Cambridge AS & A Level · Geography 9696 · Notes

Global interdependence A2

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Last checked 3 November 2026

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What you need to know

By the end of this topic you should be able to:

1. **Tell visible from invisible trade**: imports and exports of **goods** (visible) and of **services** (invisible).
2. **Describe global patterns of trade** and the **inequalities** in trade flows.
3. **Explain the factors that affect global trade**: **resource endowment**, **locational advantage**, **historical factors** such as **colonial ties**, **trade agreements** and **changes in the global market**.
4. **Explain the role of the World Trade Organization (WTO)** and of **free trade**.
5. **Critically evaluate the impacts of trade** on **exporting** and **importing** countries.
6. **Explain the nature and role of Fairtrade.**
7. **Explain the causes, nature and problems of debt** for countries.
8. **Explain the international debt crisis** and **debt relief**.
9. **Know the types of international aid and donors**: **relief**, **development**, **tied**, **bilateral** and **multilateral** aid.
10. **Critically evaluate the impacts of international aid** on **receiving** countries.
11. **Explain the reasons for, and trends in, the growth of international tourism.**
12. **Explain the impacts of tourism** on the **environments**, **societies** and **economies** (local and national) of destinations.
13. **Explain carrying capacity** and the **tourism multiplier effect**.
14. **Describe and explain recent developments in different types of tourism**, including **ecotourism**.
15. **Critically evaluate the life cycle model of tourism.**
16. **Know a case study of one tourist area or resort**: its growth and development, the **issues of sustainability** it faces, and an **evaluation** of tourism's impacts on its environment, society and economy.

It is one of the options in Paper 4 (Advanced human geography options), where you answer two options. For this option you answer Question 7 (10 marks: a data part (a) worth 3 or 4 marks and an explain part (b) worth 6 or 7) and one essay, Question 8 or Question 9 (20 marks). Question 8 has always been about **trade, debt or aid**; Question 9 about **tourism**, except once (a debt essay in June 2022).

Understand it

Trade: visible and invisible

Trade is the exchange of goods and services between countries. **Exports** are sold abroad and bring money in; **imports** are bought from abroad.

- **Visible trade**: physical **goods** you can see and weigh: crude oil, copper, coffee, cars, phones.
- **Invisible trade**: **services**: tourism (a foreign tourist's spending is an export for the destination), banking, insurance, shipping, software and IT services, education of foreign students, film and music royalties.

The **balance of trade** is the value of exports minus the value of imports. A **surplus** brings in foreign currency; a **deficit** must be paid for by borrowing, investment or remittances. Services are roughly a **fifth to a quarter** of world trade and growing faster than goods: **India** exports IT services, and the **Maldives** earns most of its foreign currency from tourism.

Global patterns and inequalities in trade

World trade grew faster than world output after 1950, as transport costs and barriers fell. Its patterns are **unequal**:

- **HICs dominate**: Europe, North America and East Asia carry out most of world trade, and much of it is **between HICs** (cars, machinery, chemicals and services traded both ways).
- **Regionalisation**: a large share of trade stays **inside trade blocs**: about **60%** of EU members' goods exports go to other EU members.
- **The rise of China and emerging economies**: China has been the world's **largest exporter of goods since 2009**; trade between LICs and MICs (**South–South trade**) has grown fast.
- **LICs trade little**: Africa's share of world trade is only about **3%**, and trade between African countries is only about **15%** of Africa's total trade.
- **What is traded differs**: HICs and many MICs export **manufactured goods and services** of high value; many LICs export **primary products** (crops, minerals, fuels) of low value. UNCTAD counts about **100 countries**, most of them LICs and MICs, as **commodity-dependent** (over 60% of their goods exports are primary products): copper is about **70%** of **Zambia's** exports, oil over three-quarters of **Nigeria's**; **Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana** grow about **60%** of the world's cocoa.

Why primary-product dependence is a problem: prices of crops and minerals **fluctuate** (a fall in the copper price cuts Zambia's earnings, its taxes and its ability to repay debt), and over the long run they have often risen more slowly than prices of the manufactured goods a country imports, so its **terms of trade** worsen (it must export more to buy the same imports). **Value is added elsewhere**: cocoa beans are exported cheaply, but chocolate is made in Europe, and **tariff escalation** (higher import taxes on processed goods than on raw materials) makes it harder for producers to process their own crops.

Factors affecting global trade

Factor	How it shapes trade	Examples
Resource endowment	Countries export what they have in abundance (minerals, fuels, fertile land, climate) and import what they lack	Oil from Saudi Arabia and Nigeria; copper from Chile and Zambia; Japan imports almost all its oil and gas
Locational advantage	Places on major sea routes, at river mouths or near big markets become **hubs** for trade, storage and re-export (**entrepôts**)	**Singapore** on the Strait of Malacca; **Rotterdam** at the mouth of the Rhine, Europe's largest port; the **Suez** and **Panama** canals
Historical factors (colonial ties)	Colonies exported raw materials to the colonial power and bought its manufactures; shared language and business links last	Ghana's cocoa and Kenya's tea, expanded under British rule as exports to Britain; trade preferences for former colonies (the EU's banana import rules favouring former colonies, changed after a long WTO dispute settled in 2009)
Trade agreements	Remove or add **tariffs**, **quotas** and rules, so trade grows **inside** an agreement and may be **diverted** away from outsiders	The EU single market (1993); USMCA (2020, replacing NAFTA); RCEP (in force 2022: 15 Asia-Pacific countries with about 30% of world GDP); the African Continental Free Trade Area (trading began 2021)
Changes in the global market	Shifts in **demand**, **supply**, **prices**, **technology** and **shocks** change what is traded and where	China's demand for minerals in the 2000s raised exports from Africa and Latin America; attacks on Red Sea shipping from late 2023 sent ships round southern Africa

The factors **interact**: Kenya's **cut flowers** reach Europe because of its **climate** (endowment), **air links** to Europe (location), old **colonial** business ties and **duty-free access** to the EU (agreement), all made possible by Europe's **year-round demand** (market).

Changes in the global market (a favourite of examiners) include **new markets** (middle classes in China, India and South-East Asia), **new producers** (manufacturing moving from HICs to China, then to Vietnam, Bangladesh and Mexico), **price swings** (commodity booms and slumps), **technology** (containers, e-commerce, tradable services such as call centres) and **political shocks**: the USA–China **tariff war** from 2018 moved some production to Vietnam and Mexico, and the UK's exit from the EU single market in January 2021 added checks to its trade with Europe.

The WTO and free trade

Free trade is trade **without barriers**: no **tariffs** (taxes on imports), **quotas** (limits on the amount imported), **subsidies** (government payments that make home products cheaper) or other rules that favour home producers. **Protectionism** uses these barriers to shield home industries.

The case for free trade rests on **comparative advantage**: if each country specialises in what it produces most efficiently and trades for the rest, total output rises, prices fall and consumers get more choice. The case against: home industries in poorer countries cannot compete with large, efficient or **subsidised** producers from HICs, so jobs are lost before new industries can grow. Today's HICs (and South Korea) protected their own industries while they industrialised.

The World Trade Organization (from **1995**, replacing the GATT of 1947; **166 members**, together carrying out almost all world trade) has these roles:

1. **Negotiating** lower barriers in "rounds": the **Doha Round** (from 2001) has stalled, but smaller deals were agreed (the **Trade Facilitation Agreement**, 2013).
2. **Setting rules**: the **most-favoured-nation** principle (a cut in tariffs for one member must be given to all), rules on **dumping** (selling below cost) and subsidies, and **TRIPS** on patents and copyright.
3. **Settling disputes**: over **600 disputes** have been brought since 1995. **Brazil** won its case against **US cotton subsidies** (2004–2005), which were depressing world prices and harming West African cotton farmers; it was settled in 2014.
4. **Monitoring** members' trade policies and helping LICs to trade (**Aid for Trade**).

Evaluation: the WTO has kept world trade fairly open and predictable, and gives small countries a legal route against large ones. But **HIC farm subsidies** (US cotton, the EU's Common Agricultural Policy) remain; **LICs rarely bring cases** (they lack lawyers and money, and the USA and EU have brought the most); disputes are **slow**; since **December 2019** its **Appellate Body** cannot work because the USA blocked new judges; TRIPS rules on patents were blamed for slowing vaccine supply to poorer countries during COVID-19, and only a limited waiver was agreed, in 2022; and countries increasingly make **their own regional deals** instead. Some argue that tariff wars make its rules **more** important; others that it is being **bypassed**.

Impacts of trade on exporting and importing countries

	Exporting countries	Importing countries
Positive	Foreign currency to pay for imports and debt; jobs and wages; taxes for infrastructure and services; a **multiplier** effect; export-led growth (South Korea, China)	Goods they cannot produce (oil for Japan, tropical crops for Europe); lower prices and more choice; raw materials and components for their industries
Negative	**Dependence** on one or a few products whose prices fluctuate; low-value exports and poor terms of trade; low wages and poor conditions (Bangladesh's garment factories: the **Rana Plaza** collapse killed over 1100 workers in 2013); environmental damage from mining, plantations and factories; profits leaving with foreign firms	Home industries closed by cheaper imports (jobs lost in steel and textiles in HICs; local farmers undercut by subsidised imported food in LICs); a **trade deficit** paid for by borrowing; dependence on foreign suppliers (energy security, as Europe found with Russian gas in 2022)

Every country is **both** exporter and importer, so the question is **who gains**: consumers and exporting firms usually gain, workers in competing industries lose, and gains are larger for countries that export high-value goods.

Fairtrade

Fairtrade (with a capital F) is a **certification scheme**, run by **Fairtrade International**, for products such as coffee, cocoa, tea, bananas, sugar and cotton, mostly from smallholders in LICs and MICs. Products that meet its standards carry the **FAIRTRADE Mark**. It is different from **free trade** (no barriers) and from "fair trade" as a general idea.

Its main features:

1. **Fairtrade Minimum Price**: a floor price paid to producer organisations whatever happens to the market; if the market price is **higher**, they get the market price. It is a **safety net** against price slumps.
2. **Fairtrade Premium**: an **extra** sum on top of the price, paid to the **cooperative**, whose members vote on how to spend it: schools, clinics, clean water, better equipment, training.
3. **Standards**: **social** (no forced or child labour, safe conditions, freedom to join unions), **economic** (long-term contracts, advance credit) and **environmental** (limits on agrochemicals, protecting water and soils, encouraging organic farming).
4. **Democratic cooperatives** give smallholders bargaining power and access to markets. **Kuapa Kokoo** in Ghana (from 1993) has about 100 000 cocoa farmer members and part-owns a chocolate company, Divine Chocolate.
5. **Transparency**: the supply chain is checked.

Evaluation: Fairtrade raises and **stabilises** incomes and funds community projects. But it covers only a **small share** of world trade; cooperatives often **sell only part of their crop** on Fairtrade terms and the rest at market price; producers pay for **certification**, which the poorest cannot afford; **hired labourers** benefit less than landowning farmers; the minimum price may only cover costs; and much of the higher shop price is kept by **retailers**. It also **does not change the rules** of world trade (tariffs, subsidies), so it treats symptoms of unfair trade, not its causes.

International debt: causes and nature

International debt is money owed by a country's government, firms or households to lenders **abroad**:

- **Multilateral** lenders: the **World Bank**, the **IMF**, regional development banks (the African and Asian Development Banks);
- **Bilateral** lenders: other governments (the **Paris Club** of mostly Western creditors; **China**, the largest bilateral lender to LICs since the 2010s);
- **Private** lenders: banks and **bondholders**.

Causes (why countries borrow, and why debt builds up):

1. **Not enough money at home** to fund development (roads, power, schools), so countries borrow to invest **before** the income exists.
2. **Spending more than income**: running a trade deficit (importing more than they export) or a budget deficit.
3. **Falling export earnings**: a slump in the price of the main export (copper, coffee, oil) leaves less money to pay the loan, so more is borrowed.

4. **Rising interest rates** on loans with **variable** rates, and a **falling currency** when loans are in US dollars: the same debt costs more in local money.
5. **Shocks**: natural disasters, pandemics (governments borrowed heavily in 2020), wars and recessions.
6. **Corruption and poor choices**: loans spent on arms, prestige projects or stolen. **Odious debt** is debt run up by an unrepresentative regime and not used for its people (Mobutu's Zaire, now DR Congo).
7. **Lenders' choices**: lenders seeking interest and influence sometimes lend too freely.

The international debt crisis. After oil prices **quadrupled in 1973**, oil-exporting states deposited huge sums (**petrodollars**) in Western banks, which lent them to LICs and MICs at low, **variable** interest rates. Then a second oil price rise (1979), steep **interest rate rises** led by the USA (1979–1981), a recession in HICs and falling commodity prices hit the borrowers together. In **August 1982 Mexico** said it could not keep up its payments, and dozens of countries in Latin America and Africa followed. The 1980s became a "lost decade" of slow growth in these regions. Who was to blame? **Lenders** lent carelessly, often to dictators; **borrowers** took loans for poor projects; **global events** (oil prices, interest rates) were beyond either side's control.

Problems of debt and debt relief

Problems for indebted countries:

- **Debt service** (interest plus repayments) takes money from **health, education and infrastructure**. UNCTAD reported that in 2024 about **3.3 billion people** lived in countries that spent more on interest than on health or on education.
- **A debt trap** (vicious circle): new loans are taken to repay old ones, so debt grows even when it is being paid.
- **Conditions**: rescue loans from the IMF and World Bank in the 1980s and 1990s came with **structural adjustment programmes** (SAPs): cuts in public spending and subsidies, fees for schools and clinics, **privatisation**, devaluation and opening markets to imports. Today's programmes still often require **austerity**.
- **Default** and its effects: a country that stops paying loses access to new loans, its currency falls and prices of imports soar. **Zambia** defaulted in **2020**; **Sri Lanka** in **2022**, when shortages of fuel and medicine led to protests that forced its president out.
- **HICs can have debt crises too** (**Greece** needed rescue loans in 2010, 2012 and 2015), but they usually borrow in their own currency at low interest, so debt is a smaller problem for them (Japan's government debt is more than twice its GDP).

Debt is not always a problem. Borrowing for **productive** uses can raise output enough to repay the loan: **South Korea** borrowed heavily in the 1960s and 1970s to industrialise. Debt is a problem when it is **large compared with income** (Key facts), in **foreign currency**, at **variable** rates or spent unproductively, and when the economy depends on a **few exports** whose prices swing.

Debt relief is the cancellation, reduction or rescheduling of debt:

- The **Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative** (1996, enlarged 1999, after the **Jubilee 2000** campaign) and the **Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative** (2005) cancelled much of the debt of **37 countries**, most in sub-Saharan Africa. In return, countries had to show **reforms** and spend the savings on reducing poverty. **Uganda**, the first to receive HIPC relief (1998), put savings into primary schools and health through its Poverty Action Fund; **Tanzania**, helped by relief savings, abolished primary school fees in 2001.
- In the pandemic, the G20 suspended some payments (2020–2021) and set up a **Common Framework** for restructuring, but it was **slow**: Zambia's deal took until 2023–2024, partly because China, private bondholders and Western governments had to agree.
- **Debt-for-nature swaps**: in **2023 Ecuador** bought back about **1.6 billion US dollars** of its debt at a discount, and the savings fund marine conservation around the Galápagos.

Evaluation of relief: it freed money for services, but many relieved countries borrowed again, the conditions were criticised, and relief treats the **symptom** unless exports and governance improve.

International aid: types and donors

International aid is the transfer of money, goods, services or expertise from one country or organisation to another, on easier terms than the market. **Official Development Assistance (ODA)** is aid from governments for development, as **grants** or **soft loans** (low interest, long repayment). The UN target, set in 1970, is for donors to give **0.7% of their GNI**; only a few (such as Norway, Sweden, Luxembourg and Denmark) reach it. ODA totalled about **220 billion US dollars in 2023**, then fell in 2024, and more cuts followed: the UK is reducing its aid, and in **2025** the **USA**, the largest donor, closed **USAID** and cut much of its aid.

Type	What it is	Example
Relief aid (emergency, humanitarian)	**Short-term** help to save lives after a disaster or in conflict: food, water, shelter, medicine, rescue teams	After the **Türkiye–Syria earthquakes of February 2023**
Development aid	**Long-term** help to raise living standards: schools, clinics, water, roads, training	Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Programme (from 2005)
Tied aid	Given on **conditions**: usually that it is spent on goods and services from the **donor** country, or on donor-chosen projects	The UK's aid for the **Pergau Dam** in Malaysia (early 1990s), linked to an arms deal and ruled unlawful by a UK court in 1994; the UK untied all its aid in 2001
Bilateral aid	From **one government to another**	China's loans for Kenya's **Mombasa–Nairobi railway** (opened 2017), built by a Chinese firm
Multilateral aid	From many donors **pooled** through international organisations	The World Bank, UNICEF, the WHO (which led the eradication of smallpox, declared in 1980)

Donors are governments, international organisations, **NGOs** (charities such as Oxfam and WaterAid, often working **bottom-up** with communities) and private foundations (the Gates Foundation). Aid can be **top-down** (large projects planned by governments and donors) or **bottom-up** (small projects led by local people).

Why donors give aid (and how they benefit): **humanitarian** concern; **contracts and jobs** for their own firms (tied aid); **export markets** and access to **raw materials** (some Chinese loans to Angola were repaid in oil); **political influence** and votes at the UN (**soft power**); **security** (reducing conflict, disease and migration pressures); and **reputation**. **Tied aid** also lets the donor control how money is spent and keeps it in its own economy.

Impacts of aid on receiving countries

Positive	Negative
Relief saves lives in the days after disasters	**Dependency**: governments and people come to rely on aid instead of building their own capacity
Health: the US PEPFAR programme (from 2003) has supported HIV treatment for about 20 million people; vaccination; smallpox eradicated	**Tied aid** raises costs (donor goods cost more than local ones), uses donor workers instead of local ones, and may bring **unsuitable technology** that needs imported parts
Education, clean water and sanitation improve health and productivity	**Corruption**: aid diverted by officials; aid can prop up bad governments
Infrastructure (roads, ports, power) attracts investment and trade	**Debt**: aid given as **loans** must be repaid with interest
Bottom-up projects build local skills and are cheap to maintain	**Undercutting local producers**: free imported food lowers prices for local farmers; second-hand clothes harm local textile makers
Better international relations and **technical expertise**	**Top-down** "prestige" projects (large dams) can displace people and benefit elites; **conditions** and **political influence** reduce sovereignty
	Projects fail without **maintenance**: about a quarter of rural handpumps in Africa are broken at any one time

Example: Haiti after the 2010 earthquake. Relief aid saved many lives, and billions of dollars were pledged. But most money went through foreign NGOs and contractors, **bypassing** Haiti's government and businesses; reconstruction was slow and poorly coordinated; and **UN peacekeepers** brought **cholera**, which killed about 10 000 people (the UN accepted a role in 2016). Haiti shows that **how** aid is given matters more than **how much**.

Judging aid: impacts depend on the **type** (relief is usually positive in the short term; tied, top-down loans are the most criticised), the **governance** of the receiver, and **who** benefits (elites or the poorest). Good aid builds the capacity to need less aid.

The growth of international tourism: reasons and trends

International tourism means travel to another country for at least one night and less than a year, for leisure, business, visiting friends or health. Arrivals grew from about **25 million in 1950** to about **1.5 billion in 2019**, fell by about **70%** in **2020** with COVID-19, and recovered to about **1.4 billion in 2024**, almost the 2019 level.

Reasons for growth:

Group	Reasons
Economic	Rising **disposable income** in HICs, then in MICs (China's outbound trips reached about 155 million in 2019); cheaper travel; **package holidays**; **business travel** with globalisation and TNCs; governments investing in tourism to earn foreign currency
Social	**Paid holidays**; more healthy, well-off **retired** people; wish to experience other cultures; **migration** creating family visits
Technological	**Jet aircraft** (wide-bodied jets from 1970); **budget airlines** after deregulation (Ryanair and easyJet in Europe in the 1990s, AirAsia from 2001); the **internet**: online booking, price comparison, reviews, **Airbnb** (from 2008) and **social media** that advertise places
Political	**Visa-free** travel and open borders (the Schengen Area); peace and stability; governments promoting tourism and hosting events (Olympics, World Cups)

What slows or reverses growth: global events (the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami, the 2008 recession, COVID-19), **terrorism** (the attack on tourists at **Sousse**, Tunisia, in 2015 cut arrivals for years), **conflict** and political instability (Egypt after 2011), currency changes and high fuel prices.

Trends: more long-haul travel and **new destinations** in Asia, Africa and Latin America; **Europe** still receives about **half** of all arrivals; **Asia-Pacific** grew fastest before 2020; shorter, more frequent trips (**city breaks**); growth of **cruises** and **niche** types (below); a growing share of tourists now come from MICs, especially China and India.

The impacts of tourism

Organise impacts by **type** (economic, social, environmental), **scale** (local or national), **positive or negative**, and **who** is affected.

	Positive	Negative
Economic	**Foreign currency**; **jobs** (directly in hotels and tours, indirectly in farming, building and crafts); **taxes** that pay for infrastructure; new roads, airports, water and power used by locals too; the **multiplier effect**; diversification away from farming	**Leakage**: money leaves with foreign-owned hotels, imported food and drink and overseas staff; jobs are **seasonal**, low-paid and often go to migrants; **dependency** on one sector, so shocks hit hard (COVID-19); **inflation** of land and house prices; money spent on tourist infrastructure instead of local needs

	Positive	Negative
Social	Better services; cultural exchange; reviving crafts and festivals; young people stay instead of migrating	Crowding; **displacement** of locals (rents driven up by holiday lets in Barcelona and Lisbon); loss of traditional ways; crime and anti-social behaviour; "staged" culture
Environmental	**Conservation funded** by entry fees and permits (Rwanda's mountain gorilla permits, 1500 US dollars from 2017); protected areas; cleaning up places to attract visitors	**Habitat loss** for hotels, roads and marinas; **water** shortages (pools, golf courses); **sewage** and **litter**; trampling and erosion; **coral** damage by divers and boats; traffic; tourism causes about **8%** of global greenhouse gas emissions, much of it from flights

Local and national differ: the nation gains foreign currency and taxes, while a local community may get mainly seasonal jobs, rising prices and crowding. **Doxey's irritation index** describes how local attitudes change as tourism grows: **euphoria** (visitors welcomed), **apathy** (taken for granted), **annoyance** (irritation at crowds and prices), **antagonism** (open hostility, as in the anti-tourism protests in **Barcelona** in 2024).

Carrying capacity and the tourism multiplier effect

Carrying capacity is the **largest number of visitors** a destination can take **at one time** without unacceptable damage to its environment, economy or society, and without spoiling the visitors' own experience. It has several kinds:

- **Physical**: how many people the space and facilities can hold (beach area, beds, water supply, sewage works);
- **Ecological (environmental)**: how much use before ecosystems are damaged (coral, dunes, wildlife);
- **Social (perceptual)**: how many visitors **locals** will accept (Doxey) and how crowded **tourists** will tolerate;
- **Economic**: the point where tourism starts to push out other activities or prices.

It is **not fixed**: better sewers, zoning and timed tickets **raise** it; damage **lowers** it. Examples: **Maya Bay** in Thailand closed from 2018 to 2022 to let its coral recover, then reopened with daily limits; **Venice** banned large cruise ships from its centre (2021) and began charging day visitors (2024); **Machu Picchu** has daily ticket limits; **Bhutan** charges a daily **Sustainable Development Fee** (raised to 200 US dollars in 2022, halved to 100 in 2023) for **high-value, low-volume** tourism.

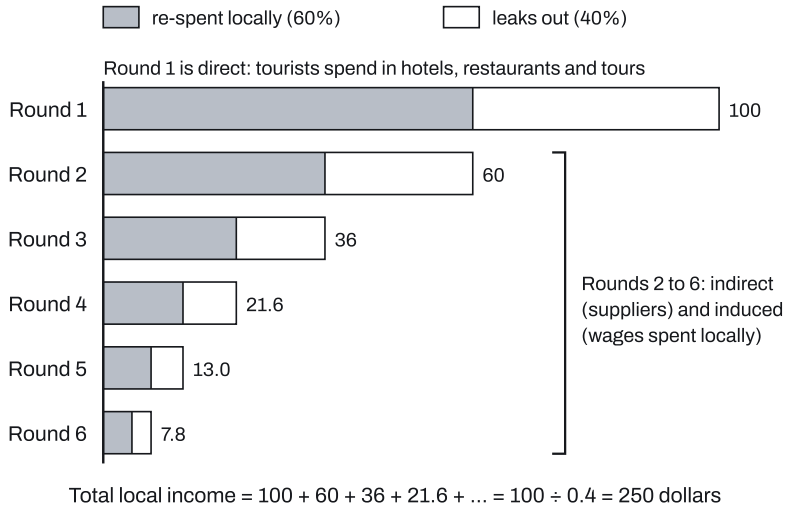
The **tourism multiplier effect** is the way tourist spending spreads through a destination's economy and creates **more income than the first spending**:

1. **Direct**: tourists spend money in hotels, restaurants, shops and tour firms, creating jobs and income there;
2. **Indirect**: those businesses buy **supplies** from local firms (farmers, fishers, laundries, builders, taxi drivers), which also gain income and jobs;
3. **Induced**: workers in all these firms **spend their wages** locally (shops, schools, housing), and the government spends the **taxes** on infrastructure and services.

At each round, some money **leaks** out of the local economy: imported food and drink, profits sent to **foreign owners**, wages sent home by migrant staff, money saved. The **higher the leakage**, the **smaller the multiplier**. Diagram 1 shows a model in which 40% leaks at every round: 100 dollars of tourist spending creates 250 dollars of local income in total. In an **all-inclusive** resort, where tourists rarely leave and supplies are imported, leakage can be **well over half**, and the multiplier is small.

The multiplier can work **in reverse**: if tourists stop coming (a terrorist attack, a pandemic, overcrowding), hotels cut staff and orders, so suppliers and shops lose income in turn. **Carrying capacity limits the multiplier**: growth beyond it damages the attraction and visitors go elsewhere.

Diagram 1. A model tourism multiplier (40% leaks each round)



Total local income = 100 + 60 + 36 + 21.6 + ... = 100 ÷ 0.4 = 250 dollars

Recent developments in different types of tourism

Each development has a **cause** you should explain:

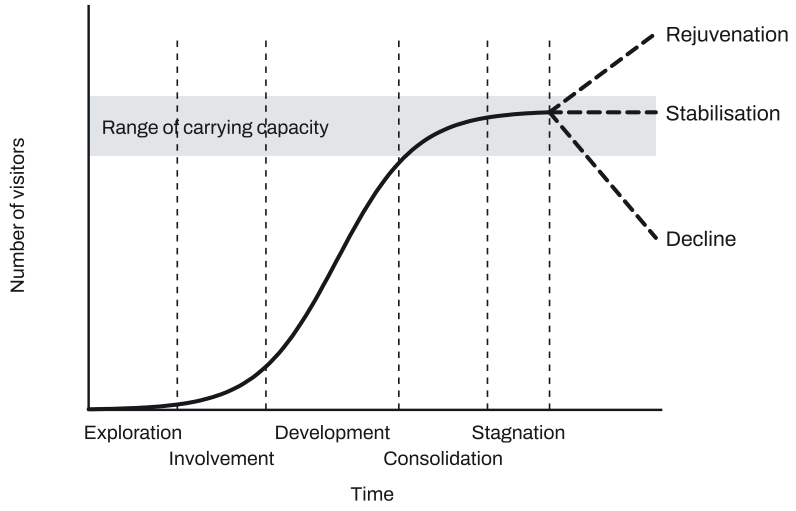
- **Ecotourism**: responsible travel to natural areas that **conserves** the environment, **benefits local people** and **educates** visitors (small groups, local guides, low-impact lodges). It grew with environmental awareness and the wish for authentic experiences. **Costa Rica** built its tourism on national parks; its forest cover has recovered to over half its land since the 1980s, helped by payments to landowners for protecting forest (from 1997). Critics point to **greenwashing** (anything "eco" sells), long-haul flights, and success attracting so many visitors that it becomes mass tourism (the Galápagos).
- **Community-based tourism**: villages own and run homestays and tours, so more money stays local.
- **Medical tourism**: travel for treatment that is **cheaper**, quicker or unavailable at home: dental work and hair transplants in **Türkiye**, surgery in **Thailand** and **India**.
- **Dark tourism**: places of death and disaster (Auschwitz; tours into the **Chernobyl** exclusion zone from 2011).
- **Film-induced tourism**: Hobbiton in New Zealand; **Dubrovnik** after *Game of Thrones*.
- **Heritage, adventure and sports tourism**; **cruises** to new destinations, including Antarctica; **city breaks** made possible by budget airlines and online booking; **"last-chance" tourism** to glaciers and coral reefs before they change.

The life cycle model of tourism

Butler's tourism area life cycle (1980) suggests that a destination passes through stages as visitor numbers grow (Diagram 2):

1. **Exploration**: a few adventurous visitors; no tourist facilities; little impact.
2. **Involvement**: locals start to provide accommodation and services; a tourist season appears.
3. **Development**: rapid growth; outside investors, chains and TNCs build large hotels; locals lose control; the place is advertised heavily.
4. **Consolidation**: growth slows; tourism dominates the economy; some locals resent it.
5. **Stagnation**: numbers peak at or beyond **carrying capacity**; the place is unfashionable; environmental and social problems.
6. Then **decline** (visitors go elsewhere; hotels close or become flats), **stabilisation**, or **rejuvenation** (new attractions or markets, investment, rebranding).

Diagram 2. Butler's life cycle model of tourism



Example: Blackpool, England. It grew as a seaside resort after the **railway** arrived (1846), peaked in the mid-20th century, then **declined** from the 1970s as cheap **package holidays** took British tourists to Spain; rejuvenation (a rebuilt promenade, events) has had limited success.

Critical evaluation:

Strengths	Weaknesses
Simple; fits many older **mass resorts** (Blackpool, Benidorm)	**Descriptive**, not predictive: no **timescale**, and stages are clear only afterwards
Links growth to **carrying capacity**, warning planners to act **before** stagnation	Stages overlap and are hard to identify; one destination can be at different stages for different markets
Useful for **management**: monitoring, planning rejuvenation, diversifying	**Planned resorts skip stages**: Cancún, Mexico, was built by the government from 1970 and started at development

Strengths	Weaknesses
Shows that decline is **not inevitable**	Fits **mass, beach** tourism best; **ecotourism** destinations that cap numbers may stay at involvement; big **cities** with many attractions do not stagnate in the same way
	Ignores **sudden shocks** (COVID-19, terrorism, hazards) and **government action**; uses only **visitor numbers**, not who benefits

Judgement: the model is useful as a **framework** for explaining change and planning, not as a forecast; it works best for resorts built on one main attraction and least for planned, protected or multi-attraction places.

Case study: a tourist resort, Boracay, the Philippines

Location: a small island (about **7 km long** and in places under 1 km wide) off the north-west tip of **Panay**, in **Aklan province**, central Philippines. Its west coast has the **4 km White Beach** of fine coral sand; its east coast, **Bulabog Beach**, is used for kitesurfing.

Growth and development (the life cycle):

- **Exploration (1970s)**: a few backpackers and almost no tourist facilities. A 1978 government proclamation made it a tourist zone and marine reserve.
- **Involvement (1980s)**: local families built cottages and small restaurants.
- **Development (1990s–2000s)**: better air and sea links through Caticlan and Kalibo, then larger resorts and international chains; migrants from other islands came to work.
- **Consolidation and stagnation (2010s)**: about **2 million visitors in 2017**, earning about **56 billion pesos** (about 1 billion US dollars). But many hotels were **not connected to sewers**, so wastewater reached the sea (**coliform bacteria** far above safe levels off Bulabog); **algal blooms** on White Beach; **beach erosion**, worse where buildings stood on the beach; **wetlands built over**, causing floods; water shortages, traffic and waste.
- **Forced rejuvenation (2018)**: the President called the island a "cesspool", and it was **closed to tourists for six months**, from **26 April to 26 October 2018**. Hotels had to connect to sewers; buildings within the beach setback (25 m plus 5 m from the shoreline) were demolished; roads and drains were rebuilt; only **accredited** hotels could reopen. A **carrying capacity** limit of **19 215 tourists** on the island at one time was set, with parties, smoking and drinking banned on the beach, and a planned casino was dropped.
- **Shock (2020–2022)**: COVID-19 closed it again; it reopened to domestic visitors in October 2020 and to foreign tourists in 2022, and arrivals were back at about **2 million by 2023**.

Issues of sustainability:

	Issues
Environmental	Sewage and nutrients in the sea; coral loss and beach erosion; limited **fresh water**; waste on a small island where landfill space is scarce. These threaten the **beach itself**, the main attraction

	Issues
Economic	**Dependence**: almost all jobs rely on tourism, so the 2018 closure and COVID-19 left **tens of thousands** of workers, many of them migrants from other islands, without income; **leakage** to large resorts owned by Manila-based and foreign chains, and supplies shipped in from Panay and beyond; small local businesses lose out to accredited big hotels
Social	Rising land prices squeezed locals and the indigenous **Ati** people; crowding; workers in poor housing
Management	Before 2018, laws existed but were **not enforced**; the cap depends on continued checks

Evaluation: tourism made Boracay rich, but growth went **past carrying capacity** and was destroying the **environment** its economy rests on. The 2018 closure shows that **rejuvenation** can be imposed by government, which the life cycle model does not predict. It was a **short-term environmental success** (cleaner water and beach), but long-term sustainability depends on **enforcing** the limits as numbers grow again, spreading benefits to **local people** and reducing dependence on one industry. Threats from **outside** (pandemics, typhoons, recessions) remain.

Key facts and formulas

There is no formula list in Paper 4, so learn all of these.

Formula	Status
Balance of trade = value of exports − value of imports (a surplus if positive, a deficit if negative)	Learn it
Percentage change $= \frac{\text{new} - \text{old}}{\text{old}} \times 100$ (negative for a fall)	Learn it
Debt service ratio $= \frac{\text{interest} + \text{repayments in a year}}{\text{export earnings in that year}} \times 100$	Learn it
Debt-to-GDP ratio $= \frac{\text{total debt}}{\text{GDP}} \times 100$	Learn it
Aid as a share of the donor's income $= \frac{\text{ODA given}}{\text{GNI}} \times 100$; the UN target is 0.7%	Learn it
Terms of trade $= \frac{\text{index of export prices}}{\text{index of import prices}} \times 100$ (below 100 means exports buy fewer imports than in the base year)	Learn it
Tourism's total contribution to GDP = direct contribution + indirect contribution (some sources add induced spending too)	Learn it
Simple multiplier model: total local income $= \frac{\text{first tourist spending}}{\text{share that leaks out at each round}}$	Learn it

Term and meaning	Status
Visible trade: trade in goods; **invisible trade**: trade in services (tourism, finance, transport, IT)	Learn it
Free trade: trade without tariffs (taxes on imports), quotas (limits on amounts), subsidies or other barriers; **protectionism**: using such barriers to shield home industry	Learn it
Commodity (primary product) dependence: relying on raw materials for most export earnings	Learn it
Fairtrade Minimum Price: a floor price paid to certified producers whatever the market price; **Fairtrade Premium**: an extra sum paid to the cooperative for community or business projects	Learn it
International debt: money owed to lenders in other countries; **debt service**: the interest and repayments due each year	Learn it
Debt relief: cancelling, reducing or rescheduling a country's debt (HIPC, 1996; MDRI, 2005)	Learn it
ODA: Official Development Assistance, government aid for development, as grants or soft loans	Learn it
Relief aid: short-term emergency help; **development aid**: long-term help to raise living standards	Learn it
Tied aid: aid with conditions, usually that it is spent on the donor's goods and services	Learn it
Bilateral aid: from one government to another; **multilateral aid**: pooled through international organisations	Learn it
Carrying capacity (tourism): the largest number of visitors a place can take at one time without unacceptable damage to its environment, society or economy, or to the visitors' experience	Learn it
Tourism multiplier effect: tourist spending creating further rounds of direct, indirect and induced income in a destination, reduced by **leakage** (money that leaves the local economy)	Learn it
Ecotourism: responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment, benefits local people and educates visitors	Learn it
Doxey's irritation index: local attitudes move from euphoria to apathy, annoyance and antagonism as tourism grows	Learn it
Sustainable tourism: tourism that meets visitors' and hosts' needs now without damaging the environment, society or economy it depends on, so it can continue in the future	Learn it

How to do it

We have tagged 87 questions for this topic (2021–2025, all Paper 4), 60 different (the variants 41, 42 and 43 often share questions). Every Question 7 (29 of them) has a data part (a) and an explain part (b), so it counts under two types and the counts add up to 116. For essays, the count in brackets is of different questions.

Question type	Questions
Essay: sustainability of a tourist destination	12 (9 different)
Compare data in a figure or table	10
Explain trade factors, agreements, market changes or Fairtrade	10
Essay: free trade, the WTO, Fairtrade or the impacts of trade	10 (6 different)
Explain tourism impacts or developments	9
Describe a distribution on a map	8
Describe a trend, change or relationship	8
Essay: factors behind global patterns or inequalities of trade	7 (5 different)
Essay: impacts or problems of international aid	7 (5 different)
Essay: factors in the growth of international tourism	7 (4 different)
Essay: international debt	6 (5 different)
Explain aid: tied aid or benefits to donors	6
Essay: usefulness of tourism models	5 (3 different)
Explain causes or problems of international debt	4
Essay: tourism's impacts on one area's economy or over time	4 (3 different)
Use a photograph as evidence	3

Marking: Question 7(a) gives **1 mark for each accurate point**, with a cap (usually 2 or 3) without **data** or named places, and no marks for listing; some schemes **reserve** a mark for the overall pattern or relationship. Question 7(b) is marked in **three levels** (Level 3, the top 2 marks: two reasons, ways or impacts, each **clearly explained**, with examples; explaining only one well caps it at 4). The 20-mark essays are marked in **four levels** (Level 4, 16–20 marks: sustained evaluation and a sound conclusion, detailed examples integrated), with a **maximum of 8 without examples**.

1. Essay: sustainability of a tourist destination (12 (9 different) questions)

Asked: the issues of sustainability one resort faces, and whether they change over time; the influence of global events; whether learning from the past is the key; whether the environment can be managed sustainably; economic sustainability; whether ecotourism is as sustainable as it aims to be.

1. **Define sustainable tourism** (economic, social and environmental; for visitors, the industry, the environment and hosts) and **name and locate** your destination.
2. **Outline its growth** briefly, with dates and numbers (Boracay: 1970s backpackers to about 2 million visitors in 2017).
3. **Turn impacts into issues of sustainability**: not just "sewage pollutes the sea" but "sewage damages the coral and beach that the whole economy depends on, so the resort cannot continue as it is". An answer that only lists impacts stays in Level 2.

4. **Evaluate each issue**: **who** is affected, how **severe** and how **long-lasting**, how issues **link** (environmental damage → fewer visitors → economic loss), and how far **management** has dealt with it.
5. **Use time and models**: the life cycle stage, carrying capacity, Doxey.
6. **Conclude** directly on the statement.

Variants:

- **"One tourist area or resort"**: a single resort, island or small area. A **whole large country** (such as Jamaica) or a large region (southern Spain) is not accepted, and an answer that is not clearly located becomes **generic (maximum 8)**. A small country that depends on tourism (the Maldives) can count.
- **"Global events"**: use real **events** (COVID-19 from 2020, the 2004 tsunami, the 2008 recession, a coral **bleaching event**, a war or terrorist attack); trends such as social media, rising incomes or sea-level rise are **not events** unless tied to one (a storm surge). Weigh global events against **local** causes (poor planning, weak enforcement).
- **"Economic sustainability"**: keep it central: leakage, dependence, seasonality, the multiplier, whether income lasts; bring in social and environmental issues only as they affect the economy.
- **"Learning from the past"**: lessons from the place's own history (Boracay's 2018 closure), from other places and from models (Butler, Doxey); against: places planned sustainably from the start, and new problems no past case shows.
- **"Ecotourism not as sustainable as it aims"**: judge its **aims** (conservation, local benefit, education) against results in a named place (Costa Rica, the Galápagos): flights, growing numbers, greenwashing, leakage.
- **"Issues change over time"**: follow the life cycle stages and the shocks.

2. Compare data in a figure or table (10 questions)

1. **Every point links two or more items** ("B had the most visitors, **whereas** C had the fewest"); describing one item, then the next, earns little.
2. **Quote data** in every point, with units; without data, the maximum is 2 or 3.
3. **Similarities count** ("both", "similar"), and so do differences in **pattern** (one rises while the other falls).
4. **Manipulate**: differences, ratios ("more than four times"), totals.

Variants:

- **Two parts of a whole** (direct and indirect): compare **within** each country as well as **between** them.
- **Three blocs or groups**: each comparison should cover **all three** ("USMCA and the EU are similar, whereas RCEP is much larger"); ranking highest and lowest alone is capped at 2.
- **Trends on one graph**: if one line mirrors another (one rises as the other falls), say so: a **mirror image** or **inverse** relationship can earn a reserved mark.

3. Explain trade factors, agreements, market changes or Fairtrade (10 questions)

Asked: why primary products are some countries' main export; how trade agreements affect patterns of trade; two changes in the global market; two factors influencing trade; Fairtrade's benefits for producers; locational advantage.

1. **Two factors, each developed** as a chain: the factor → how it affects trade → the effect on **patterns** (what is traded, how much, between whom, in which direction), with a named example.
2. **Patterns** means **volume, value, content and direction**: say how the pattern changes, not just that trade "increases".

Variants:

- **Why primary exports dominate**: **colonial history** (economies built to export raw materials), **resource endowment**, **landlocked** location (high transport costs make manufactured exports uncompetitive), a **small, uncompetitive manufacturing sector** (lack of capital, skills, power), **tariff escalation** and weak terms of trade, an agriculture-based workforce.
- **Trade agreements**: free trade **inside** a bloc raises trade between members (**regionalisation**) and specialisation; tariffs on **outsiders** make their trade harder (**trade diversion**), so they seek new partners and their own deals; bilateral deals and WTO rules; preferences such as the EU's **Everything But Arms** (duty-free access for the least developed countries, from 2001) and the US **AGOA** (from 2000) for sub-Saharan Africa.
- **Changes in the global market**: rise of emerging markets and their middle classes; new producers; the WTO opening markets; blocs; shocks (pandemics, wars, recessions) and their effect on **flows**.
- **Fairtrade benefits**: explain **how** each feature helps (minimum price → stable income → farmers can plan and invest).

4. Essay: free trade, the WTO, Fairtrade or the impacts of trade (10 (6 different) questions)

Asked: whether the minimum price is Fairtrade's most important characteristic, or all trade should follow Fairtrade; whether trade is positive for exporters and importers; how far countries benefit from free trade; the WTO's importance, and its success in promoting free trade and settling disputes.

1. **Define** the key term precisely (Fairtrade, free trade, the WTO's role), with what it does and how.
2. **The named idea in depth** with real examples (Kuapa Kokoo; the US cotton case; RCEP).
3. **The other side**, by **stakeholder** (producers, workers, consumers, retailers, governments) and by **type of economy** (HIC, MIC, LIC; primary or manufacturing exporter).
4. **Conclude** on "how far", saying for **whom** and **where**.

Variants:

- **Minimum price**: explain how it works (a floor; the market price if higher), then weigh it against the **Premium**, **standards**, **democratic cooperatives**, **market access** and the **Mark**; note that the minimum only matters when market prices are low, while the Premium is paid every time.

- **All trade following Fairtrade**: producers' gains against higher prices, certification costs and its small scale.
- **Both exporters and importers**: use both columns of the impacts table; weigh by the **value** of goods traded, effects on **home production and jobs**, and the **balance of trade**.
- **Free trade**: comparative advantage, cheaper goods, specialisation and TNC investment, against losses for unprotected industries in LICs and HIC subsidies; use a bloc (EU, USMCA) and its effect on outsiders.
- **The WTO**: cover **each part** asked (both "promoting free trade" **and** "solving disputes" when both are named); its roles, successes and the criticisms (stalled Doha Round, HIC subsidies, few African cases, the Appellate Body stopped since 2019, the rise of tariffs and regional deals).

5. Explain tourism impacts or developments (9 questions)

Asked: two recent developments in types of tourism; two impacts of the multiplier effect; two economic benefits of new hotels; two disadvantages, or two benefits, for local environments; a positive and a negative social impact.

1. **Two impacts or developments, each explained**: what happens → **why** → the effect, with a named place. Keep to the **type** asked (environmental means the natural or built environment, not culture).
2. **Count your points**: give exactly the number asked, clearly separated, so the examiner can see two distinct ones.

Variants:

- **Multiplier impacts**: trace the **chain** (tourist spending → hotels → local suppliers → wages spent locally), then the impact: more jobs and income in non-tourist firms, more taxes for services; or negative: rising **house prices**, **seasonal** income that collapses in winter, leakage that cuts the benefit. Impacts of tourism in general, without the chain, stay low in Level 2.
- **Developments in types**: name the type **and** the cause of its growth (medical tourism: cheaper treatment abroad, waiting lists at home; ecotourism: environmental awareness).
- **Benefits to the environment**: both the **way** (entry fees, ecotourism, protected areas) and the **benefit** (money for rangers, habitat protected) must be clear.

6. Describe a distribution on a map (8 questions)

1. **Overall pattern first**: **clustered** or **dispersed** (or no clear pattern), which continents and **hemispheres**, north or south of the Equator; a mark is often **reserved** for this.
2. **Where most and least**, with **named countries** and **values**.
3. **Distance or direction** from a centre (aid from a donor falls with distance from it).
4. **Anomalies**, and say **why** each is one ("lower than all its neighbours").
5. **Develop** one point for a second mark ("most of Africa is net debtor, apart from ...").

Without named places or data, or for a continent-by-continent list, the maximum is 2. Don't add claims the map cannot show ("most are HICs").

7. Describe a trend, change or relationship (8 questions)

1. **Relationship**: state it first: **positive**, **negative**, or **no clear relationship** (examiners report that many students assume there must be one). A weak or mixed pattern described as such earns the reserved mark.
2. **Support** with two or three named cases and values, then the **exceptions**.
3. **Trend over time**: give the **phases** with accurate **years and values** where each starts, peaks and ends, then develop one (the overall change, the rate). A year-by-year account is capped at 2.
4. **Changes between two dates** (a forecast): the overall direction, the largest and smallest change, any change of **rank** (one category overtaking another).

Read the table's **meaning**: "total net ODA" is aid **given** by donors, not received.

8. Essay: factors behind global patterns or inequalities of trade (7 (5 different) questions)

Asked: how far global patterns of trade are influenced by changes in the global market, or by resource endowment; the role of resource endowment; whether historical factors are of limited importance; the relative importance of factors in inequalities in trade flows.

1. **Describe the patterns first** in an introduction: HIC dominance, trade between HICs, LICs' small share and primary dependence, regionalisation, the rise of China and South–South trade. An answer only about what helps a country to trade, with no **patterns**, stays in Level 2.
2. **The named factor in depth**, linked to a **pattern** each time (resource endowment → oil flows from the Gulf to Asia; colonial ties → Ghana's cocoa to Europe).
3. **Other factors**: locational advantage, history, agreements, the global market (the factors table).
4. **Interaction**: colonial history created the resource-based pattern; agreements and new markets are changing it (China's role in Africa).
5. **Conclude**: which factor matters most, for **which** pattern, and how that has **changed over time**.

9. Essay: impacts or problems of international aid (7 (5 different) questions)

Asked: whether the impacts are often negative for receivers; whether dependency is the main problem; whether aid benefits the donor more than the receiver; evaluate the impacts on receivers; how far aid improves people's lives.

1. **Define aid** and its **types**; the answer usually **depends on the type**, so organise by type or compare types.
2. **Positive and negative impacts** (the impacts table), each with a **real example** (Haiti, PEPFAR, Pergau, Kenya's railway).
3. **Distinguish** relief from development, tied from untied, top-down from bottom-up, grants from loans.
4. **Who** gains: government, elites, the poorest; donors' firms.
5. **Conclude**: "often negative"? For which types, where and when?

Variants:

- **Dependency**: explain how it arises (food aid lowering local prices; budgets reliant on donors) and weigh it against debt, corruption and conditions.
- **Donor against receiver**: donor gains (contracts, markets, resources, influence) against receiver gains; examiners report answers that look only at the negatives, so show where aid clearly helps.

10. Essay: factors in the growth of international tourism (7 (4 different) questions)

Asked: whether the internet is the most important factor; the importance of developments in transport and communications; whether economic factors are the most important; whether trends are caused by political factors.

1. **Describe the growth and trends** briefly with numbers (25 million in 1950, about 1.5 billion in 2019, the 2020 collapse and recovery; new destinations, new types).
2. **The named factor in depth**, with several destinations, not just your resort (one place cannot show global growth).
3. **Other factors** grouped (economic, social, technological, political), and **links** between them (cheaper flights depend on technology **and** deregulation; the internet is both a trend and a cause).
4. **Conclude** which factor matters most and how this has **changed** over time.

Keep to **factors** (causes), not **effects**: essays on the economic effects of tourism instead of the factors behind its growth stayed in Level 1. Keep it **international**.

11. Essay: international debt (6 (5 different) questions)

Asked: how far debt is a problem for some countries; whether debt has advantages as well as disadvantages; whether the debt crisis is difficult to solve; whether lenders are responsible for the crisis; whether trade can solve the crisis's problems.

1. **Define** international debt, debt service and the debt crisis; outline the crisis (1970s lending, 1982).
2. **The named idea in depth**, with countries and dates (Zambia, Sri Lanka, Uganda, Greece).
3. **Vary it**: LICs against HICs, primary exporters against diversified economies, debt used **productively** or not.
4. **Conclude**.

Variants:

- **"A problem for some countries"**: serious for LICs, primary exporters and foreign-currency borrowers; less so for HICs and oil exporters that lend.
- **Advantages**: finance not available at home, infrastructure, health and education, disaster recovery, cheap borrowing when rates are low; against debt service, SAPs, austerity and the debt trap.
- **"Difficult to solve"**: the scale of debt, interest rates, many different lenders that must agree (the slow Common Framework), conditions, new borrowing after relief; against the successes of HIPC and debt-for-nature swaps.
- **"Lenders responsible"**: lenders' careless lending against borrowers' choices and global events.

- **"Trade can solve the problems"**: identify the **problems** of the crisis first (examiners report answers that gave its causes instead); then how trade earns foreign currency, against primary dependence, price falls and unfair rules.

12. Explain aid: tied aid or benefits to donors (6 questions)

Asked from different viewpoints: disadvantages of tied aid for receivers; advantages of tied aid for receivers; how donors benefit from giving aid; advantages of tied aid for donors.

1. **Read whose viewpoint**: the donor or the receiver, advantages or disadvantages.
2. **Two points, each developed** with how it works and an example (China's loans for Kenya's railway, built by a Chinese firm; the Pergau Dam).

Points:

- **For donors**: contracts and jobs for donor firms, export markets, access to raw materials, influence and UN votes, lower risk of money being wasted or of loans not being repaid, public support at home for aid spending.
- **Against receivers**: higher costs, donor workers instead of local ones, unsuitable technology, projects chosen for the donor's interests, political influence, loans adding to debt.
- **For receivers**: large projects that would not happen otherwise, expertise and equipment, better relations with the donor.

13. Essay: usefulness of tourism models (5 (3 different) questions)

Asked: how far carrying capacity limits the tourism multiplier; how far understanding carrying capacity helps in evaluating tourism's impact; whether the life cycle model is useful for all types of tourism.

1. **Explain the model or concept** accurately (Diagram 2; the kinds of carrying capacity; the multiplier chain).
2. **Apply it** to named destinations, including **at least two types** of tourism when asked (mass beach resort, ecotourism, city tourism).
3. **Judge its usefulness**: where it fits and where it does not; usefulness for **managers** (planning, monitoring) as well as for describing; other tools (Doxey).
4. **Conclude**.

Variants:

- **Carrying capacity and the multiplier**: up to capacity, more visitors mean more spending; past it, damage drives visitors away and the multiplier works in reverse; but **leakage** and outside shocks may limit it more.
- **Life cycle for all types**: fits mass resorts (Blackpool); planned resorts skip stages (Cancún); capped ecotourism may never reach development; shocks interrupt it (COVID-19). Examiners report answers that described the stages instead of judging the model.

14. Explain causes or problems of international debt (4 questions)

Asked: two causes of international debt; two causes of debt for countries; two problems for countries with high debt.

1. **Two causes, each developed**: not enough domestic finance for development, spending more than income, falling export prices, rising interest rates, shocks (COVID-19), corruption. These are causes of **debt**, not of the 1980s **crisis**; recent, clear examples work better than the complicated 1970s story.
2. **Problems**: debt service crowding out health and education; austerity and SAP conditions; default and a falling currency.

15. Essay: tourism's impacts on one area's economy or over time (4 (3 different) questions)

Asked: evaluate the impacts of tourism on the economy of one area; whether the impacts change over time; evaluate the impacts on the **local** economy of one or more destinations.

1. **Name and locate** the area; keep the **scale** asked (local economy, not foreign currency for the nation).
2. **Positive** (multiplier, jobs, wages, taxes, infrastructure) against **negative** (leakage, seasonality, dependency, shocks, inflation), with figures.
3. **Over time**: follow the life cycle stages and the shocks.
4. **Conclude**: who gains, and whether the gains last.

16. Use a photograph as evidence (3 questions)

Asked: how hotel construction shown in a photograph may harm the local environment; how a port's location, shown in a photograph, encourages trade.

1. **Each point**: something **you can see** → its effect (cleared vegetation → loss of habitat and soil erosion; a new road → traffic and runoff; building beside the water → waste and sediment into the sea; container cranes and stacked containers → loading and storing exports and imports).
2. **Link to the question**: for trade, say how the feature helps goods move (deep water for large ships, rail and road links inland, storage space); a feature without the link earns little.

Worked examples

Example 1

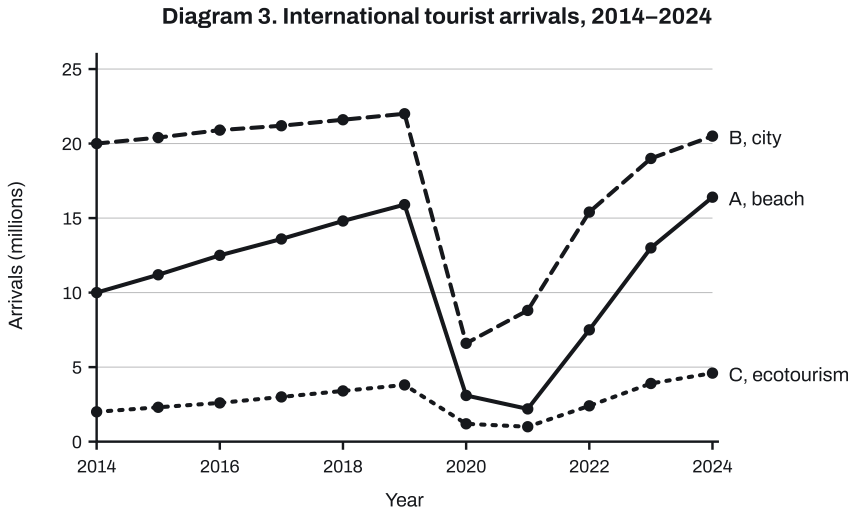


Diagram 3 shows international tourist arrivals in three model countries, 2014–2024.

(a) Compare the trends in tourist arrivals in countries A, B and C. **[4]**

(b) Explain two reasons for the growth of international tourism to LICs and MICs since 2000. **[6]**

(a) One mark for each comparison; data needed for full marks.

- All three grew from 2014 to 2019, but C grew fastest in proportion (by 90%, from 2.0 to 3.8 million) and A by most in number (5.9 million, from 10.0 to 15.9), whereas B grew only 10% **(1)**.
- All three fell sharply in 2020; A fell furthest in proportion (by about 81%), against about 70% for B and 68% for C **(1)**.
- A and C fell further to their lowest in 2021 (2.2 and 1.0 million), whereas B was already rising again in 2021 (8.8 million) **(1)**.
- By 2024, A (16.4 million) and C (4.6 million) were above their 2019 levels, whereas B (20.5 million) was still below its 22.0 million **(1)**.
- B received the most visitors every year, but the gap between B and A narrowed from 10 million in 2014 to 4.1 million in 2024 **(1, if a point above is missing)**.

(b) A model answer.

The first reason is the **fall in the cost and time of long-haul travel**. Larger, more fuel-efficient aircraft and new long-haul routes, together with **budget airlines** in Asia such as AirAsia (from 2001), cut fares sharply. Places once too far or expensive for most tourists, such as Vietnam, Sri Lanka or Kenya, came within reach of middle-income travellers, and **online booking** let small hotels there sell directly to the world.

The second reason is **government policy and investment**. Many LICs and MICs see tourism as a quick way to earn **foreign currency** and create jobs, so they build airports and roads, ease **visa** rules and market themselves abroad; Vietnam widened its visa-free and e-visa schemes, and arrivals grew strongly in the 2010s. Rising incomes in **neighbouring MICs** add to this: millions of middle-class tourists from China and India now travel within Asia.

Level 3 (5–6 marks): two reasons clearly explained, each with how it caused growth in LICs and MICs specifically, with examples.

Example 2

The table shows primary products as a share of exports and debt service as a share of export earnings for eight model countries.

Country	Primary products (% of exports)	Debt service (% of export earnings)
P	92	28
Q	85	22
R	78	9
S	70	18
T	55	14
U	40	16
V	25	6
W	12	4

(a) Describe the relationship between the share of primary products in exports and debt service. **[4]**

(b) Explain two reasons why countries that depend on primary product exports often find it hard to repay international debt. **[6]**

(a)

- Overall, a **positive** relationship: countries with a higher share of primary products tend to spend a higher share of export earnings on debt service **(1)**.
- The three countries with the highest debt service (P 28%, Q 22% and S 18%) all depend on primary products for over two-thirds of their exports **(1)**.
- The two lowest debt service ratios (W 4% and V 6%) belong to the two countries with the smallest primary shares (12% and 25%) **(1)**.
- R is an anomaly: 78% of its exports are primary products, but its debt service is only 9%, the lowest of any country with more than half its exports from primary products **(1)**.
- U (40% primary) pays more of its export earnings in debt service (16%) than T (55%, 14%), so the relationship is not perfect **(1, if a point above is missing)**.

(b) A model answer.

The first reason is that **primary product prices are volatile**. Zambia earns about 70% of its export income from copper but must pay a fixed amount of debt service each year in US dollars. When the copper price falls, the same payments take a much larger share of its earnings, so the government must cut spending or borrow again. Zambia's copper earnings fell in the mid-2010s while its debts kept growing, and in November 2020 it became the first African country to default during the pandemic.

The second reason is that **primary exports earn little value**. Raw cocoa, coffee or ore is sold cheaply, while processing and profit happen in importing countries. So even large export volumes earn little compared with the cost of imported fuel, machinery and medicines, leaving little foreign currency for debt. If import prices rise faster than export prices, the **terms of trade** worsen and the gap is filled by more borrowing. A country like R may escape this if its primary export (such as oil) is of high value or it saved during price booms.

Level 3 (5–6 marks): two reasons clearly explained, linked to repaying debt, with an example and the anomaly used.

Example 3

'Managing visitor numbers is the key to sustainable tourism.' With reference to one or more tourist destinations, how far do you agree? **[20]**

Introduction. Sustainable tourism meets the needs of visitors, the industry and hosts today without damaging the environment, society and economy it depends on. Managing visitor numbers means keeping them within **carrying capacity**, through caps, permits, fees or closures. I will test this on Boracay in the Philippines, with Bhutan and Venice, against **infrastructure**, **leakage**, **enforcement** and **outside events**.

The case for. Boracay grew from a backpackers' island in the 1970s to about 2 million visitors in 2017, beyond what its sewers, water supply and beaches could take. Sewage, algal blooms and erosion threatened White Beach, on which the whole economy rests: the **stagnation** stage of Butler's model. After its six-month closure in 2018, a limit of 19 215 tourists on the island at one time was set alongside other reforms, and the water and beach are cleaner. **Bhutan**'s high daily fee keeps numbers low, so its culture and environment are protected and each visitor brings in more money. Venice's day-visitor charge tries to reduce the crowding that is driving residents away (social carrying capacity). **Too many visitors** is a common root of unsustainability.

The case against: numbers alone are not enough. Boracay's problems came less from the number of tourists than from **how** it grew: hotels not connected to sewers, buildings on the beach and wetlands, and laws that existed but were **not enforced**. With proper sewers, the same island can take more people, since carrying capacity is **not fixed**. A cap also does nothing about **economic sustainability**: much of the money leaks to resorts owned in Manila or abroad, and workers depend on one industry. When COVID-19 closed the island to tourists in 2020, the environment gained but thousands lost their income. So **who benefits** and the **infrastructure** matter as much as how many come.

Other factors. Outside events (pandemics, typhoons, recessions, coral bleaching events) can wreck a destination whatever its numbers, and **local involvement** (community-based tourism) keeps money local and wins support. **Types of tourism** differ: Barcelona's problems come partly from short-term lets pushing up

rents, a housing issue as much as one of numbers.

Evaluation. Managing numbers is **necessary but not sufficient**. It protects **environmental** and **social** carrying capacity, most of all in small, fragile places (islands, reefs, historic centres), but alone it can harm the **economic** side unless each visitor spends more (Bhutan) and more of it stays local. And numbers depend on the other factors: better infrastructure raises the safe number, while weak enforcement makes any cap meaningless.

Conclusion. I agree only in part. Managing visitor numbers is a key tool, and Boracay shows what happens without it, but sustainability depends just as much on infrastructure, enforcement, local ownership and resilience to outside shocks. The real key is **matching** numbers to a capacity that good management can raise.

Level 4 (16–20 marks): sustainability defined in three dimensions; the named factor examined with detailed, located evidence; weighed against other factors with links between them; variation by type of destination; and a conclusion that answers "how far".

Common mistakes

- **Choosing a whole country** (Jamaica) or a large region for a "one tourist area or resort" question, or not locating it clearly: the answer becomes generic (maximum 8).
- **Describing impacts instead of issues of sustainability**: say why each impact threatens tourism's future there and how far it has been managed.
- **Writing about economic effects when asked about economic factors** in the growth of tourism, and using only one destination to explain global growth.
- **Writing the causes of the debt crisis when asked about its problems**, and confusing debt with aid.
- **Confusing Fairtrade with free trade**, or writing about "fair rules in trade" in general.
- **Trade essays about what helps a country to trade, with no global patterns** of trade: they stay in Level 2.
- **Describing data instead of comparing**, repeating numbers, inaccurate years and values, and year-by-year or country-by-country lists.
- **Assuming a relationship must exist**, naming an anomaly without saying why it is one, or reading "total net ODA" as aid received instead of given.
- **Looking only at the negatives of aid**, or treating all aid as one type.
- **Generic multiplier answers** without the direct, indirect and induced chain; **describing the life cycle stages** without judging the model.
- **Calling trends "global events"** (social media, sea-level rise), and ignoring **scale** (national foreign currency when asked about the local economy).

How to get the marks

- **Command words. Describe** = what the figure shows, with data, no reasons. **Compare** = linked similarities and differences ("whereas", "both", "similar"). **Explain** = reasons and processes, cause and effect. **Suggest** = apply what you know to the figure or place. **Assess**, **evaluate**, **how far**, **to what extent** = weigh both sides and reach a judgement.
- **Question 7(a)**: the overall pattern, trend or relationship first; then extremes, changes and anomalies with **values, units, years and named places**; manipulate the data; never list.
- **Question 7(b)**: Level 3 needs **two** points, **each developed** (what → how → effect) with a **named example**; one point explained well caps the answer at 4; naming without explaining stays in Level 1.
- **Essays**: define the key terms; deal with the **named factor or idea** in depth first; bring in the **other side** and **other factors**, and show how they **interact**; vary the answer by **place**, **scale**, **level of development**, **stakeholder** and **time**; use **detailed, located examples** (names, dates, numbers); evaluate as you go (a short judgement at the end of each paragraph), and end with a conclusion that answers "how far". Without examples the maximum is 8.
- **Case study**: one named resort (Boracay) for every essay that asks for one area; a range of other destinations for global growth or models.
- **Time**: spend about twice as long on the 20-mark essay as on Question 7, and plan it first.

Quick check

1. From Diagram 3, calculate the percentage change in country C's arrivals from 2014 to 2024, and country B's 2024 arrivals as a percentage of its 2019 arrivals.
2. In the model in Diagram 1, 40% of spending leaks out at each round and 100 dollars of tourist spending gives 250 dollars of local income. In an all-inclusive resort, 70% leaks out at each round. How much local income do 100 dollars of tourist spending create there, and how much of the first 100 dollars is re-spent locally in round 2?
3. A country earns 12 billion US dollars a year from exports and pays 3 billion a year in interest and repayments. Calculate its debt service ratio. If a fall in its main crop price cuts export earnings by a third, what does the ratio become?
4. A donor country has a GNI of 1500 billion US dollars and gives 7.5 billion in ODA. What percentage of GNI is this, and how much more would it need to give to reach the UN target?
5. Explain how a destination can be within its physical carrying capacity but beyond its social carrying capacity.

Answers

1. C: $\frac{4.6 - 2.0}{2.0} \times 100 = 130\%$ increase. B: $\frac{20.5}{22.0} \times 100 = 93.2\%$ of its 2019 arrivals, so it had not yet recovered.
2. Total local income $= \frac{100}{0.7} = 142.9$ dollars, much less than 250. In round 2 only $100 \times 0.3 = 30$ dollars is re-spent locally (against 60 in Diagram 1).
3. Debt service ratio $= \frac{3}{12} \times 100 = 25\%$. Export earnings fall by a third to $12 \times \frac{2}{3} = 8$ billion, so the ratio becomes $\frac{3}{8} \times 100 = 37.5\%$: the same debt now takes well over a third of export income.
4. $\frac{7.5}{1500} \times 100 = 0.5\%$ of GNI. The target needs $1500 \times 0.007 = 10.5$ billion, so $10.5 - 7.5 = 3$ billion more.
5. **Physical** capacity is about space and facilities, which may still cope with more people. **Social** capacity is about how many visitors **local people** will accept (and how much crowding tourists will tolerate). If crowds and rising rents from holiday lets push residents to the **annoyance** or **antagonism** stages of Doxey's index, as in Barcelona in 2024, the place is beyond its social capacity although it still has room.

Past questions to try

- **9696/43/M/J/25 Q9**: essay on how far the internet is the most important factor in the growth of international tourism.
- **9696/43/M/J/24 Q8**: essay on how far global patterns of trade are influenced by changes in the global market.
- **9696/41/M/J/25 Q7**: compare two trends in shares of world trade, then explain how trade agreements affect patterns of trade.
- **9696/43/O/N/24 Q9**: essay on how far carrying capacity limits the tourism multiplier effect.