

*THE ROLE OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM RESEARCH IN
THE TOURISM, MOBILITY, AVIATION AND CLIMATE
CHANGE DEBATE*

A case study of travel industry discourse on aviation and climate
change in the Netherlands

Author: Julia Buit

Registration number: 980109144040

Supervisor: Harald Buijtendijk

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Abstract

In this thesis, a case study on travel industry discourse on climate change, tourism mobility, and aviation in the Netherlands is used to better understand the role of sustainable tourism research in the broader tourism, aviation, and climate change debate. In order to do so, a discourse analysis based on concepts utilized by Duineveld and Van Assche (2011) is executed. A detailed analysis of the process of emergence and solidification is presented in terms of pathways, sites, and techniques of object formation, based on an analysis of interviews with actors in the travel industry, and an analysis of media items. In the rising discussion about mobility, new objects were constructed and played out by the travel industry. In some cases, newly formed objects were presented as facts, based on commissioned results rather than discourses. It was found that sustainable tourism research plays a role in the tourism, mobility, climate change, and aviation debate in the Netherlands. Hereby especially Paul Peeters' PhD role was significant. I argue that studying this process of creating impact is important, since it allows clarification of the process of object formation, which is still an understudied topic. This thesis contributes to a better understanding of how research impact develops, by showing the political dimensions of impact creation, implicating that academia can achieve impact by making use of specified techniques. Furthermore, a better understanding of the world of the travel industry is created, wherefore policymakers obtain a better understanding of this world.

Keywords: debate; discourse analysis; impact; object formation

Author statement

Thesis title: The role of sustainable tourism research in the tourism, mobility, aviation, and climate change debate

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Author name: Julia Buit

Bachelor degree program: Bachelor of Science Tourism

Educational Institute: Breda University of Applied Science and Wageningen University & Research

Authorship statement

I hereby declare that this thesis is wholly the work of Julia Buit. Any other contributors have either been referenced in the prescribed manner or are listed in the acknowledgements together with the nature and the scope of their contribution.

Where I have consulted the published work of others this is always clearly attributed. Where I have quoted from the work of others the source is always given. A list of the references used, is included. An appropriate referencing style is used throughout. With the exception of such quotations this thesis is entirely my own work. I have read and understand the penalties associated with plagiarism as stated in the Student Charter.

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Introduction

Context

Sustainable tourism research has shown that tourism contributes to climate change and that without structural reductions in aviation emissions, the Paris Climate Agreement cannot be achieved (Peeters, 2017). It is expected that from 2020 onwards, tourism-related air travel will contribute approximately 5% to greenhouse gasses (GHG) emitted (Eerlijkovervliegen.nl, 2018; Grewe, 2018; Mommers, 2018). The implications of flying for the environment and their impact on tourism are far-reaching (Scot, et al., 2012, 2016). Not surprisingly, the topic draws increasing attention in sustainable tourism research, which we see in the number of articles published and the growing impact factor (i.e. how many times an article is referenced) of the *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* articles (Bramwell, Higham, Lane & Miller, 2017). Additionally, recent research by the IATA (2019) analyzed fundamental drivers of the travel industry in order to identify growth trends for the next 20 years. Although it is concluded that the travel industry will remain growing, several scenarios are possible based on multiple factors, including climate change. In this sense, the question of how sustainable tourism research is being used by the travel industry rises, and research on the effects of sustainable tourism research beyond academia is relevant.

Research gap

Research impact assessments are an integral part of scientific activity and a respectable assessment is critical for the progression of scientific and research programs (Moed & Halevi, 2015). There are several explanations why research impact assessments are important, such as to demonstrate to the public and the government that research is important, to understand the socio-economic value of research, and to develop better ways of delivering impact (Penfield, Baker, Scoble & Wykes, 2014). Hence, numerous models for assessing research impact exist. Commonly, a distinction between internal (i.e. improvement) and external (i.e. accountability) impact is made (Moed & Halevi, 2015). Hereby the actual impact assessment is based on factors such as the number of publications and citations (Moed & Halevi, 2015). However, these impact assessments tend to present research and travel industry practices as separate worlds and suggest that research-based policy recommendations are clear-cut products that the industry can take up and implement in their operations in rather straightforward ways. This leads to a gap between the research published and the implementation of policies (Gregory, et al., 2006). Furthermore, current assessments tend to assume that government policies and

industry practices are based on rationale and science. This may obscure that, in reality, they are based on continuous negotiations and political decisions, that are influenced by one's political preference, background, interests, and other actors. Therefore, impact assessments paint a simplified picture of reality, and disregards that impact creation is a complex process involving many different actors.

Introduction/ application of discourse theory and relevance

To address this issue, this thesis proposes an alternative approach to examine how sustainable tourism research functions in travel industry practices in relation to air travel. Drawing from post-structuralist discourse theory, an alternative framework to examine research impact is developed, which conceives research impact as a discursive object that constructs alternative social realities. Post-structuralist discourse theory analyzes how language constructs social reality (Paul, 2009). Discourse analysis involves a structured analysis of text in order to research underlying forms of communication. It also studies the way in which institutions or roles are played and made possible by making use of discourses (Hodges, Kuper & Reeves, 2008). By making use of a discourse analysis, the underlying techniques of different actor groups can be pointed out, of which sustainable tourism research is a part. Hereby, research impact is conceived as a process of object formation. Therefore, the approach of Duineveld, et al (2011) will be used, involving pathways, sites, and techniques. Due to the contested debate in the Netherlands, there is a clash of presented discourses and actor groups, possibly influenced by sustainable tourism research. This framework is subsequently applied in a case study of Dutch travel and aviation discourse in the Netherlands, since a wide mobility debate is getting increased media, political, and local attention, involving different actor groups.

Therefore, this thesis contributes to a better understanding of how research impact develops, by showing the political dimensions of impact creation.

Overview of this thesis

In order to create a comprehensive idea about the impact as mentioned, existing literature will first be reviewed. First, different assessments of the impact of sustainable tourism research is explored. Second, discourse theory is explained, after which different existing industry discourses are investigated. Third, the theoretical framework will be explained, presenting its key features. The methods present an operationalization of the theory and outline this case

study, including explanations of the data collection, sampling, data analysis, and possible limitations. Fourth, the results will be presented, which is divided in four parts. Hereby the first is explaining the context of this case study, after which the pathways, sites, and techniques are explained. The pathways show the most significant moments and utterances, presented in a chronological order. Moreover, the sites present important collaborations and their viewpoints, whereas the techniques will outlay different strategies used by these collaborations and actors, in order to clarify their viewpoint. Conclusions will be drawn from these results. Finally, implications for policymakers and researchers will be presented. Hereby, this thesis is important for policymakers and researchers, since a different assessment method is used, wherefore researchers can develop different writing strategies and hence create more impact.

Literature review and theoretical framework

Research impact assessment importance

Whereas there is a debate about the importance of research impact rising in the literature, it is also a rising topic among academics themselves (REF, 2014). Especially evaluation of research impact is gaining importance (Penfield, et al. 2013). As argued by Buckley (2009b), environmental policies, management measures, and technologies can reduce many tourism impacts. Standard and straightforward planning as well as regulatory and technological approaches are essential in reducing pollution and associated impacts from tourism. Surprisingly, however, is that the tourism industry does not pay direct attention to this research (Buckley, 2012). If academics and scholars understand what the industry does and why, then that information contributes to government policy and regulation which in turn can improve sustainability. Currently, success is often limited, due to poor implementation processes in developed and developing nations (Buckley, 2012). Furthermore, as the travel industry and sustainability are changing more rapidly than policies can be adapted and implemented, it is believed that by emphasizing communication and dissemination of findings, the industry can become more sustainable (Font, et al. 2019). In order to increase research impact and thus sustainability, one must first assess research impact. Hence, one can create a better understanding of the findings that result from a research, in order to maximize its impacts (Penfield, et al. 2013).

Different research impact assessment frameworks

In order to describe and understand research impact, several theoretical frameworks are designed. One of the most common frameworks is The Research Impact Framework, developed in the UK (Penfield, Baker, Scoble & Wykes, 2013; Milat, Bauman & Redman, 2015). This method is based on measuring academic impact, which can be derived through metric methods (Penfield, et al. 2013) as done in the article of Font, et al. (2019). Hereby, one analyzes the number of times cited and published. However, Bornmann and Marx (2013) argue that only a partial picture of the whole impact is assessed, whereby there is no link to causality (i.e. does it have a practical effect). Furthermore, the payback model as developed by Buxton and Hanney (2004) includes resources, processes, outputs, applications, and benefits (Milat, et al. 2015). This assessment framework is often accompanied with the metric assessments as mentioned above and applied as a semi-structured guide for researchers to identify their research impact. However, the model is to be found less effective when assessing longer term categories, such as sustainability.

An alternative approach

As some argue, old-fashioned research impact assessment frameworks, such as the ones explained above, have shortcomings when used to measure impacts (Vonortas & Link, 2012). Whereas the payback model is not suitable for long-term subjects, such as tourism and sustainability, the Research Impact Framework is not assessing all impact created by research. Furthermore, these frameworks do not take into consideration that policy and industry arrangements are based on negotiation, rather than on science, leading to a continuous gap between research and implementation of policies, and obscuring under what conditions research impact develops. Therefore, a new approach to assess the impact of sustainable tourism research must be developed. By making use of discourse theory, a link is made between research and the implementation of policies.

Discourse theory and its analytical merits

Discourse analysis is understood in a range of different ways (Potter, 2004). A discourse analysis provides theories and methods to study the relation between a discourse and social and cultural developments (Jorgensen & Philips, 2002). Five common features of discourse theory are identified by Jorgensen and Philips (2002). First, discursive practices are produced (created) and consumed (received and interpreted). These are considered important forms of

social practices that eventually contribute to the social world, consisting of relations and identities. Second, discourses are not only constituted by social structures, but they also reflect them. It is argued that discursive objects are influenced by societal factors, such as the political system. Furthermore, with a discourse analysis, one can engage in a concrete linguistic analysis, focusing on language use in texts, and in social interactions. A fourth merit of a discourse analysis is based on Foucault's ideas of power and knowledge and their nexus, whereby discourse contributes to the reproduction of unequal power relations between social groups. Hence, some claims are prioritized over others. Lastly, a critical discourse analysis aims to discover the role of discursive objects. This thesis focuses on Foucault's ideas around a discourse analysis, whereby a discourse is seen as a process of object formation.

The process of object formation

While sustainable tourism research points out at times contradicting industry discourses in the tourism mobility debate (Hall, et al., 2014, 2016; Peeters, et al., 2016), it has paid limited attention to date to the different ways in which discourses are constructed. Therefore, this thesis turns to a paper by Duineveld and Van Assche (2011), who analyzed the successful opposition to a new town in the Netherlands. They used Foucault's ideas on power, knowledge, and their mutual constitution to create an applicable framework. The constitution of a discourse is considered as the process of object formation. According to Foucault (1998), a discourse is constituted in power and constitutes power. These power relations are under constant change. Furthermore, these objects (discourses) can enact on one another or be reshaped. In order to create a more detailed analysis of this process of object formation (the formation of a discourse), a distinction was made between pathways, sites, and techniques.

Pathways

The series of decisions and events that typify the emergence and solidification of a discursive object are analyzed utilizing pathways, which are marked by path-dependencies. Path-dependencies are based on the idea that at any point in time, pathways can change. However, certain development options are more likely than others due to the path already traveled, leading to the dependency (Duineveld & Van Assche, 2011). When taking a closer look at the pathway of sustainable tourism, the 90's can be seen as a starting point. Sustainable development became an aim within the world of development, whereby the Brundtland Report played a major role. It was the first time that solutions to pollution and the exhausting of natural resources were searched. Sustainable development was introduced for the first time in this

report. Around the same time, sustainable development got connected to tourism. Sustainable tourism was mentioned during the WTO congress in 1995, and gained more importance in 1996. One year later, in 1997, the Kyoto Protocol was designed and signed by 36 countries, in order to reduce emissions.

Simultaneously, sustainable tourism became part of the core policy in the Netherlands and sustainable tourism was stimulated (NRC, 2002). On a global scale, the UNWTO Global Code of Ethics for Tourism formed a fundamental framework for responsible and sustainable tourism. This framework was adopted by the General Assembly of the World Tourism Organization and by the General Assembly of the United Nations two years later.

Several years later, in 2015, the Paris Climate Agreement was signed, to limit the global warming to the 'well-below' 2 degrees Celsius. At least 55 countries, accounting for 55% of global greenhouse emissions ratified the agreement (European Union, 2019). The Netherlands took also part in this Agreement; however, aviation was not included. The Netherlands translated this international agreement and formed two main goals: to reduce emitted CO₂ with 49% in 2030, in comparison to 1990, and to reduce emitted CO₂ with 95% in 2050 (Schiphol, 2019).

Sites

Sites present the context in which object formation takes place, representing a unique set of forces, and the confluence of power/ knowledge, as explored by Foucault (Duineveld & Van Assche, 2011). Hereby, examples can be found in collaborating actors, the rise of new actors and their viewpoints. From the pathways, several actors can already be identified. First are the tour operators that collaborate with the government and knowledge institutes. Those form a collaboration, in order to reduce the quantity of emitted CO₂, however, not all tour operators are concerned about this topic, whereby a division between several types of tour operators can be made.

Second are governments who can obligate tour operators and airlines to reduce their CO₂. Governments have the power and the resources to create legally binding agreements. Also, since they represent a country, governments are responsible for collaborating on a global level. Due to the global character of aviation and travel, this is very important in sustainable tourism.

Third are airports, where Schiphol Airport stated “we work together with different parties within and outside the sector on an agreement” (Schiphol, 2019 pp. 4). Commonly, airports only have one goal: to grow and expand. However, within the current climate of compensating and reducing CO₂, their growth is more debated than ever before.

Techniques

Finally, techniques lay out the different strategies that are used by actors to create their ideal situation, or solution, and how problems arise. Hereby, different - discursive – sources of information (e.g. statistics, graphs, scientific reports) are identified. In several articles, the underlying discourses have been pointed out (Hall, et al., 2014, 2016; Peeters, et al., 2016). There have been specific focuses on technological ‘myths’ and falsifying existing myths. In the articles from Hall et al. (2015), several claims from Shani and Arad are taken under consideration, arguing that most claims are incorrect. Therefore, they concluded that communication and existing storylines around climate change sciences must be improved (Hall, et al., 2015). However, these improvements can only go so far, since extensive campaigns by large organizations get greater media attention, and they often contradict the suggested improvements.

Sustainable tourism research has paid surprisingly little attention to discourse as a process of truth construction and rarely looked at the function of (sustainable tourism) research in this process. Gössling and Peeters (2007) already identified four general discursive lines of argumentation on the industry side of tourism. As concluded in the article, the travel industry tends to put themselves in a positive light, especially when it is considering environmental issues. Also, the article focused on how discourses come into practice, with a focus on public debate and tourist behavior. The article does not discuss the function of sustainable tourism research - as a discursive object - in industry discourses.

By applying pathways in this thesis, important events - from the respondent’s view - around the discussion on aviation, tourism and, climate change are identified and a chronological timeline (the pathway) can be compiled. Second, by applying the concept of sites in this research, an overview of different parties, their points of view, and the evolution of both is identified.

Methods

The case

The role of the travel industry has not been recognized during the early days of sustainable tourism research (Peeters, 2017). However, at the moment, there is a rising debate about the travel industry, especially with the emergence and the growth of airports such as Schiphol Airport and Lelystad airport (Lubbe, 2018). Where an increasing number of people travel on long distances for short periods of time (Peeters, 2017), airports must grow and discussions about the impact from the travel industry rise. Therefore, many different stakeholders, such as locals, tour operators, and researchers, are involved in debates around this topic, whom all have different storylines. In order to better understand the role of STR in this debate, a case study approach is used. Hereby the Netherlands is a suitable case, since there are several storylines and the debate is currently receiving much attention. By using a case study approach, the holistic and meaningful characteristics of managerial processes and maturation of industries can be retained (Yin, 2003).

Data collection and framework

This study used two different qualitative data collection methods. By using multiple sources, a broader range of historical, attitudinal, and behavioral issues could be addressed (Yin, 2003). A single analytical framework was used for both 1) interviews and 2) the document analysis. This analytical framework can be found in Appendix I. Also, triangulation of the data was possible, resulting in more convincing and accurate conclusions (Yin, 2003).

The first qualitative data collection method was conducting interviews. Interviews are an essential source of evidence since most case studies are about human affairs. These human affairs should be reported and interpreted through the eyes of specific interviewees, and well-informed respondents can provide insights into a situation (Yin, 2003). In this sense, semi-structured interviews with tour operators, lobbyists, journalists and trade associations were held. This was done in order to identify pathways, sites, and techniques of object formation (Duineveld & van Assche, 2011). Therefore, the interviews' framework was divided into three parts, in which there is a specific focus in each part on one of the three items mentioned above. First, the pathways were identified and questions on the most important events were asked. These questions let the respondent elaborate on important decisions made in the Netherlands around aviation. Second, the context (site) was identified, with questions relating to the

different actors involved and their collaborations in the debate around climate change and aviation. Also, this question identifies changes in viewpoints from the different actors involved in the debate. Lastly, different techniques used by those actors were identified through questions relating to the information used to convince other actors (e.g. reports or rhetoric techniques). Those could be reports or rhetoric argumentations. With these three parts, the processes and the various roles of actors and discourses could be identified.

The interviews took place during the set time for data collection while executing of this thesis, resulting in a period of approximately one month; between late April and the beginning of June 2019. The interviews took place throughout the Netherlands, where the specific location depended on the respondents' preferences.

Additionally, newspaper articles, documentaries, and official reports are selected, since they are often a source of information for people and organizations (Boykoff and Boykoff, 2007). Furthermore, news items are used to present reports. Those articles will be sampled through snowball sampling. Hence, the articles mentioned in the interviews will be used. Subsequently, a chronological timeline of important events was created in order to provide a clear overview of events.

Sampling design

The choice of which actors to interview was based on an extensive list, compiled by this thesis' supervisors in conversations and cooperation with Paul Peeters. A shortlist was created, of which the most important actors – for this thesis - in the travel industry were chosen to interview. Based on this list, five interviews were held with tour operators, lobbyists, journalists and trade associations. However, the interviews that were held were also depending on the availability of the respondents and their willingness to cooperate. For the newspaper articles, documentaries and official reports, a search engine was used and articles from different dates were selected in order to create a comprehensive overview for the timeline (pathway). Both samples can be found in appendix II. By making use of a combination of purposive sampling and snowball sampling, particular characteristics of the population at interest (the travel industry) can be focused on. Then, snowball sampling allowed me to reach populations that are difficult to sample, since respondents were more eager to collaborate if one of their colleagues collaborated as well.

Data analysis

After the data was obtained, the interviews were transcribed. In order to analyze the transcriptions, a descriptive framework was designed to organize the information for this study (Yin, 2003). A single analytical framework was used for both 1) interviews and 2) the document analysis. This framework is based on Duineveld and Van Assche (2011), indicating the pathways, sites, and techniques, and is to be found in Appendix I.

Based on the interviews with key actors and the document analysis, a chronological timeline of important moments, events, and utterances was compiled. In order to do so, a list of all moments referred to in the interviews was compiled. Hereafter, the most important moments, based on the number of times referred to (with a minimum of two), were filtered out. These moments were put in chronological order, after the most important utterances were filtered out. The chronological order was based on the begin date of a certain moment as mentioned in the interviews or found on official websites. After this, the sites - illustrating collaborations between actors and their viewpoints – were indicated. By summarizing all actors mentioned in the interviews and documents, their viewpoints, and collaborations, a comprehensive list was compiled. Hereafter, a division was made between different actor groups and their viewpoints. Then, any changes in viewpoints were indicated from the interviews, whereby examples were written down and added to the different actor group explanations. Lastly, the techniques used by the indicated actors were indicated. Several strategies were mentioned in the interviews, which were compared and finally a division was made between different techniques.

Limitations

The topic of this thesis is politically very sensitive. This may have affected access to respondents and their willingness to collaborate in the interviews. In order to minimize the impacts of this limitation, respondents were informed on beforehand about the topic and purpose of the study, and they remained anonymous. Hence, transcripts of the interviews are not included in this thesis.

Results

Context

With an increased attention on sustainability, and a wide debate about mobility in the Netherlands, great controversy around the topic of air travel arose (Schulte, 2019). Which,

according to one of my respondents, consisted of three dimensions. Hereby, sustainability, capacity, and mobility are inseparable in the discussion. Firstly, there is a great debate going on around sustainability. The increased media attention on climate change led to debates along with a shift in the climate change and aviation debate in the Netherlands. Examples here can be found in news items from Paul Peeters, at the end of 2017, as well as a Dutch documentary on aviation, claiming that traveling is a new form of smoking (Tegenlicht, 2018). This led to a great controversy around the topic (Schulte, 2019), where before 80% of the public was worried about the environment at the end of 2017, this is only 65% at the moment (I&O research, 2019). Simultaneously, different political parties have been working on the topic, where some are in favor, and others are against any agreement to reduce CO₂, making it difficult to get to concrete agreements (Jonker & de Winther, 2019). Moreover, locals affected by the growth of airports gathered, which increased the complexity of the debate as well. Locals united in different types of action groups such as SATL (Samenwerkende Actiegroepen Tegen Laagvliegen – Cooperating action groups against low-level flying) and they became more assertive. Hence, it can be said that the debate around aviation and climate change is a complex social phenomenon, with many actors involved, who provide different discourses (Adams, 2017).

Second, capacity is referring back to Schiphol Airport, which reached its maximum number of yearly flights in 2017. The Netherlands is one of the most densely populated countries worldwide (Kabat, et al., 2009) and Schiphol Airport in Amsterdam is the third biggest airport in Europe (Vliegveldinfo.nl, 2019). With 66 countries connected to KLM's network at Schiphol Airport, it is in the top ten of best-connected airlines worldwide and this makes Schiphol one of the busiest airports in the world (Zieltjens, 2019). Therefore, international clients, people, and trade find their way to the Netherlands easily, generating approximately 370.500 jobs and adding 27 billion to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Hence, the Dutch travel industry is considered one of the key pillars of the Dutch economy (Dutch Aviation Group, 2018). Furthermore, due to Schiphol's great connectivity, it is conceived to have an essential mainport function and it is vital for the Netherlands (Schiphol Group, 2015). For the last 25 years, it is argued that Schiphol's mainport function is indispensable (Van Lieshout, 2018). Due to its vital function and size, it has always been a pillar in Dutch economic policy (City of Amsterdam, 2019).

This is not surprising, since the airport reached a record number of 68,4 million passengers in 2017 (Debast & Van der Meer, 2018), almost reaching its yearly maximum number of 500.000

flights(Smets, 2018). However, since 2008, rules and regulations concerning any growth of the airport were made in the ‘Aldersakkoord’ (Aldersagreement), whereby selectivity was one of the main terms. In order to relieve pressure from Schiphol Airport, discussions started in 2012 to extend Lelystad Airport, located 68 KM North-East of Schiphol. Eventually, the final decision to extend Lelystad’s taking- off and landing lanes was made in 2015 (Airport-Lelystad, 2016). Initially, it was planned that Lelystad should grow to 45 thousand flight movements and two million passengers on a yearly basis, between 2018 and 2033. The government decided at that time that Lelystad Airport should be opened, and should profile itself as an airport especially for holiday flights. However, European law dictates that one cannot just simply divert e.g. a holiday flight to a different airport, in order to make better use of the available space (European Commission, 2019).

Third, the question which flights should be diverted arose and led to discussions around the term selectivity. With a shortage in capacity, and the recent discussions about climate change and aviation’s impact on climate change, the question whether Schiphol Airport should grow, and whether the new Lelystad Airport should be opened arose as aviation became under increased scrutiny. Furthermore, the topic became more controversial due to pressure of action groups such as HoogOverijssel and SATL. Recently, viewing aviation as a catalyzer and an explanation of Dutch economic success became outdated and sustainability gained more importance.

Pathways

For a more detailed analysis of the process of object formation, a pathway including significant moments in the mobility debate in the Netherlands was compiled. “A pathway of object formation is a series of decisions and events that typify the emergence and solidification of a discursive object” (Duineveld & Van Assche, 2011, p.81). In this section, 15 moments (M1-15) are highlighted, and they will be presented in chronological order.

Since 2008, greater awareness around the growth of airports arose. Therefore, the ‘Aldersakkoord’ (Aldersagreement) was made in 2008, including all involved actors (M1). The agreement was designed to advice the national government about the development of Schiphol Airport, Eindhoven Airport, and Lelystad Airport (Alderstafels, 2019). Hence, they agreed on ‘development of Schiphol airport in balance with the surroundings’. Furthermore, the

maximum capacity of Schiphol was set, leading to a maximum number of 500.000 flights until 2020. However, the purpose of this cap was not to be an impediment, more importantly, it should function as a stimulus to change behavior by making careful use of these flights (Bewoners omgeving Schiphol, 2019). Even though the agreement is not fully adopted by the government and anchored in the Dutch legislation, it functions as a framework within regulations and communication rules between the government, the House of Representatives and involved actors. The agreement has been adapted in 2012 (M2) and 2015 (M3), and therefore it is still relevant in the current discussion.

After this national agreement, an international agreement was designed and signed in Paris in 2015 – the Paris Climate Agreement - involving governments from different countries in Europe including the Netherlands (M4). Unsurprisingly, aviation emissions are excluded from the Paris agreement. The agreement merely focuses on national policy efforts, whereas aviation is a global industry (Air Transport Action Group, 2019).

“Whereby domestic aviation emissions are covered by the Paris Agreement in national pledges, international flights, accounting for around 65% of the aviation industry’s CO₂ emissions are covered in the CORSIA (Carbon Offsetting and Reduction Scheme for International Aviation) initiative” (Timperley, 2019, pp.10). Signed in 2016 and starting the 1st of January 2019, which was mentioned as a tipping point by several interviewees (M5). CORSIA is meant to avoid a patchwork of uncoordinated regional and domestic policies for international aviation (IATA, 2019). Furthermore, differentiating from the Paris agreement is the fact that airlines and airplane builders promised to create more space for biofuels and to build cleaner aircrafts (Van Ammelrooy, 2018). Surprisingly, one of the interviewees had a critical view on the initiative: “we arranged it already, we will compensate, but it is not tenable” concluding that it is a well-written initiative, however, compensation is not the answer, we must reduce. As from the first of January 2019, the CORSIA agreement is activated, which requires all carriers to report their CO₂ emissions on an annual basis (IATA, 2019). With this, a major step in the travel industry was set, as it was the first time that international flights are covered in an agreement.

After the Paris Agreement and the CORSIA agreement, het Nationaal Luchtvaart- en Ruimtevaartcentrum (NLR/ the national aviation and space center) published a report – the MER - about the noise pollution from airplanes landing and taking off at Lelystad Airport in the summer of 2017 (M6). This report identifies environmental impacts of a plan, in this case

Lelystad Airport, before the government takes any decisions. In this way, the government can include environmental impacts in the decision-making process (Hoevenaars, 2019). This was the starting point to break with the famous Dutch ‘poldermodel’ (Polder Model), based on a consensus-decision making process, whereby all parties discuss. Especially united inhabitants played an important role at this time, as the collaboration named HoogOverijssel argued that the report contained several mistakes in October 2017 (M7). HoogOverijssel is a local action group, and together with several other action groups, they formed SATL on a national level. Unlike other action groups, HoogOverijssel is considered – by several interviewees - a professional action group due to their knowledge. Members have backgrounds in planning, environmental affairs, air traffic control, and noise pollution. Therefore, this action group was the first to professionally protest against Lelystad Airport. As one of the interviewees mentioned: this group functioned as a catalyzer in the discussion around aviation in the Netherlands. It was a turning point when HoogOverijssel discovered flaws in the MER in the summer of 2017.

In 2017, Schiphol Airport reached its maximum capacity of 500.000 flights, simultaneously, at this point, December 2017, the opening of a new airport - Lelystad Airport - was postponed (M8). In an official letter from minister Cora van Nieuwenhuizen (ministry of infrastructure and water management) directed to the House of Representatives she argued: “based on consultations with people in the involved regions, airspace users, and advice from an inhabitant’s delegation to first adapt the flight routes from and to the airport, I decided to postpone the opening of Lelystad airport” (Press conference Van Nieuwenhuizen, 2018, pp.1-4). There was no agreement on the number of flights and the way Lelystad should function in relation to Schiphol airport. The question arose whether Lelystad Airport should function in a twin-airport construction or as an autonomous airport. In 2018, however, the European Union prohibited twin- airport constructions based on free market legislation.

Followed by the Paris climate agreement was Paul Peeters' PhD, in which the main drivers for tourism's CO2 emissions were examined and a future scenario is presented. The future scenario is based on calculations showing that we must decrease flying. “If we do not decrease the number of flights, we will never reach the Paris agreement goals” (Peeters in Trouw, 2018, pp.2) (M9).

In the meantime, Dutch policymakers started debates due to the aftermath of the Paris climate agreement, therefore the ‘klimaattafels’ (climate platforms) were organized at the end of February 2018 (M10). Those are meant to create windows of opportunities to reach the Paris climate agreement and eventually leading to a Dutch Climate Agreement in which it is stated that by 2030 the GHG emissions must be reduced with 49%. These ‘klimaattafels’ consist of five different areas (tables), with one of them mobility. Since aviation is a big contributor to CO₂ emitted in the Netherlands, it was decided to involve mobility and especially aviation in this platform. The government, the industry, and several social groups were involved in these discussions in order to reach an agreement on CO₂ reduction. At that time the environment became increasingly dynamic. The Netherlands is creating the ‘luchtvaartnota’ (aviation note), whereby inhabitants, the government, the industry, airspace users, and companies providing information are involved (M11). This aviation note is created since the aviation sector is growing, however, Dutch airports are busy and airspace is almost full (Rijksoverheid, 2019). With this note, the government is trying to solve the problems around mobility, hereby is the issue of capacity and sustainability a social question. Furthermore, the government expects problems around aviation in the period 2020- 2050. Hence, a plan must be made to prevent this. At the moment, this note is being prepared and must be finished before the end of 2019.

This is considered a tipping point in the discussion around tourism and aviation in the Netherlands, after which multiple documentaries and news items were published such as the Tegenlicht documentary ‘Reizen is het nieuwe roken’ (traveling is a new form of smoking) (M12). As one of the interviewees mentioned, “I hear from several different viewpoints that the documentary made an impression”. Shortly after the documentary was broadcasted, a news article about CO₂ compensation was published in July 2018. This article was published in the Volkskrant and had an evident message: a return flight from Amsterdam to Thailand means you can’t eat meat for six years, if you want to compensate your emitted CO₂. Not only the Tegenlicht documentary was broadcasted, Kassa dug deeper into compensation arranged by airlines, at the end of October 2018 (M13). Critical questions were asked in this documentary, whereby it became clear that compensation is a difficult term, and not always used correctly. Those three news items created new storylines in the tourism mobility debate in the Netherlands, and confronted the public with hard facts.

The parties that were outspoken in the discussion did not stay limited to inhabitants only. Shortly after postponing the opening of Lelystad Airport, Greta Thunberg from Sweden started

heavy protests against climate change in November 2018, and the word ‘vliegschaamte’ (being ashamed of flying) came into life (M14). Next to the Dutch action groups, she was the first school kid mentionable media attention. Where before people could neglect climate change, due to only indirect visibility, the summer of 2018 resulted in extreme water shortages (Van Dool & Cohen, 2018). Falling together with Greta Thunberg’s protests against climate change, the debate was kept alive and relevant. Not only students in Sweden felt an urge to raise their voices, scholars in the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, and Germany have protested against climate change as well at the beginning of 2019 (M15). Moreover, the hot summer of 2018 contributed to the desire to change policies as well.

At this point, several things came together. First of all, Schiphol Airport reached its cap of 500.000 flights on a yearly basis. However, due to the postponement of the opening of Lelystad Airport, flights could not directly be diverted from Schiphol to Lelystad. Simultaneously, HoogOverijssel discovered flaws in the MER, due to which more time to research the noise pollution was necessary. On top of that, more questions were asked about whether Lelystad should be opened, since the Netherlands must reduce CO₂. Therefore, a connection between sustainability, Lelystad Airport and Schiphol Airport reaching its maximum capacity was made.

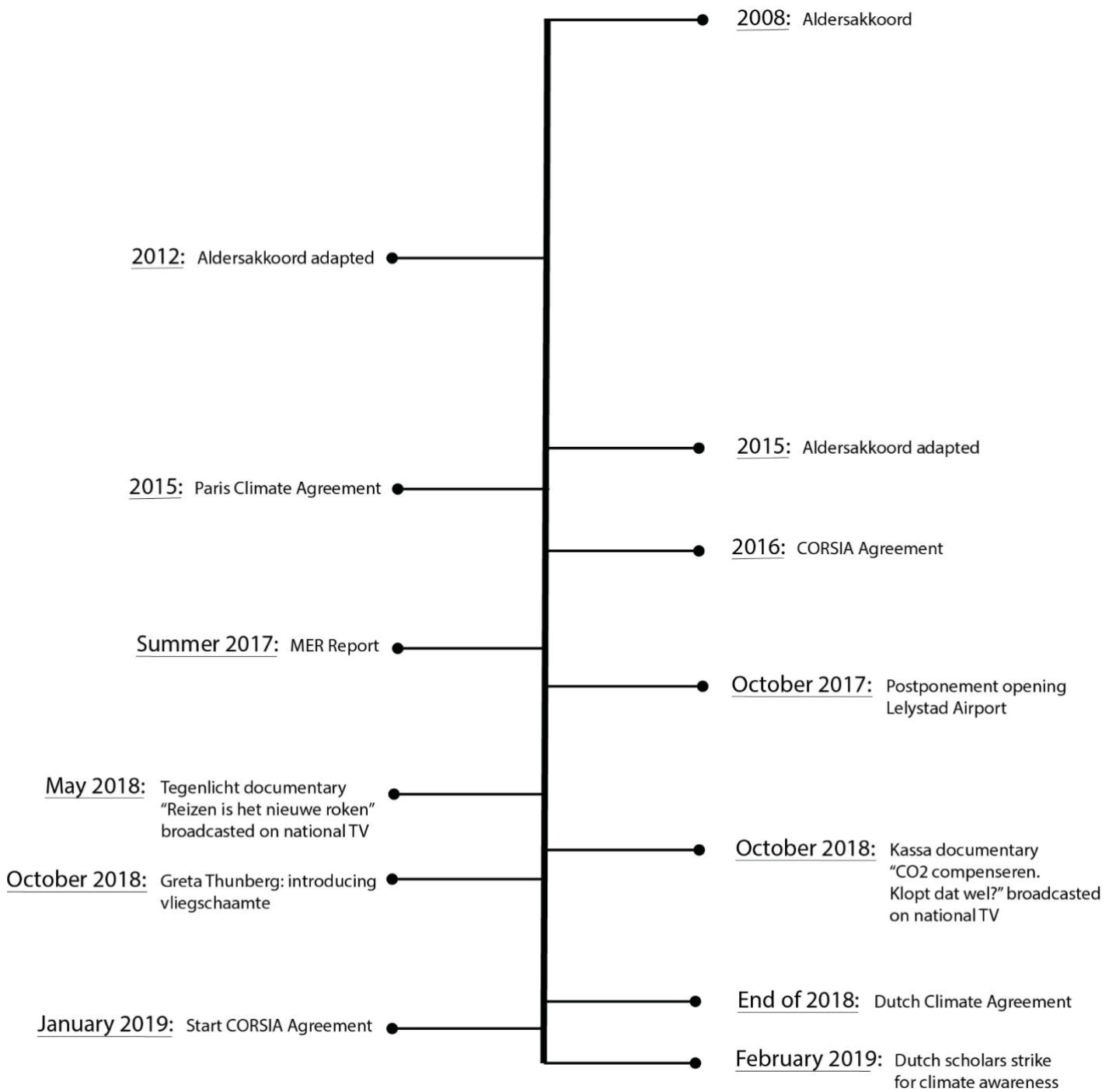


Figure 1.1. A chronological overview of significant events in the mobility debate in the Netherlands.

Sites

Sites, in the context of object formation are the unique sets of forces that mould to an emerging object. This can include informal settings, like drinking a coffee, and formal settings such as academic contexts and bureaucratic organizations (Duineveld & Van Assche, 2011).

Travel industry

As came forward in the interviews with the travel industry, a clear distinction between three different types of actors in the travel industry can be made, including frontrunners, moderates, and cowboys.

Frontrunners

A niche market was identified consisting of several tour operators and airlines that consider sustainability as the core of their business models, such as SNP, Better Places, Riskja, Sawadee, and Tikka. This group sets the bar high for other players in the sector. The ANVR (agency representing Dutch tour operators) facilitates, directs and brings up topics around sustainability in this process, for which this organization plays an important role. However, the ANVR's role is extremely difficult, whereby 'the spokesman is moving back and forth, since he must make the right decision for the whole sector'. Even though this group is setting high standards when it comes to integrating sustainability in an organization's core, one of the interviewees explains: 'we are with these frontrunners still in a bubble, we are mostly working on our own concern, instead of going into the world'. Surprisingly though is the fact that this niche market is slowly getting increased attention. Furthermore, they include the price for CO2 compensation in their package prices, distinguishing them from other tour operators and airlines.

The moderates

Behind the frontrunners is a group which considers sustainability a main focus, but requires any sustainable plans or ideas to fit within their organization. As one of the interviewees mentioned: 'this is not in a negative way, but they think more about their own agenda, instead of working together'. Their own ideas are more important than ideas created in collaborations.

Cowboys

Within this last category, there is a specific focus on the non-sustainable customer whereby airlines and tour operators do not care about any type of innovation around sustainability. They argue that other airlines and tour operators clear their conscience by compensating CO₂, instead of reducing it. As one of the interviewees mentioned: ‘this group is in it only for the money’.

Action groups

Revisiting the before-mentioned events, multiple actors are identified. As referred to in all interviews and in the pathway, one of the most important actors are the united inhabitants around Lelystad airport, the action groups SATL (SATL, 2019) and HoogOverijssel (HoogOverijssel, 2019). Hereby, HoogOverijssel is a local initiative and with several other action groups SATL (cooperating action groups against low-level flying routes) is formed as a national action group. HoogOverijssel is in this way part of a national movement. Before the action groups around Lelystad Airport united, local residents were represented by the ORS in the Schiphol case. As mentioned before, they were involved through the Aldersagreement.

Especially the action groups around Lelystad Airport were very successful. As one of the interviewees mentioned: ‘it’s an obvious example of how inhabitants united in a very professional way in order to postpone the opening of Lelystad airport’. Within this group, the members have considerable knowledge on aspects such as noise, planning and the environment (HoogOverijssel, 2019). Especially Leon Adegeest, who is a member of HoogOverijssel was mentioned regularly in the interviews. Furthermore, Leon Adegeest (a member of HoogOverijssel) used a different way to convince the ministry. Instead of complaining, he investigated the MER and pointed out several mistakes in the report. ‘He became the face of this group, as some sort of Don Quixote he battled the MER calculations and the government’. However, other interviewees mentioned that ‘the action groups are not working towards a solution, the only thing they do is yell’.

Policymakers

The Netherlands has always been known for its ‘poldermodel’ (Polder Model), whereby all parties discuss until a solution is found. This model is based on consensus decision-making, and social policy making in the 1980s and 1990s. The idea is that everyone gets a say in the decision-making process (Rachel’s ruminations, 2019). However, at this point ‘we need a more

directive government, since the industry is just not willing to make a fundamental movement towards more sustainability', as one of the interviewees explained. Interestingly is the role of the ministry of infrastructure and water state here, whereby one would expect it to be neutral, however, they are usually on the business side of the story, with an eye for the economic importance of a decision.

When taking a closer look at the political parties involved, two different groups arise whereby the first group is the coalition. Hereby VVD is the most important player and they argue that the Netherlands needs more capacity. Their viewpoint is based on 'the fact that the Netherlands is a trade nation'. However, the Dutch government (consisting of the VVD and several others such as D66 and ChristenUnie) signed the Paris Agreement for which aviation should become more sustainable. Hence, they advocate green growth and oppose a reduction in number of flights. Interesting is that one of the interviewees mentioned that 'the VVD is less active than several other parties from the coalition. The spokesperson of the VVD however, likes to provoke a lot'. Other more critical parties are ChristenUnie and D66, who are especially demanding that Lelystad Airport is 'not going to grow extremely'.

Another important player is the ministry of infrastructure and water state. Whereby they play an essential role in the opening of Lelystad Airport. They 'write policy, invite people, filter, publish reports in their own timeline'. However, as one of the interviewees argues 'they try everything to create more support, suddenly to talk to almost everyone who is relevant in the discussion'.

Furthermore, there is a continuous struggle between adhering the government, and representing one's electorate. Hereby, 'ChristenUnie and D66 are coalition partners and wherefore they signed the coalition agreement. Hence, they must adhere to the formalized government policy, however, they are pressured by their electorate to take a greener stand. Whereby the government policy is based on the growth of Schiphol Airport and the opening of Lelystad Airport. Hence, they are maneuvering between a national viewpoint and local viewpoint'. As a result of this, the opposition starts asking questions such as 'what is your government policy for real?' And they argue that viewpoints are not clearly communicated: 'we must read in the newspaper what your viewpoints are'. On the contrary, VVD and similarly CDA are not confronted with this problem. They defend government policy, which is what their supporters want them to do. On the opposite are the green parties such as Partij Voor De Dieren (PVDD),

SP, and GroenLinks. Their electorate expects them to attack current government policy. When looking at SP, this political party is in this green block, since their aim is to protect worker's rights of airline staff, such as with RyanAir.

Techniques

Finally, a technique is part of the process of object formation, which partially explains the process (Duineveld & Van Assche, 2011). A distinction between 1) phrasing, 2) old versus new, 3) commissioned results, and 4) rhetoric techniques is made below.

Phrasing

In the process of object formation, several techniques are distinguished. When focusing on the action groups one thing is standing out. Action groups created several words and terms in order to make their statements more powerful. Within the Aldersagreement, several terms such as 'selectiviteit' (the principle of selectivity) and 'prevlucht' (fun flights: holiday/leisure flights) were introduced by policymakers and action groups. Even though these terms were only present at an embryonic form at the time of the agreement, these words were consciously chosen by the action groups, to give a negative charge to messages about Lelystad Airport.

Furthermore, shortly after postponing opening Lelystad airport, the ministry of infrastructure and water management in cooperation with Transavia arranged the 'belevingsvlucht' (a test flight from Lelystad airport, to measure the level of noise). The purpose of this flight was not to revise any decision made around Lelystad airport, more importantly, to experience the noise for locals and people living near approach routes. In addition, trust in policymakers decreased extremely after mistakes were found in the MER. This flight was partially set up to win back trust from action groups and locals.

Old versus new

Especially in the technique of lobbying, two things are important and used on a regular basis. As one of the interviewees explained: 'it is always easier to defend an old story, instead of introducing a new one and convincing people about this new story'. A great example can be found in KLM, who exists for 100 years already and keeps arguing that they already created so many opportunities considering connectivity. However, the world around KLM is constantly changing, whereby it is questioned whether KLM's business model is still appropriate. When

looking at parties that try to change people's minds about mobility, such as the party Natuur en Milieu (Nature and Environment), they argue that more time and material is necessary to prove a statement. Hence, it is considered more difficult to introduce a new storyline in comparison to an old storyline.

Furthermore, as mentioned in the context, Leon Adegeest from HoogOverijssel used a new strategy to convince the ministry, whereby he analyzed written reports and found several mistakes in the MER. Even though the ministry admitted that there were mistakes in the report and new calculations were made, HoogOverijssel argued that the ministry played down the calculations.

Commissioned results

Subsequently, it was indicated that one of the main techniques used in the mobility debate is making use of reports. With regards to these reports, it is argued that all reports published are in favor of the publishing party. An example mentioned in the interviews is 'Slim en Duurzaam' (smart and sustainable) created by several airlines, tour operators, airports, a university, and the Dutch railway system (ACN, 2015). However, 'this report was lacking being critical towards your own agenda, they are waving with this report everywhere, but it is too late'. The report is not including CO2 reduction, it is purely based on moderated growth even though it is pretended to reduce CO2. With that, the travel industry is shining a negative light on themselves. It is argued that commonly a consulting company is contracted, to deliver a message and support one's opinion.

Rhetoric techniques

Another way in which to convince a reader or to communicate is by making use of rhetoric techniques. One of the interviews mentioned the following as example: the Dutch scholars protesting were called hypocrites in the media, since still eat at KFC and McDonald's, producing CO2, and using mentionable water quantities. However, it is argued that 'at least they are already thinking about the environment, it is extremely difficult to stop flying since humans have to urge to explore'. This division is also clearly visible in the media, some respondents replied to a newspaper article in February 2019 arguing that these students should be taught about environmental impacts, rather than taking a day off. On the contrary, several

respondents argued that youngsters still fly and take driving classes as soon as possible, producing mentionable amounts of CO₂ (BN De Stem, 2019).

Hopeful storylines and doom scenarios

Another form of communicating your viewpoint is by making use of doom scenarios and creating hopeful storylines. Concerns about climate change have been deepened, however, environmentalists argue for a different approach, since only telling doom scenarios turned out not to be very successful, one has to be unique (Hall, 2014). An example here is Paul Peeter's PhD, whereby a clear doom scenario is presented. A graph was designed, to visually show this scenario. This graph was referred to as a returning item in discussions and in the media, and as a game changer. Visual signals such as the graph are one of the primary sources of information for human beings (Kempka, Wydmuch, Runc, Toczek & Jaskowski, 2016). The graph showed that if we don't do anything about CO₂ reduction, we will not reach the Paris Agreement.

Creating a doom scenario and a hopeful storyline is a technique used in the Tegenlicht documentary as well. First, all the impacts that arise from traveling are laid out, after which a more hopeful storyline is presented. A storyline that is claiming that this is the time to change, that this is the time to actually do something, since there is still hope.

Making use of doom scenarios or creating hopeful storylines is also visible in the Dutch politics. Lately, the majority of political parties makes use of doom scenarios. Where before mostly right-winged parties carried hopeful storylines, that is no longer the case (Havenaar in Trouw, 2019). In the past, it was argued by those right-winged parties that future technology will make aviation green. Therefore, aviation must grow, in order to justify the required technological investments. Currently, however, the government signed the Paris Agreement, forcing the coalition parties to follow. On the contrary, it is easier for opposition parties to make use of doom scenarios, in order to prove their ideas that we must reduce flying.

Conclusion and discussion

This research aimed to investigate the influence of sustainable tourism research in the tourism, mobility, aviation, and climate change debate in the Netherlands. Where previous assessments tended to present research and the travel industry as separate worlds, this research made use of a discourse analysis, based on concepts utilized by Duineveld and Van Assche (2011), in order

to avoiding obscuring the impact of sustainable tourism research. A detailed analysis of pathways, sites, and techniques of object formation in the tourism, mobility, aviation, and climate change debate was given. It can be concluded that in the creation of discourses of the travel industry in the Netherlands, one can distinguish a number of techniques: phrasing, old versus new, commissioned results, and rhetoric techniques.

Surprisingly, where Buckley (2012) suggested that the tourism industry does not pay direct attention to research on standard and straightforward planning, regulatory and technological approaches, this study concludes that especially Paul Peeters' PhD had an impact on the debate in the Netherlands and discourses created by the travel industry. When Schiphol Airport reached its maximum capacity of 500.000 flights per year, and flaws were discovered in the MER by action groups, Peeters' PhD got entangled in other events. This PhD was mentioned several times in the media, and interviewees mentioned this report as an important factor in the discussion. Subsequently, several things came together and Peeters' PhD influenced the speed at which the discussions around Lelystad Airport, Schiphol Airport, and flying in general arose. Since a clear scenario was presented, arguing that we must reduce CO2 emissions or we will never reach the goals set in the Paris Agreement. Hence, impact is created since this PhD got entangled in several moments.

Furthermore, in the case of Lelystad Airport - according to some respondents - action groups are not working towards a solution. Hereby, the solution for the action groups is to prohibit growth of Lelystad Airport, this is considered a non-solution (a proposed solution to a problem that is deemed inadequate or not a real solution (HarperCollins Publishers, 2019)) by the travel industry. This is just one example of how different storylines are created, and how viewpoints can differ from one actor to another. It is questionable though, whether action groups realize that their solution is a non-solution.

With this research, I aimed to show that the creation of discourses is not purely based on falsifying existing myths, as suggested by previous research. Moreover, discourses are the product of sustainable tourism research, and media items. The process of creating discourses will continue. Instead of examining travel industry discourses, one can investigate discourses from policymakers, and compare these discourses to travel industry discourses, possibly bridging the gap between these two worlds. Hopefully, further research can create impact on CO2 reduction measures, in order to reduce CO2.

Finally, by making use of discourse theory, an opportunity was created to dig deeper in the constant process of negotiation, and debating. It gave me the chance to research how different storylines came together, and in what matter those storylines were created.

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Appendix I

Interview guide

Theoretisch kader (voor interviewer)

Research impact: the construction of alternative realities through a process of object formation

Object: tourism mobility discourse in the Netherlands

Aim: identify *pathways*, *sites*, and *techniques* of object formation (see Duineveld & Van Assche, 2011)

Pathways: “the series of decisions and events that typifies the emergence and solidification of a discursive object” (p. 3).

Site: the informal and formal settings in which object formation occurs. Sites can assume a broad array of shapes and forms, certain sites lead more easily to certain other sites (Duineveld & Van Assche, 2011).

Technique: “ a feature of the process of object formation that partially explains that process” (p. 4).

Ter introductie (voor de respondent)

Met dit interview willen we graag drie dingen achterhalen. Allereerst, hoe de discussie over luchtvaart, toerisme en klimaatverandering in Nederland zich ontwikkeld heeft, en nog steeds ontwikkeld. Ten tweede, welke veranderingen zich hebben voorgedaan in deze discussie, en, tot slot, op welke manieren deze veranderingen tot stand zijn gekomen.

We doen dit aan de hand van een drietal hoofdvragen, waar we vervolgens dieper op doorgaan.

1. Pathways ('route' of 'pad')

Wat zijn voor u belangrijke momenten geweest in de discussie rondom luchtvaart, toerisme en klimaatverandering in Nederland?

'Momenten' is een brede term. Dit geeft respondenten ruimte om zelf invulling te geven aan de vraag.

Probing

- Doorvragen naar belangrijke beslissingen en gebeurtenissen in de discussie rondom luchtvaart, toerisme en klimaatverandering in Nederland (dit zijn ook momenten).
- Doorvragen om eventuele 'path dependencies' te achterhalen: in hoeverre en op welke manier staan de door de genoemde momenten / beslissingen / gebeurtenissen volgens de respondent in verband met elkaar?

Beoogd resultaat

Een tijdslijn (oftewel 'pathway') vanuit het gezichtspunt van de respondent, met daarop belangrijke momenten en hun onderlinge relaties.

2. Sites ('settings')

Als we nu kijken naar de tijdslijn die u zojuist geschetst heeft, welke partijen zijn hierbij betrokken, wat zijn hun standpunten (en zijn deze standpunten in de loop der tijd veranderd)?

Hoe hebben deze partijen zich in de loop der tijd georganiseerd om hun standpunten kracht bij te zetten?

De eerste vraag dient puur om tijdens het interview snel een overzicht te krijgen van betrokken organisaties en hun standpunten. Dit is informatie die wij ook via desk research en via CSTT kunnen achterhalen. De tweede vraag is belangrijk: deze achterhaald namelijk de 'sites'. De *probing* richt zich dan ook met name hierop.

Development pathways of object formation often include organisations as “sites of power/knowledge” (p. 13). In the case of Bulb City, the resistance process was a path of establishing new organisations, coalitions, and pacts. These new actors mobilized new networks and produced new arguments that enforced the production an alternative reality (p. 13).

Probing

- Zijn organisaties samen gaan werken in coalities?
- Zijn er formele samenwerkingsverbanden of pacts ontstaan?
- Zijn er gemeenschappelijke agenda's ontwikkeld?
- Zijn er nieuwe organisaties opgericht?
- Welke informele netwerken spelen een rol?
- Hoe functioneren deze netwerken?
- In hoeverre en op welke manieren zijn deze netwerken tegenover elkaar komen te staan / zijn er verschillende kampen ontstaan?

Beoogd resultaat

Een overzicht van verschillende partijen, hun standpunten en de manieren waarop deze partijen en standpunten zichzelf in de loop der tijd georganiseerd hebben.

3. Techniques ('technieken' / 'strategieën')

Welke ideale situaties, oplossingen, maar ook problemen propageren de verschillende partijen? Welke argumenten en informatie gebruiken zij om anderen van hun gelijk te overtuigen? Zijn hierin in de loop der tijd veranderingen opgetreden? Waarom? Hoe ging dit in zijn werk?

Deze vraag dient om te achterhalen hoe (met welke *techniques*) ideale situaties, oplossingen en problemen (*objects*) tot stand komen / worden gecreëerd. We doen dit om te kijken welke technieken zoals beschreven door Duineveld & Assche we kunnen identificeren in de discussie rondom luchtvaart, toerisme en klimaatverandering in Nederland.

Probing

- Doorvragen naar specifieke strategieën en retorische technieken waarop organisaties volgens de respondent macht en invloed uitoefenen
- Doorvragen naar specifieke, belangrijke ‘elementen’ binnen deze strategieën en retorische technieken. Deze elementen zijn discursief. Voorbeelden: symbolen (grafieken), cijfers (statistieken), waarheidsclaims over de toekomst (als we dit niet doen, dan gebeurt dat), ideaalbeelden en mythes over de toekomst (bijvoorbeeld dematerialisatie, technologische oplossingen), etc.
- Doorvragen naar gebruikte informatie: (wetenschappelijke) rapporten, metingen, eigen onderzoek, etc.

Beoogd resultaat

Een overzicht van verschillende (retorische) technieken en strategieën die zijn ontstaan en de verschillende (discursieve) objecten die worden voorgesteld.

Appendix II

Function respondent	Type of organisation	Type of document	Name
Managing director	Tour operator	Report	‘Slim en Duurzaam’
Chairman/ director	Trade association	Documentary	‘Reizen is het nieuwe roken’
Owner/ managing director	Business advisory	Documentary	‘CO2 compenseren. Klopt dat wel?’
Director	Tour operator	Newspaper article	‘Een retourtje Thailand betekent zes jaar geen vlees eten’
Journalist	Newspaper	Newspaper article	‘Benieuwd hoeveel afval ze laten liggen’