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TRAVELING AT HOME

Some of you heard me give a talk entitled “The Geography of Somewhere” at the first Civic Tourism conference, in Prescott, Arizona, two years ago, and others may have read the talk online or in Dan Shilling’s book, where it serves as an introduction. At the risk of repeating myself, I’m going to begin by recounting the major points of that talk, for I wish to build on them here.

I raised some eyebrows in Prescott by saying that I believe “Americans gad about too much. Our ceaseless mobility burns up the earth’s dwindling supply of petroleum, destabilizes the climate, enslaves us to tyrannical regimes in the Middle East, embroils us in war, buries more and more of our landscape under pavement, and shatters our communities. No person concerned about the fate of our planet and the welfare of our descendants should encourage any more idle movement.”

“Too often,” I said, “the kind of travel we call tourism is only another form of shopping, treating the whole country as a gigantic mall offering trinkets and distractions for sale. Too often, it is driven by a yen for golfing or gambling, a craving for novelty or scenery, or by simple boredom. If we’re going to rove about the continent, burning up oil and jeopardizing our grandchildren’s future, we ought to be prompted by larger motives.”

I went on to say what I thought those larger motives might be, by comparing “Travel at its best” to “a kind of vision quest, in which we journey away from the familiar world to encounter some alien setting, some natural or cultural or spiritual presence that enlarges our understanding, and then we journey home to act out that larger vision in our households, neighborhoods, towns, and cities. As in a mythic quest, what begins as a private search ends up enhancing the life of the tribe.”

I suggested that the travelers’ understanding is most enriched through an encounter with a distinctive, coherent, and powerful sense of place—a place that defies the homogenizing influences of box stores, strip malls, franchises, cookie-cutter suburbs, tyrannical highways, and vapid mass media. Then I outlined some of the qualities that give certain places a feeling of character and charisma, making them worthy of a visitor’s deep engagement and of a citizen’s love. Here’s an abbreviated list of those qualities:

- A real place feels as though it belongs where it is, as though it has grown there, shaped by weather and geography, rather than being imported from elsewhere and set down arbitrarily like a mail-order kit. The connection to geography shows up in building materials, for example, as well as in architecture and food.
- A real place is distinguished by a vigorous local economy, one that draws on resources from the region and on the skills of its own citizens. Key enterprises, from factories to coffee shops, reflect the taste and judgment of the local people who own them, rather than the dictates of distant corporations. Dollars spent in such a community circulate there for a spell, instead of being immediately

whisked away to some remote headquarters.

- Visitors know they have arrived in a cherished place when artists choose not merely to live there but to photograph and paint it, to write and sing of it; when archaeologists and historians delve into its past; when naturalists keep track of the local flora and fauna; and when elders pass on all of this lore to the young.
- A real place conveys a sense of temporal depth, a sense that people have been living and laboring here for a long time. The traces of earlier generations are preserved in festivals and folkways and habits of speech; in old buildings that have been restored and kept in service; in landscapes that are still devoted to traditional uses such as orchards, dairies, and woodlots. Such a place is alive and changing, like any organism, gaining and losing residents, tearing down and building up. Yet there is continuity amid the change. The presence of history, good and bad, not only enriches our experience of place, it also reminds us that we who are alive now suffer as well as benefit from the actions of our ancestors, and that our actions, in turn, will affect those who come after us.
- A real place keeps us mindful of nature, as it keeps us mindful of history. In the built environment one feels the presence of the living environment—in parks, gardens, bike and pedestrian trails, river corridors, beaches, urban forests, and yards given over to native plants, and in all the creatures, from crows to coyotes, that share the place with our two-legged kind.
- Just as we relish the presence of nature, so, in real places, we delight in the company of other people. A vital community provides many public gathering spots, from auditoriums and farmers' markets and cafes to playgrounds and plazas and parks, where people are free to mix with neighbors and strangers; the more diverse the mixture, the more illuminating the experience is likely to be. In a truly democratic gathering space, people from all walks of life may argue and swap stories and admire one another's babies and sympathize with one another's aches, all the while feeling at home. The true wealth of a community shows up not in the grandeur of private residences or fancy stores but in the quality of libraries, schools, museums, parks, courthouses, galleries, and other public arenas.
- Alluring places invite us to immerse ourselves, to open all our senses. We encounter such places not by gazing through windshields or by gaping at screens but by walking. Sidewalks become more important than streets, parks more important than parking lots, legs more important than wheels. On foot, we experience the world in three dimensions; we move at a speed that allows us to absorb and savor and reflect.

I could have described a good many other qualities that distinguish real places from phony ones. But with this sampling I hoped to suggest why cities and towns endowed with a rich, deep, coherent sense of place attract visitors, and why these visitors might be inspired to nurture similar qualities back home.

I concluded my talk in Prescott by saying that the sort of tourism we ought to encourage would show us how people richly inhabit a place, how they cooperate, make decisions, solve problems, enjoy one another's company, and look after their home ground. It would renew our appreciation for the security that arises from neighborliness and mutual aid. It would encourage us to think about our cities, towns, and countryside as arenas for our common life, and not merely as patchworks of private property. It

would remind us that we are responsible for the care of our communities, for the health of the land, and for one another. In short, such tourism would educate us to become better citizens, first of our neighborhoods and ultimately of our nation and planet.

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In my Prescott talk, I never used the word “sustainable,” but in outlining my vision of civic tourism, I was describing the only form of tourism that seems likely to be sustainable. To call any kind of tourism “sustainable” means that we can reasonably imagine it continuing far into the future without degrading the quality of life in the place being visited, without exhausting the visitors’ interest, and without damaging the earth.

How far into the future should we try to imagine? Businesses often look to the next fiscal year, or merely to the next quarter; politicians often look to the next election, or the next press conference; households often look to the next paycheck; addicts of all sorts, from alcoholics to recreational shoppers, often look only to the next fix. By contrast with this short-term thinking, the Iroquois people of upstate New York instruct their leaders to look seven generations into the future when making decisions. Although I admire this instruction, I don’t pretend to be able to see seven generations ahead. But since I have three granddaughters—the oldest of them just beginning kindergarten, the youngest of them not yet a year old—I try to imagine the span of their lifetime, which, if they’re blessed with good health and a stable society, should last through this century.

If we try to envision a form of tourism that might be sustainable for the next century, what large trends must we bear in mind? The trends that seem most significant to me, not merely for the future of tourism but for all human activities, are the end of cheap oil, the decline in the standard of living for most Americans, and the degradation of earth as a home for life, especially the disturbance of the global climate. I will say a few words about each item on this list, but first let me emphasize that I do not welcome these gloomy predictions, nor do I speak about them as any sort of expert. I have merely read the arguments of people who *are* experts, and I am convinced that any thoughtful vision of our future must grapple with the conditions I am sketching here.

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The first of these trends is the depletion of the world’s supply of oil and natural gas, even as demand for fossil fuel relentlessly rises. Experts disagree about exactly when the production of oil and gas from existing or newly discovered fields will reach a maximum and begin to decline—some say this moment of so-called “peak oil” has already occurred, others say it will occur within the next few decades. But all agree that the decline in production is inevitable within this century, as the world’s existing fields are being drained much more rapidly than new fields are being discovered. (The global discovery of new deposits peaked in the 1960s, and has been declining ever since, averaging only 10-50% of the annual use.)¹ The decline in supply will coincide with the increasing clamor for oil from rapidly industrializing economies in Asia and South America. Moreover, the remaining oil will be much more expensive to extract, ship, and refine than the more easily accessible deposits that we have already burned.

The result of these trends will be an inexorable rise in the cost of oil and gas, and of everything made from or powered by oil and gas. While the prices of gasoline, diesel, jet fuel, heating oil, plastics, artificial fertilizers, pharmaceuticals and other petroleum byproducts will oscillate up and down with the vicissitudes of the marketplace, they will do so on an upward-trending line. Since our entire economy—indeed, the global

economy—is built on cheap energy, this rise in the price of petroleum-based fuels and materials will affect every aspect of our lives—the kinds of work we do, how we travel, how we heat and cool our homes, where we get our food, how we entertain ourselves.

What are the implications for tourism? Air travel will increasingly become a luxury, as will long-distance travel by automobile. So-called recreational vehicles will disappear from the roads. As a result, destinations such as Disney World and Las Vegas and enterprises such as cruise lines that depend on a vast flow of visitors traveling from far away will begin to wither. International travel will diminish, and sites dependent on foreign visitors will suffer accordingly.

At the same time, destinations close to major population centers may benefit. Like much else in our lives, tourism will become more local. Instead of driving or flying across the country to national parks or resorts, more people will visit state parks and cultural centers in their home regions. Instead of taking bus tours of Europe, more Americans will seek out comparably vibrant settlements and landscapes in our own country. Travelers will take shorter trips, with fewer jumps from place to place, and perhaps with longer stays in these nearby destinations. They will be drawn to communities that are designed for walkers or bicyclists rather than drivers, and that offer high quality public transportation, such as light rail and electric trolleys. They will also be drawn to communities that are conveniently accessible by passenger railroad service, which is by far the most fuel-efficient mode of transport.

In response to higher gasoline prices, Americans have already reduced their driving—logging 50 billion fewer miles between November 2007 and August 2008 than during the same period a year earlier.² This reduction in driving, coupled with a shift toward smaller vehicles, has led to a drop in revenue from the federal gasoline tax, and to a serious shortfall in the Highway Trust Fund. Congress recently voted to appropriate \$9 billion from the general fund to cover this deficit—thereby adding to the national debt without addressing the underlying problem. The problem is that our road system is overbuilt and under-maintained. The interstate highway system is likely to deteriorate further, making driving more hazardous as well as more damaging to cars and trucks. If the gas tax is increased in an effort to fund proper maintenance, drivers will cut back even more on their mileage, thus continuing a downward spiral. If we're going to draw on general funds to subsidize transportation, it would be far more economical, and environmentally sound, to refurbish and expand the passenger rail system, which was once the best in the world and is now the worst among industrialized nations.

The rise in the price of oil and natural gas will likewise undermine industrial agriculture, which relies on cheap energy for the manufacture of fertilizer, pesticides, and herbicides, for the processing, shipping, and storage of crops, for irrigation, and for the operation of its gigantic machinery. Over the next century, agriculture will revert to the practices that were common before the cheap-oil binge—it will be smaller in scale, less dependent on chemical inputs, more reliant on human labor and skill and on animal power, more respectful of the health of soils and waters, and it will serve a primarily local market. Similarly, global franchises that sell cheap goods made in low-wage countries 12,000 miles away will gradually collapse as the cost of manufacturing and shipping escalates. Local industries and crafts and retail stores will begin to recover, and they will be more responsive to the tastes and needs of their communities. Interchangeable malls on the outskirts of town will shrivel, and distinctive Main Streets will rebound.

Again, the implications for tourism are clear: destinations that rely on importing industrially-produced food and goods from great distances will suffer, while towns and cities that support a robust local agriculture and manufacturing base will thrive. Visitors will be attracted to cities and towns that demonstrate how we can wean ourselves from fossil fuel—by emphasizing conservation and compact development, for example, by embracing green building codes (such as the Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design, or LEED, standards), by sponsoring municipal wind farms, by encouraging the installation of solar collectors on homes, by facilitating car-sharing and bicycle commuting. Such visionary communities will appeal to visitors by providing glimpses of a viable future.

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The second large trend that will affect the future of tourism is the decline in real income for most Americans and the increasing burden of debt carried by individuals, households, and our nation as a whole. Except for the highest income brackets in our country, real earnings, adjusted for inflation, have been stagnant or decreasing for the past thirty years.³ Virtually all of the benefit from rising worker productivity since the advent of computers has gone to those highest income brackets. Increases in household income during this period have been due almost entirely to the increase in the number of hours worked and the entry of more women into the workforce. In most households, there are no more available workers, and no more hours available for working.

As the cost of basic necessities, from housing to healthcare, has increased, while hourly wages have stagnated or declined, most Americans have had less and less money left over for discretionary spending. Our net household savings rate has been declining steadily, and is now close to zero, the lowest level since the Great Depression. (The comparable figure in France is 12 percent, and in Germany 11 percent.)⁴ We have maintained our inflated rate of consumption mainly through borrowing—on credit cards, on home equity loans, and on tax cuts that have inflated the national debt. The average American household now carries \$9,000 in credit card debt. Adding in car loans, mortgages, and other forms of credit, the average household now owes a record 134 percent of disposable income, nearly double the figure from a generation earlier.⁵ The total household debt is now greater than the Gross Domestic Product.

Over the past decade, as families maxed out their credit cards, millions of Americans financed major purchases, medical bills, and even monthly expenses, by borrowing against the equity in their homes. Now that house prices are sinking, that source of credit has dried up, and millions of people owe more money on their houses than their houses are worth. The result has been a record number of foreclosures and personal bankruptcies. Even after the current housing bubble collapses and recovery begins, the rising cost of energy will make the far-flung suburbs and bloated McMansions even less attractive, and will further depreciate their value.

As a nation, through federal spending, we have also been living far beyond our means. When Ronald Reagan took office in 1980, the national debt stood at just under \$1 trillion. When he left office, the figure had tripled, to nearly \$3 trillion, mainly through a combination of tax cuts and higher military spending. Bill Clinton's administration began with a debt of over \$4 trillion and ended with a debt of \$5.5 trillion. During the second Bush administration, the debt has so far doubled, to nearly \$11 trillion, again primarily due to the coupling of tax cuts with dramatic increases in military spending.

This amounts to a debt of \$34,000 for every man, woman, and child in America.⁶ To fund the current Wall Street bailout, Congress has just raised the debt ceiling to \$11.3 trillion. Some of this debt is owed to American citizens, but nearly a quarter is owed to foreign investors, and our continued borrowing depends on a steady flow of money from abroad. In 2006, for the first time in half a century, more money flowed out of America to pay foreign investors than flowed into America from our investments abroad.⁷ From being the world's largest investor, the United States has now become the world's largest debtor nation.

We have not incurred this debt in order to invest in research, new technologies, manufacturing facilities, infrastructure, education, or other sources of future wealth; we have incurred this debt primarily to fund wars and current consumption. Our federal government is currently borrowing more than \$3 billion a day, more than \$1 trillion a year. We have not paid for the savings and loan debacle of the 1980s, have not paid for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, have not paid for the recent bailouts of banks and Wall Street firms and Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac; we have merely put these enormous expenditures on the public charge card, and have passed along the burden to future taxpayers, including our children and grandchildren. As a nation, we are strapped. Meanwhile, the rapid rise in private indebtedness, foreclosures, job losses, and bankruptcies has forced most Americans to cut back on discretionary spending.

Optimists will claim that this is a temporary setback, that the American economy will soon come roaring back, that the debt will evaporate, and that once again we'll become a nation of free spenders. I am more persuaded by the pessimists, or what I would call the realists, who argue that we are in for a long-term decline in living standards. According to this view, the decline will be driven not only by mounting debt, but also by the transfer of American businesses and real estate to foreign ownership; by the decades-long neglect of our nation's infrastructure, from bridges to sewage systems; by the deterioration of our schools, and the consequent deterioration of our workforce; by the loss of our manufacturing base; by the distortion of our economy through military spending; by the undermining of trust in our government, financial institutions, and corporations, both at home and abroad; and by the increasing disparities between the rich and the poor. And all of these factors are in addition to our nation's delay in reducing our dependence on oil, in developing renewable sources of energy, and in addressing serious environmental challenges, especially global warming.

If we are indeed headed toward a long term decline in living standards, again the implications for tourism are clear. The wealthiest Americans will still frequent luxury destinations, of course; but I am not interested in tourism that is available only to the rich. For the foreseeable future, most Americans are simply going to have less money to spend on transportation, hotels, restaurant meals, entrance fees, or travel-related shopping. The most attractive destinations will require short trips, including journeys by railroad or streetcar. They will offer abundant public spaces, such as plazas and open-air markets and parks, where admission is free, as well as museums and historic buildings where the admission charge is modest. They will offer inexpensive accommodations and meals that carry the flavor of the place—bed and breakfasts or historic hotels, for example, rather than chain motels, and local restaurants serving local produce rather than generic fast food. These destinations will be inviting to walkers, because the streets are clean and safe, the old neighborhoods are intact, the downtown is filled with intriguing shops, and

the citizens of the place enjoy a convivial life.

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The third large trend that will affect the future of tourism is the degradation of the environment, both locally and globally. Some of the effects are obvious—the pollution of rivers, lakes, and beaches will discourage visitors, as will air pollution. Some effects are less obvious. For example, the necessity of imposing fees for the release of carbon into the atmosphere will drive up the cost of energy, and therefore of nearly everything else. Similarly, the erosion and poisoning of topsoil due to industrial farming will drive up the cost of food. The proliferation of toxins in the soil, water, and air will increase our healthcare expenditures, which are already by far the highest per capita in the world. Population growth, augmented by immigration, will place greater pressure on our land, natural resources, and fellow species.

But the most serious effects of environmental degradation, not merely on tourism but on the habitability of our planet, will result from the destabilizing of earth's climate. I speak of “destabilization,” rather than “global warming” or “climate change,” because the latter terms do not convey the dire nature of the predictions. There is a nearly unanimous consensus among scientists that the atmospheric heating already underway will lead to greater extremes of weather—longer droughts, fiercer heat waves, more frequent flooding, more violent storms—and possibly to major shifts in ocean currents and wind patterns.⁸ The evidence so far supports these predictions—the record high temperatures, the increased number and intensity of hurricanes, the melting of ice caps and glaciers and permafrost, the drying up of rivers, the rising of sea levels. The spread of epidemic disease and invasive species brought on by atmospheric warming has already added to our healthcare costs, depleted our fisheries, and devastated our forests. The annual cost of damage from storms, tornadoes, and flooding has risen into the tens of billions of dollars.

There is an equally broad consensus among scientists that the release of greenhouse gases from human activity is a major contributor to this atmospheric heating. With just under 5 per cent of the world's population, the United States produces roughly 25 per cent of those emissions. Yet so far, as a nation, we have failed to address this looming catastrophe in any meaningful way. There have been piecemeal responses, by individuals and businesses and municipalities, and even by a few states, but there have been no comprehensive measures to radically reduce our carbon impact or to prepare for the likely consequences of climate destabilization. Meanwhile, there has been no serious effort at reducing greenhouse emissions in the world's rapidly industrializing nations, such as China and India; and even in nations, such as those in the European Union, which have shown a higher degree of concern, there has been no significant reduction in emissions. So it seems inevitable that the atmosphere will continue heating, and that weather and climate will depart more and more from the patterns within which our urban industrial civilization developed.

No one can be sure how any given place will fare, but the overall effect on our economy and our quality of life will certainly be harmful. As conditions deteriorate, tourism is likely to be seen by many people as a luxury, both because of tight finances and because of rising concerns about the ecological costs of travel. Like the other large trends I've mentioned, this one suggests that the forms of tourism most likely to endure will be more local, more reliant on public transportation, more focused on experiences of

community than on recreational shopping.

Individual towns and cities cannot solve global environmental problems on their own, of course, but they can lobby for municipal, state, and federal policies that boldly address these problems. They can contribute to the collective effort through practices I've already mentioned, such as the fostering of local agriculture and renewable energy sources, or through the use of living roofs on municipal buildings and solar-powered street cars. Travelers will be drawn to communities that take good care of their home ground, where the air and water are clean, green space is abundant, trees line the streets, yards and parks are burgeoning with plants and butterflies and birds. Indeed, the more our environment as a whole deteriorates, the more attractive such green places will become.

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What I've been arguing here is that tourism can flourish over the next century only in communities that are ecologically sustainable, and our communities can flourish only in proportion as we move, individually and collectively, toward a more local, smaller scale, less violent, less consumptive way of life. If the human economy is to endure, it must align itself with the greater economy of nature. Anyone concerned about the long-term viability of tourism should therefore be equally concerned about local, state, national, and global efforts at shifting from an industrial growth economy to a steady-state economy grounded in ecology and conservation. Such a shift will require the development of energy derived from sun and wind and other renewable sources, the renewal of railroads and other systems of public transportation, the revival of locally-owned enterprises, the fostering of local foods and arts and other aspects of regional culture, the recovery of local news media, the protection of green spaces and wild lands, the enhancement of common goods such as parks and schools, the preservation of topsoil and clean water and breathable air, and the careful stewardship of nonrenewable resources such as oil.

Moving toward a sustainable society will also require a shift in consciousness. We will need to stop measuring "wealth" by the empty numbers traded on financial markets, and begin measuring the true sources of wealth in the condition of earth's living systems, in human knowledge and skill, in productive enterprises, and in the real assets, both public and private, that actually contribute to our wellbeing.⁹ We will need to give up thinking of ourselves as free-floating individuals, empowered by money. We will need to reimagine our lives as woven into human and natural communities, dependent for our well-being on the goods we share—from watersheds to scientific research, from the transportation system to the judicial system, from language to libraries. We will need to identify ourselves as conservers rather than consumers, as stewards of the earth's bounty rather than exploiters. We will need to recognize our kinship with other species. We will need to see that the construction and maintenance of a vast military complex, and the fighting of wars, is a grotesque waste of human and natural wealth, and a distraction from our real challenges.

The challenges we face are not primarily military, despite the ceaseless talk of terrorists and enemies. Our greatest challenges are ecological and social—the challenge of feeding ourselves, preserving adequate supplies of fresh water, defending ourselves from epidemic diseases, providing quality healthcare for all citizens, reducing our levels of mental illness and crime, renewing our schools, developing alternatives to cheap fossil

fuels, reducing our greenhouse emissions, rebuilding our nation's decrepit infrastructure, recovering a sense of the common good.

The values necessary for meeting these challenges are out of fashion now, but they run deep in the American tradition; among them are prudence, generosity, simplicity, humility, thrift, compassion, forbearance, honesty, civic-mindedness, and concern for future generations. Communities that are best able to embody these values and face these challenges will be the most attractive places to visit as well as the most humane places to live.

All of this may be wishful thinking on my part, of course. Americans may keep on driving the interstates and crowding the airports and traveling to resorts and casinos until the oil runs out and foreclosure signs go up in front yards. But I have more faith in my fellow citizens than that. I am betting that more and more of us will wake up to our predicament, reconsider our behavior, and begin acting more conservingly and responsibly in all aspects of our lives, including in the way we travel. If I overestimate our capacity for thoughtful change, and if we continue to consume and spend and mine and pave as recklessly as we have done for the past century, then the coming century will be grim indeed, and the fate of tourism will be the least of our concerns.

But I refuse to accept that dismal prospect. I won't surrender to such a future for my three young granddaughters, or for anyone else's children and grandchildren. No doubt some people will keep gadding about in search of thrills, amusement rides, floor shows, slot machines, golf links, and auto races, as long as they can afford to do so. But I believe that such distractions will come to be seen as wasteful and vacuous. As the cumulative effects of rising energy costs, personal and public debt, and environmental stress take hold, many Americans, I predict, will hunger for something more substantial from their journeys. They will travel less for recreation than for illumination. In seeking visions of a desirable future, they will be drawn to places that demonstrate more wholesome and ecologically sound ways of living.

Henry David Thoreau wrote in *Walden*, "I have travelled a good deal in Concord." Readers have taken this to mean that he chose to explore his hometown and the surrounding countryside, rather than jaunt to more glamorous locales. No doubt that is part of what he meant. And we would all do well to pay closer attention to our neighborhoods. But Thoreau also ventured further afield, leaving records of his excursions up the Concord and Merrimack Rivers, as well as to Maine, Cape Cod, Long Island, and other destinations. So when he remarked, "I have travelled a good deal in Concord," I think he also meant that all of his journeys, near or far, deepened his understanding and affection for his home place, and thereby made him a better citizen of Concord. We would do well to bring the fruits of our own travels back to enrich the places from which we set out.

Our travels affect more than our home places and the places we visit. Every journey sends ripples of influence around the planet and into the future. Whether those influences are, on the whole, benign or destructive depends on how and why we travel, and on what we do with the knowledge we've gained. Because Earth is our only dwelling place, no matter where we go on our journeys, we are always traveling at home.

¹ http://www.peakoil.com/wiki/index.php/Global_Oil_Discovery

² U.S. Department of Transportation, 12 Aug 2008: www.dot.gov/affairs/thwa1708.htm

³ Jonathan Shaw, “Debtor Nation: The Rising Risks of the American Dream, on a Borrowed Dime,” *Harvard Magazine* (July-August 2007).

⁴ <http://oberon.sourceoecd.org/v1=281028/cl=18/nw=1/rpsv/factbook/020202-g1.htm>

⁵ Center for American Progress: www.americanprogress.org/issues/2008/04/econ_snapshot.html/ (April 2008).

⁶ http://www.brillig.com/debt_clock/ and <http://zfacts.com/p/318.html>.

⁷ Shaw, op. cit.

⁸ United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change: <http://www.ipcc.ch/>

⁹ Herman Daly, “The Crisis: Debt and Real Wealth,” <http://dotearth.blogs.nytimes.com/tag/herman-daly/>.