

# THE FUTURE OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM - TARGETING THE MASS MARKET?

**Thomas Hellwig**

Doctoral student of University of Library Studies and Information Technologies

***Abstract:** This paper gives theoretical substance to the target system of sustainable tourism. At the same time, the resulting consequences in the area of implementation strategies are illustrated. Starting with an introduction to the areas of sustainable development and sustainable tourism, the significance of these factors will be clarified.*

***Keywords:** Sustainable development; sustainable tourism; strategic management; implementation strategies*

## **Introduction**

The idea of sustainability is a regulatory concept that aims to ensure that the needs of current and future generations are met. However, the goal of sustainability is not to curtail societal prosperity in favour of future generations, but rather to maximise prosperity under sustainable conditions. The goal of sustainable development is to ensure the survivability of humanity and to enable future generations to live under similar conditions. Although there is a regulatory intervention in the development of people and society, sustainability shall lead to a simultaneous increase in prosperity. This is a core problem that sustainability encounters in communication and practical implementation, since restrictions, limitations and renunciation are only rarely associated with an increase in prosperity.

The connection between growth and sustainable development shows a general problem that also exists also in the tourism discussion (cf. Jackson 2006). Growth in the tourism sector is often regarded as a synonym for its development (cf. Losang 2000: 31). What is meant here is quantitative growth, neglecting qualitative aspects - growth primarily means reducing the concept of growth to economic effects, such as economic profit prospects, foreign exchange earnings, rising income and employment effects. Tourism, however, depends decisively on qualitative conditions of the natural wealth of sea, air, sun, beaches, the surrounding nature and the habitats of the local population of a region (cf. Redecker 2000). The excessive consumption of water, land, wood and food not only directly threatens the vital life interests of local populations, but also the long-term interests of the tourism industry itself (cf. Burghoff & Kresta 1995: 118ff. / Suchanek 2000).

Analogous to the guiding principle of sustainable development, tourism has an influence on the ecological, economic and social conditions and structures in the destination areas as well as in the source countries (cf. Schmied 2001).

In the following, these effects will be outlined and the possible changes through sustainable tourism will be shown. With regard to the subsequent operational implementation the focus of this explanation lies on the economic effects.

### **Tourism development and tourism criticism**

"All the unhappiness of men results from not being able to stay at their homes in peace" (PASCAL (1623-1662) adapted from Viegas 2015:9).

The historical development of tourism provides the basis for its orientation towards sustainability and will be examined in more detail in the following. Building on the criticism of tourism, alternative forms of tourism had been considered and thus the foundation for a sustainable tourism was laid. Decisive for sustainable tourism development are the impacts associated with the tourism activity. All those involved in tourism have the task of regulating these impacts in accordance with the principles of sustainable development outlined above. At the end of this chapter, the importance of tourism enterprises for a sustainable tourism development, or sustainable tourism, will be illustrated.

Criticism of tourism goes hand in hand with its development and has existed since its inception. There can be distinguished five forms of criticism in terms of content (cf. Krippendorf et al. 1987: 153 ff.):

1. *The criticism of the privileged:* This form of criticism is directed against the tourism of a broad section of the population (mass tourism) (cf. Opaschowski 2002: 44 f.). The phenomenon of tourism is observed, analysed and criticised from a superior position and distance. One of the first representatives of this trend in the 19th century was FONTANE (1819-1898), who stated: "So far, privileged people were able to travel, now everyone travels. (Fontane 1894 quoted after Maurer 1992).
2. *The critique of the ideologues:* Here tourism is seen as an escape from everyday world. ENZENBERGER sees tourism as an attempt to escape from everyday industrial life, whereby this escape takes place according to the principles the tourist wants to escape from. Following this, in the 1980s approaches had been developed that see the humanisation of everyday life as the solution to the mass problem in tourism. (cf. Enzensberger 1958: 196 ff. quoted after Scherer 1995: 98 f.).

3. *The criticism of ecologists*: This so-called *green criticism of tourism* (Müller 2007:156), is directed against the destruction of nature and landscape by tourism, which thereby attacks its own basis of existence. In terms of content, this can be seen as the basis for the emerging *soft tourism*.

4. *The criticism of long-distance tourism*: In connection with the 3rd World Congress of the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) in Manila, a massive criticism against long-distance tourism was brought up for the first time by those affected in the so called third world countries. As early as the 1970s, long-distance tourism was criticised as a new form of colonialism. The negative consequences in the economic, social and cultural spheres led to demand of a travel abandonment.

5. *The criticism of the tourists*: Resistance to tourism manifests itself in numerous initiatives in the so called third world countries. This can be seen as a resistance to an unconditional quantitative growth of tourism, as well as the demand for increased involvement of the local population. This criticism is no longer limited to developing countries. In various destinations that are heavily used by tourists, such as the Venice region, the Balearic Islands, or the island of Sylt, there are numerous initiatives against the consequences of so-called over-tourism.

As a consequence of the mass tourism developments of the 1970s, JUNGK (1980) brought up the term *soft travel* for the first time. In a so-called contra-list, he contrasted forms of hard and soft travel (see figure 1).

At the beginning of the 1980s, the discussion about soft tourism focused primarily on ecological aspects. One of the first definitions of soft tourism is "guest traffic that creates mutual understanding between locals and guests, does not impair the cultural character of the visited area and treats the landscape with the greatest

possible non-violence“. Recreation seekers in the sense of *soft tourism* primarily use the existing facilities of the local population in the respective area and refrain from using significant additional tourism facilities that are harmful to the landscape. (Declaration of Chur (1984) from Broggi 1985: 284).

<b>Hard Travel</b>	<b>Soft Travel</b>
mass tourism	individual, family and friends travel
little time	plenty of time
fast transportation	reasonable means of transport
fixed program	spontaneous decisions
externally directed	internally directed
imported lifestyle	customary lifestyle
sights	experiences
comfortable and passive	strict and active
little or no mental preparation	previous occupation with the country
no foreign languages	learning languages
sense of superiority	joy of learning
shopping (shopping)	bring gifts
souvenirs	memories, records
snaps and postcards	photographing, drawing, painting
curiosity	beat
loud	quiet

Figure 1: Contralist Hard vs. Soft Travel

Source: Jungk 1988: 60

The ecological and social components are in the focus, which is a characteristic of the first-generation soft tourism. In contrast, second-generation soft tourism is understood as a holistic concept that demands the equation of economic efficiency, social responsibility, intact landscape and optimal recreation (cf. Broggi 1985: 268).

According to KRIPPENDORF, soft tourism describes a qualitative growth "in which the burden on the natural balance remains bearable, economic income is secured and at the same time social tensions and cultural alienation are kept to a minimum". (Krippendorf 1988:18). As early as the 1980s, in his "Theses for the Humanisation of Travel", he demanded a more conscious approach to tourism from all related actors and included socio-cultural as well as economic and ecological considerations within the framework of a "holistic-oriented" tourism (Krippendorf 1996: 173 ff. / Herle 2006).

Following these ideas, a variety of tourism styles evolved. Those are parallel concepts to *soft tourism*, such as *qualitative tourism*, *different travel*, *adapted tourism*, *alternative tourism*, *intelligent tourism*, *tourism with insight*, among others (cf. Kirstges 2017: 23). In these concepts, as well as in the theory of soft tourism, connections to the goals and contents of sustainable tourism development can be identified.

However, any form of soft tourism is allocated to environmental impacts. If all travellers were to travel softly from now on, this would lead to the paradox of "soft mass tourism". Given that development is now largely equated with growth, it is questionable to what extent soft tourism may become merely the initial stage of an evolving hard tourism. Softly developed municipalities and destinations could find themselves exposed to highly competitive pressure vis-à-vis other tourist destinations. As a result, capacities would have to be further expanded. Softly

developed tourism regions would thus become a transitional form on the way to hard tourism (cf. Strasdas 2001/ Kirstges 2017: 160 f.).

### **Sustainable tourism**

KRIPPENDORF defined the stages of tourism consideration according to their primary purpose and thus provides the framework for the concept of sustainable tourism: the results of the economic, ecological and socio-cultural consideration are incorporated into an overall consideration in order to create favourable framework conditions for sustainable development (cf. Krippendorf et al. 1988: 18 ff).

The ultimate and long-term goal, as it had been described in 1984, is to harmonise the entire system, which can only exist,

- where a moderate "both and" condition prevails
- where the areas of society, economy, environment and state complement each other in the best possible way
- where the economy is embedded in social relations
- where the preservation of an intact environment is considered a binding duty and a violation of it is punished as severely as any other crime that destroys life
- where the state ultimately has to provide favourable conditions and frameworks (cf. Krippendorf 1996: 34).

In the scientific discussion, the concept of sustainable tourism represents the logical continuation of the discussion about a different kind of tourism which has emerged out of tourism criticism (cf. OECD 2001):

At the *Globe '90 Conference* in Vancouver in 1990, the term sustainable tourism was defined for the first time: "Sustainable tourism development can be thought of as meeting the needs of the present tourist and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunity for the future".

The WTO definition from 1993 is more strongly oriented towards economic premises: "Sustainable tourism is defined as a model form of economic development that is designed to improve the quality of life of the host community, provide a high quality of experience for the visitor, and maintain the quality of the environment on which both the host community and the visitor depend".

The first internationally consensual definition that replaced *Soft Tourism* with *Sustainable Tourism* was found at the *World Conference on Sustainable Tourism in Lanzarote* in April 1995. According to this definition, sustainable tourism is "ecologically sustainable in the long term, economically feasible and ethically and socially for the local people". In addition, an 18-point catalogue, the '*World Charter on Sustainable Tourism*', was adopted. With the goals formulated herein, a major step was taken towards implementing the guidelines of Agenda 21 and the Rio Declaration in regard to future tourism development (cf. Hoven 2002).

In follow-up conferences, individual aspects of the Rio agreements were concretised, and the concept of sustainable development was applied to various development sectors, including tourism. In 1996, for example, the World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC), the World Tourism Organization (WTO) and the Earth Council published Agenda 21 for the travel and tourism industry. Declarations and implementation programmes from other associations followed (cf. Müller 2003: 263ff.; Tempel 1999: 472).

In the position paper of German environment and development organisations (CSD Germany), the definition derived from Agenda 21 reads as follows:

"Sustainable tourism is guided by the principles of the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development and the recommendations of Agenda 21. It must be designed in accordance with the relevant international agreements and declarations. Sustainable tourism must meet social, cultural, environmental and economic compatibility criteria. Sustainable tourism is long-term, in relation to present as well as future generations, ethically and socially fair and culturally appropriate, ecologically viable and economically meaningful and productive." (Baumgartner 2001: 6).

When comparing the above-mentioned approaches in regard to definitions and principles, the common ground becomes visible. They integrate economic, ecological and social contents with different characteristics of individual aspects in one concept.

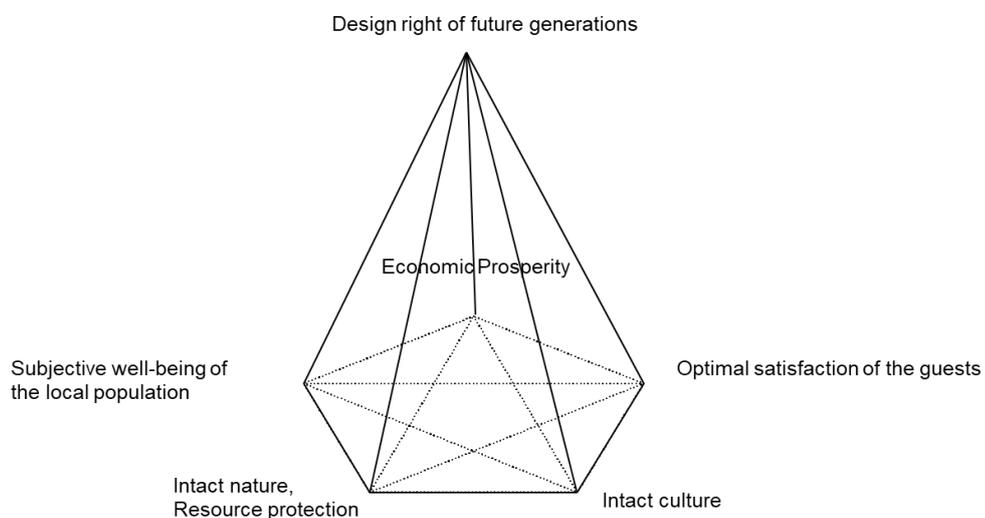


Figure 2: Magic pentagon pyramid of sustainable tourism development

Source: Müller 2007:44

As shown graphically in figure 2, the definitions listed lead to a target system of sustainable development that contains the following components (cf. Müller 2007: 30 ff.):

- *Well-being of local people*: Promoting the subjective well-being of locals can be achieved, for example, both through greater participation in the welfare effects of tourism and through an emphasis on cultural identity.
- *Prosperity*: The goal is a stable economic development.
- *Guest needs and behaviour*: Optimal customer orientation built on an analysis of the guest structure and the respective insights into guest needs and behaviour.
- *Culture*: Diversity of cultural creation is to be striven for. Cultural assets should be preserved and promoted. As culture is an element of quality of life, this is improved by strengthening cultural identity.
- *Nature*: This refers to the careful use of resources. The aim is to reduce the high ecological burden caused by tourism activities.
- *Future generations*: Life opportunities must be distributed fairly so that development perspectives for future generations can be created.

A general and therefore all-encompassing definition is formulated by the Forum for Environment and Development:

"*Sustainable tourism* must meet social, cultural, environmental and economic compatibility criteria. Sustainable tourism is long-term, i.e. ethically and socially fair and culturally appropriate in relation to present as well as future generations, ecologically viable, and economically sensible and productive." (Forum Environment and Development 1998: 7).

Thus, the concept of sustainable development can be transferred to tourism. It becomes relevant in particular when the "maximum tourist use of an area is exceeded without negative effects on natural resources, the recreational opportunities of tourists and on the society, economy and culture of the host country [...]" (Vorlaufer 1999: 274). This carrying capacity depends on the economic and social structure as well as the degree of fragility of the natural destinations of a tourism host country (cf. Vorlaufer 1999: 274 f.).

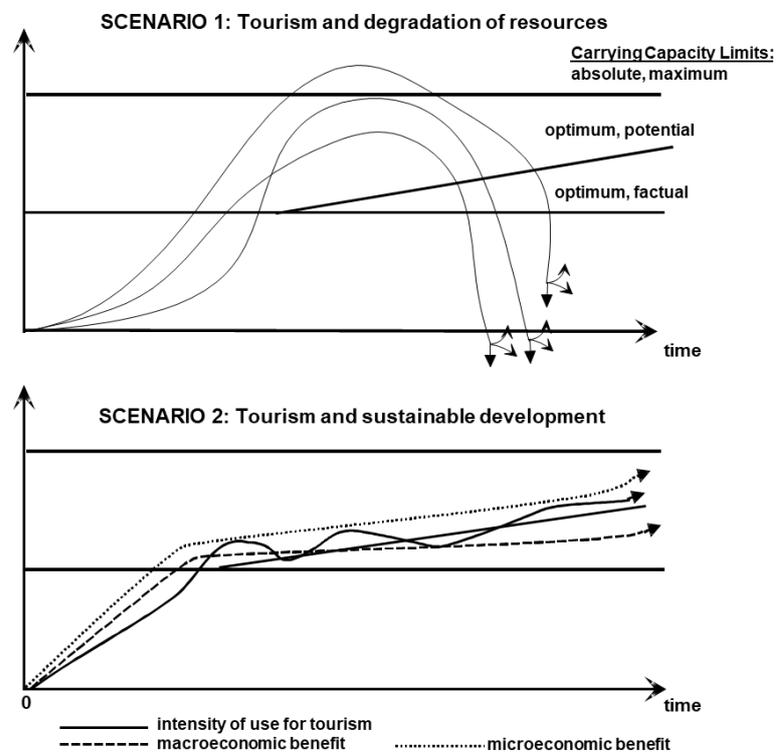


Figure 3: Sustainability of tourism resources

Source: Vorlaufer 1996: 230

Figure 3 shows the importance of tourism being oriented towards sustainable development in regard to the long-term sustainability of an area and the resulting

increase in economic benefits. This illustration clarifies that all stakeholders should participate in the establishment of sustainable tourism in order to increase the benefits for all participants. Furthermore, intensive market research is needed to identify and develop proper target groups for sustainable tourism (cf. Thimm 2002: 64).

### **Implementation strategies for sustainable tourism**

Shaping the travel market in a sustainable way is much more than expanding the eco-niche. It is about a targeted steering of mass tourism towards more environmentally and socially compatible offers. One promising approach is the marketing strategy known as *Upgrading Conventionals*, in which travel offers of conventional providers in the mass market are made more environmentally and socially compatible (cf. Villiger et al. 2000: 4). Since these mass market offers always reach a large number of holidaymakers, even small improvements can already make a noticeable contribution to making the entire travel market more sustainable.

In recent years, tourism marketing has replaced the usual mass market-oriented approach to customers with target group-specific marketing. The needs and desires of customers have been put to the centre of interest, with the perceived quality of life of travellers playing a subordinate role so far.

Even large companies in the tourism industry are now directing their marketing objectives and instruments towards the needs of smaller target groups more often. The increasing differentiation and segmentation of customer wishes makes a reorientation of marketing necessary as well as possible, especially in regard to sustainable tourism (cf. OECD 2000).

To ensure that sustainable travel is no longer marketed only to niche customers, target group-specific travel offers must be developed. As this paper shows, the connection with the subjectively perceived quality of life of the consumers lends itself to this and offers implementation opportunities for sustainability in tourism.

The following positive developments can also be used for the sustainable design of the tourism products. In January 2022, 47% of the population prefer their holiday to be as ecologically sustainable as possible, 64% strive for a holiday that is as socially responsible as possible. Both values have risen continuously since 2016, especially in the years since 2019. Nevertheless, it must be said that this intention is not immediately translated into concrete action. In 2021 only 5% of all holiday trips had been decided to the sustainability of the offer, for a further 21% this played at least some role in the decision-making process (cf. Reiseanalyse 2022).

in cooperation with the author of this paper, a target group model, which provides information on whether and how holiday groups can be approached for the topic of sustainability, was developed in the years 2003 - 2006 within the framework of a scientific research project. This offers all tourism stakeholders a good basis for the development of customer-oriented strategies. With this work, this target group model is extended to include the quality-of-life approach.

The challenge in the mass market is to also address customer groups that are not explicitly responsive to sustainability. Basically, there are two starting points:

1. *Sustainability as a product feature* - Sustainability on the demand side: the relevance of sustainable development is consciously demanded by the traveller, who selects destinations and travel offers according to this and gives this factor a priority. The reasons for this can be very different: some holidaymakers are genuinely interested in the environment, for others image and prestige play a

role. Thus, sustainable travel tends to be something like a luxury good (cf. Wöhler 2001:13). Accordingly, the market segment is small.

**2. *Hidden sustainability or sustainability as an added value*** - Sustainability on the supply side: existing destinations and structures are made more sustainable, e.g. through measures that reduce resource consumption and make waste disposal more environmentally friendly. The traveller is only marginally aware of the changes.

Sustainable marketing strategies must not be limited to optimising existing offers (cf. Belz 2005). Although this optimisation or efficiency strategies are important, sufficiency strategies are also necessary for a more sustainable tourism, as they systematically try to influence the decision-making process. However, this requires precise knowledge of the wishes and needs of travellers so that target-oriented offers can be developed (cf. Schmücker 2006).

In the context of sustainable tourism in the mass market, sufficiency strategy does not mean renouncing consumption, but rather strengthening new offers and thus increasing the individual quality of life (cf. Spangenberg & Lorek 2003).

## **Conclusion**

In summary, according to KIRTSGES, the future of sustainable tourism is a challenge for planners and managers (Kirstges 2001: 180).

Tourism is constantly changing. If nothing else, wars, natural disasters and global pandemics influence its framework conditions. The implementation of sustainable development in tourism can actively contribute to securing its livelihood in the long term.

Sustainable tourism products currently occupy a small market segment that is mainly served by small and medium-sized providers. It remains questionable whether the remaining majority of the market can be persuaded to develop sustainable tourism. Niche strategies, as pursued by small operators, cannot be directly transferred to the mass market. Similar to the paradox of *gentle mass tourism* described above, it seems difficult to imagine that millions of tourists spend their holidays in the tourist conurbations each year in an individual, socially acceptable way without causing ecological damage. On the other hand, travel renunciation and self-restraint in the sense of the sufficiency idea remain inconceivable as well.

The conditions that led to the emergence of the sustainability discussion, such as environmental degradation, limited growth, and cultural depletion, are inextricably linked to the existence of the tourism industry. Therefore, it seems essential to integrate the guiding principle of sustainable development into tourism. In this paper, the convergence of sustainable development and tourism development has been shown by help of presenting the global discussion and the complementarity of both, which, in the end, have led to the emergence of sustainable tourism.

## References

1. Baumgartner, C 2001, *Ökotourismus in Berggebieten – eine Herausforderung für nachhaltige Entwicklung*. Internationaler Hintergrund. Europäische Vorbereitungskonferenz für 2002 das internationale Jahr des Ökotourismus und das Internationale Jahr der Berge St. Johann/Pongau und Werfenweng, Salzburg, Österreich, 12. - 15. September 2001.
2. Belz, F & Bilharz, M 2005, *Nachhaltiger Konsum: zentrale Herausforderung für moderne Verbraucherpolitik; Verbundforschungsprojekt 'Nachhaltiger*

- Konsum und Verbraucherpolitik im 21. Jahrhundert*, Techn. Univ. München, Professur für Betriebswirtschaftslehre, Brau- und Lebensmittelindustrie, Freising.
3. Broggi, MF (ed.) 1985, *Sanfter Tourismus, Schlagwort oder Chance für den Alpenraum?: Schlußbericht mit Referaten, schriftlichen Beiträgen, Nachlese sowie Bibliographie*, Internationale Alpenschutzkomm., Vaduz.
  4. Burghoff, C & Kresta, E 1995, *Schöne Ferien: Tourismus zwischen Biotop und künstlichen Paradiesen*, Orig.-Ausg., Beck, München.
  5. Forum Umwelt und Entwicklung 1998, *CSD - Tourismus und nachhaltige Entwicklung*, Positionspapier zur CSD 7, Forum Umwelt und Entwicklung, Bonn.
  6. Herle, FB 2006, 'Auswirkungen der Entgrenzung von Alltag und Gegenalltag auf die strategische Planung von Destinationen', *Postmoderne Freizeitstile und Freizeiträume / Reuber, Paul \*1958-\**, pp. 119–129.
  7. Hoven, I 2002, *Von Rio nach Johannesburg: ausgewählte Handlungsfelder der deutschen Entwicklungspolitik seit der Konferenz von Rio de Janeiro (UNCED) 1992 - eine Bestandsaufnahme*, BMZ, Referat Entwicklungspolitische Informations- und Bildungsarbeit, Bonn.
  8. Jackson, T (ed.) 2006, *The Earthscan reader in sustainable consumption*, Earthscan, London.
  9. Jungk, R 1988, *Wieviel Touristen pro Hektar Strand?* in: Krippendorf, J/ Zimmer, P & Glauber, H (Hrsg.): *Für einen anderen Tourismus. Probleme, Perspektiven, Ratschläge*, S. 55 – 60, Frankfurt a.M.
  10. Kirstges, T 2001, *Umweltverträglicher Tourismus: Fallstudien zur Entwicklung und Umsetzung sanfter Tourismuskonzepte*, 1st edn, Gmeiner, Meßkirch
  11. Kirstges, T 2017, *Sanfter Tourismus: Chancen und Probleme der Realisierung Eines ökologieorientierten und Sozialverträglichen Tourismus durch Deutsche Reiseveranstalter*, 3rd ed, Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston.

12. Krippendorf, J (ed.) 1988, *Für einen anderen Tourismus: Probleme, Perspektiven, Ratschläge*, Orig.-Ausg, Fischer, Frankfurt am Main.
13. Krippendorf, J 1996, *Die Ferienmenschen: Für ein neues Verständnis von Freizeit und Reisen*, Gek. Neuausg, Zytglogge, Gümligen.
14. Krippendorf, J, Kramer, B, & Müller, H 1987, *Freizeit und Tourismus: eine Einführung in Theorie und Politik*, 2., überarb. Aufl., Verl. Forschungsinst. für Freizeit u. Tourismus d. Univ. Bern, Bern.
15. Losang, E 2000, *Tourismus und Nachhaltigkeit*, Geographische Ges., Trier.
16. Maurer, M 1992, *Tourismus und Dritte Welt: ein kritisches Lehrbuch mit Denkanstößen*, FIF, Bern.
17. Müller, H 2003, 'Qualitätsoffensive im Schweizer Tourismus', *Touristikmarketing / Roth, Peter \*1934-\**, pp. 245–258.
18. Müller, H 2007, *Tourismus und Ökologie: Wechselwirkungen und Handlungsfelder*, 3., überarb. Aufl., Oldenbourg, München.
19. OECD 2001, *Sustainable development: critical issues 2001*, OECD, Paris
20. OECD 2000, *Towards Sustainable Consumption Patterns: A Progress Report on Member Country Initiatives 2000*, OECD Publishing, Paris
21. Opaschowski, HW 2002, *Tourismus: eine systematische Einführung; Analysen und Prognosen*, 3., aktualisierte und erw. Aufl., Leske Budrich, Opladen.
22. Redecker, L 2000, *Mora-Mora - warum anders?: Tourismus und soziokultureller Wandel auf Sainte Marie, Madagaskar*, 2000.
23. Reiseanalyse 2022: Erste ausgewählte Ergebnisse der 52. Reiseanalyse, viewed 17.04.2022, <<https://reiseanalyse.de/erste-ergebnisse/>>.
24. Scherer, B 1995, *Tourismus*, Orig.-Ausg., Rowohlt, Reinbek bei Hamburg.
25. Schmied, M 2001, *Umwelt und Tourismus: Grundlagen für einen Bericht der Bundesregierung; Endbericht*, Berlin, 2001
26. Schmücker, D 2006, *Touristische Informationsprozesse: theoretische Grundlagen und empirische Ergebnisse zu Einflussfaktoren und Inhalten des Informationsverhaltens von Urlaubsreisenden*, 2006.

27. Spangenberg, JH & Lorek, S 2003, *Lebensqualität, Konsum und Umwelt: intelligente Lösungen statt unnötiger Gegensätze*; Gutachen, Friedrich-EbertStiftung, Bonn.
28. Strasdas, W 2001, *Ökotourismus in der Praxis: zur Umsetzung der sozioökonomischen und naturschutzpolitischen Ziele eines anspruchsvollen Tourismuskonzeptes in Entwicklungsländern*, Studienkreis für Tourismus und Entwicklung, Ammerland.
29. Suchanek, N 2000, *Ausgebucht - Zivilisationsfluch Tourismus*, 1st edn, Schmetterling-Verl., Stuttgart.
30. Tempel, K. G. 1999, 'Nachhaltiger Tourismus – Zur Karriere eines Themas auf der globalen Bühne der Umwelt- und Entwicklungspolitik.' in: *Tourismus Journal*, 3. Jg. (1999), H. 4, S. 471 – 479
31. Thimm, T 2002, *Kulturwandel und Tourismus in Französisch-Polynesien*, Duehrkohp & Radicke, Göttingen
32. Viegas, A 2015, *Ökdestinationen*, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, Munich, Germany.
33. Villiger, A, Wüstenhagen, R, & Meyer, A 2000, *Jenseits der Öko-Nische*, Birkhäuser, Basel.
34. Vorlaufer, K 1996, *Tourismus in Entwicklungsländern: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer nachhaltigen Entwicklung durch Fremdenverkehr; mit ...28 Tabellen*, Wiss. Buchges., Darmstadt.
35. Vorlaufer, K 1999, 'Mass tourism and environmental risks in Bali: mit 3 Tabellen', *Die Erde / Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, vol. 130, no. 3, pp. 261–278.
36. Wöhler, K 2001, 'Tourismus und Nachhaltigkeit', *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte / Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung*, vol. 51, no. 47, pp. 40– 46