Saving the environment one trip at a time:
The motivation and changing tourism decisions of young people who choose not
to fly

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ABSTRACT

In 2018, the IPCC published an important report on climate change and showed that there is a need to take stringent measures in all economic sectors to try and avoid climate catastrophes (IPCC, 2018). In that same year, Greta Thunberg decided to take the train instead of a plane to a climate conference, which reinforced the flight shame movement (Orange, 2019). Especially young people were inspired by this movement and started experiencing growing concerns over climate change and their role in it (Lew, 2020). At the same time, young people are also a very influential group of travelers that want to immerse in local cultures and explore new destinations (UNWTO, 2016; Richards & Morrill, 2020). This urge to explore can thus clash with the growing concern over climate change. The purpose of this research is to get a deep understanding of the motivation of young people to stop flying and to see how their tourism decisions are influenced by this choice. Moreover, this research aims to understand how young people navigate their urge to travel after they have decided to stop flying. For this research, ten participants were interviewed. They were gathered through their involvement in activist groups and were thus already very concerned with sustainability. The results show that the participants were motivated by a strong feeling that this was the right thing to do for themselves and that by the chance that they could potentially influence someone else to do the same. This research introduces a shame of "wanderlack", which can be identified as a social pressure experienced by young people because they do not feel the urge to travel the world. When looking at their changing tourism decisions, it is clear that the logistics of planning a trip have become more difficult, but the participants do think that it is worth to spend extra time and money. However, the results also shows some bottlenecks that endanger the resolution of the participants and can still lead them to make unsustainable choices. This coincides with the fact that many participants turned out to be less strict about the decision and this therefore shows that it is an incredibly difficult decision that is not as clear cut as it seems. Further research can thus be done to see how people negotiate these difficulties and to see how this influences their level of strictness regarding the decision.

KEYWORDS: *flight shame, sustainable tourism, slow travel, wanderlack, tourism decisions*

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1. Introduction

On April 14th 2018, when climate activist Greta Thunberg took the train instead of a plane, to a climate conference in France, she reinforced the growing "flygskam" or flight shame movement that started in Sweden (Orange, 2019). In Sweden, environmental consciousness was already taking off and a survey by the World Wildlife Foundation found that one in five Swedes chose to travel by train rather than plane because of environmental reasons (Orange, 2019). Outside of Sweden, the flight shame movement is also making an impression. The Swiss Bank UBS conducted a survey with participants from the United States, Germany, France and the United Kingdom and found that 21 percent of the respondents had also reduced their air travel out of concern for the environment (Locker, 2019).

This growing concern comes at a time where report after report presses on the urgent changes that need to happen to stop climate catastrophes by reducing greenhouse gas emissions. In October 2018 the UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) released an important report on global warming and looked at the effects of a global warming of 1.5 or 2 degrees, as is aimed for in the Paris Climate Agreement (IPCC, 2018). They found that at the most ambitious end of the Paris agreement, which means a global warming of 1.5 degrees Celsius, this would already cause significant risks to people all over the world. However, a global warming of 2 degrees would cause catastrophic changes, including the eradication of coral reefs, the extreme risk of forest fires, hurricanes and floods and the degradation of biodiversity (IPCC, 2018). The report presses on extreme measures that should be taken to prevent this global warming of 2 degrees Celsius and they point to the fact that the current strategy across the world is actually steering towards a 3 degrees Celsius increase, which would be disastrous (Watts, 2018).

The need for more stringent measures by governments, businesses and individuals has never been greater and this awareness has also reached the field of tourism. The report by the IPCC (2018) points out that all sectors need to be "decarbonized" in order to remain below a 1,5 or 2 degrees increase. Within the transport sector, aviation proves to be the most challenging. The development of biofuels and low-carbon fuels is very difficult and the IPCC therefore suggests that there should also be a shift in traveller's behaviour. When it comes to energy-saving behaviour, which would mitigate greenhouse gas emissions, the IPCC suggest that it is necessary to use mass transit rather than flying (IPCC, 2018).

Already at the turn of the millennium, Høyer (2000) explained that the transport of tourists is the biggest contributor to climate change in the tourism field. The report by the IPCC supports this and lays out the need for tourists to act differently, since the development of sustainable fuels is lacking behind. People are picking up this message and are indeed exploring more sustainable modes of traveling like the bus or the train (Orange, 2019; Locker, 2019). As Lew (2020) points out, people who decide not to fly are increasingly influencing a large group of people who are inspired and try to follow in their footsteps. This strong sense of environmental consciousness and activism is most present in young people form Generation Z since they are aware that they will experience the enormous impact of climate change (Lew, 2020). This coincides with the growing trend of slow travel, in which people try to get away from mass tourism and take more time to explore a country's environment and culture (Dickinson et al., 2011).

However, choosing not to fly, will have an impact on someone's traveling habits and practices since other modes of transport have very different durations, prices and possibilities. According to a report by the UNWTO (2016), young travellers are a very influential group and make up 23 percent of all international travellers. They are trying to travel as much as possible, for longer periods of time and to more unknown destinations (UNWTO, 2016). Therefore, there seems to be a tension between the traveling tendencies of young travellers and their environmental consciousness. This leads to the research question: "How do young people who choose not to fly anymore motivate their choice and in what ways does it influence their tourism decisions?" This research will thus look into the motivations of young people to see how and why they have made this decision and will take a closer look into the changing tourism decisions of these individuals.

To answer this research question, qualitative interviews will be conducted with young people who have decided to stop flying. Interviews will provide the researcher with a chance to get a good understanding of the way a participant experiences the world. (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2018). All ten participants are selected by contacting people within the organizations WWF and Young Friends of the Earth and by getting referrals from participants who were already interviewed. The participants will thus be selected through purposive sampling and snowball sampling. To analyse the results and reach a conclusion, the gathered interviews will be analysed, using a thematic analysis.

This topic is of academic relevance since this decision by individuals to stop flying is a recent phenomenon that is still very under researched. The existing literature has mainly looked at the effects of phenomenon like flight shame on the decisions and the reactions of

tourists (Mkono et al., 2020; Gössling et al., 2020). They have found that most respondents did not immediately act on this feeling of shame and did not change their travel tendencies all that much. This research will take a closer look at the motivations and experiences of people who have actually decided to stop flying and have chosen more sustainable options. So far, there is no research into the motivation of these people and it will thus be interesting to see what motivates them to make this decision. The goal will be to get a deeper understanding of their motivations and the influence of their choice on their tourism decisions. Furthermore, this research will provide an interesting insight into the conflict between the decision to stop flying and the traveling tendencies of young people. Young people are very keen on traveling and discovering different parts of the world (UNWTO, 2016). It will therefore be interesting to see how this tension will play out.

As for societal relevance, Lew (2020) already indicates that there appears to be a tipping point where more and more young people are being influenced by a few individuals who decided not to fly. Moreover, research has shown that citizen-consumers can actually play a big role in the transition towards more sustainable forms of travel and that they have the power to induce societal and political change (Verbeek & Mommaas 2008; Sopjani et al., 2019). It will therefore be very interesting to see how these individuals are using their power as a consumer and if they can actually bring about change in society. It is useful to look at the effect of their decision on others to see if this indeed can cause a shift to sustainable travel for other people in society.

2. Theoretical Framework

This theoretical framework will start of by defining the field of sustainable tourism and the importance of sustainable mobility in that field. Secondly, flight shame and anti-flying movements will be defined to see how big these phenomenon are and what their effects are. Thirdly, the relationship between young people and traveling will be elaborated on, to see what motivates young people to travel but also to look into their traveling habits. Fourthly, the concept of slow travel is introduced as a sustainable alternative, which is becoming more and more popular. Lastly, the research question is posed and following the literature, a few expectations are formed.

2.1 (Un)Sustainable Tourism

Sustainable tourism has long been a topic of interest for tourism scholars. In 1993 the Journal of Sustainable Tourism was launched and many aspects of the sustainable tourism field have since been researched (Hunter, 2002). Furthermore, governmental bodies have also been recognizing the importance of sustainability within tourism. Sustainable tourism was already included in the Environmental Action Plan of the European Union in 1993 and sustainable tourism has thus been an important element of the sustainable development movement for over 25 years (Stabler & Goodall, 1997). Even then, scholars, governments and organizations already were concerned with the unsustainability of travel.

Nowadays, the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) describes sustainable tourism as "tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities" (UNWTO, n.d.). It is one of the key headings on the website of the UNWTO and sustainable tourism has been a major focus for policy makers (Hall, 2019). The UNWTO presses that tourism is off influence to all 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's) that were set by the United Nations. They created a website on which all 17 SDG's are linked to tourism. On this website they want to show how important tourism can be to achieve all 17 SDG's (https://tourism4sdgs.org/). Sustainability in tourism is thus of the utmost importance.

The 2018 report of the IPCC also presses on the importance of sustainable travel when fighting climate change. They indicate that we only have 12 years left to avert a global climate catastrophe and that we should start making more sustainable choices on all fronts

(Watts, 2018). However, despite a focus on the role of tourism in climate change by policy makers, governmental bodies and scholars, the tourism market is growing and is even becoming less sustainable worldwide (Hall, 2019; Sharpley, 2020). Higgins-Desbiolles (2017) points towards the fact that tourism is addicted to growth and that in most countries there is still a will to increase tourism numbers, because it can help to build an economy of a developing country. She says that consumerism and globalisation are internalized by tourists, that they are no longer actively aware of the harm they're doing with their actions (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2017).

The biggest contributor to climate change in the sector of tourism is the actual transport of tourism (Høyer, 2000; IPCC, 2018). Sustainable mobility is being pointed to as an important part of the future of tourism. Air travel is especially harmful to the environment and in order to lower the contribution to climate change, air travel has to be greatly reduced (Dickinson et al., 2011).

Verbeek and Mommaas (2008) agree with this point of view. They see a trend of more frequent trips, to faraway places for a shorter amount of time. This really benefits the tourism sector economically, but it comes at a great cost for the environment. In their research they use the social practices approach to show that citizen-consumers can play a very important role in the transition towards more sustainable forms of travel (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008). First of all they can use tools and innovations provided by companies or the government to make more sustainable choices. An example of this is an application provided by a company, which makes it easier to book international bus and train tickets. Second of all, consumers can induce societal and political change by starting a movement or by actively refusing to buy certain services of goods (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008).

Research by Sopjani et al. (2019) builds on this by looking at the different user roles in the transition to sustainable mobility systems. They found that there are people who act as an ambassador and actively push and encourage sustainable transition and also influence others to do the same. These researches show that citizens can play an active role in the transition towards a sustainable form of travel and show that they are able to influence others as well.

2.2 Flight shame and anti-flying initiatives

Many different social movements have been started by climate activists to get people to think about their actions and to entice them to make more sustainable choices. The flight shame movement is an important phenomenon that started in Sweden and gained more

attention because of climate activist Greta Thunberg (Orange, 2019). The flight shame movement is defined as "social pressure not to fly because of the rising greenhouse gas emissions of the airline industry" (Mkono et al., 2020, p. 281). People such as Greta Thunberg try to inspire others to choose alternative modes of transport and to move away from the polluting airline industry.

The flygskam or flight shame movement is part of a wider trend of 'eco-guilt' and 'eco-shame' (Mkono & Hughes, 2020). Eco-guilt/shame is brought on by the increasing awareness of the environmental impacts that different choices have and therefore people are experiencing a sense of guilt and shame when they are doing something that is bad for the environment. Mkono and Hughes (2020) reviewed blogposts from tourism consumers to see if they indeed experience eco-guilt/shame and how they respond to it. They found that there are some bloggers who experience a feeling of shame or guilt and that they seem keen on making sustainable choices, but that the intent to do better does not always translate into sustainable actions. Mkono et al. (2020) also looked at the reactions of people to the flight shame movement. They analysed social media posts in response to the flight shame movement that was started by Greta Thunberg and found that a majority of people were critical about the movement, because they felt like the movement blamed them and used them as scapegoats for a problem caused by companies and the government. However, thirty percent of the respondents did also point towards the movement as being inspirational. The researchers conclude that the majority of the respondents seemed not to be ready to give up flying and valued travel convenience over environmental benefits.

Additionally, Gössling et al. (2020) looked at German flight statistics and conducted a survey among German citizens to see how flight shame has affected their travel tendencies. The results showed that respondents did not necessarily change their own behaviour but that they supported measures and policies that would make flying more expensive. These researches thus show that eco shame and flight shame are present but that, in the majority of people, it does not result in clear actions and they are still holding on to old travel tendencies.

Nonetheless, the flight shame movement seems to attract more and more people. The Swiss Bank UBS conducted a survey with 6000 participants from the United States, Germany, France and the United Kingdom, and they found that 21 percent had reduced their air travel because of their concerns about the environment (Locker, 2019). After the Flygskam movement started in Sweden, Swedish airports even experienced an 8 percent drop in passengers at Swedish airports (Cocolas et al., 2020). Besides this, initiatives have started, like the Flight Free movement in the UK. This movement advocates for people to pledge to a

flight-free year in 2021 (https://flightfree.co.uk/). Movements like this have been started in multiple countries and can be categorized as anti-flying initiatives.

Lew (2020) even indicates that there now appears to be a tipping point where more and more young people are being influenced by a few individuals who decide to stop flying. He states that this is mainly the case for young travellers from Generation Z since they really feel the urgent need to make sustainable choices for their futures (Lew, 2020). According to a Harvard survey, American people from Generation Z believe that lowering global emissions should be the top priority of policy makers (Cheslaw, 2019). Groups of young activists like Extinction Rebellion are pledging to limit their flights to once every three years or cut it out altogether and they are making their voices heard by demonstrating and starting school strikes (Cheslaw, 2019). Young people are recognizing that their habit of flying is causing environmental deterioration and they are actively taking a stance in this debate by limiting or eradicating their air travel and trying to find more sustainable ways of traveling.

2.3 Young people and travelling

According to the "Global Report on The Power of Youth Travel" from the UNWTO (2016), young travellers are a very important and big group of tourists. They estimate that around 23 percent of all international travellers were young people between the age of 15 and 29. The UNWTO describes this group as very influential and presses that they are interested in trying to immerse in local culture and actually live like a local. Young travellers are trying to travel as much as possible, for longer periods of time and to more unknown destinations (UNWTO, 2016).

The motivations and habits of young travellers are widely researched. Richards and Morrill (2020), for example, looked into the motivations of millennial travellers from all over the world. They conducted a survey among travellers aged 18-35 who lived all across the world (Richards & Morrill, 2020). The survey provided some very interesting insights into the travel motivations of millennials. They looked at four different motivational dimensions for travel: relaxation, exploring, challenge and socialising. They found that the most important motivational factor for young travellers is exploring (Richards & Morrill, 2020). It is also striking to see that for young travellers from western Europe the factor socialising is in second place. Socialising with locals and other tourists thus seems to be important to young travellers from Western Europe. Overall, interaction with local people was ranked as the number one travel motivation. The researchers concluded that exploring other cultures and immersion into

the local life seems important to young travellers and that they are very concerned with being part of a destination community and helping them (Richards & Morrill, 2020).

Additionally, Cavagnaro et al. (2018) also looked into the tourism experiences of millennials. They conducted a survey among Dutch millennials and have identified nine categories of millennial tourists with different needs (Cavagnaro et al., 2018). Some of the categories are driven by a need for entertainment and escapism but they also found categories of travellers who are more intrinsically motivated and who are being motivated by an opportunity to learn and understand other cultures. They therefore conclude that the entire group of millennial travellers is a very diverse group but that there is a very consistent part of this group that is open to sustainable tourism and that wants to really connect to local culture and environment (Cavagnaro et al., 2018). Both of these researches thus show that young travellers experience a longing to explore other cultures and that they want to immerse themselves into local life. Moreover, they seem to be open to sustainable forms of tourism.

Buffa (2015) adds to this point and looked at the environmental concerns of young travellers in her research. She looked at the attitudes of young travellers towards sustainability to see if they can be swayed into the direction of more sustainable forms of travel. She finds that young travellers indeed are motivated by sustainability and that they are interested in making the right choices to reduce their impact. However, the interest in sustainability varied across the group and Buffa (2015) identified two distinct profiles: Hard Path Young Tourists (HPYT) and Soft Path Young Tourists (SPYT). The HPYT are more autonomous in organizing their trip and they are much more willing to pay extra to support locals and protect the environment. In contrast, The SPYT are more reliant on travel agencies and they mainly want to find comfort and relaxation when traveling. This research also pointed out that HPYT were more likely to be part of an environmental or political movement. Both groups, however, indicated a concern for sustainability and we can thus conclude that young travellers do care about the environmental impact, although to a varying degree (Buffa, 2015).

2.4 Slow travel

The flight shame movement and anti-flying initiatives are closely connected to the trend of slow travel. Flying is seen as a very fast form of traveling that takes you to another side of the continent in just a few hours. Other more sustainable methods of transport are seen as slower (Dickinson et al., 2011). Slow travel has emerged because of the environmental strain of, for example flying, and revolves around the idea of travel being a part of the tourism

experience, rather than only being a means to get to a destination (Dickinson et al., 2011). Barr (2018) points out that in modern society there is a focus on hypermobility and the international tourism market is only growing. He argues that we should try to reduce the demand for travel and promote and focus on slower and more responsible forms of tourism. He presses that it is important to combine the sustainability of this with the benefits it can have for someone's personal wellbeing (Barr, 2018). By choosing slow travel, a traveller can escape the fast pace of normal life and get in touch with the local culture and the surrounding environment.

Dickinson et al. (2011) interviewed people who engage in slow travel and found that environmental concerns play a role in the choice for slow travel and that they view slow traveling as a good opportunity to reduce their impact on the environment. They identify two types of slow travellers: "soft slow travellers" and "hard slow travellers". The "soft slow travellers" were influenced by environmental concerns in their decision to choose slow travel, but in other circumstance they would still sometimes opt to take the plane.
The "hard slow travellers" had actually decided that they did not want to fly anymore and they therefore arrived at slow travel, because it is a more sustainable option, when you still want to travel around (Dickinson et al., 2011). This categorization relates to the categorization made by Buffa (2015). The "hard slow travellers" are very concerned about the environment and are willing to change their travel behaviour significantly to protect the environment. This is in line with the HPYT identified by Buffa (2015). The category of "soft slow travellers" seems to be corresponding with the SPYT identified by Buffa (2015). Just as the "soft slow travellers", the SPYT are concerned about the environment but they also want to be comfortable and secure in their traveling choices and will thus not always opt for the most sustainable option.

Slow travel of course also changes and even limits your travel options. Slow travel mostly takes longer and some places will be more difficult to reach. However in the research by Dickinson et al. (2011), slow travellers indicated that they actually valued the time spent during travel since it contrasted the fast pace of normal life and it provided a chance to appreciate the surrounding landscapes. Furthermore, the slow travellers indicated that slow travel made them feel more connected with the local environment and culture (Dickinson et al., 2011).

2.5 Research question and expectations

It can thus be concluded that more and more young people actively decide to stop flying. This decision will have an impact on travel choices and therefore more sustainable and slower forms of travel will become an alternative to still discover the world. However, young travellers are a very active groups when it comes to traveling and they will thus have to navigate this urge to travel. This research will take a closer look at the motivations and experiences of people who have actually decided to stop flying. The research question being: "How do young people who chose not to fly anymore, motivate their choice and in what ways does it influence their tourism decisions?" There has been no research that has done an in-depth analysis of the motivations and experiences of young people who decide to stop flying. Therefore, it is hard to make predictions for the outcome of this research.

However, there are some expectations that can be derived from the previously mentioned literature. First of all, as the report by the UNWTO (2016) and the research by Richards and Morrill (2020) and Cavagnaro et al. (2018) show, young people are very keen on travelling and are known for traveling far and wide to discover new cultures. It is therefore expected that this will become an obstacle for participants who want to stop flying. It will be interesting to see how they deal with this urge to travel. Secondly However, the research by Buffa (2015) indicates that there are two types of young travellers. The Hard Path Young Travellers are very concerned with sustainability and are very willing to choose sustainable options. They are also often part of the environmental groups. It is thus expected that the participants in this research can be categorized as a Hard Path Young Traveller.

Morover, Dickinson et al. (2011) have shown, environmental consciousness is often an important reason to choose slow traveling. They found that people who cared about the environment were keen to make more sustainable slow travel choices. It is expected that these environmental conscious participants will also make traveling choices that are in line with slow travel. Dickinson et al. (2011) make a similar distinction as Buffa (2015). They identify the group "Hard slow travellers" who want to travel sustainably and therefore choose slow travel methods. For these slow travellers sustainability is very important and they will thus always choose a slower sustainable way of traveling. It is therefore expected that these participants fall into the category of "Hard slow travellers".

3. Methodology

This method section will explain the research design that is used in order to find an answer to the research question. It will start off with a description of the research method. Secondly, the sampling method and sample profile will be discussed. Thirdly, there will be an overview of the ten participants that were interviewed. Fourthly, the procedure surrounding the interviews and interview guide will be elaborated on and lastly, the data analysis process will be explained.

3.1 Research design

For this research a qualitative method has been chosen. Qualitative research can be used when a researcher wants to get an in-depth view of the personal feelings, motivations and experiences of participants (Bryman, 2012). It is focused on getting an understanding of the world by listening to the interpretation of participants, since in qualitative research it is believed that phenomena are constructed through interactions between people (Bryman, 2012). A qualitative method is therefore fitting for this research, since this research is aimed towards getting a deeper understanding off the motivations and experiences of young travellers who decide not to fly anymore.

Specifically, the method of interviews is used for this research. Interviews allow for a researcher to get, through interaction, a good understanding of the way a participant experiences the world and of the deeper layers of the human situation (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2018). Through an open conversation with the participant, the researcher will try to get a better understanding of the personal experience of the participant. For this research a minimum of ten interviews have been conducted with young travellers.

3.2 Sampling

The intended population of this research is young people who have decided to stop flying. Research by the UNWTO shows that young people are an increasingly important market for tourism destinations and they already make up 23 percent of all international tourists (UNWTO, 2016). Besides this, the group can say a lot about the future since the group consists of travellers who will move up in the demographics and will continue to travel in the future (Cavagnaro et al., 2018). The UNWTO defines the group of young people that

travel between the age of 15-29. The UNWTO has done a lot of research to define this group and will therefore be used for this research. However, it will be slightly altered to young people between the age of 18-29. 18 is chosen as a starting point, since this makes it easier to get informed consent and it is also more likely that participants above the age of 18 are already planning their own trips and making their own travel choices.

Furthermore, this research focusses on young travellers who have decided to stop flying. This group has not yet clearly been defined in previous research. For this research the focus is on people who have indicated that they want to stop flying and that have pronounced their intentions by reacting to a call from the researcher. The researcher put out a call for people to react to if they had indeed decided to stop flying. It however turned out that many people who reacted to this call and said that they were going to stop flying, did formulate exceptions or less strict rules, when they were asked in the interviews. They all had not mentioned this during the selection procedure and the sampling method is thus still accurate. It does show that the decision to stop flying is very complex and not as clear cut as it seems. The participants identified multiple bottlenecks and exceptions that were responsible for the lower strictness of the decision, which also provide interesting insights. However, they all continued to express their intention to stop flying and have made significant alterations in their traveling choices.

Because of the Covid-pandemic, international air travel has largely been brought to a standstill. This makes it easier for people to profess that they are going to stop flying, since, at this moment, flying is not a viable option. All the participants have therefore made a resolution to stop flying that is completely disconnected from the limits of the current Covid-pandemic. They have made it clear that their resolution would still hold after this pandemic. Furthermore, all the participants indicate that they have decided to stop flying at least a year before the pandemic started. This is important since they will also be questioned on the effects of their decision on their traveling practices and they should thus have already experienced traveling after their decision.

The participants were gathered through the researcher's involvement in two groups, WWF and Young Friends of the Earth. Both of these groups are concerned with sustainability and the fight against climate change. These groups thus have active young members who are already very concerned about the environment and, through their involvement in activist groups, have gotten into contact with all kinds movements concerned with sustainability. Buffa (2015) already indicated travellers who are very actively trying to travel more sustainably are more likely to be part of an environmental movement. It is therefore easier to

access the right target group by contacting people through these groups. The researcher is active in the Dutch organizations of both of these groups and this research will therefore focus on young travellers who are from the Netherlands. Table 3.1 shows an overview of characteristics of the intended population.

Table 3.1: Sample profile

Population of research	
18-29 years old	
Young people	
Indicated the intention to stop flying	
Made the decision at least one year before the Covid-pandemic	
Active member of WWF or Young Friends of the earth	Friend or family from member of these groups.
Dutch	

3.3 Participants

The researcher has reached out to members of WWF and Young Friends of the Earth to find suitable participants. This is therefore an example of purposive sampling. Messages in these groups resulted in six respondents who indicated that they had decided to stop flying. It was therefore decided to make use of snowball sampling by asking the participants if they knew other young travellers that stopped flying. This resulted in four more participants who were included in the sample.

The ten participants who participated were all actively concerned with sustainability and ranged between the ages of 22 and 27. Six out of the ten participants were female and four out of the ten participants were male. All participants were highly educated at either university of applied sciences or university. Six out of ten participants were active in activist groups. In table 3.2, there is an overview of some of the characteristics of all participants. The table shows that all participants adhere to a vegan or vegetarian diet. This shows that they have all made sustainable choices in their lives. Only one participant chose to use a nickname

in this research. This participant is renamed Kim and all the other participants are referred to with their own names.

Table 3.2: Participant overview

Participant	Age	Gender	Residence	Education	Activism	Diet
Melindy	24	Female	Wageningen	Master student	WWF & City council GroenLinks	Vegetarian
Joep	24	Male	Wageningen	Master student		Vegetarian
Marijse	23	Female	Utrecht	Pre-master student	Milieudefensie, Young Friends of the Earth & Extinction Rebellion	Vegetarian
Pelle	23	Male	Amsterdam	Bachelor student	Young Friends of the Earth	Vegetarian
Sam	22	Female	Den Haag	University of Applied Sciences	Young Friends of the Earth & Extinction Rebellion	Vegetarian
Noor	23	Female	Den Haag	University of Applied Sciences		Vegetarian
Pim	27	Male	Zaandam	Master		Vegetarian
Kim	26	Female	Rotterdam	Master	WWF & Extinction Rebellion	Vegan
Rolinde	25	Female	Leiden	Master student	Milieudefensie & Young Friends of the Earth	Vegan
Sander	22	Male	Utrecht	Master student		Vegetarian

3.4 Operationalization

All the interviews lasted for at least an hour to ensure that the conversation had enough depth. The interviews are semi-structured, which means that the interviewer has prepared themes and certain questions, but is also free to follow up on answers and diverge from the premeditated sequence (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2018). The interviews took place in March and April and were conducted over the video service Zoom. The researcher had set up an interview guide to help structure the interview and to make sure that the intended research question was answered. The full interview guide can be found in Appendix A.

The interview guide is structured alongside six themes that will together be able to answer the research question. The first theme is "The role of sustainability". In this part, the

role of sustainability in the lives of participants will be explored. It will be interesting to see how they apply sustainability to different fields and how concerned they are with sustainability on a day to day basis. This theme sets the basis for exploring the sustainable choices that the participants make and shows how important sustainability is in the lives of the participants.

The second theme is "Changing flying habits". This theme revolves around the flying experiences of the participants prior to the decision and will also dive deeper into the exact moment that the participant decided to stop flying and the strictness of that decision. This theme will lay the basis for exploring the motivation behind the decision and shows the timeline leading up to the decision to stop flying.

The third theme is "Motivation for refusing to fly" Earlier research has shown that a lot of people do experience shame or guilt and feel a need for sustainable action, but they often don't put this into practice (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2017; Mkono & Hughes, 2020; Mkono et al., 2020). It will therefore be interesting to find out why these participants did decide to act on their feelings. Other factors that could have influenced the decision will also be explored. Within this theme, the goal is to find an answer to the first part of the research question and get a better understanding of the motivation of these young travellers.

The fourth theme will be "Changing travel choices". As was stated before, the decision to stop flying has a big effect on the choices you're able to make in your traveling. Some destinations might be harder to reach and the time it takes to travel somewhere will also be longer. It will therefore be interesting to get an understanding of how the participants experience these limitations and how they feel like their traveling has changed. Additionally, research has shown that young travellers are very active and have a deep longing to explore different cultures and environments (Cavagnaro et al., 2018; Richards & Morrill, 2020). It will therefore be interesting to see how these participants experience this.

The fifth theme is "Experiences with sustainable forms of travel". Previous research has shown that slow travel is very popular with people who want to make sustainable choices (Dickinson et al., 2011). Sustainable slow forms of travel are very different and it is interesting to see how the participants experience it. The goal of the fourth and fifth theme is to get a better understanding of the ways in which this decision has changed the travel choices of these participants and how they negotiate the tendency of young people to explore with their decision to stop flying.

Lastly, the researcher asked questions within the theme: "Influence on sustainable mobility and societal change". Previous research has shown that citizen-consumers can play a

big role in the transition towards more sustainable forms of travel and that they have the power to induce societal and political change and influence others (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008; Sopjani et al., 2019; Lew 2020). With this theme, the aim is to see if the participants do also feel like they can play a role in the transition and if they are actively influencing others.

3.5 Data analysis

To analyse the data that was gathered for this research, the researcher has used a thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a method to identify, analyse and report on overlapping themes found in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The data will first be transcribed and then thoroughly read and reread to find codes within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The goal is to find overlapping themes within the entire data set to get a sense of the overlapping experiences and motivations of people who decide not to fly (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

In this research, the data was transcribed using the transcribing tool in Word and by going over every interview to correct mistakes. Initial remarks were already written down during this process, to get a sense of interesting overlapping themes within the data. After the transcription process, all the data was read a couple of times to get a good understanding of the depth and the range of the data. After rereading the data, codes were established that covered all the information in the interviews. All the codes were given a colour and every sentence in the interviews was given the colour that belonged to the corresponding code. This colour coding process was done by hand. When the data was completely saturated the codes were grouped together to find bigger themes. Fourteen themes were identified and were structured alongside the two parts of the research question. The first part of the research question has eight themes and the second part has six themes. The themes can be found in table 3.3.

The themes were reviewed multiple times to make sure that the data was completely saturated. Subsequently, the themes of both parts of the research question were structured alongside different categories, to get a better understanding of the meanings and implications of the themes. For part one of the research question, the themes upbringing, education, relatives and friends and lifestyle, were all positioned in the category "influence". This category presents all the themes that have to do with influential factors in making the decision. The second and third category are "practical" and "emotional". The "practical" category revolves around the more practical sides of the decision to stop flying and the

"emotional" category revolves around the more emotional sides. For part two of the research question, there were two categories identified. The first one is "logistic implications". All the themes that belong to the practical or logistic implications of the decision to stop flying are grouped within this category. In the second category "emotional implications", the focus is on themes surrounding the emotional consequences, experienced by participants. The themes and categories can be found in table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Thematic analysis

Research question	**Category**	**Theme**
Part 1: Motivation	Influence	Upbringing
		Education
		Relatives and friends
		Lifestyle
	Emotional	Shame
		Doing good and Influence
	Practical	Strictness
		Triggers
Part 2: tourism choices	Logistic implications	Means of transportation
		Planning and finance
		Slow travel
		Oher sustainable choices
	Emotional implications	Ambitions
		Bottlenecks

4. Results

In this results section, the data that was gathered during the interviews is analysed to find an answer to the research question. This result section is divided into three main parts. The first part elaborates on the role of the Covid pandemic, that does influence this research to some extent. The second part of the results revolves around the motivation of participants to stop flying. This part of the results is divided into eight subsections. The last part of the results revolves around the changing tourism decisions of the participants. This part consists of six subsections.

4.1 The role of Covid

Before diving into the main results of this research, first the role of the Covid pandemic should be discussed. The Covid pandemic has greatly limited traveling options in the last year and a half. This has resulted in most of the participants indicating that they have not left the country during this period. Moreover, most of the participants have made the decision to stop flying in the last two years. A big part of those two years, have been ruled by the Covid pandemic and independently of their decision, their tourism choices were already greatly limited during this time.

Therefore, many participants indicated that the pandemic made the decision easier, since there were no alluring opportunities to still take the plane. They stated that since their decision it has been relatively easy to stick to their resolution. They also indicated many potential bottlenecks that after corona will continue to challenge their confidence and their resolution. The participants therefore indicated that when traveling will pick up again, they will have to face more challenges.

The Covid pandemic of course also has a huge impact on the travel choices that the participants could make in the last year and a half. Many of the participants indicated that they took the Covid pandemic as a chance to discover more of the Netherlands. Collectively, they have made a lot of trips in the Netherlands and they all express that this is something that they are excited about and that they developed a new found love for discovering the Netherlands.

However, many also mentioned that, because of the Covid pandemic, they have not had a lot of experience traveling outside of the Netherlands. Since most have made the decision to stop flying in the last two years, this means that they have little travel experience since their decision. This caused some of the participants to have to speculate about their

changing travel choices, rather than speak out of their experience. The Covid pandemic thus has an impact on the results concerning the changing travel choices.

4.2 Motivation, influence and insecurity

As was stated before, the motivation of people who decide to stop flying has not been researched yet and these results will thus shine a light on the motivation of these young travellers. The results show that upbringing, education and friends and family play an important role in making this decision. The participants are then triggered by different things that can be categorized as either pragmatic or emotional. They are all driven by a feeling that they have to make the right choice and they are motivated by the chance to influence someone else to also live more sustainably. Furthermore, a shame because of a lack of wanderlust is identified and can serve as an alternative to flight shame, that is experienced by people who are still flying.

4.2.1 Role of upbringing

Upbringing turned out to be an important factor for the participants. Melindy, Joep, Pim, Sam and Noor all had parents who, to a differing degree, were concerned with sustainability and their parents all brought this concern on to their children from a very young age. Pim and Joep were for example raised vegetarian and Sam's parents never bought a car out of concern for the environment. Melindy also grew up in a very green household. She says that:

> Melindy: Yes I have always been raised very green and sustainable by my parents. We, for example, flushed our toilet with our used bathwater.

Many of the participants have thus been raised with a concern for sustainability which has accumulated in a growing concern for air travel and the decision to stop flying altogether. When it comes to childhood holidays, half of the participants hardly ever flew for vacations with their parents. They instead went on vacation with the car in the Netherlands or in other European countries like France and Germany. Pelle and Marijse also just flew a few times when they were younger. It is therefore interesting to see that some of the participants have not grown up with flying as the go-to option. Sander explains that even before his decision to

stop flying, it was never the standard option for him to take the plane. It is therefore apparent that these participants who have experience with alternative sustainable options, have already learned about this option from a very young age.

4.2.2 Role of education

Subsequently, many participants also pointed towards their study being the starting point for their concerns about sustainability. Joep for example said that he started studying in Wageningen, where sustainability is a very big theme and through his classmates and courses, he learned a lot more about these subjects. For Sander, sustainability was also a big part of his courses and this made him more and more aware of the things that he could do as an individual.

Interestingly, five out of the ten participants actually chose studies revolving around sustainability, out of worries and concerns for the environment. They decided that the subject was so important for them, that they actually wanted to study it and become more involved in helping to combat climate change. Sam also explained that she sometimes fears that others will dismiss her as just another silly climate girl and she uses her study to legitimize herself on these issues. For these participants, sustainability is a very important subject in their lives and they have actually chosen to pursue this for their studies and careers.

4.2.3 Role of family, friends and others

Aside from the role of education and upbringing, family, friends and other people also are of great influence for the participants. Other people influenced the participants in two important ways. First of all, the opinion of others was of great importance. Melindy seemed to be most concerned with this. She explained that:

Melindy: People see me as being green and if I all of the sudden say that I'm going to Brazil, Zambia or Jamaica, then I do feel a little ashamed because I think, some will say that I'm being a hypocrite: "you're so green, but you do fly a 1000 kilometres across the world".

She is seen as the sustainable one by friends and family and she fears that others will judge her for flying. She says that the opinion of others has a big impact on her decision and

that she is very concerned with what others think of her. Joep also talked about this aspect. He explained that flying is a big theme in his family and that the whole family doesn't fly out of concerns for the environment. There are often heavy discussions within his family and they really look down on anyone who does decide to fly. This has put the pressure on Joep to also decide to stop flying to avoid ridicule by his family.

Second of all the participants are inspired by others. Most participants mentioned someone that served as an example or an inspiration for them. Joep, Kim, Pelle, Sam and Rolinde were inspired by people close to them. Kim for example has a boyfriend who was really concerned with the environment and that taught her a lot of things about this issue. Sam had a lecturer who was very knowledgeable about climate change and she saw him as a real inspiration. Marijse and Noor where inspired by more general stories. They are for example inspired by stories like Sail to the COP, where people crossed the ocean to visit the climate conference. Noor likes to read these stories because it makes her realize that everything is possible.

To conclude, it is apparent that friends, family and inspiring individuals can have an impact on the decision and motivation of the participants. In all cases these other people pushed the participants to make this choice and to help them become more knowledgeable or more certain about their decision.

4.2.4 Sustainability as a lifestyle

All the participants have a very sustainable lifestyle. They make sustainable choices in many different areas and sustainability seems to be a theme that is involved in a lot of daily activities. As was mentioned earlier, all participants were vegetarian or vegan and they also explained that they avoided plastics, bought things second hand and separated their waste. The participants indicated that sustainability was something they were concerned with in their everyday life and Noor said that sustainability had actually become a lifestyle, because with everything she did, she would choose the sustainable option. For Sam, sustainability is the main theme in her life and Melindy explained that:

Melindy: With every choice I make, it plays a role. Just as much as I can possibly do, because I want to be able to give our planet to the next generation.

Aside from personal choices in their lifestyle, the participants are also active in different voluntary groups and have ambitions to work in the sector. Six out of the ten participants were active at either Young Friends of the Earth, WWF or Extinction Rebellion. Besides this, Melindy is also active in the municipal council for GroenLinks. Kim and Joep have jobs in the sustainable field and many of the others also aspire to work with sustainability. Sam even said:

Sam: I think that if my job is not concerned with sustainability, that I could not find the energy to work there.

It is therefore clear that alongside personal choices, sustainability is also important professionally with choosing extracurricular activities, a study or a job. When looking at the traveling tendencies of the participants, before their decision, we can see that a lot of the participants have only flown a few times. Half of the participants have only taken up to five return flights in their life. Melindy, Marije and Kim have flown more often and they said that before their decision, they would fly about two times a year. Interestingly, half of the participants talked about how they do not really experience wanderlust. They indicated that they did not travel that much to begin with and that they don't really feel the urge to discover the whole world. This greatly contrasts with previous research stating that young travellers have the urge to explore the world (UNWTO, 2016; Richards & Morrill, 2020). It is thus clear that not all young people will feel this urge to travel the world. Rolinde for example does want to go on fun trips, but also likes to discover things closer to home. She says:

Rolinde: In that sense, I am not the stereotypical my generation wanderlust, I don't have to be everywhere in the world, I don't have to be in Asia or whatever, but I just like seeing new things.

The participants who indicated their lack of wanderlust suggested that it made it easier for them to decide to stop flying. It is therefore clear that for these participants, who were not that keen on traveling and have had little experience with flying in the past, it has proved to be easier to completely cut out flying from their lives.

4.2.5 Pragmatic or emotional triggers

When looking at the immediate trigger before actually deciding to stop flying, the participants can roughly be divided into two groups: pragmatic triggers and emotional triggers. The first group, pragmatic triggers, revolves around decision triggers which are characterized as being calculated and informed by rationale instead of emotions. They were very pragmatic in their decision because they look at the information and are very calculating towards reaching a certain goal. Melindy, Joep, Marijse and Pim fall into this group, who had a pragmatic decision trigger. They calculated and reached a clear conclusion from the information they had. They all indicated that they calculated their carbon footprint and discovered that flying is one of the most harmful things that they were still doing. Marijse explains the logic behind her decision to stop flying as:

> Marijse: If every day I am concerned with trying to limit my impact on the world, why would I then sort of ruin it in one weekend.

These participants have made a logical decision, based on a calculation that led them to the realization that this is the only possible outcome. Secondly, education was also indicated as a pragmatic decision trigger. Sam said that she took a course on environmental ethics and this made her critically assess her behaviour. During this course she learned about sustainable behaviour and she decided that cutting out flying, was a pretty easy thing for her to do. Sander also learned more on this subject at university and decided that he wanted to stop flying. Education can thus also stir up a pragmatic response that results in the decision to stop flying.

The second group, emotional triggers, revolves around an emotional response to experiences that leads to the decision to stop flying. These participants experienced a range of emotions that helped them realize what decision they wanted to make. Kim for example explained that there was a very clear moment in which she realized that she needed to stop flying. She went on a vacation to Indonesia and realized how much climate change was already affecting the daily lives of the citizens there. She states that:

> Kim: In the Netherlands you don't really feel the impact of climate change, aside from it getting a little hotter in summer, so I thought how urgent is it really? Then you read about it and think to yourself: yes it is really bad, but maybe stimulus by the

government and the awareness of people is going fast enough, but when you're in a country, where it is already a huge problem for people's daily lives, you realize a lot more needs to happen than what has already happened.

She had a clear realization and after this trip decided to stop flying. Pelle and Noor had a similar experience. They both flew multiple times in one year and this made them realize that their flying habits were getting out of control. Noor had taken five return flights in one year and she described that she experienced a feeling of guilt and that she could no longer justify it to herself. She therefore decided to stop flying.

Flight shame was also experienced by some of the respondents. This feeling of shame can also be characterized as an emotional response and is therefore part of this group. The feeling of flight shame helped them in making this decision. Rolinde for example said that she was persuaded by her friends to fly one more time and during this last flight she felt very ashamed and realized that she didn't want to feel like that again.

To conclude, different emotional triggers and pragmatic triggers were experienced by the participants. Most participants fell into one of these groups. This shows that the different participants were mainly driven by either rationale or emotions to make this decision. However some participants like Sam, experienced a mixture of emotional and pragmatic triggers and she was thus moved by both rationality and emotions.

4.2.6 Strictness of the decision

As was already mentioned in the method section, the participants turned out to be less strict in their decision when they were interviewed. Although they had indicated that they had stopped flying beforehand, when questioning them further during the interviews, it became clear that they differed in strictness concerning this decision. Some formulated it really strictly and were more focussed on avoiding flying, while others were not that strict and indicated that flying was not completely out of the question for them. Sander was the person who seemed least strict. He explained that he decided to stop flying within a 1000-kilometre radius. This was based on the fact, that within that radius, there were easy alternatives and those flights would also do the most harm. However, for destinations outside the radius, he would consider flying and he also stated that he will definitely have to fly for his work. Melindy, Marijse, Noor and Rolinde also mentioned that for work or study, they could make an exception.

All the participants indicate that the decision is not set in stone and that they want to approach it in a pragmatic way. They still want to weigh the situation and want to keep their options open. Some for example mentioned that they had friends living in another country and that they would fly to visit them in certain situations. Pim explains:

Pim: I think that you need to remain a little pragmatic, if the alternative is not achievable, then I can also come to terms with myself, if I then step into a plane… I wouldn't necessarily feel bad about myself in that situation.

Other participants had similar reactions. Therefore it can be concluded that completely cutting flying out, was not an option for any of the participants. They wanted to remain pragmatic and wanted to remain flexible for different situations.

4.2.7 Doing good through actions and influence

The participants had very strong intrinsic motivations to reach this decision. Sam, Noor, Pelle, Kim and Rolinde all had an intense feeling that this was the right thing to do. Even though this might not change anything in the world, they feel like this is something they need to do to feel good about themselves. Every participant mentioned that the government and businesses should also do more, but that they wanted to stop flying themselves, because they couldn't ignore the harm flying is doing. Sam explained that she could not ignore this since her knowledge on the subject, made it clear for her that she needed to stop flying. She said that "Pandora's box is open", and it was time to act on her knowledge. Rolinde explained that in our society it is very common to just take everything to be yours and to do whatever you want, she wanted to distance herself from this sentiment. Pelle said:

Pelle: If I really think about it, which I always do, then I just can't think of a good reason to shove aside our environment, because it's just going to be the biggest problem.

Besides this feeling of doing the right thing, many of the participants are also motivated because of the impact they can have on others. Every single participant mentioned a domino effect, in which they can inspire others by talking about their sustainable actions and motivate others to make similar choices. They describe that it is important to not be too

obtrusive in the communication to others. They have all experienced that being very forceful, is actually pushing people in an opposite direction. They have learned how to communicate about this and have seen that they can have an impact on others.

> Noor: I think it does have an impact, because I think that if someone does it, then tells their story to people, someone can get inspired and so the ball keeps rolling.

> Kim: I always think that people need to make their own choices, so I don't really like if you tell people that something is very bad. It's better to tell a story from your own experience and explain why it doesn't feel good and that the other person can decide for themselves, but that they then understand why you have chosen something different.

The influence on others and on the movement can thus also be a great motivator for the participants. Previous research has all shown that people can actively encourage sustainable transition and that they can induce change by making sustainable choices and motivating others to do the same (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008; Sopjani et al., 2019; Lew, 2020). This research shows that from the perspective of sustainable influencers, they are indeed motivating others by making a change and they are very willing to assist the shift to a more sustainable world. Many of the participants indicated that they already had small impacts on people near them and this is thus also in line with previous research (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008; Sopjani et al., 2019; Lew, 2020).

Pelle also identified another motivation that was really important for him. He said that he has this drive to be the most sustainable and progressive person. He therefore always tries to find ways to break out of the mainstream and to always do a little more than others. He explained that flying is still very mainstream and that he wants to get ahead of the trend by already deciding to stop flying.

Lastly, some of the participants experienced an internal unrest because of the many choices that they have to make. They said that it was easier to just make this decision, so they can lay down their worries and don't have to weigh every single situation. Joep and Sam both expressed this sentiment and felt at ease with making this decision. Sam explained that:

Sam: It is a great relief that it is a set decision. Everybody is tired of making choices, so it is nice to just have an unambiguous decision instead of deliberating every single situation.

4.2.8 Wanderlust or Wanderlack?

However sure the participants shared their resolution to stop flying, they also experienced some discomfort in their decision. Some of the participants identified pressure coming from social media and their generation. They stated that within their generation there is a fascination for traveling the world and a lot of people experience wanderlust. Pim, Joep, Sam and Pelle all describe themselves as not really experiencing wanderlust. Sam says that she sometimes feels ashamed of this lack of wanderlust.

Sam: Traveling is something that is really normal in our generation, and it proves to be a hard thing to break away from, because there continues to be a little voice in my head that says: "all these people have seen and done so much, shouldn't I do that as well?"

When hearing others discussing their travels and ambitions, she sometimes wonders if she is doing something wrong. Pim also discusses this and says:

Pim: I think people do think that you are limiting yourself and that it is sometimes seen as a little bit [*kleinburgerlijk*].

All the participants who mentioned this, expressed that they sometimes felt ashamed and also wondered if they were indeed missing something. They could all rationalize the situation and realize that they didn't actually want to discover the world, but others sometimes made them feel like they should.

This is a very interesting phenomenon that could be described as "wanderlack". Many young people from their generation experience a feeling of wanderlust that is very widely known and that is used in the captions on Instagram or as a characteristic to describe one's personality. As Sam and Joep state, it is embedded into their generation and they feel like they are doing something wrong by lacking this wanderlust. They are indeed experiencing "wanderlack", a lack of wanting to explore the world and travel to every corner of this planet.

Mkono et al. (2020) have described the rise of flight shame across the generation of young travellers and described it as a social pressure experienced by travellers. This social pressure is experienced by people who are still flying, but are already aware of the fact that it is not something they should be doing. This research, however, discovered an alternative social pressure that can be experienced by people who decide to stop flying. This shame is defined by a lack of wanderlust, which makes the participants feel out of place in their own generation. Friends and social media are a constant reminder of the fact that people should experience wanderlust and the participants are therefore feeling ashamed and are wondering if they should be behaving differently.

4.3 Influence on tourism decisions

Now that the motivation of the participants is fully analysed, this research will take a look at the influence on tourism decisions. This section revolves around the changing travel choices of the participants. The decision to stop flying will have an impact on many different elements in their traveling patterns, from the modes of transport to the duration and frequency of trips. Beside this the role of slow travel and sustainability on the trips will also be discussed and potential bottlenecks will be revealed, that could influence the choices that they make.

4.3.1 Modes of transport

Many different sustainable alternatives to flying have been used by the participants. Most of the participants have tried the car, train and bus. Train is the most popular traveling method for almost all participants. They praise the train for being a pleasant way to travel where you can still stretch your legs and also play a game or stare out the window and really take in the changing environment. Pelle described:

Pelle: In an airplane and in the bus, you have to stay in your seat an in the train you can walk around and discover the train. Even if every train is the same, then you can still stroll around, see weird people, that's what I really like about the train.

The train thus has a lot of nice advantages compared to other ways of traveling. Sander also mentioned that the train is convenient, since train stations are often right in the middle of the city centre. He expressed that the train is therefore not necessarily longer than taking a

flight, since you don't have to travel from and to the airport and you don't have to go through check-in and customs. About half of the participants also talked about Interrail as a nice way to visit multiple destinations in one trip.

Traveling by car is also very popular. The main reason for this, is that participants mentioned that it's very flexible. They said that it's easier to take a lot of things with you and that you're completely free in when you want to leave places. Besides this, it's easier to reach destinations outside of big cities. However, some do raise the issue of sustainability. Noor mentions that you still need to see if the car is actually a more sustainable option for a particular trip, instead of just only choosing the car because principally, you don't want to take an airplane. Pim also expressed that he has actually calculated this for previous tips and that the car or motorcycle is not always a more sustainable option than flying.

The bus is not very popular among the participants. Many of them have tried Flixbus, a very low-cost service that can take you to almost every place in Europe, however most expressed that it was not a very pleasant experience to be forced to stay in your seat for multiple hours. Rolinde even got in an accident when using the flixbus and she therefore was too scared to take the Flixbus for the return trip and had to make new arrangements.

Lastly, some other modes of transport were also discussed. Melindy and Joep mentioned walking as a nice way to travel. Melindy actually plans to walk the Pieterpad in The Netherlands, to prepare herself for a 3 month walking trip to Santiago the Compostela. Others also mentioned cycling as a potential mode of traveling, with some already bringing bicycles on their journeys in the past. Moreover, the use of Blablacar, a service that allows you to fill up empty seats in cars that drive from one place to another, and lifting were also mentioned.

4.3.2 Planning and finance

Many indicate that sustainable travel tends to be more expensive. Joep even says that he thinks the price of train travel is pretty expensive and that it might be one of the biggest objections that people have for not taking the train. Most participants did indicate that they thought it was worth the money. Pim and Kim said that they were already working and thus had the money to spend on these sustainable trips and that it was something that they thought was important to spend money on.

In addition to this, participant also indicated that it required a lot more preparation and planning to get to your destination. Noor said that it is harder to plan ahead, since train tickets

will become available very shortly before the actual journey, unlike plain tickets that you can book a year in advance. However, she said that this also adds to the charm, because flying is so easy, it takes away all the fun in traveling. Rolinde also said that one of the biggest disadvantages is the planning required to find good alternatives.

Lastly, the participants also indicated that it takes more time to travel, which results in the trips becoming longer. Many said that it no longer makes sense to go on a trip for just a weekend. Joep explained:

Joep: I have been to Poland with the train once and that was a big operation. However when you travel by airplane, it only takes two hours.

Kim indicated that for her the biggest disadvantage of sustainable travel is the longer travel time. Melindy solved this by choosing destinations closer to home, to make sure that the travel time wouldn't be too long. Noor and Marijse explained that they limited the number of trips and often made one longer trip during the summer. However, most participants expressed that the longer travel time was not a bad thing, they actually explained it added to their experience. Pelle for example said:

Pelle: I think traveling actually becomes part of the trip, it is not a part of the trip that I enjoy every step of the way, because sometimes it is quite uncomfortable, but I do think it adds something to the trip.

To conclude, alternative traveling methods do have some implications for planning and financing trips. Sustainable travel tends to be more expensive and it is harder to plan ahead. Moreover, travel time is greatly increased and this requires longer trips. Luckily, most participants didn't think this was all bad and mentioned that they thought it was worth it and that it added to the charm. This is in line with the research by Buffa (2015) that was mentioned earlier. All participants are very concerned with supporting the environment and local communities and they can therefore be categorized as Hard Path Young Travelers. Buffa (2015) indicated that travellers in this category were very willing to pay extra and take more time planning in order to protect the environment and this is indeed the case for the participants in this research.

4.3.3 Changing goals and ambitions

When it comes to travel ambitions and goals that participants had before their decision, some do indicate that they had to let some of them go. Melindy experienced the most wanderlust out of every participant and she indicated that she was sad that she couldn't travel across the world anymore. Sam explained that she dealt with this, by not even looking at these destinations anymore. She just completely shut off the opportunity to go far away and this made it easier for her to deal with.

However a lot of the participants also mentioned that it actually made them realize how much destinations closer to home had to offer.

> Pelle: Because of train travel I have realized how little I have seen of Europe. It doesn't make sense to then step into this flying thing and skip so many countries that you have never visited, that could be just as great.

Pelle has decided that he wants to work his way outwards from the Netherlands and discover all the surrounding countries. He says his goals have changed and that the seeming constraint of his decision, has actually broadened his horizons to discover new places and new ways of traveling. Rolinde also shared this sentiment:

> Rolinde: I realized that even in the Netherland, there are so many places that I do not know. I have for example never been to a Waddeneiland, so that is definitely on my destinations list… So it's pretty crazy that you go to all these faraway places, while you don't even know your own country very well.

Rolinde hates the tendency of people to want to visit every country, without discovering all the places in one destination. She feels like she doesn't need to travel far to discover new things and she has found a new passion for exploring the Netherlands. Marijse, Sam and Kim also talked about their new grown fascination for destinations closer to home. Because of the limitations of their decision, they had to get creative and find new ways to get excited about traveling closer to home. They also discovered that more intensely getting to know a country, might be much more interesting and they have really started focussing on not only visiting the highlights of a country.

Previous research has shown that young travellers are mostly driven by their need to explore (Cavagnaro et al., 2018; Richards & Morrill, 2020). They want to explore other cultures and new environments. The participants in this research are divided in their opinion of the achievability of exploring new cultures within the framework of their decision. Melindy mentioned that she thought she could not really explore new cultures anymore, since cultures around Europe were very alike. However, most of the other participants stated the opposite and said that they actually felt like their eyes were opened to new possibilities to explore. We can thus see, that many participants still find new ways to explore, even though they are limited in their destinations.

4.3.4 Potential bottlenecks

As was mentioned earlier, during the interviews the participants turned out to be last strict about their decision. This was caused by a lot of different problems and insecurities that they faced. However sure some of the participants came across, sooner or later they all talked about potential bottlenecks that could harm their resolution and influence their tourism decisions. These bottlenecks made it much more difficult to stick to their decision and might tempt some to make unsustainable choices in the future. First of all, some participants discussed the burden that they put on others. Rolinde for example already decided in 2017 that she didn't want to fly anymore, but she was persuaded by friends who she didn't want to force into choosing an alternative traveling method. Marijse actually points to this being the biggest disadvantage:

> Marijse: The biggest disadvantage is that I have made a choice, but that my choice influences my friends, who have not made that particular choice… And that you can't make trips to faraway places but I find that a lot less severe, than the fact that I force my choice on other people.

Sam was also persuaded to still fly by her family in-law. She felt burdened to make them choose an alternative, since they were paying and flying was the standard for them. It is therefore clear that this feeling of being a burden on others can actually cause some to make an exception and to still decide to fly. Second of all, Some participants experienced a strong fear of missing out. Pelle explained:

Pelle: I am really scared that there are going to be moments that people want to take a trip with an airplane and that I have to say: "no I can't join you, because I don't want to fly" and that they say: "okay that sucks for you, we are still going." That is the thing that I find most scary from this decision.

He identifies this fear of missing out as the biggest hurdle in his quest to stop flying. He thinks that if friends would go, he would be really tempted to join them. Marijse also expresses a fear of missing certain trips because of this decision and this is something that she scared of and she doesn't know if she will stand her ground. It will therefore be interesting to see if this fear of missing out will lead to them making exceptions in their future decisions.

Lastly, some participants experience a deep longing to travel across the world and this complicates the decision. Melindy is still very much struggling with this and explains that she avoids decisions on trips that require taking a plane:

Melindy: I have been to Australia when I was 18. I have lived there for 7 months, lived with people there and worked in exchange for accommodation and I have also earned a second-year visa that I still have laying around the house. I have to use that visa before I turn 31, but I dread going there, since the carbon footprint is enormous.

Melindy thus has a deep longing to do these trips, but struggles with how to justify that choice and therefore puts off thinking about this. She talked about the future of sustainable kerosene and seemed to really be hoping for more sustainable ways of flying in the future, so she does not have to put these travel goals out of her mind completely. Marijse also mentioned that she was getting tempted by cheap airplane tickets to cool places. She tries to just not look at those anymore so she doesn't have to think of what she might be missing.

These three potential bottlenecks, can be of danger to the resolution that the participants made. They all indicate that there are some downsides and even fears related to their decision. It is clear that the decision to stop flying, is not as simple as it seems and that all the participants face new challenges concerning this decision. It will be interesting to see how these will turn out in the future.

4.3.5 The role of slow travel

As was discussed in the theoretical framework, slow travel is becoming a popular way to approach traveling. Sustainable travel fits perfectly into this concept, since slow travel revolves all around taking more time on your trips and just slowing down your travels. Noor really pressed on this slow aspect in her interview. She said that:

> Noor: something that is really important with traveling over land, is that it also slows everything down. Because everything now tends to be so fast and flying makes it possible to go from one side of the world to another and I think it just sometimes all goes to fast, so I like to slow down and kind of take an alternative approach.

She really sees traveling as a way to escape her fast paced life and to take a few steps back. She thinks that when you travel to a place in a slow manner, the trip becomes more special and you will appreciate it more. She pointed to slow travel as being one of the biggest advantages from her choice to stop flying. Marijse also mentioned slow travel.

> Marijse: When you travel by plane, I have the tendency to think, okay I am here for 5 days, I have to see as much as I can, understand the culture as best as I can and see all the monuments. But now when I travel, I take more time, also because getting there takes longer, it makes you more aware that you can just relax and take it easy, not going on vacation to see everything but to just get out and be somewhere else.

However, for most of the participant, slow travel was not specifically mentioned and they did not seem to have chosen to stop flying, because they particularly liked slow travel to begin with. All others did talk about the journey to a destination, becoming a more central part of the trip. Melindy said that she was already making memories during the journey and Pelle pressed on the importance of the journey in making him aware of his travels and seeing the landscapes change around him. Rolinde added on this by saying:

> Rolinde: If you travel with alternative methods, than you are really aware of the climate changing, the surroundings changing and the language changing. It really adds something to be aware of how far you have come from home. With traveling by pane, you see nothing for a few hours and suddenly you're in another place.

It can thus be concluded, that all participants recognize the importance of being able to be more present in the journey towards a destination. For them, the journey has become part of the destination and it's no longer simply a means to get to another place. They are thus really embracing the advantages of slow travel. Furthermore, Noor and Rolinde also mentioned that sustainable travel added to slowing down their travels and their life and that this was something that they really appreciated. This is completely in line with the research by Dickinson, Lumsdon and Robbins 2011). They indicate that the wish for sustainability in travel often leads to slow tourism practices and that slow travellers indeed begin to value the journey as being part of the destination. Moreover, They identify a group of "Hard slow travellers", that have decided to stop flying and automatically arrived at slow travel options. The participants can thus be categorized in this group.

4.3.6 The role of sustainability while traveling

Interestingly, when asking the participants if they were concerned with making other sustainable choices in areas like accommodation, most had not really thought about this. The participants often said that they continued to be vegetarian when traveling, but they did not mention other sustainable choices that they made when traveling. When for example looking at accommodation, this is thus clearly not something that they were thinking about, even though in their normal lives hey are very concerned with sustainability on all fronts. Kim and Marijse were the ones who had thought most about sustainable accommodations. Marijse for example said that she liked to look at sites like Natuuhuisje.nl. Kim said that she liked Airbnb because that allowed her to stay in someone's house and she often looked at ecotourism sites to find sustainable hotels. However, she said that it is very difficult to determine what is sustainable in another country and so it was not a perfect solution to find a sustainable option.

It is interesting to see that research on sustainable tourism also revolves mostly around sustainable transport (Dickinson et al., 2011; Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008, IPCC, 2018). Previous research states that transport is the most important aspect of sustainable tourism and the research is focussed on this, rather than other sustainable choices. It can therefore be concluded that making sustainable choices when being on vacation, is not something that is researched or widely talked about. The participants seemed to not have thought about sustainability on vacation and they seemed to really disconnect it from their normal lives, where almost everything is equipped to be very sustainable. They were taking a break from planning their lives to be as sustainable as possible, when they were on vacation.

5. Conclusion and discussion

5.1 Conclusion

To conclude, this research tried to find an answer to the research question "How do young people who choose not to fly anymore motivate their choice and in what ways does it influence their tourism decisions?". The theoretical background to this topic was established first. Sustainable transport is pointed to as the most important part of making travel more sustainable (Dickinson et al., 2011; Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008; IPCC, 2018). Research shows that air travel is especially harmful and should be limited at all cost (IPCC, 2018). The phenomenon of flight shame has immersed over the last couple of years and more and more people are getting inspired to stop flying (Orange, 2019; Locker, 2019; Cocolas et al., 2020; Lew, 2020). Especially young people are making more sustainable choices (Lew, 2020).

Yet, young people are also a very influential group of travellers who want to immerse in local culture and explore new destinations (UNWTO, 2016; Richards & Morrill, 2020). This wanderlust could clash with the desire to stop flying. However, research also indicates that young travellers are open to sustainable options (Buffa, 2015; Cavagnaro et al., 2018). They are discovering slow travel and they are starting to enjoy the journey as being part of the destination (Dickinson et al., 2011).

To answer the research question, qualitative interviews were conducted with ten participants. All participants had chosen to stop flying and wanted to talk about their motivation and choices. They were already very concerned with sustainability and were found through their involvement in the activist groups WWF and Young Friends of the Earth. The interviews were transcribed and analysed, using a thematic analysis.

To answer this research question, the current Covid pandemic should of course be taken into account. Because of the pandemic, tourism decisions of participants were already greatly limited. They indicated that this actually made the decision easier, because there were no alluring opportunities to still take a plane. They also expressed that because of the pandemic they had limited experiences with sustainable travel and this should thus be taken into account when analysing the results.

The first part of the research question revolved around the motivation of participants to stop flying. The results yielded some very interesting observations. First of all, it showed that upbringing, education and friends and family all played an important role in the moments leading up to the decision. All participants had encountered sustainability in one of these three

areas and thus began to develop a sustainable lifestyle. The participants were concerned with sustainability on a day to day basis and were adjusting the different choices accordingly.

When looking at what immediately triggered participants, it is interesting to see that there were two groups of triggers, emotional and pragmatic triggers. Some participants were influenced by emotions and others by rationale and education. When looking at the intrinsic motivations that were at the core of the decision to stop flying, it is clear that all participant really feel like they need to do the right thing. They indicate that their individual choice might not change anything, but that they feel like it is the right thing to do for themselves. On top of this feeling, they are also motivated by the impact they can have on others. They all say that they have an impact on people close to them and that they feel like they are opening up the conversation and showing alternatives to others. This is in line with previous research that have indicated the possibility of people to influence others and start a movement (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008; Sopjani et al., 2019; Lew, 2020) This research builds on this and indeed shows that these sustainable influencers have had an impact and are really willing to play this role.

One of the biggest contributions of this research is the introduction of the tension between wanderlust and "wanderlack". Some of the participants experienced shame because of their lack of wanderlust. They struggled with this because they felt like they were not normal and they sometimes felt that they were missing out when listening to friends or looking at social media. Previous research had already described flight shame as a social pressure experienced by young people (Mkono et al., 2020). This research, however, adds to this by introducing a shame of "wanderlack" as a social pressure experienced by young people who refuse to fly.

The second part of this research question revolves around the influence of the decision to stop flying on the tourism choices that participants make. When looking at modes of transport, it is clear that most participants prefer to travel by train. They prefer the train because it allows them to walk around and to participate in other activities. The participants also talk about the planning and finance involved with sustainable travel. They indicate that sustainable travel tends to be more expensive and that it also takes much longer to go to a destination. However, they also add that they think it's worth it to spend extra time and money. The participants of this research can therefore be categorised as Hard Path Young Travelers, a category identified by Buffa (2015). She indicated that people in this category were often active in environmental groups and were very willing to pay extra and take more time to travel sustainably.

Besides the logistics, the goals and ambitions of participants have also changed. Some do indicate that they had to let go of a lot of their goals, but most actually said that they gained new goals and found a new fascination for places closer to home. They indicated that they might be limited in destinations, but that this also gives them new perspective on great places nearby.

Slow travel also played a role in the tourism choices of the participants. Some indicated that they really liked slow travel practices and that this slow travel aspect was one of the most important things in deciding to choose sustainable options. All participants also indicated that they enjoyed the fact that they were more aware of their journey and that the journey actually became part of the holiday. As expected, the participants thus fit into the "Hard slow travellers" group identified by Dickinson et al. (2011). The participants are environmentally concerned and therefore arrive at slow travel methods which they really enjoy.

Most importantly, the results also showed that there are still quite some bottlenecks that can limit the participants in sticking to their decision. This coincides with the fact that most participants were not very strict in their decision and indicated during the interview that they could make exceptions. In the paragraph about bottlenecks, factors that could cause an exception to be made, are identified. The participants indicate that the burden they put on others, the fear of missing out and a deep longing to travel the world, can all endanger the resolution that they have made. These bottlenecks can thus still play a role in choosing unsustainable travel choices.

5.2 Academic and societal relevance

As for academic relevance, this research greatly contributes to better understanding a young person who decides not to fly. As was stated in the introduction, there is no research in this area. However, more and more people limit their flying or even stop altogether (Locker, 2019; Cocolas et al., 2020; Cheslaw, 2019). It is therefore very interesting to see what motivates these participants to stop flying and what factors influence that decision. The results of this research provide a deep understanding of the motivation and experiences of young people who decide to stop flying. At the same time it shows how difficult this decision is and it opens the door towards future research, which will be discussed later on in this conclusion.

Furthermore, it was established that young people are more concerned with sustainability, but are also keen on travelling and discovering new destinations (UNWTO,

2016; Buffa, 2015; Cavagnaro et al., 2018). There is thus a tension between these two phenomena and this research shows how this tension plays out for these participants. Interestingly, some of the participants in this research didn't have a strong urge to travel the world before their decision. They even explained that they could sometimes feel pressure from their generation that is very keen on traveling. For these participants the decision was therefore less evasive for their travel ambitions. However, other participants did really experience wanderlust and for them it was harder to balance sustainability with travel ambitions. This research thus contributes to the existing literature and shows how the tension between the urge to travel and the decision to stop flying can play out for these individuals.

As for societal relevance, it is interesting to see the impact that these participants have had on others. They all indicated that they had an impact on friends and family and that they got people to think about their actions. This is in line with previous research and shows that individuals can actually cause a societal change (Lew, 2020; Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008; Sopjani et al., 2019). It is interesting that all the participants indicated that it is important to approach people in an unforced and open manner. They all had experiences with people who reacted negatively because they might have come on to strong and through experiences they learned that is important to give someone time and to just lay out your story for them to think about. This is a very interesting approach that could indeed be important in actually spreading sustainable choices across more individuals.

5.3 Limitations

The Covid pandemic is of course of big influence in this research. All participants decided to stop flying in the last three years. This means that an extensive amount of this time has been ruled by the Covid pandemic. Many of the participants have indicated that they did not have a lot of experience in traveling due to the pandemic. When asking them about their travel experiences after the decision, they could sometimes not give a clear answer and they had to resort to making predictions. This limits the insights that were obtained in order to answer the second part of the research question. However, the pandemic also caused the participants to have a new insight. They realized that the pandemic had opened their eyes for destinations closer to home and this caused them to do a lot of exploring in the Netherlands. They indicated that this was something that they really valued and that they wanted to take this insight with them in the future. The Covid pandemic has thus also presented participants with new insights, which are very useful in understanding changing travel choices.

Furthermore, The participants also indicated that the pandemic made it easier for them to stick to their decision and ignore the potential bottlenecks that were identified in this research. They talked about how the pandemic kept everybody from traveling to other countries and they thus didn't experience the potential problems that could arise from their decision.

Moreover, the participants were all selected based on the fact that they reacted to a message from the researcher saying that they had stopped flying. They thus identified themselves as a person who had decided to cut out air travel altogether. However, during the interviews it turned out that most of the participants were less strict and had formed certain exceptions or rules for themselves. They all indicated that it turned out that there decision was very complicated and that there were a lot of factors that made it more complex. The fact that the participants were thus not very final in their decision, can be seen as a limitation, but is also shows how complicated this decision is. Most participants had very recently decided to stop flying and were still figuring out what it means for their tourism decisions and how they want to cope with certain bottlenecks that pop up. The participants all really had the intention to stop flying but were still developing their resolution and were still put to the test.

5.4 Suggestions for further research

Following from this research, a lot of interesting ideas for further research emerge. First of all, building on the previously limitation, a lot more research can be done into the struggles and complications that are involved in this decision. As this research has shown, participants who indicate they have stopped flying, are in fact still struggling with this decision. A lot of bottlenecks can be identified and some have even made exceptions to fly because of those bottlenecks. It will therefore be interesting to research this topic to see how these people negotiate the complications and how they decide on the strictness of their decision. Within the participants of this research there seem to be different levels of strictness and it would therefore be interesting for further research to identify different levels within the decision to stop flying

Second of all, flight shame is a relatively new trend and the trend of deciding to stop flying also appears to be very new. All the people who were interviewed for this research, indicated that they had decided in the last three years and because of the pandemic, their traveling patterns are still unfolding. The participants in this research indicated that people around them became more and more aware of the environmental harm that flying is doing and

that more and more people make sustainable choices. It is therefore important to keep researching this topic over the next few years, to see how this is evolving and to see if this anti-flying movement is gaining more momentum. Lew (2020) already indicates that people from Generation Z can be influenced to stop flying. Future research can take a look at this phenomenon to see if the decision to stop flying is indeed spreading and how these people get inspired.

Third of all, one of the most important findings in this research is the shame that is experienced by participants because of "wanderlack". "Wanderlack" is identified as the opposite of wanderlust. The participants who are experiencing this are not keen on traveling the world and do not feel the pull to keep traveling. These participants did experience a shame because of this "wanderlack" and felt out of place in their generation. It will therefore be very interesting to further research this phenomenon and to really dive into the feelings and actions of people who are experiencing this.

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Appendix:

Appendix A: Interview Guide

The role of sustainability

How long have you been concerned with sustainability?

Was there something that led to these concerns?

What role do environmental concerns play in your life?

What does sustainability mean to you?

How do you apply sustainability to different facets of your life?

What steps do you take to behave more sustainably?

Changing flying habits

Since when have you decided to stop flying?

Are you strict about this decision?

➢ Are their particular circumstances where you would fly?

➢ Would you find a way to compensate an occasion where you have to fly?

Were you an active traveller before your decision?

How concerned were you with the environment when you travelled before?

How frequently did you fly before this decision?

Can you tell me about some of those flying experiences?

Motivation for refusing to fly

How would you motivate your choice not to fly?

➢ What values lie at the basis of this choice?

Which factors were of influence for your decision?

Are their people or activists that you look up to and that are an inspiration?

Do you feel influenced by other active people in anti-flying movements?

Why do you think that your decision is the best course of action to make?

How does your choice not to fly relate to other sustainable choices you make?

Changing travel choices

How have your travel choices been influenced by your decision?

➢ Can you give a practical example of this?

In what ways does your decision influence your ambitions and goals in travelling?

Are there any travel ambitions that you feel are now unachievable?

➢ How do you deal with this?

What kind of limitations do you experience because of your decision?

➢ Do you experience any pressure relating to the popularity of air travel?

What are the benefits that you experience from this decision?

What are the reactions of people close to you?

➢ Do they support your decision?
➢ What influence do their reactions have on you?

Do you know more people that have made a similar choice?

➢ Does this make it easier/harder to hang on to your resolution?

Has the way you look at tourism changed?

Experiences with sustainable forms of travel

What are some trips that you have undertaken since your choice to stop flying?

In what ways did these trips differ from earlier trips by plane?

How are you now experiencing the actual journey towards your destination?

How do you experience your surrounding environment and culture when traveling?

What are the pros and cons of choosing alternative travel methods to flying?

Have the amount and length of trips changed since you stopped flying?

What sustainable choices do you make in other areas of travel (accommodation and food)?

Influence on sustainable mobility and societal change

What are ways in which you can personally impact the transition to sustainable tourism?

What influence can you have on others that want to make more sustainable choices?

How are you sharing your experiences with others?

What role do you want to play in inducing societal change?

Demographics:

What is your gender?

How old are you?

Where are you from originally?

Where is your family based and how would you normally travel to see them?

Where do you live now?

What is your education level?