New Sustainable Tourism
in theory and practice

The use of sustainability guidelines for a tourism venture in Tanzania

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Maria Lidberg
ABSTRACT

The overall aim of this qualitative study is to investigate the area of new sustainable tourism in theory and practice. The theoretical part, which consisted of a literature study, was made to help find the essence of new sustainable tourism. To bring out tourism's impact on society and environment in practice, a case study was made during an excursion with Södertörn University College to Babati in Tanzania. Semi-structured interviews were held with people in Babati. The excursion is being evaluated according to WTO’s sustainable tourism development guidelines and management practices, and finally, these guidelines are analysed.

The result of the literature study showed that there is no absolute true core in new sustainable tourism. It is a highly subjective judgment if a tourism venture is sustainable or not, depending on personal values, ideology and personal interests. There is features commonly associated and used in new sustainable tourism, like the sustainability of the three pillars of sustainable development, and the focus on the local, educational and conservational effects, but the essence is subjective.

The evaluation of the excursion showed that it is by two third a sustainable tourism venture. It is the economic part that fails, since the guidelines put much focus on stable employments and frequency; ingredients that the excursion lacks.

The analysis of the WTO guidelines resulted in confusion. They could be both very useful, but also very poor, according to how they were interpreted and used. The results highly depend on the user. Positive is that the guidelines address all pillars of sustainable development equal, and that the interaction between host and guest gets highlighted. Shortages are that the guidelines lack a gender perspective, a historical and political sensibility, a place specific flexibility and a perspective of inter- and intra-generational equity.

Keywords: Sustainable development, Eco tourism, Community based tourism, developing countries, Babati
**ABBREVIATIONS**

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<tr>
<td>BDC</td>
<td>Babati District Council</td>
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<td>BLG</td>
<td>Babati Link Group</td>
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<td>CBT</td>
<td>Community Based tourism</td>
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<td>EAC</td>
<td>East African Community</td>
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<td>ECO</td>
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<td>FTT</td>
<td>Fair Trade tourism</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organization</td>
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<td>National Park</td>
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<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development</td>
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<td>PPT</td>
<td>Pro-poor tourism</td>
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<td>RET</td>
<td>Real Ecological Tours</td>
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<td>SAP</td>
<td>Structural Adjustment Program</td>
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<td>ST</td>
<td>Sustainable tourism</td>
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<td>TNC</td>
<td>Trans-national Corporation</td>
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<td>Tsh</td>
<td>Tanzanian Shilling</td>
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<td>UN</td>
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<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Tourism Organization</td>
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INTRODUCTION

Background

Tourism is an industry seen as a powerful tool for development and poverty alleviation in the developing world, but also as a threat to the environment and societies where operating. The commercial tourism industry and its impacts were questioned already in 1979 by de Kadt. He meant that “there are often no quantifiable tradeoffs between material and socio-cultural costs and benefits” (1979:xii). As a response to the critique to the commercial tourism industry and its well-known impacts, new, more sustainable forms of tourism has been formulated in the last decades (Hall and Tucker, 2004:174). The different forms of new sustainable tourism that exist today all seek to address the negative impacts of tourism. It is seen, both by governments in the developing world and by tourists from developed countries, as a potential tool for developing countries to fight poverty and reach development, at the same time as exotic cultures and fragile environments are preserved (Mowforth and Munt, 2003:1). Another reason why the new sustainable forms of tourism has become so popular might be because modern tourists want to dissociate themselves from normal tourists, show that they are travellers, responsible and politically correct (Hall and Tucker 2004:174). Tourism is also a sector that can provide an export opportunity for poor countries where there are few other export alternatives (Roe, et al, 2004, online).

Living in extreme income poverty\(^1\) is reality to 7.4 million people in Tanzania, and therefore Tanzania is considered as one of the worlds poorest countries (Roe, et al, 2004:27, online). On the other hand, Tanzania is rich in environmental beauty, ecological and cultural diversity, ingredients that can attract tourists (Mowforth and Munt, 2003:1). The Tanzanian government is putting hope to the tourism industry and its potential positive contribution to poverty alleviation. As many of the worlds poorest countries, income poverty in Tanzania persists at the same time as tourism increases (Cattarinich, 2001, online).

Tourism as a potential industry positive for rural development and poverty reduction is a quite new strategy from governments, Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs), communities and international donors (Cattarinich, 2001:10, online). Tourism is mainly a private business, but it is argued to have some advantages in comparison to other industries. These are:
- The customer comes to the product, and it is therefore possible to make additional sells, for example souvenirs, which is not the case for products that are exported from the country.
- Tourism can open up for new markets when other sectors get popular because of tourist demand.
- It is argued to be more labour-intensive and employ more women than other sectors and the income elasticity is high.

\(^1\) Defined as people subsisting on US$1 or less a day. It is important to notice, maybe especially in terms of tourism, that poverty can be both absolute/objective and relative/subjective. Relative poverty is poverty in relation to other groups in a society. All definitions concerning poverty is constructed (often by non-poor people) and probably never able to give a true picture, since reality is very complex (Cattarinich, 2001:1-3, online).
The infrastructure associated with tourism also benefits the rural communities. It is a possible industry in poor countries where there are few export alternatives, or in poor areas inside a country, where there are few alternatives to agriculture. The industry can be built on natural resources and culture; resources that some poor countries have (Cattarinich, 2001:10-11, online and Roe, et al, 2004, online).

The impact on environment and society that the commercial tourism industry can have, is well documented and well known. Concerning new sustainable forms of tourism, there are also heaps of material; reports, codes of conduct, guidelines, criteria lists, principles etc. But the impact of new sustainable tourism is however poorly investigated (Mowforth and Munt, 2003:1).

Södertörn University College conducted an excursion to the small town Babati in Tanzania in February – March, 2006. Weaver argues that since educational tourism often differentiates itself from the larger tourism industry elements in case of motive of travel, travel arrangements, interaction with locals, the spatial distribution, consumption of local goods and services and that the business is not so much involved in the larger tourism industry, it positions itself with alternative (but not necessary sustainable) tourism. Other characteristics of educational tourism is that low daily per capita expenditures are offset by the length of stay, that normally is long. Students also normally combine their studies with travelling at the destination (Weaver, 2006:50).

The excursion has been evaluated by another student, and he concluded, with some reservation, that it could be called community based tourism, one of the new sustainable forms of tourism (Ånstrand, 2006). The excursion is with its educational focus an alternative form of tourism, and it fits, according to Ånstrand, among the sustainable family of tourism ventures. Therefore, the excursion is a suitable choice to use in this essay as a tool to assess one of all the guidelines for sustainable tourism that exists, and as a base for a discussion around what new sustainable tourism really is.

Problem

The initial aim with this study was to examine how the excursion made by Södertörn University College to Babati, Tanzania influenced the local people and environment, and if it was suitable to call it a sustainable tourism venture. But as the work continued, the area of new sustainable tourism seemed more and more diffuse and confusing. There are tons of different criteria lists, guidelines and principles that try to explain what new sustainable tourism is, and they are all a bit different from each other. There are also different concepts with different directions inside the area of new sustainable tourism, which all have different focus. Examples are eco tourism, community based tourism, fair trade tourism and pro poor tourism. The picture of new sustainable tourism that emerged from the research led to a new problem: what is the essence of new sustainable tourism? When working with the guidelines for evaluating the excursion, more and more questions raised. How well do these guidelines address the problems related to tourism and sustainability in a developing country, and do they address the concerns of the people in Babati?
**Aim of study**

The overall aim of this study is to investigate the area of new sustainable tourism in theory and practice. To fulfill this aim, it is divided into three parts. First, with support from a literature study, the aim is to search for the essence of new sustainable tourism. Second, with established guidelines for sustainable tourism from World Tourism Organization, WTO, the excursion of Södertörn University College to Babati, Tanzania is evaluated. Finally, the guidelines are analysed on the basis of both the case- and literature study.

**Research questions**

What is the essence of new sustainable tourism?

Is the Södertörn University college excursion to Babati, Tanzania, a sustainable tourism venture, according to the sustainable tourism guidelines from WTO?

How do the WTO guidelines work as a tool to evaluate if a tourism venture is sustainable?

**Method and material**

To fulfil the aim of this qualitative study, a case study and a literature study has been made. The results and analysis of the case study is based on interviews held in Babati, combined with background material from secondary sources. The results and analysis of the literature study is based on literature concerning tourism and sustainability, with focus on developing countries.

**The case study**

The case study was made during a three-week excursion to Babati, Tanzania, the same excursion that is being evaluated. It mainly consists of interviews, but with some additional observations, some secondary sources concerning the economy of the excursion, and background information from other essays and internet-sources.

**The interviews**

The interviews were made during three weeks in Babati. The coordinator of the excursion, a local person from Babati, helped to find suitable informants to interview. The goal was to find as different informants of the society as possible. Sex, age, language, social status, religion and involvement in the excursion were factors taken into account when choosing who to interview, to get an as balanced picture as possible. A detailed overview of the informants are found in the reference list. The interviews have been divided into categories based on to what extent they were involved in the excursion. Most of the people interviewed had no problem with having their name in the essay, but since a few had the wish of being anonymous, all names were concealed, except Mr Macokecha on Babati District Council.

The reason why a qualitative approach was chosen instead of a quantitative was because it was found more suitable for this type of subject. There was a wish to hear the different views and
opinions of the people in Babati, and therefore it was found more important to make deeper interviews with a few people, than making many but short ones.

The interviews were semi-structured, which means that only some of the questions were predetermined, and additional questions were asked according to the answers. This method was found suitable because it provides a base for discussion around a specific subject. It also offers the possibility to adjust the unstructured questions according to the person you interview, which gives the possibility to get information that you otherwise would have missed out (McCracken A. J, et. al, 1988:20).

The structured questions used in the interviews are found in Appendix A.

**Shortcomings and bias in the interviews**

Errors and biases with semi-structured interviews may be that the interviewer helps the informant with the answers, asking leading questions etc. (McCracken A. J, et. al, 1988:24-25). Some of the interviews were made through a translator, and in those interviews these risks, especially the one of helping the informants with the answers, were beyond the interviewer’s control, even if there is no reason to suspect that this happened. There were also the possibility for misunderstanding and interpretation-errors in both directions, since English not was the first language of neither the interviewer nor the informants.

After some interviews, a pattern of the answers was visible. To see if it was the questions that provided these answers, the unstructured ones were thereafter asked in a little different way. These attempts to get more varied answers didn’t give any result, and the following answers had the same pattern.

More than half of the interviews were made with people not involved in the excursion. The aim with interviewing people not involved was to see if they had different opinions from those who directly benefited from it. This information is still considered valuable, but the distribution of interviews could have been more in favour of the directly involved.

**The literature study**

The secondary sources used contains of literature, reports, web-pages, data from Södertörn University College and work by former students who have written essays on the subject of tourism in Babati.

**To use internet as a source**

Information from internet should always be viewed with an extra critical eye, and so has been done with the material used for this essay. The subjectivity of some of the sources is obvious, but nothing that prevents from using them.
Limitations of the study

The important other half of the excursion, i.e. the tourists; the students and teachers from Sweden, has not been included in the research. It was found more important to focus on the hosts of the excursion since it is their society and environment that is influenced. However, it would be very interesting to hear the views of the visitors too, and see how they were affected of the excursion.

Domestic tourism has also been left out. Babati has domestic occasional visitors, but not domestic tourism in terms of holidaymakers. Further, the aim was to see how a group of students from a different culture and society affects Babati.

This essay is dealing with a variety of subjects; culture, society, economy, environment, gender, post colonialism etc. all with their different theories and schools. All these areas can be, in more or less extent, related to tourism, and it is therefore necessary to include them in this essay. However, the ambition is not to give a deep and covering picture of all these areas. Some of them will just be touched upon, and some will be discussed more extensive.

Outline of the study

The case study was the part of this study that was made first, and the literature study later. However, here it will be presented in the reverse way, since the literature study, and the analysis of the first research question gives an important background to the rest of the study.

Simply, you can say that the chapters answer different questions.

The results of the literature study will serve as a base for the analysis of both new sustainable tourism and the WTO guidelines. Analysis of new sustainable tourism answers the question what is the essence of new sustainable tourism?

On this follows the results of the case study, which is the base for the analysis of the excursion. This analysis answers the question if the Södertörn University college excursion to Babati, Tanzania is a sustainable tourism venture, according to the sustainable tourism guidelines from WTO?

Finally, analysis of the guidelines answers how the WTO guidelines works as a tool to evaluate if a tourism venture is sustainable?

Each analysis ends with a conclusion, and the essay finishes with a discussion.
Definitions of key words and concepts

Tourism
World tourism organization uses the following definition of tourism: “It comprises the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited” (world tourism org. A, online). This is the definition mostly used and it explains the most basic ingredients in tourism. However, a number of characteristics of the phenomenon of tourism are missing in this definition. Mathieson and Wall see tourism as comprising three elements. First, a dynamic element, incl. travel to a destination. Second, a static element, which involves a stay at the destination, and third, a consequential element, resulting from the two above, which is concerned with the effects of the economic, social and physical subsystems with which the tourist is directly or indirectly in contact (in Fennell, 2003:2).

New sustainable tourism
Mowforth and Munt use the word ‘new tourism’ to describe different forms of tourism that seek to distinguish themselves from mainstream or commercial mass tourism. They see a relationship between ‘new tourism’ and other ‘news’; new consumers, new political movements, new form of economic organization (2003:4). These new forms can be everything from adventure to wildlife tourism, but they share, in varying degrees, a concern for:
- development
- the environmental, economic and socio-cultural impacts of tourism
- participation and control by local people
- benefit to the poor
(Mowforth and Munt, 2003:94)

The term ‘new sustainable tourism’ will be used here to differentiate the new types of tourism that includes the thought of sustainability from other types of new tourism. For example, adventure tourism is a new type of tourism, but not necessary sustainable, and is therefore not included. The term will also be used to differentiate the whole area of new sustainable tourism types from just sustainable tourism, which is one of many different concepts inside new sustainable tourism. ‘Sustainable tourism’ will refer to the WTO- and Brundtland- approach to tourism. There is a need to separate new sustainable tourism from sustainable tourism, since they in this case will have slightly different meanings, one wide, like an umbrella, and one more narrow. To be clear, new sustainable tourism will be used as a generic term for those forms of new tourism that has a strong connection to sustainability, and it includes sustainable tourism, eco tourism, community based tourism, fair trade tourism and pro-poor tourism. However, a division of these concepts is seldom done, and other authors normally use the term ‘sustainable tourism’ to describe what here will be described as ‘new sustainable tourism’, which might result in some confusion. Since it is difficult to know exactly which type that is meant, the term sustainable tourism will be left unchanged when referring to other authors, even if it is most likely that they mean the umbrella – new sustainable tourism.
Developing and developed countries

There is no good way to differentiate some countries from others. However, there is often a need for doing it. Elliot (2004:167-168) discusses the terminology for dividing the worlds countries, arguing that all phrases is loaded because they suggest a value hierarchy, while referring to phrases as First and Third world, developing and developed world. The First, Second and Third world originate from the cold war; First world is North America, Western Europe and Australia. Second world refers to the former communist world; former Soviet, Eastern Europe and China, and the Third world refers to the rest. The developing world is all countries except the OECD countries. Sometimes, the transitional economies is also included (Elliot, 2004:168). ‘LDC’ can be used to differentiate the ‘Least Developed Countries’ from the rest of the developing countries, which for the moment is the 49 poorest countries in the world, including Tanzania (UN online). ‘North’ and ‘South’ is also commonly used phrases, where the world is simply divided in two geographic parts. This coincides pretty well with the other divisions, except that Australia and New Zealand become a ‘Southern’ country.

In this essay the words developing and developed will be used. Which ever phrase that is used, one must be aware of the fact that all definitions have clear shortcomings and that the countries in each group is not a homogeneous group. The reason why a division still will be made is to show developing countries relative political powerlessness, economic poverty and social marginalization compared to the developed countries (Elliot, 2004:168).

WTO

Minding that WTO through this essay is short for World Tourism Organization and not World Trade Organization.
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Sustainable development

The concept of sustainable development emerged from a growing concern for the environmental condition in the world and discussions about growth and population. This coincided with crises and disasters around the world and resulted in the early 80s in a formulation of the concept of sustainable development (sd gateway online). It was spread over the world through the Brundtland report 1987, and has successively influenced a number of sectors including tourism. Sustainable development, defined in Brundtland as; “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987, p.43) includes development, i.e. economic growth, as well as a concern for that the development should take place inside the carrying capacity of the earth’s environment, socio-cultural, and economic systems (Weaver, 2006:10). There is an inter-generational consideration, that it should be equity among the people who live today. The development should also be in such a way that the future generations also can satisfy their needs, i.e. intra-generational equity (Shaw and Williams, 2002:301).

Model of sustainable developments three pillars (sustainability-ed, online).

Sustainable development is often visualized by three pillars or circles, where sustainability only can be achieved where environment, society and economy works in harmony.
Different people have different views of the concept. Some mean that the concept is revolutionary because it combines interests, intra- and inter generational equity and provides further economic growth without finishing the natural capital. On the other hand, critics argue that it is impossible to combine further economic growth in the world economy with finite recourses, and that the concept of sustainable development doesn’t address the issue of western societies lifestyle (Mowforth and Munt, 2003:20).

**The development of new sustainable tourism**

The concept of new sustainable tourism has evolved from two main concerns. One is the broader concern for the negative environmental impacts of economic growth, formulated as above by Brundtland as sustainable development. The other emerged from a growing concern for the more specific impacts that mass tourism had on the destinations (Shaw and Williams, 2002:300-301).

The formulation of new sustainable forms of tourism in order to meet the rising critique of commercial mass tourism’s impact on environment and societies started before Brundtlands formulation of sustainable development. The concept of eco tourism has been around for a longer time and was first used in the early 80’s by Hector Ceballos-Lascurain. He defined it as “travelling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objective of studying, admiring, and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural manifestation (both past and present) found in these areas” (Fennell 2003:18). However, the concept has since evolved and a definition of today reveals more than pure nature interest.

Definitions, strategies etc from UN and WTO, as well as of NGO’s and private companies have evolved in pace with development and consumer power in the area. It is argued that most of the development in the area took place among academics and organizations (Weaver, 2006:10). In the context of developing countries, ecumenical church groups played an important role in the 80’s in pointing at problems with tourism in these countries, and also to develop pro-poor solutions. They founded networks and coalitions working for alternative tourism and with grassroots projects (Weaver, 2006:39).

WTO has been a frontrunner in the formulation of sustainable tourism practices. The sustainable development terminology was used the first time in the Hague declaration, 1989 (world tourism org. C, online) and since the 1992 Earth summit, the concern for a sustainable development of the tourism industry has grown. 1995, WTO, UNEP, UNESCO and EU produced a document on sustainable tourism, called the Lanzarote charter for sustainable tourism (world tourism org. D, online). An early contribution was also the strategy on tourism and sustainability recommendations, developed by representatives from the tourism industry, NGO’s and governments at the Globe’90 conference in 1990 (Fennell, 2003:8).

The Agenda 21 for travel and tourism industry came in 1996 with guidelines for both governments and private tourist companies. Especially the priority areas for actions concerning the private companies, environmental issues like water management and waste minimization was central (world tourism org. E, online). 1999, WTO in cooperation with UN, NGO’s and the private sector, developed the global codes of ethics for tourism, a 10-point-list with articles on the
Ethic rules of the game (World Tourism Org. F, online). 2002 was the International year of eco tourism. This year was also the year of the world summit on sustainable development in Johannesburg, as well as the year that WTO initiated ST-EP; sustainable tourism – elimination of poverty (Weaver 2006:13). WTO has today a section of sustainable tourism, including a subsection of eco tourism, which comprises of the same guidelines as ST, but with additional principles which differentiates it from ST. It also includes the code of ethics and the ST-EP mentioned above (World Tourism Org. G, online).

Different concepts of new sustainable tourism exist side by side today. There are eco tourism, community based tourism, fair-trade tourism, pro-poor tourism etc, which all proclaims to have the best sustainable recipe. There is also symbiosis of these, like the one of WWF called Community based eco tourism. As time goes by, a ‘pan-realm’ approach, as Weaver (2006:24) calls it, has been adopted, where environmental, socio-cultural and economic objectives are addressed simultaneously. In pace with consumers demanding more green products, the conventional tourism industry has realized the need for, and potential in, having a sustainable profile (Weaver, 2006:62).

**Sustainable tourism**

There is no general definition of sustainable tourism (Shaw and Williams, 2002:301). One among others comes from the application of the sustainable development idea into the tourism sector (Weaver, 2006:10), by transforming the sustainable development definition of Bruntland to the tourism industry: “Sustainable tourism development meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunity for the future” (World Tourism Org. B, online). According to WTO, sustainable tourism is tourism that leads to management of the resources so that the economic, social and esthetical needs can be fulfilled at the same time as cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems can be maintained. A sustainable tourism product “operates in harmony with the local environment, community and cultures, so that these become the permanent beneficiaries not the victims of tourism development” (ibid).

**Sustainable tourism development guidelines and management practices**

The guidelines that will be used in this essay to evaluate the excursion is the WTO:s sustainable tourism development guidelines and management practices from 2004. As mentioned above, there are countless models, guideline-list and criteria existing in this field, from serious to less serious, from concise to comprehensive. The ambition was to choose one that is seen as serious, significant in case of influence, general in nature and plain sustainable tourism. WTO is an organization in close connection with UN and with long time experience in the field of sustainable tourism.
The guidelines for sustainable tourism development are useful for all types of tourism, from mass- to niche ventures and for all types of destinations. These guidelines are based on sustainable developments three pillars and should;

1) **make optimal use of environmental resources** that constitute a key element in tourism development, maintaining essential ecological processes and helping to conserve natural heritage and biodiversity.

2) **respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities**, conserve their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance.

3) ensure viable, long-term economic operations, **providing socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders** that are fairly distributed, including stable employment and income-earning opportunities and social services to host communities, and contributing to poverty alleviation (world tourism org. H, online).

There must be a suitable balance between the three areas to guarantee the sustainability in the long term. Further, strong political leadership, a constant monitoring of impacts and informed participation of all relevant stakeholders is required. It is also important that the level of tourist satisfaction is high, and that a meaningful experience is combined with awareness-raising and the use of sustainability practices (ibid).
RESULTS OF THE LITERATURE STUDY

This part seeks to make an unprejudiced account of critical issues related to tourism and sustainability, and problems related to tourism in a developing country. It also looks at different forms of new sustainable tourism. This part will be used as a base for the analysis of both sustainable tourism and the WTO guidelines.

New sustainable tourism – a contested concept

The concept of sustainable tourism is as contested as its origin sustainable development. Since it is attracting to both the developmentalists and the environmentalists, it has been argued to mean “anything to anyone” or being “an intellectual appealing concept with little practical application” (Weaver, 2006:19). It is argued that sustainable tourism is reactionary, rather than proactive in nature and that history is full of evidence of capitalisms reactionary tendencies as a way to survive (Macbeth in Fennell, 2003:13).

Weaver (2006:22) argues: “…sustainable tourism is an essentially meaningless construct if the external context, and its effects on sustainability are not taken into account in the planning and management of destinations and business”. The external context refers for example to how money spent by tourists is used by the person who earned it and in which external system (political, social stability etc.) tourism takes place in (Weaver 2006:21-22). Mowforth and Munth consider sustainability as a contested concept, a concept that is “socially and politically constructed and reflects the interests and values of those involved” (2003:18). They are also critical to an existence of the concepts true essence: “Indeed, we believe there to be no absolutely true nature of sustainability and, (...) it is not definable except in terms of the context, control and position of those who are defining it”. (2003:97-98).

The area of new sustainable tourism is quite new, and especially the study of it, and there is no clear consensus around the content of it. Maybe the biggest gap of the content is by those who study it and those who use it in their business operations (Mowforth and Munt, 2003:94). Weaver (2006:23) discusses different approaches to new sustainable tourism: confined or holistic sustainability, in a micro or macro spatial context. A confined approach is that only direct impacts are considered. A holistic approach incorporates the indirect and induced effects. A micro spatial context considers the immediate impact on the destination or business. In a macro spatial context, the micro context is extended by a spatial and temporal context; consequences over time and space are considered (Weaver, 2006:23-24). Weaver suggests a model with two different ideal types of sustainable tourism, both with financial sustainability in the bottom. One ideal type is the minimalist sustainable tourism, which refers to the confined approach, and addresses the direct impacts in a local, short-term context, and with an intergenerational equity perspective. This model, Weaver argues, fits new players on the field, since it is more realistic and easy to work with. However, the second ideal type is the most desirable, and should be the strive for all. That is the comprehensive sustainable tourism ideal type, which is holistic, with a

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2 In this chapter, the division of sustainable tourism from new sustainable tourism is not strict, and therefore confusing. The term sustainable tourism has to some extent been left unchanged, since the authors use this term, but their discussion concerns in great extent also what in the rest of this essay is called new sustainable tourism.
regional and global focus, addressing long-term effects and direct as well as indirect impact in time and space, and cares both for intra- and intergenerational equity (2006:25-26).

**New sustainable tourism approaches**

In the area of new sustainable types of tourism, there exist other concepts that in one way or another differentiates itself from the others and from the WTO definition of sustainable development. The selection of these different types is based on a list by Mowforth and Munt, but information of what they contain is collected from other sources. They list a number of niches or new tourism, for example culture-, ethnic-, green-, nature-, etc, and highlights the, as they put it, “front runners that seek to define themselves in relationship to development and sustainability” (2003:95). These are, except sustainable tourism, eco tourism, community-based tourism, fair trade and ethical tourism and pro-poor tourism.

**Eco tourism**

As mentioned in the theoretical chapter, Eco tourism was originally nature based tourism, but it has since the 80’s evolved and is now defined in a number of ways. The International Eco tourism Society (TIES) defines eco tourism as "responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people". These principles should be followed:

- Minimize impact
- Build environmental and cultural awareness and respect
- Provide positive experiences for both visitors and hosts
- Provide direct financial benefits for conservation
- Provide financial benefits and empowerment for local people
- Raise sensitivity to host countries' political, environmental, and social climate
- Support international human rights and labour agreements

(TIES online).

According to WTO, eco tourism comprises the principles of sustainable tourism concerning the three pillars, but it consists of further principles that differentiate eco tourism from sustainable tourism. These are;

1) Contributes actively to the conservation of natural and cultural heritage,
2) Includes local and indigenous communities in its planning, development and operation, and contributing to their well-being,
3) Interprets the natural and cultural heritage of the destination to visitors,
4) Lends itself better to independent travellers, as well as to organized tours for small size groups.

(world tourism org. I, online).
Community Based Tourism

Community based tourism, CBT, is initiatives often operating from grass-root level, and seldom commercial in bigger scale. There are variations among the definitions and principles used\(^3\), but there seems to be some kind of consensus concerning what CBT is. One representative definition is: “Community-based tourism refers more specifically to tourism activities or enterprises that involve local communities, occur on their lands, and are based on their cultural and natural assets and attractions” (Tanzania gateway online).

CBT has its focus on social sustainability. The core is that the tourism activities for the most part are developed and operated by the communities and its members and should occur on their initiatives. The revenue gained should, as long as possible, go to the community. CBT respects local culture, heritage and traditions, as well as the natural heritage (community tourism online). The tourism activities should also foster cross-culture learning and respect for cultural differences and human dignity (REST online).

The Indian cooperative society LEAF uses these defining principles of CBT:

1. Local initiative, local planning & local ownership
2. Socio-economic development of the local community
3. Conservation of Cultural & Natural Resources
   (LEAF online).

Fair trade and ethical travel

Tourism Concern’s international Fair Trade in Tourism Network has made serious research and contributions to the concept of fair trade in tourism. It seeks to prioritise groups or sections in communities that normally lack influence in tourism decisions or that doesn’t benefit fairly from it. They define fair trade in tourism as a key aspect of sustainable tourism, and it “aims to maximize the benefits from tourism for local destination stakeholders through mutually beneficial and equitable partnerships between national and international tourism stakeholders in the destination. It also supports the right of indigenous host communities, whether involved in tourism or not, to participate as equal stakeholders and beneficiaries in the tourism development process” (tourism concern online).

The criteria were developed in a network of NGOs, independent operators and community tourism enterprises.\(^4\) To sum up, these criteria consider five main areas:

1. Fair Trade partnerships between tourism and hospitality investors and local communities, including equitable negotiation, local interests, transparency, employment of locals, training at local level, aware of regulations and anti-corrupt strategies. The indigenous groups are specially mentioned as not to forget.


\(^4\) Based on the work of Tourism concern, the first label system for fair trade in tourism was developed, so far only used in South Africa. It can be viewed at [http://www.fairtourismsa.org.za/aboutus/index.html#principles](http://www.fairtourismsa.org.za/aboutus/index.html#principles)
2. Fair share of benefits for local stakeholders, a reduction of leakage and increase of linkages and respect for cultural assets, including a fair, equitable negotiated price, fair competition between domestic and foreign investors, fair distribution of tourism revenues, use of local products and material, use of tax regulations and transfer pricing ensuring adequate liability, transparency to the customer about how the tourist activity benefits local people and how tourists can assist in respecting the socio-cultural, economic and environmental priorities of the destination community, that the use of local and indigenous culture for tourism purposes should only happen on the basis of consultation and control by the local communities involved, and that public land and access rights, sacred sites and traditional community livelihoods should be recognized and protected from tourism development.

3. Fair Trade between tourists and local people, including informed and responsible tourists; a fair market price for both tourists and hosts.

4. Fair and sustainable use of natural resources, including investment and research in environmental protection, implementation of measures which enhance the local environment, consultation of the local community and adherence to relevant national and international conventions.

5. Fair wages and working conditions including no child and slave labour, no discrimination, all according to international standards and UN Declarations on Human Rights (tourism concern online).

**Pro-poor tourism**

Pro-poor tourism (PPT) is simply tourism that results in increased net benefits for poor people (i.e. benefits greater than costs). There is no specific type of company or type of tourism activity required, but it is instead to be understood as an approach to tourism development and management (PPT A, online). The focus is on economic benefits, even though social, environmental and cultural costs and benefits also need to be taken into account (Cattarinich, 2001:4 online).

Since PPT is an approach to tourism, they use strategies as a help to achieve the goal. These can be divided into three main segments:

1. Increase economic benefits
   - Boost local employment and wages
   - Boost local enterprise opportunities
   - Create collective income sources – fees, revenue shares

2. Enhance non-financial livelihood impacts
   - Capacity building, training
   - Mitigate environmental impacts
   - Address competing use of natural resources
   - Improve social, cultural impacts
   - Increase local access to infrastructure and services
3. Enhance participation and partnership
- Create more supportive policy/planning framework
- Increase participation of the poor in decision-making
- Build pro-poor partnerships with private sector
- Increase flows of information, communication
(PPT B, online).

A short comparison of the concepts
The difference between PPT and ST is that the goal of PPT is net benefits to the poor, to which environmental concerns should contribute, and increase the opportunities for poor people. This stands in contrast to sustainable tourism that, as some argue, focus on conservation and protection, with economic, social and cultural benefits for the poor as a bonus (Cattarinich, 2001:4 online). They also mean that ST focus on mainstream destinations, mainly in the north, while PPT is an initiative focusing on the south, and that PPT has more practical guidance for social concern which ST lack. Eco tourism and CBT, whose main focus are on environmental concern and local peoples involvement, differs to PPT in that sense that these are only components of the PPT picture (PPT C, online).

A further option
Mowforth and Munt have summarized criteria often used for sustainability in tourism. When answering the following questions, you should be able to get a picture of the level of sustainability. Is the lodge, reserve or tour
1. Sustainable
   - environmentally
   - socially
   - culturally
   - economically
2. Educational?
3. Locally participatory?
4. An aid to conservation?
(2003:98)

Critique to new sustainable tourism
The confusion that might occur from the various alternatives of terms, products and management philosophies; green, soft, ECO or CBT, could result in forgetting that they can have very different effects on the area (Shaw and Williams, 2002:302). Wheeller is critical to the new tourism, and stresses that if there is no attempt to solve the problem of tourism volume, all attempts to solutions are both wrong and dangerously misleading (Wheeller, 1991, in Shaw and Williams, 2002:303). Some has viewed sustainable tourism as an alternative to mass tourism, while others, for example Butler, argues that mass tourism isn’t necessary unsustainable, but also, that since mass tourism often is unsustainable, a very important task would be to solve the question of making mass tourism more sustainable, instead of providing alternatives (Butler, 1992 and 1999 in Shaw and Williams, 2002:302).
The benefits from the new tourism activities do not naturally distribute equally in the society. If not cautious, the new tourism can increase the local inequities and give more power to the local elites (Mowforth and Munt, 2003:18). And in spite the wish for a sustainable way of travel, the wish that at the same time visit more unspoiled and ‘authentic’ places and cultures might not be sustainable in the long run. New forms of tourism have tended to capture old, colonial ways of travel; to travel like ‘explorers’ (Mowforth and Munt, 2003:61). According to Mowforth and Munt, we must ask ourselves the questions: “...what is sustainable tourism seeking to sustain and for whom?” and “new tourists call for a different experience, but different experience for whom?” (2003:58 and 63).

It can also be hard to see the indirect impact of new sustainable tourism. For example, the conservation of animals in a National Park, or the closing down of an environmental polluting hotel, measures that at first seems positive, can indirect have negative consequences. Locals have lost their land to national parks, and people can loose their jobs if hotels close. In these complex systems, the environmental wins by doing this can result in even greater loss in the end, for example when the locals start to kill animals to get the tourists away from the parks, or when the unemployed starts to work in an even more polluting business (Weaver, 2006:24).

There is also a question of how important the impact from tourism really is: “While direct social and commercial contacts between hosts and guests clearly do have some impact, it is also likely that changes are inordinately attributed to tourism that are more likely associated with a societies exposure to mass media” (Weaver, 2006:22).

**Tourism in a developing country**

The specific difficulties that tourism in Africa face have been explained with the picture of an iceberg. The top, which is the visible part, includes the explanation of economic and political hindrances that can exist in the country. Below the waterline, not visible, is the question of the dominance of some sub region, for example the northern one. The deep bottom of the iceberg, hidden deep down under sea level, is the colonial inheritance (Dieke, 2000:20-21).

According to Cattarinich, and the results from some case studies, tourism has strengthened the traditional core-periphery structure, as it appeared in the colonial days (2001:14 online). From the fact that most of the tourists origins from the first world, is based on their demands, together with the great leakages back to the first world, some has called the tourist industry the ‘new imperialism’ (Mowforth and Munt, 2003:51). An analysis of tourism must include a critical assessment of the relationships of power involved (2003: 4).

Hall and Tucker raise the question if tourism is colonialism by another name. They argue that postcolonial theory needs to get more space in tourism theory and studies. By a number of case studies, they show that features in tourism today hold a neo-colonial attitude, for example the language of travel magazines and brochures, and the romantic, authentic wish for ‘the others’ and ‘the wild’. One of these case studies, made by John S. Akama, was about neo-colonialism in the wildlife safari tourism in Kenya, were the colonial heritage is similar to Tanzania’s. He concluded that the wildlife safari, once originated in the colonial period by and for white
Europeans and by little local influences, still today has this elements of colonialism (Hall and Tucker, 2004:150). Hall and Tucker also highlighted the fact that postcolonial tourism many times exacerbates the gap between rich and poor, and that the state organizations of these countries often lack the political power to put on change (2004:179).

Dieke points to the fact that tourists of today have something in common with the colonialists. Tourists also want to visit areas that is a bit developed (not wild), but at the same time not too developed; they still want colourful clothes, to see the ‘traditional’ life etc. Dieke says: “An inability to imagine or concede that local people in tourist destination areas may simply aspire to possess the consumer durables carried by tourists – and even to be given the same choices that people in more “developed” societies take for granted” (2000:50).

Mowforth and Munt argue that it is people of the developed world who decide what is right or wrong in tourism, what is sustainable or not (2003:27). They call it an eco-structural adjustment; the developing world must accept the developed worlds’ thinking, and for example be forced to establish policies on nature and culture to be able to get World Bank loans (2003:60). They also argue that in spite the good intentions of poverty reduction that permeate the neo liberal idea, this will make poor people work for globalisation. Their living standard may increase but the global inequities will sustain (Mowforth and Munt, 2003:41).

The structural adjustment programs (SAP), imposed by IMF, that many developing countries, including Tanzania, undergoes, have meant difficulties for domestic tourism businesses compared with foreign and Trans-national Corporations (TNCs). Directions of SAP have made it hard for local people to obtain the skills and capital necessary to compete with TNCs, and since a liberalization of the economy is required, the foreign businesses and TNCs will have the same right to the market as domestic companies (Cattarinich, 2001:15 online).

Tourism in the developing world has become more and more popular in pace with our changed travel habits. For a backpacker, the developing world can mean endless adventure, culture and environment, but to a mass tourist, developing countries can be associated with a threat, a place where the holiday needs to be packed in and controlled extra, for example in ‘all-inclusive’-packages, to be enjoyable. Both views might be problematic (Mowforth and Munt, 2003:294).

The first impression of the fact that most tourism jobs in developing countries are part time can sound like a negative one. But when viewing peoples sources of income, it is clear that a spread combination of income options is most favourable, because then also the risk is spread (Cattarinich, 2001:16 online). A straggling combination of small businesses, with non of them providing significant income, but that together makes the livelihood, is the way many Tanzanians live (Loiske, V., Lecture). Thus, for tourism to be a successful poverty reduction strategy, it should be a complement to the existing livelihood; an additional economic input that diversifies their economy without disrupting or substituting the other livelihoods (Cattarinich, 2001:9 online).
Leakage

Governments and aid agencies have been positive to mass tourism development in developing countries, due to its potential for great macroeconomic benefits for the countries. However, components as transport, marketing etc. has resulted in leakage; that a significant share of money goes back to the tourist generating country. On average, 55% of the tourists spending remain outside the destination country, of course with a great variation among countries, where large economies are more successful in keeping money in the country (Cattarinich, 2001:11 online). Up to half of all tourism income in developing countries leaks out of the destination, and much of it goes to industrial nations through foreign ownership of hotels and tour companies (Hall and Tucker, 2004:170).

Women in tourism

According to UN, the tourism industry is a particularly important sector for women, since they constitutes for 46% of the formal workforce, compared to 34 – 40 % in general (earth summit online). Women particularly also find work in the informal sector relating to tourism, for example by collection and selling firewood, handicrafts, food and manage their own guesthouses (Cattarinich, 2001:17 online). But there are specific discrimination risks to women in the tourism sector. For example, women seldom gets leadership roles, but are stuck with low paid, low skilled jobs. They also suffer the risk of being objectified, as a part of the tourist image. Also, there is the risk of sexual objectification (earth summit online). Women could also suffer indirect from the tourism industry, for example when the competition on fuel increases, and deforestation resulting from getting fuel for tourists makes it harder for the local women to get their fuel, necessary for their households (Cattarinich, 2001:17 online). But there is also evidence for the opposite, that a job in the tourism industry can be a way for women to challenge traditional roles and to be more independent (earth summit online).
ANALYSIS OF NEW SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

This part answers the questions *what is the essence of new sustainable tourism?*

The literature study showed that there is a wide field with different approaches to new sustainable tourism, all seeking to address the problems associated with tourism. These attempts are often rather general in its nature, not place-specific, but useful for tourism in Europe as well as Africa. Maybe this is where the most important shortcoming is.

The WTO guidelines had equal focus on the three pillars of sustainable development. The other approaches had in comparison their focus mainly on one of the pillars, but with the other pillars in the background. Eco tourism has its main focus on the environmental issues, CBT on the socio-cultural aspects, and PPT on the economy. The reason why so many different approaches to new sustainable tourism have evolved might be that the covering but general approach of sustainable tourism is not considered enough. It could also show people’s different views of what is most important in sustainable development. Developmentalists might favour the PPT idea, since they see the economy as the motor in creating a sustainable world, while environmentalists, who sees the economic growth more as a part of the problem, could prefer CBT as a better solution. On the other hand, by choosing one, the complexity might be missing. Whatever the reason is why there is need for so many different profiles in new sustainable tourism, the combination of them might provide a clue of what the essence is. This table is an overview of the most common content in the five concepts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ST</th>
<th>ECO</th>
<th>CBT</th>
<th>FTT</th>
<th>PPT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conserve the environment</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improve well-being of hosts / locals</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Build awareness and respect, cross-cultural learning</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial benefits for hosts / locals</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involve hosts / locals in the planning, decision-making and operation</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own compilation
As the analysis shows, among the most commonly prioritised areas, none of them is clearly represented by all five approaches. However, what is necessary to remember is that these different approaches are not equal in the sense that they all provide a covering solution. For example, fair trade in tourism is an approach that seeks to fill in the gaps that tourism in general is missing, and therefore, the main focus is on these parts, and not on the parts where the industry probably is considered working quite well.

Another attempt to organize these concepts is by using Mowforth and Munt’s compilation of criteria often used in new sustainable tourism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ST</th>
<th>ECO</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Environmental sustainability</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social sustainability</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural sustainability</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Economic sustainability</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Educational</strong></td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Local participatory</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>An aid to conservation</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own compilation

They all have a pan-realm approach to address the questions of creating sustainability. In both tables, the comparison showed that eco tourism, CBT and fair trade tourism is the most covering concepts. But there is still no clear picture of what new sustainable tourism is, even if the confusion now is more structured. ST and PPT is the most liberal approaches. They are also least covering, however only a few steps away from the others. But what these tables show is not which type is the most or least sustainable, but they rather show that there is some kind of idea of what content a new sustainable tourism has to have, but at the same time that it is impossible to cover it all at the same time. The problem is not that differences exists, it is how they are used. CBT probably fits for some ventures, in some countries, but not in others. PPT might be a very successful strategy in countries where the political and social situation is suitable.

Sustainable tourism is criticized for meaning different things to different people, but it might be impossible to come up with a view that everyone can stand behind. Ideological alignment, holistic or confined approach to addressing questions etc. might make it impossible to gather around one single idea of what new sustainable tourism is. Does this make it less important with new sustainable forms of tourism? Does it reduce the liability? No, not necessary. But when costumers is not aware of that the differences means different sustainability ideas, or when the concepts are used only as a marketing strategy, the positive impacts that can come out of the new tourism forms might be lacking, and the liability of the whole area might be watered down.
The fact that these concepts are of free use, and is free to adjust to fit the own business, makes the impression of confusion, green washing and unreliability bigger. Wheeller put focus on the volume-problem. All approaches indirectly want to sell trips. None of them wants to suspend or diminish tourism, at least not the type they represent. Therefore, the volume problem doesn’t get addressed by any of these approaches. The new sustainable tourism types are therefore still highly market oriented ways of travel, they are just tucked in differently from commercial tourism ventures.

**Conclusion**

Mowforth and Munth’s critique of sustainability; that it is "*socially and politically constructed and reflects the interests and values of those involved*" (2003:18) can be applied also to different new forms of sustainable tourism. There is no absolute true core in new sustainable tourism. It is rather a subjective judgment what is a sustainable tourism venture or not, depending on personal values, ideology and personal interests. There are features commonly associated and used in new sustainable tourism, like the sustainability of the three of pillars and the focus on the local, educational and conservational effects, but the essence is a highly individual judgement.
RESULTS OF THE CASE STUDY

Background

East African tourism history

Tourism was to become an important industry in East Africa just before World War 2, when Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania were under British colonial rule. The tourism business in Tanzania (at that time Tanganyika) was introduced by Europeans for Europeans (Dieke, 2000:38). In 1948, the East African High Commission was established (transformed to EAC, East African Community, in 1960), which was a cooperation between the three countries. A regional package was established, which made it possible for tourists to move freely between the three countries. Tour operators based in one of the countries could take tourists to the other countries and the marketing was worldwide. The colonial government of Tanzania was not as good as its neighbours in Kenya to attract tourists. Kenya gained most from the cooperation (they had around 60% of the tourists), and Uganda and Tanzania mistrusted. The reason why Kenya became most popular may be because they had both safari- and beach tourism, when Tanzania focused mainly on safaris (Dieke, 2000:47). Also, because of the cooperation rules, most tourists started their journey in Kenya, who had the best infrastructure, and from there, they went with Kenyan tour operators into Tanzania, with the result that the economic contribution for Tanzania became small. In 1965 the cooperation was starting to fall apart, and the countries set up customs. In 1977, Nyerere closed the border to Kenya, and EAC broke down. Since then, the regional cooperation has been minimal (Dieke, 2000:139-140).

The tourism industry in Africa has been dominated by TNC’s, primarily from developed countries. The transportation dominates by western airlines, accommodation by trans-national hotel chains, and food is often imported (Dieke 2000:31-32). African tourism has also been suffering from large leakages, and therefore been dependent on a ‘trickle down’ effect for creating development, i.e. that some of the money in transition indirectly reaches the people, for example as improvements in social services when the countries economy grows, even if most of the money doesn’t (Dieke 2000:32). However, TNCs has been of relatively little importance in Tanzania compared to some other African countries, partly because tourism in Tanzania for a long time focused on safari- and wildlife tourism, and not beach tourism, and TNCs are normally found in urban- and beach areas (Dieke, 2000:46-47).

The colonial government dedicated land to animals, which meant that people living in the areas were marginalized, but also that animals were preserved for hunting. Even if the hunting has been replaced with simply viewing the animals today, the debate around animal conservation, human land rights and governmental earnings is still present, especially in tourism discussions. For example, the Maasai- and Hadza-people in Tanzania has been relocated to make way for game reserves and national parks for economic development (Dieke, 2000:268). Disputes may occur around wildlife; attracting to tourists, but seen as a threat by locals, that kills off their livestock, eating their crops and spreading diseases. This dispute often occurs when the locals doesn’t benefit from the tourism, and doesn’t take part in the decision-making. However, there are good examples, for example in Maasai areas in Kenya and Tanzania, where tourism is beneficial to both the local communities and to the protected areas (Dieke, 2000:270). The Maasai people of Kenya and Tanzania is the most commonly used example of the conflict between wildlife and
people. It is an ongoing process, which started in 1959, when the Maasai people were first moved out from the Serengeti NP. In some locations, like for example the Olduvai gorge, tourists today have access to the land, but the Maasai people have not (Mowforth and Munt, 2003:239). At the same time, the tourist’s presence in the parks gains more money to the country than the presence of the Maasai people do, and it helps to conserve the wildlife and nature. A result has been that the Maasai people see tourists as a way of gaining money, and tourists see the Maasai people as a way of embellish their trip, for example by taking their pictures. Both wants to maximize their own profit, and, according to Mowforth and Munt, they don’t see each other as dignified humans (2003:239).

**Tourism in Tanzania**

In 2000, Tanzania received about 500 000 tourists and the tourism industry accounted for about 10 % of national output (GDP) and 40% of foreign exchange earnings. The number of tourist arrivals in Tanzania is increasing from year to year (Tourism master plan, 2002 online).

The main attractions for tourists to visit Tanzania is the nature- and wildlife experience that is to be found in the conservation areas and national parks in the Northern wildlife zone. However, the acceptable number of tourists in this area is reached, and Tanzania now develop strategies on how to build up tourism products in the rest of the country, and how to make Tanzania a ‘single destination’ that you don’t have to combine with visiting another country. The focus in the future will be on ‘special interest’- products with high standard, activity and soft adventure products, beach resort and culture/history product (Tourism master plan, 2002:3-4 online). The tourism master plan of 2002 highlights the need for Tanzania to develop a beach product as complement to the well established wildlife product, to become more competitive with its neighbour Kenya (2002:14).

While an estimated 132,000 people in Tanzania are employed in the tourism industry, 110 of the 148 agencies that operate in Tanzania are based in Arusha (the gateway to the national parks), and the majority are run by foreigners. Only 48 agencies are run by Tanzanians, mostly by local Indians, and even less are owned by indigenous Africans (studienkreis online). Surveys have shown that women more seldom were employed in tourism business in Tanzania than in other destinations (Cattarinich, 2001:68-69 online).

**Babati**

According to the last population and housing census, made in 2002, Babati district had a population of 302,253 inhabitants. The urban area consisted of 41,589 inhabitants (Population and housing census 2002 Online). Babati town is the major town in Babati district, located in the Manyara region in the Northern Highlands of Tanzania. To the west in the district, you find the rift valley escarpment and to the east, you find the plains of the Maasai steppe (Lindberg, 1996 :34-35). The great North road that crosses the African continent goes through Babati town, which makes it a busy town for traffic and business. The ethnic mix in Babati is high due to a long history of immigration, and the linguistic diversity is said to be among the highest in Africa. Most people work with agriculture and are considered agro-pastoral (Lindberg, 1996 :39-40).
Tourism in Babati

The road cross in Babati makes it a busy place for domestic occasional visitors, like lorry-drivers. Babati is often shortly mentioned in travel guides, often in connection with trekking of Mt Hanang and cultural tourism. Babati has one big hotel; the Royal Beach Hotel. It is located by the shore of Babati lake, but the operation of the hotel seemed defective during our visit. Babati also has a number of guesthouses. Katarina Sjöberg made a survey on the subject of eco tourism in Babati in 2005. She investigated the different types of tourism-activities related to nature or culture that existed in the area. She found that there were no tourism activities at the time that could be labelled with ‘ECO’, but there existed a cultural tourism program (Sjöberg, 2005:21 and 31).

Cultural tourism programme

This is a national program, a product from a cooperation between the Netherlands Development Organization and the Tanzanian Tourist Board on socially responsible tourism. The program consists of a number of independent local tour operators in different regions in Tanzania that offer a form of tourism in which local people are closely involved. In Babati, Mr Kahembe is the tour operator dealing with cultural tourism. His program includes bicycle tours, visits of Barabaig villages, trekking of mount Hanang etc. (infojep online).

Babati Link Group

There is an educational cooperation between Babati Day secondary school and the King Edward VI Five ways school of England that is called the Babati Link Group, BLG. The project started in 2002 by two teachers, one of each school. The objectives is to foster cultural, academic and social understanding between the two communities; for the English youths to understand the conditions for the youths in Tanzania better, and to assist Babati Day Secondary School to develop their school (Babati link group A, online). So far, the children from England have visited Babati three times. Two teachers from Babati Day have visited England twice (Babati link group B, online). The children of Babati Day have in a report expressed their opinions of the visits, and the advantages of the link group. Among advantages like improvement of buildings and better books, there are knowledge of culture, improvement in the English language, good relationship and a contribution to the national economy. Their hope is to one day be able to visit their friends in England (Babati link group C, online). The present project of the group is to assist Babati Day with computer facilities for teaching of Information and Communication Technology (Babati link group D, online).

The excursion

The excursion was conducted by Södertörn University College to Babati, Tanzania during the period of 25 February – 18 March 2006. The participants were 45 students from the two educational programs ‘Environment and development’ and ‘Global development’, and 5 teachers.

The students of the two programs should as a part of their education visit a developing country. The aim of the trip was that the students should experience Tanzania as a developing country; see

5 This program can be viewed at http://infojep.com/culturaltours/babati_brochure.htm
the specific environment- and development problems that exist, but also the possibilities, experiences which are impossible to get from reading books at home. A part of the aim is to collect material for the students bachelor theses which is made during 8 days of fieldwork. The rest of the time, the student group visited national parks and other areas to view the Tanzanian nature and wildlife, but also different development projects, local farms, schools etc. There was always a chance to talk and discuss with the people visited. To give something back to Babati, the essays were later going to be sent to Babati to be used by anyone interested. The students also gave an English book each to the Babati Day secondary school as a nice gesture.

Transportation
The trip to and from the destination was conducted by airplane. British Airways and Kenyan Airways were the flight companies.

At the destination, the local company Real Ecological Tours (RET) provided transportation in a number of busses and land cruisers. The roads and vehicles were in bad condition. When the students made their interviews, it was organized so as many as possible could go together, but as the students work was put in the first place, it happened that one student went alone with a minibus.

Employment
Except the 5 teachers joining from Sweden, the excursion employed, through RET, exclusively local labour. The labour force engaged 1 coordinator, 8 translators / field guides and 5 drivers. Most of them came from Babati or the surrounding areas. A few came from further away, but had some connection to Babati, for example through relatives or work. 2 of the translators were women and the rest of the employed were men. The translators got 15,000 Tanzanian Shillings (Tsh) a day, and most of them were students that at the time had their summer break. The drivers got 10,000 Tsh a day.

The trip also involved a number of small businesses like guest houses and restaurants that gained from the trip, engaged through RET. This will further be addressed under ‘food and accommodation’.

Activities
Two excursions to Tarangire National Park and Ngorongoro Conservation area for nature- and wildlife viewing were made. There were also a number of smaller excursions to areas and villages in the surroundings. During these excursions, the group visited schools, farms, nurseries, sustainable forestry-projects etc. There were also some lectures, held both by the Swedish teachers and by locals. During the fieldwork, the students made different activities to collect information for their essays. Some went on day trips to visit farmers, some made town walks in Babati, and some visited the community office and different NGOs offices for interviews. The students also found own activities, like visiting a dance group, attending dinners at peoples home, e-mailing at the internet café, visiting the church and going to discos and bars. Shopping was also a popular activity, especially to buy cloth and get a tailor to make a Tanzanian outfit of it.
Food and accommodation
The food was mostly prepared and served by an Indian-Tanzanian family business, consisting of ten people, at their restaurant ‘Manyara refreshments’. During the time of the visit, they took some time off from their normal jobs. Babati was short of vegetables and fruits at the time, so they bought much of the ingredients from Arusha. For a few days, the food was provided by another family.

Economy
According to Södertörns economic calculation of the excursion, it could be divided in 5 major posts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flight costs</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Real Ecological Tours</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation apart from what was organized through RET</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff costs</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other, f.ex literature, telephone costs, excursions</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Vesa-Matti Loiske, Södertörn paid Real Ecological Tours US$ 41 per person and day, money that RET used to pay for everything in Babati; food, accommodation, transportation and salaries for the field guides, drivers etc. US$ 41 for 50 persons in 21 days makes US$ 43050. The students also spent their own money on for example beer, cloth, souvenirs and internet.
**Interviews**

Interviews with persons directly and indirectly involved in the excursion

*Informant 1: One of the field guides, 20 yrs, English speaking male*
*Informant 2: One of the persons who provided the food, 36 yrs, English speaking woman*
*Informant 3: The owner of Real Ecological Tours, 49 yrs, English speaking male*
*Informant 4: The coordinator, 32 yrs, English speaking male*
*Informant 5: Person in charge of one of the restaurants were the students often ate, around 40 yrs, non-English speaking woman*
*Informant 6: Housewife of one of the guest houses where the students stayed, 37 yrs, non-English speaking woman*

**How does the excursion affect you?**

Informant 1 says that the main impact for him is that he learns how people study and do research, and that he learns about behavior and culture. For informant 2, the excursion contributes significantly to her families economy, but it also benefits her personally in terms as friendship, to see different cultures etc. She also prepares the food for the English students in the Babati link project, and for some missioners. Informant 3 consider that it benefits him primarily monetary, but that it has advantages for Babati as a whole: “a lot of people benefit from it and there are only positive things to say about it. It’s good for the environment because the people get information by our essays; they get advices. Opinions from other academics are also very helpful”. Informant 4 consider it as beneficial for him personally in many ways: socially, for example that he gets new friends and can practice English, and economically; he can finish building his houses. Informant 6 was the only one disappointed about what her work in the tourism industry had given her. She didn’t speak of the excursion specifically, but she felt that because she didn’t know English, she didn’t get what she expected from the tourists.

**How does the excursion affect the culture in Babati?**

Informant 1 considered the language and the way the students dress as the major culture impacts: “People copy the way tourists dress and more people learns to speak English. The worst thing with the excursion is the students way of dressing and that people will copy it in a bad way”. Informant 4 meant that the cultural learning from each other that occurred during the excursion was the most significant cultural impact. When asked if there were any negative effects, he referred to ‘a modern culture’ that creates when people meet and through media, that is created with or without tourists.

Informant 2 also mentioned our way of dressing: “It can be a major problem for people from the villages where it is more strict than in the town if their kids come home with short skirts, blond, straight hair etc. It can result in family fights and also it happens that they are not welcome in the family anymore”. But when saying this, she mainly referred to the general picture of tourists and she thought the students from Södertörn were different from other tourists: “The excursion brings love and friendship. People that stays a longer time is possible to create friendship with”. Informant 6 also considered the students from Södertörn as different from other tourists, mainly
because of their interest in asking questions, making interviews etc. She said that other tourists are not interested in taking contact as we do.

**How does the excursion affect the society in Babati?**

Informant 1 stressed the exchange of information: “**Knowledge, money and information are shared and spread within the society. When people see the students from Sweden, they notice the importance of studies; even parents now notice this importance**”. He considered the student excursion as very important for the development in Babati in the context of learning and information spreading. Informant 4 meant that the economic impact is significant for the restaurants, guest houses and those who are employed by RET. Informant 2, 3 and 5 also mentioned the positive impact on the economy.

**How does the excursion affect the environment in Babati?**

The only mentioned environmental impact was by informant 4 that stressed that the water bottles consumed were not recycled.

**Are you familiar with the concept of Sustainable tourism?**

**Do you consider the excursion as sustainable?**

Informant 3 didn’t know what ST or CBT meant, even though his company is labeled ‘Real Ecological Tours’. He wants to see an expansion, but didn’t say in which way. Informant 4 considered the excursion as a CBT venture. Informant 1 interpreted ST as “**that the number of tourists is not too many**”.

**Have you noticed any conflicts between tourists / the students and the locals in Babati?**

There were two robberies during the time of visit, and three students lost their cameras and other valuables. Some of the informants have noticed some jealousy from some people in Babati who doesn’t benefit from the trip. One of the informants said she got mugged at home, and that this occurs because some people doesn’t like that their business goes well. There were also an incident to one of the other informants when the students had left for Sweden. This incident resulted in prison and major economic and physic damages, also most likely resulting from jealousy.

**Do you want tourism to expand and develop in Babati?**

**What damages and benefits are involved in an expansion?**

All 6 informants wanted tourism to expand in Babati. Benefits mentioned are employment, that relations between countries are strengthened, government earnings and that it open markets and companies. They also mentioned the growing understanding of the importance of conserving the environment, and that tourism brings dollars that helps the poor.

Informant 4 considered CBT as the best form of tourism for Babati in the future, and that mass tourism would not be a good idea. He meant that an improvement of the excursion could be that
we work more with projects when we are here. Informant 2 considered ‘come-and-go-tourists’ as not good for Babati, because people want friends and that demands tourists that stay longer.

Informant 1 thought it was important that Tanzania doesn’t get dependent on the tourism industry, because the society can get vulnerable when dependent too much on one sector, for example if too many starts to work with tourism instead of agriculture. He also sees great benefits with tourism, for example that democracy, freedom of speech and justice is spread and inspired by the tourists.

Both informant 1 and 3 mentioned the location of Babati as a strategic place to live for tourists’ when for example visiting the National Parks. However the road is a big problem that has to be improved if this is going to be reality.

A positive impact with an expansion could be that women get more independent, since expansion in tourism also will lead to an expansion of those type of jobs where women often find work, for example in clothes and fabrics (Informant 2). Informant 3 meant that an expansion is good, even though it probably only will benefit a few. The competition gives welfare, and he couldn’t think of any negative effects. He concluded with: “we kill the culture ourselves. Not the tourists”. A comment from informant 5 is that being interviewed is a very good way of meeting tourists. She is also positive to the kind of tourism that both Södertörn and BLG provides since it helps to improve Babati.

**Interviews with persons not involved in the excursion**

*Informant 7: Headmaster of a school teaching tourism, 50 yrs, English speaking male*  
*Informant 8: A retired Muslim man, 56 yrs, English speaking male*  
*Informant 9: A restaurant worker, 38 yrs, non-English speaking woman*  
*Informant 10: A shop worker, 31 yrs, non-English speaking woman*  
*Informant 11: A shop worker, 25 yrs, non-English speaking male*  
*Informant 12: A guard on one of Babatis schools, 56 yrs, non-English speaking male*  
*Informant 13: A teacher, 30 yrs, English speaking male*  
*Informant group 14: Pupils at Babati Day Secondary school: 4 boys, 2 girls*

In what way are you involved in tourism and how does it affect you?

Most of the informants in this group were not involved in the tourism business. Informant 12 and 14 were involved with the English students in the BLG project. Informant 8 explained how tourism affected him: “Tourism helps me to learn about other countries that I can’t visit. I’m learning new things from it and it benefits me”. Informant 9: “We learn many things we don’t have here, and we change ideas”. She meant that it was positive for her to be able to explain problems, change ideas and get friends through tourism. Informant group 14 who received the English students meant that it affected them in a number of ways, for example, they couldn’t study so much during their visit, and they copy the way they dress.
How does tourism in Babati affect the culture?

Informant 7 was concerned about tourism’s impact on the culture: “Youths imitate western culture. If we are not careful we will destroy our culture. We can be called Africans who lost their culture”. To prevent this from happening, he meant that it’s important to teach African culture all the time. They have a subject called ‘destruction of our culture through foreign culture’. Informant 8: “When people come to Babati they bring new things, new influences, and it’s positive! For example, when I was a kid, no woman could wear trousers. It would have been a miracle if that happened at that time. But I think it is a very positive thing that they now can wear what they want. Also the music has changed. Now it’s more influences from Asia and Europe like hip hop. Before, it was only rumba, cha-cha and merengue”. He also stressed the free choice in copying the tourists: “Nobody forces you to copy tourists. If you don’t want to wear trousers you can wear a skirt, it’s a free choice”. Informant 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 considered there were no cultural impacts for Babati, except that some mentioned that they learn a lot from it. However, some of them mentioned the connection of tourism and prostitution and spreading of HIV.

How does tourism in Babati affect the society?

Informant 8 said that since tourism is very small scale in Babati, there are no big impacts yet. He thought there were only positive impacts today: “More people, more bread”. Informant 10 meant that they learn a lot from tourists. She also mentioned the positive impact from tourists helping with different projects during their visits. Informant 12, who is involved in the Babati link project also sees the change of information and ideas as good for the society. “After they [the students of Babati Day] have got mzungu6 friends, they can go abroad”, he said. Informant 10 considered the impact as low, but that it was a good things in seeing them come and go, and that she was happy when they came to her shop to buy things. Informant 11 considered there were no impact, but said it was positive that people could get new friends, and that their country got known. Informant 13 thought that the impact on society was mostly positive. He mentioned employment, social interaction, exchange of information, socialization and friendship.

How does tourism in Babati affect the environment?

None of the informants had anything to say about the environmental impact.

Have you noticed any conflicts between tourists and locals in Babati?

No one of the informants had noticed any conflicts.

Do you want tourism to expand in Babati?

All informants wanted tourism to expand.

6 Mzungu is kiswahili for a white person
What damages and benefits do you think will come with an expansion?

Informant 7 was positive only to the economic benefits from tourism that could result in development of for example social services, otherwise he saw the tourism industry as very bad. Informant 11 saw an expansion as an increasing possibility for him to go abroad. Informant 12 saw the economic input in the local economy as the major benefit. Informant 8 was very positive to an expansion, and thought Babati had great potential. But he also stressed the importance of knowing English to be able to benefit from the tourists: “The most important thing is that you are able to communicate with the tourists. Language-barriers is the worst thing because then you can’t get anything out of the tourists. If you can not communicate, it will create a distance where you judge without being able to talk”. Informant 13 mentioned tourism’s impact on the economy, social development, improvement of the infrastructure and environment development as benefits. Informant 10 saw an expansion as a possibility for her to get new friends and maybe be able to travel: “Maybe one day I can go to Europe”. Informant group 14 meant that it could be a good thing, for for example improvement of infrastructure and employment, but they were also worried that an increase in tourism could lead to an increase in HIV, and that youths will change their way of dressing.

Interview with Nashon Macokecha, District Wildlife Officer on BDC

Mr Macokecha is responsible for Wildlife, which includes tourism, at the Babati District Council. He says the existing tourism activities in Babati is cultural tourism, eco tourism, canoeing and watching hippos in Babati lake and domestic business tourism. He wants tourism to expand in Babati. He sees it as a way to reach development. He sees a lot of potential in Babati; lake Babati, wildlife watching, Mount Kwara and the close location to the National Parks. There is no plan for an expansion yet, but they are planning to have a consultation with the College of African Wildlife management in Moshi, and after that, they will develop a plan document. Anyone who is interested can invest in the tourism business, but it has to be people with money that want to invest. The community nearby should benefit from the hotel or business, and the government and the hotel itself; everyone should get the right share. Anyone who wants to do it can start a business, if the legal framework is followed. He considered it as a quite straightforward operation to start a business, with not so much regulations. To prevent from negative effects, he says they have to control the effects of tourism. He considered the excursion from Södertörn as positive. “When the students come here, it is positive, we get income, change info, we learn from each other”. He considered the students as more into learning than other types of tourists. “Others doesn’t come to us, interviewing etc. The students get more involved in society than the ordinary tourists. And if this type of tourism can expand it is good”.
ANALYSIS OF THE EXCURSION

This part answers the questions: *Is the Södertörn University college excursion to Babati, Tanzania a sustainable tourism venture, according to the sustainable tourism guidelines from WTO?*

**Environmental sustainability**

*Does the excursion make optimal use of environmental resources that constitute a key element in tourism development, maintaining essential ecological processes and helping to conserve natural heritage and biodiversity?*

Depending on how the first sentence, ‘make optimal use of environmental resources that constitute a key element in tourism development’, is interpreted, the environmental resources in this case differs. It’s diffuse if only the resources that constitutes a key element in tourism development today is aimed, which would mainly refer to the national parks and conservation areas, or, if all environmental resources, since they constitute a key element in tourism development, is aimed, which would be all environment that the trip got in contact with. A just question is also what an optimal use of environmental resources really is. Most likely, it means that they should be used as sustainable as possible.

**Protected areas**

When the excursion visited the Tarangire National Park and Ngorongoro conservation area, the excursion more or less followed the rules of the parks, like entrance hours, where to drive etc. The impact of the excursion-groups alone is of course not significant. However, there is a current discussion about the accumulated impact of the land cruisers in the parks. The parks in the Northern circuit, where the parks visited are located, are being overcrowded. The conflict between wildlife conservation and humans is also a burning question. But concerning the environmental resources solely, since the excursion visits these parks, they contribute to the conservation of wildlife, based on the commonly used argument that tourists who pays for viewing living animals gives them a value for being alive, compared to their alternative value as dead parts for selling. However, it is difficult to know if conserving nature and animals in this way is the optimal use of these environmental recourses, or if there could be even better alternatives. The answer of that question is impossible for the responsible of the excursion to have. They depend on the fact that the authorities for wildlife conservation and the park is making this decision founded on the best available knowledge. With the current situation, and if the alternative was no conservation areas and national parks, paying money to view nature and wildlife is a good way of conserving it, and it can be said that the excursion helps to conserve the natural heritage and biodiversity in the parks.

**Other environmental resources**

Many different projects connected to environmental conservation were visited during the excursion, for example a forest conservation project. By visiting these places and discussing with the people working with it, the excursion probably contributed positively to the maintenance of them and therefore also to the conservation of environmental resources.
Water is an unreliable resource in Babati. Since the group stayed at local guesthouses, the students adjusted to the water supply for showering etc. Sometimes there was water, sometimes not. Of course, 50 additional persons in Babati means more use of water, but since there were no extreme increase in water use, or extra facility for the students benefit, there is no need to see that the water resources were used in an unsustainable way. The excursion adopted the existing water conditions.

Freshwater for drinking that were provided by Manyara refreshments or bought in shops were in plastic bottles, and was considered by one informant as the only environmental problem the excursion caused, since there was no possibility for recycling these. There were no option to drink the tap water, since the students probably would have become very sick. What could have been done to make the impact less was to have a big tank and one bottle each that could be filled over and over again, but that might not be a realistic solution in Babati.

The fuel used for the flights does, with no doubt, contribute to the green house effect. The fuel used for the vehicles is also, with Tanzanian measures, a big amount per person. It must be said that the students were more interested in environmental questions than the locals in general. Dirty fumes didn’t bother the locals as much as the students. There were not many of the informants that could mention any environmental impact that the excursion caused, which is a good example on the limited interest and knowledge about environmental questions. The environmental effects is not what they see as the most important impact of tourism.

The excursion doesn’t actively contribute to maintenance and conservation, but by making interviews, doing research and writing essays about environmental questions related to conservation, the students put focus on the questions, and show that these questions are important. Through both interviews, essays and informal discussion, there is an exchange of information that has, by many informants, been considered important. The manager of RET thinks that the excursion is good for the environment in the sense that people get information and advices by our essays. This way of contribution to conservation could be just as good as taking part in concrete conservation projects.

**Socio-cultural sustainability**

Does the excursion respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, conserve their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance?

Here, we also have a question of interpretation, now regarding the word respect. WTO doesn’t say how to interpret the word respect. A respect for the culture could be associated with not challenging and provoking, to show your respect by adopt the hosts way of living in as great sense as possible. But respect could also be an experienced respect that is highly individual, i.e. being of the opinion that their culture is highly valuable and worth being conserved, but that you stick to your own cultural expressions. The respect is highly dependent on the behavior of the individuals in the excursion. For example, the students were told not to wear short skirts and
sleeveless tops, but this was not always respected. Still, how great impact this resulted in is impossible to say.

**Dressing**

What is obvious from the interviews is that the main cultural impact mentioned is the way of dressing, recalling the statement of informant 1 that the students way of dressing is the worst thing with the excursion, and that people will copy it in a bad way. However, this was the only one who pointed specifically to negative impacts from the students. Most of the informants couldn’t say anything about the cultural impact of the excursion specifically, but of tourism in general. Their opinions mostly concerned the way of dressing, hairstyle etc. The informant group 14 said they copy the way their visitors dress, and that parents can dislike that. Informant 7 were also concerned with tourism’s destruction of culture. However, it seemed like they referred to a general picture of tourists, not the tourists they get in contact with or experience, when saying this.

Informant 8’s opinion was the opposite. He thought it was good that tourists came with new influences, both in clothing and music, and that there is a free choice of adopting new influences or not. Informant 3 made similar comments.

For the informants not involved in our excursion, there were a general opinion among some of them that tourism can affect the culture negatively by the way of dressing. The students probably looked as tourists normally do, which mean this opinion concerns also them. But once again, it seemed like they had a different picture of a tourist in mind when saying this, one with a more provocative way of dressing. Many students also showed great interest in the Babati people’s way of dressing. Many of the students got their own dresses made by the local dressmakers and tailors, and wore these creations often. This was probably a positive gesture to the people, an act of respect.

It’s striking how much the informant’s associate culture with dressing. Of course, there is nothing wrong with that; the way of dressing is probably the most visible way of cultural expressions. It becomes a symbol for other differences, and threats. For example, short skirts and sleeveless tops, that is mentioned by some, are often associated with immoral behavior. Seeing a foreigner with clothes that show much skin can give the impression that this person also brings a threat; disease, immoral sexual behavior etc., even though it is just clothes, and that the person never would behave in such way. Among many of the informants, this threat seems to be just a threat, and has nothing to do with their impression of the tourism in Babati now.

The fact that the students mostly stuck to their own way of dressing could be a contribution to the intercultural tolerance and understanding. By doing so, they showed some of their cultural expressions, but still showing respect for others, f. ex. by dressing as the locals sometimes. It is important that the host culture is not discriminated, seen in a negative, less valuable way. As some informants said, it is not the tourists who make the changes, it is the people themselves. And isn’t this always an element in societies; that the youths way of dressing is not what the elder people find proper. Moreover, impressions do not come from tourists only, but TV, internet and music give impressions too, and as Weaver earlier argued; these sources of impression are probably more important sources for changes. If all people thought tourists were badly dressed,
no one would copy it, as some of the informants said. And if tourist’s way of dress would be
adopted, why would that be a bad thing? Informant 4 called it ‘modern culture’; the culture that is
created when people from different cultures meet. This culture is not a one way communication,
where only ideal and ideas from developed countries are spread. It is an interaction where people
learn from each other. This kind of communication was clearly an element during the excursion.
The students and locals influenced and inspired each other. People in societies receiving a lot of
mass-tourism often express the feeling of being overlooked, set aside etc. which could be a result
of the minimal room for these type of interaction. The tourists influence the youth of the hosts
e.g. but the hosts never get the chance to impress the tourists, only through shows and
performances very adjusted to the tourist’s desire. In this sense, the excursion is more positive,
and tries to contribute to intercultural understanding and tolerance.

Language and education

Some mentioned the language and the value of studies. According to one informant, a
contribution of the excursion is that more people learns to speak English, and that knowledge and
information are shared and spread within the society. The importance of studies is also
demonstrated by the students, and people in Babati notice this importance.

But as good as it can be to improve ones English, just as bad can it be not to be able to speak
English. Informant 8 explained this in a good way and meant that you don’t get anything out of
the tourists if you can not communicate with them, and that being able to communicate also
prevents from false judgments etc. Informant 6, who didn’t speak English, explained this
‘handicap’. She felt she didn’t get what she expected from the tourists since she couldn’t
communicate with them. However, the other informants who didn’t speak English did not
mention this as a handicap. Still, they didn’t have much contact with tourists.

Cultural interaction

Exchange of ideas, learning from each other and creating friendship are through the interviews
seen as the main positive things with the excursion, mentioned by almost everyone. This can be
seen as ways of establish an inter-cultural understanding and tolerance. Informal discussions with
an exchange of knowledge and experiences is probably the best way to learn about each others
culture. Interviews about for example HIV and gender questions resulted in conversations around
a controversial subject. The possibility for both formal and informal conversations with the hosts
was probably a good combination to learn as much as possible from each other.

Economic sustainability

Does the excursion ensure viable, long-term economic operations, providing socio-economic
benefits to all stakeholders that are fairly distributed, including stable employment and income-
earning opportunities and social services to host communities, and contributing to poverty
alleviation?

It is a significant economic input for many people when the student group comes. Informant 3
says it benefits him primarily monetary. For informant 4, the income made it possible for him to
complete his house. The field guides got 15.000 Tsh a day, which they considered as good pay.
Since most of the field guides were students, they can use their money for education. For
informant 2 and her family, the money they earned during the three weeks could support them for a long time. The stakeholders benefited socio-economically. It is hard to estimate what a fair distribution is. The salaries and distribution of money was all taken care of by RET, which meant that people were paid according to local conditions.

If the excursion contributes to social service depends on how the gained money is spent. It doesn’t directly gain social service, and the same can be said about contribution to poverty alleviation. If using Weavers confined approach, there is no contribution to social services or poverty alleviation. If seeing it in a more holistic way, there is probably some contribution, however in a very small scale, since the excursion gives economic input to the community.

A big share of Södertörns costs for this excursion, about 50 %, didn’t go to Tanzania. This agrees with the average value of leakage and implies that the excursion is not a positive exception from other ventures. But the money that doesn’t reach Tanzania, for example the teachers salaries and air flight costs, would have been hard to spend in a different way. When it comes to leakages, it often occur because TNC’s and other foreign businesses deal with tourism in developing countries, and that the money spent by the tourists therefore goes back to the companies home country. But since everything in this case was bought by local tour operators, restaurants, accommodation etc, the leakage couldn’t be much less. What can be done is to make sure that the flight company is, in as great extent as possible, an African one. Both British Airways and Kenyan Airways were used in this case. If the costs for Kenyan Airways was excluded, the leakage would be less than 50 %. To prevent leakage in an even greater way, more drastic changes of the excursions design has to be made.

A problem rising from the economic benefits of those people involved, is jealousy in the society. Jealousy is considered as a big problem among the people of Babati and some of them involved in the excursion have noticed some jealousy from those who do not benefit from the excursion. The family responsible for the food had got mugged at home, because some people didn’t like their business successes. The jealousy seems to be visible for those involved, but not for the people not involved.

The long-term perspective is dependent on how the excursion will be drawn up in the future. The teachers of Södertörn have valuable contacts in Babati, and the excursions organization improves every year, which makes Babati a good choice even in the future. Since the students base their essays on material collected during the excursion, it may be a problem that the subjects will run out, and people might get tired of being interviewed. As the excursion works now, the viable long-term perspective is completely missing. Since the excursion occurs only once a year, and not surely will be arranged every year, there is no assurance of long-term economic operations, neither stable employment. However, as mentioned earlier, the people of Babati depends on different income sources, the more the better. So, in the context of a developing country like Tanzania, the long-term liability might be of less importance than elsewhere.
Conclusion

According to the WTO guidelines, the excursion is by two third a sustainable tourism venture. It is the economic part that fails, since stability is considered such a great feature of economic sustainability.

In the case of the environmental impacts, there were not many comments from the informants. However, environmental question is not on the top of the agenda among the people in Babati, and therefore, the contribution the students give in information is very important. In a wider perspective, this may be of great importance.

Concerning the socio cultural impact, the excursion makes a good contribution since there are many possibilities for interaction between host and guest. The exchange of ideas was the most commonly mentioned positive impact, our way of dress the most negative. Being able to communicate with the tourists is important to have access to the interaction.

The economic part is not fulfilled, since there is no long-term perspective, or stable employment. For all persons involved in the excursion, the economic benefit was significant, but since there is no liability in the frequency, this part is considered unfulfilled.
ANALYSIS OF THE GUIDELINES

This part answers the question *how the WTO guidelines works as a tool to evaluate if a tourism venture is sustainable?*

The guidelines from WTO have an equal focus on the three pillars of sustainable development. They want tourism to *maintain* and *respect*, i.e. to make as little impact as possible by their visit, and tourists should also contribute to conservation. The only impact that is promoted which demands contact between host and guest is to contribute to inter-cultural understanding.

The guidelines don’t say anything about what is a sustainable size of groups, ventures, etc. in relation to the area visited, only that they are applicable for all. The group of 50 people going to a small society like Babati, with little other tourism, probably makes a greater impact than 50 people going to a tourist area on Zanzibar.

There were also some difficulties in how the guidelines should be interpreted. As said, they are generally hold, probably by purpose. But this also makes great room for the users own interpretation. Since these guidelines are applicable for all, there is also a great risk that the judgement of what is for example *optimal use of environmental resources* or *fairly distributed socio-economic benefits* becomes rather subjective. Depending on the user, the results can probably differ quite much, which is also the case in this essay. Someone else might have made a different evaluation.

The societal and historical context

There is an underlying assumption in the guidelines that all countries have the same economic system, with high specialization and stable employment and working hours as the most favourable way of making a living. The directly involved interviewed all considered the excursion as positive for their economy; as a significant contribution among others to their economy. We have also seen that a spread risk through different income sources is the best, and therefore, the *stable employment and income-earning opportunities* might be of less importance in a developing country, where the private economy is build up in a different way from many developed countries.

The colonial heritage, and the power relation that might still be underlying today in the meeting of host and guest in Tanzania is important but very hard to surface, as in the metaphor of the iceberg where the bottom is very deep down in the dark ocean. If these experiences exist among the people in Babati, they are very hard for tourists to understand, and to see what the consequences could be. The excursion has, according to the discussions of Dieke, Hall and Tucker, something in common with the colonial way of travel; visiting National Parks for wildlife watching, seeking the traditional way of life. This is probably more common ingredients in new, sustainable tourism ventures, than in mass tourism. However, the impact of this is highly dependent on how the tourists interact with the society. It is a big difference in showing and viewing people and their lifestyles without really interacting, in comparison with providing possibilities for discussions and meetings between people. The guidelines missed a bit of the great importance of how the tourism activities are carried out. Are the tourists driven around in
buses, taking pictures through the window, or can they walk around freely in areas, taking time to communicate with people they meet? This small difference might result in major differences in impact.

According to Mowforth and Munt, and the newly-found interest in tourism in developing countries, exploring opportunities for the backpacker and tucked in for the mass tourist, the new way of travel, as well as the old, might be problematic. For the backpackers, if not careful, their footprint might be huge, and for the mass-tourist, it might result in great leakage when they don’t trust the local people being able to provide a good visit, but instead demanding almost everything to be as at home. The exchange between host and guest might be minimal. It is also in the new forms of travel that the old colonial ways of travelling is to be found, and this can probably be both positive and negative. Positive, because it opens up for meetings between host and guest, gives income opportunities for the people who normally doesn’t benefit from tourism, since living far away from tourist routes. Negative, when it’s not sensitive to the fact that mostly rich, white people can make these journeys, and the people visited seldom has the opportunities to do the same. This is the way it probably will be until the day when everyone can travel freely across the world, if that day ever come. However, this is not a reason not to travel, but it is important to be aware of the fact that people meeting through tourism don’t have the same opportunities.

What is missing in the WTO guidelines is some place-specific flexibility. Tanzania has historical issues that might be important in case of tourism that European countries don’t have. Some sensibility and thoughtfulness about the countries history and current political situation would be preferable.

Another problem may be that these guidelines don’t take into account the spatial distribution of tourists, and the possible resulting segregation. Even if the separate tourism ventures are sustainable, their collected impact on the area and on the whole country does not get assessed by the use of these guidelines. The general language in the guidelines makes it possible to interpret them as both confined and holistic. They can be used in a confined, micro spatial context and conclude a venture as sustainable, but there is also a possibility to include a more holistic approach. In the economic part, the approach is rather confined. The guidelines don’t take into account the surrounding society where the tourism business operate, for example if it causes inequities or jealousy . If the inter- and intra generational equity, which is an important content in sustainable development, should be taken seriously into account, the guidelines need to be adjusted to also take into account the accumulated impact in the area, and in the whole country.

**Women in tourism**

Evidence has shown that the situation for women involved in the tourism industry can be both positive and negative, both a possibility for female empowerment and a risk of objectification and strengthened traditional gender roles. There is no gender sensibility in the guidelines. You can put almost endless content in very few words. F. ex ‘contribute to poverty alleviation’ could include strategies on gender, which is often the case, but this, once again, is up to the user to interpret and decide. The excursion employed a high level of men, but only two of the directly employed were women. Among the indirect involved, many of the guesthouses had a high proportion of women, but they were not always the managers of them.
**Cultural interaction and conservation**

The main positive thing with the excursion, showed in the interviews, was the possibility of learning, intercultural exchange and friendship. The meetings between host and guest were considered very valuable, and for many of them, more important than the economic input. This interaction is one of many things that, according to WTO guidelines, makes the excursion sustainable. It is satisfying that this issue, obviously very important, gets highlighted by the guidelines.

It is not the tourists’ responsibility to conserve the culture. Their responsibility is to not contribute to the destruction or disturbing of it, but it is not the tourist who should decide if the culture should change or not. WTO guidelines are filled with a conservation thought, both in an environmental and cultural sense. Even if it is the cultural heritage and the traditional values that is said to be conserved, and not the whole culture, it would be preferable to use a more dynamic word than conservation. The environment or culture should not be conserved for the tourist, but, if desirable, for the societies. It’s however important that tourists don’t counteract that.

**Conclusion**

It is impossible to say if the guidelines are ‘good’ or ‘bad’. They can be filled with as much content as the user want, which can make them both very comprehensive, but also very thin. The language used in them makes them hard to work with, hard to interpret. The results highly depend on the user. It’s positive that the guidelines address all pillars of sustainability equal, and that the interaction between host and guest gets highlighted. It’s a shortage that the guidelines lack a gender perspective, a historical and political sensibility, and a place specific flexibility. Inter- and intra-generational equity is also missing.
DISCUSSION

Sustainable education tourism, something for Babati

Babati has great potential to carefully develop their tourism industry. There is not much destruction from the small amount of tourists already existing, the people in Babati seems very positive to both the tourism that already exists, and to a further development. The valuable cooperation with Södertörn and the Babati Link cooperation can be a base for further development of educational tourism that seems to make a positive impact on Babati. Many informants seemed to prefer this type of tourism, since it provides the possibility to get deeper contact with the visitors, change information and learn from each other, at the same time as it gives economic input. My view, after conducting this study, is that this type of tourism has some great advantages in favour of other types, and the reasons are pretty much the same as those mentioned by the informants. For tourism to be successful, the very important economic input has to be combined with other important values, like creating friendship, discussing, interacting. If this type of tourism, lets call it sustainable education tourism, can expand in Babati, I am hopeful that the positive impression that the people in Babati seems to have of tourism and tourists will sustain.

When talking to Mr Macocecha at BDC, it seems, however, that he has another type of tourism development in mind, one that is more commercial. Such a development might involve more money, and that can be the reason why it is a tempting alternative. But to choose a different way could be just as successful. As we have seen, Södertörns excursion made a significant contribution to Babatis economy. In commercial tourism, even if there is more money in transition, the leakage is often high, and the money that remains at the destination scarce. The net benefits might be greater for the local society with a concentration on sustainable educational tourism, and when taking other values than strict economic ones into account, I am pretty sure this type has greater benefits.

One of Södertörns excursions major advantages is its focus on environment and development. In my opinion, this didn’t come to its right in the survey based on the WTO guidelines. The students didn’t contribute to conservation directly through for example a project, but the indirect impact of the students’ essays, discussions with locals etc. develops the knowledge and spreads it.

I find it very positive that some informants mentioned that the development of the tourist sector should be an additional income source, one sector among others, that render possible economic income for the society. To be dependent on the tourism industry alone is not a sustainable solution.

Make small scale a big business

I find it important to separate the critique of new sustainable tourism ventures and the theories about it. The main critique is of the ventures, not of the theory. The idea behind eco tourism, CBT, or which ever of all of these tourist types, is very good, and if it would work as in theory, it
would probably work very well. However, theory is a simplification of reality, and there are always factors and issues in the specific cases that make it impossible to follow a strict model. Therefore, the specific location, venture and case have to be addressed individually, and not solely by some criteria, suitable for tourism all over the world.

Some sensibility about the reality’s complexity seems to be missing in all different approaches to new sustainable tourism. I think it is a very important issue to know the place where the tourism venture is taking place. To make tourism industry a positive force for poverty reduction in the world, the small scale has to be the big scale business. I mean that it is the small scale, locally owned businesses, companies etc. that has to be the biggest business in the sector. Many, but small businesses are better than a few big ones. I also think there is room for a number of different new types of sustainable tourism. Different niches fit different locations. I also think that the micro perspective has to be combined with strategies on macro level, ensuring the development of the tourism industry is in a sustainable direction. If Babati wants to develop a small-scale educational tourism product, but the Tanzanian national strategies focus on large scale tourism with many TNC’s involved, Babatis vision might fail in the competition.
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Informant 4: The coordinator, 32 yrs, English speaking male
Informant 5: Person in charge of one of the restaurants were the students often ate, around 40 yrs, non-English speaking woman
Informant 6: Housewife of one of the guest houses where the students stayed, 37 yrs, non-English speaking woman
Informant 7: Headmaster of a school teaching tourism, 50 yrs, English speaking male
Informant 8: A retired Muslim man, 56 yrs, English speaking male
Informant 9: A restaurant worker, 38 yrs, non-English speaking woman
Informant 10: A shop worker, 31 yrs, non-English speaking woman
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APPENDIX 1

Structured questions for directly and indirectly involved informants

1. a. In what way are you involved in the excursion from Södertörn?
b. How does the trip affect you?
c. How does the excursion affect the culture in Babati?
d. How does the excursion affect the society in Babati?
e. How does the excursion affect the environment in Babati?
f. Are you familiar with the concept of Sustainable tourism?
g. Do you consider the excursion as sustainable?

2. a. Have you noticed any conflicts between tourists / the students and the locals in Babati?

3. a. Do you want tourism to expand and develop in Babati?
b. What damages and benefits are involved in an expansion?

Structured questions for informants not involved in the excursion

1. In what way are you involved in tourism and how does it affect you?
2. How does tourism in Babati affect the culture?
3. How does tourism in Babati affect the society?
4. How does tourism in Babati affect the environment?
5. Have you noticed any conflicts between tourists and locals in Babati?
6. Do you want tourism to expand in Babati?
7. What damages and benefits do you think will come with an expansion?