Understanding (un)sustainable mobility practices in the leisure industry

Tackling mobility related CO₂ emissions of visitors to reach carbon neutrality at the Efteling

Master's thesis

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Summary

The development of tourism has resulted in an increase in greenhouse gas emissions mainly due to the mobility patterns of tourists. Amusement and theme parks contribute to this issue. Consequently, a focus on sustainable mobility is required to foster more sustainable tourism and leisure. Nevertheless, the academic debate regarding mobility patterns and CO_2 emissions at theme parks is scarce. Therefore, to study the (un)sustainable mobility patterns of tourists and the promotion of sustainable mobility modes, this thesis will analyse the situation of the Efteling. The Efteling is the largest Dutch theme park and belongs to the top 5 theme parks of Europe. The theme park accounted for 5.26 million visitors in 2019 and wishes to grow. As most visitors of the Efteling travel to the theme park by car, visitor mobility patterns cause large amounts of CO_2 emissions. Since the Efteling has the goal of carbon neutrality in 2030, visitor mobility practices are an essential aspect of the theme park's sustainability strategy. To gain more insights in this, the research question of this study is:

What aspects inform the (un)sustainable mobility patterns of visitors travelling to the Efteling?

To answer this research question, the sustainability strategy and sustainability-related initiatives of the Efteling were analysed to study how the Efteling is currently promoting sustainable mobility practices of their visitors. Interviews and a document analysis revealed that the Efteling is mainly focused on facilitating material elements to enable sustainable mobility practices. Further, Social Practice Theory was applied to study how the elements 'meanings', 'materials', and 'competences' influence the mobility practices of visitors. Interviewing visitors revealed that the meanings convenience and habit are mainly contributing to visitors travelling by car. Further, as the Efteling has optimised the material elements of a visit by car, visitors experience little obstacles for this mobility practice which contributed to the meaning convenience and resulted in a habit. Further, sustainability concerns were not resulting in sustainable mobility practices, such as cycling or using public transport. Additionally, this study revealed that contextual and personal factors of visitor groups differ, resulting in different elements and relations being present in the mobility practices. Last, to study the practical application of this research, this thesis has added the following intervention question:

Which elements of the different mobility practices should the Efteling address to promote a shift from unsustainable mobility practices towards sustainable mobility practices?

This question was answered by interviewing mobility experts. The interviews revealed that in case the Efteling wants to foster sustainable mobility practices of their visitors, they should apply a holistic and comprehensive approach considering all elements, relations between elements and relations between mobility practices. This will contribute to an optimal implementation of measures to promote sustainable mobility practices. Shared responsibility and collaborations between governmental actors, market organisations and visitors should be realised to optimally influence the elements and corresponding relations.

Preface

This thesis on *Understanding (un)sustainable mobility practices in the leisure industry: Tackling mobility related CO_2 emissions of visitors to reach carbon neutrality at the Efteling* is written to complete the master program Environment and Society Studies: Corporate Sustainability at Radboud University.

The research project was conducted during an internship at the Efteling, the largest theme park in the Netherlands. My personal interests have been travelling, tourism and sustainability for a long time, so I was very excited when hearing I could conduct a research internship at the Efteling.

Even though the theme park was closed most of my internship period due to COVID-19, my colleagues at the Efteling always stayed enthusiastic and passionate about the theme park and the goal of providing visitors with a fascinating experience. Therefore, I am grateful to have written my thesis at such an inspiring organisation full of creativity and expertise. I specifically want to thank my supervisors Wyke Smit and Kees Rijnen for their guidance and inspiration during my internship. They taught me how to apply sustainability in an organisation while keeping in mind the organisation's goals. I am confident this will help me in my professional career.

Additionally, I want to thank my supervisor dr. Iulian Barba Lata from Radboud University for his guidance and constructive feedback. Our meetings allowed me to challenge myself and to be reflexive on my research process. Further, he helped me develop my qualitative research skills and for this, I am very thankful.

Overall, conducting the research project during an internship has taught me to apply a more practical lens when considering the theoretical frameworks learned during my studies. I expect this to be a good preparation for the start of my professional career.

I hope you enjoy reading my thesis,

Fleur Hendriks
The fairytale forest, July 2021

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1. Introduction

1.1 Global climate change and the tourism industry

Global climate change has drastic effects on our natural environment such as the reduction of ice, rising sea levels, and extreme weather events (Global Climate Change: Vital Signs of the Planet, n.d.). Scientists expect an increase in global temperatures mainly due to greenhouse gases produced by human activities. This is because populations, economies and living standards have increased in the last decades, resulting rapidly in an increase in greenhouse gas emissions (United Nations, n.d.). Part of this problem is caused by the tourism and leisure industry as the development of tourism has resulted in increasing greenhouse gas emissions (Wang et al., 2017). As numbers of tourists grow, people take shorter and more frequent holidays, which are often longer-distance and energy-intensive (Gössling, 2009).

Regarding the emissions of tourism destinations, amusement and theme parks have attained attention due to their complex nature (Wang et al., 2017). In general, theme parks are part of the tourism and leisure sector as they usually are one-day tourism attractions having a recreational role and providing entertainment (Contreiras et al., 2016). Their complexity is partly due to the differentiation in purposes such as education, leisure or ecology. Therefore, theme parks result in different patterns of consumption and greenhouse gas emissions. Moreover, theme parks might negatively affect their natural environment through, for example, pollution due to carbon dioxide (CO_2) emissions (Wang et al., 2017), the degradation of ecosystems and overexploitation of natural resources (European Business and Biodiversity Campaign, n.d.). On the contrary, theme parks also positively affect their environment as they generate billions of dollars in revenue and stimulate local economies (Holcomb et al., 2010). This results in theme parks often being a driver of the hospitality sector in a region. However, due to the possible negative environmental effects, the tourism and leisure sectors should take responsibility for addressing climate change issues (ZKA Strategy Consultants, 2018).

To address issues concerning climate change, tourism destinations increasingly apply terms such as 'carbon neutral' and 'climate neutral' (Gössling, 2009). Whereas 'climate neutral' implies the compensation of all greenhouse gases, 'carbon neutral' entails the compensation of CO_2 emissions. Compensation often occurs through projects that save emissions, such using renewable energy. According to Gössling (2009), achieving carbon neutrality requires cooperation between all actors involved and shared responsibility. Moreover, the aim to be carbon or climate neutral can be part of a company's Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) strategy (Carbon Footprint, n.d.). Because of their external impact, theme parks should consider the natural environment during their activities by developing CSR strategies (Contreiras et al., 2016).

1.2 Problem statement

When considering carbon neutrality in the tourism and leisure industries, mobility is one of the most urgent factors of unsustainable tourism (Hoyer, 2000; Peeters et al., 2004). A rise in global tourism in the past has resulted in an increase in mobility and hence a stronger negative environmental impact (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008). Consequently, a change in mobility standards is important for reducing emissions and reaching carbon neutrality goals. Thus, sustainable mobility focuses on decreasing mobility-related greenhouse gas emissions and

pollution to reduce negative environmental impacts (Chen et al., 2014). To reduce emissions, the main focus has been on changing mobility standards by lessening the reliance on cars (Barr, 2015).

To study the implementation of sustainable modes of mobility in the leisure sector, this case study will analyse the situation of the Efteling. The Efteling is a Dutch theme park in the province Noord Brabant (Efteling, 2017). Further, it is one of the key attractions in the region and it has a leading role in the Dutch market of amusement parks (ZKA Strategy Consultants, 2018). Even though the Efteling had 5.26 million visitors in 2019 (Internal communication Efteling-a, n.d.), they aim to grow (Efteling, 2017). This will result in the growth of traffic in the region and associated negative environmental impacts. Therefore, mobility and infrastructure are essential focus points for the Efteling. Consequently, an important aspect of the Efteling's sustainability strategy is the goal to become carbon neutral in 2030. Not only does the theme park wish to reduce their direct, scope 1 emissions, they also want to reduce their scope 2 and 3 emissions. Whereas scope 2 emissions result from an organisation's energy consumption, scope 3 emissions account for the indirect emissions (European Commission, n.d.-a). In the case of the Efteling, they include emissions caused by mobility patterns of their visitors in their scope 3 emissions. As most of the 5 million visitors travel by car, many of the theme park's CO_2 emissions are caused by this.

1.3 Research objective and research questions

Overall, this thesis aims to research the contribution of sustainable mobility to the transition towards a carbon neutral society. As the emissions of the Efteling are mainly due to the mobility patterns of their visitors, the objective of this thesis is to research the determinants of (un)sustainable mobility patterns of visitors of the Efteling. Therefore, the question this research seeks to answer is:

What aspects inform the (un)sustainable mobility patterns of visitors travelling to the Efteling?

To understand what influences visitors to apply sustainable or unsustainable modes of transportation, it is essential to study how the Efteling is currently promoting their visitors to travel to the park with sustainable mobility modes. Additionally, the concepts of Social Practice Theory will be applied to study the mobility practices of visitors of the Efteling. Instead of studying individual behaviour to explain mobility practices, Social Practice Theory considers a practice as being carried out by people within the structures of society (Williams, 2015). Moreover, a practice is the outcome of the relation between the following elements: meanings, competences and materials (Shove et al., 2012).

Further, to study the determinants of (un)sustainable mobility practices, it is useful to analyse whether visitors consider sustainability concerns when choosing a mode of mobility to visit the Efteling. To study (un)sustainable mobility practices of visitors of the Efteling, the following sub-questions are developed:

1. How is the Efteling currently addressing mobility related emissions of their visitors to promote sustainable mobility practices?
2. How do the elements *meanings, materials* and *competences* influence the mobility practices of visitors of the Efteling?

3. In what ways do the visitors of the Efteling take sustainability reasons into consideration during their mobility practices when visiting the theme park?

1.4 Societal relevance

The topic of this thesis is societally relevant as it aims to address issues concerning CO_2 emissions. This is in line with targets of the European Union (EU), including a 40% reduction of emissions in 2030 compared to 1990 (European Commission, n.d.-b). This target is part of the EU's 2030 climate and energy framework. The debate regarding emission reductions is not only urgent on the European level but also on the national, Dutch, level. The Netherlands is part of several international agreements regarding climate change: the United Nations 1992 Earth Summit, the 1997 Kyoto-Protocol and the Paris Conference (Rijksoverheid, n.d.-b). Besides this, the Netherlands has national goals to reduce emissions, such as a goal of 49% less CO_2 emissions in 2030 compared to 1990 and a 95% reduction in CO_2 emissions in 2050 compared to 1990 (Rijksoverheid, n.d.-b).

As mobility is a significant contributor to unsustainable tourism (Hoyer, 2000; Peeters et al., 2004) and the Efteling has currently around 5 million visitors a year, reducing emissions of their visitors is in line with European and Dutch goals regarding CO_2 emissions. Therefore, it is societally relevant to study what influences visitors of the Efteling to apply (un)sustainable modes of mobility. Consequently, Social Practice Theory is applied as it contributes to understanding and addressing complex environmental issues (Maller & Strengers, 2015). When this study has developed an in-depth understanding of the elements influencing visitor mobility practices, this study aims to research how the Efteling can promote more sustainable modes of mobility to reach their goal of carbon neutral in 2030. As this is a more practical focus, the following intervention question will be answered:

Which elements of the different mobility practices should the Efteling address to promote a shift from unsustainable mobility practices towards sustainable mobility practices?

This question will be answered by studying which elements of the mobility practices the Efteling should address to promote a shift from unsustainable mobility practices (driving a car) towards sustainable mobility practices (e.g. cycling and using public transport).

1.5 Scientific relevance

This study will contribute to the existing body of research regarding sustainable tourism, mobility patterns, theme parks and Social Practice Theory. First, this study will contribute to the previous literature on mobility patterns. There is a gap in the existing body of literature as no research is conducted regarding (un)sustainable mobility patterns to and from theme parks and corresponding CO_2 emissions. Previous literature regarding tourism and mobility is mainly focused on air travel as a mode of mobility (e.g. Gössling, 2009; Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008). Also, previous literature regarding the promotion of sustainable modes of transportation is focused mainly on commuting mobility patterns to and from work (e.g. De Kruijf et al., 2018; Kennisinstituut voor Mobiliteitsbeleid, 2015; Hendriksen et al., 2010).

Second, previous literature including the natural environment as a part of CSR strategies in the tourism sector is scarce (Contreiras et al., 2016). Earlier studies have mainly focused on the social and economic CSR strategies of tourism destinations, such as theme parks. For example, Milman et al. (2010) have researched the boost theme parks can give to local economies. Furthermore, Hatipoglu et al. (2019) studied the potential of theme parks to promote the economic development of the external environment by strengthening communities and empowering minority groups.

Third, by taking a Social Practice Theory perspective when studying the conditions of (un)sustainable mobility patterns, this study contributes to the existing body of literature regarding Social Practice Theory and mobility. Even though previous studies took a Social Practice Theory perspective when studying mobility patterns (Shove, 2016; Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008; Williams, 2015), this did not include the leisure sector or theme parks specifically. To illustrate, a previous study by Williams (2015) applied Social Practice theory when explaining mobility modes in the English transport systems. Further, even though Verbeek and Mommaas (2015) did apply Social Practice Theory when explaining a shift towards sustainable mobility modes in the tourism industry, their study mostly considered a shift from air travelling whereas this study focusses on travelling by car as an unsustainable mode of mobility.

In general, the academic debate did not combine the following elements: theme parks, CSR, carbon neutrality goals, sustainable mobility and Social Practice Theory. Therefore, this thesis wishes to contribute to the existing body of literature by analysing the case of the Efteling.

2. Literature review and theoretical framework

This chapter provides an overview of the available literature on mobility, tourism and theme parks. Furthermore, it elaborates on the theories underpinning the thesis. The chapter will start with a short overview of previous research regarding sustainability at theme parks. As private enterprises are responsible for addressing unsustainable mobility, section 2.2.1 of this thesis will first explain how CSR strategies can include sustainable-oriented strategies. Furthermore, since this research is focused on promoting sustainable modes of mobility, section 2.2 discusses the possibilities of sustainable mobility. In section 2.3.1, behavioural theories are introduced to explain mobility behaviour and how sustainable mobility behaviour can be promoted. However, as researchers have criticised the focus on individuals when explaining sustainable behaviour, Social Practice theory will be introduced and explained in-depth in section 2.3.2 to provide a broader understanding of mobility patterns. This chapter finishes with the conceptual framework visualised in section 2.4.

2.1 Sustainability and CSR in the leisure industry

Even though there is an extensive body of literature regarding tourism and sustainability, studies combining sustainability and theme parks are scarce. The conducted studies regarding sustainability at theme parks are mainly focused on the social and economic effects. For example, Milman et al. (2010) focused on the economic and social sustainability of theme parks while not considering the environmental impact. Their study showed that theme parks contribute to the sustainability of the destination as it results in improved infrastructure, employment, tax and tourism revenues, donations, and support for the local community. For these reasons, theme parks contribute to the development of the tourism sector of destinations. Studies that did consider environmental impacts of theme parks mainly focused on biodiversity and nature preservation (e.g. European Business and Biodiversity Campaign., n.d.; Vučetić, 2018). For example, the European Business and Biodiversity Campaign (n.d.) states that amusement parks, such as wildlife parks, can create opportunities for the natural environment. Besides the positive effects theme parks can have on the (natural) environment, Wang et al. (2017) show that tourism development often results in increased greenhouse gas emissions and therefore contributes to global climate change. Their research studies the emissions of amusement parks in Taiwan. According to them, theme parks differ in their greenhouse gas emissions and energy consumption as theme parks vary in purpose. However, they only include energy consumption and emissions within the boundaries of the park and, therefore, do not consider the mobility related emissions of visitors.

2.1.1 Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)

To consider their external effects, theme parks may develop Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) strategies. CSR is a framework in which companies internalize societal, economic and environmental concerns in their policies, strategies and behaviours (Contreiras et al., 2016). It includes concepts of social responsibility, social corporate behaviour, ethics in business, and the management of stakeholders (González-Rodríguez et al., 2015). CSR practices often exceed the legal obligations businesses have regarding societal and environmental issues. Moreover, CSR is

an ongoing effort to demonstrate a strong commitment to society. Overall, CSR strategies are long-term commitments in a business environment dominated by short-term decision-making (Coles et al., 2013). Nevertheless, there is no single agreement on the concept of CSR (González-Rodríguez et al., 2015). As CSR is not a homogeneous concept, it cannot be assigned to a single discourse and is interpreted differently by organisations (Coles et al., 2013). Even though not all CSR definitions include sustainability and the natural environment, an extensively adopted three-dimensional perspective on CSR distinguishes economic, social and environmental dimensions (e.g. González-Rodríguez et al., 2015; Li, 2005; Martinez et al., 2013). This is based on "ecological prudence, social equity and economic efficiency" (Contreiras et al., 2016, p. 128). Following the differentiation of González-Rodríguez et al. (2015), the environmental dimension is described as:

> *"reducing the waste of resources; having an ethical code of conduct; publishing an annual environmental report; protecting nature's limited resources and biodiversity; carrying out a sustainable use of natural resources; reducing the emissions of toxic and contaminating products; promoting an efficient energy use; promoting recycling"* (p. 841).

CSR strategies have also been integrated in the tourism and leisure industries. In 1999, the World Tourism Organization developed the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism in which they provided the obligations regarding tourism development, sustainability and protecting the environment (UNWTO, 1999). Research on CSR and tourism has increased over the last decade. For example, Holcomb et al. (2010) researched CSR reporting of theme parks in Orlando (USA). Their focus was on CSR activities concerning the environment, community and customers. Furthermore, Contreiras et al. (2016) studied CSR strategies at a zoo in Portugal. They argue that theme parks should develop activities that respect the environment, cultural heritage and local communities. In this way, theme parks can have positive effects on communities through their CSR practices.

2.1.2 Carbon neutral as a part of CSR

Many companies have included targets of CO_2 reductions in their CSR strategies due to growing environmental concerns (Kilian et al., 2012). This resulted in a voluntary movement of companies choosing to reduce their emissions. Whereas climate neutral refers to the compensation of all greenhouse gases (Gössling, 2009), this study considers the concept of carbon neutral: the situation in which the total output of CO_2 emissions is neutral, i.e. equal to zero (Becker et al., 2020). This does not mean that companies do not have any CO_2 emissions. Instead, it means that their CO_2 emissions are compensated.

Gössling (2009) researched the concept of carbon neutrality at tourism destinations. To address issues concerning climate change, tourism destinations increasingly aim to be "carbon neutral", "climate neutral", "carbon free" or "carbon clean" (Gössling, 2009, p.19). The application of these terms at tourism destinations improves the destination's sustainable and environmentally-friendly image. The compensation of greenhouse gases often occurs through projects that save emissions. According to Gössling (2009), achieving carbon neutrality requires a focus on main emission sources. Furthermore, cooperation between all involved actors and shared responsibility is needed to achieve behavioural change. Also, achieving carbon neutrality

often requires the development of alternative mobility systems to neutralize CO_2 emissions. However, Gössling (2009) focused on countries as tourism destinations and did not include the contribution of smaller tourism destinations such as theme parks.

2.2 (Sustainable) mobility

As mobility is one of the most urgent causes of unsustainable tourism (Hoyer, 2000; Peeters, et al., 2004), a shift towards sustainable mobility can contribute to reaching goals of carbon neutrality. However, the mobility sector does not have a specific "problem owner" responsible for mobility-related emissions (Bos & Temme, 2014, pp. 103-104). Therefore, neither the government, private sector or consumers can be given full accountability for promoting a shift towards sustainable mobility. Instead, a collaborative and multi-actor approach including all actors should promote a shift in mobility.

Banister (2008) has developed the sustainable mobility paradigm. This paradigm aims for "high levels of innovative services and public transport … so that the need to use the car would be minimized" (p.74). Furthermore, technological innovation and more efficiency should result in environmentally cleaner vehicles. The sustainable mobility paradigm consists of four principles (p. 78):

a) "Making the best use of technology, including investment … and in giving industry directions on priorities"
b) "Regulation and pricing means that the external costs of transport should be reflected in the actual costs of travel"
c) "Land-use development, including planning and regulations, needs to be integrated, so that physical restraint measures and development patterns are used to support shorter travel distances"
d) "Clearly targeted personal information, including social pressure, awareness raising, demonstration, persuasion and individual marketing"

To ensure commitment to this paradigm, there should be open and active involvement of all actors.

2.2.1 Mobility mode: automobiles

This section continues by providing an overview of the relevant mobility modes of this thesis. Moreover, it will focus on the extent to which the modes of mobility can be regarded as sustainable and what opportunities they offer for reaching goals of carbon neutrality.

The use of automobiles is associated with high levels of emissions and other forms of pollution (Spotswood et al., 2015). A study of Wiersma et al. (2015) provided reasons for the increased reliance on cars. According to them, spatial conditions and increasing car use make our current society car dependent. Researchers have referred to this as Car Dependency (CD) (Wiersma et al., 2017). However, the use of cars is not always related to car dependency when, for instance, other transport modes are available as well. Jeekel (2013) referred to this as emotional (subjective) car dependency: car dependency is caused by attuites, habits or a lack of

information. On the other hand, Jeekel (2013) referred to real (objective) car dependency when having no other alternative available.

As mentioned before, automobile dependency resulted in environmental damage (Spotswood et al., 2015). Nevertheless, more sustainable forms of car driving have been developed, such as the electric car. Electric cars result in fewer CO_2 emissions and pollution (Hildermeier & Villareal, 2014). Consequently, they can enhance the trend towards a more sustainable society (Keuchenius & Lelij, 2019). Nevertheless, the innovation of electric cars did not alter the culturally embedded idea of automobility (Hildermeier & Villareal, 2014). Therefore, a shift should occur towards more sharing of (electric) cars and the connection with public transport and cycling. Changing towards less dependency on cars requires a change in social, economic and environmental spheres (Wiersma et al., 2017). Overall, as the current automobile dependency in our western society has resulted in pollution, environmental harm, and health problems (Spotswood et al., 2015), a focus has been on shifting the dominant mode of mobility towards more sustainable mobility modes, such as using public transport.

2.2.2 Mobility mode: public transport

A well-developed public transport network can have a positive environmental, economic and social impact as it reduces environmental damage, pollution, traffic congestion and social alienation (Too & Earl, 2009). Consequently, Too and Earl (2009) argue that a focus should be on creating a sustainable public transport network to promote sustainability. When considering trains within the public transport domain, they result in less external costs when compared to cars (Schroten et al., 2019). Those external costs are, for instance, climate change, pollution and noise. Nevertheless, the (environmental) external costs for railway transport are highly dependent on the type of train as the average external environmental costs for diesel trains are higher than for electric trains. Trains in the Netherlands are electric and run on green power (Huibregtse et al., 2019). Therefore, Dutch trains have no CO_2 emissions. For these reasons, mobility on rails is acknowledged to be one of the most sustainable means of transportation between cities and towns in the Netherlands (Van Nes & Stolk, 2012).

Besides trains, buses are also common forms of public transport. Moreover, buses and coach transport have advantages when considering energy efficiency and the efficient use of available infrastructure (Van Essen & Van Grinsven, 2011). Also, buses result in less external (environmental) costs, such as climate change, pollution and noise, compared to cars (Schroten et al., 2019). For these reasons, the Dutch government is stimulating the use of buses and wants all busses to be emission free in 2030 (Rijksoverheid, n.d.-a).

2.2.3 Mobility mode: bicycles

Cycling is also a sustainable mobility mode according to Hofmeister and Stibe (2017) as the lower greenhouse gas emissions result in less environmental harm and cleaner air when compared to driving a car. Because of the benefits of cycling, much Dutch policy making and literature focused on stimulating cycling to reduce the use of cars (e.g. De Kruijf et al., 2018; Kennisinstituut voor Mobiliteitsbeleid, 2016; Spapé et al., 2018; Hendriksen et al., 2010). Even though many studies and interventions focused on promoting cycling, many of our journeys up to 5 km are still done by

car (Engbers & Hendriksen, 2010). A study from Engbers and Hendriksen (2010) has shown that the main barriers for commuter cycling are perspiration when arriving, weather and travel time. Nevertheless, a study by Pojani et al. (2017) identified nine positive themes and beliefs related to cycling. Those themes are "(1) health and exercise (2) environment (3) safety (4) enjoyment (5) convenience and practicality (6) financial savings (7) pride and tradition (8) status and image and (9) female independence" (p. 25). To promote cycling, those positive attitudes and perceptions should be increased for people.

Besides the conventional form of cycling, e-bikes have gained more attention in the last years. According to De Kruijf et al. (2018), half of the e-bike trips in the Netherlands substitute driving a car, which results in beneficial environmental and health effects. Still, the other half of e-bike trips substitute conventional cycling, resulting in fewer benefits. Nevertheless, the acceptable distance to cycle is higher for e-bikes than for conventional bikes so it can substitute a wider distance.

2.3 Social practices

2.3.1 The agency perspective

Many previous studies have taken an agency perspective when researching mobility patterns and mobility behaviour (e.g. Berveling & Van de Riet, 2012; Derksen, 2014; Kennisinstituut voor Mobiliteitsbeleid, 2016; Spapé, et al., 2018; Hendriksen et al., 2010). An agency perspective considers behaviour as the result of individual choice, which is influenced by identifiable factors, attitudes and beliefs (Shove et al., 2012). When relating this to mobility behaviour, an agency perspective considers mobility behaviour as dependent on intrinsic motivation, perception of factors, habitual behaviour and societal norms (Derksen, 2014). For instance, the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) by Ajzen (1991) is applied in several studies to explain sustainable mobility behaviour (e.g. Pojani et al., 2017; Hendriksen et al., 2010). This theory is aimed at understanding the complexities of human social behaviour. It includes that "intentions to perform behaviors of different kinds can be predicted with high accuracy from attitudes toward the behavior, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control; and these intentions, together with perceptions of behavioral control, account for considerable variance in actual behaviour" (Ajzen, 1991, p. 179). To change behaviour and promote sustainable modes of mobility, behavioural theories, such as the TPB (Ajzen, 1991), are focused on influencing individual behaviour. The main focus is on developing communication-based messages and behavioural change strategies to increase sustainable modes of mobility (Barr, 2015).

Shove (2010) refers to this agency perspective as the paradigm of the ABC, referring to Attitude, Behaviour and Choice. To promote sustainable behaviour, strategies based on the ABC paradigm focused on increasing awareness of climate change issues and people's commitment to this. According to a study by Shove et al. (2012), policymakers have been attempting to influence individual behaviour towards more sustainable behaviours by intervening from the outside. Moreover, they have applied "carrots, sticks and sermons" techniques to remove barriers and provide information and facilities to promote the move towards more sustainable choices of individuals (Shove et al., 2012, p. 144).

2.3.2 The Social Practice perspective

The previously discussed behavioural and agency-oriented theories argue that behaviour is based on rational choices and that it is predictable (Shove, 2010). However, when linking this to mobility behaviour, Barr (2015) argues that this is an instrumentalist, individualistic and unambitious perspective that neglects many mobility possibilities. According to Strengers et al. (2015), agency-oriented theories have been unable to promote social change necessary to address environmental issues. This critique results in the application of alternative theories to explain and promote sustainable modes of mobility. Barr (2015), for instance, promotes the inclusion of social, economic and physical infrastructures to gain a more in-depth understanding of sustainable mobility. Additionally, Shove (2010) argues for exploring the relationships between the physical and economic architectures to understand behaviour. Therefore, Social Practice Theory is applied as it aims to combine agency and structure within specific contexts (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008). Social Practice Theory differs from behavioural theories as it considers a 'practice' as being carried out rather than considering individual behaviour (Williams, 2015). Applying this to (sustainable) mobility, Social Practice Theory considers mobility patterns as social practices carried out by individuals within the structures of the places around them (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008). Therefore, it is based on the relations between place, mobility and the individual.

Some key theorists studying Social Practice Theory are Bourdieu (1977), Giddens (1984), Schatzki (2002), Reckwitz (2002), and Shove et al. (2012). Even though he did not develop a consistent theory of practice (Shove et al., 2012), Social Practice Theory is often associated with the work of Bourdieu (1977). According to him, sociologists differentiate between objectivist or subjectivist approaches. Whereas objectivist approaches explain human behaviour by social structures shaping individuals, subjectivist approaches argue that individuals' actions shape social realities. Bourdieu (1977) combined those perspectives as he argues for dialectical relations between habitus and fields, the subjective and the objective, as they reproduce one another. According to him, habitus is a way of thinking and acting developed by individuals. It refers to the internalized structures. On the other hand, fields are structured social spaces with norms and regulations that individuals live by. Similar to Bourdieu (1977), Giddens (1984) also differentiated between structure and agency and developed the structuration theory. The duality of structure means that structures enable and constrain actors and, at the same time, these structures are produced and reproduced by actors. So, according to Giddens (1984), the "constitution of agents and structures are not two independently given sets of phenomena, a dualism, but represent a duality" (p. 25). Hence, he argues that one should not study the isolated individual actor or the overall societal structures. Instead, one should study social practices across space and time.

Social Practice Theory got an impulse in the early 21st century due to the work of Schatzki (2002). He claimed that practices are "a temporally evolving, open-ended set of doings and sayings" linked by "practical understandings", "rules", "teleoaffective structures" and "general understandings" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 87). According to Schatzki (1996), learning is part of practices as one should have the ability to carry out a practice. Essential for this is the repetition of the practice as, without repetition, practices would not exist.

2.3.3 The 3-Elements Model

Furthermore, Reckwitz (2002) is also one of the key Social Practice Theory theorists. According to him, practices are "a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one another: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge" (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 249). These elements are linked through integrative moments of practices-as-performances. Moreover, a practice is carried out through its performance as the 'pattern' of the elements is reproduced. Consequently, individuals can be seen as the carriers of a practice (Reckwitz, 2002; Shove et al., 2012) and can simultaneously carry multiple practices (Shove et al., 2012). Further, practices evolve due to adjustments done by individuals. However, not every individual can carry out all practices as practices are not equally distributed (Shove et al., 2012). The distribution depends on, for instance, financial resources, demands, physical ability and expertise.

So, according to Reckwitz (2002), practices are carried out through the recurring performance of it. Shove et al. (2012) contribute to the conceptualization of Reckwitz (2002) by adding that, to analyse practices, one has to understand the reproduction of it and how this can result in a change. Consequently, the structuration theory of Giddens (1984) is applied as practices consist of the reproduction of practices and structures through the activities of individuals. This concept of reproduction enables the survival of practices. Similar to the breakdown of practices by Reckwitz (2002), Shove et al. (2012) have developed the 3-Elements model in which practices consist of: materials, competences and meanings (see Figure 1). According to them, practices consist of the interdependent and integrated relations of those three elements.

Schatzki (2002) studied the way that practices are connected to objects and Reckwitz (2002) refers to this as "things and their use" (p. 249). Shove et al. (2012) refer to materials as objects, infrastructures, tools, hardware and bodily materials necessary for a practice. The existence of specific materials enables a practice to occur. Hence, practices rely on the supplies of consumables and more durable objects, tools and infrastructures. Linking this to mobility practices, the materials refer to the infrastructures, such as transport networks, and the availability of vehicles (Williams, 2015). According to Williams (2015), of the 3-Elements model, materials are the most difficult to change when aiming for a shift to sustainable modes of mobility as materials, such as vehicles and infrastructures, require high investments.

Even though materials are necessary for carrying out a practice, this only occurs in relation to the required competences (Shove et al., 2012). This includes the skills, know-how and techniques necessary for a practice. Competences can be developed through the daily performance of practices. However, for others, a more deliberate effort is required to obtain specific competences. Also, according to Shove et al. (2012), "elements of know-how are typically modified, reconfigured and adapted as they move from one situation or person to another and as they circulate between practices" (p. 43).

The third element of practices is meanings. This is discussed by Reckwitz (2002) as the mental activities, emotion and motivational knowledge regarding a practice. It refers to the symbolic meanings, ideas and aspirations. During the enactment of a practice, individuals place themselves in society and by doing so, they reproduce social and cultural hierarchies as practices are related to those hierarchies through meanings. Furthermore, Shove et al. (2012) propose that

"meanings are extended and eroded as a result of dynamic processes of association" (p. 45). As meanings can be unconscious and culturally embedded, changing this element of practices is difficult for policymakers according to Williams (2015). However, those interested in promoting a specific practice are interested in altering meanings associated with the practice. On the contrary, Shove et al. (2012) argue that meanings develop relatively quickly because mass communication possibilities nowadays can result in the circulation of meanings.

Figure 1.
The elements and linkages sustaining practices (Based on: Shove et al., 2012, p. 14)
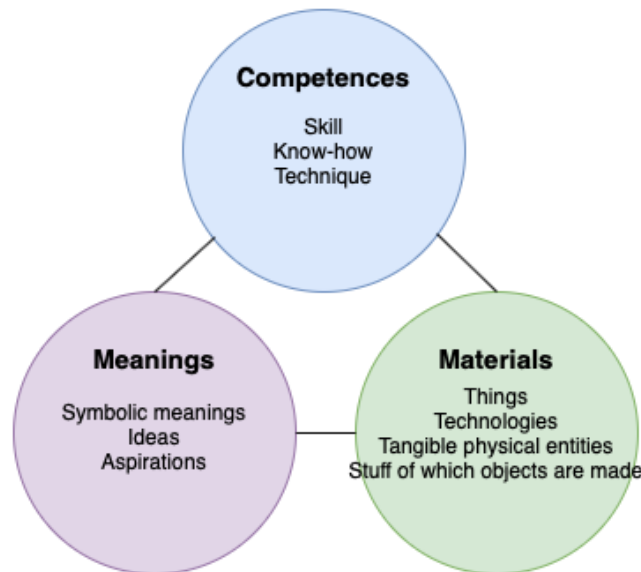
The differentiation between the thee elements implies that practices exist when the elements are linked and integrated. This suggests that before the occurrence of a practice, the elements exist without being integrated. This is the stage to which Shove et al. (2012) refer to as the "proto-practice" (p. 25). A practice can develop, change and disappear when the relationships between the three elements are broken or changed. This can result in the development of a new practice. Shove et al. (2012) and Schatzki (2015) argue that as practices are structured and situated arrangements, they are always in the process of formation, re-formation and de-formation. Even though the elements are relatively stable, they are circulating between places and over time. Moreover, the development of new elements can result in the development of new links or the collapse of existing links (Shove et al., 2012).

Furthermore, when a new practice emerges, others are often no longer performed or not as frequently as before (Shove et al., 2012; see Figure 2). This is because practices are related to each other through, for instance, "physical connections" and "common elements" (Schatzki, 2015, p. 16). Shove et al. (2012, p. 82) identify three types of relations between practices:

- Pre-formation: "practices exist without being integrated"
- Formation: "practices are provisionally linked by ties of co-existence or co-dependence"
- De-formulation: "connections are no longer sustained"

Figure 2.

The pre-formation, formation and de-formation of connections between practices (Source: Shove et al., 2012, p. 82)
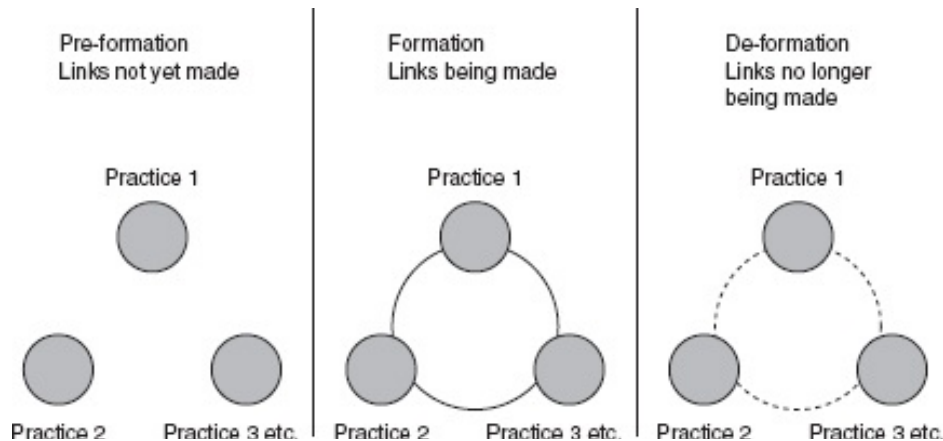
Furthermore, Shove et al. (2012) argue that links between practices can be competitive as well as collaborative. Even though practices might compete for elements, they are also linked by those elements they have in common. For instance, the material element infrastructure often enables multiple practices simultaneously (Shove, 2016). Moreover, as elements can bridge between different practices, a change in one practice can have consequences to other practices (Shove et al., 2012). Because of the interconnectedness of practices, understanding the relations and bundles of all practices is crucial when addressing environmental issues (Maller & Strengers, 2015).

2.3.4 Promoting a change in practices

To understand the shift towards more sustainable modes of transportation, one should apply Social Practice Theory to study how the relationships of the transportation practices break (Williams, 2015). Moreover, one should understand whether policymaker can generate these breaks to enable a shift towards more sustainable mobility practices. The Social Practice Theory perspective does not consider interventions as externally influencing individuals but, rather, the interventions of policymakers are part of the dynamic processes of practices (Spurling & McMeekin, 2015). Accordingly, Schatzki (2015) argues that a change in practices is not a result only of the actions of those aiming to change practices. Instead, practices are constantly evolving and developing.

Shove et al. (2012, p. 147) propose several ways in which actors can influence practices. They can influence:

a) "the range of elements in circulation;
b) the ways in which practices relate to each other;
c) the careers and trajectories of practices and those who carry them;
d) and the circuits of reproduction"

When considering the first option, Shove et al. (2012) argue that policy interventions can address the elements of a practice resulting in a local and a societal transformation of the practice. For

instance, the practice of driving has developed through changes in the elements (Spurling & McMeekin, 2015). Also, alterations in the road infrastructure have resulted in the increase of automobility and the reduction of cycling (Shove, 2016).

Secondly, Shove et al. (2012) argue that policymakers can influence practices by changing relations between practices. Consequently, the promotion of relations between practices can foster the occurrence of a specific practice. For instance, situations might occur in which links between practices are broken or the necessary elements are nonexciting. If these links between practices are vital for fostering a specific practice, policymakers should focus on promoting linkages between elements from different practices. Therefore, those intervening in practices should consider the common elements and links between practices (Maller & Strengers, 2015). Consequently, according to Spurling and McMeekin (2015), policymakers should intervene in the broader bundles of practices that result in current mobility patterns.

According to Shove et al. (2012), a third approach to change practices is by influencing "the careers and trajectories of practices and those who carry them" (p. 147). For the survival of practices, several resources must be ensured and people should be reproducing the practices. Actors promoting change can influence the dynamics of access and participation to foster a change. Therefore, Spurling and McMeekin (2015) argue that interventions should be "programmatic, cumulative and reflexive" (p. 79).

Last, Shove et al. (2012) argue that actors can influence practices through "the circuits of reproduction" (p. 147). Actors aimed at changing practices should study the people performing practices. Furthermore, policymakers should bring actors together to connect and to distribute the elements of desired practices. To do so, the focus should not be on individuals but on all actors involved in the network: government, the market and civil society.

2.4 The conceptual model

The conceptual model in Figure 3 visualises the research focus of this case study at the Efteling. The relation between the *CSR strategy of Efteling* and the *mobility practices* (and the included elements *competences*, *meanings* and *materials*) refers to the question of how the sustainability strategy of the Efteling includes mobility-related emissions and how the Efteling is currently aiming to intervene in this. Secondly, the relation between the *mobility practices* (*driving a car*, *cycling*, and *using public transport*) and *visitor mobility patterns* aims to study how the elements, the relations between the elements and the relations between the mobility practices influence the mobility patterns of visitors. Last, this thesis studies in what ways *sustainability concerns* of visitors influence the visitors' *mobility practices*.

Figure 3.

The conceptual model
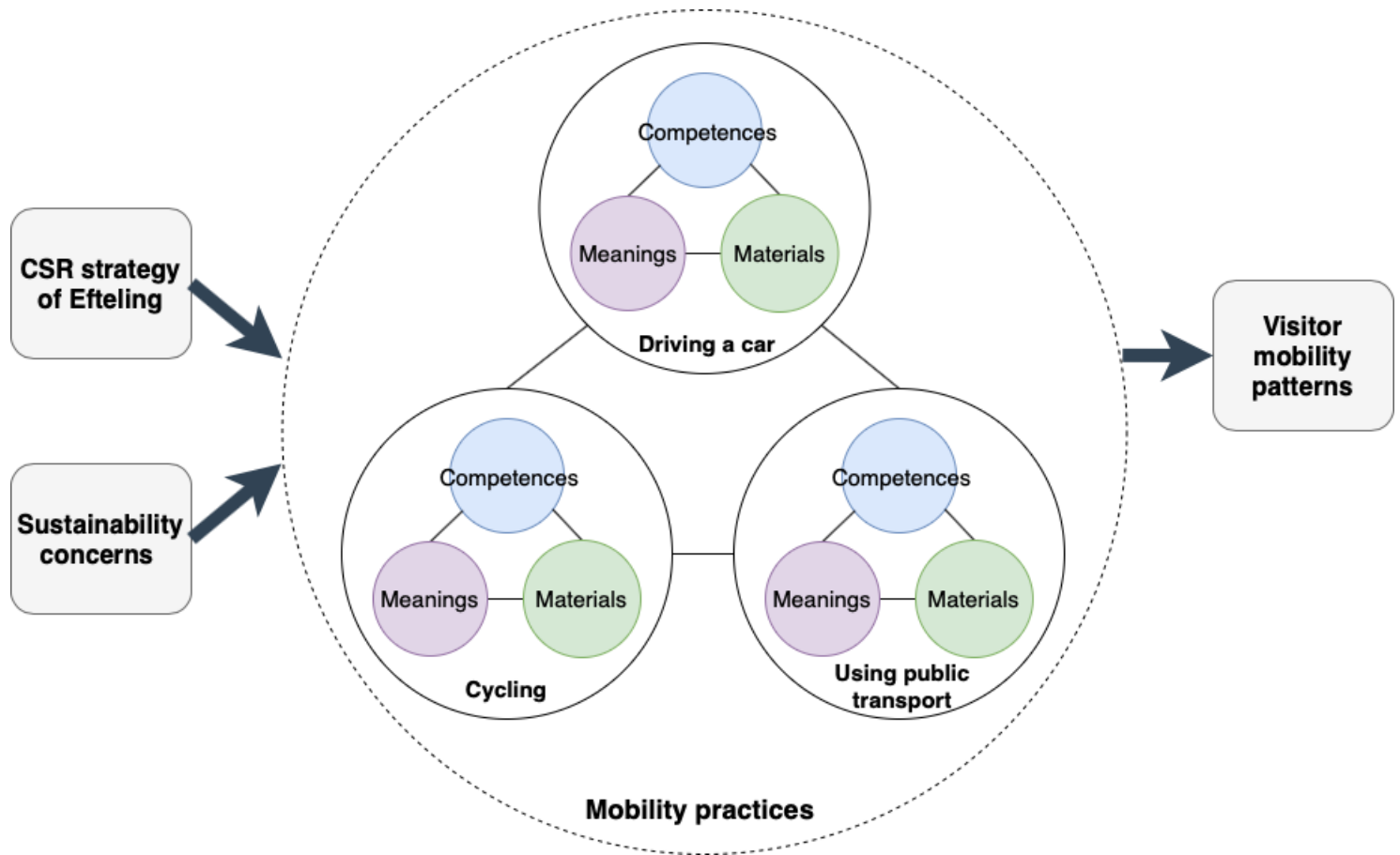
3. Methodology

This chapter will elaborate on the research process of this thesis. It will start by providing an overview of the applied research philosophy in section 3.1. Further, section 3.2 will explain why a case study research strategy is chosen to study (un)sustainable mobility practices in the leisure sector. Section 3.3 will elaborate on the techniques used to answer the research questions and section 3.4 will explain how the data gathered during the research process is analysed. Last, section 3.5 will elaborate on how validity and reliability is ensured through applying several research techniques.

3.1 Research philosophy

This thesis studied the elements that determine the mobility practices of visitors of the Efteling. This is done through a constructivist and interpretive research philosophy. The philosophical paradigm can be considered the philosophical lens through which the researcher conducts the research (Guba & Lincon, 1994). Constructivism is applied as a research philosophy for this study because it aims to reconstruct and understand the meanings of social actions, which is a feature of the constructivism research philosophy (Moses & Knutsen, 2012). Further, constructivism is based on relativism as it focuses on the local and specific constructed realities (Guba & Lincon, 1994). This implies that, according to this viewpoint, multiple realities can exist simultaneously. Therefore, the social and contextual influences should be considered when studying social phenomena (Moses & Knutsen, 2012), such as the (un)sustainable mobility practices of visitors of the Efteling. To gain a complete understanding, this research aims to study the social and contextual factors that determine visitors' mobility practices. As this requires a subjective and interpretative approach, the philosophical perspective 'interpretivism' is also apparent in this thesis. The interpretivism approach considers reality as subjective and based on people's perspectives (Van Thiel, 2014). This approach is well-suited to study Social Practice Theory as this theory rejects the idea that behaviour is rational and predictable (Shove, 2010). Therefore, an interpretivist perspective is applied in this thesis as the perspectives of visitors and mobility experts and documents will be interpreted to gain insights into mobility practices. Further, visitor mobility practices are studied inductively as the thesis takes the current situation as a departure point: most of the visitors of the Efteling currently travel to the theme park by car. This study is aimed at understanding what influences this practice and is, therefore, inductive by nature.

3.1 A case study research strategy

A case study research strategy is chosen to study mobility practices as this enables an in-depth understanding of the conditions of (un)sustainable mobility practices in the leisure sector. According to Mills et al. (2017), the case study approach is "most suitable for a comprehensive, holistic, and in-depth investigation of a complex issue (phenomena, event, situation, organization, program individual or group) in context, where the boundary between the context and issue is unclear and contains many variables" (p.12). Moreover, a case study aims to provide insights into interpretations of individuals to their experiences and constructions of their worlds. For these reasons, a case study research strategy is applied to studying the elements that influence mobility practices in the leisure sector. The Efteling was selected as a case as it is the largest amusement park in the Netherlands and it belongs to the top-5 amusement parks of Europe (ZKA Strategy Consultants, 2018). Further, the Efteling has a strong commitment to sustainability and the

promotion of sustainable mobility practices. For these reasons, the Efteling served as a unique and relevant case to study mobility practices within the leisure sector. Consequently, this study was conducted during a research internship at the Efteling.

During the research process, an embedded case study design was applied, which analysed the multiple units of analysis. This is based on the division by Yin (2014), who developed four basic types of case study designs. The embedded case study design is most applicable to this research as the Social Practice Theory approach requires the analysis of meanings, material aspects and competences. The study of multiple units of analysis resulted in an in-depth and comprehensive investigation of the case. For these reasons, a case study design is applied more often when studying Social Practice Theory (e.g. Hargreaves, 2011; Walker et al., 2014).

3.3 Research methods

To gain an in-depth understanding of the mobility practices of visitors of the Efteling, several research methods were applied: document analysis, a quantitative analysis of the customer satisfaction survey (GTO) and semi-structured interviews (see Table 1). A combination of multiple methods was used to gain an understanding of the mobility practices and the context of the case. A multimethod approach is often applied when studying Social Practice Theory as the use of multiple methodological techniques contributes to obtaining a comprehensive understanding of the performance of practices (Hargreaves, 2011). Further, Browne et al. (2015) argued that a mixed methods approach including quantitative and qualitative data enables obtaining an understanding of the complexities involved in social practices.

3.3.1 Document analysis

In this case study, the first step of collecting data was searching for existing documents on the sustainability strategy of the Efteling. An in-depth document analysis of sustainability documents, the Masterplan World of Efteling 2030, internal studies, internal policy documents and media articles provided an understanding of the sustainability strategy of the Efteling, the goal to become carbon neutral and the contribution of mobility to the sustainability strategy. Additionally, document analysis was used to gain an understanding of initiatives of the Efteling to promote sustainable mobility. Further, the analysis of media outlets, such as news articles, provided insights into the context of mobility practices at the Efteling, such as the discourses of neighbours.

3.3.2 Analysis of the customer satisfaction survey (GTO)

To provide an overview of the case and the context of the Efteling, the 2018 and 2019 customer satisfaction survey (GTO) (Internal communication Efteling-b, n.d.) was analysed. This is a survey from the Efteling conducted daily with the visitors to study their characteristics and experiences. The data from the 2018 and 2019 survey were used as these indicated 'normal' years at the Efteling because the year 2020 was highly influenced by the COVID-19 restrictions. The survey includes questions on mobility patterns of visitors such as their mobility mode, the travel destination, and the characteristics of the groups people travel with. This data was analysed in SPSS to provide an overview of the characteristics of the visitors travelling to the theme park.

Consequently, it offered information on the countries visitors travelled from, the distance travelled, the group compositions, and the mobility modes.

Table 1.

Overview of the methods, data and data sources

Research question	Methods	Data	Data sources
1. How is the Efteling currently addressing mobility related emissions of their visitors to promote sustainable mobility practices?	1. Document analysis 2. Data analysis 3. Personal communication 4. Semi-structured interview	1. Sustainability documents and news articles 2. SPSS file GTO 3. Emails and conversations 4. Transcript	1. Efteling and news websites; and internal documents 2. GTO 3. Meetings 4. Respondent: Wyke Smit
2. How do the elements meanings, materials and competences influence the mobility practices of visitors of the Efteling?	Semi-structured interviews	Transcripts	Efteling visitors Mobility experts
3. In what ways do the visitors of the Efteling take sustainability reasons into consideration during their mobility practices when visiting the theme park?	Semi-structured interviews	Transcripts	Efteling visitors Mobility experts
4. Which elements of the different mobility practices should the Efteling address to promote a shift from unsustainable mobility practices towards sustainable mobility practices?	Semi-structured interviews	Transcripts	Efteling visitors Mobility experts

3.3.2 Semi-structured interviews

The primary source of data collection was the conduction of semi-structured interviews. "The purpose of semi-structured interviewing is to gain detailed and focused insights into how individuals perceive a topic of interest to researchers" (Silverman, 2015, p. 149). Conducting semi-structured interviews is a common form of data collection when studying Social Practice Theory as this is done before by, for instance, Hargreaves (2011) and Walker et al. (2014). Semi-structured interviews are used to understand the meanings, materials and competences of people when performing practices. This case study included two rounds of semi-structured interviews to increase the in-depth and comprehensive understanding of the topic.

The first ten interviews were conducted with visitors of the Efteling. These included seven day visitors and three visitors with an annual pass. The respondents were found through purposive sampling, during which the interviewees were selected based on their characteristics and experiences (Palinkas et al., 2016). The characteristics were based on the outcomes of the 2018

and 2019 GTO analysis as this indicated the used mobility modes and the distance travelled for both day visitors and visitors with an annual pass. The aim was to find respondents with various experiences on mobility modes and from different destinations as the interviews were aimed to understand the elements of the different mobility practices. The recruitment of the respondents was done by activating my personal and professional network. I shared a Google Forms on my social media channels through which people could sign up for the interviews. From this group of respondents, I selected ten visitors based on their personal characteristics (see Table 2). I avoided choosing interviewees that I knew personally. The semi-structured interviews took around one hour and focused on the mobility modes used to travel to the Efteling, the extent to which sustainability contributed to mobility practices and how the interviewees thought the Efteling should promote sustainable mobility. Appendix 2 includes the interview guides of the semi-structured interviews.

The second round of semi-structured interviews was conducted with mobility experts. The five mobility experts were selected based on purposive sampling during which their experiences and knowledge in the field of mobility were considered. The experts were found through an online search and through the network of my colleagues at the Efteling. The interviewees consisted of governmental actors, a mobility consultant, a mobility researcher and a mobility behaviour expert (see Appendix 1). The interviews aimed to gain an in-depth understanding of mobility practices in the leisure sector and helped to understand how the Efteling can promote sustainable mobility of visitors. Therefore, they were mainly focused on answering the intervention question of the thesis. Appendix 3 includes the interview guide of the interviews. Nevertheless, the interview topics were altered slightly per interviewee to discuss the specific expertise and experiences of the experts.

Table 2.
Overview of respondents visitor interviews

Interviewee	Type of respondent	Age respondent	Children	Place of residence	Distance from home – Efteling
1	Day visitor	20	No	Roosendaal	62 km
2	Day visitor	22	No	Rotterdam	78 km
3	Day visitor	22	No	Tilburg	13 km
4	Day visitor	62	Yes	Rijen	23 km
5	Day visitor	26	No	Utrecht	69 km
6	Visitor with annual pass	33	Yes	Tilburg	14 km
7	Day visitor	58	Yes	Breda	42 km
8	Visitor with annual pass	35	Yes	Kaatsheuvel	1 km
9	Visitor with annual pass in the past	25	No	Tilburg	12 km
10	Day visitor	32	Yes	Ankeveen	97 km

3.4 Data analysis

After conducting the interviews, memos were written in which I wrote down my first thoughts and insights. Afterwards, the interviews were transcribed. The transcripts were coded manually to engage with the material. The process of coding was based on the steps of Silverman (2015). The first round of coding consisted of open coding, during which I read through the transcripts line by line and assigned codes to the data. During the second round of coding, I engaged in focused coding, during which I categorized the open codes. Moreover, the codes were used to create diagrams in which I linked the elements of the mobility practices to find relations within and between mobility practices. This added another layer of interpretation to the study.

Further, the interviews with the Efteling visitors included ranking questions during which the interviewees were asked to rank their motivations for the specific mobility practices. These questions were used to determine which elements are most influential for mobility practices. Together with the focused codes and the memos, the ranking questions were used to develop emergent themes. These emergent themes are the most influential aspects informing (un)sustainable mobility practices of visitors of the Efteling. Therefore, with these emergent themes, the research questions of the thesis were answered. The emergent themes and the corresponding focused codes that emerged from both the interviews with the Efteling visitors and mobility experts are shown in Table 3.

Table 3.

Emergent themes and associated focused codes

Emergent themes	Focused codes	
Convenience	Time	Motivations
	Costs	Competences
	Planning	Efteling facilities
	Materials	
Habit	Routine	Motivations
	Unconscious	Efteling facilities
Visitor group	Visitor characteristics	Motivations
	Mobility behaviour	Competences
Efteling facilities car dominated	Infrastructure	Communication
	Efteling facilities	
Mobility innovations	Mobility innovations	Sustainability
	Tips Efteling	Communication
Promotion of sustainable mobility	Communication	Tips Efteling
Collaboration	Tips Efteling	Collaboration

3.5 Validity, reliability and trustworthiness

The design and analysis of this study contribute to the validity, reliability and trustworthiness. To ensure internal validity, the semi-structured interviews were conducted by applying the same layout of the interview guide. After conducting the interviews, the interview questions were reflected upon and altered when necessary to ensure all relevant topics were covered. This is in line with Silverman (2015), who argues that qualitative research is an iterative process that allows for adaptation to contingencies emerging from the research process.

Further, establishing external validity is challenging for case studies (Mills et al., 2017). Because this study was focused specifically on the unique situation of the Efteling, it was challenging to generalize the results to other situations. Nevertheless, during the interviews with the mobility experts, I reflected upon the mobility practice elements found during the interviews with the Efteling visitors to learn whether the findings were representative of leisure travelling patterns. Therefore, the interviews with the mobility experts were used to verify the outcomes of the interviews with the Efteling visitors.

In addition, several techniques discussed by Silverman (2015) were applied in this study to enhance reliability and trustworthiness. First, I kept a research log to constantly reflect on the research process and my role as researcher. The research log included the steps of the research process, the decisions made and the potential uncertainties. Second, I wrote memos after finishing the interviews which included my first reaction to the interviews, reflections on the research questions and unexpected outcomes. Third, after coding the interviews, diagramming of the codes contributed to understanding the relationships between the outcomes. Furthermore, the previously explained ranking questions were used to clarify the importance visitors attached to the different elements. Last, the multiple data gathering methods were used to verify the results, to increase trustworthiness, and to ensure an in-depth understanding of the case.

4. The case: the Efteling

This chapter will provide more information on the selected case: the Efteling. It will first explain more about the development of the theme park. Further, information is provided on the location and the accessibility of the theme park. Last, section 4.3 and 4.4 will elaborate on the (sustainability) strategies of the theme park.

4.1 The development of the Efteling

The Efteling Nature Park Foundation was set up in 1950 to promote physical exercise and to facilitate recreation for the habitants of Loon op Zand (Efteling, n.d.-a). The fairytale forest opened in 1952 which resulted in an increase in visitors and facilities at the park. The park expanded over the years. Besides expansions within the theme park, the Efteling also opened its hotel in 1992. Efteling Bosrijk opened in 2009. This is a holiday park within a rich natural environment. In 2017, the Efteling opened another holiday park: Loonsche Land. 2017 is also the year in which the park had 5 million visitors for the first time. Currently, in 2021, the Efteling has many attractions, including fairytales, roller coasters, dark rides, playgrounds and shows.

In 2019, the Efteling had 5.26 million visitors (Internal communication Efteling-a, n.d.). The future growth scenarios are described in the Masterplan World of the Efteling 2030 (Efteling, 2017), which is explained in section 4.4.

Image 1.

Location of the Efteling on the Dutch map

4.2 The location of the Efteling

The Efteling is located in Kaatsheuvel which is a town in the municipality of Loon op Zand in the province Noord Brabant (Efteling, 2017) (see Image 1). The Efteling is located next to a motorway (N261), which is connected to a network of provincial motorways. This network connects multiple recreational destinations in the area. Visitors travelling to the theme park by car can park at one of the parking lots: P1, P2 or P3 (Efteling, 2017) (see Image 2). These parking areas are for day visitors of the Efteling as the holiday parks and the hotel have sperate parking areas.

Image 2.

Parking areas at the Efteling (Source: Rho Adviseurs, n.d.)
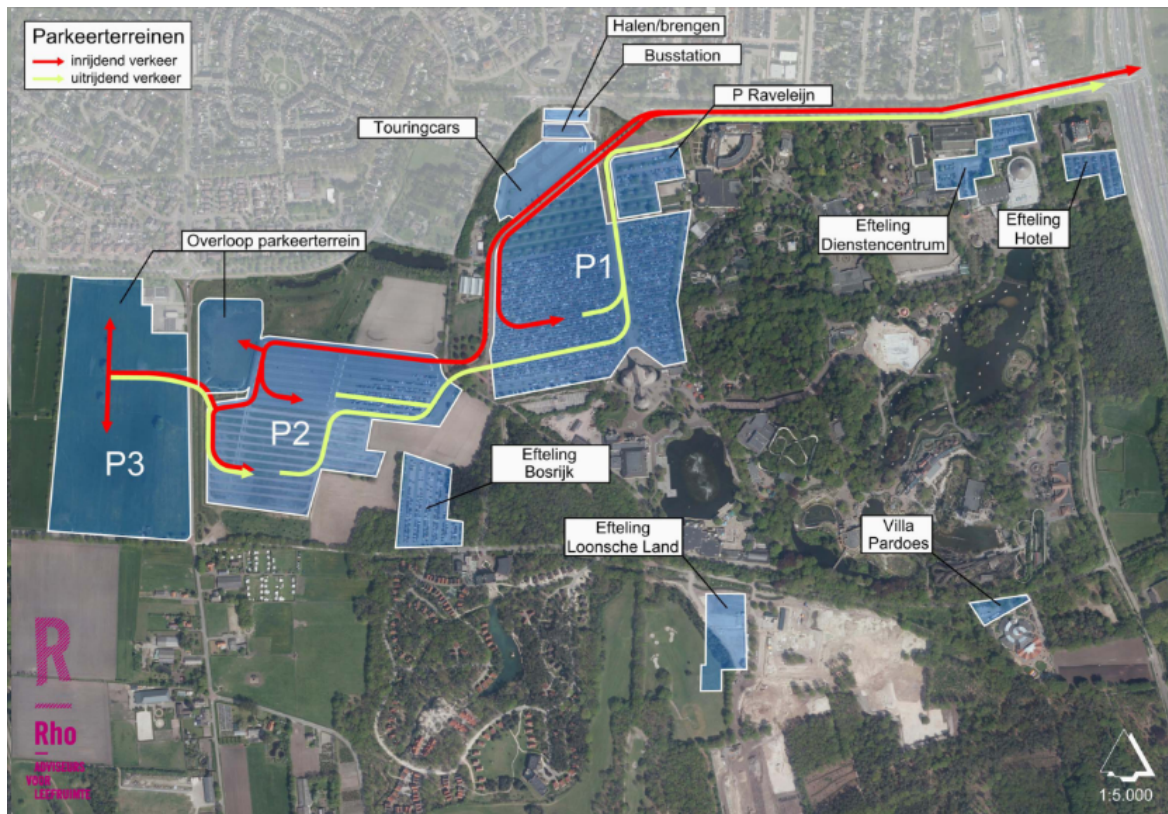
The Efteling is located approximately 13 km from the centre of Tilburg, the closest city. Further, it is located about 25 km from 's-Hertogenbosch. As Kaatsheuvel does not have a train station, the Efteling is not directly accessible by train. Visitors who wish to visit the park by public transport have to travel by train to Tilburg or 's-Hertogenbosch, after which they will have to take a bus (see Image 3). Nevertheless, the Efteling has a bus stop resulting in easy access to the park from the bus stop for both visitors and employees.

Further, the Efteling is located about 24 km from the Belgium border, making it a popular amusement park for Belgium visitors. Moreover, the park is about 100 km from the German border, making it is also popular for German visitors.
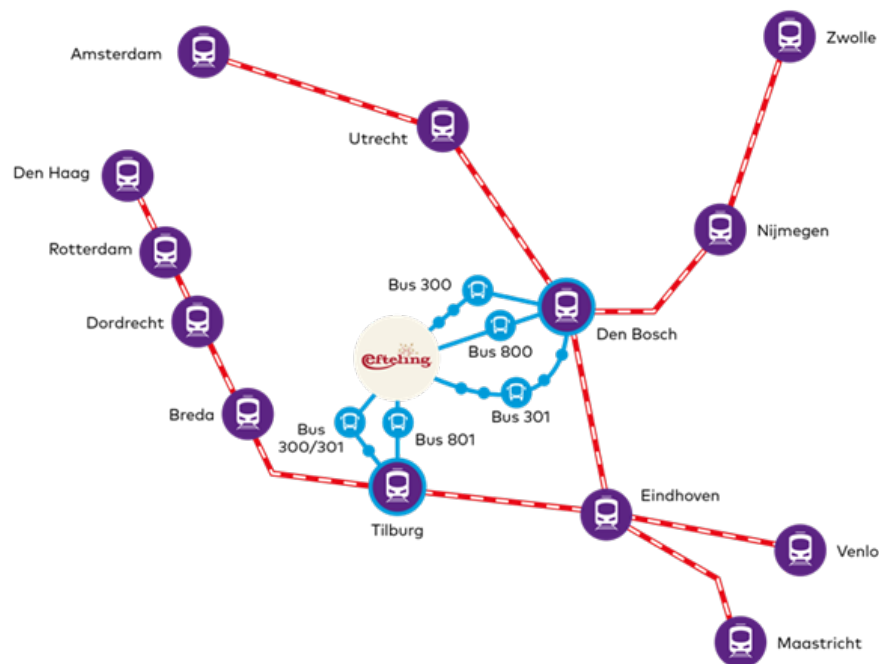
4.3 The sustainability strategy of the Efteling

The sustainability strategy of the Efteling is based on two elements: the goal of carbon neutral in 2030 and the goal to enhance its societal role (Efteling, n.d.-c). As sustainability is important, the Efteling keeps three focus points in mind during their practices: people, planet and profit (ZKA Strategy Consultants, 2018). To reach the goal of carbon neutral in 2030, the Efteling focuses on waste, energy, mobility and nature (Efteling, n.d.-c). Nature is an important element of the sustainability strategy of the Efteling as it is in the roots of the park due to its owner and only shareholder: Efteling Nature Park Foundation. Further, the park is located within a rich natural environment, so they pride themselves on being a theme park with much nature. Additionally, they have a target of maximum of 11% of the park to be built on to preserve the natural character (ZKA Strategy Consultants, 2018).

Further, as most of the visitors of the Efteling travel by car, a focus on mobility is essential for reaching the goal of carbon neutral in 2030. Consequently, the Efteling aims to promote cycling and the use of public transport from both visitors and employees (Efteling, n.d.-c). Also, the Efteling is paying attention to mobility innovations to increase its accessibility and reduce automobile dependency of visitors (Efteling, 2017). Section 5.1 further discusses the mobility-related initiatives from the Efteling.

4.4 The future of the Efteling - Masterplan World of Efteling 2030

To enable the growth of the theme park, the masterplan World of Efteling 2030 is developed through engagement with nature organisations, municipalities and neighbours (Efteling, 2021b). The Masterplan World of Efteling 2030 includes the areas in which the Efteling can expand, the

plans for accessibility and mobility, maximum building heights and green percentages. The Masterplan is developed by the council of the municipality Loon op Zand and the Efteling board of directors (Efteling, 2017). As there were objections against several plans within the Masterplan from neighbours of the Efteling, the case was presented for the Council of State. In June 2021, the Council of State accepted the masterplan, which meant a green light for the Efteling to continue the development of the park (Efteling, 2021b).

As sustainability is an important aspect for the Efteling, it is an essential feature of the Masterplan World of Efteling 2030. Necessary for this is the reduction of CO_2 emissions due to the goal of carbon neutrality in 2030. Further, mobility is an important aspect of the Masterplan Word of Efteling 2030 as an increase in visitors requires increased accessibility of the Efteling, the centre of Kaatsheuvel and the heart of Noord Brabant (Efteling, 2017). Moreover, an increase in visitor numbers requires additional parking places. This requires new infrastructures and forms of mobility.

Image 4.

Expansion plans Efteling (Source: Efteling, 2021b)

5. Results

5.1 (Un)sustainable mobility at the Efteling

This section provides an overview of the perspective of the Efteling when promoting sustainable mobility of their visitors. To start with, section 5.1.1 presents discourses of neighbours and the municipality of Loon op Zand regarding visitor mobility patterns. Furthermore, 5.1.3 dives deeper into the initiatives of the Efteling to address traffic-related issues and to promote sustainable mobility practices.

5.1.1 Discourses on mobility patterns

Neighbours have presented their concerns during the development of the Masterplan World of Efteling 2030 as in increase in visitors might cause issues such as light and noise disturbance, more traffic congestions, increased nitrogen emissions, and harm to surrounding nature areas (Hart van Nederland, 2020; Omroep Brabant, 2019). Moreover, the citizens of Kaatsheuvel were worried about the accessibility of their town (Snels, 2018). Even though there was critique on the Masterplan World of Efteling 2030, the council of Loon op Zand unanimously decided to agree with the masterplan of the Efteling (RTL Nieuws, 2018). Nevertheless, they said they would keep possible negative effects, such as bad accessibility of Kaatsheuvel, in mind (Driessen, 2018). Hence, the municipality Loon op Zand and the province Noord Brabant collaborated with the Efteling to reduce issues concerning traffic (Gemeente Loon op Zand, 2017).

Furthermore, a positive discourse of the neighbours is also existing. This includes the positive contribution of the Efteling to their town (Internal communication Efteling-g, n.d.). For instance, they are happy about the fact that the Efteling values its neighbours and natural environment. Therefore, some argued that the "amusement park is an icon and a sustainable example" (Internal communication Efteling-g, n.d.).

5.1.2 Promotion of sustainable mobility from the Efteling

Because of the aspired increase in visitor numbers and the goal of carbon neutrality in 2030, the Efteling has to develop innovative, new and smart forms of mobility (Efteling, 2017). In the past years, the theme park, in collaboration with other stakeholders, has implemented serval innovative ideas to promote more sustainable forms of transportation. This section will elaborate on this.

First, a fast cycle route is developed to promote the replacement of cars by (electric) bikes. Parallel to the N261, the fast cycle route is developed between Waalwijk and Tilburg (Efteling, 2017). This fast cycle route is part of a plan of the province of Noord Brabant to stimulate cycling (W. Smit, personal communication, April 8, 2021). Because the route would pass the Efteling, they suggested a minor alteration of the route and co-financed it so that the fast cycle route would be useable for visitors and employees of the theme park as well (W. Smit & K. Rijnen, personal communication, March 25, 2021). Furthermore, in the summer of 2019, the Efteling made the bicycle parking area free for visitors to promote cycling (W. Smit, personal communication, April 8, 2021).

Another initiative to promote sustainable modes of mobility is through enabling a visit by electric car. Since March 2021, the Efteling has the largest electric car charging station of the

Benelux (Efteling, 2021a). The parking area consists of 174 charging stations. This is realised through collaboration with energy provider Eneco.

Further, in 2019, the Efteling became a partner of the Mobility Lab, a collaboration between several governmental and private parties (Team lead Entrance at Efteling, personal communication, May 24). The goal of the mobility lab is to connect start-ups with potential clients. This resulted in a collaboration between EVoltify and the Efteling. EVoltify is a start-up in mobile electric car charging stations. The Efteling was interested in this start-up as they expect an increase in electric cars in the upcoming years (Team lead Entrance at Efteling, personal communication, May 24). To also welcome visitors with electric cars from further destinations, the Efteling needs to provide electric charging stations. However, even though they already increased the number of charging stations, they cannot invest in charging stations at all parking places. Additionally, it costs time and money to lead the electric cars to the charging stations. Hence, the Efteling wanted to provide a fixed number of charging stations for 10% of its visitors and a flexible amount of charging stations for other parking areas. Those will be used during busy periods. As a pilot, EVoltify wanted to test three mobile charging stations at the Efteling. By using an app, visitors would be able to indicate their parking location and EVoltify would provide a mobile charging station (W. Smit, personal communication, April 8, 2021). This pilot fits within the goal to provide seamless mobility of visitors. However, the pilot has been paused partly due to technical reasons and partly because of COVID-19 (Team lead Entrance at Efteling, personal communication, May 24).

Another pilot of the Efteling to promote sustainable mobility included setting up a bus line from Breda train station to the theme park. The city of Breda is about 33 km from the Efteling. The bus line was set up in December 2017 (Internal communication Efteling-f, n.d.) after the development of two new train routes: a direct train from Amsterdam to Breda and one from Brussels to Breda (De Vuyst et al., 2013). Adding a bus line from Breda to the Efteling would mean that visitors from those destinations did not have to switch trains to travel to Tilburg train station and take a bus from there. Instead, visitors could take a direct bus from Breda train station to the Efteling. This would decrease their travel time. According to an internal study, 64% of the visitors who travelled to the theme park by public transport passed Breda train station and could have taken the bus (Internal communication Efteling-d, 2019). These visitors could have taken the bus line. However, 91% did not take the bus from Breda and continued their train journey to Tilburg train station to take a bus to the Efteling from there. Only 6% took the bus from Breda and the other 3% travelled with another mobility mode to the Efteling. Because of this small percentage (6%), only 4.400 visitors used the bus line, which is only 19% of its prognosis (Internal communication Efteling-d, n.d.). As the bus line appeared to be unsuccessful, the Efteling, together with stakeholders Arriva, the municipality of Breda and the province of Noord Brabant decided to dissolve the bus line in December 2018 (Internal communication Efteling-f, n.d.).

Additionally, the Efteling is collaborating with the Dutch Railways (NS) to promote the use of public transport of their visitors. Accordingly, the NS is offering combi-tickets for which visitors. The ticket includes a train day ticket (from any train station in the Netherlands to 's-Hertogenbosch or Tilburg), a bus ticket (from Tilburg or 's-Hertogenbosch to the Efteling) and an Efteling entrance ticket. By providing this discount on the NS website, the Efteling is aiming to promote public transport. Initially, this discount would only be available in specific months. However, the Efteling decided to make this deal permanently due to sustainability considerations (W. Smit, personal

communication, April 8, 2021). Nevertheless, only a small number of the Efteling visitors use these tickets (Internal communication Efteling-e, 2019).

Further, the Efteling has set up a collaboration with Flixbus. Flixbus is a mobility provider with Europe's largest intercity bus network (Flixbus, n.d.). In the summer of 2018, Flixbus added a stop at the Efteling in the 811 Flixline from Brussels to Amsterdam (Account manager Traveltrade at Efteling, personal communication, April 16, 2021). This enables visitors from Amsterdam, Antwerp, Brussels and Vianen to travel to the Efteling by Flixbus on a daily basis. Until the summer of 2020, visitors would have to buy separate Efteling and Flixbus tickets. Since August 2020, visitors were able to buy combi tickets, including a Flixbus ticket and Efteling entrance ticket. The collaboration between Flixbus and the Efteling initially targeted international tourists in Amsterdam as using public transport might provide difficulties for them due to the switches between trains and buses they would have to make (W. Smit, personal communication, April 8, 2021). In 2020, Flixbus aimed to add the theme park to another Flixbus line. This Flixline would travel from München with the Efteling as end-stop. However, the COVID-19 crisis put a stop to this plan and it remains insecure whether this line will be established in the future (Account manager Traveltrade at Efteling, personal communication, April 16, 2021).

Besides the started pilots to promote sustainable mobility, the Efteling is constantly working on developing innovative mobility ideas. For instance, the idea of developing a monorail from Tilburg train station to the Efteling has been studied (W. Smit, personal communication, April 8, 2021). Additionally, mobility experts have suggested the idea of a bus line with on-board entertainment to persuade visitors to consider more sustainable mobility options, such as coach transport (W. Smit, personal communication, April 8, 2021). Both would be costly innovations for the Efteling and the uncertainty of its success would make it currently too insecure.

5.2 The mobility practices and elements

To understand the mobility practices of visitors of the Efteling, this section will apply the 3-Elements model of the Social Practice Theory by Shove et al. (2012). The elements of the different mobility practices (driving a car, using public transport, cycling) will be presented based on the interviewees' responses. The mobility practices will be discussed separately to explain the elements and the relations between the elements. The elaboration of the elements and their relations will also reveal the relations between the different mobility practices and the overlapping elements.

5.2.1 Travelling by car

In 2019, most of the visitors of the Efteling theme park travelled to the park by car. Hence, the car is the most used mobility mode for people when visiting the Efteling. Therefore, the Social Practice Theory elements of this specific mobility mode will be explained first. The discussion on driving a car includes Figure 4, in which the elements and relations between the elements are visualised.

During the interviews, it became clear that interviewees' meanings highly influence the choice of mobility mode. Meanings such as convenience, habit, comfort, flexibility, and travel time were mentioned by almost all interviewees when explaining their mobility behaviour. First, convenience appeared to be one of the most influential meanings for the respondents. Most of the respondents mentioned that they have easy access to their car as it is often parked right in front of their house. This refers to the material aspect, but also results in convenience and little effort as interviewees can easily move from their home to the Efteling. For example, interviewee 3 said, *"I find the car just very easy. It is parked in front of my house, so you do not have to take anything else into consideration"* (28-04-2021). Furthermore, interviewee 8 said, **"***If I have doubts [between car and bicycle], it is weather-dependent or based on convenience. I do not want to struggle, so I choose the car"* (04-05-2021). For these reasons, she and the other interviewees consider travelling by car as the most convenient option when visiting the Efteling. Furthermore, convenience is related to other meanings and this differs per visitor group. Some argued for convenience as with young children, they have to bring much luggage which makes driving the most convenient option. For others, the car is the most convenient option as they would have to change mobility modes many times when travelling by public transport.

Moreover, convenience was often mentioned in combination with habit. Most of the interviewees expressed that travelling by car is their standard mobility mode. This is not only for leisure activities, but accounts for most daily activities. For example, interviewee 3 mentioned that it became her main mobility mode since she has a car because of convenience and habit. She said, *"Even if I do groceries, I do it by car now because it is very convenient. It does not make any sense if I think about it. Because it is parked right in front of my house, I just take it"* (28-04-2021). This habit of many to take the car for all activities in daily life is further explained by interviewee 4, *"We live in a world in which time manages us, so we take the car. Even though when you cycle, you might be just as fast because of the busyness of the traffic. But travelling by car is just a feeling, a taught behaviour"* (29-04-2021). When considering the Efteling specifically, many interviewees mentioned that they are aware of other mobility modes as they know one can also take a bus to the Efteling and they have some knowledge on the cycling routes. Nevertheless, they do not consider these options when visiting the Efteling themselves. Interviewee 6 mentioned, *"I just never think about it. I just think okay I am getting in my car and I leave. I do not at all think about the possibility of travelling by bicycle"* (30-04-2021). This revealed that the choice of interviewee 6 to travel by car is an unconscious decision and that she did not weigh the advantages and disadvantages of other mobility modes.

As mentioned before, meanings, such as convenience, differ per visitor group. Consequently, the company with which the interviewees visit the Efteling was very influential on the choice of mobility mode as it would result in different relations between elements. Interviewees mentioned that they would attach different meanings to the mobility modes if they would travel with their family, with (young) children, with friends or with their partner. For instance, those interviewees with young children mentioned safety as an important factor to not cycle to the Efteling. On the contrary, those travelling with groups of friends mentioned they would enjoy cycling.

Besides the most influential meanings of convenience, habit and company, the interviews revealed that other, less impactful, meanings also informed the choice of mobility mode. For example, a meaning associated with the use of a car is comfort. Some mentioned that a day at the Efteling is exhausting for them and their children because of the walking and the many impressions. Consequently, travelling by car is the most comfortable and relaxing mobility mode as it does not require much effort and planning. For instance, interviewee 10 pointed out that *"In our car we have their own seats [the children's] and everything is comfortable for them so also for us"* (07-05-2021).

As travelling by car requires little planning for visitors, it also offers them greater flexibility. Those travelling by car mentioned that they enjoyed the fact that they were not dependent on other parties, such as public transport schedules. For instance, interviewee 9 mentioned, *"I really like to leave whenever I want, it gives me independence"* and *"I kept my own freedom [when travelling by car]"* (05-05-2021).

Furthermore, travel time is also a factor that the interviewees took into consideration. Nevertheless, travel time was often not a deciding factor. Interviewee 2 mentioned, "*With the car you are of course pretty fast and the bus probably takes a bit longer. But it is a fun day out, so it does not matter much whether I need to travel 15 minutes more or less"* (23-04-2021). Even though visitors found a little extra travel time acceptable, there is a maximum amount of travel time and this differs per respondent. Therefore, travel time is considered a meaning.

Previous experiences also inform mobility mode choices. Even though patterns were found in the choices of mobility modes, the interviews revealed some inconsistencies between respondents because of contradictory experiences.

5.2.1.2 Materials

When considering the materials for the practice driving a car, the possession of a vehicle is the most important material element that enables visiting the Efteling by car. Most interviewees indicated that they own a car and that their car is very easily accessible for them. For instance, interviewee 8 said, *"The convenience of my car is that it is parked in front of my house"* (04-05-2021). This links the meaning of convenience, as discussed before, with the possession and accessibility of a car. The possession of a car also strengthens visitors' habits as owning a car often makes the interviewees not consider other mobility modes. On the other hand, those without the possession of a car made a more conscious decision when choosing a mobility mode. As they do not own a car, they had to be more active in thinking which mobility mode is most suitable for a visit to the Efteling. When doing so, they weighed the advantages and disadvantages of the mobility modes and made a more well-considered decision. The interviews indicated that those visitors were mainly students.

Other material elements informing the mobility practice are the Efteling (parking) facilities. The infrastructure at the Efteling is most suited for a visit by car. As mentioned before, the Efteling is not closely located to a train station which means visitors travelling by train always have to switch to a bus (or taxi) when visiting the Efteling. Because travel time and convenience have been reasons for taking a car, a longer and less ideal journey by public transport is not preferred by many visitors. Besides this, visitors have also highlighted that the Efteling has created an ideal parking situation which makes it very accessible by car. This does not make visitors consider other

options as they know beforehand that their car will be parked safely and easily. This is further explained by interviewee 7:

> *"The Efteling has an enormous parking lot. It makes a large impression. If you ask me 'what is the Efteling?', I would say it is a huge park with fairytales but this starts already with the parking area. It just has something. It is organised well and there is much space. That makes an impression. You just feel welcome with your car"* (04-05-2021).

This can be linked to the competences of visitors who travel by car as visitors know about the excellent parking facilities of the Efteling. On the contrary, there are many insecurities when it comes down to public transport. Many interviewees explained their doubts about the reliability and trustworthiness of public transport when it comes down to, for example, busyness, waiting times and changing schedules. The knowledge of visitors on the excellent parking conditions and the insecurities regarding the public transport infrastructure makes a visit by car a standard choice for many.

Other material elements informed the mobility practices to a lesser degree. For example, the costs of a car inform visitors' mobility practices. Whereas some explained that they consider the car as a cheap mobility mode which makes it attractive for them to travel by car, others mentioned that the car is expensive for them, making them consider other mobility modes. This contradiction can be explained by income. For students, the costs of a car are relatively higher as they indicated that they receive free public transport. Those interviewees mainly refer to the price of the parking tickets as being costly. Costs also appeared to be depending on the size of the company interviewees travel with. For instance, interviewee 4 said, "*If I travel with four people in my car, I spent less than when I have to pay for four train tickets*" (29-04-2021).

For the visitors with an annual pass, the interviews revealed that the possession of an annual parking pass also increases the use of cars. Those visitors pay 40 euros a year to park their car at the Efteling parking lot (Efteling, n.d.-b). As they already have this parking pass, they do not easily consider other mobility options, making travelling to the Efteling by car a habit. Further, interviewee 9 mentioned, "*It almost feels like you have to [travel by car] because otherwise, you do not utilise it [the annual parking pass]*" (05-05-2021).

Another type of material influencing the mobility mode choice is luggage. Visitors of the Efteling bring a lot of luggage, especially those visiting with children. Therefore, most interviewees mention that the car is the best option for them as they do not have to think about the obstacles when taking much luggage on public transport or on their bicycle. This is especially the case for visitors with young children.

Figure 4.

The elements and relations between elements for the mobility practice driving a car
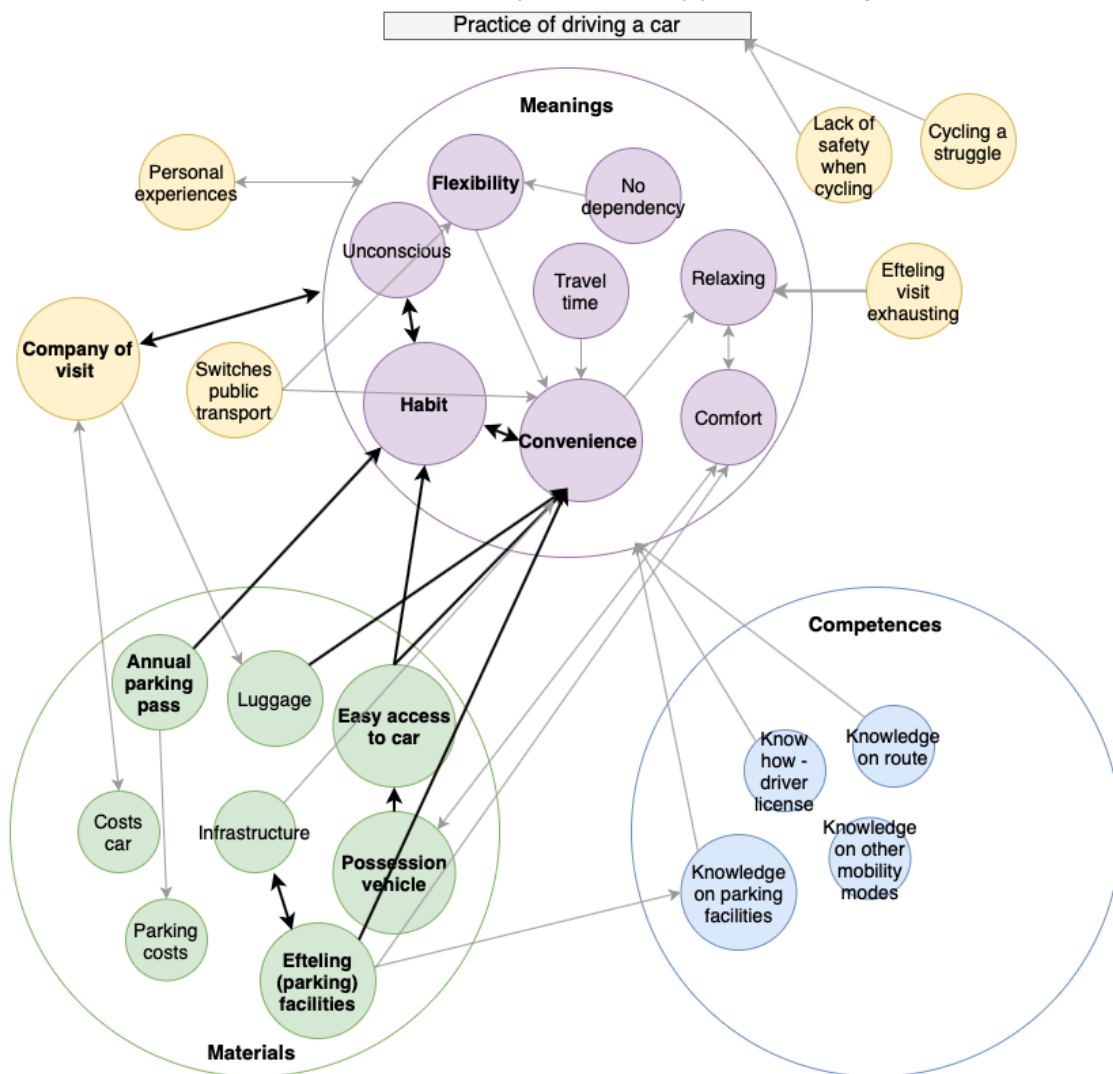
Note. The larger circles indicate more influential elements and the black arrows reveal the most influential relations. Further, the yellow elements are elements not part of the mobility practice itself but externally influencing the elements or mobility practice in general.

5.2.1.3 Competences

When considering the competences, having a driver license is the best indicator for showing one is competent to drive. During the interviews, all interviewees mentioned they have a driver license. This indicates they all have the necessary 'know how' to perform the mobility practice 'driving a vehicle'. Further, the interviews indicated that visitors know the route and their travel time. Besides this, most interviewees know the parking facilities at the Efteling, which contributes to their positive meanings and feelings of being competent to travel to the theme park by car.

5.2.2 Travelling by public transport

5.2.2.1 Meanings

Only a small number of the visitors of the Efteling travel to the theme park by train and bus. The interviewees assigned several meanings to the mobility practice of using public transport. Visitors

who made use of the mobility mode public transport highlighted it is a comfortable and relaxing form of transportation. For instance, interviewee 3 mentioned, *"public transport is comfortable because you do not have to do anything yourself"* (28-04-2021). Therefore, this relates to the convenience of public transport. Another meaning associated with public transport is sustainability. Most respondents argued that they consider travelling by train and bus as sustainable options. Nevertheless, this was not a decisive factor for the interviewees when choosing a mobility mode. However, they mentioned being happy when it is an outcome of their behaviour. Sustainability is, therefore, considered an additional benefit. For example, interviewee 9 mentioned, *"I would take sustainability into consideration. It would cross my mind. If I am considering taking the bus, I would think that is good of me. But it would not be a decisive factor"* (05-05-2021). Furthermore, when an interviewee did not take the automatic decision of visiting the Efteling by car, the journey was for some respondents part of the leisure activity. For example, visitors mentioned that their children would enjoy travelling by train or bus.

Besides some positive associations with public transport, the interviews indicated mixed meanings associated with the mobility mode. Whereas some found it comfortable, convenient and relaxing, others pointed out they found it difficult and uncomfortable. Further, as some said it is easy and convenient, others mentioned they find it not practical when travelling with children because of the luggage they would have to carry. Another negative meaning is the dependency on public transport schedules which was one of the biggest obstacles of the interviewees to travel by train and bus. As travelling by car provides visitors more flexibility and control, public transport might result in difficulties when searching for schedules and when considering possible delays. For instance, interviewee 1 mentioned, *"When considering public transport, you have to switch from bus to train to another bus, so there are more risks for delays"* (21-04-2021). This lack of trust in a smooth journey was mentioned more often during the interviews. For example, interviewee 3 said, *"I do not trust the NS [Dutch Railways] and Arriva [bus provider]"* (28-04-2021). Further, some interviewees, such as interviewee 9, mentioned that they want to remain flexible: *"When returning home from the Efteling, I want to leave whenever I want. I do not want to wait for the bus"* (05-05-2021). So interviewees indicated they do not want to consider public transport schedules as it decreases their self-control and flexibility. Additionally, according to interviewee 5, *"you are dependent on a service not being facilitated by the Efteling. So if it [the bus] does not leave, the Efteling is still continuing"* (29-04-2021).

5.2.2.2 Materials

The main material elements necessary for the practice public transport were the availability of buses, trains and infrastructure. When considering the Efteling, Kaatsheuvel does not have a train station. Nevertheless, the Efteling has a bus stop at the entrance of the theme park, resulting in good accessibility from multiple bus lines in the region (Internal communication Efteling-c, 2017). The buses from Tilburg and 's-Hertogenbosch train stations arrive regularly. Nevertheless, the interviewees mentioned the capacity of the buses and the experienced busyness as obstacles for travelling by public transport.

Further, the interviewees indicated that the main material elements resulting in the choice for public transport were based on the costs and price of the mobility mode. On the one hand, the students interviewed mentioned they possess a student travel card. Consequently, the low costs associated with public transport was for the interviewed students the main reason to choose this

mobility mode. Additionally, the students explained they did not possess a vehicle themselves, so in case they would want to travel by car, they would have to borrow one. This adds to the likeliness of travelling with public transport. On the contrary, the costs of public transport contributed for other interviewees to the decision to not travel with this mobility mode. If one does not have any discounts or deals, the interviewees mentioned they find public transport very costly. Further, they mentioned that the costs would be high if one travels by public transport with a large family. Hence, the elements are again influenced by the group visitors travel to the park with.

Another material element associated with public transport is the infrastructure and access of interviewees to public transport modes. Even though some mentioned they lived close to a bus stop or train station, others said they had to travel a long time before they could access a public transport mode. Nevertheless, even though some interviewees lived close to a bus stop or train station, this did not contribute to the likeliness of using public transport. Other reasons associated with their car, such as lower costs, convenience and habit, resulted in not considering public transport when travelling to the Efteling. On the contrary, other respondents explained they did not have easy access to public transport. This mainly was the case for those living in rural areas. Those interviewees would have to cycle or drive a long time towards the nearest train station or bus stop, which would significantly increase their travel time. For instance, interviewee 10 mentioned, *"It would mean I would have to cycle first for half an hour to find a bus stop because there is no bus stop in my town. It would already add half an hour to my travel time"* (07-05-2021).

The last material element contributing to public transport is the use of apps and websites to look up public transport schedules and times. Interviewees mentioned they consult the NS app to plan their journey when they travel with public transport. Further, if they wish to return home, they already look up the bus times when still being in the park to see what time they would have to leave.

5.2.2.3 Competences

Even though interviewees used apps and websites to look for the route, the interviews revealed that many interviewees did not know the route by public transport from their home to the Efteling. Only those who travelled to the Efteling by public transport before knew most of the route. Those who did not travel to the park by public transport before could make an estimation of the route but did not have the full 'know how'.

Another competence contributing to travelling by public transport is the ability of visitors to search for deals and discounts. The interviews revealed that interviewees would be interested in considering public transport if the costs were lower. They mentioned that often, before deciding on a mobility mode, they search whether deals and discounts are available. However, the interviews also indicated that choosing the car as a mobility mode is an automatic and unconscious decision for many. Therefore, this indicates that interviewees are currently not actively looking for public transport discounts before choosing a mobility mode. This is illustrated by the fact that some interviewees knew of the public transport deal from the NS. However, most interviewees did not know this is a year-round deal available on the NS website. For example, interviewee 5 mentioned, *"In case the deal from the NS would be there again, I would consider travelling by train"* (29-04-2021).

Figure 5.

The elements and relations between elements for the mobility practice public transport
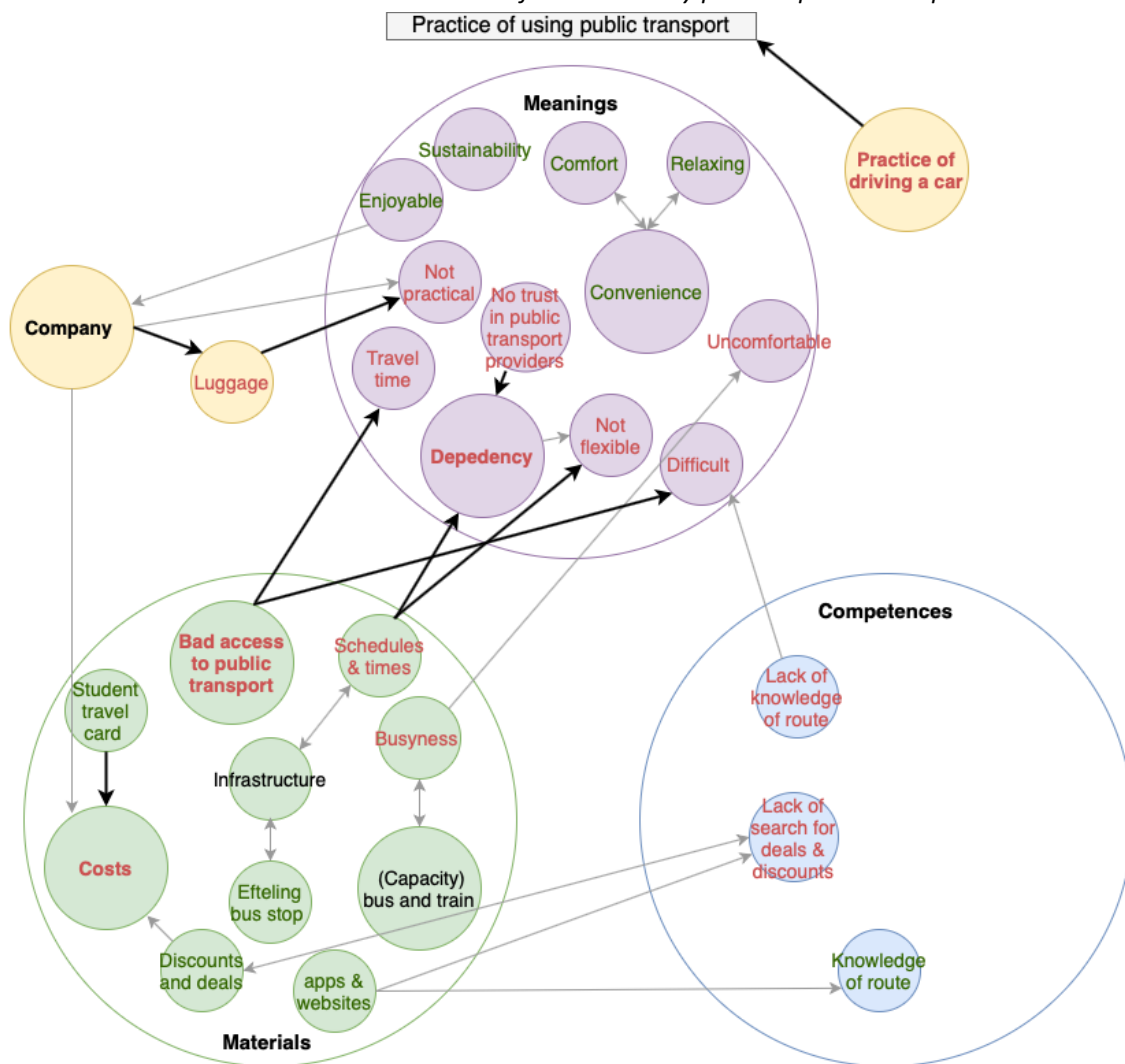
Note. The larger circles indicate more influential elements and the black arrows reveal the most influential relations. Further, whereas the elements written in green indicate a contribution to the existence of the practice public transport, the elements written in red result in people not travelling by public transport. The elements written in black can be either positively or negatively contributing to the existence of the practice. Additionally, the yellow elements are elements not part of the mobility practice itself but externally influence the elements.

5.2.3 Travelling by bicycle

5.2.3.1 Meanings

A low percentage of the visitors of the Efteling cycle to the theme park. The interviews revealed several positive meanings associated with cycling to the Efteling. Firstly, some interviewees mentioned that they find cycling enjoyable. In their opinion, cycling is a relaxing activity. For instance, interviewee 7 mentioned that when she would cycle to the Efteling, the cycling journey is already a part of her leisure activity: *"It is not the end destination which matters most but also the journey towards it, that is often also very enjoyable"* (04-05-2021). Those interviewees who argued cycling is relaxing were over 55 years. Younger respondents also mentioned they had an experience during which cycling was enjoyable. They cycled to the Efteling with friends or school for example. Another positive meaning associated with cycling is flexibility. Some interviewees

mentioned that one can decide on his or her own planning and it results in control. Further, just as was the case for public transport, sustainability is not the main reason for the interviewees to cycle to the Efteling. Nevertheless, they are happy when they know their mobility choice did not negatively affect the environment. Last, all respondents living within cycling distance for the Efteling mention weather as an important factor influencing the practice of cycling. In case of bad weather or an insecure weather forecast, visitors are not willing to cycle to the Efteling and they rather pick a more secure option such as their car.

Even though some factors contributed to the likeliness of visitors of the Efteling to cycle to the park, other more influential meanings resulted in the opposite. The most important meaning for visitors, living within cycling distance, to not cycle to the Efteling is because they find it too much effort. In their opinion, cycling is exhausting and a struggle. For example, interviewee 3 said:

"Distance is a thing for me. I do not like to cycle so that contributes to it. I find cycling too much effort and you arrive dirty and sweaty … An electric bicycle would possibly help, but then I have to purchase one and that is not an option" (28-04-2021).

Also, interviewees with children explained that after a long day at the Efteling, their children would not be able to cycle home. This is especially the case for visitors living further away from the Efteling and for which the travel time would be long. Travel time was an important consideration not only for those visitors with children but also for the interviewees without children.

Furthermore, safety concerns were reasons for some of the interviewees to not cycle to the Efteling. To illustrate, Interviewee 8 mentioned, *"If I am alone, I just cannot cycle with two children. I just do not find it safe"* (04-05-2021). Besides concerns regarding the safety of children, interviewee 9 also expressed her concerns regarding her safety. Even though cycling offers her more flexibility than public transport, she does not feel safe enough to cycle home after a visit to the Efteling: *"With the bus, I could return home by myself but I would never cycle home alone in the evening"* (05-05-2021). She refers to the cycling route from Tilburg to the Efteling, which is partly through a rural area.

5.2.3.2 Materials
The most essential material element of the practice cycling is access to a bicycle. All interviewees living within cycling distance to the Efteling indicated they possessed a bicycle. Further, interviewee 4 said he possessed an electric bike which enabled him to cycle longer distances. Two other interviewees, who did not possess an electric bike and who lived in Tilburg, told they would consider cycling in case they owned an electric bike. The cycling distance and time were too long, but owning an electric bike would increase their likeliness of cycling towards the Efteling. Nevertheless, as mentioned before, purchasing an electric bike is costly, which does not make it an accessible mobility mode for all visitors.

When considering the costs of cycling, the interviews revealed that the interviewees consider cycling as a free mobility mode. Even though the purchase of a bike can be costly, using it is costless (typically) and therefore, interviewees did consider this when thinking about cycling

as a mobility mode. Another material aspect important for cycling is the infrastructure and the available cycling routes. Some interviewees who were aware of the fast cycle route were curious about it. Nevertheless, as mentioned before, interviewee 9 expressed her concerns on the safety of the fast cycle route in the evenings as it passes a rural area. The last material element of the mobility mode 'cycling' is the bicycle parking facilities at the Efteling. Interviewees mentioned the bicycle parking is free for visitors, which increases their likeliness to cycle. Important parking area facilities were the possibilities to charge an electric bike and the security of the parking lot.

Furthermore, the luggage and other materials visitors bring to the park contribute to cycling not being an ideal option. The interviews revealed that especially visitors with young children bring much essential luggage, such as buggies, to the theme park, which is inconvenient when travelling by bicycle. Therefore, this is linked to meanings such as inconvenience and effort.

5.2.3.3 Competences

A few competences contribute to the ability of visitors to cycle to the Efteling. The most important one is the 'know how' of cycling. Visitors should have the skills to cycle and to participate in traffic as a cyclist. When visitors travel with young children, they should be able to cycle with their children on their own bike or their children should be competent to cycle themselves. Additionally, visitors should have the required knowledge of the cycling route or they should be able to search for the route. For instance, interviewee 6 mentioned she looked up the cycling route on Google Maps when doubting between different mobility modes.

Even though some of the previously mentioned meanings, competences and material elements facilitate cycling, for most interviewees they did not contribute to the performance of this practice when travelling to the Efteling. Instead, the elements of driving a car formed stronger relations resulting in this practice being dominant.

Figure 6.

The elements and relations between elements for the mobility practice cycling

Note. The larger circles indicate more influential elements and the black arrows reveal the most influential relations. Further, whereas the elements written in green indicate a contribution to cycling, the elements written in red result in people not cycling. The elements written in black can be either positively or negatively contributing to the existence of the practice. Additionally, the yellow elements are elements not part of the mobility practice itself but externally influence the elements.

5.3 Sustainability concerns

As section 4.2 of this thesis provided an overview of the elements of the mobility practices of visitors of the Efteling, this section dives deeper into the meaning 'sustainability' and discusses whether visitors consider sustainability when participating in a mobility practice. During the interviews, several patterns were found. First, most interviewees mentioned that they consider sustainability during their daily activities and that they find it an important topic. For instance, some mention they do not eat meat, reuse materials, and consume sustainable products. For most interviewees, this is a relatively new development caused by increased awareness of sustainability and environmental issues. For instance, interviewee 10 mentioned, *"You see it more in the news or in articles. Water is expensive, so why would you not collect rainwater? Why would you not carpool? Or why would you not search for other opportunities?"* (07-05-2021). Further, he

explained that his increased awareness resulted in more sustainable behaviour. However, the interviews revealed contrasting ideas regarding sustainability indicating that not all interviewees consider sustainability in their daily lives. For instance, interviewee 2 had doubts about his individual contribution to sustainability, *"You have the feeling that you cannot have an influence as an individual. You can consider taking the train, but then someone else will take the car"* (23-04-2021). Further, interviewee 3 mentioned she has difficulties with considering sustainability, *"I was thinking recently that I am doing too little. Not only regarding mobility but also in general. I do not know, it is just not in me"* (28-04-2021).

Even though some expressed their concerns about the environment and indicated they care about sustainability, this is not visible in their mobility behaviour when travelling to the Efteling. For instance, interviewee 5 mentioned, *"I always thought I find it very important [sustainability] and I express I find it very important but I would not think of travelling to the Efteling by public transport because it is more sustainable"* (29-04-2021). The interviews showed that other elements are more dominant and that sustainability considerations are not influential meanings within the mobility practices. The interviews revealed that elements such as poor access to public transport (material), habit (meaning) and convenience (meaning) are more decisive factors for interviewees to travel by car. For instance, interviewee 8 mentioned, *"I consider convenience and travel time more than I take the environment into consideration"* (04-05-2021). Additionally, interviewee 9 mentioned:

> *"I, for example, stopped eating meat because I can. It does not have an impact on my life. No, it does have an impact but it is easy. In one way or another, not using my car is a bigger step. It is caused by convenience and flexibility. I just want to be free in whatever I am doing and have self-control. I do not have that control when I am travelling by public transport"* (05-05-2021).

When considering other locations than the Efteling, the interviews indicated that most visitors did not choose their mobility mode based on sustainability considerations. As mentioned before, travelling by car is for many interviewees standard, automatic and unconscious behaviour. This not only refers to the Efteling but also accounts for other locations in daily life. Some interviewees mentioned they cycle to locations that are closer located to their homes, such as supermarkets. For example, interviewee 6 mentioned, *"If I only need a few things, I walk or I cycle … Because I appreciate the exercise but not specifically because I think it is better [for the environment]"* (30-04-2021). Additionally, interviewee 8 cycles to shops but not because of sustainability reasons: "*parking convenience is a reason I prefer cycling to the town than driving. Parking always is a hassle in the centre"* (04-05-2021). So for many, sustainable mobility practices are not caused by sustainability concerns but by other materials, meanings and competences. Nevertheless, some respondents did indicate they do consider sustainability in their mobility practices. For example, interviewee 10 mentioned he often carpooled.

Even though for most interviewees sustainability was not the main priority when choosing a mobility mode, the respondents indicated that they are happy if their behaviour is sustainable. For example, interviewee 2 explained that the reasons for choosing public transport are costs,

travel time and convenience *"and if sustainability is also an outcome, that would be nice"* (23-04-2021). Additionally, interviewee 5 mentioned:

> *"I would think it is cheaper [with a public transport discount] and more relaxing. It is a day off and would also be good for the environment. It would not be my main reason but I would think about it"* (29-04-2021).

Furthermore, some respondents who do not consider sustainability mention they would want to improve their awareness. Some argued that the Efteling could contribute to creating awareness of their visitors. For example, interviewee 7 said the Efteling should show:

> *"it is not standard to travel by car. Of course you are very welcome with your car, but there are many facilities that enable easy accessibility [with sustainable mobility modes]. You have to educate people I think"* (04-05-2021).

This highlighted the opportunities the Efteling has to create awareness of more sustainable mobility modes of their visitors. Further, interviewee 9 explained she does not automatically take her car and also considers other mobility modes *"If it concerns routes I normally not take and if I travel to places I do not visit that often"* (05-05-2021). So in case she visits a new location, she reflects on her choice of mobility mode whereas for locations she visits regularly, she has created a routine. This could be an opportunity for the Efteling as the interviews revealed that most interviewees only visit the Efteling occasionally.

5.4 Mobility experts' perspectives

To obtain a comprehensive insight into the mobility practices of visitors of the Efteling, interviews with mobility experts were conducted to study how visitors' mobility practices are representative for the leisure sector. Further, the interviews with the mobility experts were aimed at researching what elements of the mobility practices the Efteling should address to promote a shift from visits by car towards the use of more sustainable mobility modes.

5.4.1 Mobility in the leisure sector

The mobility experts claimed there is a difference between day-to-day mobility practices, such as commuting, and leisure mobility practices. Behavioural change expert Rick Baggermans explained that mobility behaviour often is a result of unconscious behaviour as we mostly do not consider the different mobility modes when travelling. Instead, people have created routines and habits. We behave according to these routines and habits as it would be inconvenient to consider the different mobility modes for each journey one takes. Mobility researcher Marlinde Knoope further explained this. She mentioned that commuting is often based on routine, *"The decision is made once and after that, it becomes a habit which is difficult to change"* (14-06-2021). Nevertheless, this is different for leisure locations such as the Efteling. Because most people do not visit the Efteling multiple times a year, they are more likely to be influenced to change their standard mobility mode. According to Rick Baggermans, *"Those people are probably better to reach and influence to travel differently. They are more consciously considering how do I get there?"* (15-06-

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2021). Even though people might also have created routines for leisure activities, Marlinde Knoope mentioned:

> *"You probably consider more how to get there and you would apply Google Maps to search how to drive and how long the journey takes. It is less of a routine [than day-to-day mobility], so I think that might be an opportunity"* (14-06-2021).

Consequently, the mobility experts have indicated that travelling for leisure often is preceded by better preparation. When considering the Efteling, visitors often download the Efteling mobile app, for instance, and search for routes to drive to the park.

Even though mobility experts saw an opportunity for the Efteling to change the current car-dominated mobility patterns from visitors, they mentioned that changing these patterns is difficult due to several meanings attached to car use. Similar to the results of the interviews with the visitors, the mobility experts mentioned that convenience is an important meaning people attach to travelling by car. This applies to travelling in daily life as well as travelling for leisure. Further, mobility experts mentioned this is more important for those travelling with children. They indicated that this is especially the case for those travelling with young children as this requires more essential luggage, such as buggies. Carrying this luggage into public transport or bringing this by bicycle were considered obstacles for families with young children.

Further, the interviews with the Efteling visitors indicated that the group characteristics inform the mobility mode of visitors of the Efteling. Likewise, the mobility experts mentioned that the Efteling has to consider this when implementing measures to stimulate sustainable mobility modes as visitor groups have different obstacles and opportunities. Therefore, according to Rick Baggermans, it is important to consider questions such as *"Who visit us? Where do they come from? What options do they have? What are good options for them?"* before implementing measures so that these groups are approached differently to provide them with optimal information and mobility opportunities (15-06-2021).

5.4.2 Interventions to foster sustainable mobility

This section further elaborates on the opportunities of the Efteling to influence the elements of the mobility practices. The interviews with the mobility experts indicated that a holistic perspective should be applied, including all the elements of the mobility practices to optimally stimulate a shift towards sustainable mobility practices. Consequently, the mobility experts promoted a mix of approaches to break the habits of visitors when travelling to the Efteling by car. On the one hand, the Efteling should facilitate the sustainable mobility modes by considering the relations between all the elements of the mobility practices. On the other hand, the Efteling should discourage a visit by car. Mobility consultant Arnoud Haans refers to a combination of facilitating sustainable mobility practices and discouraging unsustainable mobility practices as a *"sticks and carrots approach"* (10-06-2021).

5.4.2.1 Discourage the car

The interviews with Efteling visitors indicated that they considered the parking conditions at the Efteling as well organised. This is further discussed during the interviews with the mobility experts. They argued that the Efteling created good parking facilities resulting in an easy access by car. For example, Marlinde Knoope mentioned, *"They organised the parking area so that is it is very attractive to travel by car"* (14-06-2021). Further, according to Arnoud Haans, *"As long as there are large parking lots and there is a good traffic flow, there are no obstacles for me to travel by car"* (10-06-2021). Further, urban planner Marco Visser argued that the *"entrance is currently very much car-dominated"* (16-06-2021). This car domination is not only visible at the entrance of the Efteling but also exceeds to its website as visitors can currently buy a parking ticket when purchasing an entrance ticket. Additionally, visitors with an annual pass can add an annual parking pass to their annual pass, which costs 40 euros a year (Efteling, n.d.-b). According to Marlinde Knoope, this facilitating of car use has resulted in the car being the *"default"* mobility mode for visitors when travelling to the theme park (14-06-2021). Further, she mentioned, *"People may think that travelling by car is the common method to visit the Efteling, and deviating from this makes them feel the exemption"* (14-06-2021). Hence, mobility experts came up with suggestions to discourage the car use of visitors. Some focused on making the entrance less car-dominated by, for instance, decreasing the size of the parking lot. Additionally, the prices of the parking tickets and annual parking passes could be increased. Nevertheless, the mobility experts explained that an increase in parking costs might result in unhappy visitors and will have little effect on the car use among visitors.

5.4.2.2 Promote sustainable mobility

Even though some focused on discouraging the use of cars, the mobility experts emphasised stimulating the sustainable mobility modes and enabling visitors to change their mobility practices. This highlighted a more positive approach and encouraged sustainable mobility modes, such as public transport and cycling. Consequently, the Efteling should facilitate sustainable mobility practices just like it is currently facilitating the use of cars. This requires a focus on the material elements of the practices as the interviews with the mobility experts revealed that the current facilities and infrastructures should be optimised to reduce the barriers of sustainable mobility practices.

   The interviews with the visitors revealed that especially those living in rural areas do not have good access to public transport modes. Therefore, the mobility experts mentioned that instead of considering the public transport journey from a train station to the Efteling bus stop, the Efteling should consider pre-transport as well. As the number of transfers in public transport and waiting times were barriers for people to travel with this mobility mode, the whole journey should be optimised to reduce all possible barriers. For instance, Arnoud Haans mentioned that the Efteling could consider P&R locations in their public transport combi deals to help those visitors living far from a train station.

   Further, others mentioned the concept of Mobility as a Service (MaaS) which might be an opportunity for the Efteling to enable a sustainable journey of visitors. MaaS considers the whole journey, from home to the Efteling, and would provide visitors with the most optimal route.

However, the mobility experts had opposing opinions on whether they believed MaaS could result in a sustainable mobility sector.

Furthermore, several barriers could be eliminated for those visitors living within cycling distance to the Efteling to facilitate this mobility practice. Even though the visitors had a positive view of the bicycle parking, optimising the material elements could contribute to a shift towards more cycling according to the mobility experts. For example, the number of e-bike charging stations should be increased. Further, as the visitors with children mentioned that bringing luggage is an obstacle for them to travel by bicycle or public transport, the Efteling could facilitate buggies at the theme park. Even though currently visitors can already rent a buggy, the Efteling could ensure that visitors travelling by public transport or bicycle have free access to a buggy. This may result in increased competences as visitors have less luggage to carry, increasing their ability to use the mobility modes.

Besides facilitating the current sustainable mobility modes, the Efteling could also implement new sustainable mobility modes. Innovations mentioned by the mobility experts are, for instance, a bus from the Efteling decorated in the theme park's style, shared mobility such as shared e-scooters, shared e-bicycles or carpooling and new coach lines such as expanding the Flixbus lines.

Another positive approach is rewarding those visitors participating in sustainable mobility practices. According to Annelies van der Lee-Vennix, *"then they will be rewarded for their good behaviour"* (18-06-2021). This is focused on optimising the material elements of the mobility practices. According to the interviews with the mobility experts, rewarding could take several forms. The Efteling could provide discounts on public transport to ensure it is more affordable for visitors. Additionally, they could provide special treatment for visitors travelling with sustainable mobility modes. Several mobility experts gave the example of special entrances for visitors travelling by sustainable mobility modes so that those visitors do not have to wait in line before entering the theme park. Further, they could be rewarded by providing them discounts or free consumptions within the theme park. The interviews with the visitors of the Efteling revealed that the visitors would appreciate this but that it would not be decisive for them when considering a mobility mode.

The previous examples encourage optimising the material elements of the sustainable mobility practices. This might result in a shift in meanings and competences as the Social Practice Theory elements are related and therefore, a shift in one element can result in a change of the whole mobility practice. Nevertheless, a focus on merely facilitating material elements will not result in an optimal shift in mobility practices as the mobility practices should be considered holistically. Therefore, a shift in meanings and competences of visitors should be stimulated as well. Both the Efteling visitors and the mobility experts indicated that they think the Efteling should increase its communication and promotion of sustainable mobility practices to create awareness and stimulate visitors. As currently most visitors travel to the theme park by car due to routine and habit, awareness of sustainable mobility options could result in more positive meanings and increased competences of the sustainable mobility practices. For example, Annelies van der Lee-Vennix mentioned, *"I think people should be pointed to the fact that there are other possibilities to travel to the Efteling. People now only see the obstacles of public transport"* (18-06-2021). So the visitors should be shown the benefits of the sustainable mobility modes, such as

cycling and public transport, to reduce the dominant negative meanings. According to Rick Baggermans:

> *"You do not have to stimulate people to travel by bus or bicycle because it is more sustainable as that might not be a reason for people to travel by bus or bicycle … I think sustainability should not be the focus. I think you have to focus on convenience, comfort and travel time"* (15-06-2021).

Furthermore, the interviews with the mobility experts revealed that the Efteling should consider the contact moments they have with their visitors to optimise the promotion. Communication with visitors can go through, for example, the Efteling website and social media channels. A parking ticket is currently available on the website when purchasing an Efteling day ticket, contributing to the car being the default option as visitors actively have to look for other mobility modes. Therefore, according to the mobility experts, this contact moment could be used for creating awareness and stimulating more sustainable mobility practices. The website of the Efteling can also be used to create awareness of other material elements, such as cycling routes. Some visitors mentioned that they would enjoy cycling to the Efteling if they would have easy access to cycle routes. Therefore, the Efteling could provide this information to increase the positive meanings of cycling and to enhance competences related to cycling, such as knowledge on routes. As the interviews with the visitors revealed this would only attract specific visitor groups because the elements of the mobility practices were different for the different visitor groups, the Efteling should consider which contact moments can be used to address the elements of the different visitor groups specifically.

5.4.3 Shared responsibility

The interviews with the mobility experts indicated that they see an opportunity for the Efteling to have a leading role within the leisure sector to promote sustainable mobility. As the 5.26 million visitors in 2019 (Internal communication Efteling-a, n.d.) result in large traffic flows, the Efteling has the responsibility to promote the reduction of car use and to stimulate sustainable mobility practices. For instance, Rick Baggermans mentioned:

> *"I think that as a large company, you have a responsibility and especially with increasing visitors numbers [in the future], there will be many visitor travel movements from many polluting vehicles resulting in all sorts of issues"* (15-06-2021).

Further, besides contributing to more sustainable mobility in the leisure sector, mobility experts believed that a leading role of the Efteling would also result in a green image for the theme park. Nevertheless, they mentioned that the Efteling should not do this in isolation and collaborations between stakeholders should enable a shift in mobility practices of visitors of the Efteling. For instance, Annelies van der Lee-Vennix mentioned:

"I think it is a societal issue for all governmental organisations but not only that, also for employers and locations having large visitor streams. All the layers should challenge this and promote more sustainable movements" (18-06-2021).

Consequently, only shared responsibility can result in an optimal approach to positively alter the mobility practice elements. Moreover, mobility experts from the province of Noord Brabant, the municipality of Tilburg and the municipality of Loon op Zand mentioned that there are shared interests between the parties, so collaboration could result in a comprehensive approach. Additionally, the Efteling should collaborate with non-governmental parties to enable more sustainable mobility practices of visitors. Together with the governmental organisations, the Efteling could collaborate with private mobility providers such as shared mobility providers for e-scooters, coach transport organisations and MaaS providers to implement innovative and sustainable mobility options in the region.

6. Discussion and recommendations

In the following chapter, the research questions provided in the introduction will be answered by reflecting on the outcomes of the study and the theoretical framework. The interventions of the Efteling to promote sustainable mobility practices will be explained. Further, the most influential elements of the mobility practices of the Efteling visitors will be discussed. Following, possible approaches to address unsustainable mobility practices are provided. Last, the potential directions for future research will be discussed.

6.1 Addressing unsustainable mobility practices

This section of the discussion is aimed at answering the first research question: *How is the Efteling currently addressing mobility related emissions of their visitors to promote sustainable mobility practices?*. The Efteling has the goal of becoming carbon neutral in 2030 as nature is part of the roots of the theme park. Therefore, the Efteling has adopted a CSR perspective including the environment. As most visitors travel to the theme park by car, a focus on mobility is essential for addressing CO_2 emissions and working towards the goal of carbon neutral in 2030. Therefore, mobility is also an important aspect of the Masterplan World of Efteling 2030, which includes the plans for the future of the Efteling. The approach of the Efteling to address mobility-related emissions of their visitors is currently focused on facilitating sustainable mobility modes. For instance, they increased the number of electric car charging stations, they set up a new bus line and developed public transport combi tickets. These initiatives are focused on enabling a visit by sustainable mobility modes by making them accessible and cheaper. By doing so, the Efteling is focused on implementing facilities and innovations applicable to the situation of the Efteling. Therefore, when considering the Social Practice Theory elements by Shove et al. (2012), this is mainly focused on facilitating material elements of sustainable mobility practices. Nevertheless, as Social Practice Theory argues practices should be studied and addressed holistically, all the competences, meanings and relations should be addressed when promoting a shift in practices.

Including the environmental CSR dimension is in line with the study of González-Rodríguez et al. (2015) and with the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism of the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 1999). Nevertheless, in the current academic debate, literature regarding theme parks including the environmental CSR dimension is scarce (Contreiras et al., 2016). Most studies have focused on the economic and social dimensions (e.g. Milman et al., 2010; Hatipoglu et al., 2019). Those studies including the environmental dimension focused mainly on the direct effect on nature such as biodiversity and nature preservation (e.g. European Business and Biodiversity Campaign., n.d.; Vučetić, 2018). However, a focus has not been on emissions caused by visitor mobility practices. Therefore, this study contributes to the academic debate as it includes the reduction of the scope 3 emissions, the indirect emissions (European Commission, n.d.-a). Consequently, the outcomes of this study show how theme parks can move beyond their direct environmental impact and can address unsustainable mobility practices of visitors to reach goals of carbon neutrality.

Nevertheless, even though this study contributes to the academic debate, this research focused on Dutch visitors of the Efteling whereas the results have shown the Efteling also welcomes many international visitors. Therefore, future research could include international visitors of theme parks. Those international visitors travel from further destinations and might

have different contextual and personal factors informing their mobility practices. Consequently, studying mobility practices of, for example, Belgium and German visitors may result in new insights in (un)sustainable mobility practices.

6.2 The elements influencing the mobility practices

When considering the second research question: *How do the elements meanings, materials and competences influence the mobility practices of visitors of the Efteling?*, this study revealed that a combination of many elements result in the currently dominant mobility practice of visiting the Efteling by car. The meaning of convenience is most associated with a visit by car. Nevertheless, convenience is explained differently by visitors. Whereas for some travelling by car is the most convenient because it is the fastest option, others find a visit by car the most convenient as it allows them to bring much essential luggage. Especially owning a car and having easy access to it results in the car being a convenient mobility mode. This is not only for the Efteling but accounts for most travelling patterns in visitors' lives. This has resulted in the creation of routines and habits. Visitors often unconsciously travel by car because this is routine behaviour and they do not consider other mobility modes. This confirms the study of Jeekel (2013) who refers to this as emotional (subjective) car dependency as it is caused by attitudes, habits and a lack of information. Furthermore, the Efteling facilities contribute to this. The visitors explained that a visit by car is very well organised and facilitated by the Efteling, which has resulted in minimal obstacles when travelling to the theme park by car. Moreover, visitors and mobility experts said the car is currently the default option and the Efteling entrance is car-dominated. This also extends to the Efteling website on which a visit by car is made easier. This resulted in most visitors not considering the sustainable mobility options when travelling to the theme park. Additionally, even though visitors did assign some positive meanings to the sustainable mobility practices, the results have shown that the required elements and relations between elements are currently non-existent, resulting in many visitors not participating in the sustainable mobility practices.

Overall, this thesis illustrates it is essential to consider all the Social Practice Theory elements and the relations to form a comprehensive understanding of visitors' mobility patterns. Social Practice Theory allows for combining both agency and structure within specific contexts rather than merely focussing on the agency-specific aspects (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008). Further, Social Practice Theory considers a practice as being carried out by people (Shove et al., 2012; Williams, 2015) through repetition and the reproduction of the elements (Schatzki, 1996; Reckwitz, 2002). Following this reasoning, it could be interpreted that practices consist of reoccurring elements. Nevertheless, this study has shown that the mobility practices of visitors differ depending on the visitor characteristics and individual contextual factors. Different meanings, material elements and competences result in similar practices: travelling by car. This follows the reasoning of Shove (2016), who discusses that similar practices might exist despite differences in resources. Therefore, the practice elements and relations differ for the visitor groups and are depending on various aspects. Some elements are the same for (most) visitors, for instance: owning a car, knowing how to cycle and infrastructure, whereas others differ: family composition, access to public transport, travel distance and personal experiences. Therefore, not one practice model of travelling by car can be developed and these differences need to be taken into consideration when developing a Social Practice Theory model of mobility practices.

These findings contribute to the available literature regarding Social Practice Theory. Even though previous studies about mobility patterns have applied a Social Practice Theory approach (Shove, 2016; Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008; Williams, 2015), these studies did not include the mobility of visitors of theme parks within the leisure sector. For instance, Verbeek and Mommaas (2015) considered mobility practices in the tourism industry but studied air travelling as an unsustainable mobility practice. Therefore, this study contributes to understanding the mobility practices of day recreation in the leisure industry. Most studies researching short trips have been focused on commuting to work instead of travelling for day recreation (De Kruijf et al., 2018; Kennisinstituut voor Mobiliteitsbeleid, 2015; TNO, 2010). To contribute to this research gap, this study has shown that people travelling for leisure have very specific elements resulting in their mobility practices. Therefore, this study enhances the understanding of mobility practices of people travelling for leisure.

6.3 The influence of sustainability concerns on mobility practices

When answering the third research question: *In what ways do the visitors of the Efteling take sustainability reasons into consideration during their mobility practices when visiting the theme park?,* most visitors consider sustainability in their daily lives but do not take sustainability into consideration during their mobility patterns. This is especially not the case when travelling to the Efteling. Many argued that driving is an automatic and unconscious habit and even though they care about the environment, this is not visible in their mobility practices. Other elements are currently more influential, resulting in the car being the dominant mobility practice. However, this study revealed that visitors are happy when sustainability is an outcome of their travelling patterns. They would feel good about themselves and happy that they contribute to sustainability. However, this is currently not an influential meaning resulting in sustainable mobility practices. Behavioural theorists would call this the value-action gap (e.g. Flynn et al., 2009) or the attitude-behaviour gap (e.g. Rhead et al., 2015) as people care about sustainability but do not act accordingly. Nevertheless, Social Practice Theory applies a more holistic perspective and, consequently, considers structure and contextual factors rather than merely focussing on the individual (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008). Following this theory, the element of sustainability as a meaning is existent but it is not integrated with the mobility practices yet, so it does not contribute to sustainable mobility practices to be dominant.

6.4 Initiatives to foster sustainable mobility practices

This section aims to answer the intervention question of this thesis: *Which elements of the different mobility practices should the Efteling address to promote a shift from unsustainable mobility practices towards sustainable mobility practices?*. The mobility experts emphasised a combination of measures to promote a shift from the unsustainable mobility practice driving a car to sustainable mobility practices such as cycling or using public transport. This is called the sticks and carrots approach, in which the sticks are measures that discourage the use of cars and carrots are measures that make sustainable mobility modes more attractive. However according to Shove et al. (2012), this is an agency-oriented focus and neglects contextual and structural factors. Moreover, this is primarily aimed at altering the material elements to promote a shift in mobility patterns. This is similar to previous initiatives of the Efteling, which focused on facilitating material

elements. Nevertheless, a comprehensive and holistic approach for stimulating sustainable mobility practices should consider all elements, the relations between elements and the relations with other mobility practices (Shove et al., 2012; Spurling & McMeekin, 2015). A mix of approaches should be implemented that addresses the different elements of the mobility practices as focusing on only a few elements will ultimately not result in a shift away from the default practice of driving a car. So besides facilitating material elements, a focus of the Efteling should be on creation of awareness, stimulation and increased communication. According to Shove et al. (2012), communication can result in changing meanings. For instance, Pojani et al. (2017) argue that people are willing to cycle longer distances if they perceive more benefits of cycling. Likewise, the Efteling could create more awareness of the positive meanings associated with cycling.

According to Gössling (2009), achieving carbon neutrality often requires the development of alternative mobility systems to reduce CO_2 emissions. Therefore, the Efteling should not only focus on promoting existing sustainable mobility practices but also consider mobility innovations that could be implemented in the situation of the Efteling. Mobility experts have given examples of MaaS (Mobility as a Service) and shared mobility. This follows the reasoning of the sustainable mobility paradigm by Banister (2008), including the need for technological innovation and efficiency in combination with regulations and targeting individuals to foster sustainable mobility. Similar to Shove et al. (2012), this can be considered a holistic approach as both argue that the development of technologies alone is not sufficient for the development of sustainable mobility. All the relations between the practice elements should be considered, so also the competences and the meanings. When a new practice emerges, others are often no longer performed or not as frequently as before (Shove et al., 2012). So the promotion of new sustainable mobility practices, such as the use of MaaS and shared mobility, can reduce the use of cars. Further, as there are overlapping elements between the mobility practices, a change in one practice can change other practices (Shove et al., 2012).

Furthermore, the mobility experts think the Efteling is responsible for promoting a shift as the theme park causes many traffic streams. According to the mobility experts, the Efteling should not address the issues in isolation but should collaborate with other parties as this may result in an optimal approach. Collaboration should be done with governmental parties, mobility and behavioural experts, and private enterprises that develop sustainable mobility innovations. This follows the reasoning of Bos and Temme (2014). They argued the mobility sector does not have a specific "problem owner" being responsible for mobility-related emissions (pp. 103-104). Therefore, neither the government, private sector or consumers can be given full accountability for promoting a shift towards sustainable mobility. Consequently, a collaborative and multi-actor approach including all actors should be applied to promote a shift in mobility practices (Banister, 2008; Bos & Temme, 2014). This also aligns with Gössling (2009) who argued that cooperation between all involved actors and shared responsibility are needed to achieve a change for carbon neutrality.

However, most Social Practice Theory studies do not focus on the responsibility of the market to change mobility practices but, rather, place responsibility on policymakers in governmental organisations (e.g. Shove, 2016; Spurling & McMeekin, 2015; Williams, 2015). Therefore, this thesis contributes to literature on Social Practice Theory by researching how

private organisations can promote a shift in practices. Similarly, Shove et al. (2012) promotes the connection of all actors in the network to foster a shift in practices. Accordingly, Maller and Strengers (2015) argued that potential change agents for initiating change in practices could be "anyone and anything" (p. 197).

Figure 7.
The recommendations for the Efteling
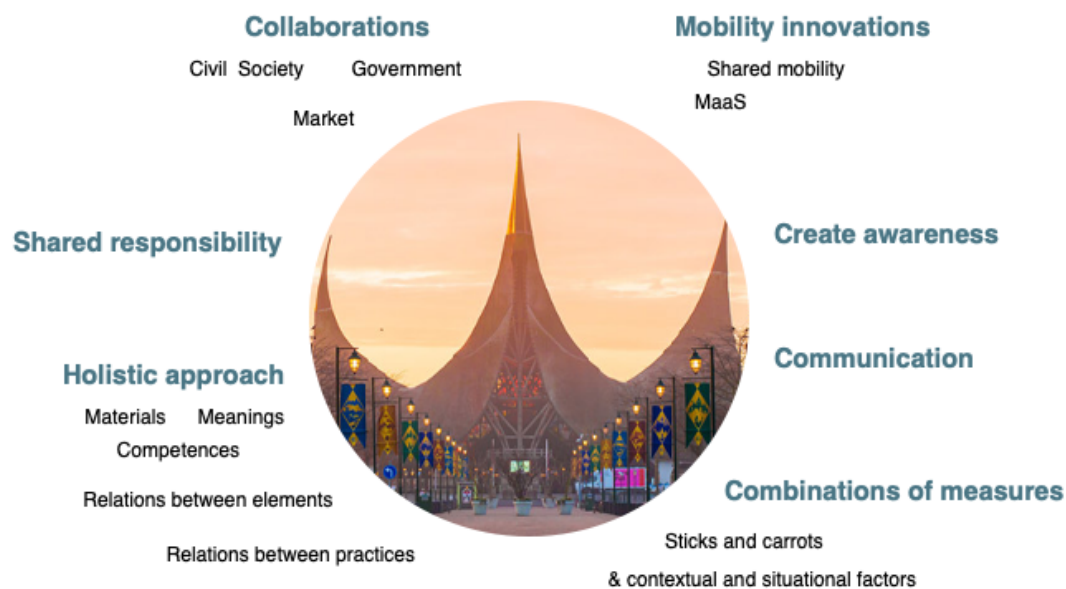
6.5 Recommendations for future research

Regarding the recommendations for future research, it would be relevant to study the mobility practices of new mobility innovations besides the currently dominant practices of driving a car, cycling and using public transport. The mobility experts mentioned the mobility innovations MaaS and shared mobility to promote a shift towards sustainable mobility practices. Therefore, future research should study what these innovations consist of and how the elements and relations of the current practices could be influenced to promote the implementation of MaaS and shared mobility in mobility practices. A longitudinal research approach could be applied as this offers possibilities to study shifts in practices and their trajectories (Maller & Strengers, 2015).

As mentioned in section 6.1, it would be relevant for future research to study mobility practices from international visitors. This might enhance the understanding of mobility practices to the Efteling and other leisure destinations. Additionally, the interviews with the mobility experts have revealed that one has to carefully consider whom you are targeting when promoting sustainable mobility practices. Therefore, future research focusing on international visitors will provide a better understanding on how to best stimulate sustainable mobility practices for visitor groups.

Additionally, this study merely focused on day visitors of the Efteling. However, because the Efteling has several hotels and holiday parks, studying visitors with an overnight stay might be relevant to further understand mobility practices. This might be relevant for the broader tourism

industry as it moves from day recreation specifically. Consequently, a study considering visitors staying for an extended period might provide more insights into mobility practices within the broader tourism and leisure industry.

7. Conclusion

7.1 Zooming in: implications for the Efteling

To reach Efteling's goal of carbon neutrality in 2030, mobility is an essential aspect of the sustainability strategy of the Efteling as currently most of the visitors travel to the theme park by car, contributing to most of its CO_2 emissions. This study aimed to understand what causes mobility patterns from visitors of the Efteling and how the theme park can promote sustainable mobility practices. An in-depth research of the case indicated that combinations of meanings, materials and competences of the different mobility practices result in driving a car currently being the most dominant mobility practice. Therefore, the answer to the main research question: *What aspects inform the (un)sustainable mobility patterns of visitors travelling to the Efteling?* includes a variety of elements and relations. On the one hand, the dominant practice of travelling by car is mainly a result of convenience, habit, and the Efteling's facilitates and infrastructures. Further, this study revealed that contextual factors, as well as personal characteristics of visitors, inform mobility practices. Nevertheless, elements of the practice driving a car do not result in current mobility patterns in isolation. The dominant mobility practice of driving a car is highly linked with the other mobility practices cycling and using public transport. This is due to 1) shared elements, such as infrastructure, and 2) competing elements, such as convenience and habit. These relations are resulting in the car being the dominant mobility mode of visitors of the Efteling. This implies that if the Efteling wants to promote a change in mobility practices, they should apply a holistic approach considering all elements, relations between elements and relations between the different mobility practices. Shared responsibility and collaborations between governmental actors, market organisations and visitors should be realised to optimally promote changes to the elements and corresponding relations.

7.2 Zooming out: implications for sustainable mobility and CSR in the leisure sector

Because the Efteling had 5.26 million visitors a year in 2019 (Internal communication Efteling-a, n.d.), they wish to increase this (Efteling, 2017) and the visitors travel from all over the Netherlands, mobility patterns of visitors travelling by car result in environmental issues beyond the location of the Efteling. Therefore, this study adds to addressing mobility-related emissions on the local, regional and national levels. Consequently, the study wishes to contribute to broader goals of carbon neutrality such as those from the province of Noord Brabant and from the national, Dutch, government.

Furthermore, this study indicated that the Efteling can have a leading role in promoting sustainable mobility practices of visitors as it is the largest theme park of the Netherlands and belongs to the top 5 theme parks of Europe (ZKA Strategy Consultants, 2018). If the Efteling would actively promote sustainable mobility, other organisations in the leisure sector could take the Efteling as an example and include goals of carbon neutrality and goals of sustainable visitor mobility patterns in their CSR strategies as well. Because mobility is a big contributor to environmental issues in the tourism sector (Hoyer, 2000; Peeters et al., 2004), other organisations including sustainable mobility goals could add to a more sustainable sector. This follows the World Tourism Organization, which included the environmental dimension in the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism (UNWTO, 1999).

Additionally, besides the practical implications for the Efteling, this study also contributes to the academic debate regarding CSR in the leisure industry by studying the integration of the environmental CSR dimension at theme parks. This study contributes to the literature by showing how theme parks can integrate (un)sustainable mobility of their visitors in their CSR strategies to work towards goals of carbon neutrality. Besides, this study focuses on mobility patterns at day recreation instead of, for example, considering air travelling for longer vacations. Consequently, this study enhances the understanding of mobility practices within the leisure sector, contributing to the Social practice Theory debate. Further, it reveals how the market side is responsible for addressing unsustainable mobility practices.

7.3 Limitations of the study

Besides the applicability of this study and the implications to the leisure sector, several limitations have impacted the research. A first limitation of this study is researcher subjectivity. The interpretive design of this study might have caused bias due to my own experiences and background. Nevertheless, several techniques of Silverman (2015) were applied to reduce this bias and to use the interpretive design to strengthen the study. First, memos were written after conducting the interviews in which I reflected on the most essential and outstanding outcomes. This allowed me to be reflective on the interview guide and alter this according to the interviewee responses. Second, diagramming was done after the coding to think about the relationships emerging from the coding (e.g. Figure 4). This added another layer of interpretation to the study, which is more visual. Third, keeping a research log throughout the research project allowed for reflections on the process and on the choices made. Applying these several techniques from Silverman (2015) resulted in a better interpretation of the research results and a more comprehensive understanding of the case.

A second limitation of this study is the use of hypothetical situations during the interviews. For instance, situations were discussed which the visitors had not experienced before. For example, questions about cycling were asked to visitors who never applied this mobility mode when travelling to the Efteling. Consequently, those answers might not reflect actual mobility patterns. This could be caused by social desirability, as interviewees might have provided socially acceptable answers to the discussions. For instance, they indicated they care about sustainability, so their answers on mobility choices might have been more aligned with sustainability considerations than their actual travelling patterns would reveal.

A third limitation of this study is about difficulties with generalisability. The case study focused on the Efteling situation, limiting the generalization of the results to the broader leisure or tourism sector. Nevertheless, even though the Efteling has a unique situation and the interview methods were aimed at studying the situation of the Efteling. Nevertheless, the interviews with the mobility experts were used to confirm whether the results obtained from the visitor interviews were representative of leisure travelling practices. Therefore, other leisure locations might apply the findings of this research project in their specific context.

Last, the limited number of interviews and time constraints could also be considered a limitation of this study. Due to the relatively short time frame, only ten visitors of the Efteling were interviewed and five mobility experts. As the results have indicated, mobility practices are, among contextual factors, depending on individual factors. The ten interviews with visitors probably did

not provide an understanding of all possible elements included in the mobility practices. For this reason and because Social Practice Theory has indicated practices constantly evolve and develop (Shove et al., 2012), organisations in the leisure sector, such as the Efteling, should remain active in studying and addressing mobility practices to promote more sustainable mobility practices.

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Welcome and introduction

Introduction
- Welcome and introduction
- Explain confidentiality of the study
- Ask for consent to start recording

Introduction interviewee
- Age, place of residence, household composition
- Occupation
- How often do you visit the Efteling?
- With whom did you visit the Efteling the last time you went to the park?
- Do you have an annual pass of the Efteling (or in the past)? Annual parking pass?
- With which mobility modes do you visit the Efteling?

Core of the interview

Competences related questions
- Do you have a driver license?
- Do you know, besides X, with which other mobility modes you can visit the Efteling from your address?
- How did you search for the possibilities to visit the Efteling by public transport/bicycle?
- Would you be able to cycle to the Efteling (with your children)?

Meanings-related questions
- Can you tell why you choose to travel to the Efteling with mobility mode X?
  - Can you explain why you did not choose a different mobility mode?
- Did you ever doubt between different mobility modes when visiting the Efteling?
- Does the COVID-19 crisis change your opinion of public transport?

Sustainability-related questions
- Can you tell me if you consider sustainability when choosing a mobility mode to visit the Efteling with?
- Imagine going to the Efteling this summer, would sustainability concerns influence the mobility mode you choose?
- Do you consider sustainability when travelling to locations other than the Efteling?

Materials-related questions
- Do you own the mobility mode you travel to the Efteling with?
- Do you have discounts or specific passes for public transport? Do you search for them?
- To what extent do you take price and costs into consideration when choosing a mobility mode?
- Would you consider public transport in case this would be cheaper?

- What do you think about the accessibility of the Efteling when traveling from your address?
- If there would be a better public transport connection from your address, would you consider visiting the Efteling by public transport?
- In case there would be a coach line from the centre of your city to the Efteling, would you consider taking this?

Ranking of the elements

Interviewee already explained why he/she choose mobility mode X. I would now like to rank the different reasons for mobility modes to see what the respondent find the most important factors when choosing a mobility mode.
- Let the interviewee rank it from 1 to 5
- Why did you rank the reasons like this?
- Do you miss a reason in this list? What would you add and where?

Intervention questions
- What would need to change to change your mobility mode towards a more sustainable mobility mode (cycling/public transport/coach)?
- What would convince you to choose public transport as your standard mobility mode to visit the Efteling with? And for the bicycle? And for coach transport?

Ranking interventions

The interviewee can rank the ideas from which he/she thinks it will be most effective – least effective to promote sustainable mobility at the Efteling.
1. Free parking for electric cars
2. Coach with Efteling decoration
3. Discount or reward when cycling to the park or using public transport
4. Cheap touring car from big cities
5. Increase price parking ticket
6. Promote sustainable mobility on the website after purchasing an entrance ticket

-Why did you rank it in this order?
-Can you come up with other interventions? Where would you rank these?

Closing
- Are there any topics we did not discuss yet but from which you think they might be useful for my study?
- Do you have any remaining questions or comments for me?
- Thank interviewee for time and participation

Welcome and introduction

Introduction
- Welcome and introduction
- Explain confidentiality of the study
- Ask for consent to start recording

Introduction interviewee
- Where do you work and what is your function?
- How many years do you have experience in the field of mobility?
- What is your knowledge regarding infrastructure, mobility and mobility behaviour in the tourism or leisure sector? And the Efteling specifically?

Core of the interview

Sustainable mobility
- What is sustainable mobility according to you? Examples?
- Could you tell what your experience is with projects regarding sustainable mobility?
- Why is making mobility more sustainable important for your organisation?

Mobility in the leisure sector
- What is typical for mobility behaviour of people travelling for leisure activities?
- How does mobility within the leisure sector and in 'normal' daily life differ according to you?
- What are the biggest constraints regarding sustainable mobility in the leisure sector?

Change of the mobility sector
- Could you explain whether you think the mobility sector has changed in 2030? And mobility patterns for leisure?
- What are the biggest changes that you expect to occur regarding infrastructure and means of transportation?
- What are the biggest changes that you expect to occur regarding mobility behaviour?

Mobility at the Efteling
- Interviews with visitors indicated that travelling by car is often a result of automatic behaviour and habits, how do you think the Efteling can change this behaviour?
- How can the Efteling promote visitors to travel by bicycle more often?
    o What are constraints for visitors to not travel to the Efteling by bicycle?
- How can the Efteling promote visitors to travel by public transport more often?
    o What are the constraints for visitors to not travel to the Efteling by public transport?
- What are new mobility innovations the Efteling can apply to promote sustainable mobility of its visitors?

- What are possible alterations that could be made to the infrastructure to promote sustainable mobility of visitors of the Efteling?

Responsibility
- Who do you think is responsible for promoting sustainable mobility to the Efteling?
- Can you explain whether you think the Efteling should have a leading role in the leisure sector to promote sustainable mobility practices?
- Which role can the government and the municipalities take to promote sustainable mobility of visitors of the Efteling?
- Can you tell whether you think the Eftling should change its communication regarding (sustainable) mobility?
- What are the biggest obstacles for promoting sustainable mobility initiatives at the Efteling?
- If you would work at the Efteling, what are changes you would imply immediately to promote sustainable mobility of visitors?

Closing interview
- Are there any topics we did not discuss yet but from which you think they might be useful for my study?
- Do you have any remaining questions or comments for me?
- Thank interviewee for time and participation