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# Slow Travel and Tourism

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# List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AONB | Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty |
| CAGR | compound annual growth rate |
| $CO_2$ | carbon dioxide |
| EEA | European Environment Agency |
| EU | European Union |
| EU-25 | Schengen Agreement countries |
| EU27 | the enlarged European Union |
| EU ETS | EU Emissions Trading Scheme |
| EUROSTAT | EU Statistical Office |
| EuroVelo | European cycle network |
| GDP | gross domestic product |
| GHG | greenhouse gas |
| HST | high-speed train |
| IAPT | International Association of Public Transport |
| IPPC | Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change |
| LDCs | least developed countries |
| LPG | liquefied petroleum gas |
| Mt $CO_2$ | million metric tonnes of $CO_2$ |
| $NO_X$ | oxides of nitrogen |
| pkm | passenger km |
| ppmv | parts per million by volume |
| SBB | Swiss National Railway |
| $SO_2$ | sulphur dioxide |
| UNCED | United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, otherwise known as the Earth Summit, in Rio de Janeiro |
| UNEP | United Nations Environment Programme |
| UNWTO | United Nations World Tourism Organization |
| Velib | Vélo Liberté |
| WTO | World Tourism Organization |

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# 1
# The Emergence of Slow Travel

Our treatise is a simple one. From its roots in the slow food movement of the 1980s, with concern for locality, ecology and quality of life, slow travel has gained momentum over the past decade. It will continue to grow as the need to reduce our carbon footprint becomes central to our lifestyles. Characterized by shorter distances, low-carbon consumption and a greater emphasis on the travel experience, slow travel heralds a fundamentally different approach to tourism. We contend that it will become more widespread in future decades. The aim of this book is to define slow travel and to discuss how some of its underlying values are likely to pervade new forms of sustainable tourism development. The book also aims to provide insights into the travel experience; these are explored in several chapters that bring new knowledge about sustainable tourism transport from across the world.

In recent years slow travel has emerged as a topic of discussion in a number of academic, tourism sector and media contexts. In academia, slow travel, and associated terms such as slow tourism, slow mobility and soft mobility, have increasingly been associated with low-carbon travel (Hall, 2007a). For example, Matos-Wasem (cited in Ceron and Dubois, 2007) refers to 'le tourisme lent', and Dubois and Ceron (2006a) have referred to rail tourism as 'slow tourism'. Dickinson et al (2010a) have defined slow travel as follows:

> *Slow travel is an emerging conceptual framework which offers an alternative to air and car travel, where people travel to destinations more slowly overland, stay longer and travel less.*

The idea also encompasses more experiential elements such as:

> *the importance of the travel experience to, and within, a destination, engagement with the mode(s) of transport, associations*

> *with slow food and beverages, exploration of localities in relation to patrimony and culture at a slower pace and, what might best be described as, support for the environment. (Dickinson et al, 2010b)*

The implicit conceptual framework on which the discussion focuses is that of slow consumption, a counter-cultural wave against the plethora of products and services that emphasize speed and convenience over quality of experience (Honoré, 2004). The rationale underpinning this emerging work is that slow ways of doing things bring more meaning, understanding and pleasure to any given form of activity, whether it be food or travel. It is a conceptual alternative to speed as one of the driving forces in the lives of people living in western cultures (Germann Molz, 2009). It takes forward the notion that Peters (2006, p1) refers to when he comments:

> *... I will challenge the basic assumption underlying this line of thinking, the idea that time spent travelling can be reduced to a neutral and measured unity which can be saved if we speed up. The core of my argument is that travel not only* takes *time, but it also* makes *time.*

To a lesser extent the discussion has also extended to the role of the supply sectors. Several commentators, for example, have turned their attention to a critique of food supply. In particular, they discuss the ecological justice or otherwise of global food production systems. They ask how it can be ethically right to produce 50 per cent of crops in order to feed animals and 10 per cent to fuel vehicles, while starvation exists in many parts of the developing world (Fonte, 2006; Pollan, 2007). Is there not a parallel with tourism? How can we move towards more equitable and sustainable forms of travel? How might such new forms of tourism flourish in a world that is changing to meet the strictures of the ecological limits to growth? These are fundamental issues which tourism scholars need to address; this book seeks to offer a contribution to the discussion.

Slow travel has many parallels with slow food. Nilsson et al (2007) discuss the development of slow food and the interfaces with slow cities (Cittáslow) in terms of improving quality of life, principally for residents, but also coincidentally for the tourist. The authors refer to the emergence of slow food as a response to 'globalised homogenisation' and Cittáslow as a reaction to the 'globalization of our townscapes' (Nilsson et al, 2007, p2). The threads of the argument are similar. There is a resistance to an economic domain which prioritizes globalization, standardization and rationality. Instead, the focus, it is argued, should be on the vernacular, local distinctiveness and place-based knowledge. Individuality and diversity are essential for the health of towns and for tourism.

It is interesting to note that in a series of in-depth interviews with participants from Cittáslow towns in Italy, Nilsson and his colleagues discerned a cautionary approach to tourism. The concern was about exploitation.

Encouragement of the tourism sector might overwhelm the small-scale nature of development in their localities, especially in relation to their heritage and gastronomy. Nevertheless, authors argue that there is a place for tourism in Cittáslow towns; there are linkages that can be progressed to good effect. The authors translate a paragraph of the work of Frykman to capture the essence of time and spatial distance, central to what he termed slow tourism, as being:

> *An indicator of a wider process – a reaction in that time and space is compressed in the fast society. The hunting of seconds tends to wipe out the peculiarities of place and persons ... Therefore, places in contemporary Europe have put their continuity and history to the front. Slowness has become one of the many ways to express such peculiarity. (Frykman, 2000, p37)*

The word 'fast' is recurrent in the tourism and hospitality literature. The analysis of the fast food concept by Ritzer (1993) explains why the quest for rationality, efficiency, control and predictability in the hospitality sector may not necessarily be beneficial for society. Ritzer's book, more importantly, offers a reflection on the cultural drift towards fast as the dominant way of life in North American society. The approach, exemplified by the McDonald's organization, is symbolic of several wider dehumanizing processes pervading society:

> *McDonaldization refers to the process by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as the rest of the world. (Ritzer, 1993, p3)*

This influential work has spawned a literature on the word 'fast' that focuses on the cultural processes which ensue in tourism (Bryman, 1999; Weaver, 2005). It presents a vision of tourism which is increasingly disengaged from its roots in education, religion and exploration (Walton, 2009). It is symptomatic, it is argued, of a tourism that is 'sucking the difference out of the difference' (MacCannell, 1989). In the context of travel, Høyer (2009) argues that conference tourism is a classic example; in his view, it is a corridor of nothingness that results in little meaning and heavy environmental impact. The outcome, he notes, is part of the process of 'grobalization', a term first introduced by Ritzer (2004). This refers to the organizational need to increase sales and profits without recourse to factors such as local culture in production and environmental externalities in costing structures. It has an affiliation with the concept of McDonaldization:

> *Grobalization leads to an increasing dominance of nothing in the form of non-places, non-things, non-people, and non-service, all at the expense of something on a nothing-something continuum ... Non-places of late-modernity are, for example, major*

> *highway crossings, highway motels and international airports. (Høyer, 2009, p65)*

The guiding philosophy of slow then is partly an antithesis to fast, but there is also a connectedness with ecology and sustainable development which comes from an interest in locality and place as well as from strands of green travel. This is not articulated in any way as a school of thought to which we might refer. The ideas have been unfolded by an eclectic mix of writers, advocates and scholars during the past two decades. Nevertheless, there are several recurrent themes and values present in the literature that can be summarized as:

1 slow equates to quality time
2 it is about physically slowing down to enjoy what is on offer
3 a quality experience
4 meaning and engagement
5 in tune with ecology and diversity.

Other characteristics relating to slow travel include the avoidance of staged authenticity, if that is ever possible, for some would argue that tourism is about performance and contestation of space (Mordue, 2005). In the moving space, slow travel is also about a critical appreciation of the journey and with an underlying value that travel need not impact heavily on the environment. Some of these elements have been codified as a set of guiding principles for the tourist, such as one provided by Jenner and Smith (2008). This is an example of several books which exhort the tourist to adopt green travel modes, but also encourage the reader to enjoy a place by taking on the mindset of the slow traveller: it is a perception about how to engage with both the travel element and the destination. For example, tourists are encouraged to choose destinations nearer to home, to travel by environmentally sensitive modes and select accommodation that has minimal environmental impact.

MacCannell (1989), in his seminal work, *The Tourist*, recollects that all tourists seek much the same, regardless of the form of tourism, although he makes little reference to environmental consciousness. But do they? Segmentation is more prevalent than hitherto; there is a multitude of values in the market and this renders it more difficult to portray the tourist in a set of neat typologies. Even the slow traveller cannot be categorized as one discrete market segment; there are shades of green (Dickinson et al, 2010a). Some tourists look for more than others, and with an intensity of experience that is widely different to the most casual holiday participant. Those seeking slowness in their holidays have been described as a niche market, prevalent in Europe (especially in Italy), and North America, but it is far more widespread than this.

As discussed before, the concept of slow has been considered more widely in the context of gastronomy and cultural heritage than in relation to the act of travel per se. The early work was pioneered in the 1980s by Petrini, the founder of the Slow Food movement located in Italy, but the concept has now

expanded across Europe and to a lesser extent in North America (Pietryowski, 2004). There are numerous examples of food and beverage production as an important element of destination development where local provenance and authenticity fit well. Many ecotourism companies have taken advantage of this; they offer exploration holidays (experiential in nature and also often marketed as being pro-poor) that embrace the culinary arts of different communities with which they engage (Bessiere, 1998). Thus, whilst there is a strong European strand of thought, the art of slow food and locality retains a presence at destinations across the globe, in spite of the globalization of agro-food and much of the hospitality sector. This is a diversity which facilitates differentiation, as much a hallmark of slow food as is enjoyment of locality and the commonplace in slow travel (Halager and Richards, 2002).

There is also emerging a literature base that explores the relationship between transport and tourism (Lumsdon and Page, 2004). Much of the work relates to transport as a means of destination development and as an enabler of tourism where speed, access and travel cost are key elements (Prideaux, 2000). However, there is a conspicuous lack of research on slow travel or, for that matter, green travel (Page, 1999). There is a distinction. Green travel focuses on the transport element only, especially in terms of resource use and carbon dioxide ($CO_2$) emissions per capita per trip, whereas the journey to and around the destination is an important concept within slow travel, and slow travel refers to the whole tourist experience. However, in the discussion of the components of tourism, a relative lack of attention is given to the actual travel element. Some writers have questioned whether there are differences between travel and tourism, but these have focused, for the most part, on the world of the travel writer in defining the roles of the traveller and tourist (Dann, 1998). There is also the concept of transport as tourism, which Lumsdon and Page (2004, p6) explain as:

> *designed or in use mainly for the visitor market only, is often indirect as it seeks to offer a different perspective of a destination, and is rarely fast. The travel cost model does not apply in this context. The expenditure of time or duration of travel is the prime purpose of the trip and* is *the main benefit.*

The emphasis appears to be on transport as a form of tourism at the destination, or as Bull (1991, p32) refers to it: 'more properly a form of attraction than transport'. This narrows the interpretation somewhat. Transport to the destination is also part of slow travel, and equally it can have high intrinsic value (Walton, 2009).

Fast travel is often associated with the journey to the destination, and involves intensive energy consumption leading to high levels of $CO_2$ emissions. Thus, our interpretation of slow travel is that it is a counter-balance to this fundamental and negative factor; the mindset of the slow traveller therefore includes not only an experiential element, but it is also interlaced with a degree of environmental consciousness that leads to an avoidance of heavy

environmental impacts. It is the difference between travelling as transit and travelling as a journey (Peters, 2006).

Thus, we exclude from slow travel the three main transport modes associated with contemporary tourism development: the car, the cruise liner and the aeroplane, as they are the major users of finite resources and generate $CO_2$ emissions and other pollutants in an unsustainable manner.

## The tourism system

The slow travel approach signifies a different model to mainstream tourism development as advanced in most tourism textbooks (see, for example, Duval, 2007). Mainstream tourism is based on the principles of the supply chain, and supply-led consumer demand, maximizing the flow of tourists in relation to transport, accommodation and destination capacity. The aim of the tourism system is, therefore, to provide an adequate throughput of visitors (and their expenditure) in any given country or destination so as to meet the needs of the suppliers who put the elements together for profitable gain (Mill and Morrison, 1985). This is commonly referred to as mass tourism, as there is a need for substantial flows of demand, and it has been the main thrust of development since the middle decades of the 20th century.

Krippendorf (1984, pxv) explains the social stimulus for the tourism system as a form of ephemeral escapism from urban life:

> *All this falls into a kind of cycle, which may be termed recreation cycle of man in industrial society: we travel in order to recharge the batteries, to restore our physical and mental strength. On our trip we consume climate, nature and landscapes, the culture and people in the places we visit, which become 'therapy zones' for the purpose. We then return home, more or less fit to defy everyday life until next time ... but the wish to leave again and even more often is soon with us again ...*

In order for the system to work efficiently there is a need for fast, price-sensitive and direct travel to the destination from originating markets. Despite the decline in the popularity of the heavily packaged holiday and the rise of the internet as a main distribution intermediary, the structural elements of the supply chain have not changed radically. The process remains an essentially industrial one based on batch production of air travel, intense utilization of perishable accommodation stock at the destination and the creation of large-scale infrastructure, such as highways, car parking and hospitality outlets, to support the tourist flows stimulated through the marketing efforts of suppliers in a world of cascading substitutes (Lumsdon, 1997).

Krippendorf's work, however, points to the flaws in the system, especially in terms of learned cultural values that the system perpetuates. He suggests that values such as owning possessions, egoism, wealth and consumption have been propagated over community, moderation and honesty, and that the

former are reflected in tourism consumption. He also points to the widespread increase in the globalization of supply over the multitude of local small business sectors and the increasing encroachment of government in the provision of services and infrastructure to meet the needs of mass tourism. Finally, he expresses a concern that resources for tourism are being used as if they were inexhaustible and that, somehow, the side effects of economic growth can be readily fixed by technology. Thus, for Krippendorf, the tourism system and mass tourism have many flaws; tourism as an escape from everyday life contains the seeds of its own destruction.

## Trends and the environmental impact of tourism

Domestic tourism (overnight stays, rather than day visits) remains the most important element of demand in most countries. Despite this, there are relatively few studies which focus on this aspect (Cooper et al, 2008). Bigano et al (2004), however, have undertaken a comparison of domestic and international tourism. This illuminating work indicates that for most countries, domestic tourism accounts for the majority of tourist trips. For example, in the mature USA market there are an estimated total number of 1059 million tourist trips per annum, of which 999 million are domestic (i.e. some 94 per cent of all trips). In emergent markets such as China, India and Brazil, some 98–99 per cent of all tourist trips are domestic.

In most countries the number of domestic trips per annum remains less than the total population, indicating that people are taking less than one holiday trip per year. However, in 22 affluent countries, residents take more holiday trips than this. For example, in Sweden the average holiday trip ratio is 4.8 trips per person per annum. In the USA, the average is 3.7 trips per person per annum. It is, however, essential to note that domestic tourism is far more prevalent than international tourism; the estimate by Bigano et al (2004) is that it is five times larger. They also note that developing economies such as Brazil, China, India and Indonesia have important tourist markets which tend to be underestimated in size and potential for growth.

International trips tend to be the focus of most tourism texts. Even allowing for a margin of error in the calculation of global arrivals, the figures provided by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) are substantial. In 2008, there were 924 million international arrivals (UNWTO, 2009c). This is in comparison to a base figure of 25 million recorded in 1950. The rate of change has until recently been accelerating at a considerable pace; the total arrivals figure has doubled since 1990. The upward trend has been impressive and this has sustained a vision of growth through development across the world. The UNWTO projection is that intraregional trips will grow by 3.8 per cent per annum, and long-haul trips by 5.4 per cent per annum, thus giving 1.6 billion international arrivals per annum by 2020. Arrivals refer to the registration of a person entering a country for tourism purposes. Thus, it does not equate to a trip which may include arrivals at several different countries. It is nevertheless a firm indication of the scale of international tourism.

An examination of the major flows of arrivals, however, illustrates that intraregional trips dominate, accounting for a predicted 1.2 billion of the overall estimated 1.6 billion trips. Much of this is actually cross-border tourism between near countries such as the USA and Mexico. Most tourists simply visit countries near to their place of domicile. For example, France, which is the most popular receiving country in the world, accounts for 77 million arrivals per annum; most visitors arrive from near countries such as Germany, the Netherlands and the UK. Spain follows France, with 52 million arrivals, whereas the USA stands at 42 million. As most international tourism is by road, this requires a substantial commitment to infrastructure; although airborne tourism was, until 2008, enjoying a growing share in this short-haul market.

There are several environmental impacts ensuing from the development and scale of tourism; these are discussed more fully in Chapter 2. The major issues relate to use of energy, and in particular oil and $CO_2$ emissions. Becken and Hay (2007) argue that the predicted level of demand for tourist trips will not be feasible, given the level of existing oil supplies. Current forms of transport are almost entirely dependent on fossil fuels, principally oil, and this presents a major problem for the tourism sector. It is especially the case with the most popular mode, the car, as well as cruise liner and air travel. As oil supplies have now peaked, or are about to peak, the trend price of oil is likely to increase, as it becomes a much scarcer resource than hitherto (Greene et al, 2006). Transport to the destination and whilst at the destination relies primarily on oil: over 90 per cent of tourism transport is oil dependent. The main consumption of oil in tourism occurs in the origin–destination element of a tourist trip, and in the likely event of fuel scarcity there will be a radical change in the structure of the tourism market, a matter which we address in the final chapter.

The tourism sector is currently responsible for an estimated 5 per cent of total greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions worldwide, which at first glance seems modest. Tourism is, nevertheless, by no means a small player. It stands alongside total emissions derived from the world's commercial buildings (United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), 2009). Furthermore, a main concern relates to the growth of the sector and hence an increase in the use of natural finite resources. Tourism is a reactive sector which has, for the most part, moved grudgingly to adapt rather than to mitigate the effects of climatic change. Not that slow travel is a panacea for all of the energy and climatic change impacts; all forms of tourism bring impacts. It is, however, a part of the wider sustainable tourism development framework.

The explanation as to why the travel element is worthy of development is compelling. If travel accounts for between 75 and 90 per cent of all of the carbon emissions accruing from tourism, then the issues of spatial distance and energy intensity of mode of transport are key factors in any strategy to reduce impacts (Gössling, 2002). Therefore, the focus of this book is on the travel element. As Becken and Hay (2007, p114) comment:

> *The dependency of most forms of tourism on motorised transport (and resulting greenhouse gas emissions) is a major impediment to achieving sustainable tourism.*

The fundamental question is whether or not tourism can prosper within a new paradigm, signified by a lower consumption of resources and substantially reduced environmental impact. This is the major challenge, one which the tourism sector is slow to address. Even in times of temporary retrenchment, the mantra has always been one of resilience and a return to growth; media releases from the major institutional tourism sectors are replete with such phrases. Some argue that such a recovery in the second decade of the 21st century is perfectly feasible, given a growing global population of 7 billion people, rising middle classes in the developing economies and a supply sector hungry for trade. But how does this square with the knowledge that oil production has peaked and that the world's scientists are predicting the inevitability of major negative impacts accruing from global warming under current trajectories (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), 2007)?

There is mounting pressure for governments to address the major challenges of climatic change. The tourism system will, therefore, not only be affected by governmental regulation to encourage emissions reduction across all sectors, but also by market behaviour tempered by a need to reduce consumption of fossil fuels. This change will be stimulated principally by higher prices, but also partly by increasing awareness of the consequences of current travel patterns. A realignment of the market might already be in progress. Given the enormity of the challenges faced with regard to anthropogenic climatic change and the partial collapse of the world banking system in 2008, governments, destinations and transport and tourism providers are faced with a new set of market conditions than those pertaining in recent decades according to the UNWTO (2009a, p2):

> *future operational patterns for global economies will be vastly different from the past; the very nature of consumerism will be changed and so will our markets and prospects.*

Nevertheless, it is argued that tourism will remain as an integral part of our cultural existence; it is a quintessential product of affluence. The inextricable links to family commitments, friendship patterns and the gratification of consumption of products has rendered these strong cultural threads as essential in most societies. Tourism is one of many dimensions of a complexity of contemporary communication described as mobilities which pervade our patterns of living (Hannam et al, 2006, p1):

> *The concept of mobilities encompasses both the large scale movements of people, objects, capital and information across the world, as well as more local processes of daily transportation, movement through public space and the travel of material things within everyday life.*

Tourism is, therefore, in one sense a microcosm of this wider network of transport and communication including the prevalence of the mobile telephone and internet, as well as actual travel between and within places. The interface between the informational world and cultural values that ensue from changes to technology could well intensify in a world that is less confident about the future based on automobility and aeromobility (Cwerner, 2009; Dennis and Urry, 2009).

An analysis of past trends, therefore, may not provide the answers to future development. There is perhaps a need to refresh our thinking. How will tourism develop in a world constrained by dwindling finite resources and increasing pollution? A number of scenarios have been proposed. Butler (2008), for example, reasons that tourism will, for the most part, follow a similar pattern to recent decades. He notes that there will be some change, however, notably a decline in long-haul tourism, concluding that:

> *Long haul travel is likely to suffer most as short and medium distance travel can be undertaken by other means than flying. One scenario would see the remote and distant destinations become even more the purviews of the affluent than at present, with the mass market being concentrated closer to home. (Butler, 2008, p350)*

There is a degree of consensus aligned to support this view in the wider literature; that is, long-haul tourism will be the first market sector to witness decline (Peeters and Schouten, 2006; Yeoman et al, 2007). This will affect markets from the northern hemisphere and destinations in the south.

Some predict that there will still be a major growth pattern in Asia, Africa and Latin America, in terms of both intra- and inter-regional travel. This seems unlikely, however, in view of the lack of agency on the part of many of the countries involved, limited resource availability and increased impacts of climatic change. For many tourists in the southern hemisphere slow travel is, in physical terms, a way of life, as a combination of coach, train or ferries and walking are still primary modes. Whether or not there also exists a slow travel mindset, in relation to the travel experience and environmental conservation, is not known. These are simply the accessible modes available to some of the population; others have severely limited mobility. But even in the poorest economies of the world the use of the car is being encouraged, infrastructure provided and increasing consumption of finite resources given over to automobility.

Most developing countries aspire to modernize, and this currently involves increased mobility by car and two-wheeled powered vehicles. This includes the world's two giant developing economies, India and China. Not surprisingly, Chamon et al (2008) forecast rapid rises in car ownership in China and India that will change the face of domestic tourism in these countries. The current low levels of 15.8 cars per 1000 population in China, they predict, will increase to 411.6 in 2050; this compares with the current average in advanced economies of 482.4.

However, the car is currently not an affordable option for the majority of people living in developing countries. Nor do they take regular holidays; only a small percentage of the population have disposable income and the aptitude to travel. Travel to near-to-home destinations or to visit friends and relatives is, however, more commonplace now than in previous decades. The rapid increase in economic migration to cities in the late decades of the last century has also brought an increase in domestic travel. This is driven by family ties and commitments, many of which are a consequence of economic and political displacement (MacCannell, 1989). There are, of course, traditional patterns of holidaymaking in localities throughout the world. For example, the citizens of Buenos Aires in Argentina favour beach holidays in neighbouring Uruguay across the waters of the River Plata by ferry or by air. These cross-border trips count for a large proportion of the international arrivals to Uruguay (Lumsdon and Swift, 2001).

The pilgrimage remains a form of slow travel which has flourished through the centuries (Murray and Graham, 1997). Visits to holy places such as Jerusalem, Mecca and Medina in the Middle East, and to the holy rivers and high grounds of India, remain as examples of the traditional pilgrimage. Many still undertake these journeys on foot. The pilgrimage is increasingly being supplemented, however, by core elements of contemporary tourism, and new secular forms are emerging such as volunteerism or New Age travel (Collins-Kriener and Kliot, 2000; Dignance, 2006; Mustonen, 2006). The balance seems to be tipped more towards tourism than pilgrimage, rather than the equilibrium noted by Turner and Turner (1978) in earlier decades.

In terms of international travel, only a small minority of the wealthier sections of society in developing countries seek long-haul travel to other continents. The growth in recent years has been stimulated by tourism markets in developed economies in the south. The scenario which sees increases in outbound tourism is perhaps unduly optimistic. Several researchers predict that inter-regional tourism will decline in the face of dwindling resources, but in the realm of total tourism trip-making it accounts for less than 3 per cent of the world's travel (Becken and Hay, 2007; Bramwell and Lane, 2008).

## The morphology

The future of tourism is inextricably bound to the future of transport in the global economy. Transport is the key issue, and one which governments and the private sector are currently failing to address, other than in short-term investment, much of which is associated with predicted long-term negative environmental effects. Medium- and long-haul tourism, for example, is clearly unsustainable in its present form, and despite the protestations of the aviation sector, technological improvements are likely to be marginal at best and outstripped by current growth predictions in the market (Gössling and Upham, 2009). Other forms of tourism, given the sheer scale of impacts modelled to date, will also need to make a contribution to the reduction of carbon, for example, in relation to travel by car for short- and medium-distance travel.