an “in crowd,” which was supported by the first author’s intensive fieldwork and our social network findings. Fourth, the POEMS tool was classified as a critical “innovation” and “breakthrough” in the change process. As such, the interplay of agency and the collective relational and cultural structures this agency produced became observable.

In the final analytical stage, we revisited our materials to systematically examine this interplay over time. As recommended in process research (Langley, 1999), we refined our case chronology into two stages using our global network data (i.e., the SW

ratio) to understand how agency in Stage 1 led to changes in the context that affected agency in Stage 2.

To examine individual agency, we drew on our social network indicators (i.e., degree of theorizing and/or founding and betweenness centrality scores) to identify the core actors in the movement. We classified them into a 2 by 2 matrix (i.e., high-low engagement in theorizing versus founding), including details on the years in which the actors were active and occupied critical brokerage positions in the movement. Based on this overview, we sorted all interview and text material by key actor. We highlighted text fragments regarding these actors’ contributions to the change process, specifically looking for any role labeling. Moving back and forth between these text extracts, social network indicators, and the pertinent literature, we identified six roles (issue-entrepreneurs, clarifiers, innovators, sponsors, network brokers, and cultural brokers⁷) and then reviewed our materials to identify who performed which role over time.

To examine contextual changes in the movement at the meso level of action, we systematically examined the activities of the 32 cliques and coded each in terms of its cultural focus (People, Planet, or “mixed”). We found that the cliques’ natures differed for each stage. Whereas cliques that formed around particular issues to produce cultural materials developed over both stages, only in the second stage did cliques emerge that were based on joint theorizing activities that blended cultural ideas.

To understand the recursive relationship between agency and the evolving macrolevel context, we sought textual evidence of role interdependencies and contextual factors that affected them. For instance, we examined the interviews of clique members to identify the antecedents, motives, and outcomes of collaborations and revisited our other materials to seek instances of actors building upon or contributing to the creative work of others. By relating the roles to the evolving cultural and rela-

⁶ People, planet, and profit are the three “Ps of sustainability” (Elkington, 1997). In the area of tourism, “people” issues include indigenous people, human rights, fair wages, wealth distribution, cultural heritage, and child-sex tourism, while “planet” issues include pollution, waste, water and energy use, biodiversity, and climate change.

⁷ *Issue-entrepreneurs* engage in both theorizing and founding to critique extant practices and those using them, and to experiment with alternatives. *Clarifiers* describe the need for change and outline potential solutions through theorizing. *Innovators* put these ideas into practice by founding alternative organizational forms, products, and practices. *Sponsors* provide resources such as grants and venues for such creative work. *Network brokers* establish connections across different parties, while *cultural brokers* merge various cultural elements into a dominant template.

tional structures in the movement over time and corroborating insights from our textual analysis of role interdependencies, we were able to move to a higher level of abstraction in our role labeling. We identified a category of instigators, or actors who originated new ideas or practices (i.e., issue-entrepreneurs, clarifiers, innovators, and sponsors). These instigators set the stage for brokers, the actors who connected people and ideas across distinct cliques and discourses (i.e., network and cultural brokers). To ultimately develop a chronology of the interplay of individual agency and cultural and relational structures across levels of analysis (i.e., clique and global network), we compared evidence of movement internal dynamics to evidence of institutional change in the outbound tour operations field, as shown in Table 5.

These five analytical stages reflect the overall trajectory of our explorative research. It should be noted, however, that the research process resembled episodes of "intense discussions" and "trial-and-error drawings" to achieve "what, in the end, felt right and true to the data" (Smith, 2002: 395). To ensure the validity and reliability of the qualitative analysis, we logged our data-reduction steps, triangulated data and methods, and used member checking at several points in the analysis (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Gibbert, Ruigrok, & Wicks, 2008). To protect respondents' identities, we use pseudonyms and quote them as "RES-continuous letter."

FINDINGS

We detail the chronology of how independent activists gained a foothold in the Dutch outbound tour operations field. As illustrated in Table 5, this transformation unfolded in two main stages, *distributed instigation* and *coordinated costructuration*, featuring different degrees of cultural and relational structuration, incumbent involvement, and impact on the field's norms and practices. *Distributed instigation* refers to the origination of new ideas and practices by agents acting independently, and *coordinated costructuration* describes the coordinated efforts of members of a collective to structure their social arena with shared meanings and practices.

Stage 1: Distributed Instigation (1980–97)

In the first stage, multiple, isolated agents drew upon the global macrocultural discourse on sustainable tourism that emerged in the 1970s and

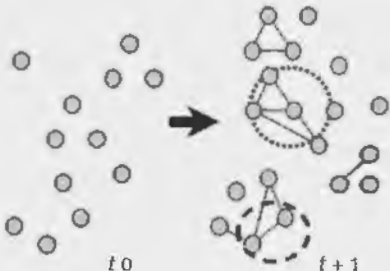
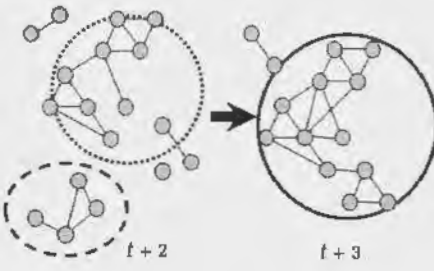
1980s and became involved in advancing sustainable tourism in Dutch outbound tour operations. These instigators also connected with one another to form cliques (as shown in Figures 1A–C). Over 85 different actors engaged in at least one of the 26 founding events and 64 theorizing events recorded during this first stage, as shown in Table 4. Because agency is inextricably linked to structuration, we describe both together.

Agency and cultural structuration. Several activists created a cultural discourse in the Dutch context to highlight the need for sustainable tourism. For example, having observed the negative impacts of mass winter-sports tourism, Abram and Bart (actors 92 and 1061 in Figures 1A and 1B) founded an environmental study group on the Alps in 1982. Similarly, Geoff and Kamal (actors 272 and 38) joined a study group that educated volunteers working in exotic locations. In 1986, they founded the Tourism and Third World Foundation and organized a conference on this theme. Criticizing the consequences of mass tourism, these activists used expressions such as the "wounded Alps," "bleeding mountains," and "[tourism as] the new Western colonialism." Their activities generated substantial media coverage.

Other instigators legitimized the activists' claims. Employed by a prominent tourism school and, therefore, a member of the incumbent field, Eliot (actor 59) published a textbook on sustainable tourism in 1989 that promoted the issue as an industry concern. Indeed, archives show that ANVR noted his arguments and created its informal Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism in response to the emerging debate that same year. The Committee drafted an environmental Code of Conduct that was accepted by the organization's members in 1992. Other instigators added to the activists' discourse in this stage, including Roy (actor 8), who commented on the relationship between tourism and nature conservation; scientist Hakan (actor 88 in Figure 1C), who published on tourism in developing countries; and Tom, Frank, Wim, and Ann (actors 1040–43), who published a popular textbook on sustainable tourism in 1993.

Other actors began to found organizations, introducing new practices and organizational forms to the field. For instance, Ian (actor 289 in Figure 1C) launched a new tourism venture in 1993 that promoted "fair tourism" in developing countries, drawing on the global discourse that had been brought to his attention by Geoff. This firm was considered *the* prototype organization that "inte-

TABLE 5
The Evolution of the Movement and Field on Sustainable Tourism, 1980–2005

Movement/Field		Stage 1: Distributed Instigation, 1980–97	Stage 2: Coordinated Costruction, 1998–2005
Agency		Distributed activity by actors in instigating roles	Coordinated activity brought about by cultural and network brokers and effective mobilizing structures (i.e., IDUT platform, Groeneveld and other conferences)
Culture		Heterogeneous cultural materials formed around particular issues	Dominant template (i.e., POEMS) that unifies and organizes heterogeneous cultural materials
Network		 <p style="text-align: center;">t_0 $t+1$</p>	 <p style="text-align: center;">$t+2$ $t+3$</p>
		Independent, individual actions	→ Cliques
Movement— Field connectivity		Ad hoc involvement by individual tour operators in movement projects	Institutionalized involvement by lead incumbents in IDUT platform
			→ Small world
			Cliques & components
			Strategic involvement by (lead) incumbents in IDUT platform, conferences, newly launched projects, and organizations
			Proactive involvement of (lead) incumbents, co-initiating projects rather than only participating in movement projects
Field norms and practices		Outbound tour operators are merely vacation sellers. Responsibility for sustainable tourism lies with vacation destinations.	Sustainable tourism is the <i>individual</i> responsibility of each tour operator, evidenced by the obligatory POEMS scheme. Outbound tour operators, being socially responsible, should implement sustainable tourism measures.

grated sustainable tourism from A to Z in its operations" (RES-N). The firm was watched closely by incumbent adventure tour operators who felt threatened by this venture. Others focused on environmental sustainability: Percy (actor 62) launched an "ecolabel" for outdoor firms in 1992 and the Foundation for Tourism and Sea Turtles in 1993, and Woody and Yoel (actors 147 and 24) founded a nonprofit organization in 1992 that offered sustainable farm vacations in Eastern Europe through Green Tours, a niche-player at the time that has subsequently grown into a respected tour operator. Yoel explicitly stated that his strategy was not to criticize the industry but to offer alternatives and, thereby, alter the supply chain. In sum, various actors instigated practices, organizational forms, and discourse that could be elaborated upon by others, helping an understanding of sustainable tourism to emerge.

Agency and network structuration. While instigators often began their work alone, over time, networks formed among actors who focused on the different definitions of sustainability found in the macrocultural discourse, as shown in Figure 1B. Abram and Bart, for instance, studied at the same university and, as mountaineers, observed firsthand the environmental impacts of tourism in the Alps. They later formed a Planet clique. Similarly, traveling to developing countries with Tess inspired Kamal to organize workshops for those interested in tourism in developing countries. Geoff was one of the students. In the late 1980s, Tess and Kamal formed a People clique that published educational materials on responsible tourism with respect to local communities.

Cliques also emerged as activists jockeyed for like-minded partners who could provide the necessary resources to advance their projects (Baum et al., 2003). For instance, Abram and Bart asked Roy, who worked for the Royal Netherlands Tourist Society, to help spread their message "more widely" (RES-A₂) to the Society's millions of members. Roy and Abram also lobbied to get the Tourist Society and various mountaineering and ski associations to collaborate for sustainable winter-sports vacations. A joint platform was launched in 1991.

Consequently, during Stage 1, two major disconnected social circles emerged with their separate discourses and practices: "People" versus "Planet." This fragmentation was also discernible in the movement's network structure in 1997, which comprised several unconnected components (see Table 4, Figure 1C). As one respondent explained,

I did not do a lot with nature issues; that was a totally different direction. We were working on sociocultural issues, like respectful tourist behavior and so on; as far as we were concerned, it was *not* about the environment. (RES-K, emphasis added)

In comparison to the People clique, the Planet clique received more funding and was more influential, better organized, and "better represented at the governmental level" (RES-HH). For example, the Advisory Council for Nature Policy, a highly authoritative government body, produced a 1994 report proposing a flight tax. The proposal "came as a shock" and was experienced as "a frontal attack on the tourism industry" (RES-J₁). In response to the report, the Ministry of Nature Conservation organized the first national conference on sustainable tourism in 1995 and launched the multistakeholder IDUT platform in 1996. Although these structures were ad hoc at the time, each provided a way to build and strengthen network connections among movement members (initially primarily on the Planet side) and between the movement and powerful incumbents. Wary of government interference in air travel, ANVR assumed the role of chair of the stakeholder platform "to take the lead and keep the initiative" (RES-D). The IDUT platform organized a second conference in 1996, to which the Planet clique contributed. Over time, the movement thus became increasingly structured and connected to the incumbent field.

Agency, culture, and network interactions. As seen from the description of agency, culture, and network structures above, the three interacted quite meaningfully. Instigators created cultural elements, which helped to form network structures that, in turn, advanced the development of more cultural elements and created space for more agency. For instance, being familiar with the Alps study group's publications, Roy referred to the Alps in his theorizing to demonstrate how Dutch tourists harm the environment. Once the Planet clique was formed, the Alps study group, in turn, took inspiration from Roy's Tourist Society's water-sports campaign when developing its winter-sports campaigns. The Advisory Council's 1994 report also drew on the work of instigators (e.g., Abram, Percy, and Hakan) to critique outbound tourism and demand action from the government and industry. Collective identity also began to emerge within cliques; the People clique was more radical because of its links to the fair-trade-in-tourism global move-

ments, whereas the Planet clique was more reformist.

As the sustainable tourism discourse became more visible and elaborated, facilitated by local clique networks, agency was also enabled. New instigators entered the movement and were able to draw on a substantial legitimating discourse for their initiatives. Even in the incumbent field, agency was enabled, as shown by the launch of ANVR's Committee on Sustainable Tourism and its Code of Conduct. In sum, instigators began to collaborate, as is discernible in the clique formation. The cliques created fertile ground for the sustainable tourism movement as they enabled activists to increase the visibility of their issues, share and create knowledge, and coordinate their activities. Because the People and Planet cliques remained disconnected, however, the movement was still too fragmented to effectively forge field change.

Stage 2: Coordinated Costructuration (1998–2005)

In Stage 2, lead incumbents and others acted as cultural and network brokers, starting a process of coordinated costructuration between movement and field. *Cultural brokers* merged various cultural elements within the movement into a dominant template, which we define as a structured set of concepts and practices and their cross-linkages that are commonly accepted by a collective, such that actors' future behaviors and interpretations are guided by this template. *Network brokers* established social ties among different cliques, thereby linking them into a small-world network (Watts, 1999). Mobilizing structures such as the IDUT platform, conferences, and industry trainings helped to further shared meanings and establish networks. This confluence of cultural and relational structuration resulted in a "tipping point" in the evolution of the movement and the field, at which the pace of innovation accelerated, but its radicalness became diluted, creating the conditions for ongoing, incremental field change. We next detail these dynamics.

Agency and cultural structuration. By 1998, instigators had created a wide variety of alternatives for incumbent tour operators to address their currently unsustainable practices. Examples included ecolabels for clean beaches and outdoor firms, accommodation checklists, an airship campaign, and educational materials. The initiatives were sometimes too unrealistic and radical to implement (RES-O₂), making the issue complex and confusing

for tour operators. To help firms systematically embed diverse practices in their operations, ANVR (led by Len, actor 77 in Figure 1D), assisted by an environmental management consultant, took on a cultural broker role by designing a POEMS policy tool for tour operators that integrated sustainable tourism issues.

By developing this tool, ANVR aimed to influence the pace and direction of the change process. It did not want to "remain on the sideline" and "continue to be overthrown by criticism" (RES-O₂) but, rather, to "be ready in full armor" (RES-B₁), in case pressures increased. Similarly, adopting the movement's language, ANVR published a public brochure in early 1998, touting sustainable tourism as "a lasting goal" rather than "a fad that fades out" (ANVR, 1998: 3). The brochure further listed the movement members under the heading "They play the game with us" (ANVR, 1998: 15) and highlighted the points of departure for "an effective shared policy" (ANVR, 1998: 3), expressing a cooperative attitude while also setting the terms for such collaboration.

The POEMS scheme provided checklists of People and Planet issues and best practices for dealing with them, which had been pilot tested by firms and assessed as feasible by ANVR's Executive Committee on Sustainable Tourism. Importantly, the practices in POEMS were framed in the typical supply-chain language used by tour operators rather than in the activists' discourse of tourism impacts. A POEMS training course for tour operators was also developed, helping to promote POEMS and embed it in the field. Experiences with POEMS were discussed with tour operators via ANVR's annual meetings and publications as well as with the movement via conference presentations and the IDUT platform (see incumbents in Figures 1D and 1E). Table 6 illustrates how POEMS embedded the People and Planet issues into the tour operator's supply-chain language. Respondents were unanimous about the importance of POEMS for the change process; it was a "breakthrough" (RES-C₂), "fairly unique" (RES-R₁), and "an admirable development" (RES-L).

Agency and network structuration. Figures 1C–E show how the discrete network components that had formed during Stage 1 became connected. Notably, in approximately 1999, the movement's relational fabric underwent a significant transformation. Table 4 reveals that the network increasingly exhibited small-world characteristics, as re-

TABLE 6
POEMS as Dominant Template for People and Planet Practices^a

Product Development Stage	Illustration of Practices Mentioned	Issue
Information	Provide information on the Blue Flag label	Planet
	Inform tourists about child-sex tourism	People
Transportation	Apply ICCL guidelines for cruise vacations	Planet
	Use in-flight videos on responsible tourist behavior	People/Planet
Accommodation	Use purchasing checklists with environmental criteria	Planet
	Invest in local community projects	People
Leisure	Promote ECPAT's campaign against child-sex tourism	People
	Collaborate with certified diving schools	Planet
Internal environmental management	Recycle waste	Planet
	Reduce energy and water use	Planet

^a From the ANVR (2003) Summary POEMS Action Plan.

flected by the sharp increase in the SW ratio after 1999. This change suggests that the movement's members, although mostly embedded in subgroups, were now only a few links removed from each other. The small-world emergence was supported by our interviews, in which respondents referred to "a cozy club" (RES-M, O₁) and "an in-crowd of people who all know each other" (RES-E). Yoel's observation implicitly recognizes the movement's evolution toward increased integration:

We started and at a certain point you meet others. . . . You hear about the others, but there is no connection yet. After a while, the initiatives converge more and more, you meet each other and then the whole thing starts integrating. Perhaps you become a competitor or you start to coordinate issues, you get coalitions and groups that collaborate and groups that got along less well with one another.

The IDUT platform and conferences, as well as the actors' agency, played a pivotal role in the transformation of the movement into a small-world network, connecting People, Planet and field incumbents. The IDUT platform, launched in 1996, institutionalized the collaboration between activists and incumbents after "checking each other out" (RES-L) and searching for a mission, membership criteria, and "points of departure" (RES-M). Although the IDUT platform initially had a pro-Planet bias, by late 1997, its membership also included People advocates, which helped the platform to oversee developments in *both* camps. Conferences also facilitated network and cultural integration, as shown by the emergence of cliques based on joint theorizing activities at conferences, where People and Planet proponents shared ideas (see Figures 1D and 1E). The IDUT platform's annual Groeneveld Conference was particularly relevant, being "an im-

portant ritual" and "signboard of the movement" (RES-C₂).

In addition to the IDUT platform and conferences, several network brokers created clique-spanning ties. Pam (actor 129 in Figure 1D), who worked for a governmental body in international cooperation that was already sponsoring several movement initiatives, organized a public debate in 1999 to connect the People and Planet groups and movement and field members. The conference proceedings state that

The debate on sustainable tourism in the Netherlands is characterized by a *missing link*. Sustainable tourism is either defined in terms of nature conservation, ecology and the environment, or such social issues as child sex tourism, the labor conditions of tourism employees, and cultural exchange. Yet, we would like to see that a broad definition is applied. . . . Sustainable development has social, economic, cultural and ecological dimensions. When developing tools, policies and educational campaigns, it is important to highlight *all* these dimensions. (van de Pol, 1999: 2–3, emphasis added)

Movement member Marvin (actor 16 in Figure 1d) also served as a network broker when hired as environmental manager for the elite tour operator Travel Abroad in late 1998, and nominated as professor in sustainable tourism at a prominent tourism school in 1999. Travel Abroad aimed to claim green leadership in the industry as a "strategic move," as the movement was no longer "a small group of fanatics" (RES-LL). Marvin used his position to connect the People and Planet cliques and, in turn, connect them to the field. Although Travel Abroad's moves clearly influenced its actions, ANVR did not follow its elite member, instead pursuing its own agenda. An ANVR representative

stated that "The change did in any case not come from *within* the industry; that has also been the major problem, right, to get the support of the industry" (RES-B₁).

Agency, culture, and network interactions. We suggest that the brokers and the cultural and relational structuration they facilitated were interdependent. Cultural brokers provided a motive and/or conceptual justification for network brokers to link with activists and incumbents and vice-versa. Put differently, POEMS would have remained a paper tiger if links had not been formed between the activists supporting the People and Planet solutions and between movement and field members to jointly work out the details of POEMS. Similarly, connecting the People and Planet cliques and the field would have been difficult without a template to guide these interactions. This confluence of cultural and relational structuration generated a tipping point in the evolution of the movement and the field. The small-world network enabled activists to efficiently share knowledge about the need to innovate in order to implement POEMS, while the POEMS template allowed the field incumbents to convey information regarding which innovations would be considered feasible. Activists' knowledge and prompting accelerated innovative activity, while the feasibility requirements diluted the radicalness of innovations to fit the dominant template and, as a result, increase industry acceptance. As such, a process of coordinated costructuration between activists and incumbents occurred in Stage 2, prefacing the entry of the sustainable tourism issue into the membership and meaning system of the field. We next describe the increased speed but diluted radicalness of innovation in sustainable tourism.

Acceleration of innovation. Small worlds enhance knowledge flow among network members, accelerating learning, coordination, and adaptation (Baum et al., 2003). As such, the emergence of a small-world network explains the sudden surge of theorizing and founding events in the late 1990s. For instance, Yoel learned about Abram's activities through his network, but the two "really got together" and "gear[ed] [their] activities to one another" in the early 2000s (actors 24 and 92 in Figure 1D). Moreover, the introduction of the POEMS template increased the attractiveness of the small world for newcomers. As a condition of ANVR membership, POEMS created entrepreneurial opportunities by creating demand for sustainability among tour operators. At the same time, POEMS

reduced uncertainty for both instigators and tour operators, as it defined a rubric for sustainable tourism. Hank was a new entrant (actor 389 in Figure 1E) who learned about the commercial failure of tour operator Travel Fair. Rather than developing vacation packages that were *entirely* sustainable, he offered "bite-sized chunks of sustainability" to tour operators. In 2004, for instance, he codeveloped coffee-farm tours in Tanzania that could be easily included in standard itineraries. Other new instigators included Alex, Chuck, and Peter, who developed vacations to national parks in 2002 (actors 1015, 1065, and 1072); Garry and Bonny, who authored a report on sustainability in vacation transportation in 2002 (actors 1052 and 1054); and Winston, who entered in 2002 and raised the issue of climate change (actor 828). New entrants also took on broker roles. For instance, Karl (actor 549) brokered between People and Planet proponents by organizing a 2001 conference. By instigating and brokering, new entrants kept the small world alive and contributed to the collective social construction of POEMS.

Similarly, the short path length of small worlds permitted activists to build upon the experiences and knowledge imbued in the network and to adjust their initiatives to the POEMS model. Following the failure of his firm Travel Fair, for instance, Ian launched a new carbon-offsetting organization in 2003 (actor 289 in Figure 1E). In so doing, he built on the ground covered by the Roger/Percy clique (see Figure 1d), which had developed a carbon-offsetting scheme as early as 1999 but found it difficult to glean industry support. Ian explained: "The story of [their organization] was too complex. They were telling tour operators how bad flight vacations were, but at the same time they needed to sell their certificates to them, so this was not going to work. . . ." Subsequently, he promoted his scheme as a legitimate solution to qualify for a POEMS certificate and eased adoption of the scheme via a web application.

In sum, the small-world network structure supported a new wave of mobilization and allowed for cross-fertilization between movement and industry. While the cliques continued to produce local knowledge, ideas, and practices with POEMS as a rallying point, connectivity among cliques helped speed up the circulation of knowledge, thereby coordinating these activities. With lead incumbents embedded in the small-world network, activists could access insider knowledge about the industry, as well as insider channels of communication and

distribution, to promote their creative offerings. Concurrently, field incumbents gained access to the innovations in the movement in order to put the obligatory POEMS template into practice. More importantly, increased social interactions and the shared POEMS language spurred collaboration between activists and field incumbents. For instance, a new supply-chain project to develop and promote sustainable diving and beach tourism within the Netherlands Antilles was launched in 1999, running until 2002. This project was "truly a joint project" in which "everybody participated" (RES-L), including Dutch tour operators offering vacations to these islands, nature conservation organizations, educational institutes, ANVR, diving schools, hotels, and an airline company. And yet, despite the renewed energy and activity, the changes were less radical than anticipated. Our findings suggest that the same mechanisms that enabled the movement to gain momentum and increase access to the established field (i.e., the dominant template and the small-world network) also led to the dilution of the radicalness of its innovations.

Dilution of innovative radicalness. The small world quickly spread the word on incumbent involvement. This energized the movement greatly, because existing movement members and new entrants believed that change was within reach. However, the small world also circulated information on the conditions for endorsement of change by the industry, which was reinforced by POEMS. Our interviews suggest that feasibility was the main criterion for industry endorsement:

Every measure should be feasible. Thus, we [the industry] approach issues from an economic perspective: is it commercially desirable and is it commercially feasible? That has always been the dominant principle of our work. (RES-O₁)

There was a constant calling [by the industry] . . . remember, don't propose measures that are not commercially feasible, because otherwise we do not participate, there is no consumer demand, so don't move too fast. (RES-A₂)

The industry's focus on feasibility should be viewed in the context of a weak consumer demand for the sustainability of vacations and the waning of government interest in the issue that began in the late 1990s, although the debate over air travel—and the flight tax—remained a latent threat.

Subsequently, activists began to develop practices that were less radical; that is, they posed fewer

constraints on the industry's daily business. Most extremely, a quota on the number of flight vacations allowed per person was rejected in favor of simply informing consumers about carbon offsetting. Thus, the movement's ultimate goal of developing fully sustainable tour operating businesses proved to be unrealistic, and activists adapted to what was feasible: "making the standard vacation packages [step-by-step] more sustainable" (RES-GC).

This dilution of the radicalness of innovation was further strengthened by the entrance of new, more pragmatic activists into the small world. As one respondent put it,

In sustainable tourism, there are pioneers who start things up, but at a certain moment their time is over, because the awareness has been created and a new generation then takes over. . . . And there is a new generation now, such as Yoel, Buck, Hank, Pablo, and Macy, the *implementation* people. (RES-C₂, emphasis added)

Concurrently, the strong sense of belonging among the actors who comprised the small world limited the willingness and ability of activists to push for radical innovations. Field work revealed that activists and incumbents would greet each other warmly and combine work visits with social activities (Field notes, 2/11/06). Our network data showed that radical voices in the movement remained or became peripheral. For instance, the environmental group Action (actor 1066 in Figure 1D) remained isolated, being "too leftist, too small a group, too critical a story" (RES-A₂). Similarly, whereas "radical" Geoff became a central player in the international fair-trade-in-tourism movements, his position in the Dutch movement altered. He remained central to the theorizer network, but he became marginal to the founder network, "because new [less dangerous] people [took] over" and received funding (RES-N). This is not to say that such activists' ideas disappeared from the agenda, but achieving support for their ideas required another sort of activist—"suit-and-tie people" (RES-GC)—and practices in a diluted form.

In turn, the dilution of the radicalness of innovation helped ANVR to overcome its members' resistance to the POEMS scheme. In 2000, members had agreed to make the scheme an obligatory membership criterion by 2003. However, the relatively open small-world network structure and the movement's acceptance of POEMS had made the change process barely visible to tour operators who did not directly interact with activists, despite ANVR's and

frontrunners' intensive promotions of the POEMS project. As a result, when ANVR urged its members to adopt POEMS in 2002 and 2003, most of them considered the scheme to be a top-down imposition and thus opposed it. Sustained social interactions with movement members, however, had turned ANVR into a strong believer in the need for change. After making several adjustments, changing its promotional strategy and postponing the deadline, in 2005, ANVR was able to exert semicoercive pressure on its members to implement the scheme.

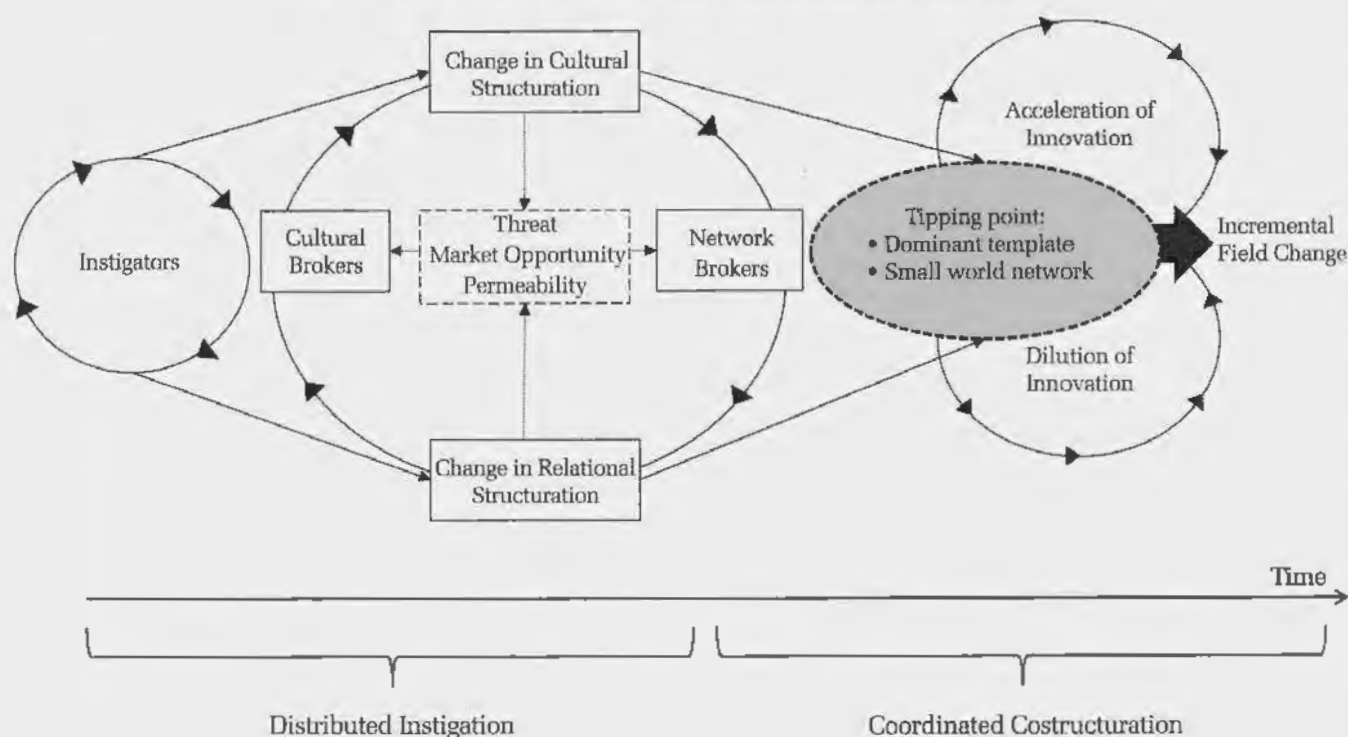
In sum, the confluence of the POEMS dominant template and the small-world network strengthened the collaborative ties between activists and incumbents and facilitated their adaptation to one another. While activists adapted their "sustainability-above-all-else" logic to the field's language, practices, and priorities, incumbents revised their industry logic and practices to include sustainability. As such, the conditions for ongoing, incremental field change had been met: movement and field members increased their interactions within the IDUT platform, at Groeneveld Conferences and in project and industry meetings; shared a common meaning system evident in the collectively constructed POEMS as the dominant template; and recognized their mutual involvement in an institu-

tional project to increase the sustainability of tourism through the gradual adaptation of tour operators' daily operations, supply chains, and vacation destinations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Scott, 2001).

A PROCESS MODEL OF ACTIVIST-INSTIGATED FIELD CHANGE

Drawing on our case study, we present a process model of activist-instigated field change in Figure 2. Central to our model is that movements vary in their levels of cultural and relational structuration over time, which affects their mobilizing capacities for impacting the organizational field under challenge. The model depicts how movements with moderate levels of structuration are able to prompt reflexive agency in field incumbents but also run the risk of cooptation. However, when multiple actors engage in cultural and relational brokerage between the movement and the field, members of both groups begin to shape themselves to the meaning system and social structure they cocreate, and cooptation becomes mutual. This confluence of cultural and relational structuration generates a tipping point in the evolution of the movement and the field, at which the pace of innovation accelerates, but its radicalness is diluted, thereby cre-

FIGURE 2
Interplay of Agency, Culture, and Networks in Field Evolution



ating the conditions for ongoing incremental field change.

Movement Permeability to Induce Incumbents into Collaborative Work

The first task for movements striving for institutional change in organizational fields is to prompt reflexive agency among institutionally embedded incumbents (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006). We suggest that a movement that is moderately structured is most likely to succeed in this task, as it is sufficiently structured to produce threats and market opportunities visible to field incumbents, while it is still permeable to their influence.

In the case examined here, movement structuration occurred as independent activists in instigating roles became embedded in local cliques and began to coordinate their ideas and practices, which led to the formation of a coherent cultural base around particular issues. With the emergence of these relational and cultural structures, the issue of sustainable tourism became visible to field incumbents and other audiences, exposing threats and market opportunities. A legitimacy threat was created by the movement's critique of industry practices, as were sustainable tourism models, which made the incumbent industry look *unsustainable*. The threat of a flight tax was created when the Advisory Council drew on the Planet clique's cultural discourse in its critical 1994 report. Conversely, instigators' experimentation with, and commercialization of, sustainable tourism ideas provided valuable research and development on alternative practices for field incumbents, revealing market opportunities. The simultaneous creation of threats and market opportunities motivated field incumbents to reflect on sustainable tourism, while the fragmented nature of the movement enabled them to try to influence the movement.

To explain how movement fragmentation enables incumbent agency, we draw on the concepts of "tight coupling" and "permeability" from institutional theory (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996: 1029, 1030). We define *movement permeability* as the extent to which a movement is structured, featuring a highly elaborated collective action frame, consensus around the movement's issues and practices, accepted relationships and status hierarchies, and strong social controls, all affecting the degree to which outsiders can penetrate the movement. In our case, the disparate discourses and practices of People and Planet allowed room for incumbents to

influence the issue's meaning. Movement leadership remained open, as neither clique was able to impose its frame or practices on the industry. Although the fragmentation hampered the movement from achieving widespread change, it allowed incumbents to engage with the movement. Peripheral tour operators began to collaborate with instigators, and elite tour operators supported several sustainable tourism campaigns. More importantly, the trade association ANVR engaged with the movement by chairing the multistakeholder platform IDUT. This observation is salient, as it contrasts with the familiar story of movements creating highly structured and strongly oppositional collective action frames (Benford & Snow, 2000) using a "common enemy" to mobilize and unite activists in cohesive networks. Facing such criticism, incumbents have no other option than to engage in "defensive institutional work" (Maguire & Hardy, 2009), "boundary bolstering" (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010), and countermobilization (Hensmans, 2003) to safeguard the field's legitimacy.

To explain movement efficacy, social movement scholars have thus far focused on political opportunity structures (McAdam et al., 1996) and corporate or industry opportunity structures (King, 2008; Raeburn, 2004; Schurman, 2004; Soule, 2009), which are external to the movement. Movement permeability instead refers to the movement's *internal* opportunity structure. In our case, the movement was moderately permeable, making threats and market opportunities recognizable to field incumbents while leaving the movement open to incumbent influence. Movements are likely to be moderately permeable when issues are multifaceted or emerging or when a broad goal exists but there are multiple or ambiguous means to achieve it. By contrast, when movements have clearly defined collective action frames and established relational structures, they are less susceptible to external influence. For instance, Rao suggested that microbrewers created a strong collective identity that "inoculated" them against the threat of incumbent interference (2009: 63), excluding the possibility of collaboration with incumbents as microbrewers carved out an independent niche. Similarly, temperance supporters produced "a hostile normative environment" for breweries (Hiatt, Sine, & Tolbert, 2009: 641), making compromise unlikely. Likewise, Weber et al. suggested that the biodynamic farmer movement likely failed because its frame was formed around "powerful cultural codes" and "an elaborate set of practices" that

lacked the “flexibility and inclusiveness that [would] allow a broader coalition to join” (2008: 560). At the other extreme, when movements are too permeable, they are insufficiently organized to present threats and market opportunities to their targets, as was the case for independent retailers fighting against chain stores (Rao, 2009). As movement permeability focuses on the opportunity structure internal to movements, we suggest it is a promising concept to understand the motivating and enabling dynamics undergirding the emergence of collaborative work between movements and fields.

Collaborative Work and the Risk of Movement Cooptation

Although the creation of threats and market opportunities may motivate incumbents to work with the movement, and movement permeability may enable them to do so, incumbents may not always want to change. They may collaborate with activists only with the intent to bring “the interests of a challenging group into alignment with [their] own goals” (Trumpy, 2008: 480), and this collaborative work may consequently “shade into cooptation” (Davis, Morrill, Rao, & Soule, 2008: 391). Field-governing bodies like trade associations are particularly likely to attempt to manipulate challenger groups when their members’ positions and activities are threatened (Oliver, 1991). However, cooptation need not always work. Our findings suggest that attempts at movement cooptation can be deflected when multiple actors engage in cultural and relational brokerage between the movement and the field. Such distributed brokerage further increases the cultural and relational costructuration of the movement with the field, and through this costructuration, cooptation becomes mutual.

In this case, ANVR attempted cooptation by participating in the movement and using the movement’s discourse and practices (cf. Coy & Hedeon, 2005). As a field-governing body, ANVR’s main motive to chair the IDUT platform was to maintain industry control over the pace and direction of the change process. ANVR also attempted cooptation through cultural brokerage; it adopted the movement’s language in its 1998 public brochure and launched the POEMS template in 1998, which signaled cultural reorientation but did not require substantive changes in material terms. ANVR’s cooptation attempt turned out to be fragile, however, as other incumbents and activists also entered

the movement’s permeable opportunity structure. For instance, Marvin, who was hired by Travel Abroad as an environmental manager, used network brokerage to occupy a central position in the movement and claim a green image for the elite firm. Movement member Pam also acted as a network broker by organizing a conference to bring together the People and Planet cliques as well as movement and industry members. Rather than fending off the movement’s threat to the field by coopting it, ANVR itself became partly coopted as the movement’s and field’s cultural and relational structures became increasingly linked through brokerage, leading to a more elaborate POEMS template and a small-world network. We thus observed *mutual cooptation*, a process by which two or more groups attempting to influence each other through multiple interactions become embedded in and shaped by the meaning system and social structure they cocreate.

While our study supports the risk of cooptation in collaborative work, we highlight the mechanism of distributed brokerage in deflecting this risk. Supporting simulation research by Buskens and van de Rijt (2008), our findings suggest that field members are unlikely to gain the coopting control advantage they seek when multiple actors enter the same structural (Burt, 1992) and cultural holes (Pachucki & Breiger, 2010) in a movement. In such situations, as shown in our case, coopting agents may become coopted themselves in the network and value frame they help to create through their actions. Counterintuitively, our findings suggest that a field’s attempts to coopt a movement may, in fact, be beneficial to the movement if distributed brokerage occurs. Attracting a field’s cooptation efforts may simply be the first step toward collaborating. As such, our study provides a more nuanced understanding of the assumed power of incumbents in their privileged access to material, cultural, and political resources to “coopt,” “absorb,” or “undermine” actors who threaten the field’s status quo (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011: 15). Cooptation is not a “grand plan” designed by field incumbents but an emergent and evolving process (Coy & Hedeon, 2005: 409). We found that *both* the movement and the field experience different degrees of cooptation over time, as heterogeneous actors respond to and influence one another’s beliefs, desires, practices, and opportunities through their behavior.

Viewing cooptation as emergent yields insight into the motives and actions of the coopting incumbent: in our case, the trade association ANVR. Pro-

fessional, industry, and trade associations typically play conservative and defensive roles in organizational fields through their channels of communication, education, and monitoring (Greenwood et al., 2002; Vermeulen, Büch, & Greenwood, 2007). These agencies protect their members' interests when facing legitimacy crises stimulated by social movement organizations (Bansal & Roth, 2000; King & Lenox, 2000). However, contrary to the pattern described in the extant literature, ANVR eventually acted *against* its wider membership base to take a leading role in pushing for change desired by the movement, even though it initially intended to protect its members from movement interference. We suggest that the motivation for ANVR's innovative actions can be explained by the process of mutual cooptation, while its ability to deviate from its members' interests can be explained by resource dependence (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). Greenwood and Suddaby have argued that positions that bridge networks lessen "institutional embeddedness by exposing actors to institutional incompatibilities, increasing their awareness of alternatives" (2006: 38). Yet, in this case, the *disembedding* of ANVR from the field seemed to matter less than its *embedding* in the evolving cultural and relational structures of the movement. Participation in crafting policies is well known to increase "ownership" of even unsatisfactory policies among movements (Coy & Hedeen, 2005), and this principle also seemed to apply to ANVR. Furthermore, the relational bonding between ANVR and movement members motivated ANVR to innovate upon the sustainable tourism issue. Yet, as membership organizations, trade associations may lose credibility if they are not responsive to their members' interests (Winn, MacDonald, & Zietsma, 2009). In this case, ANVR was protected from member backlash by its powerful consumer brand; its tour-operator members depended upon ANVR's label for legitimacy in the market. Thus, whereas ANVR was coopted by the movement, not all incumbents so coopted would have the ability to choose to conform to the movement over the field and advance the movement's position among their constituents.

The Consequences of Mutual Cooptation: Ongoing Incremental Field Change

Our findings provide new insights into movement cooptation. Interpreting the literature, we might expect cooptation to result in the erosion of the movement. Polarization may occur between ac-

tivists who view the collaborative work with incumbents positively and those who believe it is a sign of "selling out" movement ideals (Tarrow, 1998), stifling movement activity as energy flows toward resolving the internal conflict. Moreover, activists dissatisfied, demoralized, or disillusioned with results achieved may withdraw their energy, skills, and experience from the movement (Garrison, 1990). Conversely, those in favor of collaborative work may fail to either push for changes or be sufficiently critical, because they want to maintain the acceptance of a field (Trumpy, 2008). In either case, movement activity will decline and have little impact on the field under challenge. In our case, we observed, instead, an increase in mobilizing capacity and energy as new members entered; the pace of innovation accelerated, and a sustained period of innovation began, although this innovation was less radical than the movement initially envisioned. We suggest that the confluence of cultural and relational structuration between the movement and the field generated this tipping point and was responsible for the ongoing, incremental field change that we observed through three innovation outcomes: acceleration, dilution of radicalness, and persistence.

The pace of innovation accelerated for several reasons. First, the POEMS template offered clear guidelines for sustainable tourism, reducing uncertainty and revealing opportunities for existing and new instigators and brokers. The POEMS structure itself was critical; it was not a fully elaborated solution that closed off other options, but, instead, its central coordinating structure enabled individuals to work relatively autonomously and still have their work cumulate effectively (cf. Bonaccorsi & Rossi, 2003). In this sense, POEMS was a platform for modular innovation, similar to open-source projects like Linux and Wikipedia.⁸ Second, the pace of innovation was accelerated by the small-world network structure, which allowed for the rapid circulation of new ideas and practices, connected potential partners, made opportunities recognizable, and attracted and absorbed new entrants who believed that change was within reach, given the involvement of lead incumbents. Third, the diffusion of innovations was rapid because the small-world network facilitated information flow,

⁸ We thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing out the similarities between our case and open-source projects.

and the fit of innovations with POEMS (and, thus, tour-operator expectations) made diffusion easier.

Similar factors contributed to the dilution of the radicalness of innovation. The POEMS template conveyed information about what would be considered feasible by the field, while the small-world network allowed for the rapid diffusion of this information, making instigators constrain their creative work accordingly and attracting more pragmatically oriented entrants. Both structures also created a "cozy club" that contributed to dilution, as activists were unwilling to pose unrealistic demands for field change and criticize the progress made so far for fear of violating emerging social norms.

At the same time, with activists' more radical aims coopted and diluted, the movement attained new relevance for the field, resulting in the persistence of innovative action. The dominant template and small-world network ensured that movement and field members were receptive to each other's ideas and motivated to sustain their relationships, generating positive energy and facilitating the launch of new projects in which innovations would be fine-tuned (and, thus, de-radicalized) in free discussions with field incumbents. In sum, the joint culture and network developed by the movement and the field amplified each other, creating dynamic effects that accelerated the pace of innovation, diluted its radicalness, and contributed to its persistence.

Movement cooptation is generally seen to have negative consequences for the movement's mobilizing capacity to accomplish field change; however, our study challenges this assumption by revealing an example of mutual cooptation as movement and field participants negotiated cultural structures and created a small-world network that significantly impacted their innovative outcomes. In our case, the template not only was introduced by a lead incumbent carrying the field with it but also offered an open, flexible structure that attracted new entrants and energized extant movement members. Yet the template's success also depended on the movement's relational structure. The small-world network was open enough to allow new entrants, ideas, and practices, and it helped to coordinate distributed agency from the cliques up to the collective level, providing the opportunity to align innovations with field norms. Thus, it was the *joint* influence of the flexible cultural template and the small-world network that created the conditions for the ongoing, incremental innovation we observed.

Overall, then, there are several pathways for movements to affect organizational fields. Some movements may maintain a purist ideology that maintains incumbents as critical enemies (Hoffman, 2006), but these movements risk becoming irrelevant as the field under challenge resists change and movement energy eventually subsides (Gamson, 1990; Tarrow, 1998). Other movements may attempt to collaborate but become coopted, with little change resulting (Trumpy, 2008). Still others may develop organizational structures that maintain the boundaries between the opposing groups and only allow them to collaborate on particular issues or projects (O'Mahony & Bechky, 2008), limiting opportunities for creative work and member recruitment. Our study identified a different pathway, involving collaborative costructuration of movement and field to enable ongoing, incremental innovation.

CONCLUSIONS

We began this article by highlighting that institutional change in organizational fields is frequently the outcome of collective action involving social movements. We focused specifically on examining how collaborative work between independent activists and field incumbents emerges and changes the organizational field under challenge. Drawing on an intensive case study of the sustainable tourism movement in the Dutch outbound tour operations field from 1980 to 2005, we illustrated how a movement's permeability induces field incumbents to engage in the movement. We further showed how field incumbents' attempts at movement cooptation can actually help, rather than constrain, a movement in impacting the field when distributed brokerage occurs and contributes to mutual cooptation and the confluence of cultural and relational costructuration between movement and field.

A primary contribution of our study, therefore, is its focus on the opportunity structures of movements by introducing the concept of movement permeability. This concept complements extant social movement studies that emphasize opportunity structures external to movements to explain movement efficacy in affecting organizational fields. Our study suggests that movements operate as a field, or a system of cultural and structural relations, rather than as an aggregation of actors, events, and actions, as is the more usual view of social movements in the literature (Diani, 2013). By drawing on

the notion of permeability from institutional theory to understand the interaction between movement and field, we contribute to the emerging cross-fertilization between social movement theory and institutional theory (Hargrave & van de Ven, 2006; Rao et al., 2000; Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2008) and take an important step toward developing a more general theory of fields (Beckert, 2010; Fligstein & McAdam, 2011). More specifically, our study uncovers the dynamic process by which two fields come to overlap (Evans & Kay, 2008).

Moreover, we highlight the mechanism by which attempts at movement cooptation by field incumbents can, counterintuitively, advance a movement's mobilizing capacity to impact the field under challenge. Our study illuminates how distributed brokerage may limit the ability of individual field incumbents to direct the movement's evolution through cooptation, while it may yield beneficial collective outcomes by activating a process of mutual cooptation (cf. Ibarra, Kilduff, & Tsai, 2005). Uncovering this mechanism advances insights into the little understood phenomenon of movement cooptation (Soule, 2009).

Finally, although social network theorists have recognized that social networks are culturally constituted (Emirbayer & Goodwin, 1994; Owen-Smith & Powell, 2008; Pachucki & Breiger, 2010), our study is a first attempt at empirically examining the interplay of agency, culture, and networks over time. This unique approach allowed us to examine the consequences of mutual cooptation for institutional innovation, noting how the cultural template and small-world network jointly created by movement and field members shaped the pace, degree, and persistence of innovative activity. We assert, however, that our study of agency, culture, and networks provides more than an empirical contribution; it yields new theoretical insights into the contingencies affecting small-world network outcomes that would otherwise remain invisible to the analyst. Whereas Gulati et al. (2012) suggested that the formation of bridging ties in a network reduces entrepreneurial opportunities over time as it homogenizes the resource pool, our findings instead illustrate that opportunities for entrepreneurial agency may continue to increase when small-world networks share a dominant, yet flexible cultural template. Whether field-level cultural templates merely extend the duration of small-world benefits or create permanent benefits is an interesting topic for future study, as is the influence of distinct cul-

tural templates on network development and outcomes.

Our study has limitations. As a service industry offering travel experiences as intangible products, the outbound tour operations field may be rather idiosyncratic. Yet we believe that the phenomenon we studied—collaborative work between challengers and defenders resulting in incremental field change—is not uncommon in practice but can be difficult to observe and research, as these processes do not feature the dramatic, punctuated-equilibrium shifts from “the old” to “the new.” By studying this process closely, we believe that we have contributed to naturalistic generalizability, which enables insights to be applied to similar cases (Stake, 1995), and analytical generalizability, which allows for the broadening of theories (Yin, 2003).

We identify four boundary conditions under which we expect the theory put forward in this article to hold. First, the movement's issue is likely to influence the interplay between movement and field (Bansal & Roth, 2000). Sustainable tourism is an ambiguous issue with impacts that are difficult to measure and attribute, and tradeoffs among social and environmental goals. Ambiguous issues allow more room for external influence on the issue's social construction, providing options for incumbent involvement. Future research should examine other characteristics of issues and how these impact the potential for collaborative work. For instance, moral issues, like the right to abortion, will be perceived as less ambiguous because of activists' more hardened positions, reducing permeability and limiting the possibility of collaboration. Second, a movement's strength is likely to affect its use of the collaborative action model. For example, more adversarial stances were taken by the anti-biotech movement, which was supported by market forces (Schurman, 2004), and the environmental movement fighting the chemical industry, which was supported by legal and governmental pressures (Hoffman, 1999). In our case, external support was unavailable, increasing the movement's need for collaboration to achieve its goals. Future research should examine whether and how collaboration can emerge when movements are in a position of strength. In addition to market and governmental backing, Elsbach and Sutton (1992) suggest that a movement's strength depends on movement composition and task division. Radical groups can provide the threatening impetus for organizational fields to continue to expand their com-

mitments to the movement's cause, whereas reformist groups can help fields develop their commitments. This idea merits further research. Third, for collaboration to succeed in our case, an incumbent partner had to exist with the power and authority to interact with the movement and influence the field accordingly. ANVR was in this position. In other fields, field-governing bodies may not have the strength to engage in collaboration without their members' endorsements and may thus obstruct collaborative work. Further research is required to determine whether other elite incumbents can assume this role or whether the role of a field-governing body is somewhat unique. Fourth, movement activism was, in our case, comprised of theorizing and founding events, which not only created a discourse for change but also ready-made practices and experiential knowledge for field incumbents. At the same time, movements also pursue legal challenges to forge change (Hoffman, 1999). Further research is warranted to determine how the movement's activity portfolio influences the inducement of field members into collaborative work. Thus, the degree of issue ambiguity, the strength of both the movement and the incumbent broker, and the portfolio of movement activities may influence the emergence and outcomes of collaborative work. Only further research can establish the generalizability of our findings.

This study has shown how a relatively unorganized movement with limited power, resources, and support was able to instigate change in an established organizational field, even when elites in the field were attempting to defuse the movement through cooptation. Our results show the power of shared relationships and culture to change the way actors think and act, and to change the opportunities open to them. Whereas the literature has typically emphasized efforts by movements to impose constraints on organizational fields and by incumbents to block the entry of new actors, ideas, and practices into their field, we saw, in this case, the stimulating effects of both activists' and incumbents' agency and innovations on field evolution, as relations and ideas flowed freely through jointly created structures and generated energy for change. Given the myriad of social problems the world faces that require collective action, such as persistent poverty, loss of biodiversity, and climate change, we need to know more about the enabling effects of collaboration. The present work takes an important step in this direction.

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- Jakomijn van Wijk** (wijk@msm.nl) is an assistant professor at Maastricht School of Management. She received her Ph.D. from VU University Amsterdam. Her research interests include institutional change in organizational fields, partnership networks in global value chains, and (self-) governance for sustainable development. She currently examines conservation organizations that promote tourism as a means to protect wildlife and combat poverty in Africa.
- Wouter Stam** (wstam@ust.hk) is an assistant professor at the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology (HKUST). He received his Ph.D. from VU University Amsterdam and has been a visiting scholar at the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania. His research interests include intra- and interorganizational networks, strategic entrepreneurship, and the emergence of new industries and fields.
- Tom Elfring** (t.elfring@vu.nl) is professor of strategic management and entrepreneurship at the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration of VU University Amsterdam. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Groningen. His current research interests include networking in entrepreneurial ventures, corporate entrepreneurship, and managing service innovation.
- Charleue Zietsma** (czietsma@schulich.yorku.ca) is an associate professor and the Ann Brown Chair of Organization Studies at the Schulich School of Business, York University. She received her Ph.D. from the University of British Columbia. Her research uses theories of institutions, social movements, and entrepreneurs to investigate the agency and processes involved in social change efforts, particularly in the context of business and sustainability.
- Frank den Hond** (f.den.hond@vu.nl) is professor of management and organization at Hanken School of Economics and an associate professor in the Department of Organization Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, VU University Amsterdam. He received his Ph.D. from VU University Amsterdam. His research interests are at the intersection of business in society, institutional organization theory, and social movement studies.

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