The Attitude-Behaviour Gap of Academia: Exploring the Paradox of Hypermobility and Environmental Concerns.

A Research Paper presented by:

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in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:
Agrarian, Food and Environmental Studies
(AFES)

Specialisation:
Environment and Sustainable Development

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The Hague, The Netherlands

December 2019

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List of acronyms

PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
ISS	Institute of Social Studies
TNC	Transnational Corporations
ABC	Attitudes, Behaviours and Choices
IATA	International Air Transport Association
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
VSNU	Association of Universities in the Netherlands
DEFRA	Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

Abstract

This paper examined the motivation for academic air travel despite information outlining the impact that flights have on climate change. The topic is very new in academic literature; therefore, the research provides rich insight into the motivations behind academic air travel. Using a qualitative methodological approach, the research revealed the emotional distress academics experienced when they acknowledged their environmental concerns did not align to their flight patterns, better known as an attitude- behaviour gap. Emphasising limited control over mobility patterns, academics predominately adapted their attitudes to match their flight patterns, to reduce the distress they experienced.

Applying three theoretical lenses to the finding's, neoliberalism, cognitive dissonance and cosmopolitanism, the research was able to deepen the understanding of why academics travel and how they deal with distress from their attitudes not aligning to their actions. The research found that the main reason for academic air travel was to attend conferences as they support professional and personal development. However, a divide between the Global North and Global South academics was found in relation to access to resources for conference travel. This finding highlighted how unequal access not only causes professional limitations but also exclusions from a 'citizens of this world' cosmopolitan identity. Without travel, individuals are not afforded the opportunities to obtain first-hand experiences of new countries and cultures. This finding highlighted privileges within academia and how they impact career and professional development.

Overall this research contributed to understanding the attitude-behaviour gap within academia, as flights are the predominant transport choice for travel despite academics knowing the impacts this activity has on climate change. The research findings were able to provide insights into motivations for academic air travel and the impacts of the Global North and South divides of academia, which will help fill in gaps found in the literature.

Relevance to Development Studies

Academic air travel is a new field of research. This paper helps to fill a gap in the literature and produce insight into what motivates academics to travel. The research facilitates dialogue around power, control and privileges in academia from the lenses of neoliberalism, cosmopolitanism and cognitive dissonance. Attention to the Global North and Global South divide in terms of resources and how these influence career opportunities is not commonly discussed in the literature, therefore knowledge of this missing information further strengthens how relevant the research is for Development Studies.

Keywords

Mobility, Academics, Air travel, Carbon emissions, Neoliberalism, Attitude- behaviour gap, Cosmopolitanism, Conferences

Chapter 1: Introduction

Climate change is significantly impacted by human's lifestyles as certain actions facilitate the release of greenhouse gases into the environment. One activity that causes environmental detriment is air travel. Desires to travel abroad for leisure and/or business reasons, via airplanes, has raised inquiries into the transport industry and the effects it has on the environment. According to Kroesen (2013: 271) air travel has been increasing by approximately 6% annually in the last 50 years with average passenger kilometres changing from 500 billion in 1960 to 4900 billion in 2010. Predictions are that the air travel market will more than double by 2030 with the rates believed to increase nine times by 2100 (World Bank 2017). These drastic changes have highlighted the role that airplanes play in the movement of people across the globe. The downside of air travel, however, is that high levels of greenhouse gases are being emitted into the atmosphere.

Advancements in technology have allowed for the emergence of more sophisticated aircrafts which are able to travel for longer distances and carry more passengers, but these improvements have not been able to reduce or eliminate the carbon emissions from flights. Air travel emits carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases into the atmosphere largely because it relies on fossil fuels to power airplanes (Brouwer et al. 2008: 301). Drastic surges in air travel have increased aviation emissions by 87% since 1990. Studies estimate that aviation emissions impact climate change twice as much as those from the ground-level because they are higher in the stratosphere (Sausen et al. 2005: 556). Based on the anticipated growth in the industry, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC 1999) predicts that air travel will account for 15% of global warming by 2050, an increase from the 3.5% documented in 1992. This problem has forced the industry to discuss ideas for countering the negative effects of air travel. These discussions would not be possible without investigating why flights continue to increase exponentially and who the main actors are.

Lassen (2010: 735) conducted an analysis on individual air travel and environmental attitudes; finding that flights are often perceived as not contributory to climate change. Flights are rather viewed in a positive light as they are deemed essential for the connection of people across the globe and for maintaining a 'citizens of the world' image (Clahoun 2002: 871). This highlights individual desires for a cosmopolitan identity where air travel is a tool to uphold this. By viewing global travel as fundamental to human lifestyles, individuals can rationally detach their environmental attitudes from their flight patterns (Lassen 2010: 745). Travel for leisure purposes is viewed and advertised to increase exposure to new cultures while professional travel is deemed essential for better individual and business performance. Both personal and professional justifications indicate the dissonance between attitudes and behaviour regarding air travel and climate change.

One profession that continues to utilize air travel for work-related purposes is academia. Academics, defined as individuals that are employed and working within a higher education institute for research and teaching reasons, are one of the many knowledge producing professionals that travel frequently (Storme 2014: 14). Universities are highlighted as knowledge intensive organizations that are judged by the quality of the research they produce, therefore academic mobility is described as essential for information sharing (Storme et al. 2017: 407). The competitiveness between not only universities but academics facilitates the need to stay relevant, encouraging mobility for fieldwork and other research purposes (Storme et al. 2017: 409). Not travelling is viewed negatively in the ever-changing world of academia where transnational connections enhance the ability to be socially and professionally visible.

Within the knowledge producing academic environment, research is frequently conducted on the drivers of climate change (Nursey-Bray et al. 2019: 1). The profession is fundamental in disseminating information on climate issues, thus academics are expected to set a precedence for pro-environmental behaviour. But, as expressed before, academics utilize air travel for work related purposes despite knowing the effects flights have on climate change. Young et al. (2014) notes the irony in this as individuals that are most aware of the climate related issues from air travel are also those that travel the most. Therefore, questions arise as to why academics continue to fly without restriction, despite knowing the impacts air travel has on climate change.

This research paper investigates academics motivation and justification for air travel to get a better appreciation of travel frequency, trying to understand expectations from these trips and how they are linked to career paths in academia. Based on this information, the focus of the research paper was on short term air travel, long-distance mobility in an airplane that generally lasts a few days and never longer than a couple of weeks (Storme 2014: 14). Literature on the disconnect between air travel and individual environmental attitude was analysed to explore the reasoning behind partial or full denial of climate change responsibility before conducting interviews with academics to gain a deeper understanding.

1.1 Research problem

The IPCC published a report in 1999 outlining how growth in air travel was contributing to rising temperatures from increased carbon emissions (Sausen et al. 2005: 557). Despite individuals outlining the negative effects of air travel on the environment, flight patterns have not slowed, and more environmentally friendly transport options are often ignored. Individual travel considerations overlook the climate impacts therefore creating challenges for endorsing environmentally conscious behaviour (Lassen 2010: 735).

Academics, business executives and politicians are defined as the three most mobile professionals, where rising demands for cross border interactions facilitate continuous work-related travel (Mahroum 2000: 26). These practices require short-term mobility, particularly flights, which enhance (or reproduce) societal inequalities and negative environmental impacts. The hypermobility of these privileged groups showcases their power over those that are unable to utilize air travel in the same way. Individuals that are less privileged are found to have unequal access to the finite resources that characterize academic, business and political travel (Storme 2014: 18).

Within the academic environment, certain fields produce research on the drivers of climate change. Research on flights and their negative effects are continuously published and circulated within institutions and the broader community. This raises awareness of flight effects and facilitates conversations around the topic. But, despite this information being available, academics continue to be one of the most hypermobile professions. Continued travel patterns highlight the contradiction between knowledge production and actions within academia.

In 2016, Danish and Dutch academics emphasized changes that were needed within higher education to reduce academia's role in climate change (Klimaatbrief Universiteiten, n.d.). Letters were drafted, signed and delivered to the Association of Universities in the Netherlands (VSNU), with recommendations to address these issues. Rethinking academic air travel was one of the agenda items mentioned, with reference to flights being a direct contributor to climate change.

This research probed into why academics continue to travel as much as they do, especially short-term air travel, despite having a lot of exposure to information about the effects of air traffic on climate change. One of the main reasons found for academic travel was to attend conferences. Orsi (2012:

462) contends that conferences which are used to share knowledge in order to aid human well-being are in fact having the opposite effect, due to the environmental consequences. Short term air travel results in briefer trips where there is a quicker turn-around time for future travel. By using conversations around the neoliberalist academic environment, the research showcased how hypermobility is facilitated. The research analysed travel based on cosmopolitanism to acknowledge the social status of mobility that is often ignored.

For this research, academics from one university, the International Institute of Social Studies, were interviewed. The institute is well known for its multicultural cohort of development studies students and academics, who travel extensively because of the geographically complex research collaborations, making ISS an appropriate sample to represent the worldly population that flies frequently. Qualitative interviews were utilised to assess ISS academics' air travel patterns and what facilitated their need to be mobile. Understanding ISS academic's motivations and justification for travel allowed for the appreciation of the role universities play in combating their employees travel impacts. Additionally, this aided in understanding exactly what academics are willing to do to reduce their flight emissions.

1.2 Research question

What are the motivations among academics for short-term work-related air travel?

Sub questions:

1. What are the different reasons and ways academics justify air travel?
2. What are the attractions to conferences and why do some academics not attend conferences?

1.3 Background on mobility

Mobility is multifaceted in that it can account for not only the type of travel, but the length and, sometimes, the reasons behind it (Petzold 2017: 160). Acknowledging each of these factors' aides in understanding why there has been a dramatic rise in travel and how it is facilitated by cosmopolitanism's 'citizens of this world' viewpoint. Operationalizing mobility helped facilitate a discussion on why travel is so fundamental for individuals within the academic profession.

Mobility is defined as the movement, both physically and virtually, from one area/ country to another (Cantwell 2011: 429). The ability to transport an individual abroad reproduces knowledge beyond boundaries and opens the possibility for global consciousness and connections. According to Petzold (2017:168) mobility leads to openness for learning about unfamiliar environments and encourages a feeling of belonging to a worldly society. The author highlighted corporeal and virtual mobility as two types that facilitate the feeling of connectedness across the globe.

Corporeal mobility is often defined as the most popular way to connect cultures in that it involves physical movement, of individuals or groups, across borders and boundaries (Petzold 2017: 172). In 2004, there were 760 million legal international tourist arrivals across the globe, which was a drastic increase from 25 million in 1950 (Szersynki and Urry 2006: 117). The popularity for corporeal mobility has resulted in the travel and tourism industry accounting for 11.7% of global GDP. Global connectedness is enhanced when cross- country travel is possible.

Corporeal travel allows for the interaction between individuals on a face to face level and highlights how they can use this to engage with their surroundings. On the other side, virtual mobility is characterized by using online forums and/or sites to instigate an imagined reality of connectedness to the world (Storme et al. 2014). Advancements in technology have allowed individuals to feel part of the larger global environment and therefore citizens of not just their nations but the world. Virtual mobility can therefore work to produce or complement corporeal travel in creating a feeling of cultural openness (Petzold 2017: 198).

Mobility may also be divided into a third type, imaginative travel. Imaginative travel is defined as the ability of news and images to transport an individual to a new place (Szersynski and Urry 2006: 116). This is different from virtual mobility in that it broader than online communications or technology, allowing for images and news to facilitate a connection between countries and cultures. Imaginative mobility can supplement the two other forms of travel in reducing the feeling of disconnect between countries across the globe.

In conclusion, research into the different types of mobility helps to highlight how corporeal, virtual and imaginative travel reduces perceived limitations of unity due to spatial distances and allows for a constant flow of information and individuals across pre-existing boundaries.

1.3.1 Work related mobility

According to the Office of National Statistics (2018), 8.4 million people temporary left the United Kingdom (UK) for business related purposes in 2005. Over a ten-year period, 1995 to 2005, the number of individuals traveling abroad for professional reasons increased by more than 40%. These figures, although only from the UK, highlight the importance of business-related mobility in the travel industry. As academia is a profession where hypermobility is common, it is an important sector to analyse to better understand how academic work travel can possibly become more sustainable.

Claus Lassen's article on aeromobility and work investigated the relationship between international air travel and environmental impact, with growth in long distance work travel found to be due to the internationalisation of the 'knowledge industry' (2006: 301). A knowledge industry is one where high-skilled organizations drive the newly globalized and network-based economy (Castells 1996: 77). International work mobility often constitutes long commutes, for a short period of time, to a new country. Urry (2002: 259) found that many employees believed face-to-face meetings were extremely important and even considered part of the job, in the knowledge industry. The informal agendas on these work trips, such as dinners or coffee, between the more formal meetings were expressed as equally important, if not more, for maintaining good relationships.

Faulconbridge et al.'s (2009: 295) study supports Urry's conclusions, when stating the importance of international travel for business. The advancement of air travel and technologies has resulted in greater opportunities for businesses to collaborate across countries. These collaborations have created the rise of transnational corporations (TNCs). TNCs enhance the movement of people, products and knowledge globally, allowing for greater capital accumulation in the eyes of the corporations (Faulconbridge et al. 2009: 297). The authors highlighted the need to know the dynamics of business-related air travel, such as when do people travel and why, to understand how to make travel more 'sustainable'.

1.3.2 Academic mobility

As expressed before, academics are one of the three most mobile professions. Therefore, understanding academic air travel helps in acknowledging the dynamics of business-related mobility.

In a study done by Nursey- Bray et al. (2019: 8) on academic air travel in South Australia, the authors found that more than 90% of their respondents stated that mobility was essential for their careers as air travel helped facilitate opportunities for promotions. The academics emphasised that attending conferences was the predominate reason behind their air travel, followed by networking and data collection. These findings align to the work done by Tom Storme on academic mobility.

According to research done by Storme et al. (2017: 406), young researchers are more likely and expected to travel abroad to conduct data collection and attend conferences while more experienced academics are often inclined to lecture at multiple institutions to ensure the movement of knowledge and academics globally. Young academics are often searching for new job prospects or opportunities for future development in their field, due to constant changes in academia. Currently, the number of doctoral graduates is larger than the tenure positions available, creating significant competition between early career researchers. Additionally, early researchers are usually hired on a project-based contract with limited job security (Storme et al. 2014: 69). Creating social networks outside of their institutions is seen as valuable and therefore facilitates increased importance of conference attendance for career possibilities.

Research done by John Urry (2003: 156) on why academics attend conferences found that these events increase possibilities to make and maintain professional connections over time. As academics often change jobs frequently in their careers, causing networks from their institutions to strain, the external connections formed at these conferences can be the only stable professional relationships they have. Attending conferences allows for relationships between academics to strengthen by taking time away from the formal activities to go for dinners, coffees and/or drinks. This allows academics to get to know each other on a more personal level. Larsen et al. (2007: 259) calls these relationships 'network capital'. Similarly, Putman (2001: 41) expressed it as 'social capital' whereby networks come together for interaction where the benefits are reciprocal. Not only do the individuals involved gain from this interaction but their connections enhance the possibilities for knowledge to be disseminated to the broader community.

Conferences allow for new inspiration or ideas to form from the formal talks and presentations or the informal conversations that happen between friends, network capital/ social capital (Storme et al. 2014: 75). These meetings facilitate future collaborations and/or publishing opportunities for academics and allow developments in research, and possible career advancements. Academics can generate discussions around their work which often relates to topics their colleagues are working on, therefore facilitating a feeling of self-identification within a certain group or field of studies. Academics' motivations to attend conferences regularly, to keep up with the research in their field and limit the feelings of missing out on work related opportunities, justifies their air travel (Storme et al. 2017: 409).

Whether a young or more experienced academic, the literature indicates that success within the sector would not be possible without travel. Storme et al.'s (2013: 17) study on coping with mobility expectations, found that academics believed in a mobility threshold, a minimum amount of travel considered significant in order to be successful in academia (Nevins 2014: 301; Lassen 2010: 735). This information highlights the importance of understanding how beliefs can influence actions in the context of academia.

1.4 Theoretical framework

This research will use three theoretical lenses through which academic air travel will be reviewed. Neoliberalism, cognitive dissonance and cosmopolitanism highlight the professional and social motivations behind academic mobility and emphasize how travel is interwoven within lifestyles. As there is a limited number of research papers that have been written on the topic, this research is helping to add to the gap found in the literature

1.4.1 Neoliberalism

The late 20th century saw the rise of neoliberalism accompanied by beliefs that markets work more efficiently with limited state intervention (Harland 2009: 512) This brought about shifts of power within nations, as an environment for self- regulating markets was supported. Individuals and organizations were given more responsibility for their own success (with the flipside being a larger exposure to risk) (Harland 2009: 513). The resultant individualised environment went hand in hand with increased competition not only between companies, but also within (formerly) non-commercial organisations and amongst individual within those organisations. The neoliberal ideology of 'survival of the fittest' demands quantifiable outputs in all spheres of work to enhance competition and supposedly bring out more efficiency (Davies and Bansel 2005: 57; Olssen 2016: 135).

The changes resulted in the state experiencing reduced control in the market, although at different strengths across countries, while facilitating an environment for profit maximization. Some repercussions have been the reduction in funding available for state services and cutbacks of government subsides (Jo 2005: 38) Due to these changes, public institutions, such as universities and hospitals, have had to rethink their way of functioning to ensure the persistence of their institutions in an increasingly market-based society. What has emerged is public- private partnerships in which states services are either fully or partially privatized (Harland 2009: 514).

As with other sectors, education – higher education in particular- has seen widespread changes due to the increased reign of market ideology. In many countries universities have experienced a decrease in government funding causing a dependence on private sector businesses and increased tuition fees to replace the money withdrawn from the state (Jo 2005: 37). It must be noted that countries like the UK and the US have seen a quicker change in this regard, while the Netherlands is not as dependant on the private sector. However, these changes have rebranded some higher educational institutions as economic entities, within the corporate environment, that provide a 'service' (education) to 'customers' (students) (Harland 2009: 515). Like the economic environment of business, some higher education institutes have had to revise their functioning to ensure profit maximization. Stricter monitoring and evaluation systems have been introduced to ensure better accountability for the purpose of income generation.

Knowledge has been converted into an 'exchange value' for not only reputability, but also ranking and funding, in the globally competitive world of academia (Berg et al. 2016: 175; Jo 2005: 55). Allocation of funding for universities is based on formal, quantified outputs. Universities are under pressure to regulate research, teaching and other 'services' of individual academics, departments and the institution to align them with the requirements of 'the market'. This neoliberal environment not only limits control for the universities but also the employees, as they work tirelessly to produce demanded outputs. Intensifying the speed at which work needs to be produced is causing the extension of working days and broadening of responsibilities for academics (Watson et al. 2003: 97). Inability to meet the performance measures creates an environment where academic positions are in jeopardy.

1.4.2 Attitude- behaviour gap

Performance measures placed on academics have been found to produce significant stress within the profession. In order to meet the demands, academics emphasise the need for air travel. Understanding motivations behind air travel, like academic demands, provides insight on how attitudes can affect behaviour. These links are important in understanding how academics can continue to be hyper mobile despite knowing the impacts their travel has on climate change.

Blake (1999: 258) referenced a term, the value-action gap, when describing people's attitudes not reflecting their actions. A similar theory to Blakes, founded by Anable et al.'s (2006), highlights an attitude-behaviour gap when addressing public feelings towards climate change and transport choices. Both theories indicated a challenge for policy makers for public climate change agendas. According to the authors, there are two contradictory beliefs on how to reduce this gap (Anable et al. 2006: 8). The first states that if individuals are aware and knowledgeable about an issue then they will act accordingly while the second believes information is important for action but is not the only way to create behavioural changes. Rather, there is a need to gain an in-depth understanding of knowledge, attitudes and behaviour. Once these roles are understood and analysed then the components of behavioural change can be appreciated and used in policies for actions.

Policies for behaviour change

Another theory relating to behaviour change is the ABC framework, introduced by social psychologist Paul Stern. He suggested that behaviour (B) is a direct bi-product of attitudes and contexts (Stern 2000: 415). This transcends to policies where social change is believed to occur when individuals' attitudes (A) influence behaviour (B) and choices (C). The ABC framework has continued to remain pertinent over years when discussing behaviour change.

ABC largely places responsibility for climate issues with individuals, therefore to reduce the threat of the issue, individuals must make better behaviour choices (Shove 2010: 1275). This way of looking at human behaviour aligns to neoclassical economics which see individuals as rationale beings who act to maximise utility for themselves and their families (Cornforth 2009: 22). The theory suggests that behaviour will change once individuals are informed about making more responsible choices. By ensuring their personal satisfaction, individuals are believed to act independently, based on perceived benefits from available information. However, neoclassical views are often criticized by other schools of thought within economics. One such school is behavioural economics, which acknowledges that decisions are often affected by certain biases. Due to these biases, individuals are not seen to continuously act logically, which is against the major assumption of neoclassical economists.

Behavioural economics integrates psychology and economics to better understand and predict individual behaviour (Cornforth 2009: 24; Sussman and Olivola 2011: 100). By acknowledging that individuals have certain preferences that influence their decisions, behavioural economists believe they have a better understanding of how individuals act and therefore can achieve better policy compliance. Policies used and designed by governments, to modify behaviour, benefit society when they are successful in what they aim to achieve.

Relating this back to the attitude and actions, neoclassical economists assume that individuals who are informed about the impact their actions have on climate change, behave in a way that reflects their attitude towards the environment. However, behavioural economist disputes this as they state that there are certain psychological factors that are overlooked by neoclassical views, that influence behaviours (Nursey et al 2019: 2). The attitude-behaviour gap and value-action gap appear to support the behaviour economist view.

1.4.3 Cognitive Dissonance

One psychological factor that influences behaviour is cognitive dissonance. Festinger (1957: 7) relates this to the emotional discomfort individuals face when there are inconsistencies in their attitudes and behaviour. People who believe they are environmentally conscious often express feeling bad or having flight shame when traveling for work or leisure purposes. Juvan and Dolnicar (2014: 88) stated that the cognitive dissonance theory focuses specifically on trying to explain the attitude-behaviour gap. Individuals who are experiencing discomfort either change their behaviour or beliefs to reduce inconsistency between the two. Neoclassical economics believes that individuals who are experiencing this dissonance would change their behaviour, while behavioural economists state that individuals are more inclined to adapt their attitudes.

McDonald et al.'s (2015) findings into flying in the face of environmental concern strengthened behavioural economist's argument, as individuals, who defined themselves as green consumers, adapted their attitudes to justify why they needed to travel. Justifications were related to journey time and price, the need to attend specific events for work or family reasons and believing their travel had limited impact on environmental problems, to name a few. Juvan and Dolnicar (2014) also supported the cognitive dissonance theory in their research on the attitude-behaviour gap in sustainable tourism. Interviewees stated many reasons for why they did not change their behaviour, despite environmental concern. The authors grouped the reasons into six categories, denial of responsibility, downward comparison, denial of consequences, denial of control, exception handling and compensation through benefits (Juvan and Dolnicar 2014: 86). In both McDonald and Juvan and Dolnciar findings, the interviewees changed their beliefs, by denying or differing responsibility to broader institutions, to justify their air travel.

The findings by the above authors align to the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) framework, which states that change to more environmentally friendly behaviour depend on positive motivators and negative barriers (2008: 7). The framework defines benefits as 'feel good factor, social norms, individual benefits, etc.' while constraints are to do with 'costs, external demands, scepticisms'. Based on the framework, individuals, in their cost-benefit analysis, would need assurance that adopting this new behaviour would outweigh any repercussions this may have on their careers (Nursey- Bray et al. 2019: 18). Adoption of environmentally friendly behaviour is based on good leadership therefore, management play a key role in assuring that changes in behaviour do not have negative consequences for academics' careers.

Despite the behavioural economists' beliefs of incorporating psychology and economics to better understand behaviour change, the likelihood of the concepts being used in policy making is low (Shove 2010: 1283). Neoclassical economists influence how governments enforce policies for changing behaviour. In this school of economics, individuals are viewed as rationale decision makers who are responsible for their actions. This differs the blame away from the institutions and showcases individual actions as the main problem with regards to environmental issues. Framing climate change as a problem of human behaviour creates limited engagement with many theories for change. Nursey-Bray et al (2019: 5) stated that focusing on individuals in order to reduce climate related issues does not acknowledge how infrastructural problems or socio-cultural contexts are barriers for low-carbon behaviour. Therefore, trying to address the value-actions gap or attitude-behaviour gap with neoclassical theories limits the effectiveness of any policies addressing this gap (Shove 2010: 1275).

1.4.4 Cosmopolitanism

This term is relevant when trying to understand how globalization has impacted international movements. As the world is seeing a rise in the popularity of travel, especially flights, separations due to spatial boundaries, identities and cultures are becoming blurred. This new wave of what is deemed the 'new norm' has created a need to analyse how these changes are affecting different individuals.

The term cosmopolitanism materialized in 1848 when Stuart Mills used it in relation to capital. In his explanation of the word he emphasized how capital 'belonged to all parts of the world: not restricted to any one country or its inhabitants' (Mills 1848 as cited in Calhoun 2002: 886). Since its inception, the popularity of the word has exploded and lead to many preserving it relevance. Capital and economic growth are still fundamental to the definition of cosmopolitanism, but the theory now encompasses many other aspects. Contemporary cosmopolitanism highlights the diversity of people's social connections and transcends cultural identity and collective belonging (Skovgaard- Smith and Poulfelt 2018: 130). Globalisation has created an economy where movement of people and products extend beyond the boundaries of nations. The development of the travel industry has left no area of the globe untouched in the drive for global capitalism, cross border trading and multinational businesses (Calhoun 2002: 870).

Cosmopolitanism fights the separation of society based on nationalities and identities and promotes an inclusive culture for the 'citizens of this world'. According to the theory, the individualised society has slowly been modified due to individual openness to interact with the 'Other' (Skovgaard-Smith and Poulfelt 2018: 129). The expression of one's identity belongs to shared values and beliefs based on connections within the globalised world. Skovgaard- Smith and Poulfelt (2018), in their research on imagining 'non-nationality', highlighted moral values and cultural beliefs that work together to see individuals as equals. It is supposed that embracing otherness while engaging in the plurality of cultures helps in accepting the cosmopolitan identity. Individuals have agency to construct their own identities beyond their nationalities, in order to gain a sense of belonging to a globalized world. This new culture rejects divisions within society.

To facilitate the growth towards global citizenship, cosmopolitanism emphasises the need for widespread mobility (Szerszynski and Urry 2006: 113). Mobility, both virtual and corporeal, helps to enrich individual's awareness of countries and lifestyles different to their own. Being open minded to new experiences and curious to other ways of living allows for deepened connections between individuals. But being open minded to new cultures does not mean it equates to equal access to mobility, whether virtual, imaginative or corporeal.

Fundamental to this identity formation is that it does not eliminate inequalities between classes but rather enhances them. Cosmopolitanism flourishes in the elite society where mobility is important for economic gains. Although cosmopolitanism broadens individual perspectives and tries to reduce the discrimination of the other, the individuals who can transport themselves across the globe are those that can afford to. Within the working environment, the formation of an inclusive identity occurs when individuals acknowledge the diversity within professions. Geographical movements are a condition for professionals to be included in the cosmopolitan identity therefore limiting the possibility for those who can affiliate themselves to this new identity (Daskalaki 2012: 430) Additionally, nationality is fundamental in deciding global movements. Inequalities are enhanced when a person's relative ease of travel is hampered by the passport they possess and the reputation their nation has in the eyes of society.

Overall the construction of the cosmopolitan identity builds an exclusionary practice (Skovgaard-Smith and Poulfelt 2018: 145). The 'citizens of this world' identity also separates mobile individuals from those that are not or those that do not wish to lose their monocultural views. Diversity in culture and nationality does not equate to equal access nor does it recognize class disparities within nations. Calhoun (2002: 892) stresses that for cosmopolitanism to be fully acceptable to all classes it must disentangle itself from globalisation and its dependence of cross border operations.

1.4.5 Ecological privilege

Daskalaki (2012:431) highlights that cosmopolitanism emphasizes the need to be grounded in a country but increasingly mobile in order to appreciate and be considered part of this identity. This privileged setting raises awareness of travel in many countries and places it as a status symbol and statement of wealth. In Nevin's (2014: 299) research on ecological privilege and professional geographical travel, the author noted how global long-haul air travel has been taken for granted. This opportunity is significantly skewed to the wealthiest in the world population as the author states that 20 % of individuals are responsible for more than 80% of all contemporary greenhouse gas emissions. This is backed up by Satterthwaite's research (2009: 564) that highlights historically the financial elite (wealthiest 20% of the population) are responsible for more than 80% of emissions. These findings showcase how global air travel is a highly privileged activity that allows a certain percentage of the population to travel more than the majority. The unequal access to these opportunities raises questions as to whether the global elite should be held accountable for the effects their travel is having on climate change.

In the academics setting, travel to conferences is expressed as fundamental for career progression. The main reason is conferences provide opportunities to meet new people, network and facilitate future job prospects. But possibilities to attend these important events is not equal for all academics as those from the Global North have more access to funding than academics from the Global South (Parker and Weik 2014: 167). This changes the way that academics from the Global South can communicate both professionally and personally and impacts their opportunities for future work collaborations or research.

Additionally, conferences can provide opportunities for social activities, such as exploring a new country or learning about new cultures. Conference organizers scout appealing venues that are desirable for visitors and use this to allure academics to their event. These tourist attractions are advertised in the conference overview to facilitate desires to attend. The psychological appeal that this creates is what Høyer (2009: 54) describes as 'conference tourism'.

Opportunities to travel to a new country, to learn about new cultures and understand different traditions are all important for a cosmopolitanism identity. Lack of funding for conference travel reduces the possibility to have a 'citizens of the world' culture. Therefore, ecological privilege not only highlights the inequalities that are associated between the Global North and Global South but also increases these disparities within the academic settings, as individuals who are unable to utilize travel for academic reasons lose out on both professional and social development.

1.5 Strategies for carbon emission reduction

The International Air Transport Association (IATA 2019) is a global organization that sets standards for airline safety, efficiency and sustainability. They help to create policies for the aviation industry and highlight critical issues. According to IATA (2019), 11 million people are traveling daily meaning that the aviation industry is crucial to many individual's mobility. Due to the amount of travelling that is occurring, the IATA has set three targets to address the global challenge of climate change. The three goals aim to improve the fuel efficiency of all air transport by approximately 1.5% in 2020, from 2009 rates, to create carbon-neutral growth onwards by not allowing emissions in aviation to increase from 2020 and lastly to reduce net aviation CO2 emissions by 50% in 2050, from the 2005 levels. This will be achieved by commitment to a four-pillar strategy that advances technology so that sustainable solutions can be used. These advancements allow for improvements in infrastructure and more efficient aircraft operations that reduce carbon emissions from all stakeholders in the industry. Finally, there is global market-based measure to be used to offset and reduce international aviation emissions that occur above the 2020 levels predicted.

Offsetting is when an individual, business or government compensate for carbon emissions from one industry, such as air travel, by financing reduction in their emissions in another sector (Brouwer et al. 2008: 302; IATA 2019). The aim is to maintain carbon neutrality so that emissions, such as those from the aviation industry, do not continue to negatively affect the climate. Brouwer et al.'s (2008: 310) study on air travel passenger's willingness to offset their CO2 emissions at Schiphol airport in Amsterdam, found that 75% of the passengers were willing to pay and that the demand for them easily exceed the supply. Despite the rise in popularity of carbon offsetting, the authors did highlight how there has been some concerns around offsetting effectiveness for reducing carbon emissions.

On an individual level, it seems that people are only willing to finance these offsets if other passengers in the aviation industry do the same. There has been a strong emphasis that it should be made compulsory for everyone to contribute as passengers do not trust other individuals because they do not know them. Governments in Europe are pro this agenda, but airlines and airports are not because they feel that the revenue from the offsets will not go directly to climate change policies. There is a lack of evidence that the current offsetting activities are being used for climate change mitigation in the first place (Brouwer et al. 2008: 311).

Chapter 2: Research Methodology

> "Given the general lack of literature on the practice of academic travel, tackling the issue from different angles by combining methods is valuable, as it offers a more balanced and complete understanding of the practice". (Storme 2014: 25)

The following chapter will discuss the research design, sample and data collection methods, which were all influenced by Storme's previous research and recommendations.

2.1 Research design

This study aimed to understand the motivations behind academic's air travel using the theories of neoliberalism, cognitive dissonance and cosmopolitanism. The research was more exploratory in nature in the sense that it aimed to understand if these theories could be applied to this research topic. Fundamental to the design was the fact that academic mobility has a limited amount of literature available because only recently have academics begun investigating this topic. Based on this, the researcher decided to employ a qualitative approach to the study. Qualitative research has been described as obtaining a more in depth understanding of a phenomenon (Punch 2013: 56).

Although focusing mostly on a qualitative approach, the researcher felt it would be necessary to also incorporate a quantitative method to the data collection. This was largely due to Storme's (2014: 25) suggestion that using different methods could enhance research findings. A small survey and semi structured interviews were used to collect data. The survey was used to gather preliminary information from academics attending a conference within the Netherlands. The researcher expected that attendees were going to have travelled from across the world to attend this event. The researcher volunteered at the conference to allow for more time to conduct participant observation and have informal discussions with individuals. This helped to facilitate more conversations around the topic. The informal discussions in collaboration with the available literature on academic air travel to conferences, informed the construction of the survey and later the interview guide. The mixed methods approach provided the study with a richer and stronger array of evidence.

2.2 Data collection

The conference visit was conducted first because it provided general insight into academic mobility before moving on to semi- structured interviews, which gave a more in-depth understanding from a sample of academics. The conference allowed the researcher to receive first-hand experience test the theories around the benefits of corporeal travel, found in the literature. Participant observation as well as informal interviews were used by the researcher to explore the topic further. Engaging with academics at the conference helped to facilitate conversation around academic mobility and its relevance in the profession. Upon conclusion of the conference, the researcher sent out a questionnaire to all attendees. The questionnaire enquired about the travel choices to the conference by asking where the individuals had travelled from, the transport they used to attend the conference and why, and the main reason they wanting to be physically present at the event.

2.3 Respondents to the survey

Although surveys provide answers that can be standardized and compared graphically, the researcher knew that the information collected from the survey would not deliver the depth of evidence that was needed for the research objectives. Aiming to be more specific in data collection and to understand the personal reasons for traveling to conferences, the researcher constructed a guide for qualitative interviews.

2.4 Qualitative interviews

Following the conference collection methods, the researcher moved onto designing and implementing qualitative interviews with academics to dig further into understanding their flight patterns. The purpose was not to express any judgement onto their mobility but to understand their attraction to conferences. The researcher took into consideration, based on the literature and the informal discussions, that attendance at conferences was different for each academic.

The researcher constructed an interview guide but used a semi-structure approach, allowing for the questions to be adaptable based on the flow of the discussion. Having the research guide helped the questions to focus on key topics, utilizing the previous data collected, (Punch 2013: 57) but the questions were flexible to individual conversation. This also allowed the researcher to learn about new and relevant topics or experiences that had not previously been thought about.

2.5 Sample

The study used purposive sampling for the population, where the researcher intently chose the Institute of Social Studies (ISS) as the selection criteria for the respondents. ISS was selected because the researcher had a personal connection with the university and knew that the discussion around air travel and conferences had been circulating in the institution for some time. The researcher found out, in the initial stages of her studies, that a petition had been sent around asking academics to sign if they were willing support a reduction in air travel.

The focus on academics at ISS was the initial criteria but the researcher also acknowledged that other factors could influence air travel frequency. The literature indicated the career level was a significant consideration to acknowledge. Research indicates that individuals who are just starting their careers in academia are more likely to travel because of job insecurity and networking benefits for further career prosperity (Ackers 2008: 416). Therefore, to honour this, academics in different stages of their careers was applied to the selection criteria. Additionally, the academic's departments were considered according to the MA development studies majors. Lastly, as women have been found to travel less when they are responsible for their household and family's well-being, gender was a factor in the choice of interviewees.

2.6 Process

The researcher used the random sampling technique in the selection of the respondents. Generic and personalized emails were sent out to all the academics asking if they were willing and had time to participate in my research. The email outlined the research topic and reason for the interviews. Timing of the data collection was found to be a significant factor for the academics because the interviews were to be conducted in August, the month where preparations were underway for the commencement of the new academic year. Despite this, 25 individuals replied to the email, some rejecting the invite while others were happy to accept the interview. A total of 19 interviews were conducted at a convenient time and day for the academic.

2.7 Respondents

While considering the factors mentions above, the interviews were conducted as and when the academics replied the emails. Interviewees consisted of current PhD students, those who had just finished their PhD and looking for more permanent work, researcher/ postdocs, others who have been academics for many years and lastly those who were nearing retirement. This provided a deeper investigation into the topic and helped with understanding motivations behind academic air travel.

2.8 Interviews and analysis

The interviews started with general questions to ease into the conversation and build rapport. Punch (2013: 59) states that starting interviews with specific conversations allows the interviewees to feel more comfortable in the interview process. The initial questions addressed the individual and their academic career. This helped the researcher understand the interviewee's history in academia and the position they occupy at ISS. The second section addressed the amount of travel that was done in all aspects of their career and the different transport types used. This aimed to inquire the possible reasons for personal and professional travel and the situations that instigated this.

The third section was interested in attraction to conferences, mode of transport most frequented used and information about the change in conference travel over careers, or possible changes they anticipated. The options of webinars as an alternative or in collaboration with corporeal conferences was discussed to expand the inquiry of the attractions to conferences.

The final questions aimed to investigate ISS' role in this debate, if they have an influence. Discussions around ideas of offsetting carbon emissions from flights and the petition that was started a few years ago were also included.

2.9 Instrumentation

All but one interview was recorded and transcribed into word documents. The researcher believed that recording the interviews would be a good method of data collection because it allowed for attention to be focused on the discussion and the questions that could be used based on the flow of the conversation.

Once the transcriptions were finalized, the researcher went through each interview individually and removed all information deemed necessary for the data analysis and departmentalised the findings into tables based on the sections from the interview guide. The data was added to a computer-based software, Atlas.ti to help with the analysis process. The software aided in categorizing the data according to pre-set codes (Yin 2014: 134). Codes were created based on the research question and sub questions. Aligning the codes to the question ensured that the data remained relevant to the research purpose.

2.10 Analysis process

The analysis of the data is arguable one of the most important stages of qualitative research as it interprets the data and attaches an explanation (Miles et al 2014: 1). In order to move forward in the analysis process, the researcher needs to construct codes that symbolize how they attached meaning to the data. According to Miles et al. (2014: 4), coding is considered a process in which the data is segmented and conceptualized for later pattern detection and further analytical processes. This is very important in qualitative research as it allows for codes to be developed based on theory and research questions.

Acknowledging the importance of data analysis, the researcher utilized the grounded theory of coding and Miles and Huberman approach to analysis. Both theories prioritise different layers of codes that dissect the data into patterns for further analysis. The researcher decided to incorporate both approaches, although they are both similar, to add different dimensions to the analysis process. The researcher felt more comfortable designing the analysis to her strengths and based on the information that was presented, rather than a more structured approach based on the individual theories.

As discussed, the data was initially placed into the sections from the interview guide, allowing for new parts to be added if they had emerged. The research question and sub questions were then analysed to suggest initial codes that the data could be segmented to. The researcher used these codes in Atlas.ti to find the relevant information. The codes were then reassessed to see whether any were irrelevant. Two codes were removed and the remaining placed within coding groups based on the research questions they applied to. The information was analysed based on relevance to the overall research purpose.

2.11 Ethical considerations

The main consideration when conducting the interviews was to ensure the information would remain confidential. To guarantee this requirement was met, the researcher deleted all voice recording once the transcripts had been finalized. Personal details from the interviews were removed in the transcripts. Additionally, all quotes were reviewed before they were included in the research paper to mitigate the traceability of comments.

Another factor for consideration was the size of the university. A challenge experienced was trying to navigate the data collection process in a building where individuals could see which offices the researcher was entering. The researcher asked every individual where they would like to conduct the interviews, in case they would have preferred to meet outside the university.

2.12 Positionality

As a current master's student at the institute in which the interviewees are employed at, the researcher was able to use a connection to the university to access willing participants. Although this was a big advantage, the researcher cannot discount the impact that this positionality may have had on my research.

For the interviews, the researcher was unsure how the power dynamics between student and the professor would play out. The meeting dynamics were rearranged to frame the interviewer as the facilitator of the conversations. But the researcher also cannot dismiss the mutual relations to ISS, and how this may have impacted the responses in the interviews.

Amongst the academics that were interviewed, the researcher had previous contact with many, either in classes or other university contexts, while others were met for the first time. With academics who were met before, the researcher felt the interviews were more conversational and friendly, creating a setting which put the interviewer and the interviewee at ease. In contrast, the discussion with unfamiliar academics felt formal and reserved at first, but some interviewees opened up once they felt more comfortable. Both situations influenced the type of discussions held, the flow of the conversations and the length of the interviews.

Chapter 3: Power and control in academia

3.1 Neoliberalism of academia

Higher education is one of the many state services that has seen operational changes due to neoliberalism. Globally, neoliberalism has reduced government control allowing the market to become a self-governing body. However, not all countries have experienced this process at the same rate. The United States and United Kingdom have seen a direct influence of investors at some of their universities, while other countries this has been less prominent. Although the changes have been at different paces globally, the private sector has become more involved in higher education, affecting the academic system more broadly.

The results-based business industry's vision is profit maximization. Universities have become a new market for this to be realized and therefore investors want to ensure their funding match their reasons for tapping into this new market. The repercussions of this is greater pressure on the university. Not only does this have implications for management of the universities but also the academics and other individuals working for the institutes. From the interviews I conducted, academics emphasized that pre-set guidelines, outlined in their contracts, created a lot of stress. High standards were demanded in all parts of their jobs.

"It is a very tough career choice because you get evaluated by the performance reviews and nobody ever tells you that you are doing good"

"The knowledge industry/factory of academia has set certain criteria by which the academic worth of a person is judged throughout his/her academic career"

Academics mentioned how performance demands and reviews affected their well-being. One demand which was continuously mentioned in the interviews, was the need for academics to be innovative in their research. Ground breaking research was a way to draw attention to the academic and the university they worked at, therefore enhancing visibility and recognition. To meet management's demands, in the eyes of the academics, immobility was not an option.

"Travel is driven by economics and logistics and the constraints of being an academic and how we do things"

"People are not flying around frivolously. They are being forced to do this"

This research's discussion around academic air travel seemed to frustrate many interviewees as they felt they had limited control over their flight patterns. Many mentioned that the group who should be interviewed was management. Academics believed that changes in air travel would jeopardize their careers as they would not be able to produce ground breaking research mentioned above. Based on this, some academics said they would not risk their careers by not flying.

"Doing research in …... is simply not possible if we stop flying. Let's make a decision that ISS lecturers simple do not have to work in India or Sub-Saharan Africa or Latin America then I won't travel"

As the quote states, travel is fundamental to academics meaning it is impossible to be immobile. But the quote also highlights how certain academics believe conversations around air travel imply cutting all travel rather than just reducing it. This indicates a dichotomy between ability and immobility of travel in the eyes of academics, which bypasses all other possibilities which may be viewed as reasonable between academics and management. This finding is important for management's discussions around academic air travel so that misunderstandings are cleared before fruitful dialogues on the factors restricting reductions in air travel can happen.

3.2 Taking back some control

Pressure on universities, to perform at high levels enforces these institutions to apply the same stresses on their academics. Academics in the interviews mentioned the limited control they had on structural demands that were placed on them and how this lack of power often affected them negatively. But, to push back against management, the interviewees stated that they started manipulating the system to incorporate many activities in their jobs that would benefit them personally. One example that many mentioned was in relation to their work travel.

As mentioned, academics felt they had no choice but to travel to meet all the evaluation criteria outlined in their contracts. To limit the stress the interviewees stated they often utilized travel to align with activities that excited them. This was a way to take back some control from the management of the university.

One academic stated that he used his invitations to conferences to visit new countries but also to do his own research on either side of the trip. Invitations also meant the travel costs were covered and he used his position to request extra time to do his work.

"I did one where I put a paper together because I wanted to go to country X. I said I wanted to go to country Y (neighbour to X) and do some work and I had never been to country X"

His main priority was doing his research, but he knew that he had to attend a few conferences in a year. Therefore, to still meet the academic requirements but also do work that he was passionate about, he combined both into one trip. Another academic revealed that he liked to travel to new places therefore used his love of food to entice him to certain academic conferences in a country. Once the academic activities were finished, he used his spare time to explore possible food related activities.

"I have been to Japan once and I would like to go again and if someone is paying for it, even if it's not the most important academic event, it's a free trip to Japan, I love sushi"

Although these examples were different based on the academic's reasons for traveling, they both expressed conscious decisions made to have greater control over professional lives. Using academic travel to visit a country for social activities, such as a culinary experience, aligns to the cosmopolitan 'citizens of this world' identity. These academics realized their ability to take back some control and used travel to accomplish this. This freedom, in the face on ongoing management demands, which is especially experienced when being abroad and away from the office, is a great attraction for travel. It is one very strong explanation for why people cling to flying.

Chapter 4: Conflicts between environmental concerns and behaviours

In Anable's et al. (2006) theory of attitude-behaviour gaps, the researchers emphasized that many individuals are concerned with the impact that human beings' livelihoods are having on climate change, but their worries did not reflect their actions. This theory aligns to this study's findings as many, not all, academics expressed distress in relation to their flight patterns having a negative impact on climate change. Flight shame was mentioned frequently in relation to the contradiction between their beliefs and how they acted. The following quotes reflect these feelings:

"I feel bad (to fly). It is one out of so many contradictions (within academia)"

"I have become a lot more conscious, due to flight shame. Conscious of where we go and how we travel"

Cognitive dissonance states that individuals with distress because of their attitudes not reflecting their behaviours will either change their attitudes or their behaviours to reduce discomfort. The prominent change found in this research was academic differing responsibility away from themselves, therefore adapting attitudes. To a lesser extent, interviewees mentioned that they changed their behaviours, in the best way they felt they could, to try and reduce the dissonance.

4.1 Changing attitudes to match behaviour

In this research the findings explained that most of the interviewees chose to adapt their attitudes to match their flight patterns. One important finding, which resonates largely with Juvan and Dolnicar (2014) research, was that academics differed the responsibility away from themselves in relation to their air travel. Juvan and Dolnicar divided their results into six groups with different explanations for each. However, the researcher for this paper created four, differing by comparing to other industries, denial of control, comparing to other parts of their lives and highlighting the benefits of their actions outweighing the negatives.

The first group emphasised how air travel emissions did not contribute to climate change as much as other industries. By mentioning other industries which have a bigger impact on climate change, their own actions were seen as less detrimental. This way the academics were justifying their travel by changing their beliefs. The shift caused decreased stress and harmonized their thoughts.

"We should put things in perspective, agriculture and food production is a very big area causing/ influencing climate change- then much more action is needed then just cutting back on traveling"

The second form was interviewees denying that they had control over their actions. This group had three ways in which denial was carried out; mentioning managements role, their career specialisation and government's involvement in the travel industry. These will be explained below.

Managements demands placed on academics created the need for constant travel, in the eyes of the academics. Choosing to change flight patterns or being forced by a flight policy, would not work for the academics unless management made broader structural changes, specifically with contract requirements. Therefore, emphasizing management's role in flight patterns helped the academics differ responsibility away from themselves, relieving distress.

"It would be nice if it was tackled by saying no let's cap it (flights). It needs to be harmonized, if there is going to be a flight policy and academic requirements"

"Without broader structural change, it (this academic's flight reduction) will not make much difference"

Academics also stated they had no option but to travel because they were working in a field of academia where geographically dispersed partnerships were common. Despite having an environmental concern, interviewees indicated that they were required to travel for research, as they would not feel comfortable writing about individual places without visiting the areas. These partnerships also meant that conferences were held abroad, requiring them to travel to present their research findings.

"ISS is a little bit special because it is really international. Obviously, it would be different in an institute of computer studies"

In the previous instances, academics differed responsibility to career related aspects. The final way they denied control was by highlighting government's involvement in the transport industry. Governments subsidizing certain parts of air travel which creates a price disparity between other transport types was mentioned. Prices of train and bus trips are significantly more expensive than flights because of government's intervention and so air travel is the most reasonable option. Academics stated that their hyper mobile resulted in large travel expenses. Therefore, air travel was cheaper than other forms of travel and helped to stretch their budget further than if they used trains.

"what we are having now is a situation where we are having subsidized flights by tax free kerosene"

"I think the problem would be solved if air fares are fully priced then people would be forced to get creative about what are good ways to travel or useful ways of interacting"

Government involvement also contradicts neoliberalism's views of a self-governing market. Their intervention is seen as a negative for equality for transport types. Therefore, relating this back to neoliberalism, reducing the price of flights is counter intuitive in a market-oriented economy.

The third group of academics used their personal life choices to reduce distress. By assessing their personal and professional lives as equitable, these academics were able to use the argument that their actions in one cancelled the other out. The interviewees expressed that they were conscious of their carbon footprint at home, which compensated for their flight patterns.

"…we drive a hybrid car. I don't eat meat, my husband used to but now he's concerned about the damage for the environment"

The final group which this research classed academic's justification for air travel was based on the greater benefits that their actions had in the world. Just like group three, some interviewees believed that the positives from one action was able to cancel out another action's negatives. For this research, certain academics expressed that career in development studies allowed their jobs to benefit the individuals in which they were working with. As one interviewee stated, the work they are doing is in the Global South which needs help from academics from the Global North.

"Responsibility to ensure all aspects of your work as an academic, contributes to global development and social justice including sustainability and not affect this in a negative"

Being concerned about environmental issues and having to travel for work created significant distress for many interviewees and so adapting their attitudes with regards to the four groups helped to largely alleviate their conflicts.

4.2 Changing behaviour to match attitudes

The second part of the cognitive dissonance theory is for individuals to change their behaviours to match their beliefs. This research found that a minority of individuals did acknowledge that their actions had an impact on their environments and so they adapted their behaviours in the best why they felt they could, to also remove some distress.

One way that some academics outlined was to incorporate many job-related activities into one trip. The academics expressed that they were unable to reduce their travel because of professional pressures but still acknowledged the environmental impacts. Therefore, by maximizing the outputs from their trips, they experienced less distress.

"Last year I flew with another colleague to xxx, it's part of the project, it's was also for a conference and also was future work, there were many different purposes, so it was worthwhile"

"If I am going overseas or to Africa or Asia, usually I do not just go for one thing, but I try to combine family, project, conferencing, making it more than one thing"

A second way in which academics validated their travel was to use a combination of transport to reduce the overall flight emissions. The most popular way this was done was to choose air travel on the way to an event, usually because of time restrains before, and then use more environmentally friendly options on the way back.

"I'm going to fly there but go back with a mixture of buses and train…"

Using different transport types was not as popular as incorporating many jobs into one trip. But these two both emphasize academics making conscious efforts to adapt their behaviour, although in very different ways, to try and reduce their attitude- behaviour gap.

Chapter 5: Travel opportunities and career development

Research emphasizes how academics, at different stages of their careers, utilize conferences for different reasons. Tom Storme's (2014: 406), outline of academic mobility, highlighted conference attendance often being more beneficial to young academics. The reasoning is related to the opportunity's conferences provide for career development. More experienced academics often stated that they recommended PhD students to attend conferences in order to acquire the skills needed for a career in academia, and to build relationships. Networking was mentioned many times in the interviews, as meeting new people allowed for possible future collaborations, funding or publication opportunities. Forming strong connections at conferences creates network or social capital that Putman (2001) and Larsen et al. (2007) define in their research.

"PhDs are people, if they want to be academics, they need to learn how to do it"

"But I think it is important for PhDs to go to conferences to pick up ideas, to meet new people, to test how their ideas stand up in a hostile audience"

More experienced academics stated that their conference attendance was often for social reasons. Many affirmed, that although they did enjoy conferences for the professional benefits, such as keeping informed with what is happening in their field of research, it was more to catch up with friends/ colleagues. Having been in the conference circuit for numerous years, academics stated they formed friendships with other individuals specializing in their research areas. Working in different countries meant that attending conferences was often the only time they got to see each other.

"I go to see friends, socialization, update on like what are you up to and I can get a bit on the pulse of what is going on and stuff. It is kind of superficial, there is no like intellectual reasons or deeper one"

"the academic part can be done online but what cannot be done online it's the other aspect of attending a conference which I think is more important indeed"

The research indicated that the reasons behind conference attendance differed considerably for young and more mature academics. But what the current findings also revealed was conferences helped to facilitate career progression, irrespective of professional level.

Within academia, career progression requires substantial visibility within the higher education sector. Visibility is believed to be enhanced by publications and/or presentations, and conferences help to facilitate the possibilities for both. Therefore, the interviewees expressed that being mobile was essential to remain competitive in their career.

"In the early stage of career, PhD's, it is very important to attend conferences as they are important for networking and visibility. It is important in your CV to show you have gone to international conferences"

"We have colleagues all over the world that do fly, they go to conferences, they become visible, etc. I don't get promoted unless I am visible. And actually, we compete against one other!"

Conferences are described as an essential part of academic career progression and therefore it would appear that all academics are enticed to travel to them. But this study found that attraction to conferences did not always equate to attendance. The interviews highlighted two different reasons for lack or reduced conference attendance. The first indicated that inequalities between resources meant not all academics had the opportunities to attend. The second finding raised awareness to a different side where certain academics reduced their attendance and carefully chose which conferences they travelled to.

5.1 Inequalities emphasized through academic cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism is described as a way of viewing citizens, beyond nationalities and cultures, and is enhanced when mobility is a core activity. Travel, whether corporeal or virtual, is defined as broadening individual's ideology to limit perceived differences and incorporating a 'citizens of the world' perspective. The main emphasis is on mobility and its abilities to enhance feelings of connectedness beyond predefined boundaries. This view is believed to reduce stigma and facilitate an inclusive culture. Relating this to the academic setting, the profession encourages mobility, whether to conferences, for research or teaching abroad.

"Academic world has changed, and we require more output which requires travel, not only to collect data but to sharpen your arguments with likeminded people".

Travel is described as broadening the skill set of academics as they are subjected to varying experiences and viewpoints for their studies. However, just like cosmopolitanism, this practice of mobility is not equal for all. Inequalities persist in relation to finances, facilitates and the ease of travel. These inequalities were mentioned numerous times in the interviews, although not specifically expressed in related to a 'citizens of this world' view.

"In a way living in Europe makes you travel longer distances than less. You know how Schiphol is, it's very close and very convenient. Here it's much easier to travel/ fly because in Western Europe the infrastructure is good"

Another respondent emphasized the different access to resources based on where you study/work.

"not a lot of universities in (country X) can afford to send their lecturers to conferences.
… Whereas here as a PhD student, I get funding by ISS to go to conferences. So, there's quite a stark difference of resources"

The issue of visas also came up in the conversations in relation to unfair treatment due to nationality.

"Conferences in the UK have started to offer webinars more over the last few years as it has become increasingly difficult for scholars from Africa to get visa"

"I have a lot of friends in …. and they can't travel because of visa issues and I get very mad at it"

These quotes underline inequalities that impact the academic profession. With traveling to conferences being an unwritten requirement for career advancement, the interviews raise awareness around marginalization within academia. Different possibilities for travel lead to discrepancies in research potential and societal relevance, as many academics outlined.

"One consequence of not jet-setting, is one gets marginalized".

"Power in academia is associated with being a knowledge generator/ being cited (number of citations) and one has to be visible to achieve both"

These findings highlight the discrepancies of resources available to academics, between the Global North and South and how these differences can limit the opportunities for individuals to attend conferences. But these were not the only findings relating to inequalities within academia.

Disparities in opportunities were further emphasized when certain interviewees indicated that senior academics have greater access to funds, but they still choose to reduce conference attendance.

"More senior you get, the more access to funds you end up in"

"now I have much more budget. I have not spent my budget for conferences. I always have too much"

Certain academics expressed that they did not have to attend conferences to promote themselves. Their success meant they were invited to conferences and accepted the requests when they felt it was a necessity.

"As a junior researcher you would travel more to the conference for more of the purpose of informing yourself or for the purpose of plugging your work. Whereas nowadays I would tend to be invited to a conference"

"And if I am invited to speak then I will come. I get invited and that's why I attend"

5.2 Priorities for privileged academics

Career progression is characterized with greater responsibilities for academics, within their institutions, and less time to travel. Being present for students, publishing articles and being socially relevant were some of the responsibility's academics highlighted as more time consuming. Therefore, prioritizing certain conferences was common for these academics.

"I think our responsibility should be for students, so if you can do your part as an academic to the outside world to engage, to research, to disseminate and to also take care of your students, to mentor"

"I tend to go less often to conferences now. One because I need to sit here and be available to people. Plus, also things change in terms of demographics if you have got a family"

On the personal side, as the last quote indicates, conference selection is also facilitated by family responsibilities. Career progression can be aligned with family growth and a reason to limit the number of conferences.

"At beginning I was traveling much more than this now I have kids, so I cannot do it anymore. Plus, there is so much to do. I don't have time"

These findings highlight how privileges allow for specific decisions to reduce conferences and how these academics have more control of their decisions. Therefore, just like in the cosmopolitanism, travel separates academics. The ability to pick and choose conferences is deemed to be directly correlated to a higher career level. But career progression needs visibility, which conferences ensure. Therefore, this research attained that uneven opportunities for travel have a direct impact on academic's success.

The uneven opportunities between the Global North and South is something that has not been applied in-depth to academic air travel. Emphasizing the disparities between the two regions allows for this research to contribute to filling this gap in the literature.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

"If an academic at ISS hasn't heard that flying is bad for the climate then…. we have a bigger problem"

As the quote indicates, flights negatively impact the climate, yet air travel is ever increasing. This paper prioritised researching the professional air travel of academics, one of the three most mobile professions, in order to understand the motivations behind their mobility. Academia is a knowledge producing profession which disseminates information on climate related issues. Therefore, the question remains, why do academics constitute one of the professions with the most air traffic, despite being very aware of the impacts their air travel has on climate change.

This research used the case of academic air travel to better understand business related mobility. Neoliberalism, cognitive dissonance and cosmopolitanism theories were used to analyse the findings. Higher education is one of the many industries where neoliberalism has brought about significant changes, although with different levels of pervasiveness across countries, in how the industry functions. Overall changes in academia have seen increased competition between universities in relation to the knowledge they produce. As a result, universities place great pressure on their academics to be successful. In this research, management's control of academic responsibilities and actions was found to be essential in understanding mobility patterns.

Academic contracts outline requirements from management, one being the need to be socially relevant. Academics believe one of the best ways to meet pre-set requirements is to travel. However, at the same time travel patterns lead to concerns about the environmental impacts and distress amongst academics. To ease this stress, most academics in this research adapted their attitudes by comparing flights emissions to other industries, emphasizing the lack of control they have over their actions, compensating emissions by becoming more environmentally conscious in their personal lives, or highlighting travel as essential for society. Some academics changed their behaviours to match their attitudes, such as incorporating many tasks in one trip and/or using a variety of transport types when traveling. Both adapting attitudes to match behaviour or vice versa are part of the cognitive dissonance theory which was used in this research to explain how academics validate their air travel.

Interviewees mentioned conferences as the main reason for air travel as they benefit academics in manifold ways. Both the interviews and the survey, indicated that the professional side of conferences, networking and building connections for possible career advancements, were important for younger academics. Although more experienced academics indicated that they did attend for professional reasons, many acknowledged the social side of the conferences, seeing friends and interacting with colleagues as their main reason. These results corroborated with literature that outlines career level as fundamental to understanding motivations around conference attendance.

Conferences not only expose academics to a range of professional benefits but are also seen as furthering personal growth. These events happen in exotic places with lots of tourist attractions. Academics use conferences for opportunities to explore new places and cultures. This aligns to the 'citizens of this world' ideology found in cosmopolitanism. Opportunities to limit geographical distances are also seen as advancing a more inclusive culture for the benefit of society. Cosmopolitanism requires mobility, which this research found was not equally affordable for all academics.

The interviewees, although working in the Global North, acknowledged that academics from the Global South did not have access to the same funding that they did. As a result, the ability to attend conferences, or travel in general, was more feasible for the academics in the Global North. Consequently, academics working in the Global South lose out on both professional and personal development. These inequalities were further emphasized when the research revealed career progression generated more funding and greater recognition. Successful academics had the privilege of being invited to conferences but also had a greater ability to choose which conferences they attended. The attention to Global North and South opportunities is something that is not commonly discussed in research on air traffic behaviour and therefore this paper was able to contribute to closing this gap in the literature.

This research fills gaps in the literature in relation to academic air travel but also provides evidence of preconceived notions on the topic. One view found in the research was the 'all or nothing' perspective on air travel. Rather than seeing discussions around air travel as beneficial for reductions in flights, some academics believed that in the future academics would not be able to travel at all. This finding helps to raise awareness about confusion around air travel reductions and how this can be limited through further explanations and discussions.

Overall, the research findings gave insight into academia and the role that mobility plays in the academic profession. The paper was able to contribute to closing the gap in the literature on academic air travel but also identified the need for further research on the topic. As ISS is unique in its multicultural cohort of development studies students and academics, broader studies in institutions with many specialities will deepen the understanding of the motivations behind academic air travel.

6.1 Limitations and avenues for further research

When first researching academic mobility, there was limited literature on the topic. One academic, Tom Storme from the University of Ghent, has written many papers on academic travels to conferences. These papers were an inspiration for this research and helped realise that this research could provide insight for gaps found on the topic.

When requesting individuals to participate in the research, emails were sent out to the academic faculty and PhD students. Many academics responded by stating they did not travel to conferences, therefore there was no point for them to be interview. The researcher followed up, indicating an interview would still be useful to my research, but they did not reply. The researcher believes that this created a sampling bias as there was no opportunity to ask why conferences were not on the agenda for these academics and the possible impact this decision has had on their career.

Other academics agreed to be interviewed but were quick to defend themselves and their actions and often justified their flight patterns before questions were even asked. The researcher believes these individuals started the interviews with assumptions about this research condemning their flight choices and so they became very cautious of their answers. Many individuals were also very particular in their answers, emphasizing many environmentally conscious actions in their lives. This response bias is common in qualitative interviews and highlights the tension between truth and a different reality in the eyes of interviewees. The researcher believes that extending the number of interviews conducted to 20, helped to limit the impact, but this bias cannot be dismissed.

Additionally, the researcher believes that the connected to the institute where the interviewees worked also changed certain dynamics for the conversation. The responses could have been different if the researcher were external and not writing a master's thesis at ISS. Future research could be conducted to see how this connection affected the findings.

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