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Sustainable tourism mobilities

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A practice approach

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A PRACTICE APPROACH

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op gezag van de rector magnificus, prof. dr. Ph. Eijlander,
in het openbaar te verdedigen ten overstaan van
een door het college voor promoties aangewezen commissie in de aula
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door

Desirée Helena Petronella Verbeek,

geboren op 17 april 1982 te Delft

Contents

Introduction

1   Introduction

1.1   Introduction

Tourism represents one of the most important sectors in the global economy. According to the UNWTO, "today, the business volume of tourism equals or even surpasses that of oil exports, food products or automobiles" (www.unwto.org; accessed 14-04-2009). Tourism has an increasing contribution to GDP. In 2003, international tourism represented approximately 6 percent of worldwide exports of goods and services. When considering service exports exclusively, the share of tourism increases to nearly 30 percent (www.unwto.org; accessed 14-04-2009).

Tourism has increasingly become a global activity, a part of our global culture, society and economy, and is even said to have become something of a civil right (e.g. Urry, 1990). Tourism provides quality time, an escape to everyday life, a moment of relaxation, opportunities to explore the world, and has become an important aspect of people's lives. To illustrate, some 80 percent of the Dutch population goes on holiday at least once a year (NRIT, 2008). On average however, Dutch citizens go on holiday twice a year (Mulder et al., 2007[1]).

Notwithstanding the economic merits and the socio-cultural significance, tourism is increasingly critically appraised; initially from a socio-cultural perspective, and more recently from an ecological perspective as well. From the 1970s onwards ecological critics began to express their worries about tourism. Since then, there has been a growing concern about the impact of tourism and travelling on the environment. Many scholars argue that the growth of passenger kilometres, which is a consequence of tourism growth, increased the pressure on the environment. Therefore, especially the ecological problems produced by tourism mobility are critically appraised. These environmental problems include air pollution, noise pollution, climate change effects, an over-exploitation of non-renewable resources, and irreversible changes to the landscape.

1.2   Facing the inconvenient truths of tourism

Since tourism represents an important economic and social phenomenon, which at the same time has severe ecological consequences, it is caught in a lock-in situation. The massive size of the tourism industry, the multitude of actors involved, and the diversity of tourism's impacts, generate many complex and persistent problems when attempting for a sustainable development of tourism.

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1   Based on CBS Statline, 2005. It concerns holidays of Dutch citizens of at least four overnight stays.

Actors involved in the tourism industry increasingly recognise the sustainability challenges tourism is faced with and perceive a sustainable development of the tourism consumption domain as desirable. The last decades, experiences have been acquired with some sustainability measures in the tourism domain. The introduction of the flight tax, operative in the Netherlands as of July 1st 2008 – and already aborted as of July 1st 2009, provides a recent example. Introduced as an ecotax, it was an attempt to internalise the environmental costs of air travelling. This national tax measure however did not have the expected result; people decided to depart from airports abroad. The tourism and travelling industries estimate that as a consequence of the flight tax, the Dutch economy suffered a loss of 1.3 billion Euros, whereas the revenues have been 300 million Euros (ANP, 26-03-2009). Above all, these revenues have not been invested in the environment. This example provides an illustration of the complexity of sustainable development processes in the tourism domain.

Governance actors as well as scientists experience difficulties in dealing with the sustainability challenges in the tourism domain. The response to the sustainability challenges is fragmented in its orientation, being either focused on individual consumers, or on the tourism and travelling industries. However, sustainability issues can hardly be grasped with a one-dimensional focus either on tourists or on tour operators, transport systems, or tourism destinations. In this dissertation it will be argued that a sustainable development of the tourism domain calls for and might benefit from a new approach.

1.3   Towards a new approach

The fragmented character of current sustainable development concerns and initiatives indicates that there is not yet a univocal response to sustainability challenges in the tourism domain. In an attempt to improve our understanding of how to deal with the sustainability challenges in the tourism domain, this thesis takes an approach in which three main themes will be given particular attention. These themes are reflected in the title: "Sustainable tourism mobilities – A practice approach".

1.3.1   Tourism mobilities

Mobility is an immanent component of tourism. There is no tourism without mobility. In its essence, going on a holiday is about travelling to places outside the usual environment to stay there for at least one night for leisure purposes. Travelling is a key element of the holiday experience as well as an integral part of the tourism industry (e.g. Page, 2005). The fact that mobility is a central and immanent component of tourism is reflected in the tourism value chain. Mobility provides the essential link between tourism destinations and tourists' areas of origination (e.g. Gisolf, 2000 in: RMNO, 2006).

Besides the fact that mobility is a fundamental aspect of tourism, many scholars argue that mobility is the most critical component of tourism (e.g. Becken, 2006; Böhler et al., 2006; Duval, 2007; Frändberg, 1998; Hoyer, 2000; Lumsdon & Page, 2004; Peeters et al., 2004). When considering the environmental impacts of tourism, tourism mobility accounts for the larger part of the total emissions caused by tourism[2]. The emissions from accommodations and activities at the tourism destination are estimated to be substantially lower than transport emissions. From a sustainable development perspective, it should hence not be automatically assumed that tourism's economic and socio-cultural merits outweigh the ecological impact of tourism mobility. This thesis will therefore have its primary focus on tourism mobility. Furthermore, the fact that sustainable developments at destination-level have a longer history of policy and research attention justifies giving tourism mobility its fair share of attention.

In doing this, tourism mobility is here neither considered as an isolated activity, nor as simply being a means to reach the destination. Tourism mobility is perceived as embedded in the holiday and in the tourism value chain. Sustainable development processes of tourism mobility will hence be analysed and considered in the context of the holiday practice (see more below). In the remaining of this thesis, referring to sustainable tourism mobility implies considering mobility as embedded in the holiday. On the other hand, referring to sustainable tourism developments implies having a special interest in the mobility component.

The interwoven and complex character of tourism and mobility is reflected in the title by using 'tourism mobilities' instead of 'tourism mobility' (see also Sheller & Urry, 2004). The use of the plural instead of the singular form refers to the diverse character of tourism mobility practices. It acknowledges the existence of different tourism mobility practices which involve different travellers, different mobility devices, different tourism and travelling infrastructures, and different travelling cultures. These tourism mobility practices are interrelated and partly overlapping (see more in section 1.3.3).

1.3.2 Sustainable development

Since tourism has economic and social consequences, and especially puts pressure on the environment, it is sometimes argued that a sustainable development of tourism is actually about sustaining the unsustainable. From the point of view which will be developed in this thesis, this discussion is rather irrelevant. Given

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2 The emissions of tourism mobility are argued to be between 40% and 60% (Lange, 1995, in: Hoyer, 2000), between 50% and 75% (Peeters et al., 2004), 70% (Peeters & Schouten, 2006), 75% (UNWTO et al., 2007), 86% (Patterson et al., 2007), or even over 90% (Gössling, 2000) of total emissions caused by tourism.

the fact that tourism is an important economic and social phenomenon, it is unrealistic to expect that tourism will cease to exist.

This thesis will not be about dichotomising sustainable and unsustainable forms of tourism. This would indicate that sustainable tourism is considered as an end-status. Instead, in line with Ecological Modernisation Theory (e.g. Hajer, 1995; Mol, 1995) and Transition Research (e.g. Rotmans et al., 2001; Geels, 2002), this thesis explores the sustainable development of tourism mobility as a process. Hence, when speaking of sustainable tourism mobility in this thesis, this always implies a sustainable *development* of tourism mobility (see also Hall, 1999; Hall, 2005; Hoyer, 2000; Page, 2005; Sheller & Urry, 2004).

When referring to sustainable developments of tourism mobility, attention in this thesis will be given predominantly to the environmental reform of existing tourism mobility practices. On the one hand, the focus is on the ecological dimension of sustainability because tourism mobilities mainly involve environmental impacts. On the other hand, it is justified to have a stronger focus on the environmental problems involved with tourism activities because, as will be clarified in this thesis, the focus in sustainable development processes in the tourism domain has for long been on economic and socio-cultural aspects. The subject of research will however not be reduced to environmental-friendly tourism mobility. As reflected in the title, the analysis will focus on '*sustainable* tourism mobilities'. The essence of analysing environmental-friendly tourism mobility behaviours is to strive for 'sustainable tourism' in the broader sense of the word sustainable development.

Currently, tourists, tour operators, tourism entrepreneurs, tourism destinations and other actors involved with tourism have diverse stands towards the necessity, the desirability and the direction of sustainable development processes. The sustainability debate in the tourism domain is not univocal. The empirical chapters will explore the sustainability debate in the tourism domain by elaborating whether tourists and the tourism sector acknowledge the problems related to tourism mobility, and by investigating the views of tourists and the tourism sector on a sustainable development of tourism mobilities. It will be analysed how sustainability issues are currently interwoven with the tourism domain and how ecological aspects are embedded in the sustainability debate in the tourism domain. Furthermore, attention will be given to how actual and potential changes in for example travelling routines or provider strategies hamper or contribute to a sustainable development of tourism mobilities.

The embedding of ecological aspects in the wider sustainability spectrum, as well as the shifting debate on sustainable development in the tourism consumption domain, and the development of proper tourism alternatives, imply large-scale and long-term transformations. This thesis investigates whether there may already be spoken of a transition process towards sustainability in the tourism domain, and will point to possible transition pathways.

1.3.3   A practice approach

One of the problems this research stumbled upon is that sustainability challenges in the tourism domain are being dealt with in a too one-dimensional way and are hardly viewed in their proper context. The sustainable development of tourism mobility is being considered in too general terms, while at the same time being caught up in a dualistic focus. A gap can be recognised between a social-psychological focus on individual tourists, and a system-oriented and rather eco-technocratic focus on tourism and travelling infrastructures.

This thesis on sustainable tourism mobilities is not restricted to an eco-technocratic focus on sustainable development processes. In exploring the sustainable development of tourism mobilities, the focus will not be limited to comparing the environmental impacts of travelling with different modes of transport, or to assessing whether specific technological innovations or policy measures might contribute to a sustainable development of tourism mobility. Furthermore, although changes in attitudes, motivations, lifestyles and travelling routines of individual tourists are important in a sustainable development of tourism mobilities, attention will not be given to such individual characteristics exclusively.

Instead, the sustainable development of tourism mobilities will be researched by taking a practice approach (e.g. Bargeman et al., 2002; Spaargaren et al., 2007). As mentioned above, tourism mobility will be analysed from a comprehensive perspective on tourism mobility practices. These practices are shaped by configurations of infrastructures for tourism and travelling, regulations, sociotechnical innovations, user practices, routines, and cultural values (see also Peters, 2006). Taking a practice approach implies that instead of taking either a consumer-oriented or a system-oriented approach, sustainability in the tourism domain will be explored by elaborating tourism practices from an integrated tourist-sector-orientation.

Besides going beyond a one-dimensional focus either on tourists or on the tourism and travelling industries, taking a practice approach adds context to the analysis of sustainable tourism mobilities (e.g. Bargeman et al., 2002; Spaargaren et al., 2007). The sustainable development of tourism mobilities will be analysed within the context of the entire holiday practice, in which individual tourists make decisions regarding their holiday and perform tourism mobility behaviours by making use of the provision strategies of the tourism sector and the existing travelling infrastructures.

To put it in brief, by taking a practice approach, the situated and context-specific interaction between tourists, the tourism sector, and tourism and travelling infrastructures will be the subject of analysis.

1.4   Outline of the thesis

Chapter 2 deals with the sustainability challenges tourism is faced with as a consequence of historical developments in tourism and travelling behaviours. In reviewing the ways in which the sustainable development of tourism mobility is approached from both a governance and a scientific angle, it will be argued that they are faced with comparable challenges. That is, they both have to go beyond the one-dimensional focus on either consumers or system dynamics when considering a sustainable development of tourism mobilities.

This thesis aims to develop a theoretical framework for analysing a sustainable development of tourism mobilities in a more integrated and contextualised manner. Chapter 3 will argue that it is useful to take a practice approach when analysing large-scale transitions towards more sustainable tourism mobilities. The notion of practices in the tourism domain and the meaning of taking a practice approach will receive more attention here. Inspired by a combination of the complex sustainability challenges in the tourism domain, and the theoretical ambitions of practice approaches, the central research questions will be formulated.

In the subsequent empirical Chapters 4, 5 and 6, the theoretical framework will be operationalised in three ways, each in their own way revealing what it entails to take a practice approach when analysing sustainable development processes in the tourism domain. The empirical chapters should not be interpreted as developed along a linear research line. Instead, these chapters concern three complementary ways to explore current and possible sustainable developments in the tourism domain. Although the theoretical framework and topical focus are similar for all empirical analyses, the three cases discuss different aspects of the situated interaction between tourists and the tourism sector, from a different methodological angle.

The first two empirical chapters, primarily based on qualitative research methods, deal with dynamics during different phases of the holiday practice. Chapter 4 discusses the role of environmental issues when fantasising about and planning the holiday. It concerns an analysis of the positioning of environmental information in the tourism domain. Environmental information was chosen as the first research topic since information is considered to be of primary importance in vacation decision-making processes. Data have been gathered by conducting focus groups and in-depth interviews among tourists and representatives of the tourism and travelling industries.

Whereas Chapter 4 has its focus on the early phase of the holiday, Chapter 5 considers several other phases in the holiday practice, including preparing the holiday, travelling to the destination, and dwelling in the destination. This chapter concerns an analysis of a contextualised sustainability strategy for tourism in the Alpine region: Alpine Pearls. In-depth interviews with stakeholders of the Alpine Pearls

sustainability strategy and participant observations of going on an environmental-friendly Alpine holiday have been performed to gather data for this analysis.

Finally, based on a large-scale quantitative survey among Dutch citizen-consumers, Chapter 6 discusses sustainable developments of tourism mobilities. The survey dealt with tourists' concerns for the environment, their travelling routines and experiences, and their evaluation of current and possible future provider strategies. The chapter furthermore explores whether a typology of practices in the tourism domain can be developed which might be relevant in a sustainable development of tourism mobilities.

The concluding Chapter 7 returns to the formulated research questions. By reflecting on the empirical results, gained by taking a practice approach, the chapter discusses current and possible transitions to sustainable tourism mobilities.

Exploring the sustainable development of tourism mobilities

2 Exploring the sustainable development of tourism mobilities

2.1   Introduction

When it comes to a sustainable development of tourism, mobility is crucial (see Chapter 1). A transition to more sustainable forms of tourism mobility is needed. This implies radical changes in current tourism mobility practices. To understand how travelling and tourism are embedded in modern life, attention in this chapter is first given to the history of travel and tourism. Several aspects underlying current tourism mobility practices will be elaborated on.

As tourism involves economic, socio-cultural and ecological impacts, tourism has always been subject of debate. Section 2.3 will focus on the ongoing sustainability debate regarding travel and tourism.

The three subsequent sections focus on how tourists, governance actors and researchers deal with the sustainability challenges of tourism mobility. In section 2.4, attention will be given to several developments in tourism and travelling behaviour which may be considered as more sustainable compared to 'mainstream' tourism behaviours. Section 2.5 elaborates on governance strategies which try to deal with the ecological problems caused by tourism mobility. Section 2.6 will elaborate on how science has taken up the topic of sustainable tourism mobility. The final section of this chapter will concern a confrontation between the history of travel and tourism, the more sustainable tourism alternatives, the policy instruments, and the scientific views in the domain of sustainable tourism mobility.

2.2   A short history of travel and tourism

Both my parents (born in 1949 and 1951) experienced their first holidays when they were eight years old. They travelled on foot or by bike to stay with their aunt and uncle living in the next village. Staying with relatives was their only holiday experience during their youth. The first time they travelled by air and visited another country was in 1973. They went by airplane to Italy and undertook a coach tour to Rome, Naples, and San Marino. This is strikingly different from my own holiday experiences. My youth holiday experiences are innumerable. We went to the Canary Islands almost every year, sometimes even twice a year. Furthermore, we spent one week a year in a Dutch bungalow park. Next to these spring and autumn holidays, we made round-tours by car in Great Britain, Norway, Germany, Austria, France and Italy in summer.

Although this is just a personal anecdote, it illustrates how in only one generation an enormous change in travelling practices took place. This section expands from this by giving a brief overview of developments in travel and tourism practices over the centuries.

In the 4th and 5th centuries there were already pilgrimages to the Holy Land (Turner, 1973; Hunt, 1984; Urry, 1990). However, the origin of current tourism and travelling is often ascribed to the Grand Tour era from late 16th to early 19th century (Towner, 1985). The Grand Tour was a phenomenon of young aristocrat men travelling to certain cultural sites and places in western Europe for cognitive and emotional emancipation, for educative self-improvement, and to enjoy scenic landscapes (Towner, 1985; Inglis, 2000). As will be described more thoroughly in the following sub-sections, from then onwards in only two centuries, tourism has become a widespread activity. The number of international tourist arrivals (i.e. worldwide) shows an evolution from a mere 25 million international arrivals in 1950 to an estimated 924 million in 2008, corresponding to an average annual growth rate of 6.5% (World Tourism Organization). Going on a holiday is no longer a once in a lifetime experience for the elite; in a sense, it has become a civil right in western societies (e.g., Urry, 1995, 2007; Richards, 1998; Bargeman, 2001; Shaw & Thomas, 2006).

Several aspects underlie this development of travel and tourism practices. First, technological innovations and developments of new transport modes have influenced travel behaviour. Second, travelling conditions have been improved enabling people to use these innovations in transport modes in their own travelling behaviour. Third, the positive cultural perspectives on travelling played a role as well. On the basis of these aspects, the following sub-sections will portray the history of travel and tourism.

2.2.1   Transport developments

In the early centuries of the Grand Tour, Grand Tourists had a limited diversity of transport modes at their disposal. They could travel with available transport modes for local travellers such as post system horse carriages (15th century), coach services (mid-17th century), and steam-powered boats (early 19th century) (Leiper, 1979 in: Towner 1985). From the beginning of the 19th century onwards there were possibilities to hire or buy coaches. These private renting options enabled Grand Tourists to travel where they wanted to. The flexibility of travelling patterns increased. This is a first sign of a development towards individual freedom of travelling.

Later, several technological innovations were developed in succession. Together, they illustrate the structuring influence of the availability of transport modes on travelling behaviour. From 1840 onwards, travelling by railways started to replace travelling over rivers and canals. Railways were the first practical forms of mechanised and predictable land transport. They were regarded as "symbolic for the

progressive spirit" (Bagwell, 1974: 124). Some argue that railway expansion in the 19th century made travelling by rail easy and affordable, which increased the holiday demand (Cormack, 1998). However, it is also argued that it was the other way around: economic development and tourists' wish to enlarge their radius of action and to visit friends and relatives or cultural sites in other cities induced the development of the railway infrastructure (Schot & de la Bruheze, 2002).

At the end of the 19th century the automobile was introduced. In those days it was a private, expensive toy for the rich, who mainly used it for sports. Technicians developed the car as a means for racing, not as a transport means for utility travel. As a result of the industrialisation of car production (e.g., Ford's T-model in 1908), over the course of the 20th century, the automobile rapidly developed from an expensive toy for the rich into the standard passenger transport mode (Inglis, 2000; Schot & de la Bruheze, 2002). The collective character of train journeys made the automobile into "the symbol of the return of individual adventure and exploration" (Löfgren, 1999: 69).

Simultaneously, in the beginning of the 20th century the first experiments with air travel took place (e.g. the Wright brothers' first flight in 1903). Air travel was adventurous, heroic and uncomfortable since the open aircrafts did not protect its passengers from wind and rain. When more comfortable aircrafts were developed, flying became glamorous and desirable, but expensive and therefore restricted to the rich and privileged. It was only after the introduction of turbo-propeller aircrafts in the early 1950s, transatlantic jet airplanes in 1958, and the wide-bodied aircraft and high by-pass engines in 1970 that flying became comfortable and affordable for the masses (Towner, 1995; Gössling, 2000). In addition, the expansion of low cost airline services made air transport increasingly affordable (UNWTO, 2007). The number of air passengers rose from 9 million in 1945 to 88 million in 1972, 344 million in 1994 and 1.72 billion in 2002 (www.iata.org). Besides this growth in absolute terms, air travel has grown in a relative sense, compared to other means of transport. Between 1990 and 2000 global air travel grew at an average rate of 5.5% per year compared to a 3.8% growth in road transport and a negative growth of -1.1% for rail transport (Becken & Hay, 2007). Within the EU, air passenger travel grew by 49% between 1995 and 2004. Aviation's share in the total passenger kilometres travelled increased from 6% in 1995 to around 8% in 2004 (EEA, 2008).

> The travelling behaviour of a friend of mine (born in 1981) provides an illustration of the increase in travelling by air for tourism purposes (see Figure 2.1). In a period of eight months in 2008 he went on a city trip to Prague by air, flew to Madrid to attend a soccer game, went on a weekend trip to Marrakech, and on a city trip to Barcelona. Furthermore, he made a round-tour by air from Eindhoven to Budapest, Bucharest, Rome, Sofia, Vienna, and Bratislava, to Amsterdam. He travelled with the low-cost carriers Transavia.com, Wizzair, SkyEurope, Ryanair, and Clickair. The total cost of all these flights was 351 euros (including taxes). "As long as flights are this cheap", he explains, "I will continue travelling by air as often as possible".

Figure 2.1   Air trips made for tourism purposes by one person in 8 months in 2008
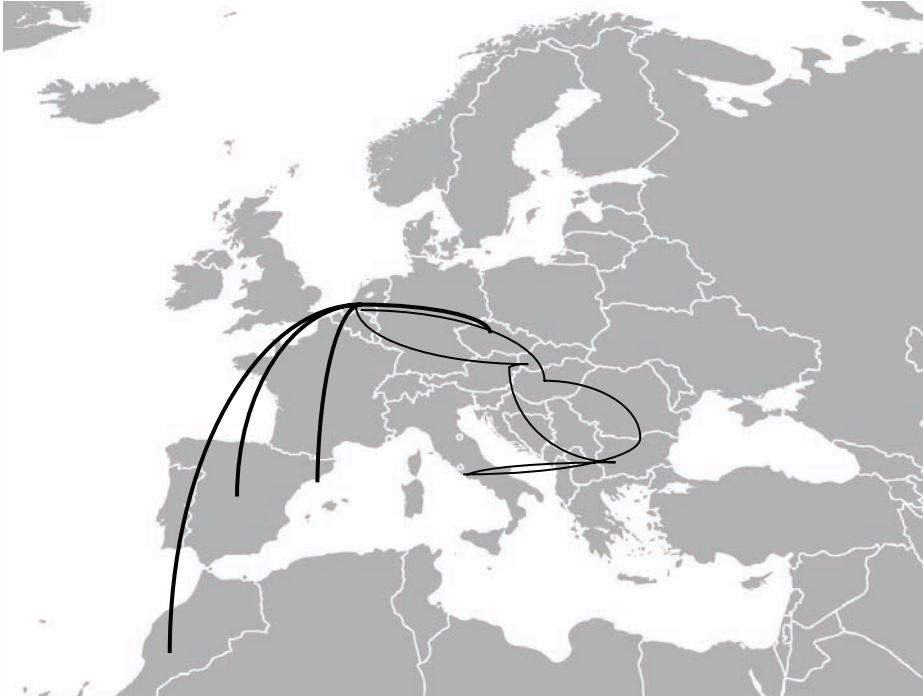
At this moment, air travel has a collective character: a move away from the ongoing individualisation trend which took place during the history of travel and tourism. However, air travel might be a collective activity only for as long as private air travel is unaffordable for the masses. For decades, VIP's such as presidents, royalties, and popstars have been flying with private jets. The last decade has seen a development in which more people who are rich and have little time, often business men, choose private jets to travel fast, convenient and comfortable. "Between 2003 and 2006, air travel with small airplanes has grown twice as fast as air travel did in general, 22% and 14% respectively" (ANP; 07-04-2008). This might illustrate a beginning individualisation trend in air travel.

Although the above is just a short summary of technological innovations which took place over the centuries, and does not include innovative technologies and transport modes which for some reasons did not break through, it illustrates how there has been a constant technological development of transport modes. A recurrent pattern can be observed. When a new transport mode is developed, it is seen

as adventurous, sportive, dangerous, and it is restricted to the rich elite. After decennia of technological improvements and an industrialisation of production, these modes become safe, affordable, reliable and comfortable to travel with. These transport modes then start to become more widespread and are used by the masses of the population as well (i.e. trickling down of innovations). The standardised mass production of transport modes made travelling accessible for more and more people, induced the individualisation of holiday and travelling behaviour, and thus resulted in an enormous growth in the number of passenger kilometres (Poon, 1994; Hajer & Kesselring, 1999; Van der Horst, 2006). As a consequence of the flexibility of travelling, people get acquainted with experiencing the freedom to travel wherever they want.

2.2.2   The creation of travelling conditions

The growth of passenger kilometres and the fact that travelling became more wide-spread, were not a result of transport mode developments alone. Several additional factors influence the breakthrough of transport modes and the uptake of new travelling practices. For example, it makes a difference whether a transport mode connects with travellers' wishes, demands and lifestyles, and how it fits with travelling practices at the time and place of the introduction of a new transport mode. Moreover, both in a literal and a metaphorical sense, newly developed transport modes need space. It implies building infrastructure, and creating other conditions which enable travelling. For example, it is impossible to travel by car if there are no suitable roads, fuel stations, route maps, and garages with car mechanics. Likewise, travelling by train is impossible without railways, train stations, tickets, and engine drivers. Travelling behaviour is not only structured by available transport modes, but also by other elements of the available travel and tourism system, such as infrastructures and maintenance networks (Geels, 2002; Peters, 2003; Van der Duim, 2005; Kesselring, 2006).

In the beginning of the Grand Tour, there was no integrated infrastructure for overland travelling, so Grand Tourists travelled using the water system. The natural flow of rivers influenced the spatial component of travelling behaviour. After this early phase, infrastructural improvements have continuously affected travelling patterns and travelling routes. The 1820s and 1830s are identified as an important transition period (Towner, 1985; Urry, 2007). From those days onwards, tourism services for organised long-distance overland tourist transportation were developed. An extensive range of services met the requirements of tourists, such as all-inclusive packages comprising transport, accommodation and food (Towner, 1985; Urry, 2007).

In this light, Peters (2003) speaks of the creation of passages[3]. Since travelling assumes "a situated relation between time and space" (Peters, 2006: 2), for every movement or journey, a passage has to be created; an order between, among other things, travellers, machines, and infrastructures. Creating a passage requires the constant solving of problems which travellers might encounter on their way, in order to ensure a predictable, smooth, problem-free journey (ibid.).

The most famous and most influential pioneer in creating travelling passages by offering tourists all-inclusive packages was Thomas Cook. On July 5th 1841 he offered travellers his first railway excursion. Thomas Cook recognised the possibilities of railway travel for tourism purposes and introduced it to the middle class. Given the fact that there were several different railway operators, each with their own railway lines and tickets, travelling by train was a complex activity. Within this inconveniently arranged railway transport system, Thomas Cook assembled the best routes and realised the cheapest travel options. Besides attuning all trains and tickets, he also connected other elements such as hotels, restaurants and luggage transportation (Peters, 2003; Peters, 2006). By providing detailed information on timetables, travelling costs, and accommodation options along the route, he guided tourists along their way. According to Peters (2006), the passages created by Thomas Cook provided easy, comfortable, predictable, safe and affordable access to unexplored destinations. Passages were created which "reduce the uncertainty and unpredictability of travelling" (Peters, 2006: 72). As a result, the number of middle class people travelling abroad for tourism purposes increased. Hence, new means of transportation were not a sufficient precondition for Thomas Cook to offer his customers fast and comfortable journeys; attuning these with other elements was necessary (Peters, 2006).

Another condition for creating passages is the creation of time. Time has been created in two different ways. First, 'clock time' was introduced. Without a standardised clock time, creating a timetable for a train service between different villages was a difficult task. By the time every village used the same clock time, travelling between villages became much easier. The regulation of time enabled the coordination of timetables and was hence essential for the development of transport services (Urry, 1995 in: Hall, 2005; Urry, 2007; Richards, 1998; Beckers & Mommaas, 1991; Beckers & Van der Poel, 1995). Second, the availability of time was realised when after the second world war, working weeks were shortened from six to five working days, and the number of days off increased considerably (Inglis, 2000; Beckers & Mommaas, 1991; Beckers & Van der Poel, 1995; Hessels, 1973; Mommaas et al., 2000; Mommaas, 2004; Cormack, 1998). From 1928 onwards,

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3   Passages are described as "heterogeneous orders of both material elements and discursive elements" (Peters, 2006: 2).

not only the percentage of people granted a holiday increased rapidly, but also holidays increased in length. In the Netherlands, the number of days off increased from 6 a year in 1928, to 12 in 1952, to 19 in 1972 (Hessels, 1973), and to an average of 35 in 2008. The creation of leisure provided time for new kinds of travel, for collective recreation, and for going on a holiday (Inglis, 2000; Hessels, 1973).

Besides the creation of passages, and the institutionalisation of time and time availability, the welfare state may explain the growth of travel and tourism (Richards, 1998; Urry, 1990; Hajer & Kesselring, 1999). The extent to which people are able to devote time and money to holidays is strongly influenced by their general level of welfare (Richards, 1998; Cormack, 1998). People with a higher standard of living spend more time and money on holidays. The tourism growth in the postwar period was partly induced by increasing levels of welfare. Furthermore, the introduction of new forms of money played a significant role (Desforges, 2001). Tourism would not have become that easy without personal finance organisations (American Express) and the invention of travellers cheques, hotel vouchers, or credit cards (Urry, 1990; Lash & Urry, 1994).

Creating favourable travelling conditions did not happen only during the rise of the tourism industry. As the context in which travel and tourism takes place is constantly changing (e.g., transport developments, tax regulations, changed travellers' wishes, terrorism threats, changes in welfare levels), passages are constantly renewed and new passages are created. The travel and tourism industry always has its focus on making travelling easy, comfortable, safe, and affordable. In this light, the last decade saw a development of big players in the tourism and travelling industry becoming involved in operating and controlling more than one part of the tourism value chain[4]. Critical functions along the tourism value chain are being integrated (Britton in Williams, 2004). Airlines for instance do not restrict themselves to offering flights, but offer complete holiday packages, including hotels and car rental services (e.g., Transavia, KLM). And whereas originally the core business of tour operators is to assemble holiday packages from the services of accommodation providers and transport providers, in the last decade, some tour operators have tried to strengthen their position on the market and have become owners of hotels, and airlines themselves (e.g., TUI owns ArkeFly) (Urry, 1990; Sigala, 2008). This ongoing integration in the airline and the tour operating sectors (Hildebrandt, 1999 in Budeanu, 2007a), will contribute to the creation of more and more passages which enable tourists to experience problem-free holidays.

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4   The tourism value chain comprises the 'production', assemblage, distribution, retailing and use of the tourism accommodation services, activities, and transport services (see Budeanu, forthcoming; Sigala, 2008; Schwartz et al., 2008).

2.2.3   Perspectives on travelling and travel time

Transport mode developments, the creation of favourable conditions for travel and tourism, and the rise of a tourism industry are important drivers behind tourism growth. However, these factors can not give a full explanation of why people travel. Travelling does not necessarily increase just because there is greater potential for travelling thanks to faster transport and the creation of passages (Kaufmann, 2002). There must be a reason why people want to make use of all these travel and tourism services. Without a wish among people to travel, the transport modes and passages would remain unused. In all times, whether speaking of the Grand Tour period, of the rise of the tourism industry in the 19th and early 20th century or of more recent years, travelling has been associated with escape, adventure and freedom. Travelling is viewed as equalling modernity and progress (Shaw & Thomas, 2006; Schot & de la Bruheze, 2002; Löfgren, 1999; Inglis, 2000; Baranowski, 2005; Kaufmann, 2002). Mobility developments make the world bigger; people's radius to travel is extended. As social and economic relations are stretched over time and space, this is referred to as space-time distantiation (Giddens, 1984; Giddens, 1990; Lash & Urry, 1994; Urry, 1995; Hall, 2005; Schot & de la Bruheze, 2002). At the same time, mobility makes the world smaller. As a consequence of the mechanisation of transport, the whole world lies at your feet and is accessible. This is referred to as space-time compression or convergence; more places can be visited in the same amount of time (Giddens, 1984; Harvey, 1990; Urry, 1995; Lash & Urry, 1994; Castells, 2000; Schot & de la Bruheze, 2002; Hall, 2005).

Over the centuries, the cultural perspective on mobility as something equalling modernity and progress has remained about the same. By contrast, the perception of travel *time* has shifted over the centuries (Peters, 2003; Jain & Lyons, 2008). As the industrialisation of travelling made travelling a commodity, travelling has lost some of its charm. As a consequence of the rise of the tourism industry and the improvement of travel and tourism services, some travellers have become tourists. It is argued that whereas the purpose of travellers was to travel, overcoming the obstacles in their way, tourists are bounded to the paths created for them, to holiday packages (Inglis, 2000). While travellers travel to travel, tourists travel to stay (Cormack, 1998). It can be argued that to a certain extent, tourism is no longer about the travelling activity itself, but is about reaching tourism destinations as soon as possible. Within this respect, one might speak of a shift from travel time as quality time to travel time as wasted time. There can be spoken of a shift from holidays in which the travelling activity itself is central to holidays in which dwelling in the tourism destination is central (Mommaas in RMNO, 2006). This shift is even recognisable in travel guide books. For example, the Hachette Travel Guide of Italy (1965) describes scenic travelling routes, while the Lonely Planet Country Guide of Italy (2008) takes tourism destinations as point of departure.

As a consequence of the central focus on the tourism destination and tourists' wish to explore the unexplored (novelty-seeking), there is a constant search for 'new', unexplored, untouched tourism destinations. When 'new' tourism destinations are explored, travel and tourism infrastructures are improved to open up the destination for tourists. After some time, when the tourism destination loses its unspoilt and novel character, the tourism destination is replaced with a next, unexplored, often further away destination[5]. Tourists will travel further away, thereby increasing the environmental impacts of their holiday.

2.2.4   Conclusion

The historical development of travelling and tourism shows an ongoing process of democratisation of travel and tourism (e.g. Richards, 1998; Schot & de la Bruheze, 2002). The uptake of transport modes repeatedly shows a trickling down from elite to middle classes, which is later followed up by lower classes. Similar, going on holiday trickled down from the elite to the mass. The elite's travelling behaviour has always been a model for those who aspired undertaking journeys and visiting impressive places (Inglis, 2000). The Grand Tour was first restricted to the elite, but by the early 19th century also middle classes undertook the Grand Tour. From the middle of the 20th century, going on a holiday was accessible for all classes. A process of democratisation took place in the tourism domain.

The history of travelling illustrates the rise of a tourism industry. At least three developments form the background of the fact that more people travel, and that these people travel more often and over longer distances (i.e. the growth of tourism mobility).

Transport innovations and the industrialisation of the production of transport modes are among the most significant factors which have contributed to the massification and individualisation of travelling practices. Second, the institutional context in which travelling is embedded influences the travelling practice (Schot & de la Bruheze, 2002; Geels, 2002; Peters, 2003; Mom et al., 2002; Kesselring, 2006). The improvement of travelling conditions enabled tourists to travel problem-free, safe, and comfortably. Some of the developments which characterise the initial phase of the international development of mass tourism are the standardisation of time, the creation of leisure time, rising welfare levels, the introduction of new forms of money, and in particular, the creation of passages and holiday packages. Third, travelling appeals to ideas such as modernity, progress

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5   For example, concerning beach holidays in winter season, the Canary Islands used to be the predominant tourism destination for Dutch tourists. As of the end of the 1990s, other, non-European countries became popular winter destinations as well. In 2008, the top-10 of tourism destinations for beach holidays in winter are: 1. Canary Islands; 2. Egypt; 3. Thailand; 4. Mexico; 5. Aruba; 6. South-Africa; 7. Dominican Republic; 8. Florida; 9. Dubai; 10. Maldive Islands (www.winterzon.net).

and adventure. Given this cultural perspective on mobility, new technologies and passages actually resulted in changes in travelling practices. The speeding up of travelling influenced the way people assess travel time; it induced a shift from travel time as quality time to travel time as wasted time.

2.3   Tourism mobility as a sustainability challenge

The above-mentioned travel and tourism developments have several important merits, such as their important contribution to GDP, increasing people's radius of action, providing freedom of travel and an escape from everyday life. The travelling and tourism developments are however not purely positive in their nature. For a number of reasons, travel and tourism have always been subjected to criticism.

An intriguing historical example concerns the rise of the bicycle. By the start of the 20th century, cycling had become an important means of transportation, and an increasingly popular form of recreation. Especially for women, the bicycle had a transformative power. For women, bicycles embodied personal freedom, emancipation, independence, and self-reliance (Woodforde, 1970; Garvey, 1995; Herlihy, 2004). The bicycle offered women freer movement in new spheres outside the family and home (Garvey, 1995; Mommaas et al., 2000). Although these seem to be positive developments from a 21st century point of view, at that time, these transformations were not unanimously welcomed (Garvey, 1995). Women's cycling was critically appraised because of its impacts on social life. It was attacked as being a force that would disrupt social roles and traditional gender roles. Riding posed a threat to both gender definition and sexual purity (Garvey, 1995).

Although this bizarre debate on the socio-cultural effects of women's bicycling is historical in nature, tourism has been and still is critically appraised for its socio-cultural effects. The diverse socio-cultural impacts related to tourism have been divided in two types of effects (e.g. Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Krippendorf, 1987; Urry, 1991; Sharpley, 1994; Burns & Holden, 1995). First of all, the debate is focused on the changes tourism has produced in the structure of society. Positive changes in this light are: higher income and education levels, employment opportunities, improvements to local infrastructure and services, and since there are more opportunities for women in tourism, women gained a greater degree of economic independence (Sharpley, 1994; Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Urry, 1991). Scholars mention however many negative socio-cultural consequences on the structure of society as well. Tourism modifies the internal structure of the community, dividing it into those who have and those who do not have a relationship with tourism (Mathieson and Wall, 1982 in Brunt & Courtney, 1999). Furthermore, tourism destinations experience problems of congestion and overcrowding as a consequence of peaks in tourism flows (Burns and Holden, 1995 in Brunt & Courtney, 1999). Often, tourism infrastructures at destinations are suited to these

peaks, which may give villages the unattractive atmosphere of being a ghost town during low season. Furthermore, Burns and Holden (1995; in Brunt & Courtney, 1999) argue that tourism provides reinforcement of social differences. As tourists and inhabitants have different demands and interests in the destinations, it is likely that this will deliver some conflicts (e.g. regarding the decision to build a swimming pool or a sewage system; or to use water for agricultural purposes or for the golf course). The second type of socio-cultural critiques of international tourism refer to the effects of increased contact among different societies and cultures (Brunt & Courtney, 1999). The debate is divided on whether this interaction threatens to destroy traditional cultures and societies, or whether it represents "an opportunity for peace, understanding and greater knowledge among different societies and nations" (Brunt & Courtney, 1999: 495; see also Sharpley, 1994).

Besides criticism of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism, the economic gains involved with tourism are under debate. Although tourism is an important industry involving a lot of money, it is often argued that the tourism destinations themselves don't profit much from tourism related activities. It is criticised that developed countries are often better able to profit from tourism than developing countries. The least developed countries have the most urgent need for income, for employment and for a general rise in welfare levels by means of tourism. However, they are least able to achieve these benefits. Local businesses and products find it hard to gain a position in the tourism value chain. Hence, most tourism revenues go to international tourism businesses which are primarily located in developed countries. Tourism expenditure is transfered out of the host country (Urry, 1990).

Next to the critique on the limited positive economic impacts, some speak of negative economic impacts of tourism at destination level. For example, as a result of tourism, there is land price inflation, and as a consequence, inhabitants can no longer afford to live in the tourism destination. Or, since tourism is a seasonal business, there is a fluctuation in employment. Furthermore, several popular tourism destinations have become economically dependent on this single industry. Negative impacts have occurred in other than economic domains as well (Pizam, 1978). Several theoretical studies assume that tourism might have negative impacts on the local resident population (Young, 1973; Jafari, 1973; Butler, 1974; Haites, 1974; all in Pizam, 1978). The big tourism flows lead to reduced accessibility. Strikingly, leisure mobility caused the first traffic jams (Beckers & Van der Poel, 1995; Harms, 2003; Harms, 2006). The huge numbers of tourists visiting a village cause an immense increase in population density, with overcrowding and pressure on the destination as a consequence. Furthermore it is argued that tourism brings with it undesirable activities such as prostitution and gambling, and inhabitants get an excessive concern for material gains, and destinations show a loss of cultural identity (Pizam, 1978).

Although the above does not draw a complete picture of the debates around tourism which have been going on for decades, it can be said that these mainly concern the socio-cultural and economic aspects of tourism. The subject of debate has however been widened to also encompass ecological aspects. Critiques on the environmental impact of tourism has become part of the debate as well. In the 1970s, for the first time, ecological critics began to express their worries about tourism behaviours, especially in the Alpine region (Pechlaner & Tschurtschenthaler, 2003; Krippendorf, 1975). As a consequence of broadening the criticisms of tourism effects from socio-cultural and economic effects to also encompassing the ecological effects, not only the effects of tourism at destination level, but also the impacts of the mobility component of tourism have become subject of debate. While debates on the socio-cultural values and the economic revenues and costs of tourism predominantly referred to the destination level, an emphasis on the ecological impacts caused by tourism behaviours has shifted the debate to also consider mobility related aspects of tourism. More and more, the ecological problems raised by tourism mobility are critically appraised. In other words, critically appraising tourism from an ecological perspective implied that the impacts of the whole tourism value chain (i.e. both destination- and mobility related impacts) are being considered.

It is estimated that the holidays of Dutch citizens are responsible for almost 8% of the total CO_2-emissions produced by the Dutch economy (De Bruijn et al., 2009). On a global level, it is estimated that about 5% of all global greenhouse gas emissions is produced by tourism, and that tourism transport is responsible for 3.7% of global world emissions (UNWTO et al., 2007).

Current holiday practices have a strong impact on transport demand (Peeters et al., 2004). Due to an increasingly global tourism, there has been a significant growth of holiday travel. The growth of passenger kilometres increased the pressure on the environment. The pressure of tourism on the environment becomes more significant because, as mentioned above, tourists' passenger kilometres are both in absolute and relative sense increasingly covered by the most polluting transport mode, the aircraft. At present, international aviation for tourism purposes is responsible for between 1.25% and 1.5% of all CO_2 emissions[6] (Gössling, 2000; Scheelhaase & Grimme, 2007).

There may be spoken of a conflicting situation between the positive aspects of the democratisation of tourism on the one hand and its negative consequences on

6   "At present, international aviation is responsible for between 2.5% and 3% of global anthropogenic carbon dioxide emissions" (Scheelhaase & Grimme, 2007: 253). "A conservative conclusion is that tourism might be responsible for about 50% of the fuel consumption in civil aviation [...] in 1995" (Gössling, 2000: 415).

the other. Many scholars emphasise the increased pressure on the environment as a consequence of the growth of tourism mobility. Environmental problems induced by tourist transport include air pollution, noise pollution, climate change, global warming, ozone depletion, damage of biodiversity, over-exploitation of natural resources, and irreversible changes to the landscape (e.g., Banister & Button, 1993; Briassoulis & Van der Straaten, 1992; Budeanu, 2007a; EEA, 2008; European Commission, 2005; Gössling et al., 2002; Gössling et al., 2005; Van der Horst, 2006; Holden, 2008; Martens & Rotmans, 2005; Milieu Centraal, 2004; Mulder et al., 2007; Page, 2005; Peeters et al., 2004; Rotmans, 2003).

The impacts of tourism mobility on the environment can be specified by the environmental impacts of the different transport modes. Many aspects influence the environmental impacts of transport modes. The levels of CO_2 emissions, greenhouse effects, and contribution to air pollution per passenger kilometre differ depending on the type of transport mode, the year of construction of the transport mode, the distance travelled, the engine type and size, the fuel type, and the occupancy rate (e.g., Den Boer et al., 2008; Böhler et al., 2006; EEA, 2008; Frändberg, 1998; Gössling, 2000; Milieu Centraal, 2004; Peeters et al., 2004). Hence, there are many different computations of the specific environmental influences of transport modes. To enable a comparison of the impacts of transport modes on the environment, the calculations made by several scholars are presented in Table 2.1. Simplifying these measures, one could say that there are two main categories of environmental impacts of transport modes. One is the influence on (local) air pollution (PM, NO_x). Air pollutants are substances in the air which can cause harm to humans and the environment. NO_x is one of the most prominent air pollutants. Particulates, alternatively referred to as particulate matter (PM) or fine particles, are tiny particles of solid or liquid suspended in a gas. The other category is the influence on (global) climate change (CO_2, CO_2-e, GHG, Greenhouse effect). Human activities have an impact upon the levels of greenhouse gases (e.g. carbon dioxide) in the atmosphere. Greenhouse gases are essential to helping determine the temperature of the Earth. A third measure is the Ecological Footprint (EF) per passenger kilometre. It calculates the total environmental impact of transport modes, without specifying to different impacts. It measures how many square meters are needed to produce the energy for one passenger kilometre.

Table 2.1 shows that the calculations of these scholars lead to diverging results. No unequivocal answer can be given to the question what the most and least environmental-friendly transport modes are. Concerning the contribution to air pollution, some scholars point to the car as being the worst transport mode and the airplane as the best transport mode, whereas the calculations of others state the opposite. When it concerns the effects of these transport modes on climate change, it is unequivocal that travelling by air is the worst option, followed by travelling by

car, rail and coach. Overall, based on the contributions of these scholars, travelling by coach or rail are the most environmental-friendly travelling options.

Table 2.1   **Environmental impacts of transport modes**

	Indicator	Most polluting	→ → →			Least polluting
Air pollution	PM/pkm (A)	Car	Rail	Coach	Air (sh)	Air (lh)
	PM/pkm (B)	Air	Coach	Car	Rail	
	NOx/pkm (A)	Air (sh)	Car	Air (lh)	Coach	Rail
	NOx/pkm (B)	Air	Coach	Rail	Car	
	Air pollution (C)	Car	Rail	Coach	Air	
Climate change	CO_2/pkm (A)	Air (sh)	Car	Air (lh)	Rail	Coach
	CO_2/pkm (B; E)	Air	Car	Rail	Coach	
	CO_2-e/pkm (A)	Air (sh)	Air (lh)	Car	Rail	Coach
	Greenhouse gasses (C; D)	Air	Car	Rail	Coach	
Ecological footprint	EF m^2/pkm (F)	Air (sh)	Air (lh)	Car	Rail	Coach

A: Peeters et al., 2004; Peeters et al., 2007 (occupancy rate of 2 passengers a car; Air short haul <2000 km occupancy rate 70%; Air long haul >2000km occupancy rate 75%)
B: Den Boer et al., 2008 (car occupancy rate of long-distance trips (i.e. holidays) between 2.13 and 2.88).
C: Milieu Centraal: Factsheet 66, 2004
D: Gössling & Peeters, 2007 (occupancy rate of 2 passengers a car)
E: EEA, 2008
F: Peeters & Schouten, 2006 (Air short haul <2000 km occupancy rate 70%; Air long haul >2000 km occupancy rate 75%)

To conclude, this section revealed that tourism has always been criticised for its socio-cultural and economic consequences, and that this debate has widened to also encompass the ecological consequences of tourism mobility behaviours. The slogan 'tourism is destroying tourism' which arose in the 1970s and was made popular by Krippendorf (1975) seems to be more prominent now than ever before. Beck (1992) in this light speaks of a 'boomerang effect': individuals producing risks will also be exposed to them. The negative consequences of tourists' travelling behaviour are in conflict with their reasons to travel. Tourists want to experience, enjoy and appreciate the diverse landscapes and cultures the world has to offer. However, tourism flows pose a threat on the authenticity of visited cultures, on the quality of tourism destinations, on the capacity of travelling infrastructures, on climate change, on biodiversity, natural landscape and so on. If tourism will continue to be practiced as it is today and to the extent it is practiced today, tourism might be a self-destructing phenomenon (Budeanu, 2007a). Tourism can make tourism steadily less attractive (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2007; Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008). It is acknowledged that tourism should not kill the goose that lays the golden eggs

(Bryon, 2001; NC-IUCN, 2004; www.stand.nl/forum; www.volkskrantreizen.nl; www.motherearth.org; www.oneworld.nl).

In this light, there can be spoken of an emerging ecological rationality within the tourism domain. The ecological rationale is catching up with the long-standing dominance of economic and socio-cultural rationales. In light of ecological modernisation theory, the growing attention for the ecological impacts of tourism can be said to concern a process of ecological modernisation of travel and tourism behaviour. Ecological modernisation processes in European societies have been taking place from the 1970s onwards (see Hajer, 1995; Jänicke, 2007; Mol, 1995; Mol, 2001; Mol & Spaargaren, 2000; Mol & Spaargaren, 2004; Spaargaren, 1997; Spaargaren, 2006). In several sectors (e.g. agricultural sector, chemical sector, energy sector), these processes have taken place in different ways and started at different moments. Compared to these other sectors, the tourism sector is rather slow in picking up ecological rationalities, along with socio-cultural and economic ones. In light of an ecological modernisation process, the main issue that the actors involved in travel and tourism will be faced with would be to create a new balance between economic, social and ecological aspects. Regarding a sustainable development of tourism mobility, both policy and science face the challenge to increasingly analyse and judge as well as design the tourism value chain from a more integrated economic, socio-cultural, and ecological point of view.

The remaining of this chapter will elaborate on how both governance actors (section 2.5) and scholars (section 2.6) tackle the topic of sustainable tourism mobility. What does that tell us about the presence or absence of policy instruments and strategies? Are there science-based clues for a transition towards sustainable tourism mobility? However, before going into the contributions of governance actors and scientists to a sustainable development of tourism mobility, attention will be given to how groups of consumers contribute to sustainable tourism developments. Section 2.4 will present several existing niche developments towards more sustainable forms of tourism.

2.4   Current sustainable tourism and travelling alternatives

From an environmental perspective, it would be most environmental-friendly not to go on holiday. Staying at home does not involve any transport-related emissions. The share of the population going on a holiday at least once in a certain year is referred to as the holiday participation percentage (NRIT, 2008). The holiday participation percentage among the Dutch population of 12 years and older has in recent years stabilised between 80% and 82% (NRIT, 2008). This implies that in a certain year about 20% of the Dutch population does not go on a holiday. Health reasons, financial reasons, being of older age, or the principle 'east, west, home's best' might

be some of the reasons underlying this decision. Those who stay at home, whether aware of it or not, perform environmental-friendly tourism behaviours. Besides refraining from tourism and travelling behaviours, which is an irrelevant option for most people, several bottom-up, society-driven developments can be observed which contribute to a more sustainable development of tourism.

2.4.1   Ecotourism

As portrayed in the section on the history of tourism, ongoing processes of individualisation, democratisation and massification of travelling behaviour induced mass tourism movements (Kirstges, 2002). Tourism's negative impacts are predominantly attributed to these mass tourism movements. Therefore, the idea has for long been that when aiming for sustainable tourism, one should aim for small-scale tourism (Tepelus, 2005).

Fostered by tourists' search for individual experiences of unspoilt, authentic nature and culture (Van Egmond, 2006), ecotourism was among the first environmental-friendly tourism options. 'Ecotourism' began to appear regularly in the academic literature in the late 1980s (Weaver & Lawton, 2007). Since then, over 80 definitions of ecotourism have been identified (Fennell, 2001 in Weaver & Lawton, 2007). In the early days, ecotourism was mainly focused on minimising the environmental impacts of tourism (Butcher, 2006), but in more recent definitions, this has been extended to also include ethical issues such as education and community benefits (Fennell, 2001 in Weaver & Lawton, 2007; see also Scheyvens, 1999; Timothy & White, 1999; Jones, 2005).

The International Ecotourism Society (TIES) defines it as "responsible travel to nature areas which conserves the environment and improves the welfare of local people" (www.ecotourism.org). Ecotourism "stresses the personal moral obligation to protect both nature and inhabitants of nature through conservation" (Van Egmond, 2006: 155). Honey (1999) furthermore emphasises that ecotourism will educate the traveller and will foster respect for different cultures and for human rights. In short, ecotourism comprises a nature-based holiday that benefits the local community and includes educational aspects for tourists (see also Weaver & Lawton, 2007; Blamey, 1997).

Ecotourism holiday packages concern holidays in all parts of the world, such as Costa Rica, Thailand, the Galapagos Islands, Brasil, India, China, Chile, Tanzania, Zanzibar, Kenya, South Africa, and so on (see also Honey, 1999). From a Western-European perspective these are long-haul tourism destinations.

It may be disputed whether ecotourism contributes positively or negatively to a sustainable development of tourism (e.g. Butcher, 2006). Compared to other long-haul types of holidays, ecotourism might be more environmental-friendly at the destination-level. However, it may also be argued that the stay of small groups of tourists in 'unspoilt' nature-destinations is undesirable; in one way or another

this destination is not unspoilt anymore after being visited by tourists. Furthermore, it may be argued that ecotourism, because of its environmental-friendly image, attracts more tourists to these far away destinations, thereby increasing the number of passenger kilometres, which is undesirable from an environmental perspective. Considering ecotourism, people tend to be sceptical: "why is flying to a long-haul holiday destination and spending two weeks in an eco-lodge in a nature reserve labelled as 'eco'-tourism?" (quote from Volkskrant forum Op Eco-reis, January 2008).

2.4.2   Fair tourism

Besides ecotourism which has been expanded from a predominant focus on environmental aspects to ethical and social aspects, some forms of tourism are primarily focused on such ethical and social aspects. As a reaction to the fact that the bulk of tourist expenditure is retained by the transnational companies involved in the tourism value chain and only a small part of economic revenues remains in the host country (22-25% in Urry, 1990), there are different alternative, ideological tourism movements. Among these are volunteer tourism, backpacker tourism, community-based tourism and, closely-related, pro-poor tourism.

Volunteer tourism is focused on development at destination level (Lyons & Wearing, 2008; McGehee 2002, McGehee & Norman, 2002; McGehee & Santos, 2005; Wearing, 2000; Wearing, 2001). NGOs, not-for-profit foundations and commercial tour operators (e.g., SNV, Fair ground sessions, Commundo) offer holidays which involve "aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments or research into aspects of society or environment" (Wearing, 2001:1 in Van Egmond, 2006). Wearing (2000, 2001) views volunteer tourism as opposed to mass tourism. Under mass tourism, culture is consumed, photographed and taken home. Mass tourism is about affluent tourists visiting poor countries, often quite inadvertently causing considerable damage to the ecology, cultural lifestyle and economics of the host communities (Wearing, 2002 in Van Egmond, 2006). Volunteer tourism rather offers opportunities to develop one's self-awareness, to cross-cultural comparisons through interaction with host communities, and to contribute to nature conservation and development (Van Egmond, 2006).

Comparable, in a search for meaning and learning about other cultures, backpackers have interaction with local people (Richards & Wilson, 2004). Backpackers prefer to present themselves as 'better tourists', as independent and flexible travellers who arrange things with local companies instead of multi-nationals (Van Egmond, 2006). In an attempt to avoid other travellers they (desire to) travel off the beaten track (Van Egmond, 2006; Richards & Wilson, 2004), resulting in more scattered tourist flows. It can be debated whether scattered tourist flows result in lower or higher environmental impacts. However, as backpacking often

concerns a long-term holiday (Van Egmond, 2006; Richards & Wilson, 2004), the negative environmental impacts of Origin-Destination transport is 'spread' over a long length of stay (Peeters et al., 2006). And since backpackers are often on a tight budget, they choose budget accommodations and local public transportation options, which involves fewer energy use compared to staying in luxury accommodations with swimming pools and golf courses and travelling with individual transport modes.

Without aiming to cover the whole spectrum of community-based tourism, it can be said that this form of tourism refers to tourism development processes in which the host community has particpated. Community participation in the tourism planning process is advocated as a way of implementing sustainable tourism (Murphy, 1983; Murphy, 1988; Okazaki, 2008; Van der Duim, 2005; Robinson & Hall, 2000; Scheyvens, 1999; Selin, 1999; Timothy & White, 1999; Jones, 2005). In an ideal situation, community-based tourism concerns "tourism that takes environmental, social and cultural sustainability into account. It is managed and owned by the community, for the community, with the purpose of enabling visitors to increase their awareness and learn about the community and local ways of life" (REST; Responsible Ecological Social Tours in Thailand, on www.fairtourism. nl). Organisations such as Tourism Concern, Fair Tourism, WWF, SNV, and the Ecotourism Resource Centre (ERC) stimulate the involvement of host communities in the development of tourism products. Closely related to community-based tourism is pro-poor tourism. "Pro Poor tourism is set up in developing countries as a means to improve the local economy for local people. It enhances the linkages between tourism businesses and poor people; poverty is reduced and poor people are able to participate more effectively in tourism development. The aims of pro-poor tourism range from increasing local employment to involving local people in the decision making process. Any type of company can be involved such as a small lodge or a tour operator. The most important factor is not the type of company or the type of tourism, but that poor people receive an increase in the net benefits from tourism." (ERC on www.fairtourism.nl).

2.4.3   Slow travel

Another development in tourism behaviour is slow travelling. Slow travelling concerns a different perspective on travelling time. Instead of experiencing travelling time as wasted time, in slow travelling, travelling time is a valuable part of the holiday. Instead of travelling as fast as possible to reach the tourism destination as soon as possible, slow travellers take time for and enjoy the act of travelling. Slow travelling is about taking time to experience the local culture and avoiding the fast pace of rushing from one 'must-see' to the next (www.slowtrav.com).

'Going slow' is an ongoing trend, an unstoppable global movement. More and more people choose to 'slow down' instead of keeping on the speed-train of everyday life. A significant manifestation of both the desire for and the implementation of slow living through a reconceptualisation of time in everyday life is the Slow Food movement, established in 1989 by European culinary activists as a reaction to the fast life and fast food chains (Parkins, 2004; see also Sargant, forthcoming). The goal of the Slow Food movement was to implement pleasure, commitment, solidarity, sustainability, and the use of qualitative ingredients in the domain of food production and consumption (Leisure management, 2006). The Slow Food movement stands for 'taste'; conservation and development of a diversity of taste, biodiversity, authentic production processes and small-scale production, for 'culture'; preserving traditions and food culture with seasonal products and dishes and the social function of food, and for 'knowledge'; knowledge of ingredients, quality and methods of preparation as base for enjoying food consumption, development and education of tastes (www.slowfood.nl). In general, slow living people are committed to occupy time more attentively, to spend it with meaningful things. Slow is not a slow-motion version of modern life, it is a way to restore meaning, authenticity, security or identity (Parkins, 2004).

Comparable to Slow Food there is a Slow Travel movement (e.g. www.slowplanet.com; www.slowtravel.org.uk; www.slowmovement.com; www.slowtrav.com). These slow travel consumer communities are a reaction to the standardisation and homogenisation of tourism behaviour. Travelling has been massified, and has become a commodity accessible for all people. The fact that more people travel and that these people travel more, has the countereffect that some tourists have become interested in inaccessibility, exclusivity, and authenticity. Current travelling practices are counteracted. Dubois (2006) speaks of changes in cultural attitudes to travel, of "the 'slowing down' of mentalities and attitudes regarding travel" (ibid.: 34). "Speed may produce an exhilarating feeling of adventure but can also in the long run create a longing for slowness" (Löfgren, 1999: 69). Some people wish to devote their time to long, enriching trips, to consider the act of travelling as pleasant and interesting.

In the past years, slow travelling received quite a lot of media attention, at least in Dutch press (e.g. Ode, July 2004; Goodies, Spring 2007; Living, July 2008; Spits, 25-07-2008; Recreactie, March 2009). It is argued that slow travelling practices imply exclusive holidays and an improved quality of the holiday and of the travelling experiences (see also Gillespie, 2007; Van Sandijk, 2009). Slow travel communities mention European countries such as Italy, France, the United Kingdom and Ireland as typical destinations for slow travel holidays. Nonetheless, tour operator Baobab offers slow travel holiday packages in various African, South American and Asian countries (in 2008).

2.4.4   Ecolocalism

Besides the above-mentioned alternative tourism behaviours of which ecotourism and fair tourism are predominantly of a long-haul character, a resurgence of place and region can be identified, as a counteraction to our globalising world (Armesto López & Martin, 2006, see also: Castells, 2000, 2004; Urry, 2003; Klein 2000, 2002). In his work on economic sustainability, Curtis (2003) elaborates on an alternative theoretical economic paradigm which he calls 'ecolocalism'. As a rejection of globalisation, ecolocalism "embraces local self-reliance as the best way to secure environmental sustainability" (Curtis, 2003: 84). Typical examples of ecolocalism are community-supported agriculture (CSA) farms, car sharing schemes, co-housing, eco-villages, home-based production, smaller organisations, family-owned businesses, and regional networks characterised by increasingly dense relations among for instance farms, restaurants, food markets and consumers (see Curtis, 2003; Hess, 2003; Parnwell, 2006). In this way, ecolocalism reconnects producers and consumers (Curtis, 2003; Hess, 2003).

One of the critical issues of ecolocalism is the role of consumption in achieving sustainability. Ecolocalism implies changes in consumption behaviour towards lower average material standards of living. In this sense it is closely linked with dematerialisation, with ideas of reducing or at least not maximising consumer behaviour (Curtis, 2003), 'limits to growth' (Club of Rome, 1972), 'think global act local' (motto of Brower (i.e. Friends of the Earth) in 1969; and of Dubos (advisor of United Nations) in 1972), and 'small is beautiful' (Schumacher, 1973). Ecolocalists reject the idea that more is better, and criticise competitive consumption, often referred to as 'keeping up with the Joneses' (Schor, 1998), and the treadmill of consumption (e.g. Bell, 1998; Martens & Spaargaren, 2005; Princen et al., 2002; Schnaiberg, 1980; Schnaiberg et al., 2002).

This societal development is also recognisable in the tourism consumption domain. There are signs that a group of tourists is interested in ecolocalism, which represents a shift in tourism behaviour. Ecolocal tourists prefer to spend their holidays closer to home instead of going on long-haul holidays. These tourists want to step out of the cycle of going further and further away want to rediscover the joy of travelling to nearby destinations. Given the negative externalities of long-distance travel, the reduced number of passenger kilometres as a consequence of close-to-home holidays immanently implies less air pollution, reduced emission-levels of greenhouse gasses, as well as spending less time in traffic jams (Curtis, 2003).

There is a growing number of people who go on a holiday closer to home (14%) (Press release CBS, 04-08-2008; Press release Postbank, 22-07-2008). A shift from long- and far away holidays to shorter holidays to destinations closer to home is expected. The number of domestic holidays will increase (Reisrevue 12-01-2009). Compared to 2006, in 2007 there was an increase of 8.7% of Dutch people spending a holiday in the Netherlands (Press release CBS, 04-08-2008). The small decline in

the number of domestic holidays in 2008 (-1%) can probably explained by the bad weather during the summer (Press release NBTC-NIPO Research, 18-11-2008). The expectation for 2009 is that there will be an increase of 4% in domestic holidays and a decrease of 5% of Dutch tourists spending their holidays abroad (NBTC/NIPO 07-05-2009; ANWB, 27-05-2009). The Netherlands Board of Tourism and Conventions (NBTC) promotes domestic holidays with the campaign 'Lekker weg in eigen land' (www.lekkerweg.nl).

2.4.5   Conclusion

It can be concluded that there are several niche developments of alternative tourism behaviours which might contribute to a more sustainable development of tourism. These sustainable tourism and travelling alternatives are to greater or lesser extents economic, socio-culturally and ecologically sustainable. Furthermore, some of the sustainable alternatives have a stronger focus on sustainability issues at destination-level, while others are more concerned with the mobility component of tourism behaviours. Since ecotourism, fair tourism, and to a certain extent slow travel, mainly concern travelling to long-haul tourism destinations, the benefits reached at destination-level might be nullified when considering the sustainability of the holiday as a whole, also including the tourism mobility aspect. These alternative tourism behaviours are attractive from an economic and socio-cultural perspective, but the environmental benefit of these holiday behaviours is not straightforward. Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that it is not simply the case that scattered and small-scale tourism flows are preferable from an environmental perspective over mass tourist flows. If all tourists would avoid mass tourist flows and mass tourism destinations, and instead would choose small-scale tourism resulting in scattered tourist flows, this would cause natural damage and congestion (Kirstges, 2002). A situation of compact tourist flows to a limited number of big tourism destinations may from an ecological viewpoint be preferable compared to a situation in which tourists scatter to more small destinations less suited for tourist flows. Therefore, besides the above-mentioned forms of tourism, which are predominantly niche developments, it is interesting to consider how mainstream tourism practices might be transformed in a more sustainable direction. The next section will elaborate on the policy initiatives which might accomplish environmental advantages in continuity with present-day institutional developments.

2.5   The governance of sustainable tourism mobility

2.5.1   Introduction

Since tourism is a global activity with cross-border (environmental) effects, it is questioned whether aiming for sustainable tourism mobility is the responsibility of national governments (Hall, 2004; Hall, 2005; Lash & Urry, 1994; Van der

Duim, 2005; Teo, 2002; Urry, 2001; Page, 2005). National governments are no longer the exclusive nor the most promising actors in the policy field (Spaargaren & Van Koppen, 2009). There is a need to explore the strategies of international and supranational bodies, of transnational corporations in the tourism industry, and non-governmental organisations as well (e.g., Castells, 2004; Hall, 2005). In a sustainable development of tourism mobility, probably market actors involved in travel and tourism, such as established international operating tour operators, airline companies, hotel businesses, tourism associations (e.g. ANVR) and transport associations (e.g. IATA) are among the key governance agents. This section therefore elaborates on governmental, market and NGO strategies aimed at a sustainable development of tourism mobility.

A possible reaction to the negative impacts of tourism growth is to limit the growth by choosing to go on holiday less frequently or by spending the holiday at nearer destinations (section 2.4.2). In light of an ecological modernisation process, these solutions are perceived as a de-modernisation type of solution. Ecological modernisation, based on the view that ecological restructuring and design can be accomplished in continuity with present-day institutional developments, goes beyond these solutions (e.g., Mol, 1995). The strategies identified by ecological modernisation theorists (Mol, 1995) serve as a guiding principle for the governance strategies of sustainable tourism mobility that will be discussed in the remaining of this section: technological transformations (section 2.5.2), economising ecology (section 2.5.3), and creating favourable conditions and contexts for environmentally sound practices (section 2.5.4).

2.5.2   Technological innovations of transport modes

In line with the orientation of ecological modernisation theorists on improvements based on modernisation instead of de-modernisation, several strategies can be distinguished which are mainly focused on a sustainable development of prevailing tourism mobility behaviours instead of on the above-mentioned niche developments (see section 2.4). In light of the ambition to decouple the growth of tourism mobility from environmental impacts, there are several types of measures. Either by technological improvements of transport modes, by radical new transport mode designs, or by experimenting with biofuels, actors involved in tourism and/or transport industries aim for sustainable transport mode developments. The challenge in striving for ecological sustainable tourism mobility is finding the optimal combination of vehicle concept, fuel and energy source, together comprising the energy chain (Holden, 2007).

The Airbus A380 is an example of the ongoing technological development of airplanes. This aircraft has 35% more capacity[7], 13% lower fuel burn, 15-20% less costs per seat, and a 10-15% bigger radius than its competitor Boeing 747. At the same time, the A380 offers travellers more seat-space. As a consequence of the reduced emissions levels and the increased capacity, and hence a reduction in the environmental impacts per passenger kilometre, this technological innovation can cope with growing passenger numbers without additional negative impacts on the environment. This accomplished environmental advantage per passenger kilometre as a consequence of technological improvements may be considered a positive development within the aircraft sector. When it is claimed that this is an eco-friendly aircraft, one should however be cautious (see also Gössling & Peeters, 2007). This type of aircrafts might be eco-friendlier compared to other types of aircrafts, but still, travelling by air is considered the most-polluting way to travel (see also Table 2.1).

Not only aircraft builders such as Airbus continuously search for aircraft improvements. Ongoing developments in plane design and air operations are employed by low cost carriers as well. EasyJet's policy is aimed at expanding its fleet with technologically improved, modern planes which are more fuel-efficient than older models. Furthermore, as a result from seat configuration[8] and occupancy rate[9], EasyJet transports 57% more passengers a flight and hence uses less kerosene per passenger than the European norm (EasyJet, 2006). More or less the same strategy is employed by Ryanair, self-acclaimed Europe's greenest airline (www.ryanair.com; Ryanair, 2006; 2008). In striving for eco-efficiency, latest aircraft and engine technologies are complemented with measures aimed at maximising passenger numbers per flight in order to spread the fuel use and CO_2 emissions over the greatest number of passengers. This led to an overall reduction in fuel consumption and CO_2 emissions per passenger kilometre of almost 55% between 1998 and 2007 (Ryanair, 2006). The increased eco-efficiency of these low cost carriers compared with other airlines, is a positive development. However, it can be argued that eco-efficiency goes hand in hand with economics of scale and therefore enables the low air fares. Cheap air tickets attracted a lot of new customers and increased the number of Intra-European flights. The accomplished eco-efficiency might be undone by the growth in air travel passenger kilometres.

Next to ongoing improvements of airplanes and eco-efficient operations, sustainability measures can also be focused on redesigning air travelling practices.

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7   555 passengers in a 3 class figuration, or 853 passengers in a charter figuration.
8   EasyJet aircrafts' seat configuration offers 26% more capacity than the normal seat configuration (EasyJet, 2006).
9   EasyJet has a higher occupancy rate than a typical European airline (84.8% vs 68.3%) (EasyJet, 2006).

Two radical innovations in aircraft design which contribute to a sustainable development of tourism mobility will be extricated here. To begin with, Delcraft's 'flying saucer' is a project in which the Technical University of Delft cooperates with the Dutch Royal Airline KLM. With this cooperation KLM wants to support radical innovations in plane design, and wants to stimulate aircraft builders such as Boeing and Airbus to take green airplanes in production, knowing that one of world's biggest airlines will purchase these aircrafts[10]. Another radical new aircraft design is the solar airplane developed by the Solar Impulse project and supported by IATA. Their goal is to develop a solar airplane that will fly around the world without fuel and emissions (www.solarimpulse.com; accessed 16-01-2008). Solar Impulse and IATA are both looking towards a zero carbon emission future for air travel. Solar power is one of the building blocks that will make this happen (Giovanni Bisignani, Director General and CEO of IATA; press release 18-02-2008). Currently, there are several major drawbacks of the solar airplane. The aircraft is too small and too big at the same time. To enable flying with this machine, a wingspan of 80 metres is necessary to mount enough solar cells on its wings. No airport is suited to planes of this size. Despite its enormous size, the plane is too small. There is room for only one person, the pilote. Furthermore, the solar plane's maximum speed is 60 miles an hour (i.e. 97 kilometres an hour). "Achieving zero carbon passenger flights will not happen overnight. [...] But the airline industry was born by realising a dream that people could fly. By working together with a common vision, an even greener industry is absolutely achievable" (Giovanni Bisignani; press release 18-02-2008). The Flying saucer and the Solarplane are examples of investments in radical technological innovations as a way to prepare for a more sustainable future. However, achieving more sustainable tourism mobilities using these new types of airplanes still lies far ahead.

Finally, like the car industry, which has decennia of experience with biofuel, the air industry is experimenting with cleaner alternatives to kerosene such as biodiesel, biokerosene, and hydrogen (Saynor, 2003, in Raad voor Verkeer en Waterstaat et al., 2008). On February 24th 2008, Virgin Air was the first airline to make a flight from London to Amsterdam using 80% kerosine and 20% biofuel of babussa oil. Virgin Atlantic is currently working on an algae-based fuel (www.businessgreen.com; accessed 05-01-2009). The airline is just one of a number of operators currently developing an officially certified biofuel-based aviation fuel. Air New Zealand is developing and testing oil produced from seeds contained

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10 KLM is partner of SkyTeam Alliance which (in March 2009) comprises: Air France, KLM, Northwest Airlines, Aeroflot, Aeromexico, Alitalia, China Southern Airlines, Continental, CSA Czech Airlines, Delta, Korean Air, Air Europa, Copa Airlines and Kenya Airways. With a market share of 19%, SkyTeam is the second-ranking global alliance (http://corporate.airfrance.com; accessed 31-03-2009).

within the inedible nuts of the jatropha plant. Jatropha can be grown in a range of difficult conditions, including arid and non-arable areas. It requires little water or fertiliser (Greenaironline.com, accessed June 2008). During a two-hour flight to and from Auckland on December 30th 2008, Air New Zealand tested the environmentally sustainable fuel for use in aviation with a blend of 50 percent jatropha and 50 percent standard jet fuel. At the same time, Continental airlines announced in December 2008 that it hopes to become the first US operator to power a commercial jet using biofuel (www.businessgreen.com; accessed 05-01-2009). Despite these developments in biofuel for air travelling, the contribution of biofuel in reducing overall greenhouse gas emissions is being disputed (Milieudefensie in ANP, 24-02-2008; EEA, 2008).

Technological innovations of transport modes are not limited to air travel. One example of another environmental-friendly transport technology is the Arlanda Express train. The Arlanda Express is the fastest way to travel between Stockholm and Arlanda airport[11], and also the most environment-friendly way. The Arlanda Express is an electric train, as of 2001 powered by environmentally labelled electricity from renewable sources. Arlanda Express trains therefore do not generate any environmentally hazardous emissions. In 2002, Arlanda Express became the first means of transport in Sweden to carry the Good Environmental Choice label (www.arlandaexpress.com; accessed 20-02-2008). Strikingly, an emissions ceiling determining the airport's maximum amount of emissions was the reason to develop the Arlanda Express. To allow the construction of a third runway while meeting these requirements, a new mode of transport was needed for overland travel to and from Arlanda (www.arlandaexpress.com; accessed 20-02-2008).

To summarise, some actors in the transport and tourism industry aim to solve sustainability issues with technological innovations. Technological improvements decrease the environmental impact per passenger kilometre and make travel more environmental-friendly. However, ecological efficiency is also economically effective and given the constant wish of people to travel, this goes hand in hand with increasing levels of demand. The fact that advantages for the environment accomplished by technological development and innovation are generally counteracted by a growth of consumption and changes in lifestyles is recognised by many (e.g., Clark, 2007; European Commission, 2004; European Environment Agency, 2005; Jänicke, 2007; Nilsson & Küller, 2000; Vlek, 2008) and is therefore also a prominent subject of debate in the ecological modernisation literature. Technical improvements at the source of the emission may reduce the fuel use and greenhouse gas emissions per passenger kilometre, but these are counteracted by

11 A distance of 42km, covered in 20 minutes (www.arlandaexpress.com; 20-02-2008).

a growth in passenger kilometres resulting from the increasing number of tourists travelling further away (Böhler et al., 2006; Holden, 2007; Banister et al., 2000; Hoyer, 2000). Focusing mainly on improving vehicle technology and fuel quality is therefore not enough to reduce the transport sector's contribution to greenhouse gas emissions (EEA, 2008). Besides, governance instruments are implemented which address the level of demand (e.g., EEA, 2008). Simply constraining tourism and travelling behaviour with government regulations (e.g., a maximum on the number of holidays a year, or a maximum on the number of kilometres a person is allowed to travel for tourism purposes) is considered impossible given the history of travel and tourism and the importance for people to go on a holiday (Kirstges, 2002). Demand-levels are therefore, among other things, addressed by financial incentives.

2.5.3   Financial instruments

The second type of governance instruments which deal with ecological challenges of travelling behaviour are financial instruments. In this light there is spoken of "the need to adopt economic policies to price transport activities so that they reflect the environmental cost" (Page, 2005: 346). This is a recurrent theme in transport policy responses to sustainability issues. This is in line with the second project identified by ecological modernisation theorist Huber, 'economising ecology' (in Mol, 1995). He states that to get economic actors to systematically take environmental considerations into account, the introduction of economic concepts, mechanisms and principles directed at protecting the environment is necessary. By internalising the external environmental costs (i.e. increasing the cost of travel), it is expected that demand levels will be decreased and the impact on the environment will be reduced (Page, 2005; Carlsson, 2002; Huber in Mol, 1995).

The first financial instrument based on this principle is the introducton of a flight tax. As of July 1st 2008, the Dutch government obliges all air travellers flying from Dutch airports to pay aviation tax[12]. This instrument is in line with the polluter pays principle. When the flight tax was first discussed, it was introduced as an 'ecotax'; revenues would be spent on ecological improvements (Brouwer et al., 2007). After introduction it appeared that the flight tax was a regular tax with revenues going to the National's Treasury. The Dutch government assumed that as a reaction to this tax consumers will avoid travelling by air, and thereby reduce the environmental impacts (Tros Radar; 11-02-2008). However, it appeared that consumers did not avoid flying, but instead avoided the flight tax. Travellers chose to fly from airports just across the border. The sale of air tickets (departing from airports in Belgium or Germany) increased with 51%, comparing sales in the

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12 In 2008 there are two tariffs of flight tax: €11,25 for flights <2500km and €45 for flights >2500km.

period from the 16th of January till the 15th of February in 2008 with the same period in 2007 (Press release Ebookers, 20-02-2008). This shows that reducing the ecological impacts caused by air travel is a cross-border problem which hence needs cross-border solutions. To the relief of the tourism and aviation industries, the Dutch government decided to abolish the flight tax as of July 1st in 2009.

Next to the drawback of the national character of the flight tax, another important drawback of the flight tax was that it did not stimulate airlines to become more environmental-friendly in their operations. Regardless of having a clean or polluting fleet of airplanes, the flight tax is a fixed amount. Instead of countries initiating emissions charges and taxes, including the aviation sector in the European system of emissions trading could be the best way forward (Morrell, 2007).

The Emissions Trading System is the second financial instrument to be discussed here. The Emissions Trading Scheme (EU-ETS) is one of the mechanisms of the Kyoto Protocol. This scheme allows countries to buy and sell GHG emission credits and units, and use them towards meeting their own emissions targets (www.UNFCCC.int; EEA, 2008). The Commission of the European Communities plans to include the climate impact of the aviation sector in the EU-ETS from 2011. All flights departing from and arriving at airports in the EU would be incorporated into the trading scheme (Commission of the European Communities, 2000; Scheelhaase & Grimme, 2007; Boon et al., 2007; EEA, 2008). Since airlines will be rewarded for their efforts, introducing EU-ETS would stimulate the development and use of cleaner technologies, new aircraft designs, and more efficient operations (Morrell, 2007). Hence, an emissions trading scheme could be an appropriate instrument to limit carbon dioxide emissions (Scheelhaase & Grimme, 2007). The expected effect of this legislation is a 46% reduction in emissions by 2020, compared to the 2004-2006 baseline (EEA, 2008: 26). The effect of EU-ETS on tourists' travelling behaviour is still unknown at this moment.

To conclude, both technological innovations and financial instruments are important contributors to a sustainable development of tourism mobility. Technological innovations reduce the environmental impact per passenger kilometre. Financial incentives create a level playing field for both tourism transport businesses (EU-ETS) and tourists (Flight tax). Despite these positive contributions, results of several analyses show that there is a limit to the effects which may be obtained by technological innovation and pricing mechanisms (Raad voor Verkeer en Waterstaat et al., 2008). These kinds of measures result in incremental improvements and provide temporary solutions to a problem which requires societal changes. To contribute to a sustainable development of tourism mobilities, some governance actors therefore develop additional measures.

2.5.4   The creation of contexts for environmental-friendly practices

Although Ecological Modernisation scholars have been criticised for overemphasising the role of producers in change processes, and the role of technology in providing solutions (e.g. Carolan, 2004), EM scholars emphasise that besides the modernisation of production (e.g. technological innovation, financial incentives), changes in consumption behaviour are necessary (e.g. Mol & Spaargaren, 2000; Jänicke, 2007). A third type of governance strategies identified by ecological modernisation theorists are strategies which, instead of top-down regulation, focus on the creation of favourable conditions for changes in consumption behaviour. Those instruments, which create favourable contexts for environmental-friendly practices and facilitate travellers to perform more sustainable behaviours, will be discussed in this section. Whereas technological as well as financial incentives seem to be based on a view of travellers unwilling to change their behaviour out of their own free will, only to be restrained with top-down regulations, these instruments imply a view of travellers being part of the solution. Considering the traveller as a change agent in a transition to more sustainable tourism mobilities is a first sign of a paradigm shift in thinking about consumers. The view that a shift towards more sustainable consumption patterns must be voluntary is central in these instruments.

The first instrument creating a favourable context for more sustainable travelling is the provision of information on environmental issues. Information provision by governments and private-sector organisations may guide travellers in making sustainable decisions; it helps tourists to recognise the environmental degradation their travelling behaviour induces. Furthermore, information campaigns promote or reinforce values and attitudes which support sustainable consumption (Holden, 2007). Hence, by providing environmental travel information, governmental, market or civil society actors aim to increase the willingness and capacity of travellers to behave more sustainably. Besides information, information strategies may give travellers some easy tools which help them in making sustainable travel choices (Page, 2005). Eco-labels are an example of provision of information on environmental issues. Eco-labels serve as easy tools to guide behaviour and to stimulate behavioural changes. In general, eco-labels inform consumers and help them making greener choices concerning product purchases, lifestyle changes or behavioural changes (UNEP, 1998; WTO, 2002; Font & Buckley, 2001; Buckley, 2002; Van der Duim, 2004; Font, 2002; Sasidharan et al., 2002). Eco-labels both contribute to awareness raising and respect the consumer's freedom of choice. Buying eco-labelled products or services gives consumers power in greening consumption practices. With their consumption behaviour, consumers can influence sustainable production and reduce the environmental damage caused in the consumption-production chain (e.g. Micheletti, 2003; Friedman, 1996; Friedman, 1999). Producers will respond to meet the preferences of consumers.

In tourism, several eco-labels serve as a tool for tourists to behave more environmental-friendly (e.g., Green Globe, EU-eco-flower, Blue Flag, Green Key). Several scholars however argue that eco-labels are too difficult, too much focused on 'eco' instead of sustainable, untrustworthy, and only a useful tool for the most dedicated pro-environmental consumers (Buckley, 2001; Font & Harris, 2004; Sasidharan & Font, 2001; Spittler & Haak, 2001). Since eco-labelling is a consumer-oriented information strategy which gives tourists a tool in making their travelling decisions, Chapter 4 will further elaborate on eco-labelling and on other consumer-oriented environmental travel information strategies.

A second governance instrument which provides travellers with a tool to make their behaviour more sustainable is carbon offsetting. In the absence of effective governmental policies dealing with the impact of air travel on climate (both flight-tax and EU-ETS for the air sector were not yet in operation), several organisations started offering air travellers the possibility to voluntarily compensate for the climate impact of their trip[13] (Boon et al., 2007; Dieperink, 2008). Compensation service providers give tourists a tool to make their behaviour less polluting. The emitted greenhouse gases are estimated based on the flight characteristics. The tourist then pays a certain amount of money to the provider of climate compensation who invests (part of) the money into certified compensation projects[14] (Boon et al., 2007; Elekan et al., 2007). By compensating for the climate impacts, air travellers avoid the dissonance resulting from actual behaviour and pro-environmental attitudes. They contribute financially (and therefore internalise externalities), while keeping the privilege of continuing current holiday practices (Davis & Tisdell, 1998; Müller et al., 2001; in Becken, 2004). Next to avoiding dissonance ("to feel less guilty about travelling"), travellers mention several other reasons to compensate: "to make a contribution", "I love trees", "to give something for future generations" (Becken, 2004; Brouwer et al., 2007).

Some scholars mention several drawbacks of carbon offsetting. Especially, the usefulness of CO_2 compensation in forests is strongly debated. It is argued that the carbon stored is unstable and temporary (Becken, 2004; Boon et al., 2007; Dieperink, 2008). "In case of a forest fire or if the tree is cut down, or if the tree 'dies a natural death' and decomposes over time, the stored CO_2 is released. The net effect of temporary storage will be negligible" (Boon et al., 2007: 83). Furthermore, (ibid. p. 84) "the extent to which forestry can be used as compensation measure depends

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13 In the Netherlands, Trees for Travel started in 2001, and the Climate Neutral Group (i.e. Green Seat for compensating air emissions) started in 2002. Trees for Travel is an NGO (www.treesfortravel.nl). Green Seat is a not-for-profit company (www.greenseat.nl).

14 Since consumers stress the importance of independent institutes checking the additionality of the projects in order for them to trust the service providers, not 100% of the invested money is invested in carbon offsetting projects.

on the amount of land available for this purpose". Gössling (2000) calculated that a hypothetical land area of 28.800 square kilometres (i.e. 70% of the Netherlands) would need to be forested to offset the carbon dioxide emissions resulting from global tourism air travel in the year 2000. Carbon-offsetting schemes are therefore not limited to forestation projects. Carbon offsetting also takes place by investmenting in renewable energy projects such as solar energy, wind power, biomass and insulation programs (Boon et al., 2007; Elekan et al., 2007). Although it is argued that climate compensation is just a way to ease tourists' conscience (Rousse, 2008), diverting from the pressing need to reduce the combustion of fossil fuels, climate compensation may be considered as an instrument which facilitates air travellers to perform more sustainable tourism mobility behaviours. Despite leaving the travelling behaviour untouched, compensating the climate change effects of flights may be considered preferable over not compensating.

A third and final type of governance strategies to be discussed here concerns measures aiming to shift the balance between modes of transport. Modal shift is widely viewed as an essential component of the measures to achieve sustainability (Joint Environment & Transport Informal Council, 2001). Modal shift policies are aimed to facilitate travellers to travel with more environmental-friendly transport modes. Modal shift strategies mainly encourage a shift from the private car to other, more sustainable forms of transport (Lumsdon et al., 2006). An important difference however between everyday mobility and tourism mobility is the share of air travelling. The modal shift from air travelling to car, rail or coach travelling receives less attention. Nevertheless, also in tourism mobility the highest aim is a modal shift to train or coach travel (see also Kirstges, 2002).

Although not tailored to the specific challenges of tourism mobility, several policy documents of the European Commission (2001, 2008) point to the need to use a broad range of policy tools that show much resemblance with the policy strategies mentioned above.

First, the EU policy documents argue that a modification of current pricing and taxation systems is necessary to stimulate modal shift. With taxes, charges or emission trading schemes the external costs of transport (i.e. the societal and environmental costs) should be internalised (Joint Environment & Transport Informal Council, 2001; European Commission 2001, 2008).

Furthermore, EU policy documents state that modal shift policies should include investments in transport modes with less environmental impacts. Especially, the capacity of the rail network needs to be increased and programmes to develop a high-speed rail network of the last decade have to be continued (European Commission, 2001; Joint Environment & Transport Informal Council, 2001). It is argued that besides the environmental advantage, on many routes, high-speed trains are an attractive alternative to flying in terms of time, price and comfort (European Commission, 2001). There are several high speed lines in Europe, for

instance Thalys (cooperation of SNCF[15], NS[16], NMBS[17], DB[18]), ICE (cooperation of DB and NS), Eurostar (cooperation of NMBS, SNCF), TGV (SNCF) and HSL (cooperation of NS and NMBS). The ability of highspeed trains to replace air or car transport appears from the fact that "the market share for flying between Madrid and Seville fell from 40% to 13% with the entry into service of the high-speed line (AVE; Alta Velocidad Española). Similarly, between Paris and Brussels, the market share claimed by car journeys has fallen by almost 15% since Thalys started its operations" (European Commission, 2001: 53).

Third, it is stated that shifting the balance between transport modes involves linking different transport modes to improve intermodality (Joint Environment & Transport Informal Council, 2001; European Commission, 2001). In relation to tourism mobility, an important missing link is the lack of a close connection between railway stations and many tourism destinations (e.g. beaches, countryside, mountains). Because railway stations are usually situated near to town centres, a modal shift to train travelling is most successful with regard to city trips.

In scope of the second and third type of modal shift policy strategies, the European Commission (2001, 2008) ascribes an important role to the market to offer "realistic alternatives, cleaner vehicles at an affordable price, or an appropriate level of service in another mode of transport" (European Commission, 2008: 2). An example is the consortium High Speed Alliance (HSA) which was established for the transport on the High Speed Line. This consortium consists of Dutch Railways (NS; 90%) and Royal Dutch Airlines (KLM; 10%). They operate transport on the entire high speed line from Amsterdam to Paris. The goal of HSA is to promote train travelling and to improve the link between rail and air transport on hub airports.

Besides economic instruments, infrastructural improvements and the linking of modalities (in other words: the creation of passages), in modal shift strategies increasing attention has been given to travel demand management measures. Such measures aim for attitude- and behavioural changes in favour of environmental-friendly forms of transport" (Gronau & Kagermeier, 2004 in Lumsdon et al., 2006). The European Commission "Tapestry" project[19], investigating how to develop effective communication programmes or campaigns which support sustainable transport policies and encourage sustainable travel behaviour in Europe provides an example of this development.

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15 National railway company of France; Société Nationale des Chemins de fer Français.
16 National railway company of the Netherlands; Nederlandse Spoorwegen.
17 National railway company of Belgium; Nationale Maatschappij der Belgische Spoorwegen.
18 National railway company of Germany; Deutsche Bahn.
19 Tapestry: Travel Awareness, Publicity and Education supporting a Sustainable Transport Strategy in Europe.

All in all, the modal shift policy strategies range from economic instruments and regulatory measures, to infrastructure investment and new technologies, to creating intermodal travelling passages, and finally to communication campaigns in order to encourage the use of environmental-friendly transport modes and achieve sustainable mobility. Modal shift strategies cover the whole spectrum of types of governance strategies.

2.5.5   Conclusion

Technological innovations of transport modes, financial incentives which internalise external environmental costs, and instruments which facilitate performing environmental friendly travel behaviours are the prevailing sustainability strategies employed in the domain of sustainable tourism mobility (see also Spit & Zoete, 2002 in Van der Horst, 2006). Technological improvements increase the eco-efficiency of transport modes and lower the environmental impacts per passenger kilometre. Financial incentives create a level playing field for both travelling industry and travellers. The majority of current strategies go behind the back of travellers by focusing on resources for travelling. It seems as if governance actors assume a reluctancy among tourists to change their holiday routines. Strategies hence try to change tourism and travelling behaviours with regulations, financial instruments and technological improvements. However, the historical development of tourism and travelling shows that time and time again, people's drive to be mobile, to travel and to explore, implied that technologies enabling faster, affordable, comfortable travelling led to a situation of more people travelling more often and over longer distances. Technological and financial strategies don't seem to be able to break out of the vicious cycle: increased eco-efficiency leads to an increase in demand which decreases eco-effectiveness. One of the remaining challenges for governance actors in aiming to contribute to a sustainable tourism mobility transition is to take up a consumer orientation (Spaargaren & Van Koppen, 2009).

The last category of instruments (i.e. the provision of environmental information, climate compensation schemes, and modal shift policies) create a favourable context for travellers to develop more sustainable travelling behaviour. These instruments are more consumer-oriented and consider tourists as change agents in a transition to more sustainable tourism mobilities. This implies an initial paradigm shift in considering consumers as being part of the solution. However, in general, it can be said that tourism mobility practices are yet underexposed in governance strategies aiming for a sustainable development of tourism mobility. Based on the historical developments in the tourism industry (e.g. Thomas Cook) it can be expected that strategies which focus on creating passages for environmental-friendly travelling geared to specific tourism mobility practices could break out of the vicious cycle.

2.6   Current research on sustainable tourism mobility

In a transition to more sustainable tourism mobilities different actors and social groups are involved. Besides technology, economy, politics and culture, which received attention in the previous section, science is equally important (Geels, 2004; Geels, 2007). Scientists play a role in recognising and pinpointing developments, such as a process of ecological modernisation or a transition towards sustainability. At the same time, scientists can play a role in knowledge development by analysing, among other things, production and consumption dynamics of the tourism value chain, barriers and windows of opportunity for sustainable development, or possible routeways to sustainable tourism mobility. Current research in the field of tourism will be elaborated on in this section.

The last decades sustainable tourism has become a very popular research topic. As mentioned above, there are many contributions on ecotourism, on tourism eco-labels in the hospitality industry, and on fair tourism developments such as pro-poor tourism, community-based tourism and volunteer tourism. Although the ecological impacts of tourism are to a large extent caused by tourism mobility, several scholars argue that tourism mobility has not received its fair share of interest from academics (e.g., Dickinson & Dickinson, 2006; Page, 2005; Schlich et al., 2004; Peeters et al., 2007; Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008). Science has mainly been focused on social, economic and ecological sustainability at the tourism destination. The fact that scientific contributions on ecological impacts of tourism mobility are not as widespread as scientific contributions on tourism's smaller impact at destination level, illustrates that tourism research is in an early phase of ecological emancipation. Despite this, the ecological challenges of tourism mobility are becoming more popular in tourism research.

This section elaborates on how tourism research analyses the ecological problems of tourism mobility and tackles the topic of sustainable tourism mobility. Without claiming to give a complete overview of all scientific work in this section, several streams can be identified. Strikingly, research on sustainable tourism mobility shows the same division as found in governance of sustainable tourism mobility. One stream of research focuses on a sustainable development of transport modes, transport infrastructures and transport systems (section 2.6.1). Another branch of tourism research is more consumer-oriented, focusing on user characteristics, on the attitudes and behaviours of various traveller groups, on tourists' perception of voluntary climate compensation, and on willingness to pay for sustainability (section 2.6.2). Third, there is a branch of modal shift analyses, focusing on explaining the use of different transport modes in travelling behaviour (section 2.6.3) (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008). This division of labour appears to be a situation of 'passing ships in the night'. Below, these streams will be illustrated by giving some exemplary scientific contributions for these bodies of sustainable tourism mobility research.

2.6.1   Transport modes, infrastructures and systems

A first line contains research on sustainable development of transport modes, referring to both technological innovations and organisational improvements. In this line of work the focus is on transport systems, transport infrastructures, and on the energy efficiency of vehicles.

Given the importance of negative environmental contributions of air traffic in the tourism field[20], before going into specific research contributions in the tourism field, attention is given here to several research contributions on the eco-efficiency of air travelling (e.g. Åkerman, 2005; Åkerman & Höjer, 2006; Dings et al., 2000; Green, 2002; Krüger-Nielsen, 2001; Lapena-Ray et al., 2007; Vedantham & Oppenheimer, 1998).

Åkerman (2005) for example, analysed three paths to sustainable air transport. In analysing what a future air transport system with sustainable levels of CO_2 emissions would look like and how it could be realised, he concludes that it is technically possible to reduce fuel intensity per air passenger kilometre with 44% by the year 2050 (Åkerman, 2005; Åkerman & Höjer, 2006). The three sustainable images of global aviation in 2050 are, first, the refinement of the conventional aircraft, second, the introduction of more radical aircraft designs, and third, the advantage of a high-speed propeller aircraft with a cruise speed which is 20–25% lower than for a conventional turbofan aircraft (Åkerman, 2005). All of these represent opportunities to gain environmental advantage with technological improvements in aircraft technology.

Also Lapena-Ray et al., (2007) explore, develop and analyse initiatives to reduce airplanes' emissions. These include investing in more fuel-efficient aircrafts or adapting existing ones to make them more efficient (e.g., by fitting fuel-saving winglets – an improvement that many low cost carriers have made to their aircraft fleet). Furthermore, environmental-friendly technologies are incorporated to develop novel propulsion systems. To prove that novel environmental-friendly power sources can be successfully implemented in aviation, they give a detailed description of an electric airplane which does not produce any emissions, such as carbon dioxide, carbon monoxide or NO_x. Analyses like these, concentrated on technological development and on improving the eco-efficiency of transport modes, are based on the belief that technological innovations offer the solutions to sustainability dilemmas.

Research on the environmental performance of transport modes explicitly related to tourism, has been conducted by Peeters et al. (2007), analysing the environmental impacts of tourism transport, by Gössling et al. (2005) investigating

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20 It is estimated that about two-thirds of air travel consists of leisure travel and one-third of business travel (Vedantham and Oppenheimer, 1998). Gössling (2000) estimates that in 1995, tourism was responsible for about 50% of civil aviation.

the eco-efficiency of tourism, and furthermore, by several scholars analysing the ecological footprint of holidays (Gössling et al., 2002; Hunter & Shaw, 2007; Patterson et al., 2007; Peeters & Schouten, 2006). These contributions aim to identify ways to make a more favourable eco-efficiency of tourism, and to uncouple tourism growth from growth in transport demand and its environmental impacts. Gössling et al. (2005) analyse the interplay of environmental damage and economic gains within the context of tourism, allowing for conclusions about the eco-efficiency of tourism. The results of the eco-efficiency calculations reveal that travel distance to the destination and mode of transport are the most relevant factors contributing to an unfavourable eco-efficiency, and among different means of transport, air travel causes the most unfavourable eco-efficiencies. Eco-efficiencies may be positively influenced by an extended length of stay and higher expenditures per day (Gössling et al., 2005). Using eco-efficiency as a tool for re-structuring tourism towards sustainability, they suggest that apart from marketing strategies with the primary aim to increase both the average length of stay of tourists as well as their expenditure per day, options to attract more tourists from nearer countries should be explored. Eco-efficiency could be a useful concept to provide insights in how to improve tourism's environmental performance in the economically most feasible way (Gössling et al., 2005). Clearly, this analysis is representative for the line of sustainable tourism mobility research which focuses on transport modes. Similar, Peeters et al. (2007) analyse the environmental impacts of tourism transport. Comparable with Gössling et al. (2005), this analysis is limited to the transport component of tourism and to ecological impacts, leaving economic revenues out of consideration. Their analysis reveals that about 80% of the environmental impacts is caused by only 20% of all trips, among which the ever growing number of long haul trips. "Emissions can hence be reduced significantly, while affecting only a relatively small part of all tourism and tourism economy" (Peeters et al., 2007: 92). Peeters et al. (2007) explain the growth of long haul holiday travel with the low and decreasing cost of air transport (per pkm), and with the large differences in the cost of accommodation between Western and developing country destinations. Hence, Peeters et al. (2007) use financial reasons to explain the growth of long haul holiday travel. It appears that Peeters et al. (2007) expect that structural financial measures will result in reduced environmental impacts of tourism transport.

2.6.2   Consumer-oriented analyses

In tourism research on sustainable tourism mobility, like in governance of sustainable tourism mobility, there is, besides research on the technological and infrastructural aspects of sustainable tourism mobility, also a stream of consumer-oriented research. In this second, very popular line of research, the user-side of tourism is addressed. Several research contributions focus on tourists' willingness to pay an extra amount for sustainable tourism services or for voluntary climate

compensation. Other contributions focus on differentiating between diverging traveller types based on their attitudes and behaviours.

From the former type of research contributions, it appears that the positive attitudes towards sustainable tourism are not reflected in tourists' willingness to pay for sustainable tourism services. Positive attitudes towards sustainable tourism do not correlate with economic preferences for sustainable tourism services (e.g. Zschiegner & Yan, 2006). With regard to climate compensation, the willingness to pay for carbon offsetting via a tree-planting scheme shows a more positive picture. Among tourists travelling by air, the claimed willingness to pay for carbon offsetting ranges from 48.3% (Becken, 2004) to 75% (Brouwer et al., 2007). With regard to the (un)willingness to pay the Dutch flight tax, the percentage of people stating they will depart from an airport in Germany or Belgium to avoid this Dutch flight tax ranges from 25% (Press release Postbank, 22-07-2008) to 37% (among the visitors of the website vliegwinkel.nl; i.e. a website for booking air tickets) (Press release Vliegwinkel.nl, 14-12-2007). Furthermore, to avoid the flight tax, 8% of consumers states they fly less (Press release Postbank, 22-07-2008), and the sale of coach excursions has increased with 20% (Reisrevue 05-03-2008).

Furthermore, in the common line of user-oriented research, some analyses emphasise the need for a differentiation in traveller types (Friedl et al., 2005), travel groups (Böhler et al., 2006), or leisure mobility styles (Götz et al., 2003; Schubert, 2004; Lanzendorf, 2002; Lawson et al., 1999). To promote sustainable tourism innovatively, Friedl et al. (2005) found seven traveller types each needing a different supply of sustainable holidays and a different way of communicating. 'Sophisticated cultural travellers' for example, are intrinsically interested in sustainability issues and want that to be communicated in the holiday offers. On the other hand young 'fun and action seekers' are more interested in a party train to a beach, and prefer communication in which sustainability is not mentioned. Along the same lines Böhler et al. (2006) identified four travel groups that vary according to individual socio-economical characteristics, values, attitudes, number of holiday trips, and travel mode choice. The importance of socio-demographic variables on holiday patterns is stressed. Furthermore, their analysis shows that values have an effect on the number of trips and distances travelled for holiday purposes. Correlating socio-demographic variables and values with the environmental consequences of people's travelling behaviour revealed that income, education, and openness to change appeared to be the main indicators of individual greenhouse gas emissions. In the same line, they conclude that "strategies aiming at the reduction of the individual's negative environmental impact have to consider different personal preconditions for travelling as well as the different extent to which people travel" (ibid: 666).

Furthermore, characterised by different use of transport modes and covered distances, Götz et al. (2003) and Schubert (2004) identified five leisure mobility styles. Analysing lifestyle-specific orientations, background attitudes and motivations

might contribute to a better understanding and shaping of leisure-mobility behaviour towards sustainability. Acquired knowledge of specific target-group orientations and motivational factors can be used in influencing behaviour (Götz et al., 2003; Schubert, 2004). These contributions are exemplary for this line of individual user analyses, following the social-psychological tradition of conducting research in which social-demographic variables, attitudes, values, and motivations are viewed as determinants of behaviour. Scholars in this line of research opt for measures aimed at specific socio-demographic target groups; measures which raise environmental awareness, increase environmental knowledge, and promote environmental-friendly attitudes when aiming for a sustainable development of tourism mobility.

2.6.3   Modal Shift

A third line of sustainable tourism mobility research focuses on modal shift issues. Modal shift analyses try to explain or predict the modal split, (i.e. the division over the different transport modes), and investigate how to shift it towards a more environmental-friendly modal split. Modal shift analyses primarily focus on explaining car use and on reducing car dependency (e.g., Anable, 2005; Dickinson & Dickinson, 2006; Robbins & Dickinson, 2007; Steg & Vlek, 1996), by assessing and improving the opportunities of public transportation (Gronau & Kagermeier, 2007; Lumsdon et al., 2006), the attractiveness of train travelling (Van Goeverden, 2006), and the local bus system (Guiver et al., 2007). So far, the modal shift from air travelling to car, rail or coach travelling has been underrepresented in tourism research (as it has been in governance strategies as well; see section 2.5).

In the stream of modal shift research, there are, like in governance, contributions focused on transport modes and (infra)structural improvements on the one hand, and contributions with a consumer-orientation, focused on attitudes towards environmental-friendly travelling on the other.

In line with the former stream of modal shift research, Peeters et al., (2004; 2007) calculated the environmental impacts of European tourist transport. Besides assessing developments in the modal split of European tourism mobility, it was calculated that the shift from rail-short distance to air-medium distance increases the impacts on climate change about eight times due to the technological difference of these transport modes and about three times due to the extra distance travelled. The climate change impact of this kind of shifts concerns an increase by a factor of 24 per trip (Peeters et al., 2004).

Åkerman & Höjer (2006) state that if current transport trends prevail, increasing the technological potential and using a substantial amount of renewable energy are insufficient to reach a sustainable transport system. Somehow the trend of ever-increasing transport volumes must be curbed and modal shifts must be accomplished. To realise this, they search for solutions such as to improve more

environmentally benign ways of travelling and to limit more harmful transport modes (Åkerman & Höjer, 2006). High-speed trains might substitute for some air travel. Åkerman & Höjer (2006) estimate a total replacement potential of maybe 15% (see also Peeters et al., 2004).

Besides this system-oriented stream in modal shift research, there is also a stream of user-oriented modal shift research (e.g. Akkermans, 1997; Anable, 2005; Van Goeverden, 2006; Gronau & Kagermeier, 2007; Jacobs, 2008). In this consumer-oriented stream of modal shift research, product characteristics are ascribed to transport modes (e.g. costs, travelling time, speed, flexibility, comfort, privacy, environmental-friendliness, and safety). The choice of travel mode is dependent on travellers' preferences for these characteristics, their environmental attitudes and their socio-demographic characteristics (e.g. sexe, age, income, education) (see Jacobs, 2008; Akkermans, 1997; Gatersleben et al., 2002). Anable (2005), for instance, emphasises the importance of differentiating between groups of travellers based on attitude statements. Using an attitude-based differentiation of traveller groups, a higher degree of acceptance for mobility management policies is expected. Van der Horst (2006) aimed to develop an appropriate model for decision-making processes in travel behaviour (e.g. the choice of transport mode). The statement (ibid.:14): "Travel behaviour is a result from many separate decisions that the traveller makes. Hence, changing travel behaviour implies that the outcome of some of these decisions needs to be changed", illustrates that Van der Horst (2006) focuses on decision-making processes of individual travellers. Based on the assumption that information increases people's knowledge and that this will affect travelling behaviour, she states that information plays an important role in influencing travel decisions (ibid.).

Another example of traveller-oriented research is Van Goeverden's (2006) analysis of motivations of train passengers in long distance travel. He concluded that the attractiveness of travelling by train for tourism purposes may be enhanced by reducing the need for transfers, increasing operating speed, suspending obligations for seat reservation, operating more train services with high 'status' and asking modest fares.

The role of local bus services in reducing car use at tourist destinations was examined by Guiver et al. (2007). They describe the characteristics of people who use these buses even though they have a car available. It appears that personal benefits (e.g., the views from a double-decker or open-top bus, and not having to drive in an unfamiliar area), generally motivate people with cars to use buses in tourist areas.

In analysing how public transport provision may be improved to better fit leisure and tourism travel, Gronau & Kagermeier (2007) focus on necessary key factors for successful leisure and tourism public transport provision. They found that attitudes are more often the cause for not using public transport than the supply of public

transport itself, and hence choose a user-oriented approach in their modal shift analysis. Based on user attitudes, Gronau & Kagermeier (2007) show that there is a clear potential for public transport use in leisure time. According to them, a first pre-condition for using public transport for leisure mobility is a high quality level of service (frequency, appropriate routings, minimising changes). Second, closely related, public transport supply must cover the entire route between origin and destination. Third, they state that decreasing car accessibility by restricting car parking could stimulate public transport use. Fourth, they mention marketing tools to strengthen the position of public transport in the leisure market; such as combined tickets (e.g., combined tickets for entrance and public transport). In short, it can be said that their analysis tries to connect travellers' attitudes with improvements in transport provision.

Among other research contributions going beyond a one-dimensional focus on either individual travellers or infrastructural improvements, is the analysis of Dickinson & Dickinson (2006). They criticise taking up a psychological approach in modal shift research because it presupposes a model of rational decision-making, and because attitudes are assumed to be stable. As a reaction to the fact that most research is based on attitude theory, although attitudes are not especially good at predicting transport behaviour (Anable, 2005), Dickinson & Dickinson (2006) pay attention to the social representations of tourism transport and the social reality which shape travel behaviour (see also Dickinson & Robbins, 2008; Urry, 2002).

In analysing the relative merits of car travel over public transport alternatives and identifying the major barriers to modal shift, Robbins & Dickinson (2007) found that public transport improvements on their own will not achieve modal shifts since people do not want their car use restricted. Policies to reduce the dominant position of the car for domestic tourism travel have not succeeded (Robbins & Dickinson, 2007). In another research, in attempting to unravel the social assumptions and discourses which underly travel behaviour and guide transport choice decisions, Dickinson & Robbins (2008) found that "people are drawing on a widespread discourse that alternatives to the car are simply not adequate and therefore the car has to be used." (Dickinson & Robbins, 2008: 10). People referring to this discourse to support their car use, will only (if at all) change to public transport when public transport opportunities are adequate, e.g., when there are frequent services and good connections. People who justify their car use by describing its positive features, may be tempted to shift their modal choice, but only to transport modes with the same positive features, such as high levels of comfort and of individual freedom (Dickinson & Robbins, 2008). In this light, Budeanu (2007b) argues that while some tourists may be prepared to accept the worse availability, lower comfort-level, and longer travelling time of environmental alternatives, they have to have the available resources to do so (time, money, information). Besides these external aspects, a shift to sustainable tourist behaviour is determined by

individuals' knowledge of and ability to understand the consequences of their acts, and habits (Shove & Warde, 2002; Mont, 2004). As informative tools do not address the barriers which prevent tourists from acting according to their attitudes, removing external barriers is said to be more important than internal knowledge and motivations in contributing to environmental-friendly tourism and travelling behaviour (Kaiser et al., 1999; Tanner et al., 2004 in Budeanu, 2007b).

Although some of these modal shift research contributions go beyond taking either a consumer-oriented or a technology-oriented approach, they remain on a rather general level. There are also modal shift analyses focusing on altering travelling behaviours in specific contexts, such as the Alpine region (e.g. Holding, 2001; Alpenkonvention, 2007; Dubois, 2006; Pils, 2006; Schmied & Götz, 2006). These will receive more attention in Chapter 5.

2.6.4   Conclusion

In summarising the spectrum of sustainable tourism mobility analyses, two interrelated conclusions can be drawn. First, one could say that current research on sustainable tourism mobility represents a rather neat dualism between structural analyses of transport systems, transport infrastructures and transport modes on the one hand and consumer-oriented analyses of tourists' willingness to pay, their attitudes and their travelling styles on the other (see Table 2.2). These two types of analyses have been organised as separate bodies of research (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2007; Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008). In transport system analyses, issues of lifestyle, individual motivations, habits and routines are hardly addressed. Little attention is devoted to why groups of travellers would want to adapt to green technologies, and how these innovations could be embedded in tourists' holiday practices; these remain part of a kind of unelaborated black box. Consumer-oriented research focuses on individual characteristics such as tourists' attitudes, values, routines and their willingness to pay. Structuring characteristics and existing technologies then remain underexposed. This is problematic as well since, as is generally recognised, due to all kinds of contextual circumstances environmental-friendly attitudes do not automatically translate into green behaviour. Structural and technological factors are as important in influencing tourists' behaviour. Hence, a general positive attitude towards train travelling might be frustrated not only due to price differences, but also due to a lack of comfort, timeliness, or the density of boarding locations. These aspects thus also need to be considered to set a transition towards sustainable tourism mobility in motion. According to both ecological modernisation theorists and transition theorists, in a transition towards a more sustainable tourism mobility both technological and structural innovations, as well as related changes in attitudes, motivations, lifestyles and travelling routines are very important (e.g., Geels, 2004; Geels, 2007; Schot & de la Bruheze, 2003; Schot & Geels, 2007; Rotmans et al., 2001; Mol, 1995; Spaargaren, 1997).

Table 2.2   **Broad typification of current research on sustainable tourism mobility**

Line of research	Topics	Leaves underexposed
Transport system (2.6.1)	Technological innovation, eco-efficiency, legislation	Individual characteristics such as tourists' attitudes and routines
Consumer- oriented (2.6.2)	Attitudes, values, routines, willingness to pay	Structural characteristics such as available transport infrastructures, or sustainable (tourism) mobility policies
Modal shift (2.6.3)	Structural and individual factors behind modal split	Contextual embeddedness of technologies and attitudes in holiday practices or travelling practices.

(Adjusted from Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008)

The second and interrelated conclusion is that although some modal shift research goes beyond a one-dimensional orientation on consumers or on transport systems, these analyses remain on a rather general level (see Table 2.2). Although both individual and technological or organisational aspects of transport modes are covered, the embeddedness of mobility in specific holiday practices is neglected. Contextual differences in tourists' motivations (attitudes, values, lifestyles, routines) as well as in structuring conditions (e.g. current provision of travelling opportunities, the quality of public transport infrastructures, and the availability of innovative green technologies) are left unconsidered (see also Sharpley, 2000). These context contingent dynamics are important in analysing windows of opportunity in a transition towards sustainable tourism mobility.

2.7   Conclusion and challenges

Tourism mobility practices have changed over the centuries from a few people undertaking one long trip abroad, making use of infrastructures for freight transport or postal services, to many people undertaking many more and shorter holidays over longer distances, facilitated by a specialised travelling and tourism industry. This historical shift involved many social, economic, and ecological consequences, such as the development of vast travel and tourism infrastructures, the development and decay of tourism destinations, impacts on local social and cultural relations, climate change, air pollution and loss of biodiversity. For a long time, tourism's social and economic consequences have received most attention. After a period of dominance of a socio-economic focus in the tourism domain, the orientation has widened to also encompass ecological themes and issues related to tourism. This resulted in the re-thinking of tourism mobility from an ecological perspective as well. Actors in the tourism and travelling industries are more and more acquainted with the environmental effects of tourism mobility. Besides the fact that there are several niche developments of sustainable tourism movements, both governance actors and scientists acknowledge the need for a sustainable development of

tourism mobilities. One might speak of a process of ecological modernisation in the domain of travel and tourism in which the ecological component emancipates from its social and economic counterparts. The ecological modernisation process in the tourism domain refers to changes in the whole tourism value chain instead of only at the tourism destination. Among other things, there has been a shift in focus from sustainability at destination level to also consider the sustainable development of tourism mobility, both in policy and in research.

Both the policy and science regime took up the challenge to re-think tourism mobility from an ecological perspective. This chapter pointed to the conclusion that this is however a complex challenge. Illustrative is the fact that many sustainability strategies are focused on sustainability issues at the destination instead of at the mobility aspect of tourism. There are however also several policy strategies aiming for more environmental-friendly tourism mobilities. Technological improvements and innovations increase the eco-efficiency of transport modes. Financial instruments, such as the European Union Emission Trading System, create a level playing field for both the travelling industry and travellers. And finally, providing environmental information or climate compensation opportunities are among the instruments which aim to create favourable contexts for environmental-friendly travelling behaviour. Despite the wide spectrum of sustainability measures, holiday practices are yet underexposed in governance strategies aiming for a sustainable development of tourism mobility. There is a lack of strategies which focus on creating passages for environmental-friendly travelling geared to specific holiday practices.

Comparable, the complex challenge when analysing a sustainable development of tourism mobility is to go beyond the segregation of consumer-oriented and infrastructure-oriented analyses. The former is primarily focused on traveller characteristics and the latter on transport system characteristics. These streams of research hardly converge, and when they converge, for example in some modal shift analyses, research is of a generic level, leaving context contingent travelling practices underaddressed. Hence, the underexposure of travelling practices in governance strategies for sustainable tourism mobility is confirmed by the state of affairs in tourism research.

A sustainable development of tourism mobilities might benefit from a new approach in which these elements are considered interactively and are framed in a contextualised way. In the next chapter a theoretical framework will be developed which considers transition processes to more sustainable tourism mobilities in an integrated and context-specific manner.

Theoretical framework – a practice approach for tourism research

3 Theoretical framework – a practice approach for tourism research

3.1 Introduction

When studying a sustainable development of tourism mobilities, there is much to be gained by a theoretical framework which is able to create linkages between as yet separated bodies of knowledge which are either actor- or structure-centred (see Chapter 2). Analysing sustainable transitions in tourism with an integrated theoretical framework, combining actor- and structure-oriented approaches, could deliver insights which might lead to more fruitful forms of governance, capable of bridging the gap between one dimensional user- or system-oriented strategies. This chapter is aimed at developing a theoretical framework in which actor- and structure elements are considered in interaction. Developing such a theoretical framework will serve as a guiding principle in this chapter.

In developing an integrated framework with which to analyse sustainable transformations in the tourism domain, section 3.2 starts with a portrayal of research contributions on sustainable restructuring: Transition Research. Given the fact that in sustainable development processes technological and financial measures alone are considered insufficient and need to be complemented with changes in consumption behaviour (see Chapter 2), section 3.2 in particular elaborates on the contributions in transition research which include citizen-consumers. These contributions stress how innovations and the users of these innovations shape each other, and thereby change consumption behaviour in a co-evolutionary way.

Given the diversity of tourism mobility patterns, it is important to take account of contextual differences in designing and providing more sustainable alternatives. Section 3.3 will elaborate on practice approaches which consider behaviour as routinised and situated in time-space contexts. In comparison with transition theory, practice approaches induce a stronger consumer-orientation by putting practices at the centre stage. Here, the Social Practices Approach (SPA), developed by Spaargaren (1997), will be used. SPA has its origin in Giddens's structuration theory and has been developed with a special focus on consumption practices. It thus suits this research very well.

Complementing SPA with insights from Ecological Modernisation Theory (Chapter 2) and Transition Research (section 3.2) enables an analysis of the ecological restructuring of consumption behaviour in specific time-space contexts. These three bodies of research form the basis of the theoretical framework with which sustainable development processes in the tourism consumption domain can be analysed.

3.2   System transformation

The sustainable development of tourism, of tourism mobility in particular, can be regarded as a 'persistent problem'. "Persistent problems are *complex* because they are deeply embedded in our societal structures" – tourism is deeply embedded in modern life, *"difficult to manage* with a variety of actors with diverse interests involved"* – think for example of the diverging interests of travellers, tour operators, travel agencies, airlines, airports, railway companies, municipalities of tourism destinations, host communities, and tourism boards, and *"hard to grasp* in the sense that they are difficult to interpret and ill-structured" – there is for instance debate on the ecological problems caused by different transport modes (Chapter 2) (Dirven et al., 2002; in: Rotmans & Loorbach, 2008: 2).

As Chapter 2 illustrated, the persistent problem of a sustainable development of tourism mobility cannot be solved using only conventional policies. Policies aimed at transport innovations and at price incentives are necessary but not sufficient. Tackling sustainability challenges in the tourism domain implies fundamental transformation processes. It implies a system transformation which substantially reduces the problems and at the same time meets the characteristics of underlying mobility practices. Ecological Modernisation Theory (EMT; as mentioned in Chapter 2) concerns one body of theory on environmental induced system transformation. This section will discuss the process of ecological restructuring in some more detail by looking at yet another body of literature: Transition Research. As will be argued below, some central concepts of Transition Research are useful when analysing sustainable transformations in the tourism domain.

Shove & Walker (2007), identify two streams within Transition Research. The first stream concerns an array of historic analyses of systems in transition. In analysing historical transitions, the main interest is to figure out how dominant socio-technical regimes have been dislodged and replaced. The focus is on how new configurations have become mainstream. This stream is referred to as Transition Theory (Shove and Walker, 2007). Besides, a second stream is focused on the systematic logic of transition patterns. In analysing transitions, the main interest of this stream is to discover the systematic characteristics of transition patterns in order for these to be applied in managing, influencing or accommodating transition trajectories. This stream is referred to in terms of Transition Management.

Despite their different emphasis, both streams agree on what a transition is. Transitions are "transformation processes in which existing structures, institutions, culture and practices are broken down and new ones are established [...] A transition is a process of structural societal change from one relatively stable system state to another" (Loorbach, 2007: 18; see also Rotmans et al., 2001; Geels & Kemp, 2000). Several aspects are identified which characterise transition processes. Transitions are 'multi' in several senses.

The *multi-factor* dimension of transitions refers to the fact that transitions are the "result of the interplay of many factors that influence each other" (Elzen & Wieczorek, 2005: 655). Since socio-technical systems consist of a configuration of elements, e.g. configurations of technology, regulation, user practices and markets, cultural meaning, infrastructure, maintenance networks, and supply networks (Geels, 2004), fundamental changes in socio-technical systems imply changes in all (or at least several) of these elements.

Second, transitions are referred to as *multi-level* processes. To understand shifts in socio-technical systems, a multi-level model has been developed on the basis of historical analyses, such as the transitions from sail to steam ships, from horse to car, or from coal to gas (Schot et al., 1994; Schot & de la Bruheze, 2002; Geels, 2002; Geels, 2005; Kemp et al., 2005). The 'multi-level' model distinguishes between three interconnected conceptual levels: the macro level of the landscape, the meso level of the regime, and the micro level of the niches (Rip & Kemp, 1998; Geels, 2002; Geels, 2005). The landscape level concerns deep structural, relatively stable trends that are not easily influenced, such as economic growth, broad political coalitions, cultural and normative values, environmental problems, or oil prices (Geels, 2005). Landscape developments may influence the regime level of shared and stabilised rules which provide orientation and coordination to the activities of relevant actor groups (Rip & Kemp, 1998, Geels & Kemp 2000; Geels, 2004). For instance, the increasing societal interest in environmental problems probably encourages the ecological modernisation of tourism on the regime level. And in light of the globalisation process, another landscape development, in the last decades distance and time have become less relevant for tourism (i.e. regime-level). Processes of time-space distantiation (e.g. Giddens, 1984), or time-space compression (e.g. Harvey, 1990) have effected norms and values within the tourism regime. Niches provide locations for learning processes and create space to build the social networks which support innovations (Geels, 2004). Niches may act as incubator spaces for radical novelties, such as Delcraft's 'flying saucer' (Chapter 2). The multi-level model can be used to describe how new technologies emerge within more or less protected niches, and how they might shape and reshape the regime and landscape properties, or to describe other possible transition pathways (Geels & Schot, 2007; Berkhout, 2004; Shove & Walker, 2007). Landscape developments may give the initial impetus to innovation-development in niches, or to internal regime changes. The key idea of the multilevel model is that changes, transformations, shifts or transitions come about when processes at multiple levels link up and influence one another positively (Geels, 2005).

Third, many diverse *actors* with a wide range of interests and ambitions are involved in transition processes and try to influence each other. "Networks of actors," (i.e. from government, societal organisations, companies, knowledge institutes and intermediary organisations), "represent differences in power and

perspective and network management aims to direct all actors involved jointly" (Rotmans & Loorbach, 2008: 12; see also Elzen & Wieczorek, 2005).

Fourth, transitions inherently operate at *multiple domains*. In terms of lessons learned, innovative ideas, actors involved, and integral policy, input from other domains than the prevailing domain are important (Rotmans & Loorbach, 2008). For example, innovative ideas in the tourism mobility domain could be of interest to the domain of everyday mobility and vice versa.

Finally, based on historical analyses of societal transitions (e.g. Verbong, 2000; Geels, 2002), it is suggested that sustainability transitions go through different phases, i.e. are of a *multi-phase* character (Rotmans et al., 2001, Loorbach, 2007). Four transition phases are distinguished: predevelopment, take-off, acceleration and stabilisation (e.g. Verbong, 2000; Geels, 2002; Rotmans et al., 2001; Loorbach, 2007). "In the predevelopment phase, there is very little visible change on the societal level but there is a lot of experimentation. In the take-off phase, the process of change gets under way and the state of the system begins to shift. In the acceleration phase, structural changes take place in a visible way through an accumulation of socio-cultural, economic, ecological and institutional changes which react to each other; during this phase, there are collective learning processes, diffusion and embedding processes. In the stabilisation phase, the speed of societal change decreases and a new dynamic equilibrium is reached" (Loorbach, 2007: 19).

The fact that transitions operate at multiple domains and are of a multi-phase character implies that the size, nature and speed of sustainable development processes might diverge in different consumption domains. The domain of food consumption might for example be in a later or earlier transition phase compared to the tourism domain.

In understanding and analysing the emergence, transformation and decay of situated socio-technical systems, the transition body of research assumes that socio-technical innovations have transformed systems in the past and may transform systems in the future. Socio-technical innovations can take different forms besides technological innovations, for example information strategies, policy measures, procedural innovations, financial innovations, or new modes of provisioning. In the transition body of research, there is a range of technology and innovation studies (e.g. Science and Technology Studies – sts, Strategic Niche Management – snm), focusing on the interaction between users and technologies. In analysing the user-technology interaction, different studies ascribe different levels of agency to users. Theories on appropriation study, within the context of user behaviours, how innovations enter the life of consumers and how users appropriate socio-technical innovations. For instance, one could think of analysing how the car entered everyday life, how it diffused in society, and how people appropriated the car in their travelling behaviour. Theories on domestication, however, focus "not only on

a consumer getting used to a new product and learning to use it" (Gram-Hanssen, 2007: 10). Domestication approaches emphasise that in the domestication process "both consumer and product may change and the result is not always the use pattern that was anticipated by the producers" (Gram-Hanssen, 2007: 10). Users may adopt another way of dealing with these innovations than was expected (e.g., Lehtonen, 2003; Gram-Hanssen, 2007; Oudshoorn & Pinch, 2003). Concerning the agency ascribed to users of technology, theories on the co-evolution of technologies and their users go one step further than domestication approaches (e.g. Geels, 2005; Schot & de la Bruheze, 2003). Co-evolution implies a co-construction process between technology and user context, requiring adjustments in both domains. System innovations cannot be understood by looking only at the emergence of innovations. Ongoing changes in socio-technical systems also have to be taken into consideration (Geels, 2005). Developments in the industry might trigger changes in use, and changes in research might trigger changes in policy.

Concerning the two streams in transition research it is at this moment sufficient to observe that Transition Theory (TT) analyses transitions from a historical perspective, aiming to theorise different dimensions, aspects and patterns involved in transitions. Transition Management (TM) analyses the systematic logics of transitions from a 'managerial' and developmental perspective. In a sense, Transition Management shares its 'normative' developmental perspective with the other perspective on system transformations, distinguished in Chapter 2, Ecological Modernisation Theory, aimed at an analysis of the ecological restructuring of production and consumption.

Meanwhile, in transition research, attention is primarily focused on fundamental and structural system transformations in science, market, policy and technological regimes, and on the influence of these transformations on behaviour. In-depth analyses of the position of the end-user in transitions are uncommon. The current transition literature leaves changes in lifestyles and behavioural routines under-theorised. Furthermore, the contextual character of user-technology co-evolutions in specific consumption domains receives modest attention in transition literature.

In the tourism consumption domain different groups of tourists are involved, showing different mobility patterns, with different concerns, making use of a diverging range of tourism and travelling services. It therefore seems straightforward to take such contextual differences into consideration when analysing transitions to more sustainable tourism mobilities. Since tourists may be essential actors in accomplishing sustainable changes in tourism mobility, it seems a sensible and logical step to gain more insights in the role of end-users of socio-technical innovations as change agents in the context of specific tourist behaviours.

3.3   Social practices as contexts of change

Both Bourdieu (1977; 1979) and Giddens (1979, 1984) questioned the focus in mainstream sociology on either structural characteristics or individual actor characteristics influencing behaviour, and as a response they developed respectively a theory of praxis and a theory of structuration. Practice approaches, such as theirs, focus on the context specific configuration of actor and structure moments in social practices situated in time-space. Thus, according to Giddens's theory of structuration, "the basic domain of study of the social sciences [...] is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time" (Giddens, 1984: 2). Many other scholars also take social practices as the basic domain of study (e.g. Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu, 1979, Reckwitz, 2002a; Schatzki, 1996; Schatzki et al, 2001; Warde, 2005; Spaargaren, 1997; Spaargaren et al., 2007; Gram-Hanssen, 2007). Social practices are conceived as being routine-driven configurations of activities, situated in time and space, and shared by groups of people as part of their everyday life (Spaargaren, 1997; Spaargaren, 2003; Spaargaren & Van Vliet, 2000; Reckwitz, 2002). As examples of social practices, Reckwitz (2002a) mentions cooking, travelling or working, because they illustrate that practices consist of a set of interconnected elements which can neither be reduced to one of the elements, nor be explained or analysed with the help of one single element only. Other examples of practices include political practices, farming practices, negotiation practices, banking practices, recreational practices (Schatzki, 1996; Schatzki et al, 2001), bathing, showering, doing the laundry (Shove, 2003), Nordic walking (Shove & Pantzar, 2005), doing the groceries, eating in a canteen, cooking at home, having dinner in a restaurant (Spaargaren et al., 2007), vacation choice practices and holiday practices (Bargeman, 2001; Bargeman et al., 2002).

Practice approaches, by taking social practices as the units of analysis, emphasise the contextuality of behaviour in specific time-space contexts (Giddens, 1979; Giddens, 1984; Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu, 1979; Schatzki, 1996). Hence, when analysing the co-evolution of technology and users, the importance of considering technologies *in practice* is highlighted. Socio-technical innovations structure and redesign practices through enabling and constraining processes. As the use of socio-technical innovations becomes routinised over time, this not only changes the user-technology relation, but also the user practice itself (Gram-Hanssen, 2007). The practice is the unit of analysis in which actors and structures reciprocally interact and form specific configurations. Practices are explicitly not the sum of the structure and actor characteristics. Giddens explains the development of practices with the concept of duality of structure – actor and structure each constitute each other –, implying that change has its origin in the practice itself.

"The moment of the production of action is also one of reproduction in the contexts of the day-to-day enactment in social life" (Giddens, 1984: 26).

The notion of the co-evolution of socio-technical innovations and practices points to the notion that "not only people, but objects (and events) as well acquire meaning within practices" (Schatzki, 1996: 113). In this light, Reckwitz (2002a: 249) defines a practice as "a routinised type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge". In light of Bruno Latour's symmetric anthropology (formulated as the basis of his actor-network theory) objects are necessary components of practices, "just as indispensable as bodily and mental activities" (Reckwitz, 2002b: 196). "Practices consist simultaneously of human beings and their 'intersubjective' relationships, and of non-human 'actants', things that are necessary and are so-to-speak 'equal components of a social practice'" (Reckwitz, 2002b: 208).

Although Giddens has devoted less attention to conceptualising the material in practices compared to actor-network scholars, he speaks of rules and resources that are interwoven with practices, and enable and constrain them. By conceptualising rules and resources, Giddens's structuration theory understands objects, technologies, and socio-technical innovations as necessary components of social practices. In line with Giddens, only in practice an object can have meaning. A passport as such is just a bundle of paper with a picture and a name on it. It gets its meaning in, for instance, a holiday practice, as a necessary enabling component (see also Van der Duim, 2005). Although objects, technologies, and socio-technical innovations are necessary components of practices, to ascribe agency to such non-human 'actants', is from a structuration point of view one step too far. In this dissertation, objects, as opposed to human agents, are not viewed as agents with a capability to act. Although objects are not ascribed agency, material objects nevertheless play a role in the development of practices. It therefore remains vital to analyse what the role of socio-technical innovations is in the sustainable development of practices in the tourism domain. Section 3.4.5 will elaborate on the importance of the availability of material objects or infrastructures in a sustainable development of tourism mobility.

However, despite the fact that the importance of the material (e.g. socio-technical innovations) in changing practices is fully recognised, this dissertation's theoretical framework will stay close to Giddens's notion emphasising *human* agency in analysing the sustainable development of tourism practices. Infrastructures and socio-technical innovations are not ascribed actor characteristics. Human agents carry out practices and are the carriers of practices (Reckwitz, 2002b). They possess capabilities for reflexivity, practical knowledge, consciousness, and intentionality.

In conclusion, the transition perspectives (section 3.2) and practice perspectives (section 3.3) complement each other on three aspects: the role of objects and technology, the role of agency, and the perspective on development. Although the continuity of practices receives as much attention as the development of practices, existing practice approaches (such as SPA) are not based on a specific developmental perspective. Given the focus of this dissertation on a *sustainable* development of mobility practices in the tourism domain, instead of just a development of practices, complementing SPA with insights from Ecological Modernisation Theory and Transition Research seems useful. EMT and the transition body of literature focus on ecological or sustainable restructuring processes on a societal level. Insights from these bodies of literature (e.g. on the important role of socio-technical innovations in change processes, on the multi-level and multi-phase character of large-scale transformations) help to identify and understand possibilities for a sustainable development of situated practices in the tourism domain. SPA has a stronger consumer-orientation compared to the transition body of literature and emphasises that consumption behaviour takes place in situated practices. Complementing insights from EMT, TT, TM and SPA brings theoretical innovation to the study of the ecological restructuring of the tourism consumption domain.

3.4   Towards the theoretical framework

This section will present the theoretical framework of this dissertation. The first and main inspiration comes from the Social Practices Approach to consumption, a theoretical approach inspired by Giddens's structuration theory. Second, since this dissertation aims to study transformations of the tourism domain, it shares some research topics and concepts with Transition Research. Third, given the focus on environmental improvement or sustainable development of tourism practices, it borrows some research topics and concepts from Ecological Modernisation Theory. Complementing a practice perspective with a transition perspective and a perspective on ecological restructuring, the conceptual framework aims to study the situated character of practices in the tourism domain from the perspective of a sustainability development of these practices.

Before describing the theoretical framework used in this dissertation, the following sections will elaborate on the most important theoretical notions of the Social Practices Approach.

3.4.1   *Duality of structure*

In line with Giddens's structuration theory, the core notion of SPA is the 'duality of structure'. This implies that social development can not be properly understood when considering human agency and social structure separately. Social development must be understood by analysing practices in which agency and structure

reciprocally influence each other. Human agency 'draws upon' the structures of practices, thereby renewing the structures and participating in and reproducing practices (Giddens, 1979; Giddens, 1984; Schatzki, 1996). Structures exist only in relation to social practices. Structures are sets of rules and resources which enable and condition practices, and in turn, are confirmed and reproduced through practices (Giddens, 1979; Giddens, 1984; Schatzki, 1996).

In other words, SPA provides a means to bridge the structure-agency gap. Applying the duality of structure to the holiday practice, implies taking the view that tourists, while travelling, draw upon structures of the holiday practice such as the material and spatial arrangements of tourism destinations, highways, railroads and airports, passport regulations, and the provision of travel and tourism services, thereby at the same time using and renewing these structures. Thus, "the implication of a theory of practice is that the sources of changed behaviour lie in the development of practices themselves" (Warde, 2005: 140). This viewpoint also implies that, in the end, the source of for instance the growth in air travel lies in the enactment of air travel infrastructures by air travellers and not in some abstract technological force. In using air travel infrastructures, flying becomes more affordable, accessible, and widespread.

3.4.2   Practice as unit of analysis

This dissertation will consider integrative practices in the tourism domain. Schatzki differentiates between integrative and dispersed practices. Dispersed practices occur widespread across different sectors of social life, while integrative practices concern "the more complex practices found in and constitutive of particular domains of social life" (Schatzki, 1996: 98). Furthermore, in line with Schatzki (1996: 104), stating that "people are almost always [...] aware of and also have words for the integrative practices in which they participate", research will be delimitated to social practices which are recognisable to actors both in and outside these practices. In this respect, SPA points to the delimitation to only include those social practices which are of an everyday character. 'Everyday' should not be taken literally; practices in the tourism domain are for most people not everyday activities. Everyday refers to a certain routine of the practice, to a repeating event in life. Practices in the tourism domain can be considered 'everyday' when they are recognisable for tourists and providers of tourism and travelling services (Beckers & Van der Poel, 1995). Given the focus on sustainable developments in these practices, analyses will furthermore be demarcated to practices which are, besides being recognisable, environmentally-relevant (see also Stern, 2000; Poortinga et al., 2004). To analyse sustainable development processes of practices in the tourism domain which have no (or very minimal) impact on the environment, would be less relevant in this respect.

In the tourism domain, one might for instance identify the following integrative, recognisable, everyday, environmentally-relevant practices: winter sports, family holidays, city trips, beach holidays, active holidays, camping holidays, all-inclusive holidays, and backpacking. These examples illustrate that practices may overlap, and that they may have different levels of complexity, different levels of institutionalisation, and different time and space contexts. Despite their overlap and their different characters, these practices are recognised by the tourism sector and by tourists as identifiable practices in the tourism domain[21]. They all represent holiday experiences, are characterised by the same system of provision, belong to the same tourism sector, and are thus all embedded in the same institutional regime.

Taking practices as the key unit of analysis when analysing transitions towards more sustainable tourism mobilities implies that one depicts practices in the tourism domain and studies these from an integrated actor- and structure-perspective. The configuration between the two is central. These configurations can not be reduced to either one or the other. By taking the practices in the tourism domain as the unit of analysis, the context-specificity of holiday behaviour is incorporated in the analysis. Thus, by starting from practices, tourism behaviour is not taken up as either a matter of individual choice or of structured necessity.

Taking practices as the unit of analysis implies focusing on the situated interaction between the provisioning of green socio-technological innovations by suppliers in the tourism domain on the one hand, and the 'greening' potential and expressed tourism mobility patterns of groups of citizen-consumers on the other. Socio-technical innovations in travel and tourism services are analysed in direct connection with tourism practices. The specific configuration of travellers' motives, lifestyles, and routines is regarded in conjunction with the modes of provision by tourist corporations and travel organisations.

3.4.3   Routines

The duality of structure is inextricably bound up with the continuity of practices. Social practices show repetition over a certain time-period and in certain space contexts. The continuity of practices can be related to the routinisation of behaviour. "For practice theory, the nature of social structure consists in routinisation. Social practices are routines: routines of moving the body, of understanding and wanting, of using things, interconnected in a practice" (Reckwitz, 2002a: 255). Routines are an expression of the interaction mechanisms between individuals' wishes and

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21 This non-exhaustive list of practices in the tourism domain is based on desk research of travel brochures, of websites of providers in the tourism industry, and of having informal conversations about the holiday experiences of colleagues, friends, and relatives.

demands, and the structuring effects of socio-technical systems (Giddens, 1984; Shove, 2003). The concept of routinisation is thus also vital in analysing sustainable transitions in the tourism domain (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008). Although tourism behaviour may not be a day-to-day experience, it certainly is characterised by routine behavioural patterns. Bargeman (2001) and Bargeman & Van der Poel (2006) analysed the role of routines in people's holiday practices. They concluded that people show routine behaviour in both their decision-making processes and in the way they arrange their holidays; transport mode, length of stay, accommodation type and travelling companion.

Since social practices are routines, processes of de- and reroutinisation also take place on the level of social practices. Giddens (1984) states that routinised practices are to a considerable extent guided by 'practical consciousness'. Practical consciousness is a type of knowledge which people are not necessarily consciously aware of, but does influence behaviour. It is tacit knowledge, knowing how to go on in everyday life (see more in section 3.4.5). As a consequence of practical consciousness being important in routinised behaviour, people do not (have to) consciously consider behavioural choices or alternatives all the time. They are 'freed' from the burden of reconsidering all available options before performing a certain behaviour. Rather, certain behavioural options are taken for granted. The routinised character of behaviour often goes unnoticed. This however does not imply that routines are fixed. Routines are constantly undergoing changes (Giddens, 1994; in Bargeman, 2001).

Practices in the tourism domain may change as a consequence of processes of deroutinisation and reroutinisation. De- and reroutinisation can take place when, as a consequence of an event (e.g. an increase in the number of days off, a supply of environmental-friendly travelling services, the introduction of low-cost airlines, a terrorist attack), the practice is deroutinised (Giddens, 1994; in Bargeman, 2001). In that moment, different socio-technical innovations can, each in their own specific way, alter the configuration of elements in the practice. As a consequence, different reroutinisation processes of practices may take place. For example, Al Gore's "Inconvenient Truth" induced some tourists, but in particular some providers of travel and tourism services, to re-think tourism from an ecological perspective. Providers of carbon offsetting services saw a significant growth in the number of tour operators offering this service to their customers and in the number of tourists deciding to offset their carbon emissions. As a consequence of the event, actors reconsidered and altered their behaviour. After a de-routinisation process in which routines are broken down and people show 'new' behaviour, the 'new' behaviour (e.g. offsetting carbon emissions) can over time become re-routinised.

De- and reroutinisation may not always take place on the level of the entire tourist population. It could well be the case that a certain socio-technical innovation will only affect and alter the behaviour of a certain (lifestyle)group of travellers.

When travel agencies for example decide to offer environmental-friendly package holidays, this might be a moment of deroutinisation for people who normally go to a travel agency to book a package holiday. They run into these environmental-friendly package holidays and might choose one of these. Over time, going on environmental-friendly holidays may reroutinise. In this dissertation, deroutinisation and reroutinisation processes will not only be considered in relation to consumers (e.g. tourists), but in relation to the conjunction of producers and consumers and thus to providers (e.g. of travelling and tourism services) as well. Also providers show routine behaviour and may alter their routines by way of de- and reroutinisation processes.

3.4.4   Consumption junction

As mentioned above, when analysing a sustainable development of tourism mobility, recognisable environmentally-relevant practices in the tourism domain will be the unit of analysis and the focus herein will be on green socio-technological innovations. An assumption, taken from Ecological Modernisation Theory, is that travellers at least need the availability of environmental-friendly products or services to 'green' their travel behaviour, and, as a consequence, to 'green' the tourism mobility practice. Socio-technological innovations can have an intra-business character (e.g. hotels or airlines greening their business operations), a business-to-business character (e.g. tour operators that only select hotels that take water- and energy-saving measures, see also Sigala, 2008; Van Beugen, 2005), a business-to-consumer character (e.g. eco-labels), or even sometimes a consumer-to-consumer character (e.g. internet fora on slow travelling). Given the focus on the reciprocity of end-users and providers in social practices, it is interesting to analyse a certain type of green socio-technical innovations: business-to-consumer innovations. This type of innovations is to be found on the junction of modes of provision and modes of access, the so-called consumption junction (see Schwartz-Cowan, 1987).

According to Schwartz-Cowan (1987), these consumption junctions are the most promising places to analyse the (mis)match between market- and technology driven innovation perspectives on the one hand and consumer-oriented perspectives on the other (see also Spaargaren, 2006).

The challenge when analysing sustainable development processes in the tourism domain is to analyse the configuration of travellers and providers of travel and tourism services at consumption junctions. By way of analysing how the modes of access and modes of provision interact in the consumption junctions, concrete production-consumption slots (i.e. barriers as well as windows of opportunities; Bargeman et al., 2002) can be analysed, in order to find clues for possible transition trajectories towards a more sustainable development of tourism mobilities (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008).

Although consumption junctions encompass more than a physical setting of interactions between providers and tourists, the consumption junction has a physical setting as well. Examples of physical settings of interactions in the tourism domain concern travel agencies, holiday fairs (e.g. Vakantiebeurs in Utrecht, ITB Berlin), airports, railway stations, and tour operators' websites. These are physical settings where providers and tourists, and their modes of provisioning and modes of access, come together in time-space specific configurations.

3.4.5   Modes of provision and modes of access within practices

Social practices are configurations between groups of actors with their lifestyles and routines, reflected in their modes of access on the one hand, and sets of rules and resources, organised in terms of systems and modes of provision on the other. The central notion 'actor-structure duality' implies that the Social Practices Approach combines the influence of the social and technological context on human behaviour with an equal emphasis on the notion of human agents as knowledgeable and capable actors. SPA is a practice approach which doesn't view actors as passive participants of practices, as 'victims' of structures. Being knowledgeable, capable agents, all actors involved in tourism practices, whether tourists, tour operators, travel agents, tourist offices, airlines, railway companies, automobile clubs, tourism destinations, travel programme broadcasters or sector representative bodies, may influence or change actions, and herein the course of practices. Citizen-consumers might exert influence with their consumption behaviour, for example by expressing their political preferences through boycotts and 'buycotts'[22] (Micheletti, 2003). Providers might influence the politics of the processes within the tourism domain as well. Within the scope of sustainable supply chain management (SSCM, see Budeanu, 2007; Schwartz et al., 2008), providers integrate sustainability aspects in several supply chains[23] (e.g. transport, accommodation, excursions, activities).

Practices in the tourism domain are shaped in a process in which networks of tourists and travellers together with the producers and providers of tourism services have agency to develop more sustainable tourism mobility practices (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2007; Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008). Therefore, sustainable innovation processes in the tourism value chain will be analysed both from the supply

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22 Tourists can organise a boycott to travel to certain countries (e.g. boycotting the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing, to support the freedom of Tibet). An environmental-friendly buycott could be that tourists adopt ecolocalist, slow or fair tourism behaviours (as mentioned in Chapter 2).

23 Tour operators can, like TUI does, boycott the most environmental-polluting airlines, or activities such as heli-skiing. When tour operators provide environmental-friendly package holidays or environmental-friendly operated hotels, this can be considered a provider buycott (e.g. TUI; see Sigala, 2008).

side (with regard to their 'modes of provision') and from the demand side (with regard to their 'modes of access') (see also Spaargaren et al., 2007).

MODES OF PROVISION

As mentioned above, in a sustainable development of tourism mobility practices, tourists are for an important part restricted to and dependent on the availability of environmental-friendly options offered by providers.

The development and diffusion of socio-technical innovations (e.g. of environmental-friendly options for tourism behaviours) is characterised by various stages: design, production, provision, access, use and disposal (Spaargaren et al., 2007). The concept 'mode of provision' has its origin in the System of Provision theory (SoP; e.g. Fine & Leopold, 1993; Fine et al., 1996). There is however a subtle difference between the research focus in SoP and the one in this thesis. While SoP takes goods, commodities, or in other words, systems of provision as the starting point for studying consumption, here, the social practice (the specific configuration of modes of provision *and* modes of access) is the unit of analysis. Whereas SoP scholars analyse how innovations in systems of provision are integrated in practices, this thesis analyses how the relation between innovations in modes of provision and modes of access affects the 'greening' or the sustainable development of tourism mobility practices. In other words, although provider strategies are important in 'greening' consumption behaviour, the focus here is most of all on the situated reciprocity of users, providers and socio-technical innovations in social practices.

With regard to the concept of 'modes of provision', one might differentiate between market-based, state-based and community-based forms of green supply (Spaargaren & Van Koppen, 2009; Harvey et al., 2001). Especially the market mode of provision is decisive in a sustainable development of tourism mobility (Chapter 2; see also Spaargaren & Van Koppen, 2009). In developing and making available more sustainable tourism products and services the behaviour of companies and other market parties in the tourism domain (e.g. tour operators, airlines, accommodation businesses, railway companies, bus companies, branch associations) is important. Therefore, in this research, the focus will be on market modes of provisioning. But even within market modes of provisioning, there are several ways in which green consumption alternatives are made available.

Spaargaren & Van Koppen (2009) differentiate between products and services, information, and images and narratives. Providers may improve the environmental performance of products and services. Besides, they may provide information to consumers concerning green products, services and production processes. Beyond that, providers may communicate images and narratives to consumers concerning their green production processes and the green products and services they offer (Spaargaren & Van Koppen, 2009).

The way in which green consumption alternatives are made available by providers results in "different levels of green offer, both in a qualitative and in a quantitative sense" (Spaargaren et al., 2007: 29). The qualitative level here refers to the relevance of the sustainability initiatives for practices in the tourism domain. The sustainability initiatives can to a lesser or greater extent match with tourists' holiday routines. In other words, in the development and provision of environmental-friendly tourism and travelling offers, providers may in several ways take account of and be oriented towards tourists and their holiday practices (Spaargaren & Van Koppen, 2009). Among providers which employ environmental product strategies, some may choose for consumer-silent product strategies. Some reasons behind consumer-silent strategies are that providers fear to be accused of greenwash. Or, when communicating that some of their offers are green, this implicitly puts their 'normal' supply in a bad light. A more proactive consumer-orientated strategy is to make the green products and services visible to citizen-consumers, for instance, by eco-labelling (part of) the product assortment. Finally, besides offering green products and telling people about it, sustainability can be at the core of the entire business. By offering products which enable consumers to make sustainable consumption choices, providers might "place their sustainability initiatives in the broader context of the need for a society in which lifestyles and consumption patterns are organised in a sustainable way" (Spaargaren & Van Koppen, 2009: 90).

Besides the various ways to make green products and services available, and the consumer-orientation used herein, there are different ways in which providers organise information flows around their green offer. For instance, there is a range of different formats for framing environmental information to consumers (ibid.), and the environmental-friendly options and information can be placed in different physical settings. In Chapter 4, attention will be given to the formats and consumption junctions that are being used to position environmental information in the tourism domain.

MODES OF ACCESS

In greening tourism mobility practices, modes of access are of equal importance as modes of provision. To illustrate, even if railway companies provide attractive offers, and tour operators include train travel in their package holidays, in order for a modal shift to train travelling to take place, tourists should have positive attitudes towards going on holiday by train, they should have easy access to the railway network, and they should possess some knowledge regarding how to go on holiday by train.

In performing practices, people call upon their practical knowledge with regard to how to proceed within these practices (Giddens, 1984). In other words, with regard to greening tourism mobility practices, next to the above-mentioned importance of availability of environmental-friendly options in the consumption junction,

actors need to possess specific practical knowledge and capabilities to 'green' their behaviour.

With regard to travelling practices, Kesselring (2006) states that although mobility practices are structured by contextual situations, by economic and social conditions, and by power relations, the individual is of influence as well. He stresses actors' ability to influence their movement through time and space, besides the fact that they are contextualised in complex social, economic, and technological networks. In this light, Kaufmann (2002) developed the concept of 'motility', the capacity to be mobile. Motility refers to the accessibility of the whole range of mobility options, in relation to the skills people have. 'Skills' refers to knowing how to use the available mobility options (i.e. knowledgeability), to the physical abilities to make use of these mobility options and to previous experiences with using these mobility options (i.e. capabilities). Furthermore, appropriation is important; whether people interpret the access of mobility options as appropriate or not, and how they interpret their skills to deal with these mobility options (Kaufmann 2002; Kaufmann et al., 2004; Canzler et al., 2008).

The motility concept has its origin in the domain of everyday mobility, but can be applied to other consumption domains as well. The capacity to perform specific forms of consumption behaviour is referred to as a citizen-consumers' consumption portfolio (Spaargaren et al., 2007; Warde, 2005). One can distinguish between general portfolios and domain specific portfolios (Spaargaren et al. 2007). The general portfolio consists of an individual's resources which are not bounded to a specific consumption domain, but are employed to practices in different consumption domains (e.g. level of education, welfare level). The tourism specific portfolio contains the knowledge, skills and experience characteristic for performing tourism behaviours (e.g. having experience with going on a holiday, knowing how to arrange a holiday, possessing a car, tent, suitcase).

Portfolios are both enabling and constraining. Portfolios give the ability to act in a certain way, to perform certain practices, and make performing other practices less obvious. To illustrate, knowledge of and experience with car travel stimulates the ability to go on holiday by car, at the same time making travelling by train less probable. 'Green' portfolios refer to citizen-consumers' practical knowledge, skills and experience with environmental-friendly products, services and providers. It refers to their access to alternative, 'greener' products and services, and their abilities and skills to make use of environmental-friendly products, services and/or providers in their consumption behaviour.

Empirically, portfolios are to be investigated at the level of individuals. Analytically however, portfolios are context-specific characteristics of groups of citizen-consumers. Portfolios characterise the individual, but are formed in practices, in specific time-space contexts. To illustrate, it may be the case that the 'green' portfolio in the consumption domain of home maintenance is more

developed compared to the 'green' portfolio in the tourism domain. The environmental debate in the domain of home maintenance has a history of several decades, whereas in the tourism domain this debate is more recent. Regarding home maintenance many environmental-friendly products and services are made available (e.g. energy-saving light bulbs, solar panels, water-saving showers) and these are provided in mainstream consumption junctions (e.g. the home improvement centre; see also Putman, forthcoming). It is more difficult to get access to environmental-friendly tourism products and services. The expectation is that when the ecological modernisation in a certain consumption domain is in a beginning phase, citizen-consumers will have little practical knowledge and experience with environmental-friendly products and services, and hence have little capacity for environmental-friendly behaviour. The 'green' portfolio in such a consumption domain is less diverse and less developed compared to consumption domains with a longer history of ecological modernisation.

Next to differences in 'green' portfolios between consumption domains, also different (lifestyle)groups are expected to have different green portfolios at their disposal. For instance, train travellers with practical knowledge of the railroad infrastructure, being capable of finding one's way around the transport networks used (Kaufmann, 2002; Kaufmann et al., 2004) and having positive experiences with travelling with public transport, have a different green portfolio for environmental-friendly holiday behaviour at their disposal compared to people without the specific knowledge, experience and skills needed for train travelling. One must also possess skills in timing travel, such as the capacity to correctly estimate travel time or to plan an appropriate timetable for a schedule comprised of activities and travel. Realistically forecasting the outcome of travel involves having practical knowledge of the types of disturbances possible in transportation networks, which requires true expertise. The task of planning can also be delegated to a travel agency (Kaufmann, 2002; Kaufmann et al., 2004). This does not imply that for going on a package holiday, booked from a travel agency no portfolio is needed. Instead, another type of portfolio is needed.

Available environmental-friendly travelling options, and travellers' portfolios are not the only 'determinants' of action. Besides the resource-related portfolio dimension of modes of access, there is a rule-related concern dimension. Several consumption approaches emphasise the role of individual concerns in consumption behaviour, such as the Attitude Behaviour-Model. These approaches regard individual agents and their reasons and wants, their concerns and preferences, as the central unit of analysis. The main emphasis of studies on environmental-friendly consumption behaviour using the Attitude Behaviour-Model (e.g. Fishbein & Azjen, 1975) is on investigating the relationship between individual environmental attitudes, environmental awareness and specific sets of behaviour (like offsetting

the CO_2 emissions, or staying in eco-labelled hotels), which are regarded as resulting from attitudes (Spaargaren et al., 2007; Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008).

The essential difference between SPA and the Attitude Behaviour-Model consumption approach is the difference in their primary unit of analysis. Whereas consumption approaches based on the Attitude Behaviour-Model take the individual as unit of analysis, in SPA, the unit of analysis is the situated practice. SPA includes the notion of concerns, but distinguishes itself from individualistic approaches by connecting concerns in a direct and explicit way to the characteristics of social practices which individuals share with others.

Consumer concerns have a general dimension and a domain specific dimension as well. Besides general concerns for the environment which are applicable to a range of consumption domains, there can be spoken of domain-specific environmental concerns. According to several authors, the concerns with regard to sustainable development may be different according to consumption domains (see Beckers et al., 1999; Beckers et al., 2000; Beckers et al., 2004; Bargeman et al., 2002; Spaargaren et al., 2007). Being generally concerned about the environment does not necessarily imply that people make equal green choices in all consumption domains. Someone may be concerned about the environmental problems involved with food products and cars, while environmental impacts of tourism behaviour are not a cause for concern. Performing environmental-friendly behaviour in one consumption domain is in other words not necessarily accompanied with environmental-friendly behaviour in other consumption domains. Comparable to portfolios, one could say that concerns illustrate the duality of actor and structure. Concerns are on the one hand an individual characteristic, but at the same time they are formed and structured in practices situated in time and space. In practices, portfolios and concerns are developed and altered over time. Portfolios and concerns have a practice-specific history.

3.4.6   Theoretical framework in brief

Taking up a practice approach is expected to deliver useful insights in a sustainable development of tourism mobilities. The focus on social practices as the unit of analysis was taken from Giddens's theory on structuration which emphasises the duality of actor and structure. Duality of structure refers to the reciprocal interaction between actor and structure. Structures, consisting of rules and resources, enable and constrain action, whereas through the acting of actors the structures are reconfirmed or altered. In this respect, the social practice is neither a 'mediator' in-between actor and structure, nor is it a sum of actor and structure, nor can it be reduced to actor dynamics or structure dynamics. Developments of practices can not be explained as being the result from either actor- or structure dynamics. Instead, they are understood as the result of situated interactions between agency and structure in practices.

According to Warde (1997, 2005), there is a shortage of analyses in which practice approaches have been applied to consumption. SPA is a practice approach which offers a useful framework to analyse consumption in a contextual manner. As a practice theory on consumption, SPA relates to, uses insights from, and aims to contribute to theories on consumption. By considering consumption as taking place in social practices, in specific time-space contexts, SPA offers an integrative perspective, bridging the established dualism of actor and structure in which tourism research seems to be caught up (see Chapter 2). By taking social practices as the unit of analysis, instead of individual citizen-consumers, providers, or consumption-production chains, this SPA-based theoretical framework is different from current approaches in tourism research. Applying this framework to the consumption domain of tourism offers an integrated perspective on practices in the tourism domain.

Next to applying a practice approach in analysing the consumption domain of tourism, the framework used in this dissertation adds to current practice approaches that it is based on the sustainable development of practices. In this framework, the Social Practices Approach has been complemented with insights from the Ecological Modernisation Theory, a theory aimed at the ecological restructuring of societies, based on the belief that ecological restructuring can be accomplished through a modernisation of production and consumption instead of through demodernisation and 'consuminderen'[24] (Spaargaren et al., 2007). Here, the focus is on sustainable development processes of specific consumption practices in the tourism domain. In light of the SPA premise that all human agents have agency and hence 'power' to shape each other, and to change the practice which they constitute, the framework of this dissertation is based on the idea that through agency practices can evolve into more sustainable practices, setting in motion sustainable development processes in the tourism domain.

In analysing sustainable transformations at the level of practices, the theoretical framework furthermore learns from and contributes to both schools in the transition body of research. It shares Transition Management's developmental perspective and Transition Theory's focus on different phases in transition processes, and on different levels in which transitions may have their origin. This dissertation will elaborate on sustainability initiatives taking place in niches and on the level of the regime, and will portray the phase the tourism domain finds itself in regarding a transition to more sustainable tourism mobilities. In comparison with the transition body of knowledge, this SPA-based theoretical framework puts more emphasis on the role of travellers in transformation processes. By taking practices

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24 The Dutch word 'consuminderen' literally means 'to consume less'.

in the tourism domain as the unit of analysis, instead of the transition to more sustainable tourism mobilities itself, it has a stronger consumer-orientation.

To summarise, the theoretical framework used in this dissertation concerns a practice approach to consumption in the tourism domain, based on the view that practices play a crucial role in the sustainable transition of consumption domains. By taking the practice as a unit of analysis, the configuration between providers' system of provision, and travellers' concerns and portfolios for environmental-friendly travelling, will be analysed at the level of practices in the tourism domain (see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1   Theoretical framework; Based on the SPA model (Spaargaren, 1997)
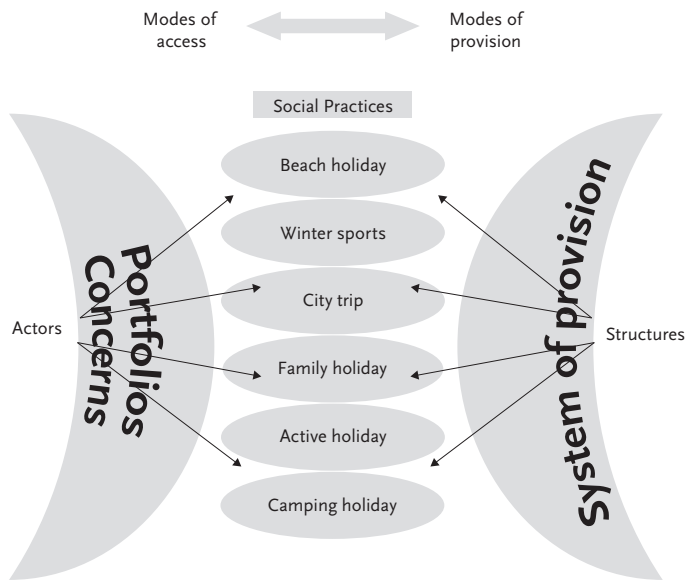
3.5   Research design

3.5.1   Research aims and questions
This dissertation is focused on the sustainable development of tourism mobilities by taking a practice approach as its basic perspective. It is expected that sustainability strategies which incorporate the level of practices are more effective compared to generic measures, either on the level of individuals, or on the level of systems, which hardly take the context-specific level of practices into consideration. Because of the fact that the focus is on context-specific practices, the empirical research in this dissertation is aimed at the incorporation of practices in the sustainable

development of tourism. These analyses on the level of practices, in return, deliver insights concerning the sustainable development of tourism mobilities.

The elaboration of the theoretical framework gives rise to the following research questions.

> How is an SPA-based approach able to facilitate a contextual analysis of a sustainable development of tourism mobilities?

> What insights can be gained from taking an SPA-based approach with regard to effective strategies for more sustainable tourism mobilities?

The first question is at the same time a conceptual and a methodological one. It points to the challenge to introduce this SPA-based framework in the field of tourism research, and to apply this practice approach in the consumption domain of tourism. Since there is little experience in empirically operationalising practice approaches, let alone in analysing current and possible sustainable development processes, this is a methodological challenge. The scientific relevance of this dissertation lies in operationalising this integrated theoretical framework and applying it to practices in the tourism domain.

The second question points to the societal relevance of this dissertation. By using this theoretical framework, insights are gained in current and possible sustainable development processes of tourism mobility. These insights may serve to deliver tools for providers in the tourism domain in designing strategies for sustainable tourism mobility.

3.5.2   Research topics

Analysing current and possible sustainable development processes in all practices in the tourism domain lies beyond the scope of this dissertation. Choices have to be made to define the research topics within the scope of this dissertation.

As mentioned above, research will be focused on recognisable, everyday practices in the tourism domain which are environmentally-relevant. Furthermore, given the focus of this dissertation on tourism mobilities, it is most interesting to choose social practices which touch upon mobility aspects.

The first practice to be analysed in this dissertation concerns the 'vacation choice practice'. This certainly is a recognisable practice. In tourism research, decision-making processes receive considerable attention. One of the most cited theories concerns Van Raaij & Francken's 'vacation sequence' (1984; see also Goodall, 1991; Weiermair & Mäser, 1996; Bargeman, 2001; Bargeman & Van der Poel, 2006). The vacation sequence starts with the general decision whether or not to go on a holiday (phase 1), which is followed by information-gathering and decision-making considering the type of holiday, the transport mode, the holiday destination, the length

of stay et cetera (phases 2 and 3) (Van Raaij & Francken, 1984). Vacation sequence theories consider the acquisition of tourism and travel services as a behavioural act of individual and rationally acting consumers. The vacation choice then seems to be a rather purposeful and chronological process of gathering information and decision-making. In this stream of research, some attention has already been given to contextual differences in vacation choice processes. Several scholars investigated the relation between information search processes and characteristics of the holiday (e.g. Bargeman, 2001; Bargeman & Van der Poel, 2006; Fodness & Murray, 1997; 1999). It was illustrated that the different degree and direction of information search processes can be partly explained by the socio-demographic differences among tourists, but also the type of vacation, travelling party, trip characteristics, trip behaviour, and expenditures help explain the differences in vacation choice processes (Bargeman, 2001; Bargeman & Van der Poel, 2006; Fodness & Murray, 1997; 1999).

Instead of taking a social-psychological oriented approach to contextual differences in vacation choice processes, as the above-mentioned scholars did, this thesis takes an SPA-based approach and therefore refers to the 'vacation choice practice' (Figure 3.2). The vacation choice practice concerns the context-specific configuration of tourists planning their holiday, in interaction with providers of tourism and travel services. The vacation choice practice is a rather diffuse practice, which may be extended over a long time period.

The vacation choice practice is of relevance to the environment since when dreaming, fantasising (i.e. 'imaginative travel'; Urry, 2007), and gathering information on holidays, all options are still possible. However, eventually, environmentally-relevant decisions are made regarding the holiday destination and the transport mode with which to travel. This makes the vacation choice practice the most preventive approach to more sustainable tourism mobilities. In the vacation choice practice providers can offer environmental-friendly tourism alternatives and environmental information on their products and services. This may help tourists in reconsidering their holidays from an environmental perspective. Such interplays might contribute to sustainable developments in the tourism domain.

In this dissertation, the vacation choice practice is considered a recognisable, everyday, environmentally-relevant, integrative practice (Figure 3.2). Chapter 4 will elaborate on the embeddedness of environmental information in the vacation choice practice and on the potential influence of environmental information in the sustainable development of tourism mobility.

The second research topic concerns a sustainability strategy which is aimed at a sustainable development of Alpine holidays: Alpine Pearls (Figure 3.2). Alpine Pearls attempts to create an integrated environmental-friendly travel and tourism

Figure 3.2   Conceptual model; Based on the SPA model (Spaargaren, 1997)
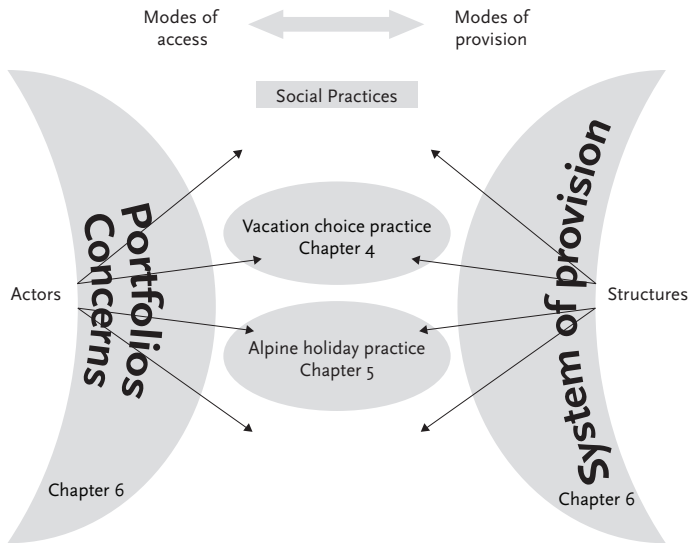
passage for Alpine holidays. This holiday practice is recognisable for both practitioners and non-practitioners. Some 100 million tourists visit the Alps[25] each year for a winter sport, hiking or cycling holiday (Becken & Hay, 2007; see also Pechlaner & Tschurtschenthaler, 2003; Siegrist, 1998). The Alpine region is one of the most important tourism destinations in Europe (Bätzing, 2003; EEA, 2003).

The Alpine region is however faced with sustainability challenges. The Alpine region is a very vulnerable region. Climate change impacts have already affected tourism activity and economic benefits. Therefore the Alpine region has been identified as a 'climate-tourism hotspot' (Becken & Hay, 2007; see also Amelung, 2006; Viner & Agnew, 1999). Climatic changes might decrease the size of ski areas as well as the length of the ski season (Beniston, 1997 in: Becken & Hay, 2007). Illustrative, in winter season 2006/2007 there was that little snowfall in the Alps (in some areas no snowfall at all) that newspapers wrote about 'the green Alps' (e.g. Volkskrant, 09-12-2006; Volkskrant, 14-12-2006; Het Nieuwsblad, 24-12-2006; Wereldomroep, 27-12-2006). Thus, the environmental relevance of the Alpine holiday practice becomes more and more apparent.

It is therefore not surprising that several sustainability strategies are employed in the Alpine region. This thesis will elaborate on 'Alpine Pearls' because it

25 A mountain range in Europe, spread over France, Switzerland, Austria, Italy, Germany and Slovenia.

specifically aims at a sustainable development of tourism mobility by considering mobility as embedded in the Alpine holiday practice.

An Alpine holiday concerns a 'practice on the move', taking place in different settings, constantly changing contexts, and altering the actor-structure configurations. In these changing contexts, the interaction between travellers' concerns and portfolios and modes of provisioning of environmental-friendly travelling services will be analysed. Analysing the practice-oriented sustainability strategy 'Alpine Pearls' shows how the theoretical framework can serve to contextualise the analysis of the sustainable development of tourism mobilities, and provides insights in effective strategies for sustainable development processes in 'practices on the move' (see Chapter 5).

The third and final research topic concerns an attempt to take the SPA-based approach to a higher level of generality, without losing sight of its contextualised perspective. Its focus is on the interaction within the tourism domain between modes of access and modes of provisioning concerning sustainable tourism mobilities (Figure 3.2).

To begin with, tourists' concerns for the environment in general and their concerns for environmental social change in the tourism domain will be subject of analysis. Furthermore, tourists' abilities for, experiences with, and practical knowledge of going on a holiday and the related possibilities for them to travel more environmental-friendly will be assessed. Travellers' portfolios for performing tourism and travelling behaviours and their environmental concerns together represent the 'modes of access'.

'Modes of provisioning' refers to the ways in which the 'system of provision' in the tourism domain offers environmental-friendly or sustainable options or information. In this third empirical research, several actual and potential modes of provisioning which may contribute to a sustainable development of tourism mobility will be analysed.

Assessing the quantity and quality of environmental-friendly opportunities in the tourism domain, and exploring the character of the environmental concerns and portfolios of tourists, gives an indication of the current phase of ecological modernisation the tourism domain finds itself in, and whether there is an accelerating transition process towards more sustainable tourism mobilities.

Analysing the modes of access and modes of provision for a sustainable development of tourism mobility might lead to an exploration of groups of travellers each characterised by different modes of access, and each receptive to different modes of provisioning.

To summarise, tourists' portfolio for tourism and travelling and their concerns about the environment in general and in tourism specifically are analysed in con-

junction with the levels and modes of provisioning of travel and tourism services which may contribute to a sustainable development of tourism mobility.

Together, these three empirical analyses will show how this SPA-based approach can facilitate contextual analyses of the sustainable development of tourism mobility, and will provide insights in what might be effective sustainability strategies for tourism mobility.

3.5.3   Methodology

Taking the social practice as the unit of analysis, not only theoretically but also empirically, is a methodological challenge. How to operationalise social practices in the tourism domain? In applying the practice approach in the empirical analyses in the consumption domain of tourism, several research methodologies, both qualitative and quantitative, have been used to try to take the social practice as the unit of analysis. Empirical data have been gathered through desk research, focus groups, in-depth interviews, participant observation, and quantitative surveys.

To reflect the theoretical focus as much as possible, focus groups have been chosen as a useful methodology. In total, three focus groups have been conducted; two with consumers and one with representatives of the system of provision in the tourism domain. The focus group methodology fits practice-oriented research well because it enables to analyse the discussions on a group level (instead of on the level of individuals) (Krueger & Casey, 2000; Morgan, 1988).

Another methodology chosen to operationalise the SPA-based theoretical framework is participant observation. Participant observation is a method in which the researcher collects data by taking part in the setting and activities that are the object of research (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). This way of data gathering fits well with the theoretical framework as it acknowledges the importance of the time-space contexts of tourism and travelling behaviours and enables to take the practices in the tourism domain as the unit of analysis.

To analyse the strategies and motives which guide providers in designing their modes of provisioning of greener tourism and travelling services and of environmental information regarding tourism and travelling behaviours, in-depth interviews with providers in the tourism domain have been performed. Semi-structured in-depth interviews (see Decrop, 1999) have been conducted because these enable to get in-depth insights in the strategies of the system of provision of practices in the tourism domain.

To investigate consumers' familiarity with environmental-friendly alternatives, their concerns for environmental effects related to tourism, the environmental-friendly character of their holidays, and their view on several greener modes of provisioning, four quantitative surveys have been conducted. The first survey, labelled "holiday behaviour", was conducted in May-June 2006, in cooperation with PON Brabant, based upon their panel of 4.000 people living in the province of

Brabant (i.e. the Netherlands) (Brabantpanel, 2006). In May 2007, in cooperation with Milieu Centraal and Leeds University, a survey labelled "Digipanel on tourism" has been conducted among the members of the Milieu Centraal Digipanel, a pool of about 1.500 Dutch consumers (Stolk et al., 2007). In cooperation with Stichting iɴsnet (internet Network for Sustainability), the Contrast Research Group[26] conducted a survey labelled "Sustainability monitor". In April-May 2007 the survey was spread among Dutch citizens being a member of Flycatcher Internet Research' database which has about 20.000 members (Flycatcher Internet Research, 2007). The final and most comprehensive survey has been conducted in July-August 2008 by the Contrast Research Group in cooperation with Motivaction. Motivaction has an online research panel at its disposal, StemPunt, which has more than 100.000 members among Dutch citizens (Motivaction, 2008) (for more information on the four quantitative surveys, see Appendix 1).

Although the in-depth interviews and quantitative surveys immanently select individual respondents as research subjects, instead of the intended social practices, what made these research methodologies appropriate is that the research topics and questions have been formulated and inspired by this sᴘᴀ-based approach instead of by a model of individual behaviour. Furthermore, research has been conducted specifically for the tourism domain. As there cannot be spoken of green consumers and green consumption behaviours (people may act green in one consumption domain and not green in another one), analyses have been performed in the specific context of the tourism domain. The investigation of several modes of provisioning of environmental information and environmental-friendly tourism and travelling services, as well as the investigation of tourists' concerns, portfolios and evaluation of providers' strategies, has been specifically concentrated on the tourism domain. The fact that the Contrast Research Group considers five consumption domains furthermore enables to assess whether consumption domains are characterised by different levels of green provisioning and by different phases in a sustainability transition.

The wide spectrum of employed research methodologies has as an advantage that the developments in practices in the tourism domain have been analysed from both a consumer- and a provider-perspective, as well as retrieved the contextual characteristics of tourism practices. Furthermore, this methodological triangulation, i.e. using several research methodologies, among which both qualitative and quantitative ones, increases the validity of the results of the research. The three empirical chapters will give more specific and elaborate attention to the choice and design of the research methodologies.

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26 The Contrast Research Programme analyses sustainability transitions in several consumption domains; food consumption, home maintenance and repair, clothing, everyday mobility and tourism mobility (see more in "Contrast Research Programme").

Environmental information in the vacation choice practice

4 Environmental information in the vacation choice practice

4.1 Introduction

Information is considered to be of significant influence on the choices made regarding travelling behaviour (Crotts, 1999; Fodness & Murray, 1997, 1999; Gursoy & McCleary, 2004; Pan & Fesenmaier, 2006). In line with current tourism research it can be expected that information strategies on environmental-friendly travelling options are crucial when aiming for a sustainable development of tourism mobility.

Therefore, this chapter will analyse the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice. Inspired by the SPA-based theoretical framework (see Chapter 3), the focus in this analysis is on providers' environmental information strategies and tourists' preferences on how to be informed on environmental issues. Both the availability of environmental information and the way this is embedded in the vacation choice practice are considered important in a transition towards more sustainable tourism mobilities.

Since this chapter is focused on the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice, and on how this may affect the sustainable development of tourism mobilities, this chapter starts by giving an impression of the vacation choice practice (section 4.2), and the availability of environmental information in this practice (section 4.3). Among other things, a paradox between availability of environmental information on the one hand and the inaccessibility and lack of using this information on the other will be identified. As a consequence, environmental information is not yet helpful in a sustainable development of tourism mobilities. Therefore, the remainder of this chapter investigates how environmental information is currently embedded in the vacation choice practice.

Several focus groups and interviews (see section 4.4) have been conducted to investigate the embeddedness of environmental information in the vacation choice practice both from a tourist and provider perspective. The results of the focus groups and interviews are presented in section 4.5. This section elaborates on the views of tourists and providers regarding the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice, and how these interrelate. Section 4.6 subsequently elaborates on a higher level of abstraction whether and how environmental information connects with practice-specific characteristics of holiday practices. By answering the three research questions of this chapter, the concluding section portrays a critical reflection on the current position of environmental

information in the vacation choice practice. Section 4.7 will furthermore propose some suggestions regarding environmental information which might contribute to a sustainable development of tourism mobilities.

4.2   A characterisation of the vacation choice practice

In tourism research, information strategies have been subject of analysis for decades (e.g. Wahab et al., 1976; Witt & Moutinho, 1989; Kotler, 1996; Fyall & Garrod, 2005). The search for information plays a very important role in existing models of decision-making processes in tourism research (see Bargeman, 2001; Bargeman & Van der Poel, 2006; Van Raaij & Francken, 1984; Van Raaij & Crotts, 1994; Crompton, 1992; Crompton & Ankomah, 1993; Um & Crompton, 1990, 1992). Van Raaij & Francken's 'vacation sequence' (1984) is the most cited theory regarding decision-making processes in tourism research. Their vacation sequence starts with the generic decision whether or not to go on a holiday (phase 1), which is followed by information-acquisition and joint decision-making considering the type of holiday, the transport mode, the holiday destination, the length of stay et cetera (phase 2 and 3). The next phase of the vacation sequence is the phase of vacation activities, and the final phase is the one of satisfaction and complaints (see also Bargeman & Van der Poel, 2006; Bargeman, 2001; Crompton, 1992; Mansfeld, 1992; Moutinho, 1987; Weiermair & Mäser, 1996). To the three phases in the 'vacation sequence' referring to vacation decision-making, Bargeman & Van der Poel (2006) added one stage. They differentiate four stages in the vacation decision-making process; first, making vacation plans, second, searching for internal and external information, third, evaluating alternatives and making the final decision, and fourth, preparing the vacation.

The above-mentioned theories on decision-making processes in tourism are based on rational choice models and conceive tourists "as individuals that act rather rationally and evaluate options" (Bargeman & Van der Poel, 2006: 708). According to these theories, tourists actively and extensively gather and process information and evaluate a wide range of alternatives before deciding on their next holiday (ibid.). As information is regarded as being of important influence on decisions regarding the holiday, the role of information is probably very important in changing tourism behaviour as well.

To connect with the immanent expectation of these theories that cognition leads to positive attitudes, which will be reflected in consumption behaviour, this chapter considers providing environmental information as an important tool in greening tourism mobility practices. Environmental information regarding holidays could have a positive effect on people's attitudes towards environmental-friendly holiday, which could result in more environmental-friendly travelling behaviour.

In light of the SPA-based theoretical framework, however, the cognition-attitude-behaviour model can only explain part of consumption behaviour. Individual tourists who gather and use information are therefore not the subject of this analysis – as in research on decision-making processes in tourism. Instead, the positioning of environmental issues in the vacation choice practice will be investigated. Positioning refers to introducing environmental information in the vacation choice practice. Instead of as a static end-status, positioning is considered here as an active process which involves roles for both providers and end-users in the vacation choice practice; providers embed information in the practice, end-users employ it. The vacation choice practice concerns the context-specific configuration of tourists' information gathering processes and providers' information provisioning processes of information on tourism and travel services in vacation choice practices.

Before analysing the positioning of environmental issues in the vacation choice practice, a brief introduction will be given on the contextual character of vacation choice practices and on developments regarding the use of information in the vacation choice practice.

Vacation choice practices show context-specific differences; a vacation choice practice undertaken for a winter sports holiday is different from a vacation choice practice undertaken for a beach holiday, city trip or backpacker holiday. Holiday practices are characterised by either actively or passively search processes, by intensive or extensive information gathering, and by the use of different consumption junctions in the vacation choice practice (see also Bargeman, 2001; Bargeman & Van der Poel, 2006; Fodness & Murray, 1997; 1999).

For city trips people gather a lot of information on the sights and transport opportunities at the destination, because people want to do and see as much as possible in a short time. Beach holidays require much less information. Furthermore, whereas summer holidays are arranged many months in advance after a comparison of the offers of different tour operators, weekend trips are more ad hoc. Also, the decision to book a package holiday or to arrange the holiday yourself is partly dependent on the holiday practice. Concerning beach holidays, people primarily book packages (62%) compared to arranging the holiday yourself (35%). Active holidays show a different picture. Of the active holidays 64% concern do-it-yourself holidays, as opposed to the 31% of package holidays[27]. Finally, for different holiday practices, different consumption junctions are used. Whether people use the Internet or pay a visit to the travel agency depends on the holiday practice (NR6 & Intomart, 2006). Concerning beach holidays and all-inclusive holidays, the travel agency is more popular to book one's holiday compared to the Internet (ibid).

27 Source: survey conducted in cooperation with Milieu Centraal (see Appendix 1).

In their information strategies, providers of tourism services take the different characteristics of holiday practices into account. They anticipate on the fact that some holiday practices involve a bigger need for information for which tourists are more actively looking for information compared to other holiday practices.

Besides the contextual character of vacation choice practices, it is important to realise that vacation choice practices are subject to change. Practices change over time, having a history and a path of development (Warde, 2005). To begin with, whereas the Internet was not widespread 10 years ago, nowadays, the Internet is an important (and an increasingly important) consumption junction in the vacation choice practice where tourists and providers of tourism and travel services meet in a virtual world. Almost all Dutch tourists use the Internet in their vacation choice practice; 96% use the Internet to gather information, and 75% use it to book their holidays (NR6 & Intomart, 2006). As a consequence of the Internet becoming an important consumption junction in the vacation choice practice, the travel agent's office is no longer the only consumption junction. Although the travel agency is still consulted by 29% of the respondents to gather information, the position of the travel agency as a time-space setting of the vacation choice practice has changed. During the vacation choice practice, people use more than one source of information (e.g. Internet search engines, 41%; websites of tour operators, 34%; friends and relatives, 17%; and websites of airlines or railway companies, 11%[28]). The Internet has transformed the vacation choice practice. The interaction between providers and users of information in the vacation choice practice is shifting from face-to-face contacts to interaction with absent others. The modes of provisioning information as well as products or services have been adapted to fit with virtual communications. And as a result of the Internet, the modes of access to information in the vacation choice practice have changed. Information is being freed from fixed sites and time-slots (e.g. between 9am and 5pm at the physical office of the travel agent's). Modes of access now also encompass other time-space contexts.

What is being purchased in the vacation choice practice is subject to change as well. According to the CBS (in: NRIT, 04-07-2008), the number of Dutch vacationers going on a holiday without having arranged anything is decreasing over time, and the number of people choosing a package holiday is increasing. Concerning this growing segment of package holidays, travel agencies and tour operators provide product- and service related information on all aspects of the holiday (e.g. the lodging type and quality, the possible travel modes, the distance to the beach) (Laws, 1997). Rather recently, environmental issues regarding the holiday are being introduced in the vacation choice practice.

28 Source: survey conducted in cooperation with Milieu Centraal (see Appendix 1).

4.3 Environmental information in the vacation choice practice

4.3.1 Environmental information and behavioural change

The importance of environmental information is stressed by several scholars; stating that information is both an effective and a necessary precondition for action (see Van den Burg, 2006; Chafe, 2004; Hobson, 2003; Van der Horst, 2006; Rubik & Frankl, 2005; Stø & Strandbakken, 2005; Vittersø, 2003). Although it is argued that environmental information alone is not enough to change consumption behaviour (see Thøgersen, 2006; Hobson, 2002; Hobson, 2003; Vittersø, 2003), it can be a starting point for rethinking behaviour from a sustainability perspective (Van den Burg, 2006). Providing environmental information is the first act to empower tourists to make informed decisions about their holiday (Chafe, 2004). Since tourists are "increasingly knowledgeable, discerning, and seeking participation, [...] provision of adequate information upon the performance of a certain holiday package would facilitate the choice between two apparently similar holidays." (Tepelus, 2005: 105).

Despite the fact that providing environmental information is a rather recent phenomenon in the tourism consumption domain, several scholars conduct research on the topic of environmental information and behavioural change. Relevant perspectives on environmental information can be derived from the eco-labelling literature in tourism (e.g. Ayuso et al., 2005; Buckley, 2002; CREM, 2000; Font, 2002; Font & Buckley, 2001; Font & Harris, 2004; Kozak & Nield, 2004; Sasidharan & Font, 2001; Sasidharan et al., 2002). Eco-labels indicate the environmental performance of a product or service, and are usually verified by an independent third party (e.g. CREM, 2000). Eco-labels can be used to raise tourists' consciousness with respect to the impact of their tourism behaviour, and to enable them to make informed choices in their vacation choice practice (Sasidharan & Font, 2001). An eco-label is however not only used in the communication with consumers. The idea behind eco-labels is that they make it easier for all interested actors to make environmental-friendly choices in the market place (Stø et al., 2002). They function as a tool to give environmental information from producers to other producers, sellers and consumers (Vittersø, 2003). Hence, eco-labels function as a tool for both tourists, and providers and producers of tourism products and services to focus on environmental efficiency and behave more environmental-friendly (Synergy, 2000, in: Font, 2002).

Whether eco-labels are successful in changing tourism behaviour "is dependent upon at least the existence of environmental awareness and, preferably, the positive acceptance or adoption of appropriate behaviour on the part of both industries and consumers" (Sharpley, 2001: 41). The acceptance and the adoption of environmental information in industries' information strategies and in tourists' choice process will be an important topic of analysis in this chapter. It is important to get more

insights in the view of tourists on their current experiences with environmental information regarding holidays, as well as on their preferences concerning the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice. At the same time, it is important to know how and why tourism providers currently provide environmental information on holidays, as well as how tourism providers would prefer tourists to be informed on the environmental issues related to tourism.

Since environmental information is a rather new topic in tourism research and is mainly focused on tourism eco-labelling and not yet so much on other ways in which environmental information can be provided, the insights from tourism research on eco-labelling are complemented with insights from other research contributions on environmental information and consumption behavioural changes.

There are several research orientations in analysing environmental information. In the social-psychological tradition, research takes up a consumer-orientation, using cognitive behaviour models (e.g. Rational Choice Theory, or the Theory of planned behaviour from Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). As mentioned above, such contributions are focused on individual consumers, on raising their environmental-awareness, and on changing consumers' attitudes towards environmental issues, which would consequently result in changing consumption behaviour. Second, one can think of chain-oriented research contributions on the origin of and the organisation behind labelling schemes, on the development of environmental criteria, on independent third parties which control the environmental criteria and award products, services or companies with labels (see for instance Schwartz et al., 2008). Finally, research can be oriented on the effects and the goals accomplished as a result of providing environmental information such as eco-labels. A research topic in this line of research is for instance whether labels are a way to stimulate businesses to improve their environmental performance (see for instance Bjorner et al., 2004).

In this chapter environmental information will be analysed from an SPA-based perspective (see Chapter 3). In taking up this practice-oriented perspective, the findings from consumer-oriented, chain-oriented and effect-oriented perspectives are very helpful. In analysing environmental information in this chapter, the vacation choice practice is the time-space setting of the analysis. In the vacation choice practice, three types of factors concerning environmental information can be differentiated; 1) factors on the use of environmental information by consumers, 2) factors on the positioning of the environmental information in the vacation choice practice, and 3) factors on the provision of environmental information by providers.

First, several consumer factors important in the uptake of environmental information are whether consumers are aware of the environmental impacts of their behaviour (e.g. Sharpley, 2001; Stø et al., 2005), whether consumers feel responsible to reduce the environmental impact of their behaviour (e.g. Sharpley, 2001; Hobson, 2003; Micheletti, 2003; Jensen, 2005; Stø et al., 2005), whether

consumers trust environmental information (e.g. Buckley, 2001; Hobson, 2003; Jensen, 2005; Stø et al., 2005), the usefulness of environmental information (e.g. SER, 2004), whether they know there are alternatives (e.g. Hobson, 2003; Vittersø, 2003; Stø et al., 2005), and whether these alternatives are attractive (e.g. Sharpley, 2001; Micheletti, 2003).

Second, several factors regarding the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice are the availability and visibility of environmental information (e.g. Buckley, 2001; SER, 2004; Vittersø, 2003), the character of the information (e.g. positive or negative, obligatory or voluntary, single- or multi-issue, easy or difficult to understand) (e.g. Spittler & Haak, 2001; Oosterveer, 2005; Peeters et al., 2004), the target of the environmental information (consumers or business-to-business) (e.g. Peeters et al., 2004; Font, 2001), and finally the trust-worthiness of the information (e.g. Buckley, 2001; Sasidharan & Font, 2001; Van den Burg, 2006).

These factors regarding the positioning of environmental information are of course closely related both to the consumer factors of using this information in the vacation choice practice and to the third category of factors regarding the provision of environmental information in the vacation choice practice. Several provider factors are for instance barriers and possibilities to provide environmental information (e.g. Buckley, 2001; Sasidharan & Font, 2001), costs and benefits of providing environmental information (e.g. Sasidharan & Font, 2001; SER, 2004), whether it is a private or public initiative (Peeters et al., 2004; Sasidharan & Font, 2001; Van den Burg, 2006; Oosterveer, 2005; Spaargaren & Van Koppen, 2009), whether providers feel they are responsible to reduce environmental impacts (e.g. Sharpley, 2001; Spaargaren & Van Koppen, 2009), whether providers have the desire to dis-tinct oneself from other businesses, their knowledge of the environmental impacts of the products they offer (e.g. Stø et al., 2005) and whether they are aware of several ways to reduce these impacts, and their trust in these instruments and the willingness to apply them to their product assortment.

Taking an SPA-based approach implies that the above-mentioned factors are considered to be interwoven and connected to the vacation choice practice. It is important to consider these factors not in an isolated but in a contextualised manner. Before analysing the dynamics behind the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice, the next section will present a typology of environmental information formats in the vacation choice practice.

4.3.2   *Towards a typology of environmental information formats*
Environmental issues are incorporated in the vacation choice practice in different ways, ranging from offering information to offering more environmental-friendly alternatives; characterised by different modes of provisioning and modes of access. For the benefit of a comprehensive analysis of the embedding of environmental

issues in the vacation choice practice, it is important to investigate both environmental information formats and other ways in which environmental issues are embedded in the vacation choice practice. Therefore, the first research question of this chapter is:

> Is environmental information currently available in the vacation choice practice, and, if so, in which formats is environmental information positioned?

This section thus concerns an exploration of different formats in which environmental issues are being introduced in the vacation choice practice. Besides presenting these formats, the aim is to develop a typology of environmental information formats. This typology concerns formats which are incorporated in the vacation choice practice; tourists may come across these formats offered to them by a range of different providers. Furthermore, given the focus on tourism mobilities, this typology concerns formats which somehow enable to consider the environmental aspects regarding the mobility component of tourism. All formats aim for an ecological restructuring of tourism mobility practices. To connect with the current state of affairs in the tourism domain, however, an exception will be made for eco-labels. Although eco-labels generally do not take the mobility aspect into consideration, it is the most widely used format to provide environmental information, and can therefore help to put other formats into perspective. Third, given the focus on the reciprocity of end-users and providers in the vacation choice practice, the typology is demarcated to information formats of a provider-to-consumer character and furthermore to voluntary schemes. Business-to-business formats as well as obligatory schemes such as the Dutch ecotax or the EU-ETS (see Chapter 2) are not included here because these go behind the back of the consumer. Those formats do not fit the SPA-based view that consumers can be change agents in a sustainable development of tourism mobilities when offered consumer-relevant information and/or alternatives. Fourth, since it goes beyond the scope of this thesis to explore environmental information formats worldwide, the typology is delineated to formats which Dutch tourists may encounter during their vacation choice practice.

In order to develop this typology of environmental information formats, data have been gathered by way of desk research from January 2006 till October 2008. This period was characterised by ongoing developments; several environmental information provider strategies were introduced, and some (but fewer) strategies disappeared. These ongoing developments demonstrate that environmental information is increasingly being introduced in the vacation choice practice, which suggests that environmental issues become more and more important in the tourism domain.

ECO-LABELS

Eco-labelling is a well-known and widely used format to provide environmental information in the vacation choice practice. There are hundreds of eco-labels for the accommodation sector. The European Eco-label for tourist accommodation services, for instance, is awarded and certified by an independent organisation and signals environmental good performance (e.g. sustainable water management, use of renewable energy, information to the guests, and use of regional products). In Europe, 58 campsites and 233 tourist accommodations are awarded with the EU Eco-label (www.ecolabel-tourism.eu; in 2008). Green Key is another international certified eco-label for environmental-friendly tourist accommodations. There are over 450 Green Key accommodations in Europe (www.kmvk.nl/groenesleutel; in 2008). Furthermore, some tour operators decide to provide eco-labels. Tour operator Holland International (a brand of TUI) labelled environmental-friendly villages with the green snow star (as of the 2007-2008 winter season), and provided environmental-friendly accommodations with a green tree (winter brochure 2008-2009). This green tree logo informs travel agencies and consumers that these accommodations have undertaken water-, energy-, and waste-saving measures. According to IDUT (newsletter October 2008), the selection of environmental-friendly accommodation has been made based on independent international labels.

Besides the EU Eco-label, Green Key and TUI's initiative to provide labels for environmental-friendly villages and accommodations, there are many more destination-based eco-labelling schemes in the tourism sector (e.g. Green Globe, Green Tourism Business Scheme, Viabono, and Legambiente Turismo; see below).

Eco-labels

Green snowstar for villages
HI Winter brochure 2007-2008

Green tree for accommodations
HI Winter brochure 2008-2009

These destination-based eco-labels are criticised for focusing mainly on tourist accommodations (Synergy, 2000, in: Font, 2002), and not taking the environmental impact of tourism mobility into consideration. Beside this single-issue character, another drawback is that the market penetration is rather low. Illustrative is the fact that among the 58 campsites awarded with the EU Eco-label (in 2008), there are no Dutch campsites, whereas there are about 3.300 campsites in the Netherlands (NRIT, 2006). And, of the more than 11.000 campsites in France (www.camping-frankrijk.nl), only 2 campsites are awarded with the EU Eco-label (in 2008). The

fact that eco-labelled tourism accommodations are not widely available is acknowledged by the Tour Operators Initiative for Sustainable Tourism. In a report on sustainable supply chain management for tour operators, it is mentioned that eco-labelling is regarded as one method to inform tour operators on the environmental performance in their supply chain, but state that it is not sufficiently widespread to be the only method (TOI, 2004).

CARBON OFFSETTING

As mentioned in Chapter 2, several providers in the tourism and travelling industries offer air travellers the possibility to voluntarily compensate for the climate impact of their trip. By providing air travellers information on the environmental impacts related to air travel, carbon offsetting schemes introduce environmental information in the vacation choice practice, contributing to awareness-raising. Furthermore, by providing the possibility to offset carbon emissions, it can be considered a heuristic in a sustainable development of tourism mobilities. People are offered the opportunity to act more environmental-friendly without having to alter their holiday. This is probably part of the explanation why carbon offsetting is appealing to tourists. Although people pay an amount to undo the environmental pollution of their flight, they still go on a holiday by air, which makes climate compensation an end-of-pipe solution. Still, it might be argued to be better than nothing.

In the Netherlands, there are two providers of carbon offsetting services: Green Seat and Trees for Travel (in 2008). Green Seat is a company with an idealistic goal: they put trees ahead of profit. Green Seat is a brand of the Climate Neutral Group, a social business enterprise seated in the Netherlands offering a wide range of compensation services (www.greenseat.nl). Comparable to Green Seat's main marketing message "Stop global warming, make your seat a green seat" (ibid, 2008), Trees for Travel attracts the attention with "Stop Global Warming: plant a tree!" (www.treesfortravel.info, 2008). Trees for Travel is a non-profit NGO; an independent, private organisation (www.treesfortravel.nl). The fact that Green Seat is a company whereas Trees for Travel is an NGO may involve different levels of trust among tourists.

The information on and the option of carbon offsetting is currently introduced in the vacation choice practice in several ways. First, it is offered on the websites of the providers of carbon offsetting services, which requires that tourists know these websites and visit those. Furthermore, when booking the holiday with a travel agency, tourists may receive information on climate compensation with the travel documents. Another more direct way in which climate compensation is currently introduced in the vacation choice practice is that several tour operators offer the option to compensate the carbon emissions at the moment people are booking the holiday. Before finalising the booking, people are informed on carbon offsetting and are given the opportunity to compensate. Finally, some tour

operators automatically compensate the emissions of all their tourists and inform the tourists about that. Whereas the third and, to a lesser extent, the second way in which climate compensation is being provided to consumers fit with well with their routines and imply that travellers are being viewed as possible change agents, the latter one, by taking a generic measure, more or less goes behind the back of the consumer.

HOLIDAY FOOTPRINT

As mentioned in Chapter 2, several scholars investigated the ecological footprint of holidays (Gössling et al., 2002; Hunter & Shaw, 2007; Patterson et al., 2007; Peeters & Schouten, 2006). The Vakantievoetafdruk (i.e. Holiday Footprint) is such an instrument measuring the ecological footprint of holidays. The Holiday Footprint is thereby another way to embed environmental information in the vacation choice practice. The Holiday Footprint has been developed by De Kleine Aarde, a Dutch NGO, in cooperation with NHTV (i.e. Breda University of applied sciences). This instrument may serve as a tool for travellers to compare the impact of different holidays and may serve as a tool for tour operators to provide travellers with environmental information of their holidays.

Holiday Footprint

The Holiday Footprint is injected in the vacation choice practice on the website www.vakantievoetafdruk.nl. On this website tourists can easily calculate the Holiday Footprint by filling in their transport mode, travelling distance, holiday activities, accommodation type, the length of stay and the number of travellers. Altering the transport mode or the holiday destination shows the difference in environmental impacts. In this way, ecological footprints can be used as an instrument to assess and give insight in tourism sustainability (Gössling et al., 2002). To give an example, a holiday to Rome by airplane has a footprint of $1.855m^2$, and by car with 2 persons it is $940m^2$. The Holiday Footprint is based on the premise that there is $1.600m^2$ available per person to spend on holidays, and that with $4.700m^2$ the average footprint of Dutch tourists is much higher than that. Besides using it to assess the impact of holidays, this format enables tourists to explore ways to reduce the ecological footprint of tourism (Peeters & Schouten, 2006). Tourists might decide to travel with a transport mode with a reduced footprint or decide to travel to a nearer destination in order to reduce their holiday's footprint.

The Holiday Footprint is not only mentioned on www.vakantievoetafdruk. nl. There is one Dutch tour operator, Treq, specialised in active holidays, which actually applies the Holiday Footprint instrument. Of every holiday offered by Treq, the Holiday Footprint is mentioned in their catalogue and on their website

(www.treq.nl; in 2008). In this way, product-related environmental information is included in the vacation choice practice, and, for those tourists wanting to travel with Treq, the footprint of holidays may be one of the criteria in choosing a holiday. However, as this format is not yet positioned in more mainstream consumption junctions, it is not so visible in the vacation choice practice. Furthermore, calculating the holiday footprint is argued to be "rather crude, providing indicative estimates" (Hunter & Shaw, 2007: 55). Finally, the footprint instrument, relating holidays to a number of acres needed to produce the energy used for the holiday, might be difficult to interpret by end-users.

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT CALCULATORS OF TRANSPORT MODES

Comparable to the Holiday Footprint, there is another type of format which may be used both as an instrument to assess and give insight in the environmental impact of the holiday, and as a tool to reduce the environmental impact. Adviseur Klimaatwijs op reis[29], Ecopassenger and Routerank provide environmental information focused on a single issue, transport, which represents another way in which environmental information is embedded in the vacation choice practice.

Adviseur Klimaatwijs op reis has been developed and provided by Milieu Centraal (Van Wieringen, 2004), an "organisation that provides consumers with practical and trustworthy environmental information which has been tested by independent experts" (www.milieucentraal.nl). The Milieu Centraal website provides information on environmental issues related to a diversity of consumption behaviours (e.g. housing, mobility, and food) among which is the environmental impact calculator of transport modes. People can fill in their holiday destination and their mode of transport and compare the environmental impact with the environmental impact of travelling with other transport modes. For instance, travelling to Rome with a charter or low cost airline produces 608kg of CO_2, compared to an emission of 382kg of CO_2 when travelling by car. Ecopassenger and Routerank, enable tourists to compare all separate impacts of the trip (e.g. carbon dioxide, energy resource consumption, particulate matter, nitrogen oxides and nonmethane hydrocarbons) (see below; www.ecopassenger.org; www.routerank.com). Information on the environmental impact of several transport modes is provided by these instruments in a rather eco-technocratic manner. As opposed to the Holiday Footprint, Adviseur Klimaatwijs op reis, Ecopassenger and Routerank do not mention a maximum amount of environmental impacts which is considered as environmental-friendly.

This ecotechnocratic information format provided by NGOs might increase the level of trust among tourists, but might also be complex to interpret. The fact that the calculator on the Milieu Centraal website directly links the environmental impact with information on climate compensation, and the fact that Ecopassenger

29 Advisor for climate-conscious travelling

not only compares the environmental impacts of travelling with different transport modes, but also the travelling times (www.ecopassenger.org), illustrates that this type of format provides can be a tool to reduce impacts and can connect with tourists' search processes.

Ecopassenger
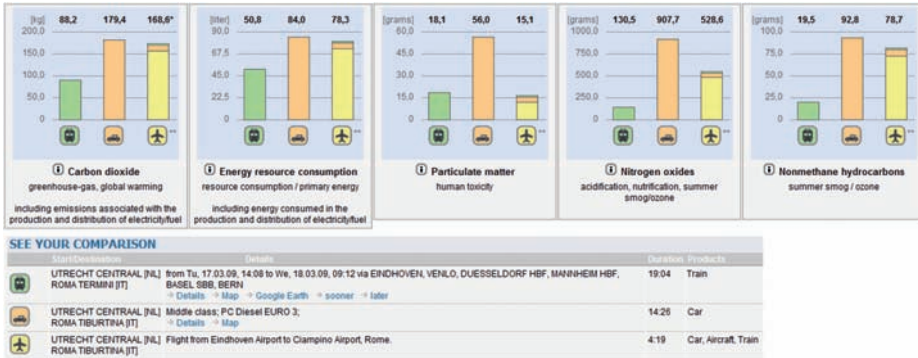
Comparable to green consumption junctions in the food consumption domain (e.g. EkoPlaza supermarket; see Sargant, forthcoming), there are sustainable consumption junctions in the tourism domain; websites on which more sustainable holidays are brought together. Non profit organisations (Travelsense, Responsible Travel) gather the environmental-friendly or more sustainable holidays from different tour operators on their websites. As of 2001, Responsible Travel picks holidays from all over the globe to give tourists "a fantastic experience and make a real difference to local people and the environment" (www.responsibletravel.com). Responsibletravel.com provides the largest selection of holidays which are considered to be more or less sustainable. People can use the site to contact the businesses for more information or to book. The website itself functions as a meeting point, and is in other words a sustainable consumption junction in the vacation choice practice.

The Dutch initiative Travelsense[30] gathers on its website the holidays of several Dutch tour operators which meet criteria developed by the Center for Sustainable Tourism and Transportation (CSTT[31]) (www.travelsense.nl). The criteria of Travelsense are of a multi-issue character; they refer to transport, accommodation as well as activities, and furthermore, they refer to both socio-cultural and ecological sustainability issues. The fact that an educational institution is involved in setting the criteria and in assessing whether holidays fulfil these criteria or not, probably

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30 Since the summer of 2008, the Dutch initiative Travelsense does not exist anymore.
31 CSTT is connected to the NHTV (i.e. Breda University of applied sciences).

increases the level of trust among tourists. However, the visibility of both these websites is expectantly rather low; tourists have to know about the existence of such a website, otherwise they will not run into it.

ENVIRONMENTAL-FRIENDLY TRAVEL AGENCIES

In the same line of thinking, there is an online travel agency which offers tourists to "always travel in a climate-friendly manner" (www.greenbookings.com; since November 2007). Greenbookings can be considered a green consumption junction in the vacation choice practice. Greenbookings sells holidays from several big tour operators in the Dutch tourism sector: De JongIntra, TUI/Holland International, and Neckermann. Whereas Travelsense was a non-profit provider, Greenbookings is a profit seeking business. The Greenbookings website can be used to book the holiday, whereas Travelsense only displayed the holidays which fulfilled several sustainability-criteria. Another difference is that all holidays booked on this website are automatically taking part in climate compensation. Since holidays are automatically compensated for, this is a certain way of going behind the back of consumers. The fact that Greenbookings is partner of HIER, a Dutch climate program uniting and representing all initiatives which reduce the risk of climate change, might enhance the trustworthiness of this green consumption junction on which environmental issues are positioned in the vacation choice practice.

Another recent development in line with this format of environmental-friendly travel agencies is that ARKE and Holland International (brands of TUI Netherlands) claim to be the first Dutch 'green travel agencies' (IDUT news letter, January 2009). The slogans "the greenest travel agency is orange" (ARKE traditionally has an orange logo) and "the green smile" (the TUI logo is a smile), represent the efforts that are being taken to inform the personnel of travel agencies on sustainability issues and to train them to sell "Sustainable tourism; Wijs op wintersport[32], prevent child labour, promote climate compensation provider Green Seat, and prevent tourists from buying 'wrong' souvenirs" (IDUT news letter, January 2009). Although at this moment this initiative has a business-to-business character (tour operators providing information to travel agencies), the fact that travel agencies have face-to-face contact with tourists implies that in the end consumers receive environmental information.

HINTS ON MORE SUSTAINABLE HOLIDAYS

Another way to introduce environmental information in the vacation choice practice is to give hints on how to go on a more sustainable holiday or on how to behave more sustainable during the holiday. The Dutch Association of Travel Agents and

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32 Wise on winter sports.

Tour Operators (ANVR) developed a product-related environmental care system in 2003 ('ProductMilieuZorg systeem' – PMZ[33]). This PMZ-system implies that every tour operator being a member of ANVR has to inform tourists on sustainable tourism in their travel catalogues. Usually tour operators give some information on sustainable holidays at the last (and most ill-read) page of their brochures.

Another relatively new Dutch initiative is 'Zin in vakantie'[34], a website with information on sustainability issues regarding holidays (www.ikhebzininvakantie. nl). In this initiative, Milieu Centraal (also providing the calculator of the environmental impact of transport modes) is cooperating with TUI Netherlands, IUCN NL, NHTV, NAP (Dutch Alpine Platform) and recently also with ANVR. This initiative aims to provide tourists independent and practical information on how to make their holiday (more) responsible for the environment and society. On the website, launched in the beginning of 2009, there is a database with hints on more sustainable transport, accommodation and activities. This initiative is hence of a multi-issue character both in the sense that information is provided on ecological as well as socio-cultural issues, and that information considers different aspects of the holiday. Furthermore, based on the holiday characteristics, such as type of holiday (beach, snow, active, city trip, or round-tour) and the holiday destination, tourists receive advice which is most relevant for them. This initiative thus connects well with user practices. Furthermore, the advice consumers receive is based on knowledge developed by Milieu Centraal; tourists probably trust this information. Since this website is not a usual channel in the vacation choice practice and is therefore rather invisible, members of IDUT[35] are asked to promote this website.

Other initiatives in line with this format of providing independent environmental information in the vacation choice practice by giving practical advice are Holland International's "wijs op wintersport" campaign, and tour operator Sawadee's 12 hints on how to behave properly in foreign countries. Furthermore, a small number of representatives of the tourism industry have set up the Travel Foundation in the Netherlands, after the example of the Travel Foundation in the United Kingdom (press release Travel Foundation Nederland, 03-11-2008; www.thetravelfoundation. nl; www.thetravelfoundation.org.uk). This initiative aims to actively involve travel agencies with corporate social responsibility (Maatschappelijk Verantwoord Ondernemen, MVO) and is initiated by the initiator of Travelsense.

33 In 2008, PMZ has been replaced by DTO (Duurzaam Toeristisch Ondernemen; Sustainable Tourism Enterprise).
34 In the mood for a holiday.
35 Initiatiefgroep Duurzaam Uitgaand Toerisme; a Dutch network for a sustainable development of international tourism. In 2009, tourism entrepreneurs, NGOs, educational institutes and governmental bodies are among the 29 members of this association (www.idut.nl).

AN ENERGY-LABEL FOR AIR TICKETS

Yet another way in which information on the environmental impact of holidays is provided is the Energy-label. This format is widely used in other consumption domains; Energy-labels on cars, on home appliances, and on houses. As of September 2008, the Energy-label is applied in the tourism domain as well. Cheap Tickets, whose core business is to sell air tickets, offers air travellers the opportunity to compare flights not only on price, but also on environmental impact. Therefore, they provide all flights with an Energy-label (Press Release 15-09-2008).

Comparable to Energy-labels in other consumption domains, "the label indicates the environmental impact of the flight, where "green" (A or B) is better is than "red" (D or E)" (www.cheaptickets.nl). The calculation is based on the flight distance and the number of stops. For each stop an extra 100 miles is added to the flight distance. Based on this sum, flights are ascribed with the Energy-label. In cooperation with the University of Twente, in the future, the air craft type will be included in the calculation as well (www.cheaptickets.nl).

Energy-label on www.cheaptickets.nl

The website of Cheap Tickets shows that a direct flight to Rome receives 'Eco Value A', whereas a return flight with a stop in Lyon receives 'Eco Value E' (www.cheaptickets.nl; accessed in October 2008). In this way, the Energy-label enables tourists to compare flight options, and to become aware that a flight with a stop-over is more environmental-polluting than a direct flight. However, when comparing different destinations, interpreting the Energy-label might be confusing. A direct flight from Schiphol to Bangkok receives 'Eco Value A' (www.cheaptickets.nl; accessed in October 2008). The fact that a long-haul flight is labelled greener compared to a European flight casts doubt on the trustworthiness of this information format.

Assuming the Energy-label is correctly applied to the flights, this implies that, apparently, comparisons are made on the level of destinations. The Energy-label demonstrates that a flight to a certain destination is less environmental-polluting compared to other flight routes to the same destination. In that sense, it can be argued that the Energy-label is taking part of the context of the vacation choice practice into account in providing environmental information. This is comparable to the Energy-label of cars where the Energy-label is applied to different car

segments (i.e. small, medium, or large size). This enables buyers to compare cars on their environmental-friendliness within the car segment of their preference. A large size car may be of Eco Value A and still be less environmental-friendly compared to a small size car with Eco Value C, but within the large car segment, the A-labeled car is more environmental-friendly compared to the C-labeled car (Nijhuis, forthcoming).

Furthermore, the fact that some flights receive an A-label implies that the eco-label is not an absolute but a relative instrument. The Energy-label should not be interpreted as evidence that flying is environmental-friendly. Although the application of this Energy-label might be interpreted incorrectly, the point is that this Energy-label for flights is a way in which environmental information is currently positioned in the vacation choice practice.

Reviewing these formats, it can be concluded that environmental issues are explicitly positioned in the vacation choice practice. There is a plethora of information formats in which environmental information is embedded in the vacation choice practice. To reduce the complexity and the apparent differences in these available formats, these formats will be typified and ordered by developing a typology of environmental information formats.

It appeared that formats can be characterised and ordered along several aspects. Some formats give relative information, whereas other formats give absolute information. The holiday footprint, the impact calculator of transport modes and the energy-label are examples of formats which enable making a comparison between different alternatives. Formats such as a green tour operator, or the website on which environmental-friendly holidays are gathered are examples of formats which give absolute information.

Another relevant aspect of environmental formats is whether the information provided is single or multi-issue; referring to the ecological performance or to social and economic aspects of sustainability as well. Whereas eco-labels are often single-issue formats, Travelsense and providing tourists with advice on sustainable holidays are typical multi-issue formats. Comparable, information formats can consider holiday aspects in isolation or refer to the holiday as a whole. Some information concerns the travelling component of the holiday (e.g. climate compensation, impact calculators of transport modes, the Energy-label on flights), whereas other formats focus on the accommodation component of the holiday (eco-labels). Yet other formats consider the holiday as a whole (e.g. the holiday footprint, hints on sustainable holidays).

Furthermore, the environmental issues are embedded in the vacation choice practice on different levels; the provider (a green tourism entrepreneur), the product or service (providing environmental-friendly holidays), the consumption junction (green travel agencies or green websites providing eco-friendly holidays

from several tour operators), or information on the environmental performance of alternatives (see also Spaargaren & Van Koppen, 2009).

These aspects are reflected in Figure 4.1 which represents the typology of environmental information formats in the vacation choice practice. Tour operators are displayed as big squares and the holidays are displayed as smaller squares. A green tour operator is itself green and offers only green holidays. A normal tour operator is displayed as black with a green holiday among its assortment. The green circle represents the consumption junction of green holidays; the website or travel agency that offers green holidays from several different tour operators.

Since Eco-labels, Climate compensation, the Calculator of transport modes, and the Energy-label are formats which position environmental information with regard to one part of the holiday, the square which represents the holiday is broken up in two parts. Since mobility is responsible for about 75% of the total emissions caused by tourism (see Chapter 1), the bigger part of the square refers to the mobility component of the holiday, and the smaller part refers to the accommodation and the activities of the holiday. Therefore, the Eco-label format is represented with an ok-sign for the smaller part of the holiday, referring to the fact that accommodations fulfil certain criteria with regard to environmental-friendliness. In the format of climate compensation, the green stripes represent the fact that travelling behaviour remains unaltered, but is compensated for. The red, orange, yellow and green dots in the mobility aspect of the holiday represent the format of the Energy-label.

The Holiday Footprint and the Hints for more sustainable holidays refer to the whole holiday. Therefore, the square visualising the holiday is not split up in two parts. The fact that providing advice on all kinds of aspects with regard to more sustainable holidays does not necessarily imply a change in the character of the holiday, is mirrored in Figure 4.1 by a black square with small green dots. People are free to decide what to do with this information.

The fact that some numbers of the Holiday Footprint are green, whereas all numbers of the Calculator of transport modes are black, represents the fact that the transport mode calculator does not state a certain number up to which travelling is deemed environmental-friendly, whereas the Holiday Footprint is based on the premise that numbers below 1.600 can be considered environmental-friendly.

Figure 4.1   **A typology of environmental information formats in the vacation choice practice**
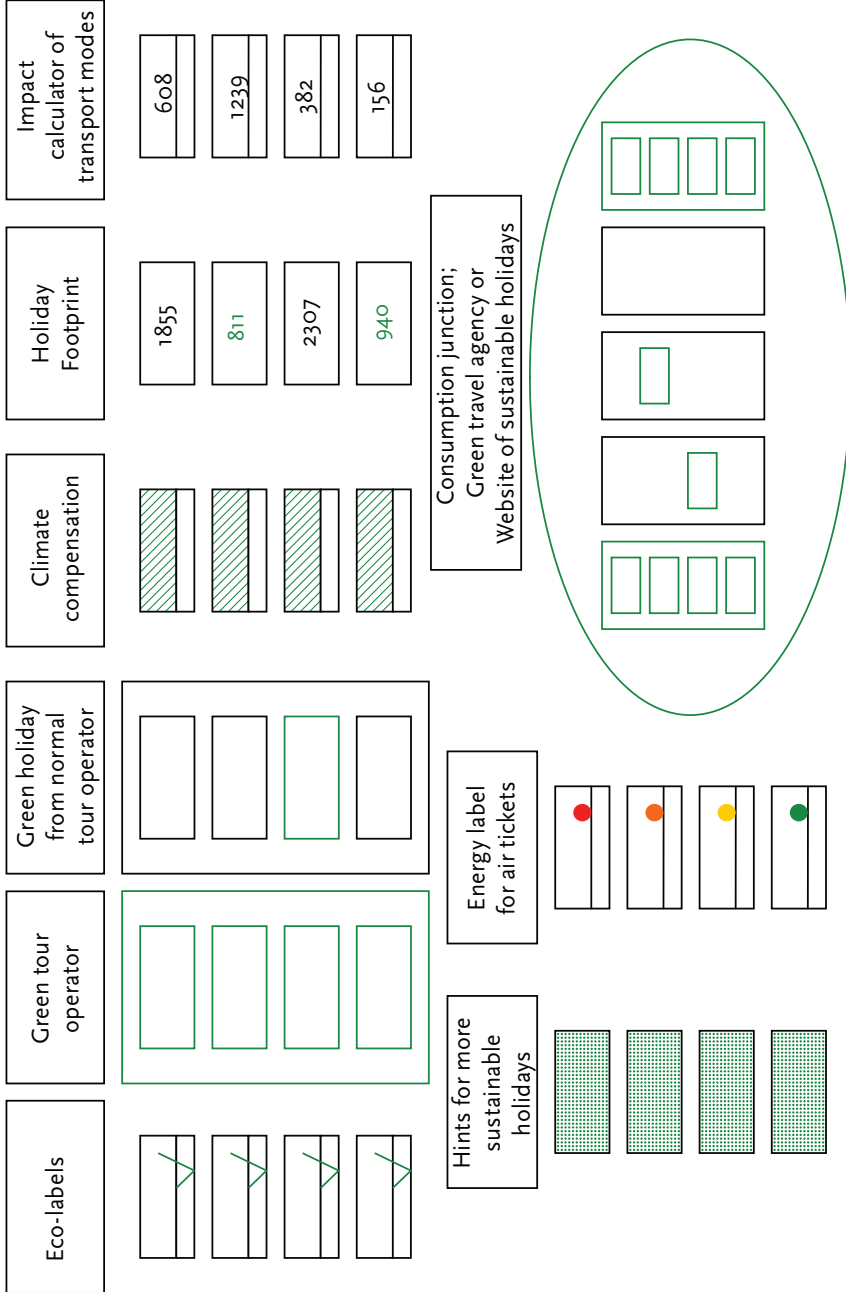
The fact that environmental information is present in the vacation choice practice does however not necessarily imply that tourists are familiar with it, or even use it in their vacation choice practice. To get an impression of this, respondents of the Motivaction-Contrast survey (see Appendix 1) were asked whether or not they receive information on environmental issues related to the holiday during their vacation choice practice. Asking this question in this rather passive way expectantly results in a better representation of the embeddedness of environmental information in the vacation choice practice compared to asking people who actively and purposively searched for information on environmental issues. The results illustrate that 49.3% of the respondents was informed on sustainable travelling by the media, 40.4% ran into information on sustainability with a consumers' organisation, 34.7% received information from the government, 29.5% received environmental information from a social information source, respectively 28.9% and 28.7% received information on sustainability issues from the tourism sector or the travelling sector, and finally, 19.7% received information from environmental organisations (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1   Receiving environmental information

"Do you receive information on environmental issues regarding the holiday from these sources?" (Motivaction-Contrast survey; N=2.242)	Never	Every now and then	Regularly	Often
Media (newspaper, tv, magazine)	50.7%	37.1%	10.0%	2.2%
Consumer organisation	59.6%	27.6%	10.7%	2.1%
Government (e.g. Postbus 51)	65.3%	27.6%	6.6%	0.4%
Friends, family, or acquaintances	70.5%	20.8%	7.0%	1.8%
Tour operators or travel agencies	71.1%	20.3%	6.4%	2.1%
Airlines, Railway- or Bus companies	71.3%	20.9%	6.0%	1.9%
Environmental organisation	80.3%	15.0%	3.7%	1.0%

The overall picture is that people receive little information regarding environmental-friendly holidays. The percentages of people who often receive environmental information from these sources are extremely low, and the percentages of people who never receive information on environmental-friendly travelling are high, especially from providers in the tourism and travelling sectors (respectively 71.1% and 71.3%). The fact that the percentage of respondents who never receive environmental information from environmental organisations is with 80.3% even higher is probably related to the fact that this information provider is not a regular provider in the vacation choice practice.

Besides the question whether tourists receive environmental information in the vacation choice practice, it is interesting to know whether tourists are familiar with several of the above-mentioned formats to inform on the environmental

performance of holidays. Table 4.2 presents the answers of both the respondents of the Milieu Centraal survey and the respondents of the Motivaction-Contrast survey (see Appendix 1). The Motivaction-Contrast survey has a considerably larger sample compared to the Milieu Centraal survey and furthermore, this sample is considered representative for Dutch citizens (Motivaction, 2008).

Environmental information formats are rather unfamiliar among tourists. The level of unfamiliarity ranges from about 80% to almost 100%. Hence, the several formats with which environmental information is introduced in the vacation choice practice are almost unknown among tourists (see also Dings, 2008; Wolvers, 2008; National Geographic Traveler, 2008). An exception to this is the familiarity with climate compensation. The survey results show that in 2008, 51.6% of Dutch citizens is familiar with climate compensation. The fact that the Motivaction-Contrast survey is more recent might explain why the familiarity with the environmental information formats is higher among these respondents compared to the respondents of the Milieu Centraal survey.

Table 4.2   **Familiarity with environmental information formats**

	I am not familiar with it	
"Are you familiar with the following instruments?"	(Milieu Centraal survey; N=769)	(Motivaction-Contrast survey; N=2.242)
Climate compensation (i.e. Trees for travel, Green Seat)	81.8%	51.6%
Instrument to calculate the environmental impact of different transport modes or different holidays (i.e. Klimaatwijs op reis, Holiday Footprint)	90.9%	80.9%
Paragraph on sustainable tourism in travel catalogues (i.e. PMZ)	94.4%	–
Eco-label Green Key	94.9%	–
Websites on which sustainable holidays are gathered (i.e. Travelsense)	97.5%	86.2%
Green travel agency (i.e. Greenbookings)	–	87.2%

4.4   Methodology

4.4.1   Research questions

The above investigation of the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice provides an answer to the first research question of this chapter:

> Is environmental information currently available in the vacation choice practice, and, if so, in which formats is environmental information positioned?

Desk research showed a plethora of formats in which environmental issues are embedded in the vacation choice practice. Investigating the differences and

similarities of these formats resulted in the typology of environmental informa-
tion formats available in the tourism domain (see Figure 4.1).

However, despite the fact that environmental information is being introduced in
the vacation choice practice, tourists seldom run into it and are hence unfamiliar
with the various environmental information formats. Existing initiatives miss
customers' attention (see also Budeanu, 2007a). The minimal use of and unfamil-
iarity with environmental information in the vacation choice practice can not be
explained by an absence of environmental information. This implies that there are
other factors behind this paradox between the availability of environmental infor-
mation on the one hand, and the unfamiliarity with it on the other. Apparently, the
modes of provisioning environmental information do not interrelate well with the
modes of access. This suggests that it is interesting to analyse the active process of
embedding environmental information in the vacation choice practice both from
provider- and user-perspective. In light of the SPA-based theoretical framework,
the remainder of this chapter will be focused on an in-depth investigation of the
positioning of environmental issues. Especially how provider- and user-dynamics
interrelate in the context of the vacation choice practice will be thoroughly exam-
ined. The second research question of this chapter is:

> How do actors from access-side and provision-side regard the positioning of envi-
> ronmental information in the vacation choice practice, and how do these views
> interrelate?

To answer this question, the meaning of and the dynamics behind the positioning
of environmental information in the vacation choice practice will be examined,
both from a provider- and tourist- perspective (section 4.5). Factors will be identi-
fied which influence whether or not, and how, providers provide environmental
information and whether or not, and how, tourists want to receive environmental
information in the vacation choice practice. To this end, insights have been gained
in why providers choose (not) to provide environmental information, and if infor-
mation is provided, then insights have been gained in how and why information is
provided. Furthermore, insights have been gained in how tourists would like to be
informed on environmental issues, in case they want to be informed. If they do not
want to be informed, it is interesting to know why not.

On a different level of abstraction, the SPA-based theoretical framework points to
the importance of connecting environmental information with holiday practices in
the tourism domain, in order to contribute to a sustainable development of tour-
ism mobilities. Hence, besides the provision-access dynamics regarding position-
ing of environmental information, a third research question has been formulated

to analyse whether the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice connects with the character of holiday practices:

> How does the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice interrelate with the character of holiday practices?

In order to answer this research question it will be examined whether environmental information interrelates with the holiday practice (section 4.6). In line with the spa-based theoretical framework it is hypothesised that holiday practices have a structuring effect on the dynamics between consumers and providers, which implies that environmental information should fit with practice-specific mechanisms between access and provision. Environmental information should fit with the character of holiday practices.

In answering these research questions, the focus is not on how individuals appropriate environmental information formats and use these in their consumption behaviour, and not on how formats of environmental information have been developed, but, as mentioned above, the focus is on the modes of access and modes of provision regarding environmental information in the vacation choice practice. Although it is inevitable that individual consumers and providers are consulted, the non-individualistic focus is reflected in the methodology. To reflect the theoretical focus on practices as much as possible in the methodology, the desk research method was supplemented with focus groups; two focus groups have been conducted with consumers (section 4.4.2) and one focus group with providers in the tourism domain (section 4.4.3). Furthermore, several interviews have been conducted with providers in the tourism industry (section 4.4.3). Section 4.4.4 will present the several phases in the focus groups as well as the discussion topics.

4.4.2   Consumer focus groups

Data have been gathered by way of two focus groups with consumers on environmental information. Focus groups were chosen as the method of data collection for this study since focusing on groups of individuals in a certain context fits the Social Practices Approach well. Focus groups are designed to encourage interaction between the participants on specific topics (Krueger & Casey, 2000; Morgan, 1988). Since environmental information in the vacation choice practice is a rather new topic, encouraging interaction among participants to share their experiences and preferences is valuable. The focus group method furthermore opened up the opportunity for group discussions and assignments on tourists' preferred environmental information in the vacation choice practice. To resemble the context of the vacation choice practice, with large posters of typical holiday settings, it was attempted to create a holiday atmosphere in the room in which the focus groups were held. Although focus groups are very useful to gain in-depth insights in

the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice, the results can hardly be considered representative, nor can they be generalised to a larger population.

In order to refine the focus group design, a pilot-focus group was conducted with six participants in May 2006. For the first official focus group with consumers, which was held in December 2006, people were selected from the PON-Brabant-panel (see Chapter 3). In the focus group technique it is immanent that participants are unfamiliar with each other but share certain characteristics that are relevant to the research (see also Decrop, 1999; Krueger & Casey, 2000; Morgan, 1988). The people invited for the focus group were familiar with at least three of the sixteen tourism eco-labels proposed to them in the PON-Brabantpanel survey (see Appendix 1). This selection criterion was chosen to prevent that people with a negative attitude towards environmental issues would participate in the focus group, which could obstruct a constructive brainstorm on this topic. Of the 85 people who were familiar with three or more labels and were invited to take part in the focus group, 6 people attended the focus group (see Appendix 2). These six participants were mainly individual, independent travellers, arranging their holidays without using services of travel agencies and tour operators.

In selecting participants for the second consumer focus group being familiar with eco-labels was not a criterion. By mentioning in the invitation letter that the focus group was part of a research on environmental-friendly solutions for tourism mobility, it was reasonable to expect that anti-environmentalists would not react to the invitation and would hence not participate in the focus group. Since the first group of participants showed a preference for individual travelling and touring, environmental information strategies employed by travel agencies and tour operators remained underexposed in that focus group. Therefore, participants for the second focus group were selected from the PON-Brabantpanel on the criterion that they booked their holiday through a travel agent or tour operator. Of the 97 people who arranged their holiday through a travel agent or tour operator who were invited to take part in the focus group, 6 people participated in the focus group. The focus group took place in February 2007 (see Appendix 2).

4.4.3   Provider focus group and interviews

To gain insights in the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice from a provider perspective, a focus group was conducted with providers in the tourism and travelling industries. Providers were selected on the criterion that they provide environmental information regarding holidays in one way or another. Of the 24 organisations invited to participate in the focus group, 8 attended the focus group which took place in December 2006 (see Appendix 2).

In order to find out whether the ideas of the eight participating organisations in the provider focus group are characteristic for environmental information

strategies of other organisations in the tourism industry, additionally, 12 interviews with providers in the tourism and travelling industries have been conducted. The interviews have been conducted in February and March of 2007 (see Appendix 2).

The interview methodology was chosen because it is a way to get in-depth insights in the strategies of providers in the tourism industry. Although there is unfortunately no possibility for group discussion, by conducting interviews, the 'bias' that possibly occurs during the provider focus group because of the presence of 'competitors' is considered to be absent. Discussing environmental information strategies in a face-to-face interview might be more straightforward than in a focus group with other tourism businesses.

Semi-structured in-depth interviews have been conducted (see Decrop, 1999). Beforehand, the topics and issues to be covered have been listed, but this did not specify any particular way and order of asking questions (for more information on the topics, see section 4.4.4). By complementing the focus group with interviews method triangulation has taken place, which enhances the validity of the results.

Taking the participants of the provider focus group and interviews together, representatives of several environmental information formats have been included in the analysis; the initiator of the sustainable consumption junction (Travelsense), the initiator of the Holiday Footprint (De Kleine Aarde), providers of climate compensation (Green Seat, Trees for Travel), tour operators who are considered environmental-friendly (or at least have an environmental-friendly image), and organisations providing practical advice on more sustainable holidays.

Furthermore, several established providers of tourism and transport services providing little environmental information in the vacation choice practice have been included in the analysis. This was done to complement the insights in the dynamics behind the positioning of environmental information with the dynamics behind the absence of environmental information in the vacation choice practice.

4.4.4   Research topics in the focus groups and interviews

This section presents the phases in the focus groups and interviews as well as the discussion topics. After a brief introduction of the participants, the focus group moderator, the researcher, and the extra observer (minutes secretary), the topic and goal of the focus group were presented. Given the fact that consumers and providers view the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice from different perspectives, the topic and goals slightly differed. In both consumer and provider focus groups, it was mentioned that the goal was to gain insights in how travelling environmental-friendly manner to the holiday destination could become attractive for consumers, and subsequently how, for that purpose, environmental information should be positioned in the vacation choice practice. The difference between the provider and consumer focus groups was that whereas providers were proposed with the paradox that environmental information

is available though seldom used, consumers were proposed with the question how they would want to be tempted to environmental-friendly travelling.

After this introduction of the topic and goal of the focus group (or interview), the following phase was focused on the search for or provision of generic information in the vacation choice practice. Consumers were asked what information they gather during their search processes, where they look for information and how they usually arrange their holidays. Providers were asked what information they provide their customers and where and how this information is provided. These questions only served as guiding questions; the discussions went beyond these questions and the moderator was free to ask follow-up questions. As a consequence, quite some insights were gained in the character of the vacation choice practice.

The next phase of the focus groups as well as the interviews was about discussing environmental information regarding the holiday, with a special focus on the mobility aspects of the holiday. Consumers were asked whether they ran into information on environmental-friendly travelling options at times they were gathering information and booking their holidays. Providers were asked what information they provide their customer regarding environmental-friendly travelling to the holiday destination. Again, the discussions went beyond these questions (e.g. who should provide information, why environmental information was not searched for, or why environmental information was not provided), which resulted in many insights regarding the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice.

To enable a discussion on the several formats with which to inform consumers on more environmental-friendly travelling options, these formats have been introduced shortly by the researcher, after which they were discussed. The formats investigated in the focus groups and interviews are: ecologically-sound tour operators[36]; environmental impact calculators of transport modes (e.g. Klimaatwijs op reis); assessing the environmental performances of holidays (e.g. the Holiday Footprint or an Energy-label for holidays[37]); a website on which more sustainable holidays are gathered (e.g. Travelsense); and CO_2-offset schemes to compensate the pollution caused by the trip (i.e. Green Seat or Trees for Travel). The discussion of these formats among other things gained insights in the familiarity with these

36 At the time the focus groups and interviews were undertaken on behalf of this research, Green-bookings was non-existent and Arke & Holland International did not yet position themselves as being green travel agencies. However, inspired by other consumption domains, the concept of an "environmental-friendly travel tour operator" has been included in the focus groups and interviews.

37 Despite the fact that at the moment the focus groups were held the Energy-label for flights was non-existent, the Energy-label for holidays was included as a fictive example in the focus groups and interviews, since the Energy-label is a known format to provide environmental information in other consumption domains.

formats, the advantages and disadvantages, the usefulness, as well as the trustworthiness of these formats.

After a short coffee break, the focus group continued by giving the participants the assignment to think about how they would want environmental information regarding the holiday to be positioned in the vacation choice practice. For this purpose, the group was split up in two smaller groups (three groups in the Provider FG). As the positioning of environmental information is a rather broad concept to discuss, this was split up in discussions on 1) the type of provider; who should provide environmental information, 2) the content of the environmental message, 3) the consumption junction where information should be positioned, and 4) the preferable format with which to position the environmental information. After the assignment, each group gave a short presentation guided by their own notes on the flip-over, which resulted in group discussions on the attractiveness and feasibility of these scenarios. In the interviews with providers, this assignment was replaced by the question how they would want environmental information regarding the holiday to be positioned in the vacation choice practice. This thought experiment marked the end of the focus groups and interviews.

4.5   Access and provision of environmental information

In this section, the empirical data from the focus groups and interviews are presented in order to answer the second research question of this chapter:

> How do actors from access-side and provision-side regard the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice, and how do these views interrelate?

The positioning of environmental information was split up in the provider of information (4.5.1), the storyline of environmental information (4.5.2), the consumption junction where information is positioned (4.5.3), and finally, the format used to embed environmental information (4.5.4). In light of the SPA-based approach which emphasises the situated interaction of modes provision and modes of access in the vacation choice practice, these four sections present the results of both end-users and providers on these topics. Section 4.5.5 will provide an answer to the second research question of this chapter.

4.5.1   Providers of information

Environmental information can be provided by commercial information providers (tour operators, transport companies, travel agents, sales people), by neutral information providers (sector association, consumers' association, automobile club, tourist board), by (mass)media, or it can be socially embedded information (e.g.

family, friends and colleagues) (Van Raaij & Crotts 1994; Bargeman, 2001; Fodness & Murray, 1997; Vittersø, 2003).

The expectation is that environmental information is more likely to be provided in the vacation choice practice when providers consider themselves to be responsible to act in a more sustainable way, and consequently feel the responsibility to provide information on environmental issues. An analysis on the role of tour operators in sustainable tourism development showed that "most of the large European tour operators had a high level of awareness about negative impacts of tourism and admitted to having responsibility for reducing them" (Budeanu, 1999 in Budeanu, 2007a: 38). This was confirmed in the focus group and the interviews with providers. Although it is incidentally claimed that environmental issues and climate change problems are societal issues and are therefore not the responsibility of businesses, in general, tourism enterprises feel the responsibility to act. Several times it was said that "something should happen in the tourism sector" and providers pointed to tour operators in Germany and England as being front-runners, as examples of how the tourism sector could deal with sustainability issues and effectively communicate on these issues.

Despite the fact that tourism providers feel responsible, from the focus group and interviews it appears that they are still quite hesitant towards taking this responsibility and to provide information on environmental issues related to the holiday (see also Forsyth, 1996). When asked who should provide environmental information, several tourism providers state that other organisations should inform consumers on environmental-friendly travelling options instead of tourism businesses doing this themselves. Among providers it is expected that when they themselves proclaim to be environmental-friendly or to offer environmental-friendly travel and tourism services, that, first, people do not believe it, and, second, that they will be accused of green wash.

> "You are critically appraised on everything you do. When an airline decides to offer climate compensation this can be viewed by the media as green washing. The airplanes should be green as well. You should be instantly completely perfect." (FG Provider; Provider 3)

> "When you say you do something right, then people might find skeletons in the closet, because we probably also do something wrong sometimes. We might not even know it. We don't put ourselves in the spotlights, because that involves risks." (Interview; Provider 17)

> "If we make an environmental checklist and control accommodations ourselves and then claim that they are environmental-friendly, and we do that without an independent certification organisation, then the Dutch tourist considers it a marketing trick." (FG rovider; Provider 8)

In this light, some tourism businesses stress the importance of a trustworthy organisation to inform consumers on the environmental aspects of the products and services they supply. They believe the message is more trustworthy when non-commercial organisations provide information on these topics. Third parties such as the media, consumer organisations, or eNGOs should take on the responsibility to inform tourists on environmental issues.

> "When I tell the message myself, then I am the messenger, and of course I will say that I am great and that one should travel by train. But when a critical journalist writes that one should travel by train, then it is a third party conveying the message." (FG Provider; Provider 6)
>
> "SenterNovem[38] should provide information. SenterNovem also has campaign on environmental-friendly car driving – Het Nieuwe Rijden." (FG Provider; Provider 8)

Others state they do not want to provide environmental information because they do not want to get a green image. They are anxious to be perceived as an environmental-friendly business.

> "We do not consider ourselves green and we do not want to position ourselves as being green, since doing that may bring you in a difficult and precarious situation." (Interview; Provider 9)
>
> "I do not want to be known as a 'green' travel agency. I want to be open for everyone. We should be easy and accessible." (Interview; Provider 16)

Since the responsibility of the tourism sector is recognised, but tourism enterprises themselves take a rather careful approach when providing environmental information, they opt for joint action in providing environmental information and point to industry associations as the appropriate information provider, since they have power and financial resources to raise the level playing field.

Although environmental issues are a selling point in several consumption domains, in tourism this is not the case. The following quotes, stated by companies that are not providing information typically underline this.

> "We don't want to inform our customer on those issues." (Interview; Provider 15)
>
> "I don't perceive it as a marketing tool. [...] When one hás to do it, if it suddenly becomes a hot issue and politics start getting involved, [...] then one should do it. [...] At this moment, we have other things to worry about to keep afloat." (Interview; Provider 14)

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38 SenterNovem is an agency of the Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs that promotes sustainable development and innovation.

This is supported by the prevailing view among providers that tourists do not want to be informed on the environmental aspects of the holiday (see also De Lange, 2008).

> "People are not interested in it [...] the customers don't feel the need to receive environmental information." (Interview; Provider 9)
>
> "People don't care at all what we do regarding sustainability." (FG Provider; Provider 8)
>
> "I don't know whether people want to be informed (on environmental issues). [...] Our customers are not interested." (Interview; Provider 11)
>
> "Our customers do not want to be involved with environmental issues." (Interview; Provider 14)
>
> "People are not open for that." (Interview; Provider 18)

At the same time other providers ease their conscience with the thought that tourists do not need to be informed on the environmental aspects of the holiday, since they are already familiar with that.

> "We don't have to tell it because our customers already know it. [...] They are well-informed on those aspects." (Interview; Provider 9)
>
> "People know that flying is not environmental-friendly. It is not necessary to tell that." (FG Provider; Provider 7)
>
> "Every consumer knows that flying over a longer distance causes more emissions than flying a shorter distance." (Interview; Provider 19)

It is interesting to find out whether there is indeed no explicit demand of tourists to be informed on environmental issues. The focus groups with consumers do not show an unequivocal picture. On the one hand, it was mentioned several times in the consumer focus groups that people are conscious for environmental issues all year, taking care of the environment in everyday life, and that they do not want to be bothered with environmental issues during their holiday (see also Dings, 2008). They want to be worry-free, they want to relax and not take care of the environment. On the other hand, they mentioned that they behave environmental-friendly in everyday life and automatically behave environmental-friendly concerning the holiday as well. Despite this unequivocal result, the focus group participants claim they want to receive information on environmental issues during their vacation choice practice.

> "I want to receive information and then I'll see what I'll do with it." (FG Consumer 2; Tourist 9)
>
> "The environment is very important to me and if it is provided in a proper way, I am certainly open for it." (FG Consumer 2; Tourist 11)

What has become apparent during the focus groups is that tourists stress the importance of freedom of choice. Tourists are positive towards the idea of being informed on environmental issues as long as they are free to decide whether or not to do something with the information and whether or not let this information influence their tourism behaviour. This can be regarded as a rather passive, indifferent attitude, in line with what providers expected. However, at the end of the consumer focus groups, several participants asked for more information on the different environmental information formats which had been discussed during the focus group. Sometimes actions may speak louder than words. The providers' expectation that consumers are already aware of environmental impacts was confirmed in the focus groups. Most people are indeed aware that travelling causes environmental pollution.

> "Airplanes cause a lot of emissions. [...] When you travel with a transport mode and it is not a bike, then you cause environmental problems." (FG Consumer 1; Tourist 4)

However, what is more important in light of a sustainable development of tourism mobilities is that people are unaware of all kinds of alternative travelling options and of initiatives that inform on the environmental-friendliness. This unawareness was not only confirmed in several surveys (see section 4.3), but in the focus groups as well. People have not run into environmental information during the vacation choice practice, and they are unfamiliar with the several existing initiatives. This suggests that the positioning of environmental information can be improved.

Hence, it is interesting to know from whom tourists would want to receive environmental information. The answers to the question "I would want to receive information on environmental-friendly travelling from" show a diffused view of consumers regarding the preferred provider of information. People want to be informed almost equally by travel agencies and tour operators (52%), the government (52%), travelling programmes on TV (52%), environmental organisations (45%) and family, friends or relatives (45%)[39] (Stolk et al., 2007; see also Dings, 2008). The fact that the respondents do not have a clear preference of one information provider over the other also became apparent in both consumer focus groups. This might imply that they are indifferent, but it could also be related to the issue of trust. Consumers believe that (environmental) claims are just, correct and trustworthy when they come from the government. On the other hand, the participants want to be informed by tour operators; since the tour operator is already part of the vacation choice practice it requires no effort from tourists.

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39 Source: survey conducted in cooperation with Milieu Centraal (see Appendix 1).

"The government should actively provide information [...] by way of 'Postbus 51' spots [...] or in any other way, like a leaflet in the town hall, [...] or simply actively stimulate environmental-friendly travelling." (FG Consumer 1; Group discussion)

"The government should, like in the health care sector, take the responsibility to enable to compare (the environmental impacts of) holidays. So we can easily compare on those aspects." (FG Consumer 2; Tourist 12)

"The ANWB[40] in its magazine Kampioen, we always read it." (FG Consumer 1; Tourist 6)

"The umbrella organisation of the tourism sector should provide information, and they should spread it over their members." (FG Consumer 1; Tourist 4)

"The transport provider [...] the tour operator." (FG Consumer 2; Group discussion)

It can be concluded that both tourists and providers of travel and tourism services have little experience with introducing environmental information in the vacation choice practice. Both tourists and tourism businesses refer to many different organisations which should provide environmental information. Throughout this section it has become apparent that both tourists and tourism providers are inclined to position environmental information in a remote corner of the vacation choice practice. Generally, the government is the first to be mentioned as the information provider responsible for raising the level of consciousness on the environmental impacts of travelling. However, governmental information is usually not embedded in the vacation choice practice. Furthermore, the fact that consumers state they want to receive environmental information as long as they are free to decide whether or not to use it, ánd providers stating that they feel responsible, but are for several diverging reasons indecisive whether and how to provide environmental information, suggests that tourists and tourism providers are in a lock-in situation with respect to the positioning of environmental information. Although the attention for sustainability issues is growing in the tourism industry, tourism providers experience difficulties in connecting environmental information with the character of the holidays they offer, and tourists find it hard to integrate environmental issues in their holiday behaviour.

4.5.2   Storyline

It is an intriguing question why tourists and tourism providers keep each other in a lock-in situation with regard to the positioning of environmental information. The focus groups and interviews gave some clues that the storyline[41] of environmental

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40 ANWB is the original abbreviation of Algemene Nederlandsche Wielrijders-Bond; the Dutch AA.

41 "Storylines are narratives about social reality [...] which provide an actor with a set of symbolic references that suggest a common understanding." (Hajer, 1995: 62).

information is important and decisive in this respect. Environmental messages can be framed in storylines which display a qualitative description of an environmental-friendly scenario (Oosterveer et al., 2007).

Both tourists and tourism providers have an idea about environmental-friendly travelling. Hence, environmental information is not neutral information on environmental issues related to the holiday. The consumer and provider focus groups and the interviews all showed that instead, environmental information is biased. The fact that providers stated that providing environmental information is not necessary since people already know that flying causes pollution, suggests that apparently the first thing providers think of informing consumers about, is that flying causes pollution. When consumers were asked in the focus groups what environmental-friendly holidays are, they thought of cycling and walking holidays, of sleeping on a campsite, of little luxury, austerity, plainness, discomfort and that it is expensive (see also Dolnicar et al., 2008).

> "When I think of something that is environmental-friendly, I immediately think that we are going to have a hard time, and that it is very plain and simple without any luxury." (FG Consumer 1; Tourist 3)
>
> "I think it will always be more expensive." (FG Consumer 2; Tourist 9)
>
> "The only way to travel environmental-friendly is by foot." (FG Consumer 1; Tourist 2)

Providers are aware that consumers view environment-related subjects like this.

> "When people think of going on a holiday that is sustainable or eco-friendly, they think that it will be very extreme." (FG Provider; Provider 8)
>
> "Environmental consciousness is still viewed as 'geitenwollensokken'. We don't think that fits with our customers, and with the image of our holidays." (Interview; Provider 15)

The most frequently used word when discussing environmental-friendly holidays, both by tourists and tourism providers, is "geitenwollensokken", which refers to 'open sandals and woolly socks types', 'tree huggers' or 'back-to-nature freaks'. This storyline of environmental information can be interpreted as a reflection of the 1970s environmental discourse, which appealed to downsizing and demodernisation. From the 1970s onwards, this environmental discourse has had its influence on the framing of environmental issues in several consumption domains. It appears from the focus groups and interviews that this discourse is also reflected in tourism; the current storyline of environmental information in the tourism domain mainly considers small-scale, alternative, independent tourism as a counter reaction to mass tourism.

Since environmental information is surrounded with this storyline, businesses don't want to bother the consumer with environmental information. It is not

surprising that tour operators avoid having strong sustainable customer communication strategies fearing they would deter tourists from coming back (see also Budeanu, 1999 in Budeanu, 2007a). Environmental information is said to create a negative atmosphere which does not fit with the fun, enjoyable, and pleasurable holiday practice (see also Dolnicar et al., 2008). Environmental information is claimed to put the product they sell in a bad light, whereas especially holidays are surrounded with positive experiences. People look for positive, unforgettable, high-quality experiences, and opt for freedom, for relaxation, for a problem- and worry-free holiday. "Tourism represents the consumption of dreams, an escape to the non-ordinary, sacred, novel 'other'." (Sharpley, 2001: 48; see also Hessels, 1973; Lengkeek, 1996; Pearce & Lee, 2005; Urry, 1990; National Geographic Traveler, 2008). Since tourism is an escape from every-day life, it implies an escape from work, financial worries as well as environmental concerns.

> "When you go on a holiday, you don't want to look after things, you don't want to worry, because you want to take a moment of rest and relaxation." (FG Consumer 2; Tourist 11)

In this sense, introducing environmental information in the vacation choice practice "may be counter-productive as it may remind tourists of the 'here-and-now' rather than the dream world of the tourism experience" (Sharpley, 2001: 48).

Tourism providers therefore prefer to provide environmental information with a positive message, stressing the positive qualities of their products and services.

> "I don't think we want to be or should be pedantic [...], especially when people are looking for a holiday. That is fun, pleasant, and enjoyable. Then people don't want to have to think hard about environmental aspects." (FG Provider; Provider 3)

Providers want people to have a more positive image on environmental-friendly holidays. It can be considered promising that participants in the consumer focus groups who had experiences with going on more environmental-friendly holidays indeed associate environmental-friendly holidays with positive images. They mentioned the advantages to encounter people during their cycling holiday, to be sporty, to experience freedom, or to enjoy the landscape when travelling by train. They did not use more environmental-friendly transport modes for environmental reasons. Furthermore, when tourists were asked what content of environmental information they prefer, they mentioned words such as 'positive', 'sporty', 'non-pedantic', 'non-austere'.

In this line of reasoning, Green Seat for instance gives positive information: "make your seat a green seat", which fits the positive atmosphere of holidays better than for instance stating: "you need to plant 23 trees to compensate the pollution you caused". The providers' preference for a positive terminology and atmosphere can partly be explained using the same reasons as consumers. Several providers

state they behave in an environmental friendly way, but not for environmental reasons. Their ecological soundness arises from the philosophy of the company or from the specific character of their supply of products (e.g. train holidays) (see also De Lange, 2008). Since environmental aspects are not the basic principle, they do not communicate their products and services as being green, environmental-friendly or sustainable.

Section 4.6 will further elaborate on the fact that the lock-in regarding the positioning of environmental information in the tourism domain is probably at least partly related to the current, often as negative perceived, storyline of environmental information.

4.5.3   The consumption junction

"Information should be targeted at the individuals that are most motivated to attend to it, at the exact time and place where they are most motivated to attend to it (usually when they need it)" (Thøgersen, 2006: 635). Environmental information should hence be positioned in the consumption junction, at the time and place where people choose their transport mode and holiday destination. Several consumption junctions in the vacation choice practice where travellers and tourists 'meet' providers of travel and tourism services are the local office of the travel agency, the railway or bus station, or holiday fairs. In those consumption junctions, environmental information can be provided in brochures, guide books, travel guides, magazines, newspapers, television programmes, and word-of-mouth advertising (Bargeman, 2001; Fodness & Murray, 1997; Vittersø, 2003). And, becoming more and more important is the Internet, which is a consumption junction in itself where providers of tourism and transport services meet with tourists. It appears from the focus groups and interviews that the Internet is used often in the vacation choice practice.

Although section 4.3 demonstrated that environmental information is available in the vacation choice practice, this however does not necessarily imply that it is also easily accessible. The hypothesis is that environmental information is more likely to be influential in the vacation choice practice when environmental information is easily and widely accessible. Dependent on the consumption junction where the information is provided, environmental information is either easy or difficult to access. Research conducted by Oosterveer et al. (2007) on the positioning of green food products in consumption junctions found that green food can be supplied in a separate channel from 'normal' food, in a separate section of the same channel, or in the same channel mingled with 'normal' food. This result was confirmed in the typology of environmental information formats in the vacation choice practice, where environmental information can be supplied in a separate channel (e.g. an environmental-friendly tour operator), in a separate section (e.g. normal tour operator with some environmental-friendly holidays), or mingled (e.g.

Energy-label). These different ways to embed environmental information in the vacation choice practice are accessible to different extents.

As the results of the focus groups illustrate, both consumer focus groups state they use websites of travel agencies and tour operators as channel of information in their vacation choice practice and that they hence want environmental information to be provided on those websites as well. The Internet is considered as the most easily accessible consumption junction to gather information on the holiday and hence also the place to be informed about environmental aspects related to the holiday.

> "The tourism sector should provide information on the Internet, because I search for information there." (FG Consumer 1; Tourist 4)
>
> "Information should be on a Dutch website [...] there should be a link on the Internet [...] the information should be at the tour operator's homepage." (FG Consumer 2; Group discussion)

Providers of tourism and travel services prefer to put information on the ecological performance of travelling on their websites as well. As opposed to travel brochures or tourism catalogues, the Internet is generally believed to be the appropriate consumption junction (see also De Lange, 2008).

> "The website is the proper channel. I think the website should be used for it." (Interview; Provider 11)
>
> "I would rather not mention it in the travel brochure. Maybe on our website. That also gives the opportunity to explain things." (Interview; Provider 15)
>
> "We do not mention it in our brochure [...] It might be useful to provide a link to a website. That makes it accessible for customers to easily look for environmental information." (Interview; Provider 16)
>
> "After you click on this information, then some technical details are mentioned. [...] for those people who are interested, who really want to know how many tons of CO_2, they can find it there." (Interview; Provider 9)

The grounds for preferring the Internet are twofold. First, it is stated that the environmental information on a website can be kept up-to-date, whereas the travel brochure is printed only once or twice a year. Second, travel brochures are of limited size which according to the providers simply leaves no (or very limited) space for environmental information. Websites offer much more space and give the opportunity to have little environmental information on some pages, with a link to other pages where more information is offered. This has the advantage that tourists have the freedom to choose whether or not to gather additional information on environmental-friendly travelling.

However, the stated preference of the Internet as the proper consumption junction to provide environmental information may also be interpreted as a defensive

act, as a way to keep environmental information away from the holiday packages on offer. The underlying tone is that environmental information should neither be in the brochure next to the holiday packages nor on the main Internet pages, but somewhere in a separate section of the website, where people who want to receive information on environmental issues related to the holiday can click to retrieve this information. This shows that environmental information is in most cases not integrated with the products and services which are purchased in the vacation choice practice.

Furthermore, consistent with the fact that some tourism businesses mention third parties as the appropriate information providers, providers mention the importance of information channels besides their own websites, such as newspapers, or television programmes. It is emphasised both by providers and tourists that environmental information should be supplied in as much channels as possible, as often as possible.

> "It is just a matter of repeating, repeating, repeating [...] in order that it becomes normal to include environmental aspects in the communication on holidays." (FG Provider; Provider 8)
>
> "It should be in the popular brochures of travel organisations. Not everybody knows 'De Kleine Aarde'; it does not reach the majority of people. Since everybody fetches the TUI travel catalogue, it should be in there." (FG Consumer 1; Tourist 5)
>
> "Everywhere where travel information is. Everywhere. In all common channels. Everywhere should be environmental information." (FG Consumer 1; Group discussion)
>
> "Besides the Internet, where one has to look for it and you can not run into it [...] and travel brochures, newspapers and magazines that people should also buy first before one can see it, [...] we think the media are appropriate, TV advertisement." (FG Consumer 2; Group discussion)

Besides the general preference of the Internet, both tourists and providers point to several other possibilities. This is in line with the above, where it was stated that environmental information should be provided by all relevant providers (see also Dings, 2008).

This section showed again that environmental information is not prominently positioned in popular information channels in the vacation choice practice, the web pages of providers of tourism services.

Also the new initiative www.ikhebzininvakantie.nl (launched in the beginning of 2009) concerns a separate website; it is not (yet) a regular consumption junction in the vacation choice practice.

4.5.4   Information formats

The format of environmental information concerns the way in which environmental issues related to the holiday products and services are presented to the

consumer. Section 4.3.2 demonstrated that there are several different formats with which environmental issues are embedded in the vacation choice practice (see also the typology of environmental information formats in Figure 4.1). As mentioned above, the following formats have been discussed in the focus groups and interviews: environmental-friendly tour operators; environmental impact calculators of transport modes; formats to assess the impact of holidays (e.g. the Holiday Footprint or an Energy-label for holidays); websites on which more sustainable holidays are gathered; and CO_2-offset schemes to compensate the pollution caused by the trip.

The consumer focus groups revealed that tourists prefer information formats which enable them to assess and compare the environmental performance of different holidays. This touches upon the issue of relative or absolute environmental information formats. The formats which provide insight into the environmental impact of holidays with a figure and can hence be an instrument in making comparisons are most popular. This format fits with the current vacation choice practice of people comparing the holiday offers on characteristics such as price, destination, and the type of accommodation. Among tourists, applying the Energy-label to *holidays*, or mentioning the Holiday Footprint in travel catalogues, is considered a relevant format to be informed on environmental issues. This preference for calculators of the environmental impact is in line with research on environmental information and consumption practices (Vittersø, 2003), where households wished there would be calculators of the environmental impact of household consumption. Since providers are aware of the fact that these formats fit best to their customers' information search process, some providers prefer these formats as well.

> "We should take all holidays and provide these with a certain number representing the holiday footprint per day." (FG Provider; Provider 2)
> "State a figure and a colour next to the offered holiday. This is a red holiday, this is a green one. [...] After a while such a label becomes normal and people will compare on this aspect." (FG Provider; Provider 5)
> "Some sort of labelling. A third party performs an assessment on all holidays, and every holiday gets a certain figure of environmental impact per day." (FG Provider; Provider 7)

In this respect, the comment should be made that the providers who prefer this format are the pioneers who developed these instruments, and the providers of holidays that immanently have a better environmental performance. They would like to see such instruments applied to all tour operators' catalogues and websites. Other providers are however reluctant to employ these information formats. It designates part of the product segment as being greener, thereby automatically implying that the other products have worse environmental performances. Again, there can be spoken of a negative connotation of environmental information. Some

providers, such as airlines or tour operators specialised in long-haul holidays, can in case of employing the Energy-label only sell 'red' holidays. Relative information formats provide insight in the different environmental performances of holidays spent in Thailand, in Austria, or in the Netherlands, and of holidays which include travelling by air, car or rail. These instruments implicitly imply that travelling more environmental-friendly means going on another holiday; closer to home or travelling with other transport modes.

Compared to the Energy-label *for holidays* and the Holiday Footprint formats, the format which compares the environmental impact of transport modes is less popular among both tourism providers and tourists. This is related to the single- or multi-issue character of environmental information formats; referring either to tourism mobilities or to the holiday as a whole. Among tour operators providing holiday packages with several transport modes, there is a lack of enthusiasm to inform about the greenness of these travelling modes, because, again, that would lead to a situation in which part of the product assortment is designated as being worse. From tourists' perspective, a format which enables a comparison of the environmental impact of transport modes appears to be less suitable as well. The results of the focus groups show that tourists prefer formats which compare the environmental performance of the holiday as a whole, instead of only the transport component. Tourism mobility is not an autonomous choice in itself, but derivative of the holiday (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008). Since the transport mode is not an isolated choice, but is dependent on the type of holiday, the travelling distance, and of people's travelling portfolios, formats geared to the environmental performance of transport modes in isolation are considered less useful.

If information needs to be given on the environmental-friendliness of transport modes, then tourists mention that a calculator which compares the environmental performance of several options within a certain transport mode would be more useful.

> "I would rather check whether a Toyota Prius would be better compared to a BMW. [...] Or whether KLM is more polluting compared to British Airways." (FG Consumer 2; Tourist 3)

Providers who solely offer (trips including) air travel agree with tourists on this topic. They opt for a refinement of this calculator to a format which compares the environmental performance of flying with different airlines. Stating that flying with airline A is better than with airline B is considered by these providers as more useful than simply stating that flying is bad for the environment.

> "With such an instrument, airlines are always red. [...] We could also check the greenness within a certain transport mode. There are green airlines and less green airlines." (FG Provider; Provider 3)

As mentioned above, Cheap Tickets, which applies the Energy-label on flights, is planning to include the environmental performances of airlines in the calculation.

Regarding the level on which environmental issues are introduced in the vacation choice practice, tourism businesses are interested in the format of the website on which sustainable holidays are gathered: the sustainable consumption junction. This format is seen as attractive since it is a way to attract extra customers and furthermore conveys a positive message in a positive atmosphere. The participants of the second consumer focus group share the positive view on this format. They think of this website as a consumption junction where they can compare holidays on their own criteria (e.g. price, destination, type of holiday), knowing that the sustainability aspects are already covered. Since the format of an independent website displays holidays from several tour operators, tourists prefer this website over an ecologically sound tour operator. They prefer the fact that this website format offers the option to compare the offers of different tour operators.

Providers are even more critical when it concerns the format of ecological sound tour operators. Since there are currently no clear criteria regarding ecological sound tour operators, they are anxious that tour operators claim to be environmental friendly when they are not (i.e. green wash). Hence, both tourists and tourism providers prefer environmental issues to be introduced in the vacation choice practice on the level of consumption junctions.

A final important result regarding the environmental information formats is that although tourists want to receive information on environmental-related issues of the holiday, they prefer solutions which leave their holiday practices unchanged. Some environmental information formats implicitly imply altered holiday practices; these formats propose to travel with another, more environmental-friendly transport mode, or to spend the holiday closer to home. Environmental information formats which suggest an alteration of the holiday are considered less attractive among consumers. Tourists prefer environmental information formats which guarantee a continuation of practices. Among these are eco-labelled accommodations, websites on which more sustainable holidays are gathered (given the freedom of choice), the format which compares the environmental performance of different airlines, and the increasingly popular format: climate compensation. Part of the success of climate compensation lies in the fact that the holiday itself remains untouched.

> "It is easy [...] paying off feelings of guilt [...] and you can just go by airplane. You go on a holiday, and do what you want, and it is fine." (FG Consumer 2; Group discussion)

> "People want to go on a nice holiday, as cheap as possible, attractive and with nice weather. [...] Besides, with climate compensation, it is easy to do something for the environment." (FG Provider; Provider 3)

The preference among tourists for this format is also illustrated by the fact that the willingness to pay for offsetting CO_2 emissions is 80% among Europeans (Brouwer et al., 2007). Climate compensation is appreciated by providers as well, since it is not merely focused on providing information, but is focused on offering the tourist a practical solution. Furthermore, they mention that this format can be used to assess and compare the environmental impact of travelling (for instance, compensating the flight Amsterdam – New York costs €25.73, whereas compensating a flight to Rome costs €5.70[42], and compensating a train trip to Rome costs €1.31[43]).

Regarding the formats with which to embed environmental information in the tourism domain, it can be concluded that tourists and providers in the vacation choice practice more or less agree that the environmental impact calculators of transport modes, and the environmental-friendly tour operators, are not the proper formats to introduce environmental information in the vacation choice practice. The former, single-issue format does not connect with the interwoven character of tourism mobilities and the holiday. The latter format, introducing environmental issues on the provider-level is perceived less useful compared to introducing environmental issues on the level of the consumption junction. The drawback of a website of sustainable holidays, i.e. a sustainable consumption junction, is that this consumption junction is rather invisible and one does not 'run into' it; one has to go and look for it, which is unlikely to happen. This format is furthermore primarily interesting for tourists who arrange package holidays via tour operators and travel agencies, and less for independent travellers. Furthermore, given the continuity of practices in the tourism domain, both tourists and providers welcome the CO_2 offset schemes. It is therefore not surprising that this format has gained the strongest position in the vacation choice practice. Finally, the formats which provide environmental information in a relative manner are not unequivocally perceived as useful formats. Tourists prefer the formats which give insight in and enable to compare the environmental performance, because these enable to choose the most environmental-friendly holiday out of the holiday packages that fulfil their demands. Providers are however hesitant to compare different holidays on their environmental performance; the comparison would imply that there are 'good' and 'bad' holidays.

42 A return flight from Schiphol airport (Amsterdam) to John F. Kennedy International airport (New York), or to Leonardo da Vinci/Fiumicino airport (Rome) (www.greenseat.nl; 04-11-2008).
43 A return train trip Amsterdam – Rome via München and Milano is 3.862 kilometers (www.viamichelin.nl), for which the climate effects are calculated (www.climateneutralgroup.nl; 04-11-2008)

4.5.5   Conclusion

To answer the second research question of this chapter, it can be concluded that regarding the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice, there can be spoken of a lock-in situation between the actors from the access- and the actors from the provision-side. What is striking in this analysis is that tourists and tourism businesses both prefer environmental information to be provided in a remote corner of the vacation choice practice. There can not yet be spoken of a pro-active stand towards the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice. The lack of a pro-active approach to embedding environmental information in the vacation choice practice is probably related to the current storyline, as well as to the lack of a successful big example in the tourism domain which shows that environmental and economic goals may go hand in hand, and that alternative storylines for environmental-friendly holidays are possible.

4.6   Environmental information and holiday practices

The previous section investigated how providers and tourists (prefer to) embed environmental information in the vacation choice practice. One of the results so far is that there can be spoken of congruence between access and provision concerning their rather conservative approach towards introducing environmental information in the vacation choice practice.

Part of the explanation why environmental information is not yet properly interwoven with the tourism domain probably lies in the fact that both tourists and tourism providers implicitly associate environmental information with austere, back-to-nature holidays. This section will therefore further elaborate on the storyline of environmental information by looking more specifically at the connection of this storyline with holiday practices in the tourism domain. It will be investigated whether and how the way in which environmental information is embedded in the vacation choice practice connects with holiday practices (see Figure 4.2). The third research question in this chapter is:

> How does the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice interrelate with the character of holiday practices?

4.6.1   Storyline and practices in the tourism domain

As hinted in section 4.5.2, an important issue regarding the fit between environmental information and the character of practices in the tourism domain is the storyline of environmental information. In line with the SPA-based theoretical framework it can be expected that a sustainable development of tourism mobilities would benefit from a storyline of environmental information which connects with specific practices in the tourism domain.

Figure 4.2   Environmental information, vacation choice practice and holiday practices
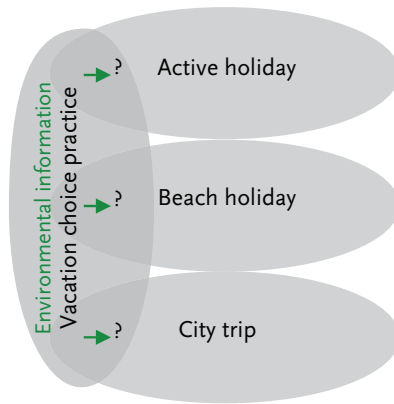
However, practice-specificness is not yet reflected in the positioning of environmental information. Environmental information is positioned in the vacation choice practice in a rather generic manner, without taking specific characteristics of holiday practices into account.

> "The communication on environmental issues is the same for all holidays." (Interview; Provider 13)

From an SPA perspective this is a too generic approach which does not properly connect with the character of holiday practices in the tourism domain. In light of the SPA-based framework, the practice-specific modes of access and modes of provision imply the importance of taking contextual characteristics of holiday practices into account when positioning environmental information. Currently, however, environmental information is implicitly framed in one storyline. The storyline of environmental information is primarily connected to active outdoor holidays, to small-scale tourism. This single storyline is recognisable in how environmental information is positioned in the vacation choice practice, and in the view that the actors in the tourism consumption domain have on environmental information. This is in line with the statement that as "story-lines are accepted and more and more actors start to use the story-line, they [...] give a certain permanence to the debate" (Hajer, 1995: 63). The fact that environmental information is positioned in a generic manner illustrates that environmental information is considered by both tourists and tourism providers to be generic information.

The current storyline of environmental information however hardly connects with the character of all holiday practices (e.g. beach holidays, winter sports and city trips) (see also De Lange, 2008). The storyline primarily fits with the active, outdoor travellers who actively search for information, who are more than average

inclined to go on an environmental-friendly holiday, and who already have positive attitudes towards environmental issues. The fact that the current storyline connects with this niche holiday practice is for instance illustrated by the fact that up till now, the Holiday Footprint is only provided by one small tour operator specialised in active outdoor holidays. Hence, to a certain extent, there can be spoken of practice-specific environmental information (see Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3   The (mis)connection of environmental information and holiday practices
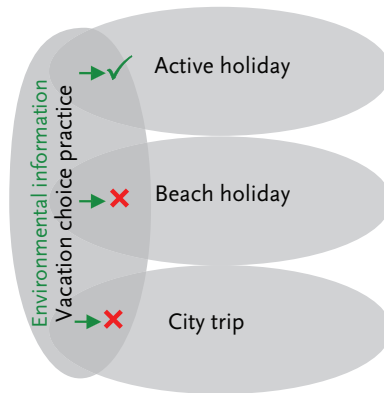
Despite the fact that the current storyline of environmental information is actually practice-specific for the active holiday practice, this practice represents a niche segment of the tourism industry. Generically applying the current storyline to other holiday practices (as is currently done) hence does not fit with the character of these holiday practices (see Figure 4.3).

In line with the statement that "change may well take place through the emergence of new story-lines that re-order understandings" (Hajer, 1995: 56; see also Freudendal-Pedersen, 2005), environmental information needs to be detached from the storyline of active holidays and should be framed in alternative storylines which connect to other holiday practices. The fact that tourism is about dreams and positive experiences underlines the need for positive storylines which emphasise the qualities of environmental-friendly holidays in order for environmental issues to be interwoven with the regime level of the tourism domain.

In order to provide tourists with useful, meaningful and relevant information and heuristics in a sustainable development of tourism mobilities, environmental issues should not be positioned in a generic manner as it is currently done. Instead, the practice-specific modes of access and modes of provision suggest that positioning environmental information in a way which fits with the holiday practice for

which the vacation choice is undertaken is more effective. It is a matter of tuning the positioning of environmental issues to the character of the holiday practice; the type of tourists, the transport routines, the need for information, the environmental attitudes, and the level of experience with environmental issues.

Some efforts have already been taken to go beyond the demodernisation and downsizing storyline of environmental-friendliness. Similar to climate compensation which portrays a positive alternative storyline, there are several other niche developments of alternative storylines. Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 will each in their own way give more attention to alternative storylines for sustainable tourism mobilities in the tourism domain.

4.6.2   Conclusion

To answer the third research question of this chapter, it can be concluded that at this moment the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice does not properly connect with the character of holiday practices. Environmental information is characterised by one predominant storyline, which fits primarily with one holiday practice, the active holiday, but however fails to connect with other holiday practices which represent the bigger segment of the tourism consumption domain. This predominant storyline is however implicitly generically applied to the whole tourism domain.

It is probably because of the fact that the tourism domain is still in a beginning phase when it concerns embedding environmental issues (see more in Chapter 6), that there can be spoken of one prevalent storyline. So far, the experience of green provisioning is limited to one or several niche practices in the tourism domain. The storyline of environmental information in these niches have their origin in the 1970s environmental discourse and is general in nature; the storyline does not have its origin in the tourism domain and is therefore not tourism-specific. It therefore does not connect well with the prevalent holiday practices at the regime level of the tourism domain. As a consequence, scaling up environmental issues, environmental provider strategies or environmental-friendly tourism practices to the regime level of the tourism domain is difficult.

In the tourism domain the process of ecological modernisation is not yet far enough to have developed several storylines of environmental information which are more specific for the tourism domain, and fit better practices in the tourism domain. In order to scale up environmental information to regime level and embed it in the tourism domain, developing alternative storylines is necessary.

4.7   Conclusion & Discussion

To formulate conclusions regarding the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice, the three research questions of this chapter function as stepping stones. The first question was focused on whether environmental information is available in the vacation choice practice.

> Is environmental information currently available in the vacation choice practice, and, if so, in which formats is environmental information positioned?

Based on desk research it can be concluded that environmental information is being introduced in the tourism domain. The tourism sector acknowledges the sustainability challenges they are faced with and are increasingly providing environmental issues in the vacation choice practice by way of various formats. The complexity of the diverse formats in which environmental information is provided was reduced by developing a typology of environmental information formats available in the vacation choice practice.

Despite the fact that environmental information is available, it appeared that tourists hardly receive environmental information and that most tourists are unfamiliar with the various environmental information formats. Since the unfamiliarity with environmental information in the vacation choice practice can not be explained by an absence of environmental information, two subsequent research questions have been formulated. These research questions aim to gain insights in other factors behind the paradox between availability on the one hand, and the unfamiliarity with and neglect of environmental information on the other.

In light of the SPA-based theoretical framework, availability of environmental information is not enough to accomplish a sustainable development of tourism mobilities. Rather, there should be a situation of a fit between tourists and tourism providers with regard to the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice. The use of environmental information in tourists' vacation choice process and the provision of environmental information by the system of provision of the tourism domain should be connected. In this respect, the second research question was:

> How do actors from access-side and provision-side regard the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice, and how do these views interrelate?

The analysis revealed that there is more or less a 'fit' between tourists and providers concerning how to position environmental information in the vacation choice practice. The results pointed to the conclusion that tourists and tourism businesses both prefer environmental information to be positioned in a remote corner of the vacation choice practice. Environmental information is provided separately from

information on other aspects of the holiday; it is not yet interwoven with the products and services which are purchased in the vacation choice practice. Furthermore, environmental information is associated both by tourists and tourism providers with back-to-nature holidays with little comfort. In this light, it is more appropriate to speak of a lock-in situation than of a fit between the actors from access- and the actors from provision-side.

Since the analysis of the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice pointed to a lock-in situation between access and provision, the third question focused on how environmental information fits with the character of holiday practices.

> How does the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice interrelate with the character of holiday practices?

The investigation of the interrelation between environmental information and holiday practices pointed to the fact environmental information is of a generic character. Currently, environmental information is predominantly associated with one storyline. Environmental-friendly holidays are perceived as primitive holidays, which is a reflection of the 1970s environmental discourse of demodernisation and downsizing. This storyline fits rather well to the active outdoor holiday practice, but however fails to connect with other holiday practices which make up the bigger part of the tourism industry. This storyline is however implicitly applied to the whole tourism domain, as a consequence of which there is a misfit between environmental information and the regime level of the tourism domain.

As insights have been gained in the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice, it is time to return to the initial problem: environmental information is available in the vacation choice practice, but this information is not widely known among tourists, and therefore not (yet) effective in a sustainable development of tourism mobilities.

Since the tourism domain is still in a beginning phase when it concerns embedding environmental issues, it is interesting to shed a light on how environmental information could be embedded in the vacation choice practice. Inspired by the SPA-based theoretical framework and by developments in other consumption domains, some ideas are presented below on alternative ways of embedding environmental information in the vacation choice practice which might be more successful in greening tourism mobility practices.

To be more effective in a sustainable development of tourism mobility, environmental information should not be of a generic character as it currently is. Expectantly, environmental information which is positioned in the vacation choice practice in a way that fits with the holiday practice for which the vacation choice is undertaken is more effective. It is a matter of tuning the information on the type

of holiday, the type of tourists, the transport routines, the need for information, the environmental attitudes, and the level of experience with environmental issues. Furthermore, environmental information (e.g. in the format of an Energy-label, the calculation of the environmental impact of the transport mode, or the Holiday Footprint) currently functions as an additional characteristic of the holiday. However, as argued above, environmental information alone is not sufficient in a sustainable development of tourism mobilities. Environmental information should not be provided separate from other information and not simply as an additional characteristic of the product or service. Instead, environmental information should be interwoven with the product or service, it should get a meaning. To illustrate, when it concerns the Toyota Prius, environmental information is not an additional characteristic. The Toyota Prius is not a car with many characteristics (e.g. size, fuel costs, design, and brand) which is additionally awarded with an A-label. Instead, Toyota Prius has a storyline focused on technical ingenuity in which environmental-friendliness is interwoven. As a consequence of the success of the Toyota Prius, environmental-friendly cars are no longer being associated with discomfort, but instead with high-quality and innovation (Nijhuis & Spaargaren, 2006).

In line with ecological modernisation processes, after defining and emancipating the environmental aspects related to the holiday, these aspects should become interwoven with the holiday. Greening tourism mobility practices, (or: a sustainable development of tourism mobilities), requires that instead of the current situation with one predominant storyline, environmental information should be contextualised with alternative storylines which connect to other holiday practices besides the active outdoor holiday practice.

The results of this empirical research of the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice leads to new questions. Since the predominant storyline of environmental information is applied to the whole tourism domain in a generic manner and therefore fails to connect with specific holiday practices, and since environmental information fails to connect with the products and services which are purchased in the vacation choice practice, the question rises whether sustainability strategies which are of a practice-specific character and which encompass more than information would be more effective in a sustainable development of tourism mobilities.

Sustainable passages in the Alpine region

5 Sustainable passages in the Alpine region

5.1 Introduction

The Alpine region is one of the most important tourism destinations in Europe. Some 100 million tourists visit the Alps each year for a holiday (Bätzing, 2003; EEA, 2003; Becken & Hay, 2007; Pechlaner & Tschurtschenthaler, 2003; Siegrist, 1998; Alpenkonvention, 2007; Elsasser & Bürki, 2002). As the consequences of climate change have already affected tourism activity and economic benefits in the Alpine region (Becken & Hay, 2007), there is a growing interest in sustainability strategies. Böhler et al. (2006) argue that sustainability strategies must include, among other things, a shift towards environmental-friendly transportation modes. Reducing car dependency and substituting car travel with train and/or bus travel is considered desirable in the Alpine region, since Alpine tourism involves a considerable amount of kilometres travelled by car. The European Environment Agency (EEA) estimates that "up to 80% of all tourist journeys to the Alps, where public transport is crucially lacking, are by car" (EEA, 2003: 86). Additionally, these tourists use their cars frequently during their holiday as well. In several Alpine villages car travel has increased with 45% in the last ten years (Alpenkonvention, 2007).

Several tourism destinations in the Alpine region aim for a sustainable development of Alpine tourism, for example by declaring themselves as 'car-free' villages united in the GAST gemeinde (Gemeinschaft Autofreier Schweizer Tourismusorte, since 1988), or by stimulating tourists to travel to, between and in the Alpine tourism destinations in an environmental-friendly way (Holding, 2001; Elsasser & Bürki, 2002; Alpenkonvention, 2007; Dubois, 2006; Pils, 2006; Schmied & Götz, 2006). Measures are taken such as providing environmental-friendly transport connections, shuttle services, alternative vehicles in the communities and electronic travel information systems that cover all modes and (inter)regional transport services (Becken & Hay, 2007; see also Hudson, 1996). In this chapter, the accomplishments of one specific network of tourism destinations in the Alpine region which implements all above-mentioned and several additional mitigation strategies in their attempt for a sustainable development of tourism mobilities will be the subject of analysis: the Alpine Pearls association (in short: Alpine Pearls).

Alpine Pearls is chosen as the subject of analysis for several reasons. First of all, contrary to many sustainability strategies in the tourism domain which are predominantly focused on the level of the tourism destination (e.g. fair tourism, ecotourism) (see Chapter 2), Alpine Pearls is aimed at a sustainable development of tourism mobilities. Although Alpine Pearls was originally predominantly focused on destination-related tourism mobility, nowadays Alpine Pearls takes the whole tourism chain into consideration and also involves origin-destination transport,

accommodations and activities. In fact, the Alpine Pearls association creates an integrated green package covering the whole tourism value chain for Alpine holidays. In line with the SPA-based framework, tourism mobility is considered as an integrated aspect of the holiday experience instead of as origin-destination transport separated from the holiday. In this sense, Alpine Pearls is an exception to most sustainability strategies in the tourism domain which improve separate elements in a holiday package, but do not take the entire holiday into consideration (Laws, 1997).

The decision to analyse Alpine Pearls not only stems from the fact that it specifically aims at a sustainable development of tourism mobilities by considering mobility as embedded in the holiday practice. Furthermore, it concerns a sustainability strategy which is aimed at a specific practice: Alpine holidays. Alpine Pearls aims to fit with the way tourists experience their Alpine holiday and with the system of provision of tourism and travel services for Alpine holidays. Also, the development of Alpine Pearls shows a correspondence with an ecological modernisation process. Ecological aspects have in the beginning been emphasised and emancipated, after which they have become integrated with economic and socio-cultural aspects. To illustrate, in aiming for environmental-friendly travelling to, in and across the Alpine villages, the emphasis is on ecological aspects of tourism. Besides, the member villages aim to distinguish themselves from other tourism destinations to gain an economic advantage, and they aim to offer their guests attractive, convenient, funny, cosy, and comfortable mobility options. Hence, ecological aspects are connected with economic and socio-cultural aspects of the holiday (see more in section 5.2).

This chapter will investigate whether Alpine Pearls, corresponding in several ways to the SPA-based approach, can be effective in a sustainable development of tourism mobilities in the Alpine region (i.e. whether Alpine Pearls could be effective in a sustainable development of the 'Alpine holiday' practice), or can even serve as an example for a sustainable development of other holiday practices in the tourism domain.

Before describing how Alpine Pearls will be conceptualised in light of the SPA-based framework (section 5.3), section 5.2 will present the history, goals and some other relevant characteristics of the Alpine Pearls association. Based on the empirical data which have been gathered by way of desk research, in-depth interviews and participant observation (see section 5.4), section 5.5 will illustrate what it entails to go on an Alpine Pearls holiday and to travel along the Alpine Pearls trail in an environmental-friendly manner. In section 5.6 the empirical results will be regarded from the SPA-based theoretical perspective, after which the concluding section of this chapter will provide answers to the research questions and will provide some clues regarding a sustainable development of tourism mobilities (section 5.7).

5.2   The Alpine Pearls association

Before the founding of the Alpine Pearls association in 2006, one governmental project of the Austrian government, and two European Union projects have been focused on a sustainable development of tourism mobilities in the Alpine region.

In 1996/97, three Austrian ministries[44] cooperated in the programme 'Sanfte Mobilität – Urlaub vom Auto' (i.e. Sustainable mobility – A car-free holiday), which was supported by the EU Tourism Directorate. A total of 11 villages within the Alpine region (six in Germany, four in Austria and one in Italy) were involved as test locations for "optimising the transport systems in tourism regions and for analysing tourism regions with gentle mobility" (Holding, 2001: 411).

This cooperation was continued in the first EU project 'Alps Mobility' (2000-2003) (Alps Mobility, 2001). In 2003, 'Alps mobility' was followed up by the second EU project 'Alps Mobility 2 – Alpine Pearls' (2003-2006). In addition to the project partners from Germany, Italy and Austria, new partners from Switzerland and France participated in this project.

The main goal of these two 'Alps Mobility' projects was to create innovative, sustainable offers for tourism by combining tourist sights with environmental friendly means of transport. As suggested by the title, 'Alps Mobility 2 – Alpine Pearls' was especially focused on doing the preliminary work of creating an independent network of Alpine Pearls villages. Since the founding in January 2006, 17 municipalities and tourism boards together form the Alpine Pearls association. This network aims for a sustainable development of tourism mobilities in the Alpine region (Alpine Pearls, 2006). The aim of the member villages and their tourism boards is to "offer unique, exciting facilities – simultaneously distinguishing themselves from other tourist destinations and favouring environmental protection and sustainable regional development in the Alps" (Alpine Pearls press release, January 2006). This illustrates that the goal goes beyond environmental-friendliness, and is also to attract more tourists and simultaneously to develop the region. By connecting the Alpine Pearls villages as tourism destinations in the Alpine region which can be reached by environmental-friendly modes of transport, and by improving the connection between the network of Alpine Pearls villages and the origin-region of tourists in other parts of Europe (or the world), the association contributes to the image of the Alpine region as a tourism destination for car-free holidays. In this sense, Alpine Pearls may be considered as in line with an ecological modernisation process; tourism growth is considered desirable when it goes hand in hand with benefits for tourists, tourism destinations as well as the environment.

44 Ministry of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Environment and Ministry of Transport.

The press release continues by mentioning the advantages for tourists to go on an Alpine Pearls holiday. "Spending your holidays at a true 'Pearl' means spending them at an exceptionally beautiful place in the Alps – without your own car" (Alpine Pearls press release, January 2006). The presumption is that holidays without a car spent in villages with car-free zones can be a unique selling point rather than a weakness, on the grounds that travelling is more fun and relaxing and the tourism destination is safer, more beautiful and cleaner without cars (Holding, 2001). "Traveling by coach or train, however, requires easy accessibility of mobility services at the holiday destination such as car rentals or public transport" (Böhler et al., 2006: 667). The Alpine Pearls association acknowledges this and therefore states that mobility is guaranteed "both as far as travelling to and from your destination is concerned and within the region – by attractive, convenient, funny, cosy and, above all, environmentally sound means of transport. Shuttle services, electric cars, solar vehicles or electric bicycles offer the highest possible comfort and mobility as well as fun and entertainment" (Alpine Pearls press release, January 2006).

The network of Alpine Pearls villages has expanded from 17 member villages in January 2006 to 23 member villages in 2009 (see Figure 5.1; see Appendix 3).

Figure 5.1   Map of Alpine Pearls villages (www.alpine-pearls.com; 2009)

Membership of the Alpine Pearls association is restricted to villages which meet several criteria. Both the mayor and the manager of the tourism board have to commit themselves to the criteria catalogue. "Those destinations wishing to become a member of Alpine Pearls have to comply with a number of high-quality standards. [...] The requirements for membership of Alpine Pearls include being reachable by train or bus 4 times a day (with minimal change-over times), luggage service, an existing transport development plan, transfers to cycle and hiking trails including bicycle transport, proximity to a nature reserve and service guarantee from a central information point (processing of queries within 24 hours)." (Alpine Pearls, 2005; Alpine Pearls press release, January 2006). To check whether the quality standards are met, an independent expert anonymously visits the Alpine Pearls villages. If a village somehow lacks behind on one or more aspects, its municipality and tourism board are given advice on how to make improvements in order to meet these quality standards. Subsequently, the village is given a timeline for improvement, followed up by a recheck. If several criteria are not met and there is no improvement, then the village can not join the association (or: in case it is already a member, the village has to leave the association).

Since the Alpine Pearls association has no external funding, member villages pay 8.000 or 12.000 Euros every year besides the entrance fee of 6.000 Euros[45]. To illustrate the added value of a membership of the Alpine Pearls association, several advantages for villages to become an Alpine Pearls village are mentioned here. First, Alpine Pearls is responsible for a joint marketing communication of these Alpine tourism destinations (e.g. newsletters, press releases, a website in 5 languages (in 2008), and a catalogue with bookable products). This joint marketing can help smaller tourism destinations to attract attention from a larger public. Second, the Alpine Pearls management organises meetings where representatives from the Pearls' municipalities and tourism boards learn from each others' experiences and discuss future developments regarding a sustainable development of tourism mobilities. This can be a very efficient and relevant way to learn how to implement sustainability measures. Finally, membership of the Alpine Pearls association can serve as an argument to convince regional governmental bodies to improve infrastructures for environmental-friendly travelling. In this way, Alpine Pearls indirectly stimulated the improvement of the bus system in the Italian Rosengarten-Latemar region in which four Pearls are situated. These and other achievements will be further elaborated on in sections 5.5 and 5.6, which

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45 Every Alpine Pearl pays 4.000 Euro a year as a basic fee to cover the overhead costs of the Alpine Pearls association (e.g. the office, the manager, translations, accountancy, tax advice). For the marketing activities, Pearl villages pay an additional amount of 8.000 Euros, with an exception for villages with less than 100.000 overnight stays per year; these villages pay 4.000 Euros instead. The entrance fee has to be paid by villages who enter the network after the founding in 2006.

describe what an Alpine Pearls holiday entails from an empirical as well as a theo-retical perspective.

This introductory section points to the fact that the Alpine Pearls holiday is char-acterised by a coherent storyline. In this storyline environmental-friendliness goes hand in hand with comfortable and convenient travelling, with unique, high-qual-ity holiday experiences and finally, with economic profits for the region. As Alpine Pearls seems to have successfully connected environmental-friendliness with other relevant aspects of holidays, it is not necessary to hide the environmental compo-nent (i.e. to go 'behind the back of the consumer') as the tourism sector is often inclined to do (see Chapter 4). Instead, it is repeatedly mentioned that an Alpine Pearls holiday is "above all, environmental-friendly". This reflects that the ecologi-cal advantage of the Alpine Pearls holiday is the unique selling point. Because of comfort, high-quality, pleasure, fun, enjoyment ánd environmental-friendliness, an Alpine Pearls holiday is different from a regular Alpine holiday. Alpine Pearls offers a storyline in which benefits for the environment result in benefits for both tourists or travellers and Alpine tourism destinations. Or, the other way around, Alpine Pearls offers a storyline in which benefits for both tourists or travellers and Alpine tourism destinations are beneficial to the environment as well.

5.3   Conceptualising Alpine Pearls as a green passage

In aiming for a sustainable development of tourism mobilities in the Alpine region, the Alpine Pearls association is specifically focused on the 'Alpine holiday' practice. As the Alpine holiday practice, like other holiday practices, immanently encompasses tourism mobility, it concerns a practice 'on the move'. Practices 'on the move' are situated in multiple consecutive time-space contexts.

As described in Chapter 3, Giddens (1984) emphasises the importance of taking the situation of human behaviour in time and space into consideration. According to Giddens, time-space geography (Torsten Hägerstrand) offers the possibility of visualising the spatio-temporal context of human action and of perceiving travel-ling as a relation between space and time (Peters, 2006). To gain more insight in a sustainable development of tourism mobilities within the context of practices 'on the move', the Theory of Passages taken from Peters (2003, 2006) will be intro-duced here as a specific form of practice theory.

The Theory of Passages has its focus on travelling practices. A travelling prac-tice is a coherent whole of people and machines, knowledge and rules, norms and values, routines and trends, infrastructure and suprastructure, culture and insti-tutions (Peters, 2003). This practice-oriented approach towards travelling does not reduce travel to "getting from A to B as quickly and as smoothly as possible [...] but instead, travel is treated as an integrated part of everyday life" (Peters, 2006: 2; see

also Lange et al., 2008). This perspective hence corresponds with the SPA-based theoretical framework and with the way the Alpine Pearls association aims for a sustainable development of tourism mobilities in the Alpine region.

Since travelling assumes "a situated relation between time and space" (Peters, 2006: 2), for every journey, a passage should be created (ibid.). In the same line of reasoning, fluent, comfortable, safe and convenient journeys to and in the Alpine region using only environmental-friendly transport means (i.e. the goal of the Alpine Pearls association), requires a passage for Alpine Pearls holidays to be created. To be more specific, a 'green' Alpine Pearls passage among transport facilities, accommodations and activities should be organised.

Passages can be described at three levels, which are illustrated below by pointing to the green Alpine Pearls passage. First, "as heterogeneous orders, passages assume both material elements and discursive elements" (Peters, 2006: 2). The material elements of the green Alpine Pearls passage are trains, buses, stations, tickets, timetables, hotels, restaurants. Alpine Pearls' storyline of environmental-friendly, comfortable, enjoyable, safe holidays is a discursive element. Second, "as planned yet contingent orders, they must be 'repaired' continuously in real time" (ibid: 2). Material and immaterial elements (artefacts and ideas) as well as time and space constantly need to be attuned. Organising a predictable, smooth, problem-free journey requires the constant solving of problems which travellers encounter on their way (ibid; see also Lange et al., 2008). In this line of reasoning, a well-organised green Alpine Pearls passage for instance requires that shuttle services are attuned to timetables of railway companies, or that the Alpine Pearls storyline will be tuned to fit with tourists' concerns and with the societal sustainability debate. Offering several travelling options may increase the predictability of the journey as it enables switching to alternative options when problems occur. Third, passages are "orders that both include and exclude people, places and moments in time" (ibid: 2). The green passage of Alpine Pearls holidays is probably suitable for and therefore undertaken by a restricted group of travellers, and when a green Alpine Pearls passage among the 23 member villages is organised, this passage can be said to exclude other Alpine tourism destinations.

The relation between the 'Alpine holiday' and the 'Alpine Pearls holiday', conceptualised as 'a green passage', can be clarified with the multi-level model developed by Geels (2002). This multi-level model distinguishes between three levels; the landscape level, the regime level and the niche level (see also Chapter 3). The interpretation of the levels of this model may differ according to the object of research. The landscape, regime and niche levels with respect to this analysis of the green passage of the Alpine Pearls holiday practice are visualised in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2   Visualisation of Alpine Pearls; Based on the multi-level model (Geels, 2002)
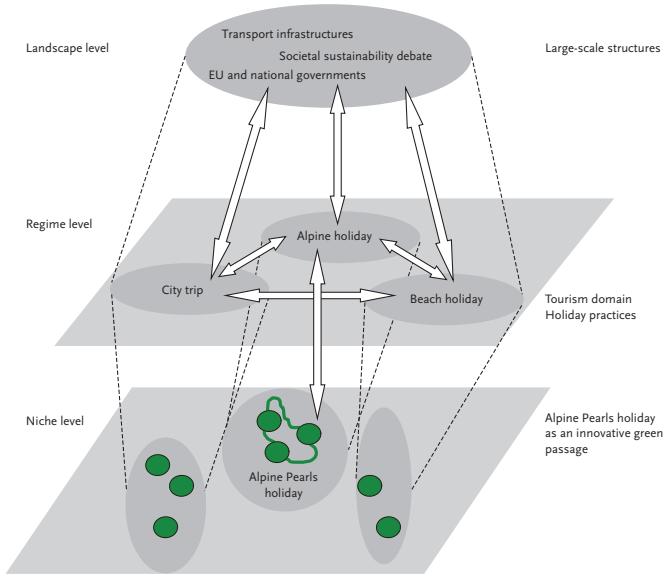
In this analysis, the landscape level refers to large-scale structuring issues such as the transport infrastructures in the Alpine region, the geographical characteristics of the Alpine region (e.g. a mountainous area), the country borders (the Alpine region is spread over six countries), the different languages spoken in the Alpine region, the policy measures of the European Union and national governments, the societal debate in which sustainability issues are high on the political and societal agenda, and the effects of climate change which are already apparent in the Alpine region.

The tourism consumption domain and its specific characteristics make up the regime level in this analysis. One can think for instance of the regulated number of holidays (see Chapter 2), the spread of holidays over the year and the established system of provision of the tourism domain (e.g. tour operators, travel agencies). Furthermore, well-established, recognisable holiday practices of an 'everyday' character, such as the 'Alpine holiday', 'beach holidays' and 'city trips' are situated at the regime level of the tourism consumption domain.

The Alpine Pearls holiday practice is situated on the niche level. The Alpine Pearls holiday is a new, not yet institutionalised practice. It is a more sustainable equivalent of the Alpine holiday, but not yet firmly established at the regime level. The Alpine Pearls holiday is conceptualised as a green passage connecting envi-

ronmental-friendly transport facilities, accommodations and activities in the 23 Alpine Pearls villages (three smaller circles and the connecting lines).

The subject of analysis is the Alpine Pearls holiday practice positioned as a green Alpine passage. This focus on passages implies that when analysing the Alpine Pearls holiday practice special attention will be given to the transport modalities used, to the ways in which these are being organised into smooth infrastructures, and to the portfolios assumed for travelling environmental-friendly. It will be analysed how well the green passage of the Alpine Pearls holiday is organised at the moment; whether tourists experience a smooth and problem-free holiday when travelling environmental-friendly in the Alpine region, and what it entails to travel along this green passage of the Alpine Pearls holiday. Furthermore, since the Alpine Pearls holiday is not yet firmly established as a regime, it is interesting to analyse the specific character of the modes of provision and modes of access of this niche practice.

In light of a sustainable development of tourism mobilities, it is interesting to analyse whether this niche-level Alpine Pearls holiday practice can contribute to a sustainable development of the Alpine holiday practice or even of other holiday practices on the regime level. The idea of organising green passages on the level of holiday practices might be taken up by the regime level of the tourism domain.

The focus on the Alpine Pearls holiday as a green passage on the niche level and whether and how this might contribute to a sustainable development of tourism mobilities on the regime level of the tourism domain, leads to the formulation of the following research questions:

> How well organised is the green passage for the Alpine Pearls holiday practice, and what does this passage entail?

> How can the Alpine Pearls holiday, organised as a green passage, be scaled up from niche to regime level and thereby contribute to a sustainable development of the Alpine holiday, or even of other holiday practices?

In answering these research questions, the practice-oriented analysis of the Alpine Pearls holiday will gain insights in what might be effective strategies for a sustainable development of tourism mobilities (see Chapter 3). Furthermore, this analysis illustrates how the practice-oriented framework can facilitate performing a contextual analysis of a sustainable development of tourism mobilities (see Chapter 3).

5.4   Methodology

5.4.1   Participant observation

To reconstruct the Alpine Pearls holiday as a green passage, data have been gathered by way of participant observation. Participant observation fits the SPA-based framework well since it is a method which considers the context of behaviours; data are collected by taking part in the setting and the activities which are the object of research (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). For this research, data have been gathered in the specific context of the Alpine Pearls holiday, at the times and places where modes of access meet the modes of provision.

DeWalt & De Walt (2002) differentiate between different types of participant observation; passive participation (the researcher takes a spectator's role and does not interact with people), moderate participation (the researcher is identifiable as a researcher in the setting, but does not actively participate), active participation (the researcher engages in almost everything others are doing), and complete participation (the researcher becomes a member of the group that is being studied to fully integrate, but continues to record observations in field notes and adopts an analytical stance).

In analysing the Alpine Pearls holiday as a green passage, information has been obtained by active participation. The Alpine Pearls holiday was not only observed from a spectator's-role, but from a tourist's-role as well. In the role of being a tourist, informal conversations took place with tourists travelling with environmental-friendly transport means or spending their holiday in an Alpine Pearls village and with the providers present in the Alpine Pearls holiday passage.

The Theory of Passages methodologically implies conducting participant observation by travelling through the passage – participant observation 'on the move'. Participant observation 'on the move' implies undertaking participant observation while moving through different contexts, with different tourists and making use of the services of different providers. The participant observations took place during two Alpine journeys: from the 9th till the 20th of June 2007 during SuperAlp![46], and from the 3rd till the 18th of July 2007. The purpose of the SuperAlp! event (i.e. the 1st research period) was to create media attention for accomplishments in the Alpine region regarding sustainable tourism mobilities. A group of journalists were invited to travel through the Alps using environmental-friendly transport means. During this event the experience of travelling along a green passage in the Alpine region was investigated. This first research period can be considered a close resemblance of an Alpine Pearls package holiday; routes, tickets, hotels, restaurants and activities were all pre-arranged by the organisation of SuperAlp!.

46 SuperAlp! was the closing activity of the EU Interreg Project Alpine Awareness.

As an important goal of this trip was to attract media attention, there were many press conferences during which mayors and tourism directors presented their Alpine Pearls village and their accomplishments regarding a sustainable development of tourism mobilities. These press conferences provided insights in Alpine Pearls from a provider perspective. The second Alpine journey was similar to the first one in the sense that several Alpine Pearls villages were visited and that travelling to and in the Alpine region took place in an environmental-friendly manner. However, this time nothing was pre-arranged, which enabled insight in the skills, equipment and experience needed for independent travellers. The route was a result of the interview appointments with relevant actors from the system of provision of the Alpine Pearls holiday (see more on interviews in section 5.4.2). Taking these two Alpine journeys together, 13 of the at that time 21 Alpine Pearls villages in five of the six Alpine countries have been visited (see Appendix 4).

Attention during the participant observation was focused on a range of issues, dissecting the green passage of the Alpine Pearls holiday. First, the modes of access of travelling environmental-friendly in the Alpine region received attention. Notes were taken on the socio-demographic characteristics of travellers and the portfolios for environmental-friendly travelling (i.e. travellers' equipment, their skills to comprehend timetables, their skills to travel by train and bus, the level of experience among travellers). The informal conversations with other travellers led to insights in the modes of access of the green Alpine passage. Second, the participant observations were focused on the travelling activities itself. Notes were taken on what tourists encounter while travelling environmental-friendly, how travelling time is spent, the number of transfers, as well as the convenience and comfort of travelling with environmental-friendly transport modes only. Third, the modes of provision of the green Alpine Pearls passage were focused on. Since consumption junctions (i.e. the places and times where actors from provision and access 'meet' and reciprocally influence each other) are considered to be clues for change (Schwartz-Cowan, 1987; see also Chapter 3), the availability of environmental information and environmental-friendly travelling alternatives at consumption junctions is interesting to be analysed. Some examples of consumption junctions in the Alpine Pearls holiday are tourist offices, mobility centres, railway- and bus stations, hotels, and the website of the Alpine Pearls association. Furthermore, notes were taken on other passage characteristics such as the network of public transport infrastructures and the availability of other services in the Alpine Pearls villages, such as eco-hotels and eco-supermarkets.

In short, these issues concern the time-space context of the Alpine Pearls holiday, the portfolios of travellers travelling along this green Alpine Pearls passage, and the availability of (information on) environmental-friendly tourism and travel services herein.

Several types of field notes were taken to capture the data from participant observation and the informal conversations with tourists. While participating in the travelling routine, notes were taken of the (taken for granted) elements which constitute the passage. These brief descriptions are jot notes (Bernhard, 1995 in: DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). During more quiet time, such as during a train journey, bus journey, when waiting at the bus or train station, and at night in the hotel room, more detailed notes were written, reflecting on the day's events. These are expanded notes (Bernhard, 1995 in: DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). Furthermore, on moments which gave the opportunity for reflection, analytic notes were written down which represent some level of analysis (Bernhard, 1995 in: DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). These include theoretical translations of the empirical data as observed in the setting (e.g. recognising consumption junctions, travellers' portfolios, or the system of provision), and preliminary interpretations of the empirical from a theoretical point of view (e.g. how well the green passage is organised).

5.4.2   In-depth interviews

Participant observation considers everything which happens in time-space settings (e.g. the consumption junctions, the modes of provision, and the modes of access as together represented in the green Alpine passage). The 'behind the scene' processes which do have their influence on the character and quality of the passage have been discovered through in-depth interviews with relevant actors of the system of provision.

During the second Alpine journey, from 3rd till 18th of July 2007, besides participant observations of travelling along the green Alpine Pearls passage, 13 in-depth interviews have been conducted with policy makers, mayors, tourism directors, and mobility managers (see Appendix 2). These in-depth interviews helped to find out more about the historical background of Alpine Pearls, the implementation of measures, the vision on Alpine Pearls in the future: future goals, size of the association, number of villages that may become Alpine Pearls villages, measures to be taken in the future, tourists to be expected in the future, and so on.

Interviews can range from unstructured to structured ones (e.g. Black & Champion, 1976). The interviews conducted in this analysis of the Alpine Pearls holiday were semi-structured. A topic list (see Appendix 5) was made beforehand to maintain some control over the content of the interview. The topic list was based on the desk research and issues which had been encountered during the first period of participant observation. Questions to be posed were adjusted to the expertise of the person being interviewed; the manager of the mobility centre has a different role and position and hence expertise and knowledge of the Alpine Pearls holiday than for example the manager of the Alpine Pearls association or the mayor or tourism director of an Alpine Pearls village.

The topic list offered a large range of question-asking formats and structural variability to the interviews. The order of topics does not correspond to the order of the questions during the interviews. There was room for spontaneity, which allowed for a more fluent conversation. Semi-structured in-depth interviews afford a "chance to take advantage of the unexpected or to move into uncharted areas" (Black & Champion, 1976: 357). Next to the topics mentioned in the topic list, it was often the case that answers led to questions to go deeper into and explain more about a subject, or that answers led to questions on other, new topics. For instance, since it is essential to take the contextual differences of the Alpine Pearls holiday practice in winter and in summer into consideration, but for pragmatic reasons participant observations have been conducted in the summer only, the interviews gave the opportunity to explore some of these differences.

All interviews have been taken in English. Occasionally some words were spoken in German or Italian, which was neither a barrier during the conversation, or during the interpretation and analysis of the interview descriptions. The interviews have been recorded and afterwards completely elaborated into transcriptions.

5.4.3   Analysis

The field notes of the participant observation and the transcriptions of the interviews have been analysed in a process of reviewing, summarising, cross-checking, looking for patterns and drawing conclusions (Le Compte & Schensul, 1999 in: DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). For the purpose of data reduction the materials have been categorised, organised, and summarised. Several data reduction approaches were employed. First, a priori categories drawn from the SPA-based theoretical framework were applied to the text in order to aid in the retrieval of material in further analysis. This is called indexing (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). Second, there was some additional coding done. Several additional categories emerged from the data (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). These are the source of a better understanding of the dynamics in the 'Alpine Pearls holiday' practice. Next, the interview transcriptions have been analysed by making a data matrix. In behalf of this method, the answers of each informant were included in a matrix (per informant and per topic discussed). Subsequently, in an orderly manner a comparison could be made both between informants on the same topic and between topics discussed with the same informant. This matrix offered a clear view on the information gathered with the interviews.

5.5   The Alpine Pearls holiday as a green passage

This section concerns a description of the Alpine Pearls holiday as a green passage, after which in section 5.6 this passage will be put into the perspective of the SPA-based theoretical framework. In describing the Alpine Pearls holiday as a green

passage, an illustration will be provided of what it is like to go on an Alpine Pearls holiday from an end-user perspective. Based on participant observations, it will be described what it entails to travel along a green Alpine passage and whether this is a comfortable and problem-free (i.e. well-organised) passage. Attention will however not only be focused on the Alpine Pearls holiday from a tourist perspective. Based on the interviews with providers, reflections on the system of provision are included to reveal aspects of the Alpine Pearls holiday practice which play a role 'behind the scene', and become apparent during the holiday.

The results of the participant observation will be presented in line with the phases of the 'vacation sequence' discerned by Van Raaij & Francken (1984; see also Chapter 3 and 4). The phases referring to the vacation decision-making process are illustrated in section 5.5.1. When people decided to go on an Alpine holiday, they gather information and decide, among other things, where to stay in the Alpine region and with which transport mode they travel to the Alpine region. The next phase is the Alpine Pearls holiday itself, starting with the journey to the Alpine region (section 5.5.2). Then, the holiday in the Alpine region is spent either by making a journey along several Alpine Pearls villages or by staying in one Alpine Pearls village (section 5.5.3). Section 5.5.4 will illustrate the return journey of the Alpine Pearls holiday which marks the end of the Alpine Pearls holiday. The evaluation phase of the vacation sequence, which takes place after the holiday, has not been subject of analysis.

5.5.1   Before the journey

When the decision has been made to spend the holiday in the Alpine region, there are several ways to arrange an Alpine Pearls holiday. These scenarios diverge regarding how information is gathered, how the holiday is arranged, and how travelling tickets are purchased. And, as will be illustrated below, these scenarios diverge with respect to how and how much environmental information is provided, and regarding the heuristics offered for a sustainable development of tourism mobilities.

The Alpine Pearls association cooperates with tour operators providing Alpine Pearls holiday packages including train travel and accommodation. Alpine Pearls holiday packages can be arranged via the German railway tour operator Ameropa. On Ameropa's website, clicking on the Alpine Pearls logo leads to all of Ameropa's Alpine Pearls package holidays in the German and Swiss Alpine Pearls villages. Here, tourists can book their Alpine Pearls holiday package, assembled and arranged by Ameropa.

> Ameropa is a German railway tour operator, partner of the German railway company Deutsche Bahn. Besides, Ameropa is a cooperation partner of Alpine Pearls and therefore mentions Alpine Pearls on the website. Ameropa signed the contract in

> January 2006. Since the Alpine Pearls logo cannot be used without officially being a cooperation partner, Alpine Pearls can be considered a protected label. The tourism director of Berchtesgadener Land, where Ameropa has contingents in about ten different hotels, is glad that Ameropa now offers these hotels on the label of Alpine Pearls. Gabi Deml however states that for Ameropa this has nothing to do with the ideology of Alpine Pearls; it is simply a reframing of the same products, expecting to increase profits (Provider Interviews).

Furthermore, tourists can arrange an Alpine Pearls holiday with the Dutch railway tour operator Treinreiswinkel. Treinreiswinkel provides package holidays including train travel and accommodation to the Alpine region. One of the offers of Treinreiswinkel concerns a package holiday in the Alpine Pearls village Werfenweng.

> In spite of the fact that Treinreiswinkel offers a package holiday in Werfenweng and is familiar with the Alpine Pearls association, it is not a partner of Alpine Pearls. The director of Treinreiswinkel appreciates this initiative, but dislikes the slow decision-making processes of governmental bodies (which were involved in the projects prior to the founding of the Alpine Pearls association). Furthermore, it is unclear to him what is so special about these Alpine Pearls villages and he doubts their efforts for environmental-friendly travelling. His expectation is that some villages are only involved because their mayor is a successful lobbyist and because they want to attract more tourists. He says that attracting more tourists is a good thing, but in the end the concept is based on environmental-friendly travelling to these villages (Provider Interview on behalf of Chapter 4 – Environmental information).

Since Treinreiswinkel does not mention Alpine Pearls in their brochures, on their website or during the conversation at the travel agent's, tourists who choose this holiday package in Werfenweng are unaware of going on an Alpine Pearls holiday (notes 2nd Alpine journey). Anyhow, after choosing a package holiday from a tour operator, tourists receive their timetables, travel directions, train tickets and their hotel voucher from the tour operator. These tourists do not have to figure out the travelling route, transfers and departure and arrival times.

Whereas some people arrange their holiday via a tour operator, others arrange their holiday themselves. They might already have a specific Alpine village in mind or they browse the internet looking for a nice village to spend their holiday. When people come across Alpine Pearls villages, information on Alpine Pearls is mentioned on the tourist office's website. They can read about Alpine Pearls' goals and background, how to reach the village by train and or bus, and sometimes even find some bookable 'Alpine Pearls package holidays'. These packages include accommodation, activities and mobility offers during their stay in the village. Even more encompassing, tourists planning to spend their Alpine Pearls holiday in Arosa or Werfenweng

can book a "Neutral climate holiday". The tourist office compensates the emissions of the Alpine Pearls holiday (journey, accommodation and activities) by investing in Kyoto-certified projects via ClimatePartner (KlimaNeutral), a German compensation provider. Tourists receive a certificate number with which they can recover in which project has been invested. The option to make a neutral climate holiday is also mentioned on the Alpine Pearls website. Here, tourists can read what 'climate neutral' means, calculate their emissions, compare the emissions of travelling by car or by train, and book one of the climate neutral holiday packages.

> The Alpine Pearls association stimulates that information about Alpine Pearls and about environmental-friendly travelling options is provided in the municipality brochure of Alpine Pearls villages, on the websites and brochures of tourism boards, in the magazines of railway companies, and by (few) hotels that put Alpine Pearls brochures in the hotel rooms (Provider Interviews and notes 2nd Alpine journey). For every Alpine Pearls village it is obligatory to provide information about Alpine Pearls both on their websites and in their catalogues. Tourism boards place the logo and a link to the Alpine Pearls website and some boards provide information on the goals and background of Alpine Pearls, and on how to reach the village by environmental-friendly transport means. Furthermore, every village needs to provide several 'Alpine Pearls package holidays' either on their website or in their catalogues. Given the diverse origin destinations of tourists travelling to villages, it is for tourist offices impossible to offer packages including OD-transport by train. Hence, the packages include accommodation, activities and environmental-friendly travelling during the holiday (Desk research and Provider Interviews).

Tourists who choose an Alpine Pearls holiday package offered by the tourist office have to arrange transportation to the Alpine region themselves. Information on travelling routes, timetables, and transfers may be gathered via railway companies. Dutch tourists can go to the service desk or website of NS HiSpeed[47]. Since the website of the Deutsche Bahn has more extensive timetables for international train trips, information on travelling routes, timetables and transfers is more easily retrieved here. When the preferred travelling route is clear, tickets to the Alpine region can be ordered at NS HiSpeed's service desks, with NS HiSpeed's callcenter, or with a travel agency. They can not be ordered on the NS HiSpeed's website which offers tickets only to a limited number of destinations (in 2008). Travellers either buy tickets for a specific day, departure time and travelling route, or they travel with the InterRail Global Pass. The InterRail Global Pass provides access to all trains in 30 European countries, among which are the 6 Alpine countries. With this pass travellers experience the freedom to choose the days to travel, the travelling route, time of departure,

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47 Before December 2007 known as NS Internationaal.

where to transfer, without having to buy tickets. It hence offers a high level of flexibility and ease of travelling. For trains with compulsory reservation, the reservation fee has to be paid additionally (e.g. ICE, CityNightLine, and DB Nachtzug).

For those people who are already familiar with Alpine Pearls, from previous experiences or because friends, relatives or colleagues told about it, visiting the Alpine Pearls website is the most convenient way to gather information and to arrange their holiday. On the Alpine Pearls website, available in five languages, there is information on the Alpine Pearls association and on the goals, history, and membership criteria. The character of an Alpine Pearls holiday is portrayed with beautiful and appealing pictures of the Alpine region, showing its natural beauty, trains in the impressive Alpine landscapes, and tourists spending their holiday here cycling, hiking, snowshoe walking, skiing, or cross-country-skiing. On the website one may also order the Alpine Pearls catalogue. In this catalogue, which is very similar to the catalogues usually offered by tour operators, all Pearls are represented (www.alpine-pearls.com).

> Instead of paying attention to the technical and institutional aspects of Alpine Pearls as an association, the information on the Alpine Pearls website is focused on the Alpine Pearls holiday. This strategy was chosen since Alpine Pearls is a marketing association. According to Karmen Mentil, the manager of the Alpine Pearls association, the Alpine Pearls membership criteria are not easy to comprehend and quite technical. These are therefore reframed in a marketing speech; understandable and attractive for tourists. The joint marketing enables the Alpine Pearls villages to compete with other tourism destinations in the Alpine region, and has as a side-effect that the Alpine Pearls villages compete among themselves to be the most attractive village to spend an environmental-friendly holiday (Provider Interview and notes 2nd Alpine journey).

Both in the Alpine Pearls catalogue and on the Alpine Pearls website every village has one page with an introduction to "the Pearl" (e.g. the village's historical character, its surroundings, and the activities which may be undertaken). Here, one can also find information regarding how to reach the village with public transport means – the "soft mobility connections", the location of the village on long distance hiking trails or bike trails and near protected nature areas, the available transport services in the village – the "soft mobility in the pearl"[48], and the possibilities for environmental-friendly activities in the village – the "special soft mobility

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48 E.g. skibuses, walking buses, regular buses, bicycle taxis, electric bikes, other electric vehicles, and cable cars.

services"[49]. Furthermore, labels represent the possibilities concerning the "journey to and the mobility in the Pearl" (car free village, car free zones, soft mobility hotels, train station, coach, bus (public transport), hiking/shuttle bus, fun train, cable car, and luggage transport), "fun mobility summer" (e-vehicles for rent, e-bike rental, horse coach, boat rental, horseback riding, bike trails, mountain bike trails, and local hiking trails), and "fun mobility winter" (horse sleigh, cross country skiing, alpine skiing, ski touring, snowshoe hiking, toboggan, and ice skating). Tourists can compare the 23 Alpine Pearls villages and decide in which village(s) they will spend their Alpine Pearls holiday. Subsequently, tourists can find Alpine Pearls holiday packages for that village on the Alpine Pearls website. They may arrange these holiday packages with the tourist office of that Alpine Pearls village, or via the hotel that offers the package. To help those who choose to arrange accommodation and train trip themselves, there is a map showing international train connections, and a list of all train and bus companies in the Alpine region. This enables tourists to arrange their holiday rather easily.

The three different ways of choosing and arranging an Alpine Pearls holiday illustrate how information concerning the green Alpine Pearls passage is embedded in the relevant consumption junctions differently. Information concerning the green Alpine Pearls passage is provided on the Alpine Pearls website, on the websites of the Pearls' tourist offices and on the websites of tour operators being an official partner of the Alpine Pearls association. Not all tour operators providing holiday packages to Alpine Pearls villages provide information about Alpine Pearls in their catalogues or on their websites. As a consequence, some tourists are unaware of going on an Alpine Pearls holiday.

Another relevant issue to be discussed in this section is the attractiveness of Alpine Pearls holidays. The informal conversations with tourists during participant observations revealed how Alpine Pearls is attractive for different reasons. Some tourists like the idea of going on an Alpine Pearls holiday because the car-free zones of the villages offer safety, some because there are innovative transport options available, whereas others choose the Alpine Pearls holiday for its environmental-friendliness. Some tourists prefer environmental-friendly travelling in order to minimise the contribution to climate change or air pollution, others in order to enjoy the landscape, to relax and sleep during the journey, to be able to read a book, to get to know other travellers, whereas others prefer it in order to avoid traffic jams, or to save on fuel costs, because they are afraid of flying, have no driving license, or have no car at their disposal, because they are of the opinion

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49 E.g. mountain biking, cross-country skiing, hiking, climbing, snowshoe walking, Nordic walking courses, horse riding, horse-drawn carriages, dog sleighs, and Alpine pasture walks – historic farmer tracks that combine soft mobility with delicious homemade cooking to wonderful ancient recipes.

that car driving is exhausting, or that it is unsafe to drive on snow-covered roads. Hence, various reasons make tourists decide to go on an Alpine Pearls holiday (notes 1st and 2nd Alpine journey).

> Alpine Pearls is aware of this diversity of reasons and therefore emphasises several advantages for tourists, ranging from high-quality services, to new and innovative experiences, to safe and comfortable travelling (Desk research and Provider Interviews). How the green Alpine Pearls passage is being presented can be illustrated with some quotes from the Alpine Pearls website: "Healthy air, superb surroundings, a clear view of spectacular mountains, soft mobility, relaxation and sports activities [...] We guarantee a comfortable and relaxed trip to one of our "Pearls" via bus or train. [...] We keep expanding the areas where you can be safe on foot, without the annoyance of traffic, exhaust fumes, or car noise. [...] This (soft) mobility is not only a guarantee, it is also highly attractive: practical, absolutely reliable, pleasant, fun, innovative, comfortable and naturally great for the environment!"

5.5.2   Travelling to the Alpine region

When travelling to the Alpine region, there are again several possible scenarios. A 'true' Alpine Pearls holiday implies that tourists travel to an Alpine Pearls village by public transportation. However, as mentioned above, about 80% of all tourist journeys to the Alps are by car (EEA, 2003), which is reflected in Alpine Pearls holidays as well. Currently, most tourists who spend their holiday in an Alpine Pearls village travel to this village by car.

> Werfenweng: "55% of our guests travel here by train and bus. Seven years ago it was only 6%" (Peter Brandauer, mayor of Werfenweng). Arosa: "About 50% of the tourists in Arosa travel here by train, both in summer and in winter season" (Hans-Kaspar Schwarzenbach, tourism director Arosa). Les Gets: "15% uses public transport means to travel to Les Gets" (Alain Boulogne, mayor of Les Gets). Berchtesgaden and Bad Reichenhall: "To Berchtesgaden 95% of the tourists is *not* coming by train, in Bad Reichenhall about 8% comes by train" (Gabi Deml, tourism director Bad Reichenhall and Berchtesgaden). Collepietra, Tires, Nova Ponente, and Nova Levante: "About 3% of tourists travels here by train, the rest comes by car" (Claudia Matzneller, tourism director Rosengarten-Latemar). Hinterstoder: "We have few train tourists in Hinterstoder, about 2 or 3%" (Martina Hackl, tourism director Hinterstoder).

The car is hence an important transport mode with which to travel to Alpine Pearls destinations. The network of Alpine Pearls villages is dedicated to realise a modal shift from car travelling to public transportation. The aim of the Alpine Pearls association is to convince these car travellers to leave the car home the next time and to travel to the Alpine Pearls villages with public transportation means. To accomplish this, the Alpine Pearls association pays particular attention to improving the

opportunities for environmental-friendly mobility within the tourism destinations. Environmental-friendly transport services are provided which enables easy and comfortable travelling along Alpine Pearls villages (Desk research and Provider Interviews; see also Dubois, 2006; Holding, 2001; Böhler et al., 2006). Among the expectations and aims of the Alpine Pearls association is that car travellers, after they experienced a complete and continuous transport chain for car-free holidays and realise they actually do not need their car during their stay in one of the Pearls, will leave their car at home in the future (Provider Interviews).

This modal shift from car to public transportation reflects that these concern different travelling passages. Inspired by Peters (2003, 2006), by imagining what it would be like to travel to the Alpine region by car, and by the participant observations of the green Alpine Pearls passage, a broad illustration of the car passage as well as the public transportation passage will be given here. Car travellers can use several online route programmes which show the shortest or the quickest route to the destination and also mention the expected fuel costs and the costs of toll roads (e.g. www.viamichelin.nl). On their way to the Alps, tourists stop at gas stations and roadside restaurants. During the journey, car travellers have to find their way, read maps, or listen to the directions given by the much-used car navigation systems. As opposed to train travellers, car travellers have to be attentive. Furthermore, in winter, car drivers need the skills and equipment (skid chains) to drive on snow-covered roads. However, as opposed to travelling by train, travelling by car gives the freedom to go wherever and whenever you want to go. There is no timetable. The car never takes off without its travellers. There are no transfers from one car into another.

Because of the amount of luggage tourists have when going on a winter sports holiday, the percentage of train travellers in winter season is normally lower compared to summer season. There are however exceptions. According to the tourism director in Arosa, both in summer and in winter season, 50% of the tourists spending their holiday in Arosa travel there by train. Tourists in Arosa rent their skis and other equipment (e.g. snowshoes, snowboards) in the village, and therefore do not have to travel by car because of luggage issues.

To illustrate the public transportation passage, train travellers leave home and travel to the nearest train station. They check from which platform the train will depart and on which part of the platform their compartment will stop. Since travellers have no control over the train – as opposed to travelling by car – the tension among travellers is released when the train comes in sight. At the moment of boarding, it becomes apparent that there can be spoken of typical train traveller luggage. Most train travellers have luggage that is easy to carry and easy to walk with; a backpack or a suitcase on wheels, and additionally, a day-pack with food, drinks, and things to entertain oneself during the journey. After boarding the train, travellers make themselves comfortable as if the train is their temporary

home; organise their luggage, make up their beds, read a book, listen to music, eat, drink (also alcohol – as opposed to car travellers), play games, talk with other travellers, or enjoy the landscape (notes 1st and 2nd Alpine journey). Although some travellers consciously choose to travel during the day so they can enjoy the beautiful sceneries during the whole trip, most tourists travel by a night train. After spending the night in a 4 or 6 person-couchette, train travellers arrive at one of the big railway stations from which they can reach their Alpine destination in a few hours. From Basel one can travel to the Swiss and French Alpine Pearls. From München the German and Austrian Pearls can be reached via Salzburg. The Italian Alpine Pearls situated in the Dolomites are to be reached via München and Bolzano. After boarding the next train, the journey to the Alpine Pearls village is almost coming to an end. Most Alpine Pearls do not have a railway station in the village, which implies that tourists travel the last kilometres with a public transport bus or a shuttle bus to reach the village.

> The Alpine Pearls association strives for good and frequent connections by public transport to the Pearls villages. They aim for few transfers and for a maximum waiting time of half an hour for the connecting transportation from the nearest railway station to the village (criteria catalogue Alpine Pearls). Especially these so-called "last kilometres" are important in making travelling to the Alpine Pearls villages by rail more attractive and user-friendly (mayor of Les Gets at a press conference during SuperAlp!). "It is necessary to provide a continuous chain of collective means of transport, from the place of residence to the final destination, including daily mobility at the destination." (Dubois, 2006: 32). In some cases, there is a shuttle bus for which reservation needs to be made by phone (e.g. Werfenweng; notes 1st and 2nd Alpine journey). In other cases the village runs a public bus service between the railway station and the village every time a train arrives (e.g. Hinterstoder; notes 2nd Alpine journey). There are also villages for which the last kilometres are indeed problematic and local as well as regional authorities are unsuccessful in improving this (e.g. some of the French and Italian Pearls; notes 1st and 2nd Alpine journey). In those cases it is also imaginable that hotel owners pick up their guests from the railway station. This could deliver them the advantage of attracting the railway travellers and of improving their environmental-friendly image (notes 2nd Alpine journey).

In light of a sustainable development of tourism mobilities in the Alpine region, it is important that a complete green Alpine Pearls passage is created which enables tourists to reach the Alpine Pearls destination with public transportation. This section illustrated that currently the Alpine Pearls holiday is connected to two different travelling passages; a public transportation passage and a car passage. The aim is to improve the green Alpine Pearls passage (e.g. provide well-developed public transportation options to reach the Alpine Pearls village), in order to stimulate a modal shift from car to public transport.

5.5.3   Spending the holiday in the Alpine region

The end of the journey to the Alpine Pearls village is marked by several large Alpine Pearls flags which welcome tourists in the Alpine Pearls village. For some tourists, the journey has now come to an end and their stay in the Alpine region begins, whereas for other tourists, the end of the journey *to* the Alpine region marks the beginning of their journey *in* the Alpine region. In this section, again, two scenarios are illustrated; multi-destination Alpine Pearls holidays or single-destination Alpine Pearls holidays (see also Lue et al., 1993; Lue et al., 1996).

For tourists undertaking the Alpine Pearls holiday as a journey along several Alpine villages, the travelling experience is the tourism experience (see also Lange et al., 2008). The most important 'goal' of their holiday is the act of travelling itself; being on the move, being active, being sportive, exploring the region, enjoying the landscape. They want to stay in villages for only 1 or 2 nights and during their journey they are sometimes encountered with hotels which only offer a room to guests who stay for at least two nights (notes 2nd Alpine journey). Since travel modalities appeared to be crucial in how the green Alpine Pearls passage is experienced, these will be illustrated here: public transport, cycling and walking.

Public transport: All Alpine Pearls are connected to a network of public transport means and can be reached using either train, bus, or cable cars. While in some regions the frequency of buses is high, which gives tourists the opportunity to continue their journey whenever they want (e.g. the Rosengarten-Latemar region in which 4 Alpine Pearls villages are situated; see more below), in other Pearls the bus comes only once a day. As a consequence, few tourists travel by bus to and from those Pearls. Not only the low frequency of buses in some regions refrains tourists from making a journey by bus. Moreover, crossing the Alps by bus is experienced as difficult since every region has its own bus companies, operating routes which are often restricted to the region itself. This makes it difficult to travel from one region into another. Furthermore, each bus company has its own ticket system. Some bus companies have cards of either 5, 10, 15 or 25 euro which give credit to bus trips. Tourists who wait for the bus at the bus stop can however not retrieve information on the price of one bus trip, so they end up buying too much or too little credit. Other regions provide cards with which tourists can travel unlimited during either 3 or 7 days. Again in other regions, tourists have to pay cash to the driver for every trip. These travellers wish for the uniform system of bus cards in the Netherlands (notes 1st and 2nd Alpine journey).

Because tourists experience some problems when travelling by bus, the journey along Pearls is undertaken primarily by train, complemented with buses or shuttle services for the last kilometres. Tourists for example make a tour along the two German Pearls and Werfenweng. These three Pearls are well-connected with a train connection which does not require transfers. Furthermore, tourists experience no

language barriers; in these three Pearls German is the spoken language. Tourists making a journey along the two Swiss Pearls can travel with the well-developed Swiss railways. The trains are punctual and the views are spectacular; valleys, high mountains, small villages, the source of the river Rhine, and crossing the Swiss 'Grand Canyon'.

It can be a complicated task for travellers to buy train and bus tickets, as national borders are crossed, and many different train and bus companies operate in the Alpine region. To enable a smooth journey, the Alpine Pearls association has developed the 'Alpine Pearls ticket' in cooperation with ÖBB (Austrian Federal Railways). As of April 2007, travellers making a journey along the Austrian Pearls can buy the Alpine Pearls ticket (i.e. 7 days for €159). This ticket provides unlimited use of all trains and buses in Austria and can be bought from Railtours Austria (ÖBB's railway tour operator) and from the mobility centre Mobilito. The aim is to develop this into an Alpine Pearls ticket which gives access to public transport means in the whole Alpine region (Provider Interviews).

> The bus company SAD (driving with environmental-friendly Euro5-engine buses) connects the four Pearls in the Rosengarten-Latemar region (Collepietra, Tires, Nova Levante, and Nova Ponente) with a network of bus lines. The MobilCard gives unlimited access to all buses in this region. The idea behind the high frequency of buses, more bus routes and the MobilCard is that travelling without a car becomes more user-friendly. As a consequence, more tourists make use of the bus service (Provider Interview). The high frequency and well-developed network of routes fits well with their plans to make a walking trip or spend some hours on the ski run and then they know that there will soon be a bus taking them back to the village.
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> In this region, the Alpine Pearls membership was used to convince the province to improve the bus system. The frequency of buses, the interconnectedness of the bus routes and the MobilCard make travelling by bus very comfortable and attractive for tourists (Provider Interview). This accomplishment can not be attributed to actions of the Alpine Pearls association itself. The Alpine Pearls association is faced with difficulties in breaking current country- (or region-) based infrastructures. For instance, they lack the authority and power to convince Trenitalia (Italian railways), SNCF (French railways), SBB (Swiss railways), and DB (German railways) of the relevance of an Alpine Pearls ticket which is valid for all trains and buses in the Alpine region (Provider Interview).
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> Information on buses can be obtained from websites of regional bus companies (e.g. SAF, SAD, Postbus), or from brochures available in the tourist office. This is however restricted to the region. Mobility centres (e.g. Mobilito, Riedler) aim to coordinate the information on existent environmental-friendly travel options. Mobility centres provide timetables, travelling routes and tickets for travelling to and in the Alpine region. These centres help tourists in planning their trips, and in finding suitable package holidays in the Alpine region. At this moment the biggest mobility

centre (Mobilito) serves as an example for other, smaller mobility centres in the Alpine region (notes 2nd Alpine journey).

Cycling: Some tourists want to be more active and sportive during their Alpine Pearls holiday. They may choose to cycle from Alpine Pearls village to Alpine Pearls village. In Berchtesgadener land, where two German Pearls are situated, tourists use the 'Movelo' network to make their Alpine holiday journey. The Movelo network concerns seven stations where the electrical Movelo bikes can be rented and recharged. At this moment, the bike has to be handed in at the same rental station where it was hired. Since it concerns electrical bikes, this journey is not only undertaken by sportive, trained active tourists, also, families with children, and older people cycle in the Alpine region with help of the electrical driven bikes.

> Andreas Senger, director of Movelo wants to accommodate travellers making a journey along Alpine Pearls villages. He envisages that in the future tourists rent a bike in one village, cycle to the next and leave the bike there, to continue the journey by bus or train (Provider Interview).

In the Italian Venosta region, tourists making a journey between several Pearls use the 'Treno Venosta e Bici Venosta' network. They combine cycling with travelling by train. Tourists rent a bike at one of the railway stations on the train connection from Malles to Bolzano. Then they cycle along the river, through the agricultural landscape with the mountains in sight to any next train station on this line. There they leave the bike and continue their journey by train. Tourists make use of one integrated bike-and-train ticket and experience the flexibility of either travelling by train or by bike, according to their wishes (notes 1st Alpine journey). Furthermore, some tourists travel with their own bikes and their luggage positioned on the sides of both the back and front wheels of their bikes. These tourists combine cycling with travelling by train as well. They transport their bikes in special bike-compartments in trains for parts of their route they prefer not to cycle.

Walking: Yet other tourists make the journey on foot. They use the hiking trails to walk from a village in the valley on one side of the mountain over the mountain passes to the village on the other side of the mountain. There are three journeys along Alpine Pearls which can be made on foot. Tourists can walk from Forni di Sopra to Pieve di Cadore, from Bad Reichenhall to Berchtesgaden, or from Collepietra via Tires and Nova Levante to Nova Ponente. During such journeys tourists make use of a network of mountain refugees, hiking trails, and cable cars. Making an Alpine Pearls journey on foot is the most strenuous way to travel and is only undertaken by trained hikers, with equipment such as walking boots, walking sticks, a compass, maps, high quality outdoors clothing and a backpack, and by tourists with experience, who are physically in good condition and have an outdoors mentality; the active holiday type of tourists (notes 1st Alpine journey).

Tourists can only make use of the infrastructure of public transport means, cycling routes and hiking tracks, when they are informed about all these environmental-friendly travelling options. Travellers need information on bus and train timetables, and on (long-distance) cycling and hiking paths. Therefore, as of 2007, an interactive hiking map with long hiking trails from Pearl to Pearl was placed on the Alpine Pearls website. Travellers however experience difficulties when gathering information on timetables of buses and trains of a country or region other than the country or region where they ask for the information (notes 1st Alpine journey). Planning a trip ahead is hampered by the unavailability of information on one side of the border of public transport options on the other side of the border.

Car: It is imaginable that there is a group of tourists making a journey along Alpine Pearls villages by car. Although Alpine Pearls villages are visited, this is not considered as an Alpine Pearls holiday. Those travellers only participate in the destination-related parts of the Alpine Pearls passage, whereas Alpine Pearls holiday is predominantly focused on embedding sustainable tourism mobility in the holiday, on car-free holidays, on connecting Alpine Pearls villages to public transport infrastructures.

Tourists undertaking the Alpine Pearls holiday as a journey along several Alpine villages, come across a large diversity of Alpine Pearls villages. The Pearls are situated in different types of mountains; the French Alps, the Austrian Alps, and the Italian Dolomites for example. Some Pearls are situated high up in the mountains while others are situated in the valley. There are small and large Pearls; both concerning the number of inhabitants, the number of tourists, and the surface area. Different activities can be employed in the villages. Some villages are perfect for walking, whereas others are cycling destinations, ski and snowboard destinations or most suitable for snowshoe walking, or for a wellness holiday. Related to these aspects, the villages attract different types of tourists. The following typification is neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive, but it illustrates the diversity among Alpine Pearls tourists. Among them are Alpinists, cyclists, hikers, snowboarders, cross-country skiers, ski tourists, après-ski tourists, and wellness tourists. Among them are people of all ages. Some are package tourists, whereas others are independent travellers. And, most important from a focus on sustainable tourism mobility, differences in the condition and character of the travelling infrastructure can be observed. Some Alpine Pearls villages are well connected to the public transport infrastructure and have a high number of environmental-friendly travelling options in and around the village. Other Alpine Pearls villages are well connected to the infrastructure for car travelling, but difficult to reach without car since they are not properly connected to the public transportation network. Those villages have a busy road in the middle of town, lack the service of a shuttle service from the nearest railway station to the town centre, and provide few environmental-friendly

travelling options available in town (notes 1st and 2nd Alpine journey). Tourists making a journey along different Pearls will not only notice these differences in manifest characteristics, but also the differences in their motivation to be an Alpine Pearls village.

> The Alpine Pearls association is well-acquainted with the diverse quality and quantity of the provision of environmental-friendly services in the Pearls (several Provider Interviews). Alpine Pearls chooses to offer this diversity in the network of Alpine Pearls villages. The diversity in villages has as a consequence that an Alpine Pearls holiday is interesting for a wide diversity of tourists. Furthermore, according to Karmen Mentil, "Whether you choose to go to an international, well-known and train-connected large tourism town like Arosa or whether you go to Sauris, being a small Alpine Pearls village embedded in the mountains in the region Friuli Giulia Venezia, you still don't need your car". The message of Alpine Pearls is that they "get tourists to these villages without their car and that they provide excellent environmental friendly mobility at the spot" (Provider Interview).
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> The diversity among Alpine Pearls villages, however, may complicate the marketing of Alpine Pearls holidays, since an Alpine Pearls holiday spent in village 1 can differ substantially from an Alpine Pearls holiday in village 2 (notes 1st and 2nd Alpine journey).
>
> The 'lower' quality of some villages is purposely not communicated. To prevent bad publicity which would damage the Alpine Pearls brand, the Alpine Pearls association chooses not to remove the villages which do not fulfil the criteria and do not improve after the advice given by the expert. The expectation is that tourists who compare the Pearls will not choose to visit those villages with a minimal level of public transport infrastructures. Furthermore, it is expected that those villages will eventually resign from the association themselves (Provider Interviews).
>
> The association has no influence on the reasons of villages to join the Alpine Pearls association and to stimulate their guests to travel environmental-friendly. Some villages are intrinsically motivated; the mayor or the tourism responsible concerns for the environment, biodiversity, or socio-cultural value of the region. Other villages are extrinsically motivated. Either they like the idea of joint marketing to attract more tourists to their village. Or, joining Alpine Pearls gives them a reason to ask the province or national government to invest in infrastructural improvements (Provider Interviews).

Whereas the green Alpine passage can be experienced by travelling along several Alpine Pearls, another way to experience the green Alpine Pearls passage is to travel to and stay in one Alpine Pearls village. Since tourists who make a journey between different Alpine Pearls villages use information on travelling options and get this information on web pages of bus and train companies, or in the mobility centres, they do not necessarily visit the tourist offices in the villages they visit.

Information on Alpine Pearls they receive in the rooms of hotels which are committed to Alpine Pearls. Tourists who spend their Alpine Pearls holiday in one village, on the other hand, are less interested in timetables of buses, trains, connections between villages, or a network of bike rental stations. These tourists are interested in information on the availability of travelling options in and around the village, in walking and cycling paths, and in the activities which can be undertaken in the village. After the tourists have checked into their hotels, have had a moment to relax and to unpack their suitcase, they go to the tourist information office to be informed on all these subjects (notes 1st and 2nd Alpine journey).

Particularly in the tourist offices of the smaller Alpine Pearls and of the Alpine Pearls which have a mayor or tourism director who is very enthusiastic about environmental-friendly travelling, tourists come across a lot of information on Alpine Pearls (notes 2nd Alpine journey). And, probably more important, not only are tourists informed about Alpine Pearls, but all available transport modes are positioned as being a pleasurable experience, innovative, comfortable, and also environmental-friendly. Tourists become aware of the fact that environmental-friendly travelling is stimulated by the Alpine Pearls network. They become aware that an Alpine Pearls holiday concerns an environmental-friendly holiday. For instance, the tourism brochure of the village pays attention to Alpine Pearls on the first page. Furthermore, there are brochures which mention all environmental-friendly travelling options, such as buses, horseback riding, walking, mountain biking et cetera, provided with the timetables or addresses and opening hours of renting stations, maps of cycling and hiking routes et cetera. In these brochures as well, tourists read about Alpine Pearls and everything that happens within this scope on environmental-friendly travelling (notes 2nd Alpine journey).

Despite having experienced a different journey to the holiday destination, (i.e. either by train and bus or by car), tourists who spend their holiday in one village experience a similar kind of holiday. That is, when tourists who drove to the Alpine Pearls village by car indeed do not use their car during their stay in the village. Many other transport means are available in the Alpine Pearls villages such as mountain bikes, electric bikes, other electric transport means, buses, and cable cars. To stimulate people to not use their car during the holiday but instead make use of alternative, environmental-friendly means of transport, Werfenweng goes as far to only give those car travellers who hand in their car keys at the tourist office after arrival (to be picked up on the day of departure) access to the available transport means. By 'forcing' car travellers to hand in their car key, they get out of their routine of car travelling, at least during the holiday.

In most Pearls, tourists can travel with a shuttle bus, a ski bus, a walking bus, a cycle bus, or a public bus. A shuttle bus connects the village with the nearest train station, with musea or with other sights. The ski bus connects the hotels in the village with the ski slopes, the ski lift, or the ski rental. With the walking bus

tourists are dropped at places along a walking route. The cycle bus enables cyclists to take their bike in the bus and start a cycling tour on a point situated on one of the cycling tracks. Furthermore, tourists can make trips with normal bicycles, mountain bikes, or electric bikes. Comparable to the Movelo electric bicycles available in the German Pearls, tourists who stay in other Pearls can make a cycling tour with electric bikes as well. Through the Alpine Pearls association, Alpine Pearls villages can buy the electric Alpine Flyer bikes. In the summer of 2007, six Alpine Pearls villages offered their guests electric bikes[50]. As opposed to the Movelo network of rental stations and recharge points in and around Berchtesgaden and Bad Reichenhall, there is not (yet) a network of renting stations and points to recharge the batteries in the villages offering the Alpine Flyer bikes. In these Pearls, tourists hence use them for a round-tour of half a day or a day. The Alpine Flyer bikes make cycling much less strenuous. These electric bikes enable tourists enjoy the mountainous landscape while cycling. Up till now, most tourists rent a mountain bike instead of an Alpine Flyer. However, the tourists who choose to make a cycling tour with an Alpine Flyer are all very positive and enthusiastic about it (notes 2nd Alpine journey). Werfenweng is specialised in electric vehicles. Next to the electric bicycles, tourists have electric scooters, electric squads, electric motors and Segways at their disposal. The Segway in particular is very innovative (in 2007). What is more, tourists can explore the town in a horse-drawn coach or a dog sledge.

Tourists who spend their Alpine Pearls holiday in one village and want to explore the village and its surroundings, appreciate the availability of innovative, fun, comfortable, and environmental-friendly transport modes. Tourists do not use these available transport modes for travelling from one destination to another, but for daytrips (notes 1st and 2nd Alpine journey). People who arrived by car and decided not to use their car during the holiday, experience deroutinisation during their holiday. The possibility of de- and reroutinisation is the reason why car travellers who spend their holiday in one village are among the target groups of Alpine Pearls, whereas car travellers making a journey along Pearls by car are not. The former will get acquainted with other ways of travelling during the holiday, whereas the latter will not (Provider Interviews). Because of the availability of different transport options, car travellers discover that they don't need their car during their Alpine Pearls holiday, and perhaps there may even be spoken of a beginning of reroutinisation of using environmental-friendly transport modes during the holiday (i.e. for day trips). Since the offer of environmental-friendly transport means in the villages is not suited to making a journey along Alpine Pearls, these options are mainly interesting for those tourists spending their holiday in one village. The travellers

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50 Movelo bikes in Berchtesgaden and Bad Reichenhall; Alpine Flyer bikes in Werfenweng, Tires, Nova Levante, and Nova Ponente.

making a journey along several Alpine Pearls on the other hand, make use of the infrastructures which *connect* several of the Alpine Pearls villages. Tourists and travellers make use of different infrastructures.

> Alpine Pearls is aware of the fact that one of the reasons for car travellers to travel *to* the Alpine region by car is that a car gives the freedom of travelling *during* the holiday. Therefore, the Alpine Pearls association decided to give a 'mobility guarantee'. They guarantee that there are enough mobility options to and in the Alpine Pearls villages. This decision is based on the expectation that car travellers, because of this mobility guarantee, experience that they do not need their car during the holiday, they might decide to travel by train to this region next time (Provider Interviews).

The environmental-friendliness of an Alpine Pearls holiday not only becomes apparent during the act of travelling, ecological issues are also embedded when doing the groceries, eating out in restaurants, and sleeping in hotels for example. In most villages tourists can buy local food products in a biological farmer shop. Furthermore, most hotels have taken energy- and water saving measures and ask their guests to "help save the planet" and only put dirty towels on the floor. Strikingly, most hotels in the Alpine Pearls villages do not provide information on how to reach the hotel by public transport means.

> Hotels in Alpine Pearls villages are not obliged to provide information on Alpine Pearls or on how to reach them by environmental-friendly transport means. The Alpine Pearls association does not have the authority to force hotels to do that because hotels are private enterprises. Some hotels have the logo on their homepage, but other hotels don't even realise, or don't care much, according to Karmen Mentil. The task of the Alpine Pearls association goes as far as to say to municipalities and tourism boards "please inform and educate your hotels" (Provider Interview).
> In Hinterstoder, the mayor compelled all hotels to pay the marketing and membership fee together. As a consequence, the hotels are committed to Alpine Pearls and supply their guests information on Alpine Pearls, and give them a mobility card providing free access to environmental-friendly mobility services in the region (Provider Interview). Another way to involve hotels with Alpine Pearls was observed in Werfenweng. Here, only guests of SAMO-hotels (SANfte MObilität) get access to the environmental-friendly travelling services. As a consequence, a large majority of the hotels in Werfenweng is a SAMO-hotel (Provider Interview). Next to hotels being committed to Alpine Pearls through regulations of the municipality or the tourist office, there is the possibility that hotels cooperate with railway tour operators which offer Alpine Pearls package holidays (e.g. Hotels in Berchtesgaden, Bad Reichenhall and Interlaken; Provider Interview) According to the tourism manager of the Rosengarten-Latemar region, this cooperation is complicated, given the small-scaled, family-owned hotels in this region. These hotels prefer not to cooperate with tour operators. They want to run their own business instead of cooperating with big

partners. The advantage of being mentioned in travel brochures is overshadowed by the disadvantage of financial insecurity and a loss of independency. Neither tourist offices nor municipalities (and hence neither the Alpine Pearls association) can force hotels to cooperate with tour operators (Provider Interview).

This section illustrated that the green Alpine Pearls passage is undertaken by different traveller types, referred to as travellers and tourists, who experience the green Alpine Pearls passage in different ways and make use of different tourism and travelling services. Despite the differences, the storyline of the Alpine Pearls (i.e. that it is nice and comfortable to travel with environmental-friendly transport means) becomes apparent in both of these. The provision of environmental-friendly travelling services as well as the availability of environmental-friendly hotels, biological farmer shops, restaurants and supermarkets, strengthen the unique storyline of Alpine Pearls holidays.

5.5.4   The return journey

The return journey is similar to the journey to the Alpine region. Car travellers put the luggage in or on top of the car and start heading home. For train travellers the return journey is more predictable and convenient compared to the journey to the Alpine region. People are now more familiar with train travelling, especially those travellers who made a journey along several Alpine Pearls villages. When mountains turn into hills and then into a flat landscape, the Alpine Pearls holiday has come to an end.

5.6   Theoretical reflections on the Alpine Pearls holiday

In this section travelling along a green passage for Alpine Pearls holidays will be regarded from the spa-based theoretical perspective. In line with the research questions, section 5.6.1 will elaborate on the Alpine Pearls holiday as a green passage. It will elaborate on the specific modes of access and modes of provision of the Alpine Pearls holiday practice, and on how well the green passage of the Alpine Pearls holiday is organised. The second research question, regarding the scaling up of the Alpine Pearls holiday practice from niche to regime level will be elaborated on in section 5.6.2. This section will present whether there are clues which point in the direction that this practice can be scaled up and thereby contribute to a sustainable development of tourism mobilities in the Alpine holiday, or even of other holiday practices at the regime level of the tourism domain.

5.6.1   The Alpine Pearls holiday practice as a passage

The first part of this section elaborates on the specific character of the green passage for Alpine Pearls holidays. It considers whether the Alpine Pearls holiday

practice is characterised by specific, greener modes of provision and modes of access. Since section 5.5 pointed to a difference between a car passage and a public transport passage, as well as to a difference between travellers and tourists, special attention is given to whether there can be spoken of one Alpine Pearls passage or of several Alpine Pearls passages, undertaken by people with different concerns and portfolios.

The second part of this section illustrates how well the green passage for Alpine Pearls holidays is currently organised. It considers whether a passage has been created in such a way that it enables smooth and fluent journeys using environmental-friendly transport means for travelling to, between and in the Alpine Pearls villages. In doing this, a misfit between modes of provision of the Alpine Pearls holiday and existing modes of provision will be revealed.

CHARACTER OF THE ALPINE PEARLS PASSAGE

Based on the participant observations it can be concluded that tourists travel to the Alpine region along different passages which can be referred to as respectively a car passage and a public transport passage. These passages are separated in space, consist of different network elements, concern different travelling experiences, and require different travelling portfolios. The public transport passage consists of a network of railroads, railway stations, railway operators, trains, bus companies, buses, timetables, tickets, facilities in railway stations, and so on. The car passage on the other hand, concerns a network of highways, toll roads, tunnels, gas stations, motorway tax stickers, ANWB road service, navigators, roadside restaurants, service stations, and skid chains. A car travelling portfolio consists of having a driving licence, the possession of a car (possibly rented), having experience with car travelling in the mountains, the possession of either a road map or a navigator, whereas the participant observation illustrated that a portfolio for travelling with public transport modes (here: in the context of an Alpine Pearls holiday) consists of having experience with reading timetables, having experience with making a travelling route, having experience with train and bus travelling, the possession of a suitable suitcase or backpack, and the possession of train and bus tickets. Possessing such portfolio characteristics increases the convenience and comfort of travelling in an environmental-friendly manner.

Although the goal of the Alpine Pearls association is to enable people to travel to and in the Alpine region by using public transportation and other environmental-friendly transport means only, it appeared from the analysis that the Alpine Pearls holiday often concerns a combination of the car passage and such a green travelling passage (see Figure 5.3). Many people experience an Alpine Pearls holiday by travelling to the Alpine Pearls by car, and using environmental-friendly transport means during the holiday. This way of experiencing an Alpine Pearls holiday coincides with the car passage regarding travelling to the Alpine region, and coincides with

the green Alpine Pearls passage during the holiday. Having experienced the green passage in the Alpine region might convince people to experience the complete green Alpine Pearls passage a next time.

Despite the fact that there are different versions of Alpine Pearls holidays (involving different levels of environmental-friendliness), the Alpine Pearls holiday practice is characterised by a greener travelling passage involving greener modes of access and greener modes of provision compared to the regular Alpine holiday practice.

Figure 5.3   Different passages for travelling to and in the Alpine region
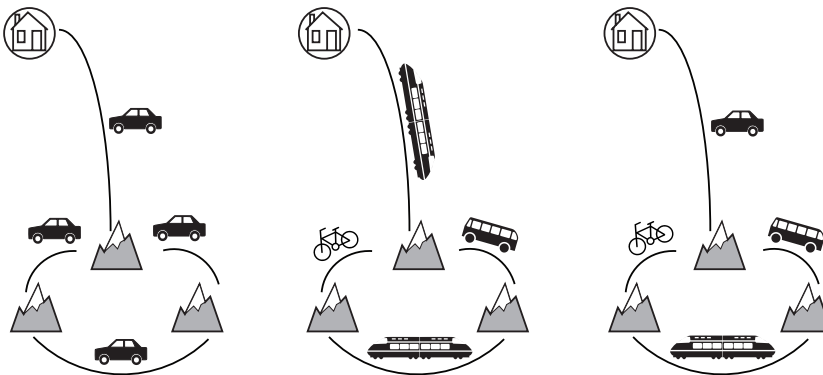
Part of the explanation of these different passages used for travelling to the Alpine Pearls villages lies in the position of these villages in the public transport passage and car passage. Although all Alpine Pearls should be well connected to the public transport passage, some villages however fit the car passage much better than they fit the public transport passage. This confirms Peters' (2006: 97) statement: "there is a tension between passage and place, which stems from the fact that the way a destination is made accessible cannot be separated from the design of the place itself". Illustrative, of the 8.364 kilometres of railways in the Alpine region, Austria has the most (2.783 km), followed by Switzerland (1.639 km), Italy (1.530 km), France (1.128 km), Germany (947 km), and Slovenia (337 km). In a relative sense, however (i.e. divided by the number of inhabitants in the Alpine region), Austria and Switzerland have the highest density of railways, and Italy, France and Slovenia are characterised by the lowest density (Alpenkonvention, 2007). When the quantity and the quality of green provisioning (here: the green Alpine Pearls passage) is low, the access to environmental-friendly travelling is minimal as well, as a consequence of which people travel to the Alpine Pearls villages by car. Section 5.5 illustrated that improving the quantity and the quality of green provisioning (here: the green Alpine Pearls passage) also refers to improved levels of access to Alpine

Pearls holidays. To illustrate, as of 1998, Werfenweng has been very successful in stimulating a sustainable development of tourism mobilities. From 1997 to 2005 the amount of overnight stays increased with 79.5% (Alpine Pearls press release February 2007). This stimulates other villages to improve their provisioning for Alpine Pearls holidays as well.

As a consequence of improving the quantity and quality of modes of provisioning, going on an environmental-friendly Alpine Pearls holiday becomes accessible and attractive for different types of travellers. The participant observations illustrated that currently, the Alpine Pearls holiday is undertaken by travellers and tourists (see also Chapter 2). These different traveller types are characterised by their own mode of access to Alpine Pearls holidays, they express different concerns, possess different portfolios, and make use of different modes of provision. For example, travellers making a journey along several Pearls generally are independent travellers who want to arrange their holiday themselves and change plans during their holiday. The availability of holiday packages which include the train journey and the accommodation in the Alpine Pearls village does not fit with their preference for independency and surprise elements. Since they leave no flexibility to the traveller, these prefab holiday packages have a constraining effect on their Alpine Pearls holiday. However, for tourists who prefer predictability, or do not like to spend time and effort on scheduling their journey using timetables themselves, the Alpine Pearls holiday packages enable them to go on an Alpine Pearls holiday in an easy, comfortable, safe and predictable way. For people with a less developed portfolio for environmental-friendly travelling, the Alpine Pearls holiday packages are an easy mode of provision which fits their portfolio. Hence, this mode of provision fits tourists better than travellers. The provision of mobility centres, Alpine Pearls tickets, hiking routes on the Alpine Pearls website, and so on fit better with travellers' concerns than it does with tourists' concerns. This reveals that the Alpine Pearls holiday is accessible through multiple modes of provisioning. These modes of provisioning are relevant and useful for different lifestyle groups, which might in the end lead to different green passages for Alpine Pearls holidays.

ORGANISING THE ALPINE PEARLS PASSAGE

The modes of provision and the modes of access together exert their influence on the Alpine Pearls holiday practice at multiple consumption junctions (e.g. tourist offices, mobility centres, railway stations, hotels, and the website of the Alpine Pearls association). In these consumption junctions information is provided which enables tourists to travel environmental-friendly to and in the Alpine Pearls region, and to experience an Alpine Pearls holiday. Furthermore, tourists come across the Alpine Pearls holiday packages, and the provision of environmental-friendly transport means at these junctions. Finally, the Alpine Pearls holiday is characterised by its storyline which connects socio-cultural, economic and environmental benefits,

for both tourists, Alpine Pearls villages, and the Alpine region. In this way a green passage for Alpine Pearls holidays is being organised.

However, during the research period, the green Alpine Pearls passage was not (yet) a complete and continuous one. Sometimes there is a lack of public transport options to reach the Alpine Pearls villages. In other situations, there is a lack of information on public transport options which actually are present. Given the international character of the green Alpine Pearls passage, buying tickets or planning a trip in the Alpine region might be difficult. Whether such problems can be prevented or easily solved, depends on the quality of the passage (Peters, 2003; 2006).

With respect to the quality of the green Alpine Pearls passage, the Alpine Pearls association is the obvious actor to be in charge of organising a coherent green passage of transport, accommodation and activities. However, this passage creator, or the chain manager of the Alpine Pearls holiday (see Budeanu, forthcoming; Schwartz et al., 2008; Sigala, 2008 on sustainable supply chain management in tourism), is dependent on other actors: the municipalities, tourist offices and accommodation providers in the 23 Alpine Pearls villages, the tour operators which offer Alpine Pearls holiday packages, the railway companies in or on the route to the Alpine region, the bus companies in the Alpine region, the mobility centres, and the bike rental companies. The analysis revealed that the Alpine Pearls association is not in the position to enforce these actors to improve the system of provision of the Alpine Pearls holiday.

To begin with, the Alpine Pearls association can not oblige hotels in the Alpine Pearls villages to offer their guests Alpine Pearls holiday package deals, to provide their guests information on Alpine Pearls holidays, or even to provide their guests information on how to reach the hotel with environmental-friendly transport means, since hotels are private companies. Furthermore, as the Alpine Pearls association is itself no customer of railway companies – they are not buying train tickets and selling those to tourists like railway tour operators do, they do not have the power or the authority to force the railway companies to cooperate and develop an all-encompassing cross-border Alpine Pearls ticket. The Alpine Pearls association is not yet successful in convincing railway companies of the fact that the idea behind the Alpine Pearls holiday – environmental-friendly travelling to and in the Alpine region – has advantages for these railway companies (in 2007). Furthermore, although railway tour operator Ameropa has become a partner of Alpine Pearls, other railway tour operators are hesitant to become a partner and to market their holiday packages (consisting of a train trip and a stay in an Alpine Pearl village), as Alpine Pearls holidays, or even to inform on the availability of Alpine Pearls-related travelling services in a certain village. The association is apparently not able to convince them of the idea behind Alpine Pearls holidays. Currently, the Alpine Pearls villages are the only actors involved in the passage of the Alpine

Pearls holiday over which the Alpine Pearls association has some degree of control. The villages are member of the association and therefore have to at least commit to the criteria catalogue. The association controls whether villages comply with these criteria. Still, there is no influence on whether the villages are pro-active and really make efforts to organise Alpine Pearls holidays in their village or whether they only comply with the minimal requirements.

The results reveal that the cooperation of a great deal of actors from different sectors is needed to organise the green passages for Alpine Pearls holidays. In general, accommodation, transport and activities are organised separately from each other. There is a lack of cooperation between companies from these different industries. This sectorially organised character of the tourism and travelling industries hampers the development of a coherent passage for the Alpine Pearls holiday. The results for instance indicated that the inclusion of hotels strengthens the passage for Alpine Pearls holidays. Hotels are currently included in the passage of the Alpine Pearls holiday in several different manners (see section 5.5: cooperation with tour operators, obligated by the municipality, or the tourist office giving advantages to samo-hotels), and each of them demonstrates that this inclusion makes the passage stronger and more complete and makes going on a holiday in the Alpine region without a car more smooth and problem-free. Tourists have more information and more environmental-friendly transport modes at their disposal and there are more Alpine Pearls package holidays. When there is no cooperation with hotels in the Alpine Pearls villages and hotels are not included in the passage, there is a lack of information on Alpine Pearls and on travel directions, and there is a lack of environmental-friendly travelling services. This creates a gap in the system of provision of the Alpine Pearls holiday; the elements within the Alpine Pearls passage are not completely coordinated. The results furthermore pointed to the fact that the focus of public transport companies is on travelling within a given administrative territory, not on the holiday for which a journey is undertaken. The core business of most public transport companies is to transport people from A to B. The embeddedness of travelling in the holiday practice is not taken into account. Hence, the system of provision of public transport companies is different from the system of provision which is beneficial for Alpine Pearls holidays. A perspective on passages would however imply that journeys are considered to be an integrated part of the holiday. When the providers of transport services to and in the Alpine region would cooperate on the level of holiday practices, the development of an Alpine Pearls ticket giving access to all environmental-friendly transport means in the whole Alpine region and can subsequently be used for OD-transport, would be more obvious. The creation of such a cross-border Alpine Pearls ticket would fit really well to the concept of an Alpine Pearls holiday.

Besides the compartmentalisation of the tourism and travelling industries, another difficulty in organising a passage for the Alpine Pearls holiday is

the nationally structured transport sector. The Alpine region is spread over six countries. Each country has its own transport infrastructures and transport companies. Furthermore, as mentioned above, there are differences in the availability of public transport infrastructures throughout the Alpine region. There can be spoken of a scattered, country-specific system of provision as a consequence of which OD-transport facilities for Alpine Pearls holidays lack behind the availability of environmental-friendly travelling services ín the villages. It can be concluded that the nationally organised public transport sector complicates the development of a passage for Alpine Pearls holidays.

To conclude this section, it can be said that the availability of information on Alpine Pearls holidays and the provision of green travelling options in relevant consumption junctions, the interwovenness of environmental-friendly issues with other qualities of the Alpine Pearls holiday in its unique storyline, the fact that the passage(s) for Alpine Pearls holidays are greener compared to regular Alpine holidays, and the fact that an Alpine Pearls holiday is undertaken by travellers and tourists possessing certain portfolio characteristics, illustrate that the Alpine Pearls holiday can be considered a holiday practice with a specific system of provision and specific modes of access.

However, the green Alpine Pearls passage is still 'under construction'. The participant observations and interviews pointed to two factors which restrict the creation of a cross-border Alpine Pearls passage which connects sustainable tourism mobilities with environmental-friendly hotels and activities; the nationally organised system of provision of the transport industry, and the sectorially organised tourism industry. These systems of provision are not yet well connected to serve this green passage organised on the level of the Alpine Pearls holiday practice. The creation of green passages is not just about developing a new tourism market or package holiday, but also concerns the creation of a new system of provision.

5.6.2   The Alpine Pearls holiday from niche to regime?

The multi-level model, differentiating between the niche, regime, and landscape level (see Figure 5.2 and Chapter 3), proved to be useful in the analysis of the Alpine Pearls holiday. It helped to differentiate between the Alpine holiday at the regime level and its more sustainable equivalent, the Alpine Pearls holiday, conceptualised as a green passage, at the niche level. As niches, regimes and landscapes transform in the course of time, this section elaborates whether the creation of green passage(s) on the level of the Alpine Pearls holiday practice can contribute to a sustainable development of the regular Alpine holiday. Furthermore, attention is given to whether the idea of organising green passages on the level of holiday practices may transform the regime level of the tourism domain in a way which benefits a sustainable development of tourism mobilities.

Special interest in this section thus goes to regime transformations. Scholars differentiated several ideal types of transition pathways leading to regime transformations (Berkhout, 2004; Geels & Schot, 2007; Geels, 2005; Rip & Kemp, 1998), among which is the scaling up of innovations from niche to regime level (Rip & Kemp, 1998; Geels, 2002). Since regime actors may adopt and thereby stimulate the spread and use of niche innovations (or: niche practices), they are important in the scaling-up of niches. According to Geels (2005), it is when processes at multiple levels link up and influence each other that changes and transitions come about (see also Loorbach, 2007). A scaling up of the Alpine Pearls holiday from niche-level to regime-level can be expected when niche-level actors who organise a passage for sustainable tourism mobility in the Alpine region cooperate with regime actors of the tourism or transport industries. At the same time, a scaling up becomes likely when regime-level actors are interested in a sustainable development of Alpine holidays and in organising a green passage. Furthermore, Geels (2005) states that regime transformation is more straightforward when political, user, technological, market, and science regimes all change in the same direction.

Considering the organisation of a green Alpine Pearls passage, the Alpine Pearls association indeed cooperates with regime actors. Furthermore, the green Alpine Pearls passage encompasses innovative environmental-friendly technologies, market and political actors interested in a sustainable development of tourism mobilities in the Alpine region, and satisfied end-users. To illustrate, political bodies have performed several governmental projects on sustainable tourism mobility and have supported the founding of the Alpine Pearls association. The political commitment is also reflected by the involvement of municipalities in the Alpine Pearls association. Furthermore, the green Alpine Pearls passage encompasses innovative technologies for environmental-friendly travelling which tourists can use during their Alpine Pearls holiday (e.g. Alpine Flyer bikes, Movelo bikes, and Segway). The involvement of market actors with Alpine Pearls appears from the railway tour operator offering Alpine Pearls holiday packages, and from the inclusion of (some) hotels in the green Alpine Pearls passage. Finally, although most people who go on an Alpine Pearls holiday do this because of other than environmental reasons, they appreciate that it is at the same time more environmental-friendly compared to other Alpine holidays. The fact that an Alpine Pearls holiday does not only appeal to environmental concerns but to typical tourist concerns as well (e.g. quality, unique experience, and comfort) is important regarding the scaling up the Alpine Pearls holiday from niche to regime level. It proves that an Alpine Pearls holiday is attractive to many more tourists than environmentalist tourists only.

The cooperation between niche-level actors and regime-level actors, and the fact that the political climate, the innovative technologies, the market, and tourists move in the direction of more sustainable tourism mobilities in the Alpine region, enhance the likelihood of regime transformation. Still, a scaling up from niche

to regime level will be difficult. As mentioned above, the creation of a passage for the Alpine Pearls holiday practice is hampered by the nationally organised system of provision of the transport industry and the sectorially organised system of provision of the tourism industry. Scaling up the Alpine Pearls holiday from niche to regime level implies that the contextually organised system of provision of the Alpine Pearls holiday practice links up with the sectorially and nationally organised system of provision of the regime level. The Alpine Pearls association, as passage creator, should be in charge of reframing these systems of provision by organising them on the level of the Alpine Pearls holiday practice. However, the analysis revealed that the Alpine Pearls association has limited power and authority to reframe the narrow-defined and country-based system of provision of the tourism and transport industry in order for these to link up with the contextually organised system of provision of the Alpine Pearls holiday practice. This suggests that at least in this organisational form, scaling up the green Alpine Pearls passage from niche to regime level in order to contribute to a sustainable development of tourism mobilities in the Alpine region is unlikely.

Both the history and the current organisation of the tourism industry show that passages have been successfully created and institutionalised by tour operators. Thomas Cook, for instance, was successful in accomplishing a cross-border passage for travelling, in which he assembled holiday packages consisting of travelling, accommodation and activities. He was faced with a country-based, sectorially organised system of provision as well. Still, he managed to develop passages and to create a new practice, namely the practice of going on a holiday, in a time travelling was not yet a widespread activity (see Chapter 2). This is a comparable task as the one the Alpine Pearls association faces in striving for a more sustainable Alpine holiday practice. An important difference between the Alpine Pearls association and Thomas Cook which might be of influence on the scaling up from niche to regime is their organisational form. Whereas Thomas Cook was a businessman, setting up a private, profitable company, Alpine Pearls is a non-profit association, financed by its members, which does not generate profits from the market.

Tour operators buy services from transport companies and accommodation providers on a large-scale, which gives them a certain power of expression. Furthermore, tour operators have expertise in creating new markets, in reaching tourists and in marketing new tourism products. When the organisation of the Alpine Pearls holiday would be in the hands of a tour operator it would not only be easier to create passages for Alpine Pearls holidays, it would also enhance the probability of scaling up the Alpine Pearls holiday from niche to regime level, which would contribute to a sustainable development of tourism mobilities in the Alpine region. Furthermore, when the idea of organising green passages on the level of holiday practices is taken up by tour operators, this may also contribute to a sustainable development of other regime-level holiday practices such as beach holidays or city trips.

5.7   Conclusion

The analysis of this chapter was focused on the Alpine Pearls holiday practice, positioned as a green passage. The first research question was focused on the character of the Alpine Pearls passage.

> How well organised is the green passage for the Alpine Pearls holiday practice, and what does this passage entail?

The Alpine Pearls holiday practice is characterised by specific, greener modes of provisioning and modes of access compared to the Alpine holiday practice. People travelling along the Alpine Pearls passage possess certain portfolio characteristics which enable them to travel in an environmental-friendly manner, and they make use of the available environmental-friendly travelling services.

Although the intended Alpine Pearls passage connects public transportation and other environmental-friendly transport means with environmental-friendly tourism services, the results indicated that currently, most tourists going on an Alpine Pearls holiday travel to the Alpine Pearls villages by car. When travelling to the Alpine region they travel along a car passage, but, very important, during the Alpine Pearls holiday they experience the green Alpine Pearls passage. This deroutinisation process may ultimately contribute to a sustainable development of tourism mobilities.

In the future, the green Alpine Pearls passage (consisting only of public transport and other environmental-friendly transport means) might develop into two passages; one geared to tourists preferring package deals and staying in one Alpine Pearls village and one geared to independent travellers travelling along several Alpine Pearls villages, each characterised by specific modes of access and asking for different modes of provisioning.

With respect to whether the green Alpine Pearls passage is well organised, it can be concluded that during the period in which the participant observation was done, not yet all material and immaterial elements were ordered in a network in such a way to enable a smooth and problem-free Alpine Pearls holiday. The creation of a passage for Alpine Pearls holidays is complicated because of the fact that the Alpine Pearls holiday is characterised by a different system of provision compared to the current transport and tourism industries. The system of provision of the green Alpine Pearls passage is organised on the level of the holiday practice. However, this contextually organised system of provision of Alpine Pearls holidays does not yet interrelate with the nationally and sectorially organised system of provision of the transport and tourism industries. National border problems (i.e. country-based information systems, transport infrastructures, and ticket systems) hamper the creation of a complete and continuous passage for the Alpine Pearls holiday. Furthermore, the creation of a green passage of transport, accommodation, and

activities would benefit from a situation where all these elements are included in the passage.

The second research question in this chapter was focused on whether this contextual sustainability strategy of organising green passages on the level of a specific holiday practice may contribute to a sustainable development of tourism mobilities on the regime level.

> How can the Alpine Pearls holiday, organised as a green passage, be scaled up from niche to regime level and thereby contribute to a sustainable development of the Alpine holiday, or even of other holiday practices?

Although it is constructive that politics, technologies, markets and end-users are all involved in the creation of this passage for Alpine Pearls holidays, and that there is some cooperation between the niche and the regime level, the scaling up of the Alpine Pearls holiday from niche to regime level will be difficult.

The niche-level Alpine Pearls holiday has a different system of provision compared to the current transport and tourism industries. In organising a green passage for the Alpine Pearls holiday practice, the Alpine Pearls association needs to go beyond the nationally-organised system of provision of the transport industry, and the sectorially-organised system of provision of the tourism industry. Here, the organisational form and position of the 'passage creator' (or: chain manager) is important. The analysis revealed that the Alpine Pearls association, a non-profit association financed by its members, lacks the authority and resources to organise a complete passage. The passage would benefit from a more powerful passage creator which encourages all actors involved in the passage to cooperate and to organise green passages on the level of specific holiday practices. For changes to take place, it is important that regime players in the tourism and travelling industries encourage this development and take up the challenge to develop green passages on the level of specific holiday practices, thereby transcending national structures and reforming the sectorially organised tourism industry. Both the history and current organisation of the tourism industry show that passages can successfully be created by tour operators. Internationally operating tour operators might be the appropriate creators of future green passages on the level of holiday practices. In this role, they might transform the nationally and sectorially organised tourism and transport industries from a prime suspect in producing environment damaging consumption practices into an important change agent for more sustainable tourism consumption.

In light of the wider perspective of this thesis, this chapter has illustrated how sustainability strategies which take the context of the practice into consideration can be successful in a sustainable development of tourism mobilities. The results

hence confirm the expectation of the SPA-based theoretical framework that a sustainable development of tourism mobilities benefits from taking a practice-oriented approach.

Furthermore, this chapter illustrated an alternative, positive storyline for sustainable tourism mobilities. The storyline of Alpine Pearls holidays combines ecological, social and economic advantages, for tourists, tourism entrepreneurs and the Alpine region. Alpine Pearls might serve as an example for alternative storylines for sustainable tourism development.

Quantitative analyses of the modes of access and the modes of provision

6 Quantitative analyses of the modes of access and the modes of provision

6.1 Introduction

Opinions and behaviours of citizen-consumers matter increasingly for companies, policy-makers and social movements. The ability for citizen-consumers to express themselves politically through consumer choices has increased dramatically, making it possible for them to influence the provisioning of green socio-technical innovations (for more detail on political consumerism, see Micheletti, 2003; Holzer & Sørensen, 2003; Friedman, 1996; Friedman, 1999; Jensen, 2005). Also in tourism, citizen-consumers can be serious agents in sustainable development processes (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008). By performing more environmental-friendly holiday behaviours (i.e. choosing to travel by train or to travel to nearby destinations), tourists may induce actors in the tourism and transport industries to improve the provision of environmental-friendly tourism and travelling services. Since there is an increasing need to attach greater importance to the role of citizen-consumers in shaping and reproducing core institutions of production and consumption (Spaargaren, 2003), this chapter explores possibilities for a sustainable development of tourism mobilities from a citizen-consumer perspective. Building upon three sets of research questions developed and discussed in previous chapters, this chapter aims to generate detailed knowledge based upon a survey among a representative sample of the Dutch population. The research questions will be shortly introduced.

From the research on environmental information in the tourism sector (Chapter 4) it was concluded that the general character of environmental information does not fit the specific nature of holiday practices. Both tourists and providers of tourism and travelling services showed reluctance with regard to explicitly positioning environmental information in the vacation choice practice since the perceived negative storyline of environmental information does not fit with the positive character of going on a holiday. The tourism domain is regarded as a consumption domain in which one is free from obligations, including the task of 'taking care for the environment'. Chapter 4 furthermore illustrated that both the tourists and the representatives of the tourist sector are inclined to point to 'the other' as the first and most responsible actor to provide information and solutions regarding a sustainable development in the tourism domain. In this chapter it will be investigated how Dutch citizen-consumers view the sustainability challenges the tourism domain is faced with; whether sustainable development of tourism mobilities is deemed

necessary, whose responsibility it would be to promote such a sustainable development, and what type of solutions are preferred in that respect. To further characterise the sustainability debate in the tourism domain, a comparison is made with the sustainability debates in other consumption domains and with the societal debate concerning sustainable consumption (section 6.3). By elaborating on these topics, insights will be gained in the sustainability profile of the tourism domain which is of influence on the sustainable development process in the tourism sector. The first research question to be dealt with in this chapter is formulated as follows:

> What are the environmental concerns of Dutch citizen-consumers about tourism? How do these concerns differ from the environmental concerns in other consumption domains and from general environmental concerns?

The analysis of the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice showed that environmental-friendly holidays are perceived as primitive, austere holidays deprived from any form of luxury. It is interesting to analyse whether this view is shared among a large sample of tourists when they are confronted with several more environmental-friendly ways of travelling. These concern: a modal shift to travelling by train or coach; slow travelling, which is derived from and in line with the philosophy of the so called Slow Food movement; ecolocalism, corresponding with the lifestyle trend of consuming less ('consuminderen'); and climate compensation, a strategy which gives travellers the opportunity to offset the emissions caused by their travelling behaviour (see also Chapter 2). It will be explored in some detail whether these options for developing more environmental-friendly tourism mobility practices are perceived attractive (section 6.4). It might be the case that people have negative associations with environmental-friendly holidays in general, whereas they actually have positive associations and experiences with specific forms of environmental-friendly tourism and travelling. Furthermore, it will be investigated whether Dutch citizen-consumers have (positive or negative) experiences with these sustainable tourism mobility alternatives, how they perceive the current system of provision of these options, and whether improved provider strategies would convince them to change their tourism and travelling behaviour. Based on these considerations, the second research question of this chapter is formulated as:

> How are several more sustainable tourism mobility alternatives being perceived and experienced by Dutch tourists, and how do they assess the provider strategies connected to these options?

The analysis of one example of an environmental-friendly holiday, the Alpine Pearls holiday, pointed to the importance of creating green passages on the level of practices to enable a comfortable, smooth and fluent environmental-friendly holiday (Chapter 5). The analysis of the positioning of environmental information

pointed to the importance of connecting information with the character of holiday practices as well.

It is interesting to explore whether, in light of a sustainable development of tourism mobilities, holiday practices form a relevant typology of practices in the tourism domain (as assumed so far in this thesis). Since connecting with tourists' portfolios appeared important in the analysis of the green Alpine Pearls passage, it is expected that people with different portfolios for environmental-friendly travelling require the creation of different green passages. To develop a relevant typology of practices in the tourism domain which may provide possibilities for a sustainable development of tourism mobilities, this chapter will conclude by investigating whether different groups of tourists, possessing different portfolios for environmental-friendly travelling, can be discerned. Insight in the existence and the profile of different groups of tourists can be useful for developing sustainable tourism mobilities. The third research question of this chapter is formulated as follows:

> Based on their portfolios for environmental-friendly travelling, is it possible to discern different groups of tourists among Dutch citizen-consumers? If different groups of tourists exist, how can these be portrayed?

Before answering these research questions, section 6.2 will describe the methodology used, the operationalisation of some of the central concepts of the spa-based theoretical framework, and the data analyses which have been performed. The data analyses regarding the first research question, the sustainability debate, will be presented in section 6.3, after which in section 6.4 the results regarding the alternative sustainable tourism mobilities will be displayed. Section 6.5 will elaborate on the third research question, whether there are different groups of tourists with specific portfolio characteristics. By answering these three research questions, this chapter provides the basic information necessary for the development of specific future scenarios for sustainable tourism mobilities.

6.2 Methodology

6.2.1 Quantitative survey

In order to answer the research questions, a quantitative survey has been conducted among Dutch citizen-consumers. Given the premise of the spa-based theoretical framework that contextual aspects are of influence on consumption behaviours, in this survey, sustainable development of consumption behaviour is investigated separately for different consumption domains. The consumption domains included in this survey concern food consumption, home maintenance and repair, clothing, everyday mobility and tourism. The fact that survey questions have been formulated with regard to specific consumption domains distinguishes this survey from

most other surveys which investigate sustainable consumption behaviours among citizen-consumers. This chapter focuses on the survey results of the tourism consumption domain[51].

The survey on sustainable consumption in several consumption domains is the result of cooperation between the Contrast Research Group, the Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency (i.e. Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving), LEI (i.e. Landbouw Economisch Instituut) and Motivaction, a Dutch market research association specialised in research on consumption behaviours. Motivaction has an online research panel at its disposal, StemPunt. More than 100.000 Dutch citizens are member of this panel and it is representative for the Dutch population aged from 18 to 65 years (Motivaction, 2008; see Appendix 1). As a result of employing a propensity-sampling-technique, StemPunt guarantees that the research sample not only represents the population with regard to socio-demographic characteristics, but also with regard to several relevant lifestyle characteristics (Motivaction, 2008).

Data have been gathered in July and August of 2008. The survey was split in three parts which were given to the respondents in a random order. The respondents were invited by e-mail three times to fill out the online questionnaires. One part consisted of questions on environmental issues in general, and questions of everyday mobility (N=2.242). Another part consisted of the questions of the consumption domains clothing and tourism mobility (N=2.302). Yet another part consisted of the questions of food consumption and home maintenance and repair (N=2.288). In total the sample has a number of 2.906 unique respondents. The fact that the three parts were answered by the same respondents makes it possible to compare the answers in one part of the survey with answers in the other parts. For instance, linkages can be made between tourism mobility and everyday mobility. Each respondent is included in the data file only once. Of the 2.906 respondents, 1.594 respondents have completed all three parts of the survey. Since many analyses do not require the variables of the three parts at the same time, the number of respondents which can be included in those analyses are larger.

6.2.2   *Operationalisation of central concepts*

Some of the central concepts of the SPA-based theoretical framework have been operationalised in this survey. With respect to the 'modes of access', the environmental concerns and the portfolios for environmental-friendly travelling have been operationalised (see Figure 3.2, Chapter 3). The environmental concerns have been

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51 The analyses regarding the other consumption domains will be presented in: Sargant, forthcoming (food consumption); Putman, forthcoming (home maintenance and repair; and Nijhuis, forthcoming (everyday mobility).

operationalised with regard to consumption behaviour in general, as well as with respect to specific consumption domains, here, the environmental concerns about tourism. With respect to the 'modes of provision' (see Figure 3.2, Chapter 3), several survey items have served to operationalise how Dutch tourists assess the quantity and quality of provider strategies of the above-mentioned environmental-friendly travelling alternatives.

GENERAL ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS

Streams of thought within behaviour research consider sustainable consumption behaviour as resulting from people's general opinions about sustainable development in combination with (their evaluation of) some product-specific attributes (see Spaargaren et al., 2007). Because there is a societal discourse on sustainable production and consumption, people have general opinions about sustainability issues. Spaargaren et al. (2007) point to four quadrants of "general environmental concerns" (see Figure 6.1). Three variables underlie these quadrants. First, 'problem recognition' – one is or one is not convinced of the existence of an environmental problem. The 'distribution of responsibilities' to provide solutions for this problem represents the second variable. The government, the market, or consumers may be held responsible for a sustainable development of consumption behaviour. The third variable underlying the quadrant of environmental concerns is the 'degree of change necessary'; whether small and incremental changes are sufficient or large-scale, radical societal changes are deemed necessary.

The first quadrant represents people who are convinced that special efforts for a sustainable development are not needed, nor desirable. These people are sometimes referred to in the literature as 'stubborn non-environmentally aware people' (Nelissen et al., 1987). Other problems are more important than environmental ones. These 'non-environmentalists' "close off for everything that has to do with the environment because, they are sceptical towards the main political societal goals as strived for by the environmental movement, environmental sciences and environmental policy" (Spaargaren et al., 2007: 25).

The second quadrant represents the view that society (the market in particular) is dynamic and will adapt by itself. The environmental problem as such is acknowledged but it is not viewed as their problem. One sees sustainable or green technologies as an important solution and ascribes responsibilities with regard to sustainable development of consumption behaviour to the market and/or to governmental bodies (Spaargaren et al., 2007).

People who acknowledge the existence of environmental challenges and regard consumers as co-responsible in a sustainable development process, besides asking for active policy, represent the third quadrant. "People are enthusiastic about and open for experimenting with more sustainable products, services and ways of

acting because they are committed to sustainable development as a political-societal project" (Spaargaren et al., 2007: 25).

Figure 6.1   **Future images of sustainable development (Spaargaren et al., 2007: 26)**
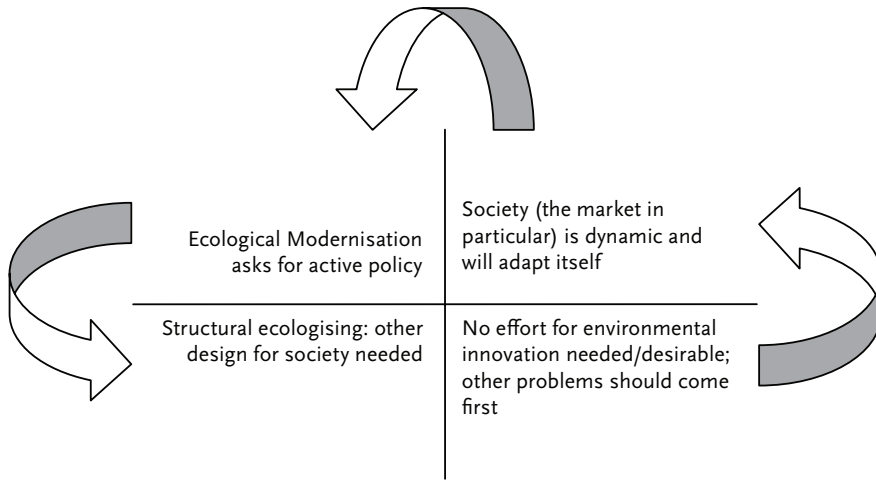
The fourth quadrant stands for structural ecologising: a radical other design for society is "seen as a precondition for the coming into being of more sustainable consumption patterns" (Spaargaren et al., 2007: 24). Consumption growth "is fundamentally undesirable or impossible" (Spaargaren et al., 2007: 23). People who are in favour of this quadrant prefer a significant reduction of general consumption levels and ask for strategies which will lead to a substantial decline in consumption levels (Spaargaren et al., 2007). These people are very much engaged with the goals of sustainable development and consider the forms of environmental innovation as presently offered as insufficient; these are not radical enough to actually realise sustainable development (ibid.).

To be able to investigate to what extent the different quadrants of environmental concerns are reflected in the societal debate concerning sustainable consumption, twenty statements have been formulated to operationalise the four quadrants of environmental concerns. Compared to other scholars who have investigated environmental concerns among citizen-consumers (e.g. Stern et al., 1995; Dietz et al., 1998; Poortinga et al., 2004; Vos & Van Geel, 2008; Gatersleben et al., 2002), by operationalising these four quadrants of environmental concerns, more attention is being paid to the necessity to solve environmental problems and to the attribution of responsibilities, in particular to citizen-consumers as co-actors of environmental change. Up till now, analyses of environmental concerns have been

mainly focused on the (lack of) acknowledgement of environmental problems and the levels of environmental awareness among citizen-consumers. Furthermore, in this survey, environmental concerns have been operationalised not just in general but also with regard to a number of specific consumption domains.

ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS ABOUT TOURISM

The Social Practices Approach helps to acknowledge that every individual citizen has a certain specific mixture of more or less environmental-friendly performances, differing from one social practice and consumption domain to the next. This means that the same person might express environmental-friendly behaviour within one social practice and express no environmental-friendly behaviour at all in the context of another practice and in another consumption domain.

The operationalisation of the environmental concerns in the tourism domain follows the same format as the general environmental concerns. With 12 statements it has been investigated whether the environmental problem is recognised in tourism, whether tourists perceive it as important to do something about these problems, who are ascribed the responsibility to take measures, and how they perceive the role of technological innovation in sustainability processes (3 items for each quadrant; a 5-point Likert-scale from totally disagree to totally agree, with an additional answer category 'I don't know' was used).

The first quadrant of environmental concerns represents the view that in the tourism domain environmental innovation is neither needed nor desirable. Some tourists are sceptic and think the environmental pollution caused by tourism is being over-exaggerated. Another reason that people don't want to discuss environmental issues of tourism is that they are concerned for the environment under 'normal conditions', but not during their holiday: "The environment? Not when I'm on a holiday" (quote of consumer focus group on behalf of Chapter 4). This illustrates that the degree and character of environmental concerns in general differ from those in tourism.

The second quadrant of environmental concerns represents the acknowledgment of the fact that tourism behaviour causes environmental problems, but ascribes responsibilities to solve these problems primarily to the market and to governmental bodies. Technological improvements, such as the development of more efficient, or 'green' transport modes are perceived to be the solution to environmental problems.

The third quadrant of environmental concerns in tourism identifies people who are of the opinion that a process of ecological modernisation of the tourism domain asks for policies involving the active commitment of citizen-consumer as well. Tourists credit themselves with explicit responsibilities and see a role for citizen-consumers as co-makers in a transition to more sustainable tourism mobilities.

The fourth quadrant represents people who strive for structural change; e.g. for radically different tourism practices and a completely different institutional design of the tourism industry. These people view that travelling simply is not and can not be made environmental-friendly, since every journey produces CO_2 emissions. Their aim is to prevent pollution instead of compensating for it (see also Dubois, 2006).

ENVIRONMENTAL-FRIENDLY TRAVELLING PORTFOLIOS

As argued by the SPA-based theoretical framework, a more sustainable development of tourism mobilities is not simply the result of people's general environmental concerns and their environmental concerns for tourism. Besides a relevant attitude, people need knowledge, experience, skills and certain equipments in order to be able to travel in an environmental-friendly manner. People can travel environmental-friendly when they are equipped for it, when they have a green travelling portfolio. As elaborated upon in Chapter 3, 'portfolios' for environmental-friendly travelling refer to the capacity to perform environmental-friendly behaviours in the tourism domain. Parts of the survey were designed to operationalise the level and character of the portfolios for travelling environmental-friendly.

First, it was investigated whether and to what extent people receive environmental information with regard to the holiday from several sources (e.g. from market actors, from the government, from social sources, from consumer organisations, or from environmental organisations; a 4-point scale 'often, regularly, now and then, never' was used). Besides receiving environmental information, portfolios have been operationalised by measuring whether people are familiar with several existing environmental information formats described in Chapter 4 (i.e. instruments to compare the environmental impacts of different transport modes or holidays, websites on which more sustainable holidays are gathered, environmental-friendly travel agencies), and climate compensation schemes. The question is "Have you ever used this instrument, and if so, how is your experience?", and the answer categories are: yes, I have positive experience(s); yes, I have neutral experience(s); yes, I have negative experience(s); no, but I am familiar with it; no, I am not familiar with it.

Furthermore, the portfolios have been operationalised by measuring whether people have experiences with distinct alternatives for more sustainable tourism mobilities; modal shift to train, modal shift to coach, slow travelling, and ecolocalism[52]. The four options to answer the question "Have you ever [...], and if so, how is your experience?" are: yes, I have positive experience(s); yes, I have neutral experience(s); yes, I have negative experience(s); no.

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52 Fair tourism, another more sustainable tourism option (see Chapter 2), will not be discussed here since it considers sustainable tourism at destination level, while leaving the tourism mobility aspect too much aside.

MODES OF PROVISION

Besides tourists' concerns for the environment and their portfolios for environmental-friendly travelling – both referring to individual characteristics – practice theory argues for the need to include variables describing the contexts of tourism behaviour. Here, the context refers to the modes of provisioning more sustainable alternatives by the tourism and travelling sector (see Figure 3.2, Chapter 3). Since people can only travel environmental-friendly when a certain level (i.e. both in terms of quantity and of quality) of green provision is offered, the survey investigates how Dutch citizen-consumers evaluate the quantity and quality of the current system of provision for environmental-friendly travelling. Furthermore, several improvements of the quality of the systems of provision in the tourism industry are presented. Respondents are asked whether these improved provider strategies convince them to perform more sustainable tourism mobility behaviours in the future.

The effect of the improved system of provisioning for sustainable tourism mobility has been measured in two ways. Survey items investigated both the perceived effect on respondents' own behaviour, and whether they expect others to show an intention to travel more environmental-friendly. To give an example: "If more tourist destinations could be reached by train without having to transfer, then I would go on holiday by train. If [same], then other people would go on holiday by train". By giving respondents the opportunity to reflect on the relevance of different provisioning strategies for more sustainable tourism mobilities both for themselves and for others, it was investigated whether and to what extent Dutch citizen-consumers perceive sustainability strategies as relevant for the tourism consumption domain, besides the receptiveness on the level of the individual consumer.

The modes of provisioning more sustainable tourism mobilities have been operationalised along the same lines as the portfolios; modal shift to train and coach, slow travelling, ecolocalism and climate compensation. Eleven statements have been posed regarding the current quantity and quality of the modes of provision, and eleven improvements of the system of provision for which the effect on the respondent and the effect on others has been measured. It hence involves thirty-three statements following a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 'totally disagree' to 'totally agree'. Regarding the individual effect of improved modes of provision, there is an additional answer category 'I already do this'.

Because the length of the survey was limited, it was not possible to ask each respondent all 33 questions. Instead, each respondent was randomly asked the set of questions regarding two of the sustainable tourism mobility alternatives.

It is important to note that, strictly speaking, this is not an analysis of the system of provision itself. Instead, it is an attempt to analyse and reconstruct how Dutch tourists perceive the systems of provision and their performance with respect to environmental-friendly tourism mobilities.

6.2.3   Data analyses

SPSS 17.0[53] and Latent GOLD 4.0 have been used for the statistical analyses.

Since sporadically respondents do not fill in online questionnaires seriously, StemPunt identified and deleted those respondents before providing the data set. Furthermore, StemPunt coded all variables and missing data, and screened and cleaned the data set for errors. An additional data scan for errors therefore showed a faultless dataset. Frequency tables were created of all items to gain insight in the answers of the respondents on the general environmental concerns, the environmental concerns for tourism, the environmental concerns in other consumption domains, the attractiveness of several sustainable tourism mobility alternatives, the experiences with several sustainable tourism mobility alternatives, the evaluation of the modes of provision of several sustainable tourism mobility alternatives, the amount of environmental information people receive, and the knowledge of environmental information formats. The results of these descriptive analyses will be presented in the sections below.

After these descriptive analyses, reliability analyses of the scales of the quadrants of the environmental concerns statements have been performed. The results of the reliability analyses of the quadrants of environmental concerns will be presented in section 6.3. Furthermore, a Principal Component Analyses (PCA) has been performed for the environmental concerns with regard to tourism. For the components discerned in this PCA, reliability analyses have been performed.

Section 6.4 investigates the attractiveness of, experience with and evaluation of the modes of provision of four specified alternative travelling options which may contribute to a sustainable development of tourism mobilities. Furthermore, t-tests have been performed to test the hypotheses that improved modes of provision are most effective among people who regard the sustainable tourism mobility alternatives as attractive and the people who possess portfolios for these alternatives.

To investigate whether there are several groups of tourists among Dutch citizen-consumers who differ with regard to their experiences with the sustainable tourism mobility alternatives, a Latent Cluster analysis has been conducted with Latent GOLD 4.0 (Vermunt & Magidson, 2005; see more in section 6.5). Several analyses of variance (ANOVA) have been performed to portray the different tourist clusters and to test whether the tourist clusters differ significantly from each other with regard to their concerns for the environment, their travelling portfolio, their evaluation of the current system of provision for environmental-friendly travelling options, their behavioural intentions when improvements in the system of provision of these options would be made, and their socio-demographic characteristics.

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53 Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

In this way a profile of tourist clusters is created which may point to a relevant typology of practices in the tourism domain.

6.3   The sustainability debate in tourism

Despite the long history of the societal debate concerning sustainable consumption, little is known about the position of the tourism domain in the sustainability debate. This section will present the results of a large-scale survey among Dutch consumers regarding how sustainability issues are dealt with in the tourism domain and how tourists perceive their responsibility in the process of a sustainable development of tourism. In doing this, the process of ecological modernisation within the tourism domain is portrayed.

6.3.1   The sustainability debate in the tourism domain

The respondents' answers on the twelve statements which were used to operationalise 'tourism environmental concerns' are presented in Figure 6.2. It reveals quite high levels of 'neutral' responses (an average of 31%). This suggests that many people have not yet formed a clear opinion with regard to tourism environmental concerns[54].

The results furthermore reveal that the opinions are divided on a number of statements. The share of respondents which agrees and disagrees with the statements that tourism contributes very little to environmental problems (TC1) and that the attention for environmental-friendly holidays is exaggerated (TC2) are of comparable sizes. Regarding the importance of the environmental-friendliness of going on a holiday (TC3), opinions are less divided. More people disagree (36.9%) than agree (20.6%) with the statement that it is not important that going on a holiday is environmental-friendly.

   The respondents agree with the three statements which point to governmental measures and technological innovations as the solution to the environmental problems related with tourism behaviour (TC4: 41.8%, TC5: 57.1%, TC6: 41.7%).

   The statements which refer to the (co-) responsibility of travellers in a sustainable development of tourism mobilities reveal that the bigger part of respondents is not of the opinion that travellers should compensate the CO_2 emissions of their flights (TC7; 26.7% (totally) agrees; 36.9% (totally) disagrees). Also, taking one's own responsibility by deciding to go on holiday by train or coach is not popular

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54 In comparison, the percentages of neutral responses on the environmental concerns in other consumption domains were as follows: everyday mobility 24.7%; housing 26.8%; clothing 31.5%; food 35.3%; general environmental concerns 33.9%.

Figure 6.2   The statements of environmental concerns in the tourism domain
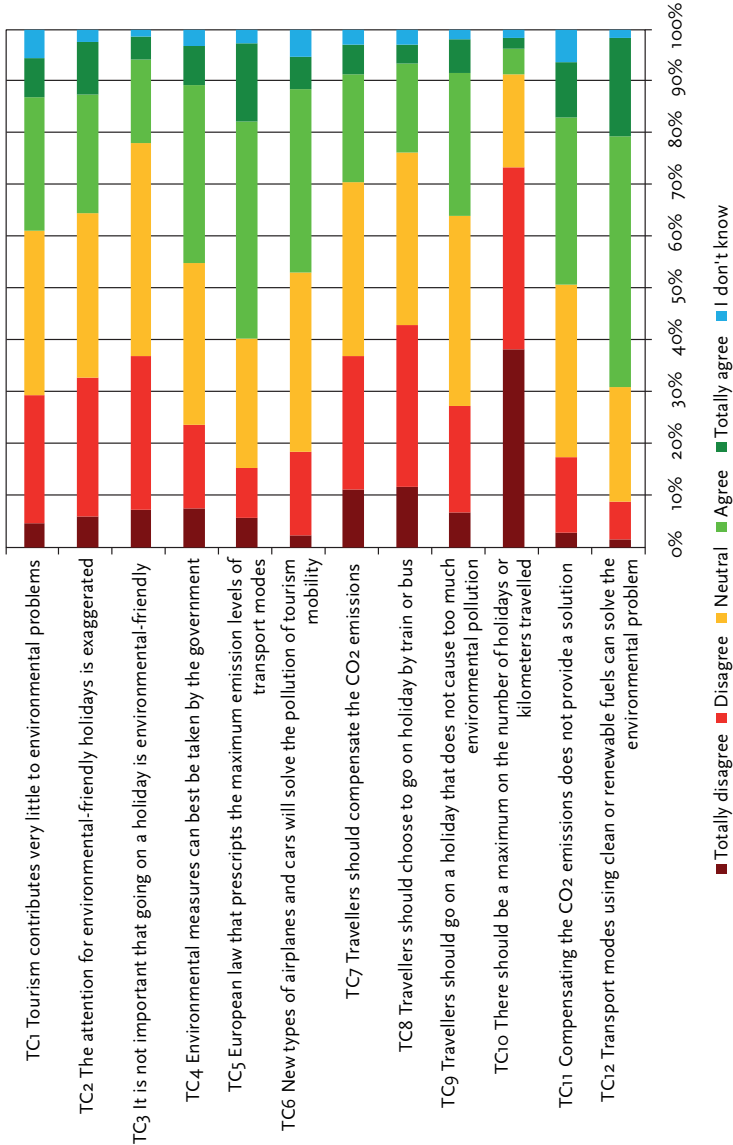
among the respondents (TC8; 20.7% (totally) agrees, compared to 42.9% who (totally) disagrees). Slightly more respondents agree than disagree that travellers should make sure their holiday does not cause too much environmental pollution (TC9; 34.1% (totally) agrees, compared to 27.4% who (totally) disagrees). Since this is a rather noncommittal statement as compared to the others, it is not surprising that people are more positive towards this statement.

Unsurprisingly, the extreme statement that the number of holidays or the kilometres travelled should be restricted is not popular among tourists (TC10; only 6.9% (totally) agrees whereas 73.4% (totally) disagrees). Respondents agree with the other statements in line with the quadrant of structural changes, i.e. that compensating the CO_2 emissions does not provide a solution to the environmental pollution caused by tourism (TC11; 42.9% (totally) agrees) and that the environmental problem can be solved with transport modes which use clean or renewable fuels (TC12; 67.1% (totally) agrees).

These results point to the preliminary conclusion that environmental issues play a limited role on travel planning and behaviour. Few tourists take environmental issues into consideration and choose for more environmental-friendly holidays (see also Brunner-Sperdin and Müller, 2008). The responsibility to come up with a solution is primarily ascribed to the sector (technological innovations) and to the government (taking general governmental measures).

Figure 6.3 shows the result of computing the scores of respondents on the quadrants of the environmental concerns. The tenor of the sustainability debate is that if something needs to be done, it should be something which does not fundamentally affect the holiday; something which does not limit tourists' freedom to travel the way they want to, where they want to, when they want to and how often they want to. This is comparable to the well-known NIMBY-effect and could be referred to as the Not In My Holiday (NIMHO) effect.

To analyse whether the theoretically inspired quadrants find support in the empirical data of the survey-dataset, a principal component analysis has been conducted. A principal component analysis is a data reduction technique which analyses whether data may be reduced using a smaller number of components. It might be the case that a component analysis will reduce the set of variables to the four quadrants as theoretically supposed, but it might also point to other underlying constructs. In other words, a principal component analysis is used to evaluate and develop coherent subscales for environmental concerns in the tourism domain.

The data set is suitable for a principal component analysis (KMO is with 0.842 above the required 0.6, and Bartlett's Test of Spherity is significant for p<.000). The principal component analysis reveals that, instead of the expected four, the twelve statements are reduced to three components. Three components have Eigen-

values above 1, and these three components explain a total 53% of the variance (see Table 6.1).

Figure 6.3   The four quadrants of environmental concerns in the tourism domain
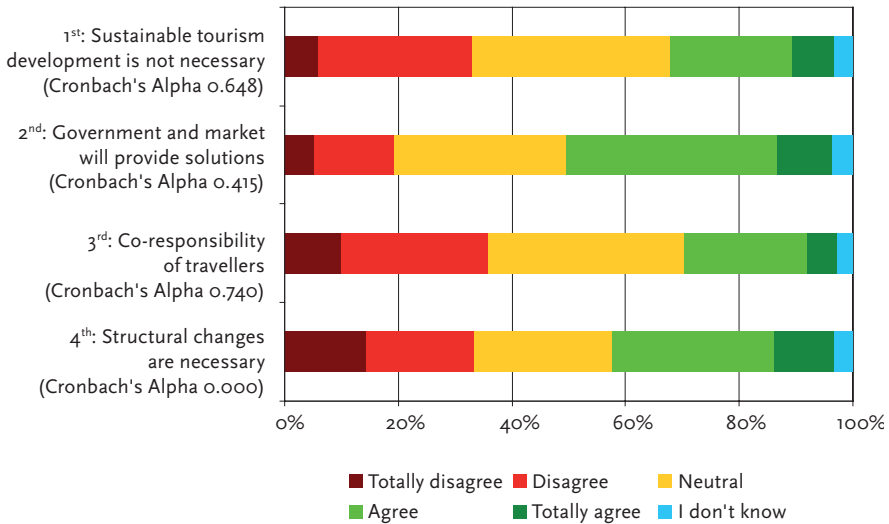
Table 6.1   Principal Component Analysis

| | Total Variance explained | | |
| | Initial Eigenvalues | | |
Component	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	3.682	30.680	30.680
2	1.538	12.817	43.497
3	1.145	9.545	53.042
4	.933	7.774	60.815

The Pattern Matrix (Table 6.2), presenting the factor loadings of the statements, reveals that these three components strongly resemble the first three of the four quadrants of environmental concerns. The fourth quadrant, 'structural changes are necessary' is not recognisable as a separate component in the dataset. The principal component analysis reveals that the statements which were supposed to measure the fourth quadrant, the necessity of taking structural measures, each belong to one of the three components.

By proposing a maximum, statement TC10 puts the necessity to change current holiday practices to extremes, and therefore forms a component with the statements of the third quadrant. The statement that transport modes should use clean or renewable fuels such as solar energy or hydrogen (TC12), an extreme variant of technological innovations, is related to the statements of the second quadrant. The final statement of the supposedly fourth quadrant (TC11) refers to the necessity and usefulness of taking sustainability measures (TC11) and therefore forms a component with the statements of the first quadrant.

Table 6.2   Pattern Matrix

	Component		
	1	2	3
TC8 Travellers should choose to go on holiday by train or bus.	.784		
TC10 There should be a maximum on the number of holidays or kilometres travelled.	.775		
TC9 Travellers should go on a holiday that does not cause too much environmental pollution.	.645		
TC7 Travellers should compensate the CO_2 emissions of their flights.	.642		
TC4 Environmental measures can best be taken by the government.	.470	.330	
TC12 Transport modes that use clean or renewable fuels provide the solution.		.808	
TC6 New types of airplanes and cars will solve the pollution of tourism mobility.		.748	
TC5 A European law should prescribe the maximum emission levels of transport modes.	.348	.445	
TC1 Tourism contributes very little to environmental problems.			.695
TC11 Compensating the CO_2 emissions does not provide a solution.			.650
TC3 It is not important that going on a holiday is environmental-friendly.			.644
TC2 The attention for environmental-friendly holidays is exaggerated.	-.346		.597

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalisation.
Rotation converged in 9 iterations.

The first component (Cronbach's Alpha=0.627) hence refers to the necessity and desirability to take measures which reduce the environmental impacts of tourism. It represents the three statements of the first quadrant of environmental concerns and the statement that climate compensation is not the solution to environmental challenges (i.e. TC 1, 2, 3 and 11). The average score on this component is 3.1. Respondents are divided on these statements. Respondents do not hold strong views regarding the necessity of a sustainable development of tourism. They have not formed a clear opinion on the relation between tourism and the environment (Figure 6.4).

Although TC4 has factor loadings on both the first and the second component, it is chosen to assign this to the second component. This is easier to interpret, because the second component (Cronbach's Alpha=0.549) then consists of the three statements which point to governmental measures and technological innovations as the answer to sustainability challenges (i.e. TC 4, 5, 6, and 12). The average score on the statements of the second component is 3.4. Dutch citizen-consumers appear to have a strong confidence in the governmental measures and in technological innovations taken by market actors to protect society against the negative impacts of tourism mobilities (Figure 6.4; see also Raad voor Verkeer en Waterstaat et al., 2008).

The third component (Cronbach's Alpha=0.751) consists of statements which point to travellers as co-responsible actors. A sustainable development of tourism mobilities requires changes in tourists' holiday behaviours (i.e. TC 7, 8, 9, and 10). The average score of respondents on these statements is 2.6. Respondents hence do not view themselves as co-responsible actors, and hardly see a role for travellers in a sustainable development of tourism. Tourists are not unequivocally prepared to change their own holiday (Figure 6.4).

Figure 6.4   **The components of environmental concerns in the tourism domain**
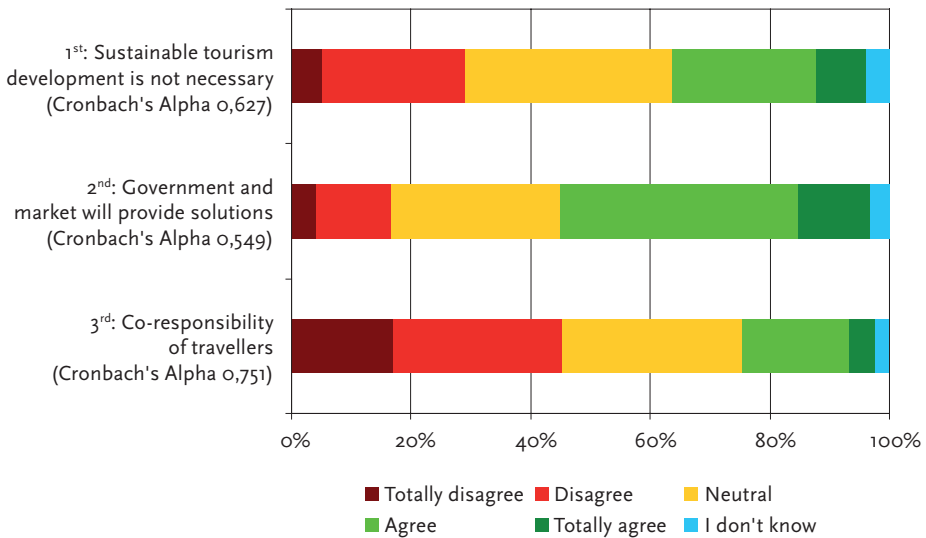
6.3.2   *Comparing sustainability debates*

The current sustainability debate in tourism leads to the question whether the debate in tourism differs from the societal debate concerning sustainable consumption. It

is expected that people's general environmental concerns are somewhat 'greener' compared to their concerns about tourism. To investigate whether environmental problems are more acknowledged with regard to consumption in general than with regard to tourism, the results of the general environmental concerns are presented here; the stated necessity of taking sustainability measure, the preferred types of solutions, the attribution of responsibilities and the call for structural changes instead of incremental changes (see Figure 6.5).

Figure 6.5   **The four quadrants of general environmental concerns**
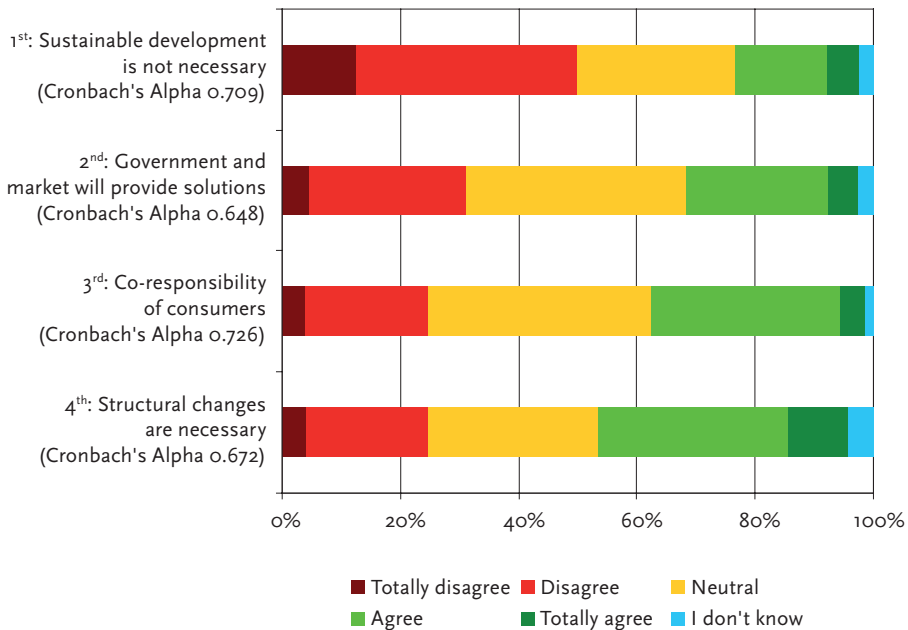
The results regarding the general environmental concerns reveal that most people acknowledge the fact that there are environmental problems and that climate changes are to a certain extent caused by consumption behaviour. In the societal debate concerning sustainable consumption few people think that environmental problems are over exaggerated and sustainable development is not necessary. The group of sceptics is smaller with regard to consumption behaviour in general than with regard to tourism behaviour.

Figure 6.5 shows another difference between the societal debate concerning sustainable consumption and the sustainability debate in tourism: when it concerns consumption behaviour in general, people prefer structural changes and view

consumers as co-responsible. Consumers see a role for themselves and want to cooperate in providing a solution to the consumption behaviour-related environmental problems. Consumers (are willing to) consider the environmental aspects related to their consumption behaviour, and state they are even in favour of strategies of voluntary simplicity (i.e. consuming less, or – in Dutch – 'consuminderen').

The expectation that the societal debate concerning sustainable consumption is different from and somewhat 'greener' compared to the sustainability debate in tourism has been confirmed. Individuals who demonstrate pro-environmental behaviour in everyday life hence do not necessarily demonstrate pro-environmental behaviour during their holiday, or, as Holden (2007: 189) states: "People with green attitudes cast aside those attitudes in their leisure-time travel behaviour". [...] For most green individuals, environmental problems related to their leisure-time activities do not seem to be of great concern" (see also: Dolnicar et al., 2008; Gatersleben et al., 2002).

The differences might be explained by the fact that tourism is often considered as a separate consumption domain, one that does not fall under the normal 'rules' of behaviour. When it concerns their holiday, people want to be free to do whatever they want, and have little interest in performing environmental-friendly tourism and travelling behaviours (e.g. Holden, 2007). It might be the case that the extraordinary character of the tourism consumption domain explains the current character of the sustainability debate.

The differences in the debate could however also be explained by the fact that the tourism domain finds itself in the initial phase of a process of ecological modernisation (Chapter 3; see also Budeanu, 2007a; Spaargaren et al., 2007). In some consumption domains environmental issues have been discussed for some time now, whereas in the tourism domain discussing environmental issues is a more recent phenomenon. The sustainable development would then not be equally recognised as meaningful and relevant within the different consumption domains, and different measures are viewed as the proper type of solution (see also Spaargaren et al., 2007). Suggesting that tourism is in a beginning phase of a sustainable development would imply that sustainability issues are treated with reluctance because of a lack of proper sustainability options, and a related lack of experience with environmental-friendly travelling. It is not reasonable to expect pro-environmental attitudes and -efforts from citizen-consumers when there is hardly any provision of sustainable tourism and travelling options. The passiveness and reluctance of citizen-consumers could be a context specific consequence of a consumption domain which is in a beginning phase of sustainable development (see also Spaargaren et al., 2007).

Finally, the differences between the general environmental concerns and tourism environmental concerns could also be explained by the fact that general environmental concerns are more remote from the reality of daily consumption behaviours

compared to the environmental concerns about tourism which are directly related to specific consumption behaviours. This difference might reflect individuals' dual role in the contemporary environmental policy context, the ideal types of the consumer and the citizen (Berglund & Matti, 2006). It might be the case that the more abstract general environmental concerns address respondents in their citizen-role, whereas the tourism environmental concerns address respondents in their consumer-role (see also Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008). In a citizen-role, people attach importance to collective problems such as environmental problems, and are of the opinion that changes are necessary and that measures need to be taken to reduce the environmental effects of consumption behaviour. In a consumer-role, people attach moderate importance to collective problems such as environmental problems and are somewhat more reluctant to sustainable development processes since it will affect their consumption behaviours.

To investigate whether there can be spoken of, first, tourism as an extraordinary consumption domain in which people do not want to be bothered with sustainability issues, or, second, the beginning phase of the tourism consumption domain in sustainability processes, or, third, that the differences can actually be ascribed to the citizen- and consumer-roles in sustainable development processes, a comparison has been made with other consumption domains[55].

The comparison of the concerns for the environment reveals that the different consumption domains have a different stand towards environmental issues (see Figures 6.6, 6.7 and 6.8). The comparison reveals that the environmental concerns about food consumption and everyday mobility show resemblance (Figure 6.6 and Figure 6.7) and that the environmental concerns about clothing and tourism show resemblance (Figure 6.8 and Figure 6.3). With regard to food consumption and everyday mobility behaviour, most people disagree with the statements that sustainable development would be unnecessary or undesirable. Furthermore, people are in favour of governmental measures, of solutions provided by the market and they also point to themselves as co-responsible actors in sustainable development processes.

The sustainability debate in the domains of food consumption and everyday mobility can be said to be even 'greener' compared to the societal debate concerning sustainable consumption in general. One of the expectations, that people would respond to general concerns in their citizen-role (i.e. pro-environmental attitudes and positive towards taking measures), and to environmental concerns in specific consumption domains in their consumer-role (i.e. more reluctant towards the necessity to take measures which influence consumption behaviour), has not been confirmed. The general environmental concerns do not represent the most advanced

55 i.e. The consumption domain Home Maintenance and Repair is not included in this comparison since the environmental concerns have been operationalised differently in this consumption domain.

Figure 6.6   The four quadrants of environmental concerns in everyday mobility

Everyday mobility

1st: Sustainable development is not necessary
(Cronbach's Alpha 0.580)

2nd: Government and market
will provide solutions
(Cronbach's Alpha 0.421)

3rd: Co-responsibility of consumers
(Cronbach's Alpha 0.613)

4th: Structural changes are necessary
(Cronbach's Alpha 0.523)

0%   20%   40%   60%   80%   100%

■ Totally disagree ■ Disagree ■ Neutral
■ Agree ■ Totally agree ■ I don't know
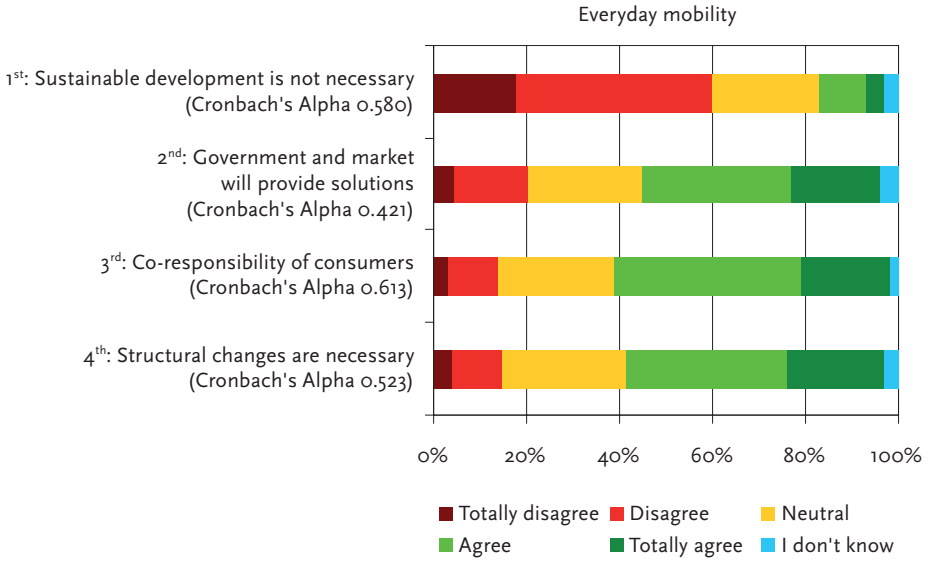
Figure 6.7   The four quadrants of environmental concerns in the food domain

Food

1st: Sustainable development is not necessary
(Cronbach's Alpha 0.674)

2nd: Government and market
will provide solutions
(Cronbach's Alpha 0.495)

3rd: Co-responsibility of consumers
(Cronbach's Alpha 0.675)

4th: Structural changes are necessary
(Cronbach's Alpha 0.544)

0%   20%   40%   60%   80%   100%

■ Totally disagree ■ Disagree ■ Neutral
■ Agree ■ Totally agree ■ I don't know
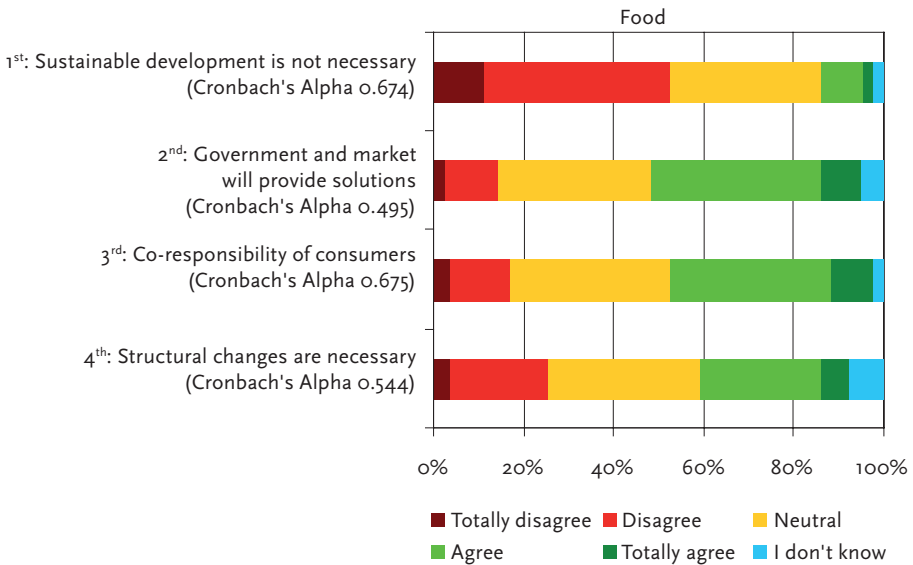
Figure 6.8   The four quadrants of environmental concerns in the clothing domain
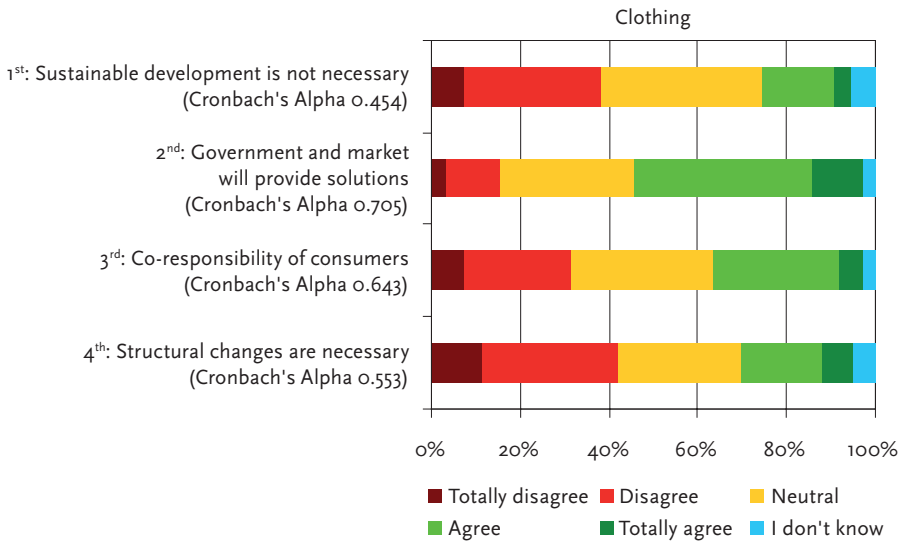
sustainability debate. This leaves two remaining explanations for the character of the sustainability debate in tourism: its extraordinary character or its beginning phase. Longitudinal research would be necessary to investigate these hypotheses.

Given the fact that in recent years the tourism industry has taken efforts to improve the system of provision for sustainable tourism behaviour (see Chapter 4), and that, according to Sigala (2008), tourists are increasingly concerned for environmental issues, it can be expected that in the future this will be reflected in the development of the sustainability debate in the tourism domain. Therefore, it is most likely the beginning phase of the tourism domain which explains why sustainability issues are not yet interwoven with this consumption domain. The fact that the sustainability debate in the tourism domain resembles the situation in the clothing domain (Figure 6.8) confirms the expectation that both these consumption domains are in a beginning phase of an ecological modernisation process, as compared to everyday mobility and food consumption in which the process of ecological modernisation has proceeded further (see also Spaargaren et al., 2007).

6.3.3   *Reflection on the sustainability debate in tourism*

The results presented so far provide an answer to the first research question.

> What are the environmental concerns of Dutch citizen-consumers about tourism?
> How do these concerns differ from the environmental concerns in other consump-
> tion domains and from general environmental concerns?

It can be concluded that Dutch citizen-consumers hardly connect the environmental consequences of tourism to their own holidays. Looking upon consumers as co-responsible in a sustainable development of tourism mobility is not yet common in the tourism domain. Dutch citizen-consumers prefer measures to be taken by the government or the market as to be sure that they concern all tourists. In a sustainable development of tourism mobilities, tourists ask for a level playing field.

The fact that tourists point to technological developments and governmental measures and hardly regard themselves as co-responsible is a reflection of the context in which the sustainability debate is taking place. The comparison of the current sustainability debate in the tourism domain with other consumption domains illustrated that the interest in the environmental and social impacts of tourism is lagging behind other sectors (see also Ytterhus, 2000 in Budeanu, 2007a). In the tourism domain environmental issues are rather new compared to other consumption domains, and environmental issues and sustainability issues are not yet interwoven in the tourism domain (see also Chapter 4; see also Budeanu, 2007a). Sustainability issues are treated with reluctance because of a lack of proper sustainability options, and a related lack of experience with environmental-friendly travelling. This suggests that tourism is only in a beginning phase of an ecological modernisation process.

6.4   Sustainable alternatives for tourism mobility

In a sustainable development of tourism mobilities, consumers can play an important role (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008). With their consumption behaviour, consumers can make a voice by choosing the more sustainable or more environmental-friendly products and services (i.e. buycotts) (see Micheletti, 2003; Berglund & Matti, 2006; Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008; Holzer & Sørensen, 2003; Friedman, 1996; Friedman, 1999; Jensen, 2005).

There is a lack of reliable information about the willingness of tourists to travel more environmental-friendly (see also Budeanu, 2007a). In this section it will be investigated whether tourists are attracted to and have experience with several more sustainable alternatives for tourism mobilities and how they perceive the quantity and quality of green provision related to these options. In doing this, the results of the survey reveal the receptiveness among Dutch citizen-consumers for several ways to go on a more environmental-friendly holiday. Several options are

investigated; ecolocalism (section 6.4.1), slow travel (section 6.4.2), modal shift (section 6.4.3), and climate compensation (section 6.4.4)[56].

6.4.1   Ecolocalism: attractiveness, experiences, and evaluation of provision

The attractiveness of ecolocalism among tourists was operationalised as "How attractive is it for you to spend the holiday closer to home? (The holiday destination for a holiday of at least 5 days is in the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg or West-Germany)" (TC27). The survey revealed a high level of positive values towards ecolocalism; 57.9% thinks it is (very) attractive to go on a holiday closer to home (see Figure 6.14).

It should however not be automatically assumed that tourists who show positive attitudes towards ecolocalism feel attracted to it because of the ecological gains attached to a holiday closer to home. People who choose to spend their holidays close to home might not even be aware of the environmental benefits of travelling a shorter distance and therefore producing less pollution. There are several pragmatic reasons for ecolocalism (Curtis, 2003; Parnwell, 2006). Among the people who perceive spending a holiday closer to home as a (very) attractive option, the most important reason for spending holidays closer to home is to reduce the amount of time one has to spend on travelling to the holiday destination (see also Bargeman, 2001; Friedl et al., 2005). For 54.5% the short travelling time is the single most important reason why spending a holiday close to home is attractive. Time spent on travelling is perceived as wasted time. Another pragmatic argument is that shorter travelling distances save fuel costs (22.2%). Much less important are environmental reasons such as reducing air pollution (9.2%), and reduced impacts on climate change (2.9%). With an open-ended question, respondents were given the opportunity to mention other reasons. After grouping the answers, it appeared that for 5.5% of the respondents the most important reason is that there is much to see and experience close to home. Other people don't travel far because they are limited financially (1.3%) or because of health or care reasons (1.7%).

> "I search for destinations closer to home. [...] Why should I drive 900 or 1000 kilometres when I can find the same at 250 kilometres?" (FG consumer 2; Tourist 12)

> "There is so much to see nearby. You don't have to travel far. To escape from our daily environment is more important than the distance" (quote from survey TC27t)

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56 Although the intentions for pro-environmental behaviour were split in the effect on the respondent and the effect on others (see section 6.2.2), the latter type of questions are left out of consideration. Most respondents were 'neutral' with regard to these questions (an average of 59.2%), which suggests that tourists are not very familiar with (thinking about) sustainability strategies in the tourism domain. Again, this implies that the sustainability debate in the tourism consumption domain is still in its infancy and that environmental issues are not yet interwoven with the tourism consumption domain.

"You can also have a nice holiday close to home." (quote from survey TC27t)

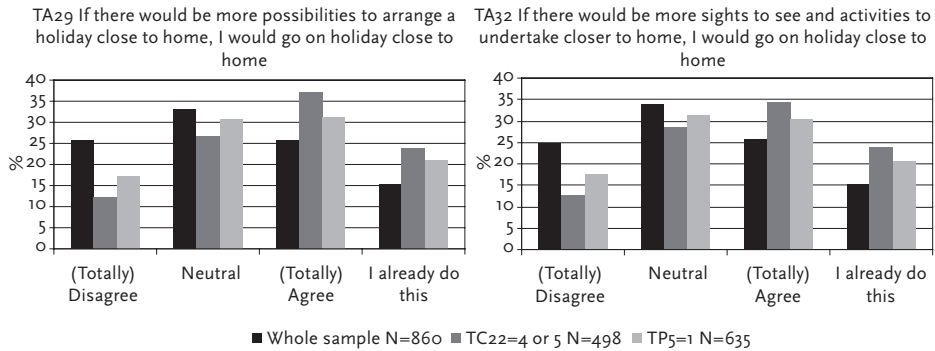"I like going on holidays nearby. That has nothing to do with environmental issues" (quote from survey TC27t)

"Why go on long-distance holidays when you can also have a very nice holiday closer to home? And then it is also better for the environment!" (quote from survey TC27t)

The attractiveness of ecolocalism among Dutch citizen-consumers is also reflected in the analysis of the portfolios (TP5). Almost all people have experiences with spending the holiday close to home (92%; N=2.053), and they report mainly positive experiences with this type of holidays (79.9%; N=1.649). Regardless of whether this concerns ecolocalism or just localism, still, it is an existing and recognisable sustainable alternative for tourism mobility with many positive experiences attached to it.

The evaluation of the current system of provision as attached to ecolocalism shows that Dutch citizen-consumers think there are enough possibilities to arrange holidays close to home (TA28; 76.8% (totally) agrees), and that there is enough to do, see and experience during a holiday spent close to home (TA31; 68.3% (totally) agrees). This positive evaluation combined with the high level of attractiveness suggests that there is support for ecolocalism.

Given the high satisfaction with the current system of provision for holidays close to home, strategies which improve the opportunities for ecolocalist holidays can only to a certain extent convince people to choose for ecolocalist holidays in the future. A considerable share of people (15.5%) states they already go on ecolocalist holidays and are therefore indifferent to improved provisioning strategies which aim to support ecolocalism (TA29; TA31). Among the whole sample, the percentage of people inclined to go on an ecolocalist holiday when the opportunities will be further improved is about the same as the percentage of people that will not choose to spend their holidays close to home. Several t-tests[57] confirmed the hypothesis that among the people who perceive ecolocalism as (highly) attractive (TC22=4 or 5), or have positive experiences with ecolocalism (TP5=1; i.e. possess portfolio for ecolocalism), the intention to go on holiday close to home under conditions of improved provision is considerably higher than among the sample as a whole (see also Figure 6.9).

57 Regarding TA29 the differences in mean scores among 'TC22=4/5' (3.46), among 'TP5=1' (3.27) and among the whole sample (3.03) is significant (t-test 99% Sig .000). Regarding TA32 the differences in mean scores among 'TC22=4/5' (3.43), among 'TP5=1' (3.25) and among the whole sample (3.05) is significant (t-test 99% Sig .000). The 5-point-Likert scale was included in the t-tests, not 'I already do this'.

Figure 6.9   Ecolocalism: behavioural intentions

TA29 If there would be more possibilities to arrange a holiday close to home, I would go on holiday close to home

TA32 If there would be more sights to see and activities to undertake closer to home, I would go on holiday close to home

■ Whole sample N=860   ■ TC22=4 or 5 N=498   ■ TP5=1 N=635

6.4.2   *Slow travel: attractiveness, experiences, and evaluation of provision*

Slow travel concerns another option for more sustainable tourism mobility. There is a certain level of overlap among slow travelling and ecolocalism. Ecolocalism and slow travelling for example both emphasise the 'local'. The difference is however that ecolocalism implies going on a holiday closer to home, whereas 'local' in slow travelling refers to the interest among slow travellers to connect with the culture and nature of the region in which the holiday is spent. Slow travel is not necessarily close to home. Furthermore, instead of experiencing travelling time as wasted time, slow travel implies that travelling time is a valuable part of the holiday; one takes time for and enjoys the act of travelling. Slow travel is about authenticity, rest, relaxation, quality time, experience value of travelling, and about exploring nature and culture (see Chapter 2). Slow travelling can refer to making round-tours by bike, on foot, by covered wagons or by donkeys, going on a train holiday, or a car holiday in a slow pace, and going on a holiday less frequently, but for longer periods, thereby reducing the transport intensity (e.g. Dubois, 2006; www.slowtravel.com/org; www.milieucentraal.nl).

To investigate whether people are attracted to slow travelling and whether they have experiences with it, slow travelling was operationalised as "During the holiday the goal is to travel, to experience the act of travelling slowly with attention for culture and nature". Among the respondents, 70% has experience with slow travel (TP4; N=1.570). Of those people, 80.3% (N=1.261) states that slow travelling was a positive holiday experience. Comparable, 58.6% of the respondents perceive slow travelling as (very) attractive (TC26) (see Figure 6.14).

Similar to the results regarding ecolocalism, the most prominent reasons for people to perceive slow travelling as an attractive option are not environmental of nature. Since slow travelling is about the act of travelling, and of perceiving the travel time as a valuable aspect of the holiday, it is not surprising that the

most important reason why slow travel is perceived attractive is that it concerns a pleasant way to spend travel time (60.0%). People regard it as relaxing, and a way to enjoy more of nature and landscape. Another important reason why slow travel is attractive is that it keeps you fit and in condition (21.2%). Much less important reasons are that it involves less air pollution 11.6%; or that it reduces the effects on climate change, 4.8%.

> "You see more of the environment. And it is peaceful" (quote from survey TC26t)
>
> "Relaxing by enjoying the environment" (quote from survey TC26t)
>
> "Calming down, relaxing, and seeing a lot of other places" (quote from survey TC26t)
>
> "It has nothing to do with environmental-friendliness, but with our interest in atmosphere and experiences" (quote from survey TC26t)

The attractiveness of slow travelling among tourists suggests that slow travelling may become a meaningful sustainable alternative for tourism mobility (see also Dubois, 2006). Perceiving travelling time as valuable instead of wasted time implies that travel time does not have to be as short as possible and therefore people do not have to travel with the fastest transport means (which is also the most polluting transport means).

With regard to the provision of slow travel holidays, besides niches of slow travelling which have existed for a longer time, nowadays more and more high-quality slow mobility products and slow travel holidays are being developed. According to the Dutch tour operator Baobab that explicitly introduced Slow Travel in 2008 with their product 'Fair Weg' (i.e. Fair Away, a variation on Far Away[58]), there is a growing number of Dutch people desiring true experiences instead of holidays in which one travels in a hurried pace to all the highlights (Press release Baobab, 2008-12-04).

To operationalise the evaluation of provisioning strategies, a demarcation was needed to investigate the evaluation of the current provision of slow travelling holidays and the behavioural intent for slow travelling when the opportunities for slow travelling would be improved. Given the fact that in the focus groups and interviews (see Chapter 4) it was often stated that the only way to travel environmental-friendly is to travel without motorised transport modes, the questions with regard to operationalising the modes of provision of slow travelling were limited to walking or cycling holidays.

A large number of people is of the opinion that there are enough facilities to arrange a walking or cycling holiday (TA22; 60.6% (totally) agrees; 6.7% (totally) disagrees). Despite the fact that the evaluation of the current system of provision

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58 Baobab offers slow travel holiday packages in various African, South American and Asian countries.

for walking or cycling tours is already quite positive, the strategy to improve the modes of provisioning for slow travelling seems to convince quite a large share of people to go on walking and cycling holidays. Figure 6.10 shows that if more cycling and walking holidays would be provided in which luggage transport is taken care of and the accommodations are arranged (TA23), then 35.6% of the people who think of slow travelling as attractive (i.e. TC21=4 or 5) and 35.8% of the people with positive experiences with it (i.e. TP4=1) will go on such holidays. Among the whole sample, this intention is considerably lower (26.9%). Several t-tests confirmed that the groups who regard slow travel as attractive or have positive experiences with it are significantly more inclined to go on slow travel holidays compared to the sample as a whole[59].

Figure 6.10   Slow travelling: behavioural intentions
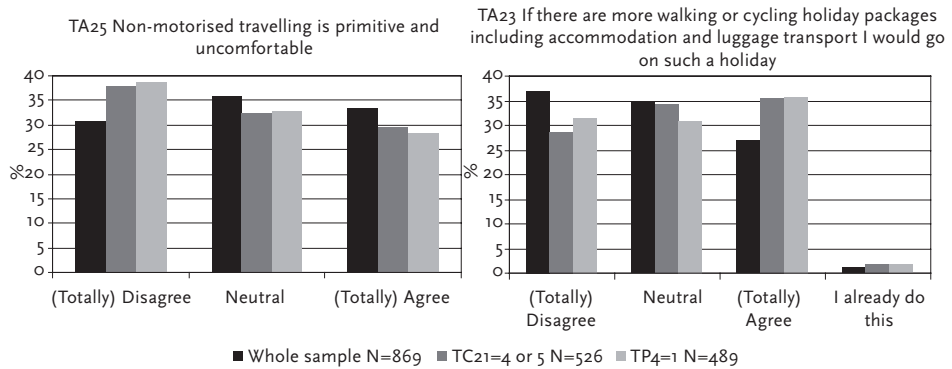
This can probably be partly explained by the fact that 33.4% considers a round-tour without motorised transport modes as primitive and not comfortable (see Figure 6.10). Tourists who perceive slow travelling as attractive and/or have positive experiences with it, as expected, are of a different opinion. Among those people, more people disagree than agree with this statement. The fact that among those who regard slow travelling as attractive and/or have positive experiences with it still a considerable number of people views non-motorised travelling as primitive and lacking comfort, reveals that slow travelling does not only concern non-motorised travelling.

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59 Regarding TA23 the differences in mean scores among 'TC21=4/5' (3.11), among 'TP4=1' (3.08) and among the whole sample (2.84) is significant (t-test 99% Sig .000). The 5-point-Likert scale was included in the t-tests, not 'I already do this'.

6.4.3   Modal shift: attractiveness, experiences, and evaluation of provision

The holiday practice is primarily characterised by air travelling and car travelling. About 90% of the holidays of Dutch tourists are undertaken by plane or car. Only a small percentage of holidays are undertaken by coach or train (Figure 6.11; NRIT 2002; 2003; 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007; 2008).

Figure 6.11   Modal split for holidays of Dutch vacationers (based on NRIT 2001-2008)

Modal split for holidays
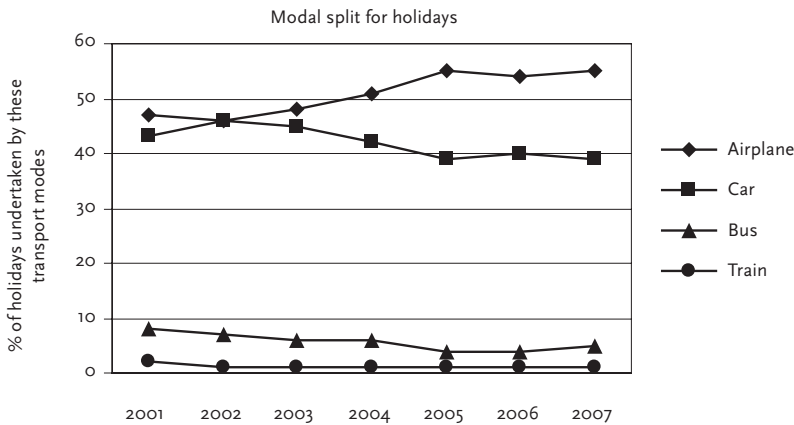
Modal shift is aimed at changing the modal split, the division over the different transport modes, towards a more environmental-friendly modal split (Chapter 2). In the survey, modal shift was operationalised by two statements: "How attractive is it for you to go on holiday by train?" (TC24) and "How attractive is it for you to go on holiday by coach?" (TC25). The results reveal a big difference in modal shift to travelling by train and a modal shift to travelling by coach. Going on a holiday by train is perceived as attractive by 29.6% and as highly attractive by 7.6% of the respondents, whereas going on a holiday by coach is attractive to only 13.9% and highly attractive to 2.5% of the respondents (see Figure 6.14).

The reasons people mention why they regard travelling by coach or train as attractive, show overlap with the motivations for slow travelling. For respectively 55% of the respondents, spending travelling time in a pleasant way is the most important reason why train travelling is attractive (compare: 55.7% for coach travelling). Another 17.8% explicitly mentions the stress of car driving and the traffic jams as the most important reason to perceive travelling by train as attractive. Compared to slow travelling, there are more people for whom environmental reasons are important for train travelling; 17.6% mentions that train travelling involves less air pollution (compare: 18.6% for coach travelling), and 4.4% mentions the reduced impact on climate change (compare: 8.0% for coach travelling). There are

also pragmatic reasons which make train travelling attractive, such as a fear of flying (2.5%; compare: 18.6% for coach travelling) and no possession of a car and/or driving licence (0.8%). Furthermore, coach travelling is perceived attractive for the low costs involved (5.9%). The fact that besides enjoying the travelling time and perceiving travel time as valuable time modal shift is perceived attractive for pragmatic reasons, differentiates modal shift from slow travelling. Some quotes are illustrative in this respect.

> "The train comes closest to the holiday destination" (quote from survey TC24t train)
> "No stress as a consequence of heavy traffic" (quote from survey TC24t train)
> "By train one can travel easily to Paris" (quote from survey TC24t train)
> "Travelling by train is a holiday in itself" (quote from survey TC24t train)
> "It is cheaper than travelling by car and for winter sports it is more practical as well (no skid chains, no snow tires et cetera necessary)" (quote from survey TC25t coach)
> "Lower costs and more environmental-friendly than flying" (quote from survey TC25t coach)
> "I drive a car under protest. With two children you need a car [...] but if it is possible to travel by train, then I prefer that. And that is also cheaper for me. I like travelling by train. It is electric and it involves no gas emissions." (FG consumer 2; Tourist 11)

The portfolio for modal shift is lower compared to the above-mentioned sustainable tourism mobility alternatives. Dutch citizen-consumers have lower levels of experience with modal shift to either coach (TP3; 64.2%; N=1.440) or train (TP2; 47.4%; N=1.062) compared to their experience with other alternatives. Among the train travellers, 60.4% has positive experiences with this way of travelling. Among the people who have experience with travelling by coach, only 25.6% perceived it as positive compared to 46.5% who has negative experiences with it.

With regard to the current system of provision for train travelling, 52.1% of the respondents are of the opinion that there are enough tourism destinations which are easily accessible by train (compared to 19.2% who disagrees with this statement, TA7). Another often-heard barrier to train travelling is that buying tickets for international train trips is difficult. Among the respondents, 34.7% disagrees with this statement, and 19.1% agrees that it is difficult (TA10).

The provision strategies which were presented to the respondents are designed to improve the system of provision for train travelling by either reducing the number of transfers in a train trip to the tourism destination, or by improving the system of online ticket purchase.

About a third of the sample remains opposed to train travelling, which equals the percentage of people that perceives train travelling as unattractive. No matter what provision strategy, they will not decide to travel by train. Several quotes from

participants in the focus groups (Chapter 4) illustrate this resistance towards modal shift to train travelling.
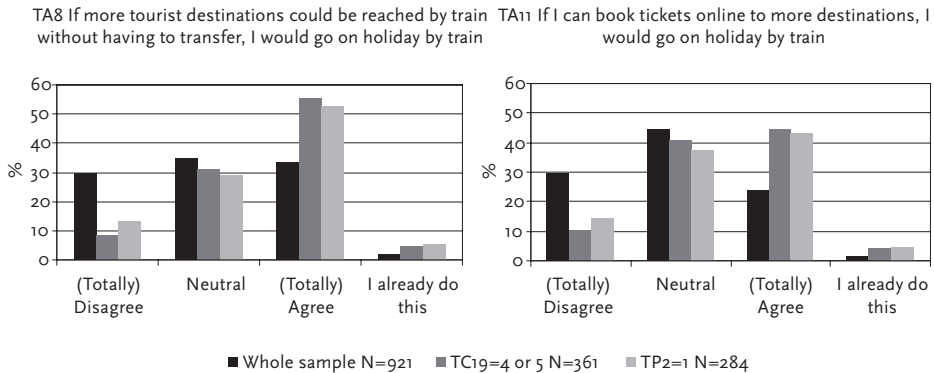
> "If I go in a holiday to Switzerland and check the price of the railway ticket, well, then it is easy, then I travel by car. It is way too expensive." (FG consumer 1; Tourist 6).
>
> "Price is what counts. If we book a train trip to Paris for four people, it is so expensive that we go by car. If the train would be cheaper, we would travel by train, because now we can not park our car there." (FG consumer 1; Tourist 5).
>
> "The previous holiday I consciously chose to travel by train. I can't help it, but next time I will surely go by car. Something always goes wrong when travelling by public transportation." (FG consumer 1; Tourist 11).

Several t-tests reveal that there are significant differences between the sample as a whole and the tourists who think of train travelling as attractive and/or possess portfolio for this alternative (i.e. have positive experiences with it)[60]. Although the sample as a whole is indifferent to these strategies, among the tourists who think of train travelling as attractive and/or have positive experiences with it, respectively 44.6% and 43.3% would travel by train when train tickets to more tourism destinations can be bought online (TA11; Figure 6.12). Furthermore, respectively 55.7% and 52.8% state that they would travel by train if they can reach the tourism destination without having to transfer (TA8; Figure 6.12).

Figure 6.12   Train travelling: behavioural intentions

TA8 If more tourist destinations could be reached by train without having to transfer, I would go on holiday by train   TA11 If I can book tickets online to more destinations, I would go on holiday by train

■ Whole sample N=921   ■ TC19=4 or 5 N=361   ■ TP2=1 N=284

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60 Regarding TA8 the differences in mean scores among 'TC19=4/5' (3.67), among 'TP2=1' (3.6) and among the whole sample (3.03) is significant (t-test 99% Sig .000). Regarding TA11 the difference in mean scores among 'TC19=4/5' (3.43), among 'TP2=1' (3.38) and among the whole sample (2.9) is significant (t-test 99% Sig .000). The 5-point-Likert scale was included in the t-tests, not 'I already do this'.

The fact that these strategies in favour of a modal shift to train travelling merely have effect on those people who are interested in or have positive experiences with train travelling implies that different groups of tourists exist who can be characterised by different modes of access and ask for different modes of provision. For those tourists who do not want to travel by train or do not possess portfolios for train travelling, modal shift measures will are not relevant.

6.4.4   Climate compensation: attractiveness, experiences, and evaluation of provision

Climate compensation is considered another option to make travelling behaviour more environmental-friendly. As opposed to the options mentioned above, climate compensation does not imply a change in travelling behaviour itself. The behaviour of tourists can remain the same; they can travel by air to the tourism destination, and by paying a certain amount to a provider of climate compensation services, they make their travelling behaviour more environmental-friendly. This seems to be the easiest way to 'green' one's holiday (see also Chapter 2).

However, 51.6% of the respondents has never heard of climate compensation. Of the remaining 48.4% that is familiar with climate compensation (TP6; N=1.086), another 40.8% has never chosen to offset their emissions. The current portfolio for climate compensation is hence low. Only 7.6% of the respondents has experience with climate compensation (N=172).

Despite the low familiarity, people perceive the idea of compensating the greenhouse gas emissions of their holiday as (very) attractive (TC18; 58.8%). Of all sustainable options, climate compensation has the smallest percentage of respondents who perceive it as (highly) unattractive, only 9.7%.

The most important reasons why climate compensation is attractive are related to environmental issues. This is different from all other alternatives for which other than environmental reasons were most important to explain the attractiveness. With regard to climate compensation, 34.4% think it is attractive because it stimulates the shift to clean, renewable energy sources; 28.5% because it reduces the climate change effects; and an additional 19.8% because it stimulates afforestation and nature conservation. One could hence say that 82.7% of the respondents mention an environment-related reason as the most important reason why this is attractive. This is not surprisingly though, because, besides reducing the feeling of guilt about flying (6.2%), there is almost no personal reward for compensating.

The answers from the open-ended question on climate compensation reflect the current sustainability debate in the tourism domain quite well. Some people point to the government and the market to regulate climate compensation, whereas other people view that air travellers themselves are part of the solution.

> "Compensation is only attractive if this will be consistently regulated by the government at European level" (quote from survey TC23t)

"I don't think this is a responsibility of consumers. It is the responsibility of the government and tour operators to make holidays more environmental-friendly." (quote from survey TC23t)

"Consciousness-raising of the impact of human behaviour on the (natural) environment." (quote from survey TC23t)

"The polluter pays" (quote from survey TC23t)

"It is very easy and it avails quite a lot" (quote from survey TC23t)

"I use something that is environmentally unfriendly so I have to make sure that I compensate for that." (quote from survey TC23t)

"People will go on holidays anyhow, and to compensate for the climate effects is probably something that more people will support" (quote from survey TC23t)

In investigating the current provision of climate compensation, only the answers of those people who are familiar with climate compensation are considered. Those people who have never heard of climate compensation can not form an opinion on the trustworthiness of the providers of climate compensation and on the accessibility of options to compensate emissions. Among those who are familiar with compensation, 26.7% does not trust the providers, 49.9% is neutral and 23.4% does trust the providers. There is a challenge to increase the trustworthiness of providers of climate compensation (see also Dings, 2008).

Another challenge compensation providers are faced with is the accessibility of their services. Among those who are familiar with compensation, 23.9% thinks that there are not enough opportunities for climate compensation (another 55.8% is neutral, and for 20.2% there are enough opportunities).

To increase the availability providers of climate compensation services have made a great effort to be included in standardised booking procedures of airlines and tour operators. Everyone who buys a plane ticket with EasyJet for example will be confronted with the option to compensate for the greenhouse gas (or CO_2) emissions. The results of the survey confirm that this is a useful provision strategy. 31.6% of the sample as a whole and 40.9% of the people who perceive compensation as attractive (i.e. TC18=4 or 5) will compensate when this is included in the booking procedure (TA2). Including the opportunity for climate compensation in the booking processes is thereby slightly more positively evaluated than the recommendation by an environmental organisation to enhance the trustworthiness of the compensation providers. Respectively 28.9% and 38.2% will compensate when the provider is recommended by an environmental organisation (TA5)[61].

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61 Regarding TA2 the difference in mean scores among 'TC18=4/5' (3.35) and among the whole sample (3.13) is significant (t-test 99% Sig .000). Regarding TA5 the difference in mean scores among TC18=4 or 5 (3.31) and among the whole sample (3.1) is significant (t-test 99% Sig .000). The 5-point-Likert scale was included in the t-tests, not 'I already do this'.

6.4.5   Other options for environmental-friendly travelling

Besides sustainable alternatives for tourism mobilities (ecolocalism, slow travelling, modal shift to coach or rail, and climate compensation), several other instruments may contribute to a sustainable development of tourism mobilities. Among these are information formats on the environmental impact of transport modes, tips on more sustainable holidays, eco-labels and websites on which the more sustainable holidays of several tour operators are gathered (see Chapter 4).

In light of tourists' portfolio for environmental-friendly travelling, the question is whether people are familiar with these environmental information formats. It appears that the familiarity with these instruments is very low. The green travel agency is unknown to 87.2% of the respondents (TP9), the website with sustainable holidays is unknown among 86.2% of the respondents (TP8), and instruments to compare the environmental impact of transport modes and holidays are unknown to 80.9% (TP7). Of those people who are familiar with instruments which calculate the impact of holidays or transport modes, 31.2% has actually used such an instrument (TP7; N=134). Of those people who are familiar with websites on which sustainable holidays are gathered, 30.6% has visited such a website (TP8; N=95). Of those people familiar with environmental-friendly travel agencies, 18.5% has arranged a holiday with such an agency (TP9; N=53). In light of the portfolio for environmental-friendly travelling, these are important findings.

In line with these environmental information formats, it is investigated whether people are interested in the following provider strategies: 'established tour operators provide environmental-friendly holidays', 'environmental-friendly holidays are recommended by an independent third party', and 'an energy-label for holidays and transport modes'.

First of all, it was asked whether tourists will choose for environmental-friendly holidays if known, big, established tour operators would offer such holidays (TA14). This is a comparable strategy as in the domain of food consumption where grocery stores decide to offer biological products, and as in the domain of clothing where main clothing retailers (e.g. H&M) decide to have biological cotton clothes in their assortment. Among the respondents, 25.8% will choose environmental-friendly holiday packages when established tour operators would offer these; 19.8% of the respondents is not convinced by this provider strategy. These respondents are either not willing to change their holiday behaviour, or, they simply do not choose holidays from tour operators. A large share of respondents is undecided (53.1%; see Figure 6.13). Expectantly, this sustainability strategy can only be effective to convince those tourists who usually arrange their holidays via tour operators to choose the more environmental-friendly holiday packages. Again, this points to the existence of different groups of tourists characterised by different modes of access and requiring different modes of provision to be effective in a sustainable development of tourism mobilities.

Second, since trust is always a delicate issue when claiming to offer environmental-friendly holidays, it was investigated whether tourists will book environmental-friendly holidays from tour operators when environmental organisations or a consumers' organisation recommend these holidays (TA17). With a percentage of 29.7% that will book such a holiday when it is recommended by a third party, this strategy appears to be more effective than the availability of environmental-friendly holidays by big tour operators. For 18.9% of the respondents this strategy won't have effect on their decision, and 50.4% of the respondents are undecided (see Figure 6.13).

Figure 6.13   Effects of environmental-friendly provisioning strategies

If...then I would choose an environmental-friendly holiday; N=939
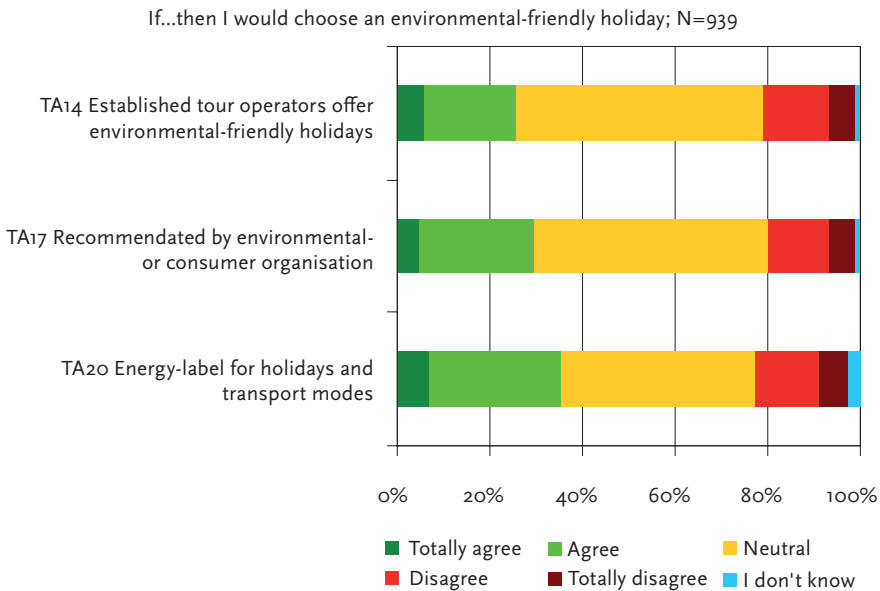
Third, and finally, it was investigated whether the energy label, which is already applied to household appliances, cars and houses will be an effective instrument to reduce the environmental impact of tourism mobilities (TA20). Of the respondents, 20.1% will not choose for a holiday or transport mode with a lower impact, whereas 35.3% state that when this energy label is applied in the tourism domain, they will go on a holiday with a lower impact on the environment (Figure 6.13).

Introducing an energy-label for holidays (and/or for transport modes with which one travels to the holiday destination), appears to be most effective of these provider strategies. This is in line with the focus group results, in which consumers stated to prefer the energy-label, because such a label enables tourists to assess

and compare the environmental performance of different holidays (see Chapter 4). Since the energy-label is already applied on household appliances, cars and houses, and is therefore a known instrument in other consumption routines, it is relatively easy to include it in the vacation choice practice. In the vacation choice practice people compare holiday packages on characteristics such as price, destination, and the type of accommodation. An energy-label would enable tourists to additionally compare holiday packages on their environmental impacts.

### 6.4.6   Conclusion regarding sustainable tourism mobility alternatives

This section provides an answer to the second research question.

> How are several more sustainable tourism mobility alternatives being perceived and experienced by Dutch tourists, and how do they assess the provider strategies connected to these options?

A considerable group of tourists is interested in one or more environmental-friendly ways to go on a holiday[62]. Dutch citizen-consumers perceive ecolocalism, slow travel, climate compensation and, to a lesser extent, modal shift to train travelling as attractive options for sustainable tourism mobility (see Figure 6.14).

Investigating the reasons why these more sustainable tourism mobility alternatives are perceived as attractive revealed that the most prominent reason is the pleasant way to spend travelling time. This is an important argument for slow travelling, and modal shift to both train and coach travelling. Ecolocalism is an exception to this, as ecolocalists perceive spending holidays closer to home as attractive because it shortens the time otherwise wasted on travelling. The fact that environmental reasons appeared not to be the main reasons why these more sustainable alternatives are perceived attractive points to an interesting conclusion. Apparently, when people think of environmental-friendly holidays in general they tend to think of back-to-nature primitive holidays in which one is refrained from all luxury (see Chapter 4), but when they are confronted with several specific options for more sustainable tourism mobility, they associate these with other, more positive storylines; with quality of the travelling experiences, with enjoying nature, with relaxation.

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62 Only 10.4% of the respondents is not interested in any of the more sustainable alternatives (N=239). The most important reasons for this are: "I do not want to change my holiday behaviour" (45.6%) and "I don't think it is important that holidays are environmental-friendly" (12.6%), representing the anti-environmentalists. Another 25.1% never goes on holiday (N=60).

Figure 6.14   Attractiveness of sustainable alternatives for tourism mobility
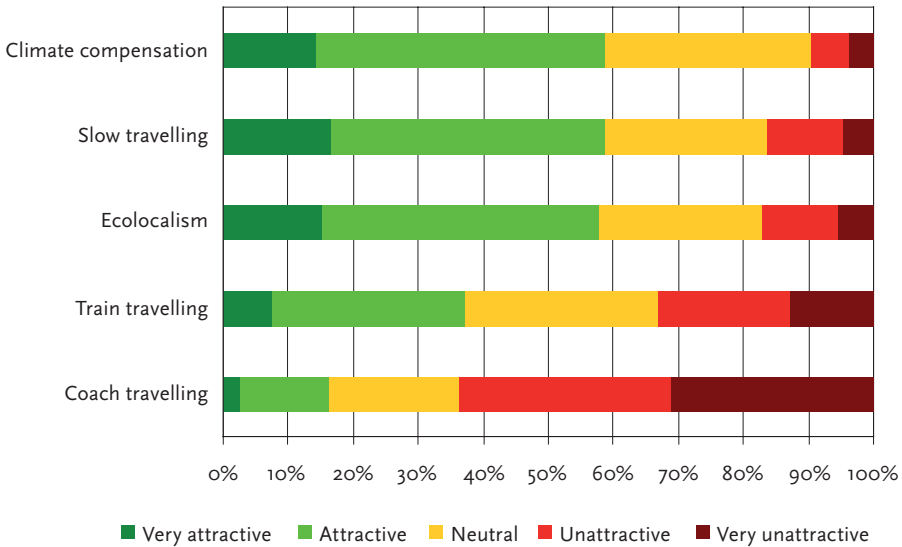
In light of the second research question, besides the attractiveness of these alternatives, the (positive or negative) experiences with these more sustainable travelling behaviours have been investigated. Many Dutch citizen-consumers have positive experiences with ecolocalism and slow travelling (see Figure 6.15). Among the people having experience with going on a holiday by train, the largest share has experienced this as positive. A modal shift to coach travelling is more often than not a negative experience. The level of experience with climate compensation among Dutch citizen-consumers is low.

This section furthermore investigated the evaluation of provision strategies which might contribute to a sustainable development of tourism mobilities. According to Dutch citizen-consumers there are sufficient opportunities for travelling to the holiday destination by train, for spending holidays closer to home and for slow travelling. The availability of opportunities for climate compensation is deemed lower. Strategies which take away barriers for tourists and make it easier for them to perform environmental-friendly behaviour may contribute to a sustainable development of tourism mobilities. Among these are: independent third parties recommending the offers of providers of climate compensation, including climate compensation in booking procedures, providing direct train trips to tourist destinations (i.e. without transfers), improving online ticketing systems for train trips, established tour operators offering environmental-friendly holidays, and offering package holidays with luggage transport for slow travellers.

Figure 6.15   **Experience with sustainable alternatives for tourism mobility**
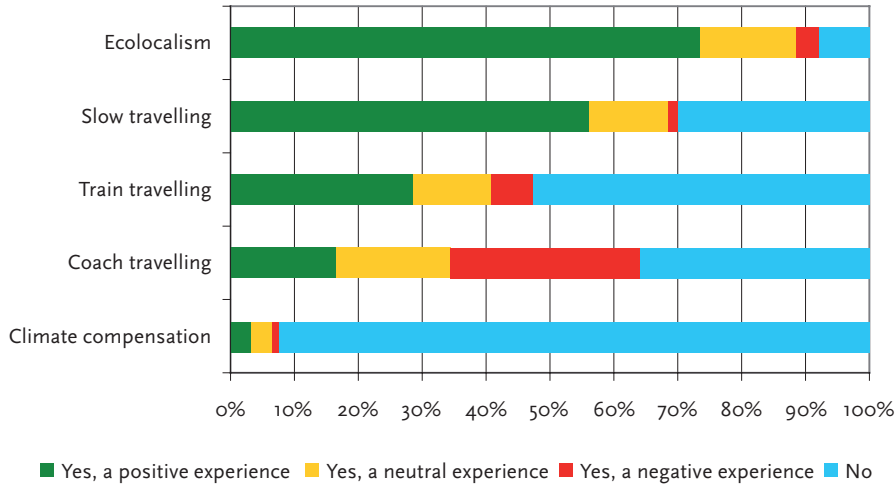
6.5   Towards a relevant typology of practices in the tourism domain

Up till now, it has been illustrated that the tourism consumption domain is in its initial phase when it comes to dealing with the sustainability aspects which are immanently related to tourism mobilities. The analysis of the sustainable tourism mobility alternatives showed that although tourists are reluctant in ascribing themselves with responsibilities for sustainable tourism development, they actually are interested in more environmental-friendly alternatives and have positive experiences with them. In other words, the portfolio for environmental-friendly travelling is better-developed than could be expected from their environmental concerns only. Furthermore, the results presented in section 6.4 regarding the evaluation of different provider strategies suggested that different groups of tourists exist, each with their own modes of access (e.g. portfolios) and asking for different modes of provisioning in a sustainable development of tourism mobilities.

This section will explore whether Dutch citizen-consumers can be divided into groups of tourists which are characterised by different, greener lifestyles for tourism mobility. There is little insight into environmental-friendly tourists and how these tourists can be portrayed (Dolnicar et al., 2008). Several scholars have recently investigated the character of environmental-friendly tourists based on people's attitudes towards the environment, or their willingness to travel environmental-friendly (e.g. Dolnicar et al., 2008; Becken & Simmons, 2008; Wolvers, 2008). In line with the SPA-based framework, groups of tourists are not being differentiated based on their environmental attitudes. Instead, they will be defined based on their portfolios for environmental-friendly travelling.

6.5.1   Latent Class Analysis

To analyse the answers of the respondents regarding their experiences with sustainable tourism mobility alternatives (i.e. TP2 train travelling, TP3 coach travelling, TP4 slow travelling, TP5 ecolocalism, and TP6 climate compensation), a Latent Cluster Analysis (LCA) has been conducted. Before the analysis, the answers on these statements have been dichotomised into 'positive experience' on the one hand and 'not-positive experience' on the other. The latter is a combination of 'neutral experience', 'negative experience', and 'no experience'. The tourist clusters therefore represent people who actually perform environmental-friendly travelling and tourism behaviours and have positive experiences with it (i.e. contributing to their environmental-friendly travelling portfolio) on the one hand, and people who either refrain from such behaviours or have neutral or negative experiences with it (i.e. not contributing to their environmental-friendly travelling portfolio) on the other. The Latent Cluster models have been computed with the Latent Gold 4.0 program (Vermunt & Magidson, 2005).

A Latent Cluster Analysis (LCA) can be used to determine the number of dimensions underlying the responses on a set of nominal items (Magidson & Vermunt, 2001). An exploratory LCA searches for correspondence in the dataset. Latent clusters are subgroups of respondents who systematically differ from each other on several characteristics. In other words, in this analysis, each cluster is a homogeneous group of respondents with comparable portfolios for environmental-friendly travelling. The LatentGold cluster analysis explores whether a 1-cluster model, a 2-cluster model, or a 3-cluster model (and so on) fits best with the empirical data, continuing until a model is found which provides an adequate fit (Beneken genaamd Kolmer et al., 2008; Magidson & Vermunt, 2001; Vermunt & Magidson, 2005). After clusters have been defined, these clusters can be portrayed using other variables (e.g. environmental concerns, portfolio, socio-demographic variables).

Table 6.3 shows the statistical fit measures for the latent class cluster models. The p-value should be bigger than 0.05, which means the model does not have to be rejected. Furthermore, the model with the fewest clusters is preferable. In this case, a 3-Cluster model fits the empirical data best. Respondents either belong to cluster 1, or to cluster 2, or to cluster 3; the three clusters are mutually independent, dichotomous latent variables.

Table 6.3   Goodness-of-fit coefficients for the estimated Latent Class Models

Latent Class Cluster model		BIC(LL)	df	p-value
Model 1	1-Cluster	11031.022	26	1.4e-54
Model 2	2-Cluster	10791.441	20	0.0011
Model 3	3-Cluster	10812.712	14	0.13
Model 4	4-Cluster	10849.611	8	0.23

6.5.2   Cluster description

A considerable share of the respondents (53.5%) belongs to the first cluster (see Figure 6.16). The scores on modal shift to coach or train are low, which means that the chance is low that people in this cluster have positive experiences with travelling by train and travelling by coach. The chance is considerably higher that tourists who belong to this cluster have positive experiences with slow travelling; 60% of these tourists have positive experiences with slow travelling. Most striking is that 98% of tourists in this cluster has positive experiences with ecolocalism, spending a holiday close to home. The chance is only 2% that tourists in this cluster have positive experiences with climate compensation.

The second cluster represents 26.1% of the respondents. Figure 6.16 reveals that people in this cluster hardly have positive experiences with the sustainable tourism mobility alternatives. Only 15% has positive experiences with train travelling, 8% has positive experiences with travelling by coach, and 13% has positive experiences with spending holidays close to home. The chance that these tourists have positive experiences with slow travelling is somewhat higher (26%), and with climate compensation is extremely low (1%).

Figure 6.16   Cluster sizes and profiles
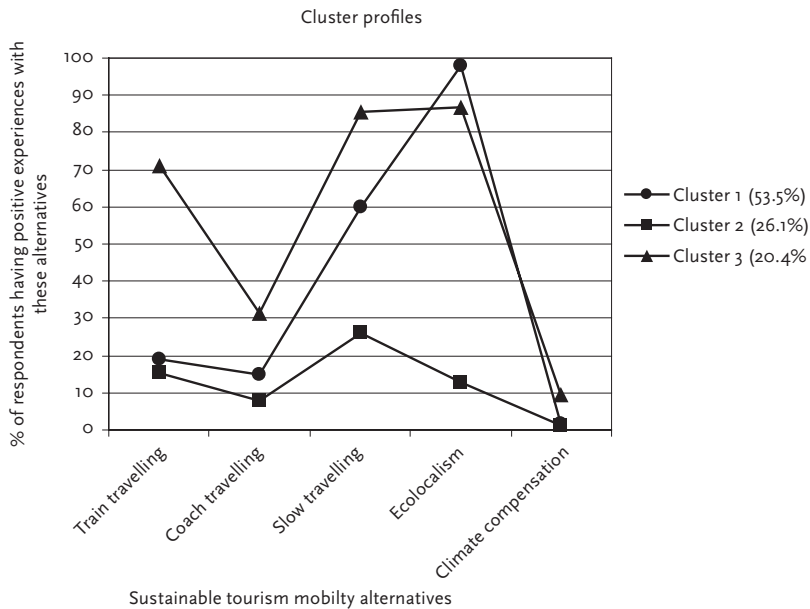
Another 20.4% of the respondents of this survey belongs to the third cluster (see Figure 6.16). This group of tourists clearly has more positive experiences with train travelling compared to the tourists in the other clusters (71%). Among this cluster, the experiences with slow travelling and ecolocalist holidays are more or less the same (i.e. 86% and 87% positive experiences). With coach travelling, although considerably lower than train travelling, slow travelling and ecolocalism, these tourists have much more positive experiences compared to the tourists in other clusters (31%). Comparing the clusters in their scores on climate compensation reveals that this option is not discriminating. This is probably because there are too few experiences with climate compensation. Still, tourists in this cluster have a higher chance to have positive experiences with climate compensation than the respondents in the other clusters.

The cluster distribution reveals that different groups of tourists can be discerned having different portfolios for environmental-friendly travelling at their disposal. Cluster one has the portfolio for ecolocalist holidays and to a lesser extent for slow travelling. Cluster two does not have a portfolio for environmental-friendly travelling since they hardly have positive experiences with any of the sustainable tourism mobility alternatives. The tourists in cluster three have quite a diverse portfolio for environmental-friendly travelling. They have positive experiences with train travelling, slow travelling and ecolocalist holidays.

In the remaining sections it will be elaborated whether these clusters of tourists significantly differ from each other in their modes of access (section 6.5.3) and their evaluation of different modes of provision (section 6.5.4). The former will investigate the character and level of portfolio for environmental-friendly travelling, the socio-demographic character of the clusters, and the position in the sustainability debate. The latter explores the evaluation of the current modes of provision and the behavioural intentions of the tourists in these clusters with regard to the system of provision of the sustainable tourism mobility alternatives.

6.5.3   Tourist clusters' modes of access

PORTFOLIO – TRANSPORT MODES

With respect to the modes of access of these tourist clusters, it is interesting to discover how people usually travel to their tourism destination. This gives the opportunity to explore with what transport mode the tourists of the different clusters usually go on a holiday. Results on this subject complement to the description of the level and character of tourists' portfolio for environmental-friendly travelling.

The crosstabs and chi square tests show that the tourists in the different clusters differ significantly in how they usually travel to their holiday destination (Figure 6.17). The Pearson Chi-square is with 355.076 significant for $p<.001$, and the Cramer's V of 0.281 indicates that there can be spoken of a medium effect size.

Figure 6.17   Cluster profiles – transport modes used to go on holiday
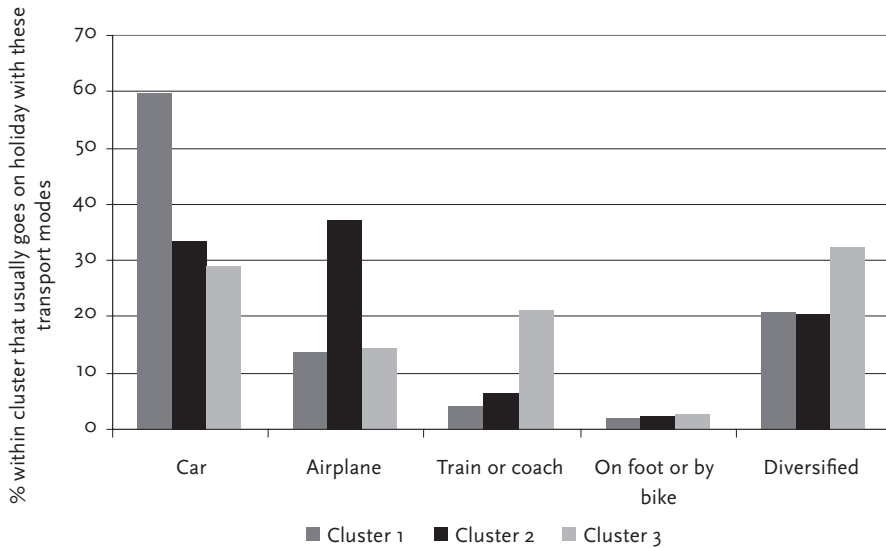
The tourists of cluster one, having positive experiences with ecolocalist holidays, go on holiday by car. Among this group of tourists 60% usually goes on holiday by car, whereas among the tourists of the second and third cluster, the percentage of car holidays is about 30%. Tourists of the second cluster stand out compared to the other tourists in going on holiday by airplane. Within the second cluster it is even more common to go on holiday by airplane than by car. The tourists in the third cluster show a diversified travelling behaviour. About a third usually travels by car, about a fifth usually travels by train or coach, and about a third could not point to one transport mode as the one they usually go on holiday with. The people in this cluster therefore can be said to have the most diverse travelling portfolios. Compared to other clusters, tourists in the third cluster have significantly more experience with train or coach travelling. Therefore, it can be concluded that these tourists have the most diverse as well as the right portfolios for environmental-friendly travelling.

Since the choice of destination and transportation mode are influenced by having children or not, the tourist clusters might reflect different life stages (e.g. Bargeman, 2001; Lawson, 1991; Fodness, 1992). The results of the analysis of several socio-demographic variables of the tourist clusters are presented in Table 6.4.

The tourists differ from each other with regard to having children or not. Tourists of the first cluster have a higher chance to have children compared to other tourists. Or, tourists with children most likely belong to the first cluster and have positive experiences with spending the holiday close to home and travelling there by car. The tourist clusters differ in age as well. Among the second cluster there are significantly more young people (15-24) compared to the other clusters. Among the first cluster there are significantly more middle aged people (35-44) compared to other clusters (i.e. families with children). Among the third tourist cluster there are significantly more older people (55-65) than in the other clusters (Table 6.4).

Furthermore, the tourists in the clusters differ from each other in their level of education (Table 6.4). Tourists in cluster three are higher educated than other tourists. In other words, people with a university degree or a higher vocational education (i.e. HBO in Dutch) have a higher chance to belong to the third cluster than to clusters one or two. People with an intermediate vocational education (i.e. MBO in the Netherlands) have a higher chance to belong to clusters one and two (see also Dolnicar et al., 2008; Wolvers, 2008). Finally, there are significantly more men in cluster two and more women in cluster one. In cluster three there are slightly more men than women. The statement that "people who are willing to increase the sustainability of the holiday have more financial resources to make their holiday more sustainable" (Wolvers, 2008: 75; see also Dolnicar et al., 2008) was not confirmed. The level of income of the tourists in cluster one is comparable to those in clusters two and three.

ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS ABOUT TOURISM

Having an idea of the three tourist clusters among Dutch citizen-consumers and their portfolios for environmental-friendly travelling and of who these people are in terms of socio-demographic characteristics, it will be investigated whether the tourists of these clusters differ with regard to the environmental concerns they have about tourism; whether sustainable tourism development is necessary, and whether solutions should be provided by governmental and market actors only, or whether tourists also see co-responsibility of themselves (section 6.3; Figure 6.4).

It can be expected that tourists of the first and especially the third cluster, the people who possess portfolios for environmental-friendly travelling (having positive experiences with at least one or more sustainable tourism mobility alternatives), score higher on the third component of environmental concerns about tourism than the tourists of the second cluster.

Table 6.4   **Socio-demographic characteristics of the tourist clusters**

	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Total sample	Significance
Having children					Chi square 45,233*** Cramer's V 0.144#
N	1.228	511	435	2.174	
Yes	67.3%	51.7%	55.2%	61.2%	
No	32.7%	48.3%	44.8%	38.8%	
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Age					Chi square 37.573*** Cramer's V 0.092#
N	1.261	533	448	2.242	
15-24	9.8%	17.4%	10.5%	11.7%	
25-34	15.5%	16.9%	16.7%	16.1%	
35-44	23.6%	20.8%	17.2%	21.6%	
45-54	25.8%	22.7%	23.7%	24.6%	
55-65	25.5%	22.1%	31.9%	26.0%	
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Level of education					Chi square 37.816*** Cramer's V 0.096#
N	1.172	482	419	2.073	
High	36.9%	37.8%	53.0%	40.4%	
Middle	41.1%	39.2%	31.3%	38.7%	
Low	19.7%	21.8%	14.3%	19.1%	
No education	2.2%	1.2%	1.4%	1.8%	
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Sex					Chi square 9.598 ** Cramer's V 0.065#
N	1.261	533	448	2.242	
Male	48.7%	56.5%	52.9%	51.4%	
Female	51.3%	43.5%	47.1%	48.6%	
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Income					Chi square 8.323
N	760	312	290	1.362	
Below average	23.2%	29.8%	30.3%	26.2%	
Average	32.0%	29.5%	29.0%	30.8%	
Above average	44.9%	40.7%	40.7%	43.0%	
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

* p< .05   ** p< .01   *** p< .001
# small effect size (.07)   ## medium effect size (.21)   ### large effect size (.35)

A one-way between-groups ANOVA has been performed with the tourist cluster as the independent variable and the mean scores on the three components of environmental concerns in tourism as the dependent variables. The results reveal that the three tourist clusters significantly differ in their mean scores on the three components (Table 6.5; Figure 6.18).

**Table 6.5**   **Environmental concerns about tourism among the tourist clusters**

	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Total sample	Significance
N	1.254	530	447	2.231	
Mean 1st Component: Sustainable tourism development is not necessary	3.1	3.2	2.9	3.1	Welch and Brown-Forsythe***[63]
Mean 2nd Component: Government and market will provide solutions	3.5	3.3	3.6	3.4	ANOVA*** effect size 0.017#
Mean 3rd Component: Co-responsibility of travellers	2.6	2.4	3.0	2.6	Welch and Brown-Forsythe***

*** $p < .001$ # small effect size (.07)

Although tourists of all clusters agree most with the statements which ascribe responsibilities to the market and governmental bodies, tourists of the second cluster score lower on this component compared to the other clusters. The fact that governmental actions might conflict with the freedom to decide how and where to spend the holiday provides a plausible explanation for this. Governmental policy measures have effect on the consumption behaviour; either through taxes (e.g. ecotax), through limitations (CO_2 emission trading) or by regulations of travelling behaviour (e.g. a maximum of kilometres or of number of holidays abroad). Not surprisingly, the second cluster has a slightly higher average score on the statements that sustainable tourism development is unnecessary and not desirable. Furthermore, the results point to the fact that tourists in cluster three are indeed slightly more inclined to view travellers as co-responsible (Figure 6.18).

The differences between the tourist clusters in their scores on the three components of environmental concerns are however very small (Table 6.5; Figure 6.18). In a large sample such as the one used in this research, "quite small differences can become statistically significant, even if the difference between the groups is of little practical importance" (Pallant, 2007: 247). Despite the significant differences, the concerns tourists have for environmental issues differ to such a small extent, that they do not seem to provide an explanation for the fact that the tourists of the three clusters are characterised by different experiences with environmental-friendly travelling. The fact that tourists in the third cluster have much more positive experiences than tourists in the second cluster is not underlined by a comparable big difference in their environmental concerns. This again points in the direction that people do not perform environmental-friendly tourism and travelling behaviours because of environmental reasons, or because they are more than average concerned with the environmental impacts related to tourism (see also Böhler et al., 2006).

63 For the 1st and 3rd component, the 'test of homogeneity of variances' is significant (i.e. Sig. .003 and .08) which means that the assumption of homogeneity of variance has been violated. Therefore, the Welch and Brown-Forsythe tests are preferable (Pallant, 2007).

Figure 6.18   Cluster profiles – Environmental concerns in the tourism domain
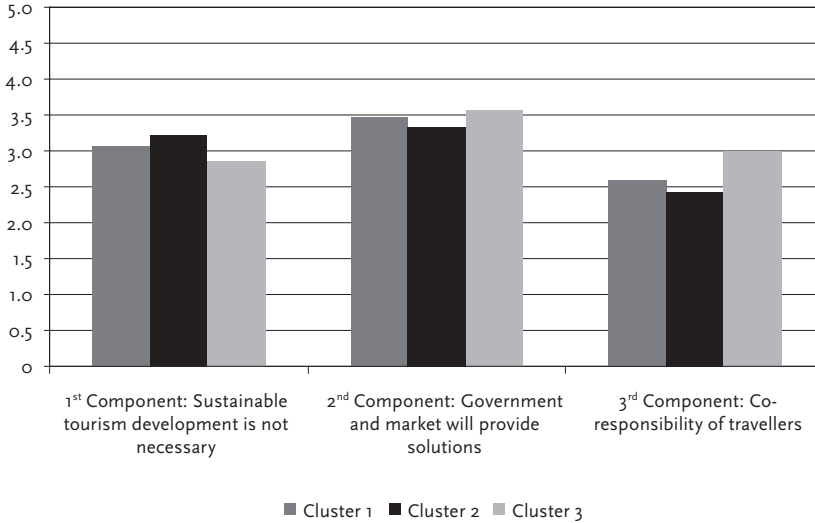
PORTFOLIO – ENVIRONMENTAL INFORMATION

Since environmental information can be a necessary precondition for performing environmental-friendly behaviours, the different levels of environmental information the tourists have received, or the familiarity with environmental information formats might help explain their different experiences with environmental-friendly travelling. A one-way between-groups ANOVA analysis has been performed to investigate whether the clusters differ in how often they received environmental information from several sources of information. A sum score has been created for the seven statements which concern receiving information on environmental-friendly travelling. The sum score ranges from 7 (i.e. often receiving environmental information from all sources of information) to 28 (i.e. never receiving environmental information from any of the sources of information). The Welch and Brown-Forsythe tests[64] reveal that there are significant differences between the tourists of the different clusters for p<.000. Tourists in the third cluster have received slightly more information than tourists in the other clusters. Cluster one and two do not differ significantly in terms of how often they received environmental information. The difference between the average score of 23.6 of tourist cluster three and the average score of 25.3 of tourist clusters one and two, is how-

64 Since the one-way between-groups ANOVA violates the assumption of homogeneity of variance (i.e. Levene's test Sig. .000), the Welch and Brown-Forsythe tests are preferable.

ever small. As mentioned above, although the difference is statistically significant, the difference between the groups is of little practical importance. Regardless of the tourist cluster, tourists have received little or no environmental information regarding the holiday.

It is not surprising that tourists in cluster three are also slightly more familiar with impact calculators (i.e. TP7), websites for sustainable holidays (i.e. TP8), and green travel agencies (i.e. TP9) (see Table 6.6). Despite this significant difference, the unfamiliarity is high for tourists of all clusters, and the effect sizes are small. It does not seem likely that tourists in the third cluster have more positive experiences with environmental-friendly travelling because they are slightly more familiar with these formats.

Table 6.6   The tourist clusters and their familiarity with formats

	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Total sample	Significance
N	1.261	533	448	2.242	
Impact calculators (TP7)					Chi square 33.786*** Cramer's V 0.123#
Familiar	16.8%	16.5%	28.8%	19.1%	
Unfamiliar	83.2%	83.5%	71.2%	80.9%	
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Websites sustainable holidays (TP8)					Chi square 24.131*** Cramer's V 0.104#
Familiar	11.9%	12.4%	21.0%	13.8%	
Unfamiliar	88.1%	87.6%	79.0%	86.2%	
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Green travel agencies (TP9)					Chi square 29.095*** Cramer's V 0.114#
Familiar	10.5%	12.0%	20.3%	12.8%	
Unfamiliar	89.5%	88.0%	79.7%	87.2%	
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

* p< .05   ** p< .01   *** p< .001
# small effect size (.07)   ## medium effect size (.21)   ### large effect size (.35)

PORTFOLIO – EVERYDAY MOBILITY BEHAVIOUR

Besides the characteristics of the tourist clusters with regard to having received information on environmental-friendly travelling, being familiar with several environmental information formats, possessing a certain travelling portfolio, and being concerned for the environmental issues related to tourism, it is interesting to explore the everyday mobility behaviour of the tourist clusters. As there are no fixed beginnings and ends of practices, tourism mobility and everyday mobility are not completely separated from each other. There might be correspondence among practices in the domains of everyday mobility and tourism mobility. Investigating the everyday mobility behaviours of the tourist clusters enables to make a

comparison between the tourism mobility behaviours of these clusters and their everyday mobility behaviours.

As illustrated above, when travelling for tourism purposes, tourists in cluster three make use of several transport modes. A considerable share of tourists in this cluster travels by train or coach to the holiday destination, other tourists in this cluster go on car or air holidays, and yet others stated they have a 'diversified' travelling behaviour (see Figure 6.16). When comparing the tourist clusters on their perception on combining the car with public transport in their everyday mobility (Figure 6.19), it is revealed that tourists in the third cluster think it is an attractive idea to combine these ways of travelling in their everyday mobility behaviour (i.e. MC23; Chi square test is with 111.848 significant for p<.001; the effect size is small with a Cramer's V of 0.177). Significantly fewer tourists of the first and second cluster perceive combining car travelling with travelling by public transport modes in their everyday mobility as attractive.

Figure 6.19   Cluster profiles – Everyday mobility
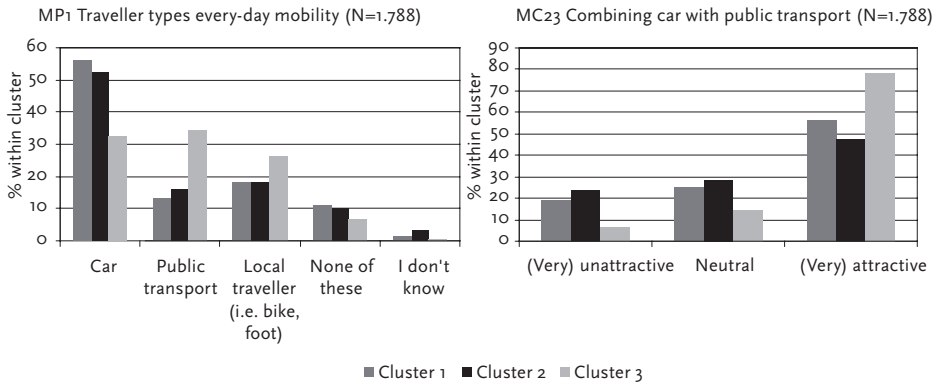
Furthermore, the comparison of how the tourist clusters typify themselves with regard to everyday mobility behaviour (Figure 6.19) points to the fact that tourists in clusters one and two predominantly typify themselves as car travellers, whereas among tourists in cluster three some typify themselves as car travellers, some as public transport travellers and others as local travellers (i.e. MP1; Chi square test is with 132.166 significant for p<.001; effect size is almost medium with a Cramer's V of 0.192).

This preliminary investigation of everyday mobility behaviours of the three tourist clusters reveals that tourists in cluster one, who predominantly go on car holidays, also predominantly use their car in their everyday mobility. Tourists in cluster two, who predominantly go on holiday by air, use their car for their everyday

mobility behaviours. Tourists in cluster three show a diverse use of transport modes both in their tourism mobility behaviour and in their everyday mobility behaviour.

These results confirm that tourists in the third cluster have a well-developed travelling portfolio. Not only is their portfolio more diversified, they have more potential for environmental-friendly travelling as well. Tourists in the third cluster have experience with several travelling behaviours, and are more than other tourists inclined to, capable of and used to combine several transport modes. These tourists are not confined to a single transport mode, as opposed to the tourists in cluster one who both in their everyday mobility behaviour and in their tourism mobility behaviour show a clear preference for car travelling. It might be the case that the tourists in the third cluster have diverse travelling routines for tourism purposes because they have acquired experiences in their everyday mobility behaviour. This could point towards the existence of spillover effects between everyday mobility and tourism mobility. Experiences and knowledge acquired in one consumption domain can be conveniently employed in other consumption domains (see Thøgersen, 1999; Thøgersen & Ölander, 2003; Brey & Letho, 2007; Warde, 2005). Travelling experiences acquired in everyday life are also used when people travel for tourism purposes. The same can be argued for acquired knowledge and for investments one has made in equipment (e.g. car, navigation system). However, from the survey data it is not possible to confirm or reject the spillover hypothesis between two mobility domains. Also the exact direction of the spill-over process is undetermined: can there be spoken of spillover from everyday mobility to tourism mobility – which would be most likely in this case – or do experiences with and knowledge about tourism mobility spill over into the domain of everyday mobility? It would be interesting to analyse the spillover effects between everyday mobility practices and tourism mobility practices more thoroughly. This might lead to useful insights regarding sustainable development processes of tourism mobilities.

Based on the results of the analysis of the different modes of access of the three tourist clusters with different portfolios for environmental-friendly travelling, three profiles can be created. Clear differences between the clusters of tourists are the way in which these clusters of tourists usually travel to their holiday destination, their everyday mobility behaviour, and their socio-demographic characteristics. The differences between the tourist clusters with regard to their environmental concerns and their familiarity with environmental information (formats) are small (given the small effect size of the significant differences). The tourist clusters show much resemblance regarding these aspects.

The first cluster is composed of people who have positive experiences with ecolocalism and to a certain extent with slow travelling. They are middle-aged people having (young) children. They mainly use their car to reach the relatively

nearby holiday destination and also rely on the car in everyday life. They avoid train travelling.

Tourists in the second cluster have little or no positive experiences at all with the environmental-friendly travelling options. They are rather young and are more than other tourists inclined to travel to their holiday destination by air, suggesting they want to be free to explore the world.

The third cluster has positive experiences with train travelling, slow travelling and ecolocalism. These tourists are somewhat older and higher educated compared to the other clusters. They furthermore have the most diverse travelling portfolio; they are used to travel by car, by air, and compared to other clusters they travel more by train. Enjoying the act of travelling is important among this cluster.

Based on these profiles of the tourist clusters, the tourist clusters will from now on be referred to as Locarlists (1st cluster; a combination of Localist and car), Globe-trotters (2nd cluster), Diverse Greens (3rd cluster).

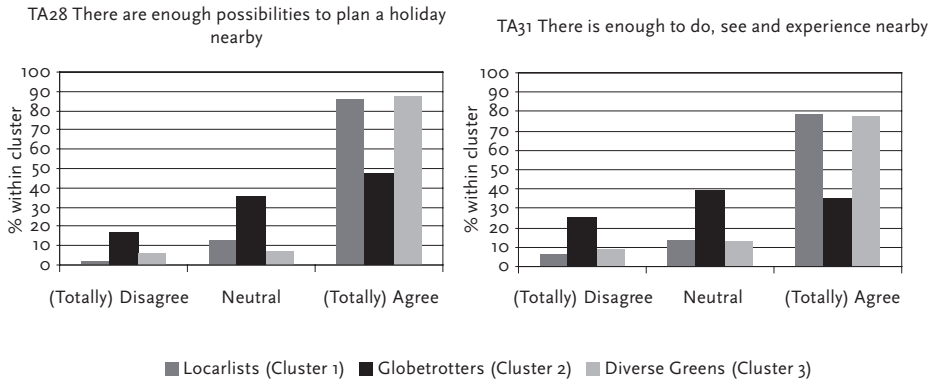### 6.5.4   *Modes of provision for the sustainable alternatives in tourism mobility*
This section will analyse how the three tourist clusters evaluate the current quality and quantity of the systems of provision as connected to the more sustainable tourism options. Furthermore, it will be investigated whether people within the three tourist clusters are inclined to go on more environmental-friendly holidays under conditions of improved provision of alternatives in the tourism sector. Analyses are limited to the sustainable tourism mobility alternatives for which the people in the clusters possess clearly different portfolios: train travelling, slow travelling and ecolocalism. The differences regarding coach travelling and climate compensation are too small and will therefore be left out of consideration here.

EVALUATING PROVISION FOR ECOLOCALISM
Two important factors for people to decide to spend their holiday close to home are, first, that there are enough possibilities to plan holidays nearby (i.e. a system of provision for ecolocalist holidays), and, second, that people are of the opinion that there is enough to do, see and experience nearby.

Chi-square tests have been performed to investigate whether the tourist clusters significantly differ in their evaluation of the current opportunities for ecolocalist holidays. The Chi-square tests, as well as Figure 6.20 clearly point to the fact that Locarlists and Diverse Greens evaluate the current opportunity to go on ecolo-calist holidays much more positive than Globetrotters (TA28: χ^2=157.240, p=.000, Cramer's V=.302; TA31: χ^2=154.039, p=.000, Cramer's V=.299). The effect sizes are medium-large.

Figure 6.20   Cluster profiles – Evaluation of modes of provision for ecolocalist holidays

TA28 There are enough possibilities to plan a holiday nearby

TA31 There is enough to do, see and experience nearby

■ Locarlists (Cluster 1)   ■ Globetrotters (Cluster 2)   ■ Diverse Greens (Cluster 3)

With regard to the receptiveness for strategies which aim to improve the conditions for ecolocalism holidays, the Chi-square test indicated a significant association between the tourist clusters and the receptiveness for ecolocalism (TA29: χ^2=144.031, p=.000, Cramer's V=.289; TA32: χ^2=128.971, p=.000, Cramer's V=.274). Figure 6.21 shows that Globetrotters stand out; they are not inclined to spend holidays closer to home. Globetrotters are clearly not interested in ecolocalism. The differences between Locarlists and Diverse Greens are small.

Figure 6.21   Cluster profiles – Evaluation of provisioning strategies for ecolocalist holidays

TA29 If there are more possibilities for a nearby holiday I would go on holiday nearby

TA32 If there are more activities and sights nearby I would go on holiday nearby

■ Locarlists (Cluster 1)   ■ Globetrotters (Cluster 2)   ■ Diverse Greens (Cluster 3)
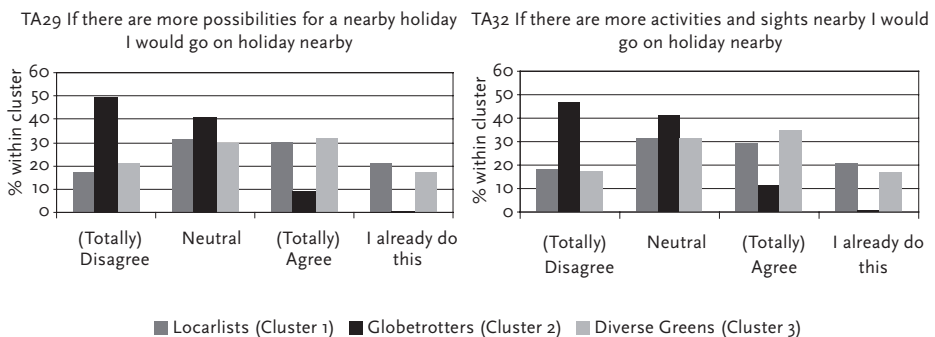
Ecolocalism is characterised by two different storylines. The Locarlists and Diverse Greens both have positive experiences with spending holidays close to home, but for different reasons. Locarlists are more than Diverse Greens interested in ecolocalism because it saves travelling time and fuel costs. For the Diverse Greens these

are also important advantages of ecolocalism, but more than Localrists, they point to the environmental-friendliness of staying closer to home and to the fact that one does not have to travel far in order to see beautiful things and experience a nice holiday (TC27: χ^2=20.613, p=.002, Cramer's V=.106). This difference seems to represent a well-known duality: "making a journey as a goal in itself, and the activity of travelling as a means to arrive somewhere" (Hlavin-Schulze, 1998 in Peters, 2006: 35).

EVALUATING PROVISION FOR SLOW TRAVELLING

Slow travelling as a concept is not widely known among tourists. Nevertheless, a considerable share of holidays might be labelled as slow travelling. Slow travelling encompasses a wide spectrum of holidays: walking holidays, cycling holidays, sailing, boat tours, and some touring holidays by car. However, as mentioned in section 6.4.2, the evaluation of provisioning strategies can not cover this wide spectrum. To investigate the evaluation of the current provision of slow travelling, the questions were limited to making a round tour without motorised transport modes (i.e. walking or cycling holidays). Since environmental-friendly travelling is perceived as primitive and uncomfortable (Chapter 4), the first statement was aimed to investigate whether touring without motorised transport modes is perceived as primitive and uncomfortable (Figure 6.22).

The answers of the respondents reveal that the Diverse Greens tend to disagree with this statement, whereas Localrists and Globetrotters agree that travelling without motorised transport modes is primitive and uncomfortable (TA25: χ^2=55.388, p=.000, Cramer's V=.179). This is in line with the fact that these people usually travel respectively by car or airplane to the holiday destination and lack experiences with other travelling practices.

Figure 6.22 Cluster profiles – Slow travelling without motorised transport modes

TA25 A roundtour without motorised transport modes is primitive and uncomfortable

■ Localrists (Cluster 1)   ■ Globetrotters (Cluster 2)   ■ Diverse Greens (Cluster 3)
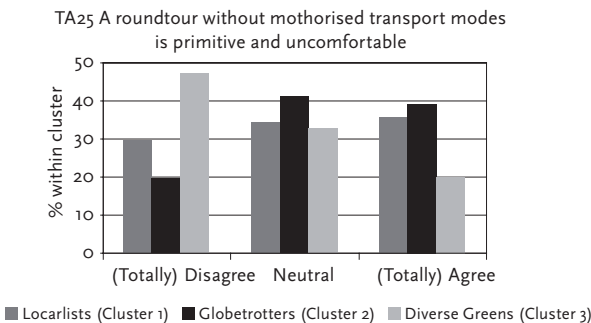
Locarlists and Globetrotters show similar responses with regard to the evaluation of the provisioning strategies which are aimed to improve the opportunities of (this certain type of) slow travelling (Figure 6.23). These tourists are not very much inclined to make round tours without motorised transport modes, not even when there would be more package holidays for this type of holiday and when these holidays would be more comfortable and luxury. When more package holidays for slow travelling would be developed and when the comfort level of these holidays would be increased, the Diverse Greens state that they would be inclined to go on such holidays. The Chi-square test indicated a significant association between tourist clusters and their behavioural intents for slow travelling (TA23: χ^2=87.062, p=.000, Cramer's V=.224; TA26: χ^2=47.281, p=.000, Cramer's V=.165).

Figure 6.23   **Cluster profiles – Evaluation of provisioning strategies slow travelling**

TA23 If there are more cycling or hiking holiday packages including accommodations and luggage transport I would go on such a holiday

TA26 If comfortable luxury roundtours without motorised transport modes would be offered I would go on such a holiday

■ Locarlists (Cluster 1)   ■ Globetrotters (Cluster 2)   ■ Diverse Greens (Cluster 3)
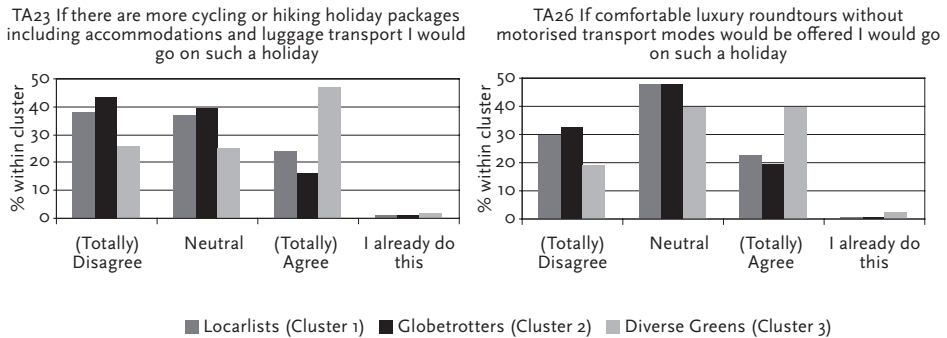
Provision for slow travelling primarily fits with the modes of access of the Diverse Greens. It should be kept in mind however, that slow travelling was demarcated here to "making round tours without motorised transport modes". Therefore it is not justified to conclude that slow travelling is an irrelevant alternative for Locarlists and Globetrotters. The cluster profile (Figure 6.16) reveals that Locarlists and Diverse Greens both have positive experiences with slow travelling when operationalised as "During the holiday the goal is to travel, to experience the act of travelling slowly with attention for culture and nature". The fact that both these tourist clusters have positive experiences with slow travelling, confirms that slow travelling concerns a wide spectrum of holidays. For the Diverse Greens, slow travelling is probably a holiday in which one travels by train, and/or makes round-tours on foot. A slow travel holiday, in which one travels by car and makes day tours by bike, is probably a relevant alternative for more sustainable tourism mobility for Locarlists.

There are several obstacles to use long-distance trains for tourism purposes. People generally expect complications when travelling by train (see also Böhler et al., 2006). One of the reasons why many tourists are not looking forward to going on a holiday by train is that they have to transfer. This causes stress for some tourists; sometimes trains are not well-connected, trains can be delayed and connecting trains can be missed (see also Chapter 5). The expectation is therefore that for some tourists direct connections to tourism destinations might convince them to travel by train. The survey results however reveal that especially the Diverse Greens, and to a lesser extent of the Locarlists, are of the opinion that there are already enough tourist destinations that can be easily reached by train (Figure 6.24; TA7: χ^2=143.297, p=.000, Cramer's V=.279).

The effect of providing direct connections to more tourist destinations shows an equivocal picture. Compared to tourists in the other clusters, Locarlists are least tempted to go on holiday by train, despite the improved provision for train travelling. These tourists are indifferent to improvements in the opportunities for train travelling. They are used to go on holiday by car and are not inclined to change this (see also Böhler et al., 2006). Although the Diverse Greens are already satisfied with the accessibility of tourist destinations by train, providing direct connections to more destinations is most effective for tourists in this cluster (TA8: χ^2=123.357, p=.000, Cramer's V=.259).

Figure 6.24   Cluster profiles – Train travelling (1)

TA7 There are enough tourist destinations that can be easily reached by train

TA8 If more tourist destinations could be reached by train without having to transfer I would travel by train

■ Locarlists (Cluster 1)   ■ Globetrotters (Cluster 2)   ■ Diverse Greens (Cluster 3)
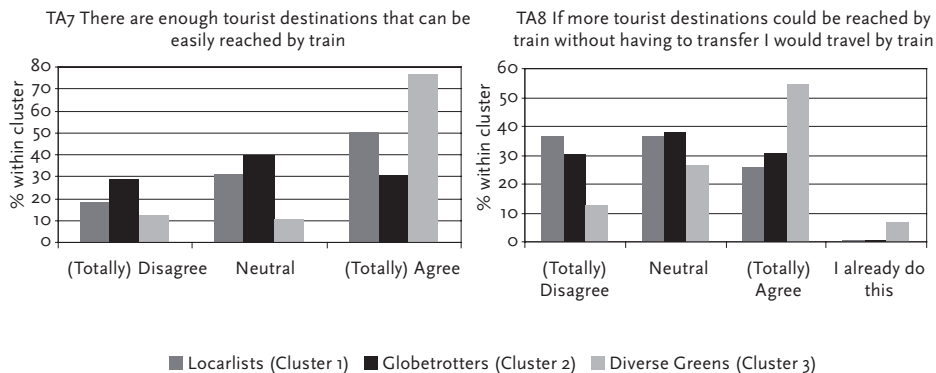
Another often-heard barrier for people to go on holiday by train is the fact that it is perceived rather difficult to buy international train tickets. Unlike air tickets which can be bought online to every destination in the world, train tickets can be bought online for a limited number of destinations (in 2008).

The cross-tab indicates that the Diverse Greens, i.e. the tourists possessing a portfolio for train travelling, do not experience difficulties when buying international train tickets (Figure 6.25). Because Locarlists and Globetrotters have little experience with going on holiday by train and hence with buying international train tickets, they are mainly neutral with regard to the provision of international train tickets. The Chi-square test indicates that the tourist clusters differ significantly from each other in their perception of how difficult it is to buy international train tickets (TA10: χ^2=61.291, p=.000, Cramer's V=.182). The effect of improving the online train ticket purchasing system is biggest for the Diverse Greens (Figure 6.25). Locarlists and Globetrotters are less inclined to go on holiday by train, regardless of an improved online ticketing system (TA11: χ^2=147.631, p=.000, Cramer's V=.283).

Figure 6.25   Cluster profiles – Train travelling (2)
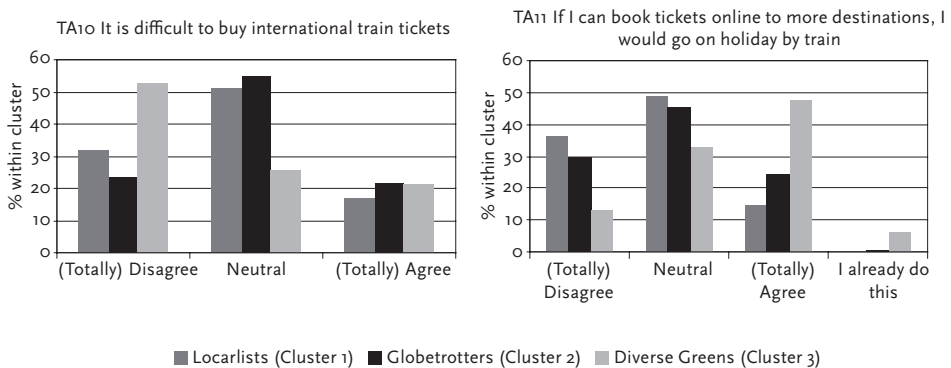
The Diverse Greens, possessing a well-developed portfolio for train travelling are most receptive to provider strategies aiming for a modal shift from car to rail. What furthermore appears from both strategies for improving the opportunities of train travelling (i.e. TA8 in Figure 6.24 and TA11 in Figure 6.25), is that Globetrotters are more inclined to travel by train than Locarlists. The latter group of tourists appears to be convinced car travellers who are not interested in going on holiday by train, not even if the modes of provision for train travelling would be improved. An explanation could possibly be found in the character of the travelling portfolios of Globetrotters. Given their experiences with air travelling, these people are used to travelling with collective modes of transport, as opposed to Locarlists who are used to private transport modes. Globetrotters are already familiar with timetables, with transfers, with buying tickets and so on. It is probably because of the fact that they possess portfolio for travelling with collective transport modes, that when the opportunities for train travelling would be improved, they are more inclined to travel by train.

Overlooking this section, the results of the analysis with respect to the evaluations of the modes of provision add to the profiles of the tourist clusters.

Locarlists think there is enough to see and do nearby, and that there are enough options to arrange a closer to home holiday. Despite the fact that many of these tourists already spend their holiday nearby, the improved provision strategies would convince them even more. Furthermore, although they are not explicitly unsatisfied with the current modes of provision for train travelling and do not explicitly regard travelling without motorised transport modes as primitive, these tourists clearly depend on the car. They are not inclined to go on holiday by train or to go on walking or cycling holidays, regardless of improved modes of provision for these alternatives.

As opposed to Locarlists, Globetrotters can not be tempted to spend the holiday closer to home. They are much less convinced that there is enough to see and do nearby, and that there are enough options to arrange a closer to home holiday. Furthermore, although they do not have clear opinions regarding the current provision of slow travelling or train travelling, these tourists are not inclined to go on walking or cycling holidays, or to shift from air or car travel to train travel. This confirms that tourists in the second cluster are globetrotters, going on long-haul holidays by air.

The Diverse Greens do not regard travelling without motorised transport modes as primitive. They are clearly more than tourists in the other clusters inclined to go on a walking or cycling holiday when the modes of provision for slow travelling are improved. These tourists are furthermore satisfied with the current provision regarding train travelling. Yet they are more than other clusters receptive to improved provision strategies for train travelling. Also, these tourists are inclined to spend the holiday closer to home when the provision strategies for ecolocalism are improved. This confirms that tourists in the third cluster have the most diverse portfolio for going on environmental-friendly holidays.

6.5.5   Relevant practices for the sustainable development of tourism mobilities

This section provides an answer to the third research question of this chapter.

> Based on their portfolios for environmental-friendly travelling, is it possible to discern different groups of tourists among Dutch citizen-consumers? If different groups of tourists exist, how can these be portrayed?

The cluster analysis discerned three groups of tourists. Based on the analyses of their modes of access and their evaluation of the modes of provision of more sustainable alternatives, these tourist clusters have been portrayed in sections 6.3 and 6.4. In short, about half of Dutch citizen-consumers belong to the cluster which represents tourists who have positive experiences with spending holidays close to home. Many of these tourists have children and are typical car travellers.

These tourists are not interested in a modal shift to train travelling. They have been referred to as Locarlists. A second tourist cluster does not have positive experiences with any of the suggested sustainable tourism mobility alternatives and are not inclined to spend their holidays closer to home or to shift to train travelling. These rather young tourists are long-haul air travellers: Globetrotters. A third cluster of tourists consists of slightly older and higher educated people who have positive experiences with train travelling, slow travelling and ecolocalism. These tourists have the most diverse travelling portfolios and are best suited for performing environmental-friendly tourism mobility behaviours: Diverse Greens.

It can be concluded that the tourist clusters represent different tourism mobility practices, characterised by specific configurations of modes of access and modes of provision (see also Peters, 2006). The tourist clusters have different portfolios for environmental-friendly tourism mobilities, and make use of different transport and tourism infrastructures. This confirms the SPA-based expectation that tourist clusters do not represent groups which can and should be distinguished with the help of environmental attitudes; the tourist clusters cannot simply be labelled grey, light-green and dark-green tourists (e.g. Bargeman et al., 2002).

Regarding a sustainable development of tourism mobilities, the results of the survey analyses point to the relevance of focusing and fine-tuning sustainability measures at the specific tourism mobility practices of the three clusters. In the concluding Chapter 7, some exploring thought will be given to the kind of sustainability strategies which would fit with the tourist clusters and their different tourism mobility practices.

6.6   Conclusion

The analysis of the sustainability debate in the tourism consumption domain revealed that the tourism domain is in its beginning phase of an ecological modernisation. Currently, responsibilities regarding a sustainable development of tourism mobilities are mainly ascribed to, first, governmental and, second, market actors; few tourists view themselves as co-responsible. Although sustainability issues are not yet interwoven with the tourism domain, tourism might nevertheless be entering a transformation phase which creates a momentum for a transition towards sustainable tourism mobilities (see also Budeanu, 2007a). In this light, it is promising that a considerable group of respondents perceived one or more sustainable tourism mobility alternatives as attractive or had positive experiences with these. The results suggest that a sustainable development of tourism mobilities may take place in line with positive storylines (see also Chapter 5).

At the same time, the survey results presented in this chapter reveal something of a misfit between the debate on sustainable tourism on the one hand and actual tourism mobility practices on the other. The sustainability debate in tourism as

well as the current sustainability measures are selectively focused on one specific tourism mobility practice, that of the Globetrotters. To a certain extent this emphasis on long-haul tourism is justified since it involves the most severe sustainability impacts. However, the typology of tourism mobility practices shows more diversity than is reflected in the sustainability debate. The results of the survey point to the relevance of a more differentiated, practice sensitive sustainability strategy. Three tourism mobility practices have been discerned (i.e. Locarlists, Diverse Greens and Globetrotters), each requiring different portfolios for environmental-friendly travelling and using different transport and tourism infrastructures. The travelling portfolios required and acquired for tourism mobility practices suggest that the discerned tourist clusters are relatively stable over time. Having invested time and money, and having acquired experiences and knowledge for a certain travelling practice, gives certain permanence to tourism mobility routines. Given this stability, it would not make much sense to try to convert tourists from one mobility routine into another. However, addressing the sheer diversity of mobility practices, and the possibilities for more sustainable alternatives therein, might free the tourism sustainability debate from its fixation on air travel. An additional advantage of looking beyond Globetrotters and also taking Locarlists and their car holidays spent in Europe as well as the tourism mobility practices of the Diverse Greens into consideration, is that it leads to the insight that quite a large segment of tourism mobility practices can be considered rather environmental-friendly. The current state of affairs in the tourism domain might be more sustainable than the sustainability debate suggests.

Conclusions

7 Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

Tourism concerns an important economic and social phenomenon. It represents one of the most important sectors in the global economy and, at least in western societies, going on holiday has become something of a 'civil right'. Many people go on holiday several times a year. The fact that tourism is at the same time responsible for many economic, social and ecological consequences generates complex and persistent problems. The tourism industry is faced with the challenge of a sustainable development of its business.

One of the biggest challenges regarding a sustainable development of tourism is that tourism always encompasses mobility. Mobility is an immanent part of tourism experiences and of the tourism value chain. Since on top of that, mobility is responsible for the bigger part of the ecological impacts of tourism, mobility is the crux of a sustainable development of tourism.

Currently, tourism entrepreneurs, governance actors as well as scientists involved with a sustainable development of tourism mobilities, show more or less fragmented interests. Their focus is often either on individual tourists, or on transport modes and travelling infrastructures. A sustainable development of tourism mobilities might benefit from an approach which goes beyond this segregation of either a user-oriented or a system-oriented approach and is able to connects these. This thesis developed and applied a framework for studying the sustainable development of tourism mobilities in an integrated and contextualised manner.

By elaborating on the SPA-based framework and on how this framework facilitates a contextual analysis of a sustainable development of tourism mobilities, section 7.2 provides an answer to the first research question of this thesis.

The answer to the second research question is split up in two parts. Based on the current sustainability debate, present-day governance measures and the existent positioning of environmental information in the tourism domain, section 7.3 will present the insights in the current state of affairs with regard to a sustainability transition in the tourism domain. Inspired by the insights gained from taking an SPA-based perspective on what might be effective sustainability strategies, section 7.4 will elaborate on practice-oriented strategies for a sustainable development of tourism mobilities.

To conclude with, section 7.5 will propose some strategic consequences for tourism research and for the tourism sector. This section provides the information necessary for a development of specific future scenarios for more sustainable tourism mobilities.

7.2   An sᴘᴀ-based approach for analysing more sustainable tourism mobilities

This thesis is part of an ongoing process of developing an sᴘᴀ-based theoretical framework for analysing a sustainable development of tourism mobilities. The first research question was:

> How is an sᴘᴀ-based approach able to facilitate a contextual analysis of a sustainable development of tourism mobilities?

This question is at the same time a conceptual and a methodological one. Before elaborating on the methodological question, attention will be given to what the sᴘᴀ-based approach entails.

The sᴘᴀ-based approach, as developed in this thesis, represents a combination of insights from the Social Practices Approach, Transition Research, Ecological Modernisation Theory, and the notion of Passages as a mobility related version of practice theory.

Given the focus of this dissertation on a sustainable development of tourism mobilities, theories on large-scale ecological or sustainable restructuring processes appeared useful. Insights from Ecological Modernisation Theory and Transition Research helped to understand the current situation and helped to identify possibilities for a sustainable development of the tourism domain. These theories made us realise that fundamental system transformations towards sustainability have a multi-factor (e.g. technology, user practices, infrastructures), multi-actor (e.g. governments, ɴɢᴏs, companies, scientists), multi-level (niche, regime, landscape) and multi-phase (predevelopment, take-off, acceleration, stabilisation) character. Furthermore, this thesis confirmed that transitions operate at multiple domains; ecological restructuring processes are taking place in several consumption domains, although each domain is characterised by a different speed and phase of this process. The important role of socio-technical innovations in change processes receives quite some attention in these streams of research. However, in-depth analyses of the position of the end-user in transitions are rather uncommon. The current transition literature leaves changes in lifestyles and behavioural routines under-theorised.

Compared to Transition Research as well as Ecological Modernisation Theory, the Social Practices Approach (sᴘᴀ) has a stronger consumer-orientation, and views consumers as knowledgeable and capable change agents. In this light, tourists have been viewed as essential actors in accomplishing sustainable transformations of tourism mobilities. sᴘᴀ furthermore emphasises that consumption behaviour takes place in practices and that contextual differences need to be taken into consideration when analysing transitions. By taking an sᴘᴀ-based approach, the analysis especially focused on the situated interaction between the modes of provision of

tourism and travelling services and the modes of access of groups of tourists, in specific practices in the tourism consumption domain.

Throughout this thesis, tourism mobility has been viewed as part of the holiday practice. In doing so, the notion of passages (Peters 2003, 2006) appeared to be valuable. 'Passages' refer to the fact that travelling takes place in networks, consisting of material and immaterial elements. From a perspective of passages, travelling implies a specific order between elements such as tourism and travelling infrastructures, travelling portfolios, and travelling routines. 'Passage' therefore appeared to be a useful concept to analyse tourism mobility practices.

By combining insights from these different streams of research (i.e. the Social Practices Approach, Ecological Modernisation Theory, Transition Research and the notion of Passages), a new conceptual framework has progressively been developed.

The way in which this SPA-based approach has been used to analyse sustainable developments in the tourism domain in an integrated and contextualised manner provides an answer to the methodological aspect of the first research question. Since clues for a sustainable transformation of tourism mobilities can be found at a range of different moments in the interaction between tourists and the tourism sector, the three empirical analyses performed in this thesis concern different points of interaction in the tourism value chain. These empirical analyses should not be considered as linearly deduced research topics. Instead, they each represent a different way of applying the SPA-based framework in the tourism domain.

Attention has first been given to how environmental information is embedded in the vacation choice practice. The vacation choice practice concerns the context-specific configuration of tourists planning their holiday, in interaction with providers of tourism and travel services. In the vacation choice practice providers can offer environmental information on their products and services, which may help tourists in greening their tourism mobility practices.

The second empirical project concerned an analysis of a comprehensive strategy aimed at a sustainable development of Alpine holidays: Alpine Pearls. To enable tourists to experience comfortable, problem-free environmental-friendly holidays in the Alps, Alpine Pearls aims to organise a continuous green passage on the level of a specific holiday practice.

The third and final empirical research project was focused on the interaction between modes of access and modes of provision of more sustainable tourism mobility practices. In an attempt to take the SPA-approach to a higher level of generality without losing sight of context, attention has been given to: 1) the sustainability debate regarding tourism, 2) the character of green travelling portfolios among Dutch tourists, and 3) possible future provider strategies which may contribute to sustainable developments in the tourism domain.

Together, these three empirical analyses provided insights in how the SPA-based approach can be operationalised and used as a way to analyse sustainable developments in the tourism domain. Their slightly different focus added to the understanding of applying this practice-oriented framework. The use of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies shows how practice-oriented research is not restricted to one specific research methodology. Data have been gathered by way of desk research, in-depth semi-structured interviews (with representatives of the Dutch tourism industry and with stakeholders of Alpine Pearls), focus groups (with tourists as well as with tourism and travelling experts), participant observation (of travelling environmental-friendly in the Alpine region), and finally by several quantitative surveys (among Dutch citizen-consumers). An important advantage of this methodological triangulation is that while the qualitative research methods offered in-depth insights, the quantitative analyses offered the opportunity to generalise these. Without being exhaustive, in combination, the empirical cases have illustrated how an SPA-based perspective may facilitate a contextual analysis of sustainable developments in the tourism consumption domain.

7.3   A sustainability transition in the tourism domain?

The second research question was:

> What insights can be gained from taking an SPA-based approach with regard to effective strategies for more sustainable tourism mobilities?.

In order to address this, it is necessary to first gain insights in the current state of affairs regarding a sustainability transition in the tourism domain. The large-scale survey among Dutch citizen-consumers in which environmental issues have been analysed with regard to four specific consumption domains, pointed out that the sustainability debate in tourism is rather conservative. Compared to other consumption domains (e.g. food consumption and everyday mobility), taking sustainability measures within the tourism domain is perceived less necessary and less desirable. Dutch citizen-consumers mainly ascribe the responsibility for a sustainable development of tourism mobilities to governmental institutions. They especially support governmental measures stimulating technological innovations since these imply little changes in holidays as such and thereby guarantee the continuity of current tourism mobility practices. The sustainability debate within tourism is less proactive compared to other consumption domains in which respondents see a clear role for themselves as agents in sustainable development processes. This is probably related to the fact that, compared to other domains, there are rather few consumer-oriented sustainable heuristics in the tourism domain. It is not reasonable to expect pro-environmental attitudes and -efforts from citizen-consumers as long as there are few environmental-friendly options available.

Instead of consumer-oriented sustainability heuristics, there are streams of technological and financial sustainability strategies which are in line with the view that ecological restructuring and design can be accomplished in continuity with present-day institutional developments. These sustainability measures can therefore be said to be in line with the ecological modernisation discourse (e.g., Mol, 1995). Technological innovations improve the eco-efficiency of transport modes and thereby reduce the emissions per passenger kilometre. Financial governmental measures such as the flight tax[65] and the EU-ETS internalise the environmental costs of air travelling and create a level playing field. Both technological and financial measures are aimed to result in more sustainable tourism mobilities by either making improvements within transport modes, or by inducing modal shifts. Although it might seem encouraging that the available sustainability strategies are in line with the preference among citizen-consumers, there is a limit to the effects of such measures. Technological innovations and financial measures do not provide tourists with heuristics which help them to choose for more environmental-friendly holidays. These measures lack a view on tourists as knowledgeable and capable change agents. In line with political consumerism (e.g. Micheletti, 2003), when provided with relevant and attractive heuristics, tourists may put pressure on actors in the tourism value chain to improve the quantity and quality of green provisioning in the tourism domain. In this way, tourists can be decisive actors in a sustainable transformation of tourism.

Fortunately, there are some initiatives in the tourism domain which aim to create favourable contexts for more environmental-friendly travelling behaviours. Among these are providing environmental information and climate compensation opportunities. These imply a view of travellers as being part of the solution. Considering tourists as change agents in the transition to more sustainable tourism mobilities is a first sign of a paradigm shift in thinking about consumers. Despite this first sign of a paradigm shift, strategies still remain on a rather generic level. Generic sustainability strategies hardly touch upon the characteristics of specific holiday practices, and fail to grasp the complexity of the tourism consumption domain. Generic sustainability strategies therefore hardly provide tourists with appropriate tools to act as change agents.

The misfit between generic sustainability strategies and the specific contexts of practices is especially manifest in the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice. The empirical research revealed that environmental information with regard to holidays predominantly appeals to a downsizing and demodernising attitude, something which can be interpreted as a reflection of the 1970s environmental discourse, in which small-scale, alternative, independent

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65 Operative in the Netherlands as of July 1st 2008 – and aborted as of July 1st 2009.

tourism was presented as a counter reaction to mass tourism. Current ways of thinking and speaking about environmental-friendly travelling appeal to active and outdoor holidays, but fail to connect with other holiday practices which make up the bigger part of the tourism consumption domain.

Although the tourism sector is increasingly aware of the environmental issues involved with tourism and of the sustainability challenges they are faced with, they also are inclined to associate information on the environmental aspects of tourism as something which disturbs the normal tourism experience, as something negative or alternative. The tourism sector is therefore careful in providing environmental information in their travel brochures or on their websites, thereby keeping it away from the direct context of the holidays on offer.

It can be concluded that within the domain of tourism providing environmental information is currently still treated as a generic sustainability strategy, not specified to the characteristics of different holiday practices. There is no clear view on how to embed distinguished environmental information formats more contextually in vacation choice practices. As a consequence, most tourists are unfamiliar with environmental aspects related to their holidays, and even more important, tourists are provided with few attractive more environmental-friendly holiday opportunities within their scope of choice. Furthermore, since environmental information is not positioned as interwoven with the tourism products and services, but is provided separately from information on other aspects of the holiday, environmental-friendliness remains an additional feature, instead of being immanently interwoven with the holiday.

The dominance of generic sustainability strategies, the rather conservative sustainability debate in tourism compared to other consumption domains, the fact that environmental issues are not yet properly embedded in the tourism domain, the lack of appropriate, consumer-oriented sustainability strategies geared to the wide spectrum of holiday practices, and the absence of visible structural changes in tourism mobility practices all point to the conclusion that the sustainability transition in the tourism domain is not yet in the acceleration or even in the take-off phase. The fact that the necessity of a sustainable development is increasingly being acknowledged among stakeholders of the tourism industry, and that there is an increasing number of sustainability initiatives, gives reason to conclude that the tourism domain is in a beginning, predevelopment phase of its 'sustainability transition'.

7.4   Practice-oriented developments for sustainability

Given the predevelopment phase the tourism domain finds itself in, it may be helpful to provide some insights in what may be effective sustainability strategies. As a result from taking an SPA-based approach, one of the insights gained from analysing the current state of affairs in the tourism domain is that there is a limit to the effects of generic sustainability strategies. A sustainable development of tourism mobilities asks for strategies which fit more precisely and productively with the characteristics of holiday practices.

Alpine Pearls appeared to concern an example of a sustainability strategy in the Alpine region which aims to link up with the Alpine holiday practice it attempts to transform. By organising a green passage on the level of the Alpine Pearls holiday practice, the Alpine Pearls association can be said to have taken a practice-oriented approach in developing more sustainable tourism mobilities. In enabling tourists to travel environmental-friendly to and in the Alpine region, the Alpine Pearls holiday to a certain extent concerns a heuristic in line with modal shift strategies. However, whereas modal shift strategies often view transport as an isolated activity, Alpine Pearls treats mobility as embedded in the holiday practice. In order to accomplish modal shifts, the Alpine Pearls association attempts to develop a complete green holiday experience, the Alpine Pearls holiday, instead of only improving the infrastructures for environmental-friendly travelling. Within the scope of developing the Alpine Pearls holiday, favourable contexts for environmental-friendly travelling in the Alpine region are being created. A sustainable development of tourism mobilities is facilitated by creating green passages which fit the comprehensive character of a specific holiday practice. From participant observations and interviews it appeared that to some extent a green Alpine Pearls passage has been created; encompassing an integrated configuration of travelling conditions, accommodations and activities.

To be effective in greening the Alpine holiday practice, or even the greening of other practices in the tourism domain, the niche strategy of Alpine Pearls needs to link up with the regime level of the tourism domain. This scaling-up of the Alpine Pearls passage will however be difficult as the niche- and regime-level are characterised by different systems of provision; the former is characterised by green passages combining all elements of the holiday on the level of the holiday practice, while the latter is characterised by a nationally- and sectorially organised tourism and travelling industry. Within the scope of fundamental system transformations in the tourism domain, the institutional form of an association, as the Alpine Pearls association, appeared not the most obvious form to further promote sustainable developments. Tour operators are positioned much better for them to be able to organise passages for environmental-friendly holidays in a practice-oriented manner, thereby transcending national differences in the transport industry

and the sectorially organised tourism industry. In a sustainable development of tourism mobilities tour operators are the obvious actors to organise passages on the level of practices, at least as far as package holidays are concerned.

The conclusion that sustainable developments in the tourism domain should be aimed at the level of practices, will be accompanied with a useful, empirically supported typology of practices. In this thesis research was aimed at recognisable, everyday, environmentally-relevant practices in the tourism domain (see Chapter 3). Still, it appeared difficult to distinguish a relevant typology of tourism practices. Throughout the research process this typology altered. First, given the focus on tourism mobilities, the idea was to differentiate between car holidays, air holidays, train holidays, cycling holidays and so on. This typology of travelling practices could however be easily interpreted as being a typology focused on travelling in isolation, instead of as interwoven with the holiday. Based on desk research and preliminary explorative field research among tourists, it seemed more proper to focus on holiday practices instead, such as beach holidays, city trips, winter sports, or active holidays (see Chapter 3). This typology of holiday practices seemed to better fit the system of provision of the tourism industry as well as tourists' experiences.

However, the cluster analysis in the final empirical chapter delivered a typology of practices which fits the tourism domain even better: a typology of tourism mobility practices. This typology reflects the importance of travelling routines and -portfolios in a sustainable development of tourism mobilities. Tourism mobility practices are the recognisable, everyday, environmentally-relevant practices in the tourism domain.

Given the spa-based approach, and given the fact that the analysis of Alpine Pearls revealed that there are different green Alpine Pearls passages which require different travelling portfolios, it was expected that for a sustainable development of tourism mobilities it is more important to have experiences with environmental-friendly tourism and travelling behaviours (i.e. to possess a green portfolio) than it is to have positive attitudes towards the environment. Therefore, the large-scale survey among Dutch citizen-consumers was used to conduct a Latent Cluster Analysis in which clusters have been formed based on having positive experiences with more sustainable tourism mobility alternatives (i.e. modal shift to train or coach, slow travelling, ecolocalism, and climate compensation). The cluster analysis discerned three tourist clusters, referred to as Localists, Globetrotters and Diverse Greens. Given the representativeness of the sample, these (lifestyle) groups of tourists are also represented among Dutch citizen-consumers. About half of Dutch citizen-consumers belong to the Localist tourist cluster, a group which has positive experiences with ecolocalism (i.e. spending holidays relatively close to home) and to a certain extent with slow travelling as well. These tourists have a well-developed portfolio for car travelling. They are unfavourably disposed

towards train travelling and travelling without motorised transport modes. There is another group of tourists who don't have positive experiences with any of the more environmental-friendly alternatives. These tourists predominantly go on holiday by air and otherwise by car. These tourists are particularly not interested in spending holidays closer to home and are referred to as Globetrotters. The final tourist cluster, the Diverse Greens, concerns those who have positive experiences with train travelling, slow travelling and ecolocalism. These tourists possess the most diverse portfolio for environmental-friendly tourism mobility behaviours.

A further analysis of the socio-demographic characteristics, the environmental concerns, the travelling portfolios, and the evaluation of sustainable provider strategies among these tourist clusters, pointed to the conclusion that the clusters represent different tourism mobility practices. The clusters are characterised by specific configurations of modes of access and modes of provision. They have different portfolios for environmental-friendly tourism mobilities, make use of different transport and tourism infrastructures, and require different travelling passages (see more on these tourist clusters in section 7.5.3). As opposed to what might be expected from an Attitude-Behaviour model, the tourists of the different clusters, who clearly have diverging experiences with environmental-friendly tourism alternatives, do not have strongly diverging environmental concerns. In line with the SPA-based framework, the possession of travelling portfolios seems to be more decisive in having experiences with environmental-friendly holidays compared to having pro-environmental attitudes.

This typology of tourism mobility practices hence confirms the value of the SPA-based approach. The typology confirms the importance of aiming for sustainable developments within specific tourism mobility practices, which involve different passages for travelling, and which require different travelling portfolios and travelling routines (see more in section 7.5.3). Furthermore, the typology confirms that instead of speaking of a sustainable development of tourism mobility, it is justified to speak of a sustainable development of tourism mobilities.

7.5   Strategic consequences

Throughout this thesis, tourists have been viewed as knowledgeable and capable agents, very well able to play a role in a sustainable development of tourism mobilities. When provided with appropriate and attractive alternatives, tourists may be decisive in a sustainable transformation of tourism. The empirical analyses pointed to at least two ways in which the tourism sector may provide tourists with appropriate information and sustainable alternatives. First, storylines for environmental-friendly holidays may be developed which better connect with the different characteristics of tourism practices (section 7.5.2). Second, tour operators may alter the system of provision of travel and tourism in order to facilitate organising

passages for environmental-friendly travelling in a practice-orientated manner (section 7.5.3).

However, before elaborating on the strategic consequences of this thesis for the tourism sector, section 7.5.1 will first provide some suggestions for future tourism research.

7.5.1   Future tourism research

The goal of this thesis was to develop a practice-oriented approach, to apply it in analysing sustainable tourism developments, and to inform the tourism domain about its potentials and implications. As from now, in order to overcome the division between user- or system-oriented research contributions, future research might be directed at making a practice-oriented analysis of sustainable tourism developments more robust.

It was only in the final phase of this study that a typology of tourism mobility practices could be identified which may be useful for an environmental reform of the tourism domain. To make this a more profound typology, a challenge for tourism research is to investigate the relative stability of the differentiated (lifestyle)groups over time. Longitudinal research would be necessary to investigate developments in the size, composition, profiles and number of clusters. The Dutch longitudinal research database CVO[66] may serve this purpose. This however requires that environmental issues related to tourism mobility practices become incorporated in this database; tourists' environmental concerns, as well as their knowledge of, access to, experience with and evaluation of environmental-friendly provider strategies. Including such SPA-based research items in longitudinal research panels enables to take the typology of tourism mobility practices as a starting point when conducting analyses with these databases.

While this typology of practices has been identified based on quantitative research, qualitative research may prove helpful to further elaborate on these tourist clusters and the tourism mobility practices they represent. In terms of the SPA-based approach, potential sustainable developments should be analysed within these tourism mobility practices. Thus, tourists' environmental concerns, holiday routines, and their green portfolios (i.e. knowledge of, access to and experience with environmental-friendly tourism alternatives), as well as the structure of the system of provision and the available sustainable provider strategies should be investigated within these practices and interwoven passages.

66 Continu Vakantie Onderzoek – Continuous Vacation Panel.

7.5.2   *Alternative storylines*

Sustainability should become straightforward in tourism. In line with a process of ecological modernisation, a sustainable development of tourism mobilities requires environmental issues to be embedded in holidays. The analysis of the positioning of environmental information in the tourism domain illustrated that besides the fact that efforts are required to fully integrate the distinguished environmental information formats within the vacation choice practice, different context-specific storylines could be developed in which environmental issues are positively interwoven with tourism mobility practices.

The tourism sector's experience and expertise with tourism marketing might be employed to develop alternative storylines for environmental-friendly holidays. Whereas environmental-friendly holidays have for long been associated with primitive, sober holidays in which one is refrained from luxury, the time has come to reframe this into more positive storylines which better fit the essence of going on a holiday. The current storyline confirms consumers in their lack of enthusiasm to go on environmental-friendly holidays. The fact that consumers do not actively ask for information about the environmental-friendly aspects of their holiday, nor for more environmental-friendly holiday opportunities, serves as a confirmation for the tourism sector that it is legitimate to ignore environmental or sustainability issues regarding tourism. Alternative storylines for environmental-friendly holidays may solve this impasse. The tourism sector has vast knowledge of what tourists are looking for in their holiday. Tourism entrepreneurs know which images to appeal to in order to sell their products. They are therefore the obvious actors to interrelate and connect environmental and sustainability issues with other holiday related issues.

The Alpine Pearls holiday provides an example of how environmental-friendliness can be interwoven with holidays in a more positive and appealing way. By marketing it as high-quality, safe holidays, spent in beautiful sceneries, offering unique experiences, the Alpine Pearls association succeeded in reframing the environmental-friendly Alpine holiday. The storyline of the Alpine Pearls holiday successfully connects environmental benefits with benefits for tourists and economic benefits for Alpine tourism destinations. This illustrates how environmental-friendliness can be framed in order to connect with specific holiday practices. The analysis of the Alpine Pearls holiday furthermore illustrates that when the environmental-friendly character of holidays is not considered an additional feature of the holiday, but is embedded in an attractive storyline which fits with the essence of going on a holiday, this makes environmental-friendly holidays attractive.

When developing alternative storylines for environmental-friendly holidays, the successful reframing of environmental-friendliness in some niche developments in the tourism domain might be a source of inspiration as well. The analysis of the

attractiveness of several specific alternatives for more sustainable tourism mobilities (i.e. ecolocalism, and slow travelling, climate compensation, and modal shift to coach or train travelling) revealed that these alternatives do not appeal to images of primitive, sober, outdoor holidays. Slow travelling and travelling by train are perceived as attractive since one can spend travelling time in a relaxing way. It implies a revaluation of travelling as a unique experience instead of considering travelling time as wasted time. Ecolocalism on the contrary, is perceived as attractive since it reduces the amount of time spent on travelling, and because of the convenience of spending holidays closer to home. In the end, environmental-friendliness or sustainability should be reframed and embedded in the tourism domain in such a way that it connects with different tourism lifestyles as reflected in the tourism mobility practices.

7.5.3   Towards a sustainable development of tourism mobility practices

This thesis has pointed to the relevance of practice-oriented sustainability strategies and to the fact that stakeholders on the regime level of the tourism domain (e.g. established tour operators) are in the right position to organise passages for environmental-friendly holidays. In conclusion, some exploring thoughts will be given to the kind of sustainability strategies the tourism industry could develop which are able to fit the different tourism mobility practices.

Currently, sustainability measures in the tourism domain are mainly aimed at the Globetrotters. These tourists, who primarily travel by air, make use of the products and services provided by the tourism industry. Sustainability measures such as flight taxes, emission trading, or technological innovations in airplanes and bio-fuels for airplanes mainly reach this tourist cluster (besides reaching business-travellers). Since the long-haul travellers of this tourist cluster want to explore the world and get into contact with foreign cultures, successfully changing their destination choices is unlikely. For these tourists, ecolocalism strategies as well as modal shift strategies are irrelevant. Sustainability measures at the level of the destination seem to be more appropriate for this tourist cluster (e.g. pro-poor tourism, volunteer tourism, eco-lodges, community-based tourism). For instance, 'Fair Away', a product developed by tour operator Baobab, seems to fit them well. Fair away is a variant on far away holidays, so people still travel to far away destinations, but in a fairer way. Finally, given the large environmental pressure of this cluster's tourism mobility practices and the fact that it is unlikely that these tourists will make a destination shift or a transport mode shift, the opportunity to compensate for the environmental damage caused by tourism mobility seems to be an appropriate heuristic for this cluster. In line with their globetrotter lifestyle, offsetting emissions enables these tourists to explore the world without feeling guilty about it.

Up till now, fewer attention has been given to another, much larger cluster of tourists, the Locarlists. These tourists have positive experiences with spending the holiday relatively close to home and travel predominantly with their own car. Since it is unlikely that this group of tourists, among which families with children are well represented, will shift their transport mode, the key to a sustainable development of this tourism mobility practice lies within the realm of everyday mobility. The Dutch AA (i.e. ANWB) is one of the most obvious organisations to reach this group of people, e.g. by informing them about more fuel-efficient cars (e.g. hybrid cars, electric cars), bio fuels, and about driving in a fuel-saving way (i.e. Het Nieuwe Rijden, see also Nijhuis, forthcoming). When people gain knowledge on these issues in their everyday mobility behaviour, when they buy fuel-efficient cars, and acquire experience with fuel-efficient driving, this will most likely spill-over from everyday mobility practices into tourism mobility practices.

Another way to stimulate these Locarlists to green their tourism mobility practices is by providing them with enough alternative, more environmental-friendly transport modes during their holiday (like Alpine Pearls does for instance). In this way, Locarlists can experience and develop portfolio for travelling with alternative travel modes, which may help convince them to leave their car home the next time (regarding Alpine Pearls this proved successful). In the future, when electric car batteries and the network of recharge points are improved in such a way that they enable longer distance travel, renting electric cars for tourism purposes might be another interesting strategy to stimulate a sustainable development of these tourism mobility practices. Besides these car-related sustainability strategies, the fact that this group of tourists is more inclined to spend their holidays closer to home, thereby reducing the travelling distance, provides a ground for another type of sustainability strategies. These people may decide to spend a larger share of their holidays closer to home when the modes of provision of ecolocalism holidays will be improved. By providing high-quality facilities at nearby tourism destinations, players in the tourism industry may create extra value for ecolocalism holidays. A recent example in this respect concerns the Dutch holiday park Centerparcs. As of 2009, this organisation uses the slogan "let's get closer" and tries to persuade tourists to spend their all-inclusive holiday in one of their parks instead of in a hotel at the Turkish coast for instance.

The Diverse Greens, the third tourist cluster, has positive experiences with slow travel, with train travelling as well as with spending holidays closer to home. These tourists mix and match several sustainable holiday alternatives and transport modes. Given their diversified experiences with tourism mobility practices, they possess a well-developed, diverse portfolio for environmental-friendly holidays. The fact that they are not confined to one type of holiday or one type of transport mode suggests that existing sustainability initiatives such as the ecological footprint (i.e. Vakantievoetafdruk), or the calculator of the environmental impact

of transport modes (i.e. Klimaatwijs op Reis, Ecopassenger) provide them with relevant information to choose environmental-friendly alternatives. A sustainable development of the tourism mobilities of these tourists might furthermore be induced by improving facilities for train travelling, or the quality and luxury of slow travel and ecolocalist type of holidays. They seem to represent a type of independent travellers who gather information from several sources among which tour operators, but arrange their transport and accommodation directly with the provider of these services. This suggests that this tourist cluster might be reached by including the above-mentioned information tools in the common consumption junctions within the tourism domain.

To conclude, sustainable development processes with regard to tourism mobilities are expectantly most effective when better suited to specific holiday practices, involving specific travelling passages, specific providers of tourism and travelling services, specific groups of tourists, possessing specific travelling portfolios and travelling routines. Different systems of provision, different modes of access, and different travelling passages each open up different possibilities for a sustainable development of the specific tourism mobility practice. Thus, specific travelling passages and specific tourism mobility practices may function as the starting point for a sustainable development of tourism mobilities.

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Appendices

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www.kmvk.nl/groenesleutel
www.lekkerweg.nl
www.milieucentraal.nl
www.motherearth.org
www.oneworld.nl
www.responsibletravel.com
www.routerank.com

www.ryanair.com
www.slowfood.nl
www.slowmovement.com
www.slowplanet.com
www.slowtrav.com
www.slowtravel.com/org
www.slowtravel.org.uk
www.solarimpulse.com
www.stand.nl/forum
www.thetravelfoundation.nl
www.thetravelfoundation.org.uk
www.travelsense.nl
www.treesfortravel.info
www.treesfortravel.nl
www.treq.nl
www.unfccc.int
www.unwto.org
www.vakantievoetafdruk.nl
www.viamichelin.nl
www.volkskrantreizen.nl
www.winterzon.net
http://corporate.airfrance.com

Appendices

Appendix 1   Quantitative surveys

Brabantpanel survey

The first survey on Tourism was conducted in cooperation with PON Brabant and was spread among the PON-Brabantpanel. The PON-Brabantpanel is a pool of 4.000 people living in the province of Brabant, the Netherlands. In May and June of 2006 1.220 members of the Brabantpanel received a survey on their holiday plans for the summer of 2006. The response percentage was high (74%), 900 people filled in the questionnaire. The results of this survey are representative for the inhabitants of Brabant concerning age, region (West-, Mid-, Northeast- and Southeast-Brabant) and income (Brabantpanel, 2006). This survey was not only used to get some preliminary insights, but to select participants of the consumer focus groups as well.

Milieu Centraal survey

In May 2007, a survey on Tourism was conducted in cooperation with Milieu Centraal and Leeds University. Of the members of the Milieu Centraal Digipanel, a pool of about 1.500 Dutch consumers, in total 769 people have participated in this survey, which is a response of about 50%. The results of this survey have been weighted in order for them to be representative concerning sex, age, education and region (Stolk et al., 2007).

iNSnet survey

In cooperation with Stichting iNSnet (internet Network for Sustainability), the Contrast Research group conducted a survey called "Sustainability monitor". In April and May of 2007 the survey was spread among Dutch citizens of 18 years and older being member of Flycatcher Internet Research' database, which has about 20.000 members. The survey was split in three parts. The first part was sent to 2.068 people, of which 1.568 people responded (76%). The second part was sent to 1.568 people and 1.473 completed the survey (94%) The final part was sent to 1.473 people and was returned by 1.359 people (92%). The response percentage of people who finished all three parts is 66% (Flycatcher Internet Research, 2007).

Motivaction survey

The final and most comprehensive survey has been conducted in July-August 2008 by the Contrast Research Group in cooperation with the Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency (PBL; i.e. the national institute for strategic policy analysis in the field of environment, nature and spatial planning), LEI (developing

economic knowledge in the fields of food, agriculture and green space) and Moti-vaction, a well known and well accepted Dutch market research association in the Netherlands. Motivaction has an online research panel at its disposal, StemPunt, which has more than 100.000 members among Dutch citizens (Motivaction, 2008). The survey was split in three parts which were given to the respondents in a random order; 2.242 people answered the part consisting of general environmental issues and everyday mobility; 2.302 respondents answered the part consisting of clothing and tourism mobility; 2.288 people participated in the part consisting of food consumption and home maintenance and repair. In total the sample has a number of 2.906 unique respondents. Of the 2.906 respondents, 1.594 respondents have completed all three parts of the survey.

Appendix 2   Participants of focus groups and interviews

To guarantee the anonymity of the participants, the lists below are presented in alphabetical order and do not correspond to the participants' numbers mentioned in the text.

First Consumer Focus Group – Environmental information; December 2006, Tilburg
Thom van Beckhoven
Marga Burggraaff – Huiskes
Jacqueline Franken
Jos ter Horst
Mieke ter Horst
Bas Muilwijk

Second Consumer Focus Group – Environmental information; February 2007, Tilburg
Marianne Bom
Cor Janssen
Bas Joosten
Ilse van Mil
Jolanda Timmermans
Marco Woest

Provider Focus Group – Environmental information; December 2006, Tilburg
Elise Allart	TUI
Jan Juffermans	De Kleine Aarde
Ruud Klep	Travelsense
Niels Korthals-Altes	Green Seat
Sjaak de Ligt	Trees for Travel
Yvonne Remmits	Transavia
Joop Spijker	Nederlands Alpenplatform
Rose Teunissen	NS HiSpeed Alliance

Provider Interviews – Environmental information; February – March 2007
Arjan de Bakker	ANWB	Den Haag
Han Bolluijt	Eurolines	Amsterdam
Helmut Brall	Treinreiswinkel	Leiden
Mirjam Dresmé	ANVR	De Meern
Carl Gerkens	ANVR	De Meern
Saskia Griep	Sawadee	Amsterdam
Denis Janssen	OAD	Holten
Rob van Kesteren	NS Travel	Utrecht

Maarten Koopmans	KLM	Amstelveen
Gert Nieuwboer	SNP	Nijmegen
Jan de Ridder	De Boer en Wendel	Amsterdam
Joost Romeijn	GoGo/Sunweb	Rotterdam
Ed Smit	EETC	Breukelen

Provider Interviews – Alpine Pearls; July 2007, Austria, Germany, Italy

Peter Brandauer	Mayor of Werfenweng, Alpine Pearl in Austria
Gabi Deml	Tourism director of Berchtesgadener Land, Germany[67]
Angelika Diesenreiter	Civil servant of Hinterstoder, Alpine Pearl in Austria
Martina Hackl	Tourism manager Hinterstoder, Alpine Pearl in Austria
Ernst Lung	Policy adviser of BMVIT – Austrian Ministry of Innovation and Transport
Claudia Matzneller	Tourism manager Rosengarten-Latemar, Italy[68]
Stephan Maurer	Manager of Mobilito – Mobility centre in the Pongau region, Austria
Karmen Mentil	Alpine Pearls manager OEAR
Romain Molitor	Trafico Consultancy
Harald Riedler	Manager of Riedler – Mobility centre in Hinterstoder region, Austria
Rudolf Schaupp	Mayor of Berchtesgaden, Alpine Pearl in Germany
Andreas Senger	Manager of Movelo
Martina Titlbach-Supper	Policy adviser of BMWA – Austrian Ministry of Economics and Labour (Division for Tourism Funding)
Helmut Wallner	Mayor of Hinterstoder, Alpine Pearl in Austria

67 Two Alpine Pearls, i.e. Bad Reichenhall and Berchtesgaden, are situated in Berchtesgadener Land.
68 Four Alpine Pearls, i.e. Collepietra (Steinegg), Tires (Tiers), Nova Levante (Welschnofen), and Nova Ponente (Deutschnofen), are situated in Rosengarten-Latemar.

Appendix 3   The Alpine Pearls villages

Country	Village		Member of the Alpine Pearls association since:
Austria (AT)	Werfenweng		2006
	Hinterstoder		2007
	Neukirchen		2007
	Mallnitz		2009
France (FR)	Les Gets		2006
	Morzine-Avoriaz		2007
	Villard-de-Lans		2007
Germany (DE)	Berchtesgaden		2006
	Bad Reichenhall		2006
Italy (IT)	Italian name	German name	
	Collepietra	Steinegg	2006
	Tires	Tiers	2006
	Nova Levante	Welschnofen	2006
	Nova Ponente	Deutschnofen	2006
	Funes	Villnöss	2006
	Racines	Ratschings	2006
	Pieve di Cadore		2006
	Forni di Sopra		2006
	Chamois		2006
	Feltre		2006
	Sauris		2006
Slovenia (SL)	Bled		2008
Switzerland (CH)	Arosa		2006
	Interlaken		2006

Appendix 4   Routes of Alpine journeys

	First Alpine journey: June 9th – June 20th 2007: SuperAlp!
09-06-2007	Utrecht (NL) – Basel (CH)
10-06-2007	Basel (CH) – Genève (CH) – Genève Aux Vives (CH) – Annemasse (FR) – Cluses (FR) – Les Gets (FR)
11-06-2007	Les Gets (FR) – Cluses (FR) – St Gervais Les Bains (FR) – Chamonix (FR) – La Palud (IT) – Courmayer (IT) – Aosta (IT) – Chatillon (IT) – Buisson (IT) – Chamois (IT)
12-06-2007	Chamois (IT) – Buisson (IT) – Cervinia (IT) – Plain Maison (IT) – Trockener Steg (CH) – Zermatt (CH) – Brig (CH)
13-06-2007	Brig (CH) – Chur (CH) – Arosa (CH)
14-06-2007	Arosa (CH) – Chur (CH) – Sagliains (CH) – Zernez (CH) – Malles (IT) – Silandro (IT) – Merano (IT) – Bolzano (IT)
15-06-2007	Bolzano (IT) – San Candido (IT) – Sillian (AT) – Lienz (AT) – Heiligenblut (AT) – Franz Josefs Höhe (AT) – Bruck Fusch (AT) – Bischofshofen (AT) – Werfenweng (AT)
16-06-2007	Werfenweng (AT) – Pfarrwerfen (AT) – Salzburg (AT) – Bad Reichenhall (DE)
17-06-2007	Bad Reichenhall (DE) – Salzburg (AT) – Villach (AT) – Forni di Sopra (IT)
18-06-2007	Pieve di Cadore (IT) – Passo Mauria (IT) – Rifugio Padova (IT) – Domegge di Cadore (IT) – Pieve di Cadore (IT)
19-06-2007	Pieve di Cadore (IT) – Cortina (IT) – Pieve di Cadore (IT) – Belluno (IT)
20-06-2007	Belluno (IT) – Venice (IT) – Munich (DE) – Frankfurt (DE) – Cologne (DE) – Utrecht (NL)
	Second Alpine journey: July 3rd – July 18th 2007
03-07-2007	Utrecht (NL) – Frankfurt (DE) – Salzburg (AT)
04-07-2007	Salzburg (AT) – Bischofshofen (AT) – Pfarrwerfen (AT) – Werfenweng (AT)
05-07-2007	Werfenweng (AT) – Bischofshofen (AT) – Werfenweng (AT)
06-07-2007	Werfenweng (AT) – Pfarrwerfen (AT) – Salzburg (AT) – Freilassing (DE) – Bad Reichenhall (DE) – Berchtesgaden (DE)
07-07-2007	Berchtesgaden (DE) – Bad Reichenhall (DE)
09-07-2007	Bad Reichenhall (DE) – Freilassing (DE) – Salzburg (AT) – Rosenheim (DE) – Kufstein (AT) – Innsbruck (AT) – Brenner (IT) – Bolzano (IT) – Collepietra/Steinegg (IT)
10-07-2007	Collepietra/Steinegg (IT) – Blumau (IT) – Tires/Tiers (IT) – Cyprianerhof (IT) – Carezza/Karersee (IT) – Nova Levante/Welschnofen (IT)
11-07-2007	Nova Levante/Welschnofen (IT) – Ponte Nova/Birchabruck (IT) – Nova Ponente/Deutschnofen (IT) – Ponte Nova/Birchabruck (IT) – Nova Ponente/Deutschnofen (IT)
12-07-2007	Nova Ponente/Deutschnofen (IT) – Ponte Nova/Birchabruck (IT) – Bolzano/ Bozen (IT) – Bressanone/Brixen (IT) – Brennero/Brenner (IT) – Innsbruck (AT) – Kufstein (AT) – Salzburg (AT) – Linz (AT) – Hinterstoder (AT)
15-07-2007	Hinterstoder (AT) – Linz (AT) – Vienna (AT)
17-07-2007	Vienna (AT) – Linz (AT) – Salzburg (AT) – Frankfurt (DE)
18-07-2007	Frankfurt (DE) – Cologne (DE) – Düsseldorf (DE) – Duisburg (DE) – Oberhausen (DE) – Arnhem (NL) – Utrecht (NL)

Appendix 5   Interview topic list – Alpine Pearls

Background and content of the association
1. Historical background of this association
2. Network of Pearls
   – procedure to become a member or leave the membership
   – reason to join the Alpine Pearls association
   – diversity and/or resemblance of the Alpine Pearls villages
3. The content and control of the Alpine Pearls criteria
4. Problems / barriers of Alpine Pearls association (and/or of being a Pearl).

Marketing communication strategy
1. Core content of the message
2. Timing of communication
3. Channels of communication
4. Target group of the Alpine Pearls holiday and resemblance (or not) with the
   type of tourist going on an Alpine Pearls holiday

Environmental-friendly travelling: infrastructure and innovation
1. What are the achievements of Alpine Pearls? What has changed?
2. Tourists are enabled to travel to the Alps environmental-friendly in several
   ways (e.g. reason, background, initiative, success)
   – tour operators selling Alpine Pearls packages
   – a journey along a string of Pearls
   – a mobility guarantee
   – transport modes at the destination
   – mobility centres – system of timetables
   – integrated tickets (Alpine Pearl ticket)
   – "Klimaneutrale Ferien"; Climate neutral holidays
3. Effect of positive experiences during the holiday on rethinking tourism mobil-
   ity behaviour
4. Plans for the future (e.g. concerning information, transport improvements,
   packages, network)

Summary

Samenvatting

Summary

Sustainable tourism mobilities.
A practice approach.

Tourism represents one of the most important sectors in the global economy. It has become a part of our global culture, society and economy. It is even said that going on a holiday has become something of a civil right in our society (e.g. Urry, 1990). Notwithstanding the economic merits and the cultural meaning of travelling, tourism has been subject of debate for decades. Initially tourism was mainly criticised from a socio-cultural perspective, but in recent years there has been a growing concern for the ecological consequences of tourism. Especially the ecological problems produced by tourism mobility are critically appraised. Mobility is however an immanent component of tourism. There is no tourism without mobility. Since mobility accounts for the larger part of the environmental impacts caused by tourism, the crux of sustainable tourism development lies with tourism mobility. This thesis therefore has its primary focus on a sustainable development of tourism mobility.

Actors involved in the tourism industry, including travel agents, tour operators, airlines, policy makers and scientists, increasingly recognise that tourism has several complex and persistent consequences, and acknowledge the need to provide sustainable solutions. Governance actors as well as scientists however experience difficulties in dealing with the sustainability challenges of tourism mobility. The sustainable development of tourism mobility is currently supported by structural governmental measures which create a level playing field (e.g. the Emission Trading System) or by technological innovations which improve the eco-efficiency of transport modes (e.g. aircrafts on bio fuel). These types of measures are however not sufficient in a transition to sustainable tourism mobility. This transition will benefit from a stronger focus on tourists and their holiday behaviour.

The exploration of policy and research in the tourism field reveals that the nature of efforts regarding a sustainable development of tourism mobility is currently rather one-dimensional. Policies are fragmented in their orientation; focused on individual consumers or on the structuring characteristics of the tourism and transport industries. Also in tourism research two separate streams can be identified. A gap can be recognised between social-psychological research with its focus on individual tourists, and system-oriented and rather eco-technocratic research focused on tourism and travelling infrastructures. The complex sustainability issues can however hardly be grasped with such a one-dimensional focus on tourists, or on tour operators, tourist transport systems and other infrastructures.

Although both streams are relevant in a sustainable development of tourism mobility, the analysis of sustainable developments within the tourism domain calls for and might benefit from a new approach.

A new approach

To improve our understanding of how to deal with the sustainability challenges in the tourism domain, this thesis developed a theoretical framework for analysing sustainable developments of tourism mobilities in an integrated manner. The theoretical framework builds on the Social Practices Approach (SPA; developed by Spaargaren, 1997) which (in line with Bourdieu and Giddens) has its focus on the interaction between actors and structures within the context of social practices, hereby connecting the extremes of actor- and structure-oriented research. Social practices are conceived as being routine-driven configurations of activities, situated in time and space, and shared by groups of people as part of their everyday life. This SPA-based theoretical framework differs from existing approaches in tourism research since social practices in the tourism consumption domain are the object of analysis, rather than individual tourists, suppliers, or the tourism value chain. By focusing on social practices, the dynamics between tourists and providers are analysed on the level of practices in the tourism domain.

Besides the fact that applying a practice approach in the tourism consumption domain is new and may provide a useful contribution to current tourism research, -since it goes beyond the usual one-dimensional focus and puts the analysis of sustainable tourism mobility in its proper context-, the theoretical framework developed in this thesis also adds to existing practice approaches since it is focused on analysing *sustainable* developments within practices in the tourism domain. To this end, SPA has been supplemented with insights from the Ecological Modernisation Theory (EMT), a social theory on environmental change. EMT is based on the idea that greening processes can take place through a modernisation of production and consumption, instead of through demodernisation and a reduction of consumption. The theoretical framework also uses insights from Transition Research. The idea that practices can develop in a sustainable direction corresponds with Transition Management. The attention for the various stages of transition processes and the levels at which transitions take place and have their origin, is taken from Transition Theory.

Methodology

This theoretical framework of which its three central themes are reflected in the title: "Sustainable tourism mobilities. A practice approach", leads to the formulation of two research questions. The first question points to the challenge to

introduce and apply this SPA-based framework in the field of tourism research, hereby contributing to scientific research in this field. The second research question points to the societal relevance of this thesis. Applying this practice approach in the tourism domain will provide insights regarding sustainability strategies for tourism mobilities.

> How is an SPA-based approach able to facilitate a contextual analysis of a sustainable development of tourism mobilities?

> What insights can be gained from taking an SPA-based approach with regard to effective strategies for more sustainable tourism mobilities?

The research questions have been answered in three empirical studies which have, each in their own way, operationalised the SPA-based theoretical framework. Different aspects of the interaction between tourists and the tourism industry have received attention, and diverging methodological approaches have been used. In this way, the empirical chapters reveal what it entails to take a practice approach when analysing sustainable development processes in the tourism domain. Furthermore, these chapters concern three complementary ways to analyse current and potential sustainable developments in the tourism domain.

The positioning of environmental information

Information is considered to be of significant influence on the choices made regarding travelling behaviour (Crotts, 1999; Fodness & Murray, 1997, 1999; Gursoy & McCleary, 2004; Pan & Fesenmaier, 2006). Since information strategies on environmental-friendly travelling options may be crucial in a sustainable development of tourism mobility, the first empirical study analysed the positioning of environmental information in the vacation choice practice.

In the focus groups and in-depth interviews among tourists and representatives of the tourism and travelling industries, the focus has been on providers' environmental information strategies and tourists' preferences on how to be informed on environmental issues regarding holidays.

The tourism sector shows reluctance when it regards providing environmental information. Environmental information is nevertheless increasingly being provided in the vacation choice practice by way of various formats (e.g. eco-labels, the ecological footprint, and emission calculators). Despite the fact that environmental information is available, it appeared that tourists hardly receive environmental information. Most tourists are unfamiliar with the various formats used to position environmental information. Since the unfamiliarity with environmental information can not be explained by an absence of environmental information

in the vacation choice practice, subsequent analyses focused on other factors that could explain this paradox.

Besides the availability of environmental information, the way this is embedded in the vacation choice practice is considered important in a transition towards more sustainable tourism mobilities. It appeared that environmental information is not yet interwoven with the products and services which are purchased in the vacation choice practice. Environmental information is provided separately from information on other aspects of the holiday in order to keep environmental issues away from the holiday. Both tourists and tourism providers associate environmental-friendly holidays rather negatively with back-to-nature holidays with little comfort. This is a reflection of the 1970s environmental discourse of demodernisation and downsizing. Other storylines for environmental-friendly holidays should be developed as a consequence of which these holidays appeal to positive images and environmental information can be positioned more prominently.

Further investigations illustrated that environmental information is of a generic character. Although the 'back-to-nature' storyline fits rather well to the active outdoor holiday practice, it fails to connect with other holiday practices which make up the bigger part of the tourism industry. As a consequence, there is a misfit between the uniform positioning of environmental information and the diversity of practices within the tourism domain. In line with the SPA-based theoretical framework it can be expected that positioning environmental information in the vacation choice practice in a way that fits with specific holiday practices is more effective in a sustainable development of tourism mobilities. Furthermore, instead of being provided separate from the holiday, environmental information should be interwoven with the holiday.

A contextual sustainability strategy: Alpine Pearls

The second study was focused on the Alpine Pearls association, a network of 23 tourism destinations in the Alpine region. The association aims for a sustainable development of Alpine tourism, with a special focus on tourism mobilities to and within the Alpine region. Their goal is to enable tourists to experience comfortable, attractive and environmental-friendly Alpine holidays, using public transport and other environmental-friendly transport means while staying in environmental-friendly accommodations. Alpine Pearls concerns a contextualised sustainability strategy at the level of a specific holiday practice, in which mobility is considered as an integrated part of the tourism value chain and in which environmental information is interwoven with the holiday.

In-depth interviews with stakeholders of this sustainability strategy and participant observations of going on an environmental-friendly Alpine Pearls holiday have been performed to investigate whether Alpine Pearls can be effective in a

sustainable development of Alpine holidays, or can even serve as an example for a sustainable development of other holiday practices in the tourism domain.

In analysing Alpine Pearls the concept of 'passages' was used to refer to the fact that travel behaviour takes place in organised networks, consisting of material and immaterial elements (Peters 2003, 2006), such as tourism and transport infrastructures, travel portfolios and the image of holiday destinations. The passage perspective assumes that a passage should be created in which several elements are aligned in such a way that tourists can experience problem-free Alpine Pearls holidays.

Analyses showed that the Alpine Pearls holiday practice is characterised by specific, greener modes of provisioning and modes of access compared to the Alpine holiday practice. There can be spoken of a green Alpine Pearls passage. People travelling along the Alpine Pearls passage possess certain portfolio characteristics which enable them to travel in an environmental-friendly manner. Although the intended Alpine Pearls passage connects public transportation and other environmental-friendly transport means (e.g. cycling and walking) with environmental-friendly accommodations, the results indicated that currently most tourists travel to the Alpine Pearls villages by car. However, during their Alpine Pearls holiday they experience the green Alpine Pearls passage; instead of using their car, they use environmental-friendly transport modes. This deroutinisation process may ultimately contribute to a sustainable development of tourism mobility within the Alpine holiday.

During the period in which data have been gathered, the green Alpine Pearls passage was not yet complete. The creation of a green Alpine Pearls passage is complicated by the fact that the Alpine Pearls holiday is characterised by a different system of provision compared to the current transport and tourism industries. The system of provision of the Alpine Pearls passage is organised on the level of the holiday practice and does not interrelate with the nationally and sectorially organised system of provision of the transport and tourism industries. Nationally organised information systems, transport infrastructures, and ticket systems hamper the creation of a complete and continuous passage for the Alpine Pearls holiday. The sectorially organised tourism industry separating between transport, accommodation, and activities obstruct the creation of a green passage in which all these elements are included in the same passage.

In this respect, the organisational form and position of the 'passage creator' is important. The non-profit Alpine Pearls association lacks the authority and resources to organise a complete passage. Green passages would benefit from a situation in which more powerful 'passage creators' -such as established tour operators-, take up the challenge to develop green passages on the level of specific holiday practices, thereby transcending national structures and reforming the sectorially organised tourism industry.

A quantitative analysis of sustainability in the tourism domain

The third empirical study concerns a large-scale quantitative survey among Dutch citizen-consumers investigating sustainable developments in five consumption domains: food consumption, home maintenance and repair, clothing, everyday mobility and tourism mobility. The analyses of the results regarding tourism mobility illustrated that it is not yet common to view consumers as co-responsible in sustainable development processes. Responsibilities regarding a sustainable development of tourism mobilities are mainly ascribed to the government and the market. The sustainability debate in the tourism domain, in which the idea: "The environment? Not during my holiday" still prevails, is lagging behind the debate in other consumption domains (see also Ytterhus, 2000 in Budeanu, 2007a).

Although sustainability issues are not yet interwoven with the tourism domain, recent developments suggest that tourism might nevertheless be entering a transformation phase in the transition towards sustainable tourism mobilities (see also Budeanu, 2007a). In this light, it is promising that a considerable number of respondents perceived one or more sustainable tourism mobility alternatives as attractive or had positive experiences with these. These concern ecolocalism, slow travel, climate compensation and train travelling.

Based on tourists' positive experiences with more sustainable tourism mobilities, a cluster analysis discerned three groups of tourists possessing different portfolios for environmental-friendly travelling. Given the representativeness of the sample, these groups of tourists are also represented among Dutch citizen-consumers. About half of Dutch citizen-consumers belong to the first cluster which represents tourists who have positive experiences with spending holidays close to home. Many of these tourists have children and are typical car travellers. These Locarlists (a combination of local and car) are not interested in modal shift strategies that aim to promote train travelling. A second tourist cluster does not have positive experiences with any of the suggested sustainable tourism mobility alternatives. These rather young tourists want to explore the world and usually travel by air. These Globetrotters are not inclined to spend their holidays closer to home or to travel to their holiday destinations by train. For this group of tourists sustainability measures taken at the destination-level are relevant. A third cluster of tourists consists of people who have positive experiences with train travelling, slow travel and ecolocalism. They are slightly older and more educated compared to the other clusters. These tourists have the most diverse travelling portfolios and are best suited for performing environmental-friendly tourism mobility behaviours: Diverse Greens.

The tourist clusters represent different tourism mobility practices, characterised by different portfolios for environmental-friendly travelling, using different transport and tourism infrastructures, and interested in different socio-technical

innovations (see also Peters, 2006). The survey results hence point to the relevance of focusing and fine-tuning sustainability measures at specific tourism mobility practices. For different practices in the tourism domain different sustainability strategies appear to be relevant, attractive and effective.

Addressing the sheer diversity of tourism mobility practices might free the tourism sustainability debate from its fixation on long-haul air travel, which may lead to a situation in which the diversity of practices within the tourism domain and the possibilities for sustainable developments therein are being considered.

Conclusions

In this thesis a new conceptual framework has progressively been developed by combining insights from different streams of research: the Social Practices Approach, Ecological Modernisation Theory, Transition Research and the Theory of Passages.

Three empirical analyses have illustrated how the SPA-based theoretical framework can facilitate contextual analyses of sustainable developments in the tourism consumption domain. The use of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies shows how practice-oriented research is not restricted to one specific research methodology. Data have been gathered by way of in-depth interviews, focus groups, participant observation and quantitative surveys. An important advantage of this methodological triangulation is that it enhances the validity of the results. While the qualitative research methods offered in-depth insights, the quantitative analyses offered the opportunity to generalise these.

The results illustrate that the transition to more sustainable tourism mobilities is still in its beginning phase. The tourism industry is uncertain with regard to what type of strategies may effectively contribute to a sustainable development of tourism mobilities. The insights obtained in this thesis may be useful in this respect. While the first empirical study showed, among other things, that generic sustainability strategies do not fit the diverse character of this consumption domain, the second empirical study pointed to the relevance of organising green passages on the level of holiday practices, in such a way that tourists can experience comfortable and problem-free environmental-friendly holidays. The conclusion that sustainable developments in the tourism domain should be aimed at the level of practices, has in the third study been accompanied with a useful, empirically supported typology of tourism mobility practices which reflects the importance of travelling routines and -portfolios in a sustainable development of tourism mobilities. The three studies hence confirm the value of the SPA-based approach. A sustainable development of tourism mobilities asks for strategies which fit more precisely and productively with the characteristics of practices in

the tourism domain. Tourism mobility practices may function as the starting point for a sustainable development of tourism mobilities.

Samenvatting

Duurzame toeristische mobiliteit.
Een praktijkenbenadering

Toerisme is een van de belangrijkste sectoren in de wereldeconomie. Het is onderdeel van onze cultuur, maatschappij en economie. Er wordt wel gezegd dat op vakantie gaan in onze samenleving een 'recht' geworden is (e.g. Urry, 1990). Ondanks de economische opbrengsten en het belang dat aan reizen gehecht wordt, is toerisme al decennialang onderwerp van discussie. In het begin werd toerisme voornamelijk bekritiseerd vanuit sociaal-cultureel oogpunt, maar de laatste jaren is er ook steeds meer aandacht voor de ecologische gevolgen van toerisme. In het bijzonder worden de negatieve milieueffecten van de toegenomen toeristische mobiliteit bekritiseerd. Mobiliteit is echter een immanent onderdeel van toerisme. Toerisme zonder mobiliteit bestaat niet. Omdat mobiliteit verantwoordelijk is voor het grootste deel van de milieueffecten veroorzaakt door toerisme ligt de crux van een duurzame ontwikkeling van toerisme bij toeristische mobiliteit. Het onderzoek richt zich dan ook in het bijzonder op de verduurzaming van toeristische mobiliteit.

Relevante actoren in het consumptiedomein toerisme, zowel reisorganisaties, luchtvaartmaatschappijen, beleidsmakers als wetenschappers, erkennen in toenemende mate dat toerisme diverse hardnekkige gevolgen heeft en zien de noodzaak om met duurzame oplossingen te komen. Zowel beleid als onderzoek loopt echter tegen problemen aan in het omgaan met het complexe duurzaamheidvraagstuk rond toeristische mobiliteit. Duurzame ontwikkeling van toeristische mobiliteit vindt momenteel veelal plaats door middel van structurele overheidsmaatregelen die een level playing field creëren (e.g. het emissiehandelssysteem) of technologische innovaties die de eco-efficiëntie van transportmiddelen verbeteren (e.g. vliegtuigen op biobrandstof). Deze typen maatregelen zijn echter niet voldoende om een échte verandering naar duurzame toeristische mobiliteit teweeg te brengen. Een dergelijke transitie is gebaat bij een sterkere focus op toeristen en hun vakantiegedrag.

De inventarisatie van beleid en onderzoek in het toeristische veld brengt aan het licht dat de uitdaging om toeristische mobiliteit in een duurzame richting te ontwikkelen momenteel te eendimensionaal wordt opgepakt. Beleidsmaatregelen zijn gefragmenteerd in hun oriëntatie; ze zijn gericht op individuele consumenten dan wel op de structurele kenmerken van de toeristische en transportindustrie. Ook in het toeristische onderzoeksveld kunnen twee stromingen gesignaleerd worden, die elkaar nauwelijks raken. Enerzijds is er veel sociaal-psychologisch onderzoek naar

individuele toeristen, anderzijds bestaat er een stroming van systeem-georiënteerd en nogal eco-technocratisch onderzoek naar toeristische infrastructuren. Het complexe duurzaamheidvraagstuk kan echter niet volledig overzien en begrepen worden met een dergelijke eendimensionale focus op toeristen enerzijds of op tour operators, transportsystemen en andere toeristische infrastructuren anderzijds.

Ondanks dat beide stromingen van belang zijn in een duurzame ontwikkeling van toeristische mobiliteit, vraagt de analyse van duurzame ontwikkelingen binnen het toeristische domein om een nieuwe benadering.

Een nieuwe benadering

In dit proefschrift is een theoretisch raamwerk ontwikkeld waarmee duurzame ontwikkelingen van toeristische mobiliteit op een geïntegreerde wijze geanalyseerd kunnen worden om zo meer inzicht te krijgen in de uitdagingen waar het toeristische domein mee geconfronteerd wordt. Er is voortgebouwd op de Gedragspraktijkenbenadering (GPB; ontwikkeld door Spaargaren, 1997) die (indachtig Bourdieu en Giddens) de aandacht richt op de interactie tussen actor- en structuurdynamieken in de context van gedragspraktijken en daarmee de uitersten van actor- en structuurgeoriënteerd onderzoek verbindt. Gedragspraktijken zijn gedefinieerd als routinematige configuraties van activiteiten, gesitueerd in tijd en ruimte en gedeeld door groepen burgerconsumenten als onderdeel van hun alledaagse leven. Het op GPB-gebaseerde theoretisch kader onderscheidt zich van huidige benaderingen in het toeristische onderzoeksveld in de zin dat gedragspraktijken in het toeristische consumptiedomein het object van analyse zijn in plaats van individuele toeristen, aanbieders, of de toeristische waardeketen. Door gedragspraktijken als onderzoekseenheid te nemen, wordt de dynamiek tussen toeristen en aanbieders geanalyseerd op het niveau van praktijken in het toeristische domein.

Naast het feit dat het toepassen van een praktijkenbenadering in het toeristische consumptiedomein nieuw is en een zinvolle toevoeging kan bieden op het huidige toeristische onderzoek, – omdat voorbij wordt gegaan aan de gebruikelijke eendimensionale focus en het de analyse van duurzamer toeristische mobiliteit in haar context plaatst –, voegt het theoretische kader dat in dit proefschrift ontwikkeld is ook iets toe aan bestaande praktijkenbenaderingen, namelijk dat het gericht is op het bestuderen van *duurzame* ontwikkelingen binnen praktijken in het toeristische domein. Hiertoe is GPB aangevuld met inzichten uit de Ecologische Moderniserings Theorie (EMT), een sociale theorie aangaande milieugerelateerde veranderingen. EMT is gebaseerd op de idee dat vergroening kan plaatsvinden door een modernisering van productie en consumptie, in plaats van demodernisering en consuminderen. Daarnaast gebruikt het theoretische kader inzichten uit het Transitie Onderzoek. Het idee dat praktijken zich in een duurzame richting

kunnen ontwikkelen, deelt ze met Transitiemanagement. De aandacht voor de verschillende fasen in transitieprocessen en de niveaus waarop transities zich afspelen en hun oorsprong kennen, deelt ze met Transitietheorie.

Methode

Dit theoretische kader waarin kortom drie thema's centraal staan die alle te herkennen zijn in de titel: "Duurzame toeristische mobiliteit. Een praktijkenbenadering", heeft geleid tot de formulering van twee onderzoeksvragen. De eerste vraag wijst op de uitdaging om dit op GPB-gebaseerde theoretisch kader te introduceren in het toeristisch onderzoeksveld en daarmee een zinvolle bijdrage te leveren aan het wetenschappelijke onderzoek op het gebied van duurzaam toerisme. De tweede onderzoeksvraag verwijst naar de maatschappelijke relevantie van dit proefschrift. Het toepassen van deze praktijkenbenadering in het toeristische domein zal inzichten opleveren aangaande verduurzamingsstrategieën voor toeristische mobiliteit.

> Hoe stelt een op GPB-gebaseerde benadering ons in staat om een duurzame ontwikkeling van toeristische mobiliteit in haar context te analyseren?

> Tot welke inzichten aangaande effectieve strategieën voor duurzamer vormen van toeristische mobiliteit leidt het toepassen van een op GPB-gebaseerde benadering?

De onderzoeksvragen zijn beantwoord in een drietal empirische onderzoeken die elk op verschillende wijze het op GPB-gebaseerde theoretische kader operationaliseren. Er worden verschillende aspecten van de interactie tussen toeristen en de toeristische sector belicht en dit wordt vanuit verschillende methodische invalshoeken gedaan. Hiermee laten de empirische hoofdstukken zien wat het inhoudt om een praktijkenbenadering toe te passen bij het analyseren van duurzame ontwikkelingsprocessen in het toeristische domein. Bovendien bestrijken de hoofdstukken drie elkaar aanvullende manieren om huidige en potentiële duurzame ontwikkelingen in het toeristische domein te analyseren.

De positionering van milieu-informatie

Informatie wordt beschouwd als van grote invloed op de keuzes die gemaakt worden aangaande het vakantiegedrag (Crotts, 1999; Fodness & Murray, 1997, 1999; Gursoy & McCleary, 2004; Pan & Fesenmaier, 2006). Aangezien informatie over milieuvriendelijke reismogelijkheden cruciaal kan zijn in een duurzame ontwikkeling van toeristische mobiliteit, betrof het eerste empirische onderzoek de analyse van de positionering van milieu-informatie in de vakantiekeuzepraktijk.

In de focusgroepen en diepte-interviews die gehouden zijn met toeristen en met vertegenwoordigers van de toeristische industrie ging de aandacht uit naar de milieu-informatie strategieën van aanbieders en naar de manier waarop consumenten milieu-informatie over de vakantie zouden willen ontvangen.

De toeristische sector is nog terughoudend in het verstrekken van milieu-informatie. Desondanks wordt deze in toenemende mate aangeboden in de vakantiekeuzepraktijk, gebruik makend van verscheidene formats (bijvoorbeeld milieukeurmerken, ecologische voetafdruk, emissiecalculator). Ondanks het feit dat milieu-informatie beschikbaar is, is gebleken dat toeristen nauwelijks milieu-informatie ontvangen. De meeste toeristen zijn onbekend met de verschillende formats waarin milieu-informatie verstrekt wordt. Omdat de onbekendheid met milieu-informatie niet verklaard kan worden door de afwezigheid van milieu-informatie in de vakantiekeuzepraktijk, zijn aanvullende analyses gedaan om factoren te achterhalen die deze paradox kunnen verklaren.

Naast de aanwezigheid van milieu-informatie is de manier waarop deze is ingebed in de vakantiekeuzepraktijk van belang in een transitie naar duurzamere toeristische mobiliteit. Uit de analyse is gebleken dat milieu-informatie nog niet verweven is met de producten en diensten die in de vakantiekeuzepraktijk aangeboden en aangeschaft worden. Milieu-informatie wordt apart van andere informatie aangaande de vakantie verstrekt om het thema milieu van de vakantie weg te houden. 'Milieuvriendelijke vakanties' worden namelijk door zowel toeristen als aanbieders in de toeristische sector vrij negatief en eenzijdig geassocieerd met 'back-to-nature'-vakanties zonder enige vorm van comfort. Dit geitenwollensokken-imago is een reflectie van het milieudiscours uit de jaren zeventig van de vorige eeuw dat in het teken stond van demodernisering en kleinschaligheid. Het is tijd om andere verhalen voor milieuvriendelijke vakanties te ontwikkelen, opdat deze positieve beelden oproepen en milieu-informatie prominenter gepositioneerd kan worden.

Verdere analyses lieten zien dat milieu-informatie van generiek karakter is. Ondanks het feit dat de 'back-to-nature'-verhaallijn relatief goed aansluit bij de praktijk van de actieve vakantie, sluit het niet aan bij andere vakantiepraktijken die het grotere deel van het toeristische consumptiedomein beslaan. Als gevolg hiervan is er sprake van een misfit tussen de uniforme wijze waarop milieu-informatie gepositioneerd wordt en de diversiteit van praktijken in het toeristische domein. Naar verwachting zal, in lijn met het op GPB-gebaseerde theoretische kader, informatie die zodanig in de vakantiepraktijk gepositioneerd wordt dat deze aansluit bij de specifieke vakantiepraktijken effectiever zijn in een duurzame ontwikkeling van toeristische mobiliteit. Bovendien zou milieu-informatie niet langer apart van andere informatie aangeboden moeten worden. Milieu-informatie dient verweven te worden met de vakantie.

Alpine Pearls als op vakantiepraktijk toegespitste verduurzamingsstrategie

Het tweede onderzoek was gericht op Alpine Pearls, een netwerk van 23 toeristische bestemmingen in de Alpenregio dat zich richt op het verduurzamen van de Alpenvakantie, met speciale aandacht voor toeristische mobiliteit naar en in het Alpengebied. Alpine Pearls zet zich ervoor in om het voor toeristen comfortabel en aantrekkelijk te maken om een milieuvriendelijke Alpenvakantie te ervaren, gebruikmakend van openbaar vervoer en andere milieuvriendelijke vervoermiddelen en verblijvend in milieuvriendelijke hotels. Alpine Pearls wordt beschouwd als een gecontextualiseerde verduurzamingsstrategie die ingestoken is op een specifieke vakantiepraktijk, waarin de vervoerscomponent als geïntegreerd onderdeel van de toeristische waardeketen beschouwd wordt en waarin milieu-informatie verweven is met de vakantie als geheel.

Door middel van diepte-interviews met betrokkenen bij deze verduurzamingsstrategie en participerende observatie van hoe het is om op een milieuvriendelijke Alpenvakantie te gaan zijn gegevens verzameld om te onderzoeken of Alpine Pearls effectief kan bijdragen aan een duurzame ontwikkeling van Alpenvakanties, of zelfs als voorbeeld kan dienen voor duurzame ontwikkeling van andere gedragspraktijken in het toeristische domein.

In de analyse van Alpine Pearls is het begrip passages gebruikt. Passages verwijzen naar het feit dat verplaatsingsgedrag plaatsvindt in georganiseerde netwerken, bestaande uit materiële en immateriële elementen (Peters 2003, 2006), zoals toeristische- en transportinfrastructuren, de reisportfolio's waar mensen over beschikken en het imago van vakantiebestemmingen. Het perspectief op passages veronderstelt dat er een passage gecreëerd dient te worden waarin verscheidene elementen zodanig op elkaar afgestemd zijn dat toeristen een probleemloze Alpine Pearls-vakantie kunnen ervaren.

De resultaten laten zien dat de Alpine Pearls-vakantie gekenmerkt wordt door specifieke, groenere aanbodstructuren dan de Alpenvakantie. Er kan gesproken worden van een groene Alpine Pearls-passage. Reizigers in de Alpine Pearls-passage beschikken over bepaalde portfoliokenmerken die hen in staat stellen om op milieuvriendelijke wijze te reizen. Hoewel de beoogde Alpine Pearls-passage het trein- en busvervoer verbindt met andere milieuvriendelijke transportmogelijkheden (bijvoorbeeld fietsen en wandelen) en met milieuvriendelijke accommodaties, laten de resultaten zien dat momenteel de meeste toeristen met de auto naar de Alpine Pearls dorpen reizen. Tijdens hun verblijf in een Alpine Pearls dorp ervaren ze echter de groene Alpine Pearls-passage; ze laten de auto staan en gebruiken alleen milieuvriendelijke wijzen van vervoer. Dit deroutiniseringsproces kan uiteindelijk bijdragen aan een duurzame ontwikkeling van toeristische mobiliteit binnen de Alpenvakantie.

In de periode waarin de dataverzameling heeft plaatsgevonden, kon er nog niet gesproken worden van een complete groene Alpine Pearls-passage. Het organiseren van deze passage wordt bemoeilijkt door het feit dat de Alpine Pearls-vakantie een andere aanbodstructuur heeft dan de huidige transport- en toeristische industrie. De aanbodstructuur van de Alpine Pearls-passage is georganiseerd op het niveau van de vakantiepraktijk en sluit niet aan bij de nationaal en sectoraal georganiseerde aanbodstructuren van de transport- en toeristische industrie. Nationaal georganiseerde informatiesystemen, transportinfrastructuren en ticketsystemen belemmeren de ontwikkeling van een complete en ononderbroken passage voor de Alpine Pearls-vakantie. De sectorale verdeling van de toeristische industrie in vervoer, verblijf en vermaak bemoeilijkt de creatie van een groene passage waarin deze elementen tot een en dezelfde passage behoren.

In dit kader zijn de organisatievorm en de machtspositie van de 'passage-vormgever' van belang. De non-profit Alpine Pearls-vereniging heeft een gebrek aan autoriteit en middelen om een complete passage te organiseren. Groene passages zouden voordeel kunnen halen uit een situatie waarin machtiger 'passage-vormgevers', zoals gevestigde tour operators, de uitdaging aangaan om groene passages op het niveau van specifieke gedragspraktijken te ontwikkelen, daarbij nationale structuren overstijgend en de sectoraal georganiseerde toeristische industrie hervormend.

Een kwantitatieve analyse van duurzaamheid in het toeristische domein

Het derde onderzoek betreft een grootschalig survey onder Nederlandse consumenten naar duurzame ontwikkelingen in vijf consumptiedomeinen, te weten: voeding, wonen, kleding, alledaagse mobiliteit en toeristische mobiliteit. De analyses van de resultaten aangaande toeristische mobiliteit illustreren dat het nog geen gemeengoed is om consumenten als medeverantwoordelijk te beschouwen in verduurzamingsprocessen. Verantwoordelijkheden aangaande een duurzame ontwikkeling van toeristische mobiliteit worden met name toegeschreven aan de overheid en de markt. Het duurzaamheidsdebat in het toeristische domein, waar de gedachte: "Milieu? Op vakantie even niet" nog heerst, blijft daarmee achter bij die in andere consumptiedomeinen (zie ook Ytterhus, 2000 in Budeanu, 2007a).

Ondanks het feit dat duurzaamheidsissues nog niet verweven zijn met het toeristische domein, lijkt het er gezien de elkaar snel opvolgende ontwikkelingen op dat toerisme een nieuwe fase in de transitie naar duurzame toeristische mobiliteit ingaat (zie ook Budeanu, 2007a). In het licht hiervan is het veelbelovend dat een aanzienlijke groep respondenten één of meerdere duurzamere alternatieven voor toeristische mobiliteit aantrekkelijk vindt of er zelfs positieve ervaringen mee heeft. Denk hierbij aan dichtbij huis op vakantie gaan, slow travel, klimaatcompensatie en met de trein op vakantie gaan.

Op basis van de positieve ervaringen met de duurzamere alternatieven voor toeristische mobiliteit zijn er door middel van een clusteranalyse drie groepen toeristen onderscheiden die verschillende groene reisportfolio's bezitten. Gezien de representativiteit van de steekproef kunnen deze groepen ook onder de Nederlandse consumenten onderscheiden worden. Het eerste cluster bestaat uit toeristen die positieve ervaringen hebben met vakanties dichtbij huis. Veel van deze toeristen hebben kinderen en gaan met de auto op vakantie. Deze 'Locarlisten' (een samenstelling van de woorden local en car) zijn niet ontvankelijk voor modal shift-strategieën die erop gericht zijn mensen uit de auto te halen en in de trein te krijgen. Het tweede cluster van toeristen heeft met geen van de duurzamere alternatieven positieve ervaringen. Het zijn relatief jonge toeristen die de wereld willen ontdekken en veelal met het vliegtuig op vakantie gaan: Globetrotters. Deze groep toeristen staat er niet voor open om de vakantie dichter bij huis door te brengen of om met de trein naar de vakantiebestemming te reizen. Voor deze groep zijn duurzaamheidsmaatregelen op bestemmingsniveau relevant. Het derde cluster van toeristen wordt gevormd door mensen die positieve ervaringen hebben met treinreizen, slow travel en dichtbij huis op vakantie gaan. Zij zijn gemiddeld iets ouder en iets hoger opgeleid dan de twee andere clusters. Deze toeristen beschikken over de meest diverse groene reisportfolio's en zijn daarmee het best uitgerust om milieuvriendelijk toeristisch mobiliteitsgedrag te vertonen: Diverse Groenen.

De analyse van deze clusters leidt tot de conclusie dat ze elk een toeristische mobiliteitspraktijk representeren, gekenmerkt door verschillende portfolio's voor milieuvriendelijk reizen, gebruikmakend van verschillende infrastructuren voor toerisme en voor transport, en geïnteresseerd in andere sociotechnische innovaties (zie ook Peters, 2006). De resultaten van het survey wijzen daarmee op het belang om duurzaamheidsmaatregelen toe te spitsen op het specifieke karakter van toeristische mobiliteitspraktijken. Voor de verschillende gedragspraktijken binnen het toeristische domein blijken andere verduurzamingsstrategieën relevant, aantrekkelijk en effectief te zijn. Hiermee wordt de op GPB-baseerde verwachting bevestigd.

Het benoemen van deze diversiteit aan toeristische mobiliteitspraktijken kan ertoe leiden dat het toeristische duurzaamheidsdebat zijn fixatie op verre vliegreizen loslaat, en zijn ogen opent voor andere praktijken in het toeristische domein en de verschillende mogelijkheden voor duurzame ontwikkeling hierbinnen.

Conclusies

In dit proefschrift is een nieuw conceptueel kader ontwikkeld door inzichten vanuit verschillende onderzoeksstromingen te combineren: de Gedragspraktijken-

benadering, Ecologische Moderniserings Theorie, Transitie Onderzoek en de Passagetheorie.

Drie empirische analyses hebben geïllustreerd hoe het theoretisch kader een contextuele analyse van duurzame ontwikkelingen in het toeristische consumptiedomein mogelijk maakt. Het gebruik van zowel kwalitatieve als kwantitatieve onderzoeksmethoden laat zien dat praktijk-georiënteerd onderzoek niet beperkt hoeft te zijn tot een specifieke onderzoeksmethode. Data zijn verzameld door middel van diepte-interviews en focusgroepen met zowel aanbieders en andere betrokkenen uit de reissector als consumenten, alsmede door participerende observaties en een viertal kwantitatieve surveys. Deze methode triangulatie vergroot de betrouwbaarheid van onderzoeksresultaten. Waar de kwalitatieve onderzoeksmethoden tot diepgaande inzichten leidden, boden kwantitatieve onderzoeksmethoden de mogelijkheid deze inzichten te generaliseren naar een hoger schaalniveau.

De onderzoeksresultaten illustreren dat de transitie naar duurzamere vormen van toeristische mobiliteit zich nog in een beginfase bevindt. De toeristische sector is onzeker wat betreft het type strategieën dat effectief kan bijdragen aan een duurzame ontwikkeling van toeristische mobiliteit. De inzichten die in dit onderzoek verkregen zijn, scheppen duidelijkheid. Waar het eerste empirische onderzoek onder meer liet zien dat generieke strategieën niet gepast zijn in een consumptiedomein dat zich kenmerkt door grote diversiteit, wees het tweede empirische onderzoek uit dat het relevant is om groene passages te creëren op het niveau van vakantiepraktijken, zodanig dat toeristen comfortabele en probleemloze milieuvriendelijke vakanties kunnen ervaren. Het derde onderzoek leidde tenslotte tot de typologie van toeristische mobiliteitspraktijken, gekenmerkt door verschillende groepen toeristen die de beschikking hebben over verschillende groene reisportfolio's en gebruik maken van de diensten van verschillende aanbieders uit de toeristische sector. Hiermee bevestigen de drie onderzoeken de waarde van de in dit proefschrift toegepaste praktijkenbenadering. Duurzame ontwikkelingsprocessen van toeristische mobiliteit vragen om strategieën die toegespitst zijn op de specifieke kenmerken van praktijken in het toeristische domein. Toeristische mobiliteitspraktijken functioneren als het uitgangspunt voor een duurzame ontwikkeling van toeristische mobiliteit.

Nawoord
Curriculum Vitae
Contrast Research Programme

Nawoord

Ithaka
Als je de tocht aanvaardt naar Ithaka
wens dat de weg dan lang mag zijn,
vol avonturen, vol ervaringen.
[...]
Houd Ithaka wel altijd in gedachten.
Daar aan te komen is je doel.
Maar overhaast je reis in geen geval.
't Is beter dat die vele jaren duurt,
zodat je als oude man pas bij het eiland
het anker uitwerpt, rijk aan wat je onderweg verwierf,
zonder te hopen dat Ithaka je rijkdom schenken zal.
Ithaka gaf je de mooie reis.
Was het er niet, dan was je nooit vertrokken,
verder heeft het je niets te bieden meer.
[...]

K.P. Kavafis
(Vertaling uit het Grieks: Hans Warren en Mario Molengraaf)

Dit gedicht beschouw ik als een metafoor voor mijn promotietraject. Het waren vier lange jaren met hoogte- en dieptepunten waarin ik vele nieuwe dingen heb geleerd en nieuwe ervaringen heb opgedaan. Ik was altijd gericht op het behalen van alle tussendoelen om uiteindelijk het einddoel, het schrijven en verdedigen van dit proefschrift, te bereiken. Nu ik ben aangekomen in Ithaka blijkt hetgeen ik onderweg verwierf het meest waardevol te zijn van deze reis. Ik heb mijn persoonlijke rugzak gevuld met kennis en vaardigheden die ik in de rest van mijn leven kan gebruiken. Wellicht had ik minder moeten haasten zodat de reis naar Ithaka langer zou zijn geweest.

De interesse in reizen, erop uit gaan, nieuwe dingen zien en ontdekken, nieuwe ervaringen opdoen, de nieuwsgierigheid naar het onbekende, heb ik van huis uit meegekregen. Pa en ma, bedankt daarvoor, en voor het feit dat jullie altijd achter mij staan en vertrouwen in mij hebben. Mam, je schreef op 03-07-2008: "Als jij ergens voor gaat, dan ga je er ook écht voor. Ook al is het moeilijk, je zet door en wat je wilt bereiken, lukt dan ook!" Jullie hebben gelijk gekregen. De promotiefase is afgerond, het proefschrift is af.

Dit proefschrift was echter niet tot stand gekomen zonder de hulp van anderen. Om te beginnen wil ik mijn promotoren Hans Mommaas en Gert Spaargaren en mijn copromotor Bertine Bargeman bedanken. Hans, wanneer mijn aandacht te sterk uitging naar details en specifieke onderzoeksresultaten, zorgde jij ervoor dat ik grip kreeg op het hogere abstractieniveau van het onderzoek en dat de rode draad van het proefschrift bewaakt werd. Gert, ik denk met genoegen terug aan de bevlogen discussies die we gehad hebben; ze toonden onze gedrevenheid voor het onderzoek. Onze gedeelde achtergrond en spelletje Koehandel in Swalmen hebben de basis gelegd voor de prettige manier waarop we samengewerkt hebben. Bertine, jij was altijd bereid om mijn hoofdstukken te lezen, om samen artikelen te schrijven, en om mee te denken als ik ergens tegenaan liep. Het was fijn om te weten dat ik altijd even kon bellen of binnenlopen om iets te vragen.

Mijn mede-Contrast-AiO's Jorrit Nijhuis, Lenny Putman en Elizabeth Sargant wil ik bedanken voor de theoretische discussies die we vooral in het eerste jaar gevoerd hebben. Gezien onze verschillende wetenschappelijke achtergronden leverden deze altijd nieuwe en interessante gezichtspunten op waar ik veel aan heb gehad bij het ontwikkelen van het theoretische kader. In de jaren daarna zijn we ons gaan specialiseren in ons eigen consumptiedomein. Ik vond het daarbij zeer waardevol om de ontwikkelingen in het toeristische domein steeds te kunnen spiegelen aan de ontwikkelingen in jullie consumptiedomeinen. Het in perspectief kunnen plaatsen van onderzoeksresultaten beschouw ik als een belangrijke meerwaarde van Contrast. In het kader van Contrast wil ik tevens Eric Drissen, Loes Maas en Hans Dagevos bedanken voor hun betrokkenheid en inzet.

Op methodisch gebied gaat mijn dank uit naar Astrid Hendriksen voor het faciliteren van de focusgroepen en naar John Gelissen die de mogelijkheid bood een LatentGold-analyse uit te voeren. I am grateful to Fabio Colonna for proofreading the manuscript: Grazie mille. Bovendien had dit proefschrift er zonder de welkome suggesties van Richard van den Brink niet zo mooi uitgezien als het er nu uitziet.

Telossers, bedankt voor de gezellige tijd die ik bij Telos heb gehad. De gezamenlijke lunches, het sporten of borrelen op vrijdagmiddag, de mails met een twist, de kletspraatjes, de vele malen taart, het samen met de trein naar huis reizen, de uitjes en kerstborrels hebben een belangrijke bijdrage geleverd aan mijn werkplezier. Jullie waren superfijne collega's. In het bijzonder wil ik Wouter bedanken voor de woensdagen waarop er altijd weer spannende ontwikkelingen waren en jij allerlei onvoorziene 'grappige' linken zag.

Zussen, vriendinnen, vrienden, familie, we hebben de afgelopen jaren met zijn allen veel meegemaakt: afgeronde studies, eerste of nieuwe banen, beëindigde en nieuwe relaties, verhuizingen, bruiloften, zwangerschappen, gezondheidsproblemen en natuurlijk heel veel vakanties. Kortom, onze levens zijn in volle bloei. Er was tijdens zussendagen, feestjes, verjaardagen, familiedagen, etentjes,

avonden in de kroeg of middagen luieren in het park dan ook altijd genoeg om over te kletsen. Jullie lieten me ratelen over het uitvoeren van analyses, het schrijven van hoofdstukken en het halen van deadlines, om mij vervolgens gerust te stellen dat het me wel zou lukken en weer snel over te gaan op andere gespreksonderwerpen. Dankzij jullie dacht ik dan eindelijk weer eens aan iets anders. Bedankt voor alle interesse, gezelligheid en afleiding.

Van alles wat er deze vier jaar is gebeurd, is toch wel het mooiste dat totaal onverwacht tussen ons de bliksem insloeg, Jorrit. De stress van onze AiO-schappen heeft het vuur dat op dat moment ontstond geenszins gedoofd. Als ik thuiskom met mijn hoofd nog vol met werk en jij laat me weer eens schrikken of geeft me de kieteldood, ben ik simpelweg zo blij met jou. Bovenal vind ik het super dat je me begrijpt en me altijd aan het lachen maakt. Bedankt dat je bent wie je bent. Waar onze reis ook heen gaat, ik geniet van elk moment.

Utrecht, September 2009

Curriculum Vitae

Desirée Helena Petronella Verbeek was born in Delft on April 17th of 1982. She finished her secondary education in 2000 at the Hofstad Lyceum in Den Haag, after which she started her study Leisure Studies at Tilburg University. During the course of the study Desirée got interested in the effects of the leisure industry on the quality of the built environment. Therefore she did a minor Environmental planning and Social Geography at Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen. In her masterthesis Desirée studied the experience value of several cultural-historical city tours in Dordrecht and analysed whether the quality of the experience correlated with tourists's plans to visit Dordrecht again. In 2004 she graduated cum laude.

Several months later, in May 2005, she started her doctoral research at Telos, the Brabant centre for sustainable development. Telos is a network organisation with Tilburg University as one of its partners. The doctoral research, being part of the Contrast Research Programme in which Tilburg University and Wageningen University cooperate, was focused on a sustainable development of tourism mobility.

On september 1st, after a Grand Tour through Italy, Desirée started working as researcher leisure and tourism at the department Time, Media and Culture at The Netherlands Institute for Social Research.

Desirée Helena Petronella Verbeek werd geboren in Delft op 17 april 1982. Zij behaalde haar vwo diploma in 2000 op het Hofstad Lyceum te Den Haag, waarna ze begon aan haar studie Vrijetijdwetenschappen aan de Universiteit van Tilburg. Tijdens haar studie raakte Desirée geïnteresseerd in de effecten van de vrijetijds-industrie op de ruimtelijke kwaliteit. Daarom heeft ze een minor Planologie en Sociale Geografie gevolgd aan de Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen. In haar afstudeeronderzoek heeft Desirée de belevingswaarde van verscheidene cultuur-historische stadswandelingen in Dordrecht bestudeerd en geanalyseerd of de kwaliteit van de belevenis samenhing met het plan van toeristen om Dordrecht nogmaals te bezoeken. In 2004 studeerde ze cum laude af.

Enkele maanden later, in mei 2005, begon ze haar promotieonderzoek bij Telos, Brabants centrum voor duurzaamheidvraagstukken. Telos is een netwerkorganisatie met de Universiteit van Tilburg als een van haar partners. Het promotieonderzoek, onderdeel uitmakend van het Contrast onderzoeksprogramma waarin de Universiteit van Tilburg en Wageningen Universiteit samenwerken, was gericht op een duurzame ontwikkeling van toeristische mobiliteit.

Op 1 september, na een Grand Tour door Italië, is Desirée begonnen als onderzoeker vrijetijd en toerisme bij de afdeling Tijd, Media en Cultuur van het Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.

Contrast Research Programme

This dissertation was written within the Contrast Research Programme (i.e. consumption TRansitions to susTAinability). In the Contrast Research Programme, scholars from Tilburg University and Wageningen University analyse current and future transitions to a more sustainable development of several consumption domains: food consumption, home maintenance and repair, everyday mobility, and tourism mobility. The Contrast Research Programme aims to construct new knowledge and policy relevant methods, in order to stimulate a consumer-orientation in sustainability transitions in these environmentally-relevant, everyday domains of consumption in modern societies.

Around the Contrast Research Programme, a network has been created of researchers from the Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency (i.e. Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving, PBL) and LEI. PBL has expertise in analysing the impacts of societal trends and policies on the environment. LEI has expertise with research in the field of food, agriculture and the natural environment.

The Contrast Research Programme was funded by the Knowledge Network on System Innovation (KSI) and Gamma-onderzoek Milieu, Omgeving en Natuur (GaMON; Gamma research environment and nature). GaMON is financed by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO), and by the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (OCW), the Dutch Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality (LNV) and the Dutch Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM). The Knowledge Network on System Innovation, which is co-funded by the Dutch Ministry VROM, encompasses a network of between 70 and 100 researchers from a dozen universities and research institutes. KSI develops specific knowledge and expertise of transitions and system innovations. The objective is to better understand, identify and influence the process of transitions, with the aim of promoting transitions to a sustainable society.