

**"The Emergence of a Sunspot Tourist Destination,**

**A Case Study of St. Kitts"**

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## **Résumé**

L'analyse des conditions spatiales, économiques, sociales, politiques et culturelles qui ont contribué au développement touristique de l'île de St. Christophe (St. Kitts), dans les Petites Antilles, constitue le centre de cette étude. Le tourisme représente un secteur important de l'économie antillaise, car sur lui reposent de nombreuses activités mercantiles. Cependant, les destinations antillaises similaires à St. Kitts sont nombreuses: l'attitude de la population insulaire vis-à-vis des touristes semble donc constituer un facteur primordial de la compétitivité de l'île. Dans le but de mesurer les attitudes des habitants de St. Kitts envers le tourisme, un sondage a été mené à travers la population, en août et en septembre 1986. Les répondants considèrent en général le tourisme de façon somme toute positive, quoique plusieurs résidents ont émis des doutes quant à l'aptitude de la population à faire face aux nombreux effets de l'arrivée massive des touristes, ainsi qu'à bénéficier réellement des profits qui peuvent potentiellement découler des activités touristiques. Un sondage a également été mené auprès des touristes eux-mêmes, et a permis de déduire la satisfaction de la plupart d'entre eux quant à l'accueil dont ils ont fait l'objet sur l'île de St. Kitts. Cependant, les touristes s'étant limités au complexe touristique de Frigate Bay n'ont montré aucun attachement particulier à l'île elle-même; au contraire, les répondants qui se sont

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aventures plus profondément à l'intérieur de l'île sont exprimé, pour la plupart, une intention de passer de subséquentes vacances dans l'île de St. Kitts.

## **Abstract**

This study is intended to serve as a comprehensive analysis of the spatial, economic, social, political, and cultural features of St. Kitts that have contributed to the development of the island as a sunspot tourism destination. Tourism has emerged as an important sector of economic activity throughout the Caribbean. In light of the wide array of similar destinations in the region that may have attraction for the potential traveller positive attitudes to tourists and tourism amongst the host populations of affected areas is vital in the drive to maintain and enhance the competitiveness of the tourism sector of a specific island. A survey was conducted of Kittitian attitudes to tourism in August and September of 1986. The majority of local residents were in favour of tourism but many expressed concerns about the collective ability of local residents to accommodate the diverse array of impacts that tourism has begun to press upon the island and upon their ability to maximise the benefits that might come from it. A survey of tourist attitudes to St. Kitts as a destination was then carried out: most respondents were satisfied with their holiday experience and responded to Kittitian hospitality in a positive fashion. Tourist survey respondents who restricted their activities to the resort complex of Frigate Bay had a much lower declared propensity to consider a return visit to the island than those who ventured forth and established contact with the attractions of the tourism hinterland of the island.



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## **Introduction**

Over the past decade tourism has emerged as an important and conspicuous focus of economic growth and development on St. Kitts. As the longterm viability of sugar--the traditional mainstay of the island economy--has emerged as problematic and industrialisation has been able to absorb only a small portion of the kittitian labourforce, tourism has come to represent a practical focus for future growth and development, and a viable alternative to longterm economic stagnation on the island.

Tourism is as complex a phenomenon as it is large. The economic impact of the industry in terms of gross transfers of wealth and the stimulation of economic activity within the global economy is greater than in any other sector. The human impact of the industry and activities associated with it is also important but since human lifestyles and ideas are much more difficult to track and measure than units of wealth the human dimension of tourism has most often been examined in an isolated, unsystematic, esoteric, culture-bound, or piecemeal fashion (Pearce, 1987: 5). My original intention was to confine my project of thesis research to a narrow spatial analysis of host population attitudes to tourism and tourists on St. Kitts. Upon my arrival on the island, however, I realised that it was only through a consideration of the whole that

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specifics might be understood within a broader context, with this in mind it became apparent that there was an urgent need for a more comprehensive survey and analysis of the industry in terms of the physical, historical, spatial, social, political, and cultural factors that might have contributed to the development of it in its present form as well as the manner in which the industry--as it has developed--has influenced Kittitian attitudes to it. While the present study shall focus upon an analysis of the spatial patterning of host population attitudes to tourism on the island, it shall also be directed towards the provision of a systematic examination and interpretation of the myriad of other factors that may have had a spatial impact upon the growth and development of the industry.

Many scholars active in the field of tourism research have chosen to devise predictive models based upon an abstract and inductive approach to specific phenomena, I have made a conscious effort to resist such temptations and have instead attempted to approach the topic of the Kittitian tourism industry and the attitudes of Kittitians to it with no definitive preconceptions, other than an idea that one might expect such attitudes to vary from place to place throughout.

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the island. Since no comprehensive surveys of Caribbean population attitudes to tourism have been published, "The Emergence of a Sunspot Tourist Destination, A Case Study of St Kitts" represents a preliminary exploration of the phenomenon rather than an attempt to corroborate, refute, prove, or disprove, other systematic field surveys that might have focused upon the same or a related theme

The fieldwork component of my survey was conducted in the months of August and September of 1986. An appropriate search of the tourism literature, and literatures related to the history, economy, culture, and geography of St Kitts was made prior to my departure for the island. A preliminary interview schedule was also generated, a document which--not surprisingly--required substantial revision in the field to render it appropriate for the sensibilities of the targeted respondent population!

In 1983 a tragic fire destroyed the Supreme Court, The Registry, and the Public Library of St. Kitts and all the documents that it contained. Although E. Vanta Archibald and the other staff of the new Public Library at Shirley House,

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Basseterre, have worked diligently to rebuild their collection of local materials, most documents are--alas--beyond recovery. Unstructured interviews, conversations, and pleasant social visits with a large number of Kittitians provided me with much of the background information that my study required and served to reinforce the ideological maxim that a specific phenomenon can be interpreted in many different ways. Many of the relevant facts and impressions that were presented to me over the course of these consultations have been incorporated into my study.

The kittitian press is as lively as it is polarised. The two political parties active on the island, the People's Action Movement (PAM) and the Labour Party each have their own newspapers. The Democrat serves as the official propaganda organ of PAM, and The Labour Spokesman devotes little space to the more praiseworthy aspects of the present national government. The Labour Spokesman is a veritable goldmine of information on the latest scandals and unofficial governmental activities that take place on the island. The Democrat provides useful policy pronouncements of official government responses to--and interpretations of--a limited number of current issues.

The national broadcast media--ZIZ Television and Radio--is of limited value as a source of information and analysis about current events of national concern, like The Democrat. ZIZ broadcasts official press releases and provides laudatory commentaries upon government responses to official events and concerns. For critical analyses of current events and government actions one is obliged to rely upon The Labour Spokesman and the extensive grapevine network that exists within the local community. My selection of broad themes of documentation and interpretation reflects my intention to provide a comprehensive--yet contiguous--analysis of the Kittitian tourism industry and Kittitian attitudes to it. Chapter I tenders working definitions of appropriate terms and concepts and reviews theoretical and ideographical interpretations of the phenomenon of host population attitudes to tourists and tourism that have been put forth since popular interest in the phenomenon emerged about twenty years ago. Selected paradigms, theses, and models of tourist-host population interaction have been reported and in some cases examined critically in light of recent empirical research in the field, and assessed in terms of their apparent relevance and significance for the enhancement of an understanding of the dynamics of these phenomena within the real world.

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**Chapter II provides an examination of the physical environment of St. Kitts as it relates to the potential advantages and disadvantages of the island as a tourist destination and the capacity for the island to supply the array of inputs needed for the successful operation of the industry. Chapter III provides an examination of the historical development of St. Kitts as an economic, social, and political unit; since the present is a product of the past any understanding of contemporary forces at work on the island must be considered in light of the specific circumstances that have led to the development of the contemporary milieu. Chapter IV examines the historical development and present spatial and economic morphology of the tourism sector on the island and compares the experiences of St. Kitts with the nearby island of St. Maarten where a high-volume tourism industry developed earlier and more rapidly than on St. Kitts. An attempt has been made to assess the longterm viability of the current tourism development strategy on the island in light of its apparent potential to emerge as an economic sector that has the potential to assume a position of dominance within the island economy, or at least as an important sector of activity that is limited spatially. Does the current spatial configuration of tourism activity provide for optimal use of available natural and human**



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resources on the island? Should future growth be directed to other locations or even contained in order to lessen the environmental impact of such development and to better serve the needs of the resident population?

Chapter V presents the results of a survey of Kittitian attitudes to tourism, to the tourism industry, and to tourists. A wide range of issues and concerns raised by respondents as they relate to the viability and acceptability of the industry from their own points of view. Spatial and other variations in patterns of responses to specific quantifiable questions--as defined by appropriate analyses of variance--have also been reported upon and interpreted. Although the survey did not yield data which would imply that drastic differences in attitudes to tourism might be determined spatially it did serve to identify and measure the relative importance of a variety of issues and concerns of Kittitians vis á vis the tourism industry.

Chapter VI reports the findings of a limited survey that was conducted in September, 1986 of the attitudes and impressions of tourists to St. Kitts as an holiday destination and to Kittitians as a host population. The sightseeing activities and movements of respondents were tracked over the duration of

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their visits in an attempt to define--in a crude but quite effective fashion--the extent of their penetration into the physical and cultural hinterlands of the island as measured by the declared spatial gregariousness of the survey participants, and attempts to identify the possible relationship between the cores of tourism activity and the tourism peripheries and hinterlands that appear to exist on the island

This thesis is intended to serve as a systematic geographical examination of Kittitian attitudes to tourism and tourists and of tourist attitudes to Kittitians and to St. Kitts; it is also intended to serve as a practical document that strives to interpret the dynamics of these manifest attitudes within the myriad of other factors and forces--historical, geographical, cultural, and economic--that operate within this small but dynamic, varied, cosmopolitan and sophisticated island. Since ideas and attitudes are as individual as the respondents who agreed to share them with my able research assistants and myself I have been unable to document and report upon every opinion expressed or attitude defined within the series of open-ended questions that were incorporated into the formal interview schedules of the two surveys which were carried out. Still, many

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individual comments and responses could be classified, and I have made an earnest attempt to report upon all the relevant patterns and trends that I have been able to identify. I have attempted to make an objective, unbiased, and nonprejudicial selection of comments, observations, and often pearls of wisdom that were proffered by members of the respondent populations that were taken to be representative of either groups of respondents or specific points of view that appeared to merit specific consideration.

My thesis is not intended to profer an absolute, definitive, or even a completely unbiased interpretation of the Kittitian tourism industry and Kittitian attitudes to it or of tourists' attitudes to Kittitians and to St. Kitts. Interpretation of qualitative phenomena is as individual as the observer and interpreter. While I have made an attempt to provide my readership with an objective review of this activity, the limitations of individual objectivity must be recognised; another person might interpret similar data presented to her/him in a different way in light of his/her own specific intellectual emphases, experiences, and skills. Your tolerance of--and patience with--my declared fallability as an interpreter of absolutes is appreciated greatly.

## Chapter I

### Tourism. Definitions. Origins and Destinations. Hosts and Guests.

#### Theoretical Interpretations

Tourism is a recent phenomenon (Burkart, Medlik, 1981: 3). The word tourism did not appear in its modern form until 1843 (Thackery, The Irish Sketch-Book: xvii). Although health spas--an early form of holiday resort--have a heritage that dates back at least as far as the asklepioi of the ancient Hellenic world, before the industrial revolution travel was largely a matter of religious, educational, and economic pilgrimages rather than a legitimate way to relax and enjoy a change of scene in its own right. A recognisable tourism industry did not appear until the construction of the big railway hotels in Europe and America in the mid nineteenth century and later. The first organised tour took place in 1841 when Thomas Cook arranged for some 570 fellow non-drinkers to attend a temperance meeting in the Midlands (Burkart, Medlik, 1982: 15). The word tourist first appeared in english literature in 1814 when S. Pegge observed that "a (t)raveller is now-a-days called a tour-*ist*" (Anecdotes of the English Language a 1800, 1814: 313). Since then almost as many definitions of tourism and tourists have been tendered as there are studies of the phenomenon (Cohen, 1974: 532). D.C. Frechtling, in his "Proposed Standard Definitions and Classifications for Travel

Research" (1976) made a survey of eighty travel and tourism studies and discovered a total of forty-three different definitions for the terms of traveller, tourist, and visitor; such definitional mayhem indicates a severe lack of consensus and coordination in travel research and has contributed to the persistence of the unproductive eclecticism that characterises much tourism research. Cohen (1974: 533) defined the tourist as "...a voluntary, temporary, traveller, travelling in the expectation of pleasure from the novelty and change experienced on a relatively long and non-recurrent round trip." The standard definitions and terminologies of the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) and the United Nations Statistical Office (UNSO) are rather less eloquent than those of most other authors. The WTO and UNSO define a tourist to be "(r)esidents of X (including non-nationals) staying away from their usual residence for one or more nights, for tourism purposes A" (BarOn, 1984: 3); international tourists are defined as

"Persons usually resident in another country who visit the country X for a stay of 1 to 365 nights for any purpose other than following an occupation remunerated from within X, including nationals of X resident abroad" (BarOn, 1984: 2)

For the WTO and UNSO excursionist travel is distinguished from tourist travel in that the former is conducted "for leisure purposes not involving an overnight stay

away from home" (BarOn, 1984: 3), excursionists from abroad consist of "(p)ersons resident in another country who visit X for any purpose (other than employment remunerated from within X) for a period of less than 24 hours or not requiring land accommodation...(this definition of foreign excursionists)

(i)ncludes: 2(a) Cruise visitors, 2(b) Border excursionists, 2(C) Other excursionists from abroad by air, sea, or land (BarOn, 1984:2). Though rather inelegant, the WTO and UNSO definitions are more useful than others in that they are unambiguous and discrete, follow established usage more than other individual definitions, and have demonstrated operational practicality in that it is possible for competent census agencies to distinguish between these two types of traveller with little difficulty.

International tourism involves travel from an area of tourism origin to a place of tourism destination. An origin area may be considered to be the place of embarkation for an individual--usually his/her usual region of residence--who has undertaken a round-trip that includes a visit to the destination area. A destination area is--as the term implies--a tourist's intended itinerant terminus or stopover. A. Mathieson and G. Wall (1982) have tendered a more specific

conceptional definition of destinations as places where tourism impacts occur:

"A 'destination area' is a place having characteristics which are known to a sufficient number of potential visitors to justify its consideration as an entity, attracting travel to itself, independent of the attractions of other locations. The natural and man-made features, infrastructural characteristics, economic structures, and the attributes of the host populations of destinations areas are of interest here" (Mathieson, Wall, 1982: 12)

Tourism is an activity that has two principal components: a dynamic element which incorporates travel to a specific destination, and a static element which involves the stay at a destination (Matheson, Wall, 1982: 14). An array of consequences arise from the dynamic and static elements of tourism that impact upon the physical and social environments of the destination area. Physical impacts arise from changes to the physical ecosystem of the destination area that may occur in light of transformations that may be necessary--or a component of--projects that are intended to facilitate the dynamic and static elements of tourism. Social impacts arise from the cultural, economic, physical, and political presence of tourists, their agents, and agencies within the human environment of the destination area and emerge as altered patterns of human behaviour within one or more societal subsystems in light of interaction between the human

environment of the destination area and agents of change that derive from tourism and tourist activity.

Tourism and tourists are not homogeneous in their impacts and behaviour. E. Cohen (1979: 22-23) has inferred the existence of five forms of tourism activity and touristic experience: the recreational, the diversionary, the experiential, the experimental, and the existential, with specific categories of activity--and consequent impact--that are associated with each form of activity and experience. Likewise, a fourfold classification of tourist rôles has been developed in an attempt to recognise the importance of individual motivations within a stereotypical nomenclative system of categorisation (Cohen, 1972, 167-168)

**The organised mass tourist** is the usual rôle of one who participates in a packaged, escorted tour with fixed itineraries and visits and where all major decision-making is passed on to organisers and escorts. The organised mass tourist seeks familiarity rather than novelty and remains isolated from the mainstream of the host community.

**The individual mass tourist** like the organised mass tourist this category of traveller arranges for his/her programme of travel through an agent or agency but--aside from accommodation which is a component of the travel programme--is granted licence to make day-to-day decisions about travel itinerary. While the individual mass tourist may make small side trips he/she does so only with reference to mainstream tourist activity



**Explorer tourists** often plan most or all components of their travel programmes as individuals, will have no more than perfunctory contact with mainstream tourist destinations and will seek to establish limited contacts with individuals within the host community, explorers like to maintain a semblance of familiarity with their surroundings, especially at bedtime. The explorer tourist will embark upon a variety of sidetrips to peripheral sites and attractions within the destination area and will often make use of local transport facilities to gain access to them.

**Drifter tourists** plan all components of their travel programmes alone, shun regular tourist attractions and seek close contact with individuals within the host community, drifters make a deliberate attempt shun the familiar and to immerse themselves in the host culture and will adapt themselves to local habits and customs as much as possible.

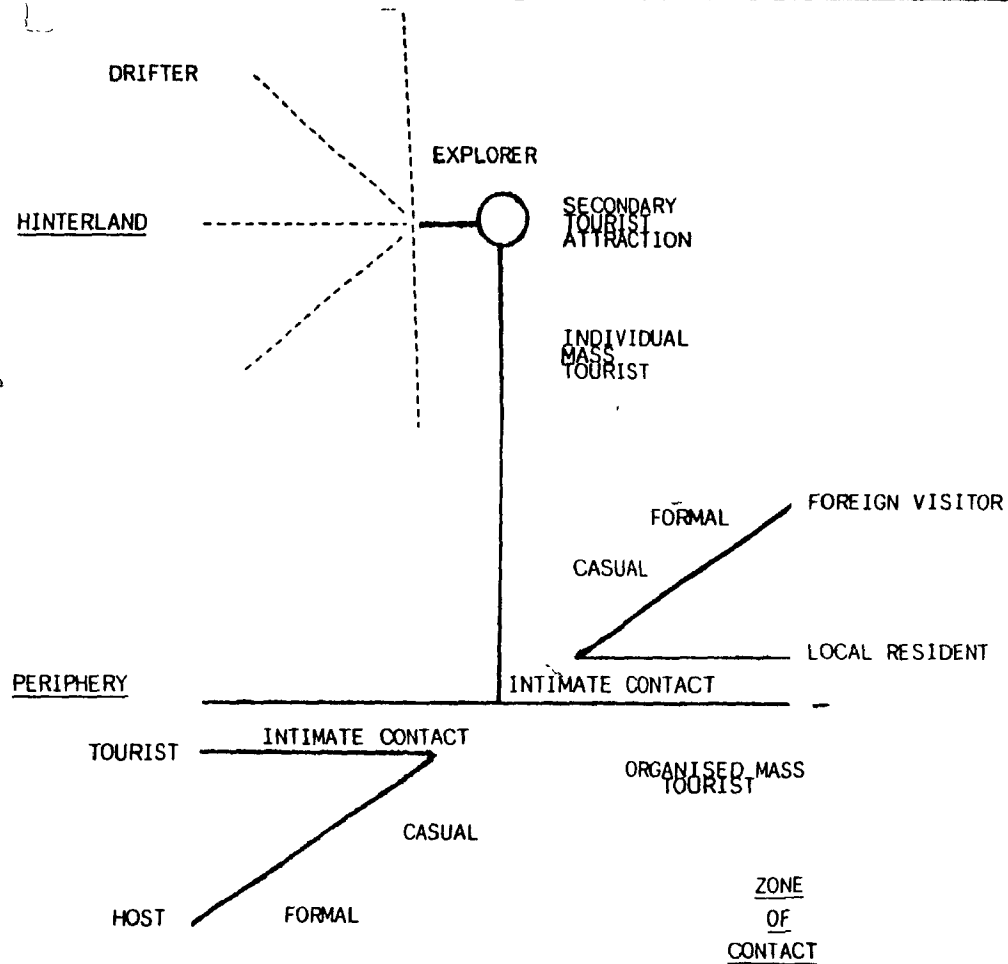
Mathieson and Wall (1982: 20) have observed that the different tourist elements within Cohen's little system of nomenclative categorisation will have specific implications for destination areas. Since the mass tourist craves familiarity rather than novelty facilities and services that are constructed to service this sector of tourism demand will emulate similar facilities in the origin area. "The standardisation of facilities, the transformation of natural attractions, and the construction of artificial ones produces an 'ecological bubble' of the tourist's accustomed environment" (Mathieson, Wall, 1982: 20). Facilities for explorers may also be foreign to the host community but will exist on a much smaller scale than those intended for use by mass tourists. Facilities for drifters--if any exist--will be integrated closely with the host community and will not constitute 'ecological bubbles'. The same types of tourism may have different impacts upon host communities. In rich destinations most of the host population

will be free to partake of the facilities and amusements that may be offered at big hotel/resort complexes, in poorer destinations the need for economy will prohibit most local residents from entering such complexes. In areas where the movement of local residents is controlled with special reference to international tourism facilities--as in the Republic of South Africa until quite recently, the even now in the People's Republic of China, and in Haiti--most locals may be denied de jure and most often de facto access to resort installations. Likewise, a big white well-to-do American explorer tourist who decides to immerse him/herself in the society of backwater Britain might be expected to be rather less disruptive upon the host community than if the same individual were to attempt to emulate the culture of the Kungl Bushmen of the African Savannah.

Cohen's nomenclature of tourist types can be defined in terms of space quite readily. Figure 1 represents an attempt to illustrate the dynamics of this interrelationship. The organised mass tourist is confined to the main tourist centre, or zone of contact between hosts--the local population--and guests--tour-ists. The individual mass tourist will also orient him/herself with reference to this area but will also make excursions to readily accessible

**Figure 1**

**The Spatial Implications of Cohen's Nomenclature of Tourist Types**  
**Upon an Hypothetical Sunspot Tourist Destination Area**



**Raymond Knack, 1986.**

secondary sites and attractions. The explorer will have had--and may continue to maintain--direct contact with the principal zone of interaction at the tourist centre but will venture beyond secondary sites of ready accessibility and

establish direct contact with the peripheral hinterland of the destination area. The drifter will have had minimal--but almost always some--experience of the tourist centre, and in an absence of temporal or health constraints and travel restrictions will be able to travel throughout the territory at will. Since the majority of visitors to popular sunspot tourist destinations are either organised mass tourists or individual mass tourists most opportunities for interaction between tourists and the local population will occur at the focus of their activity in the tourist centre. The economic rôle of the tourist serves as the engine of activity within the tourist centre in that demand generated by the tourist for specific goods and services will be satisfied by the host in response to a direct or implied promise of remuneration. Within the zone of contact remunerative relationships between tourists and hosts will occur along a continuum of intimacy as defined by the demands of the tourist. Social contacts that take place at the formal end of the tourist-host continuum are distant, fleeting, and formal; little direct interaction can occur between members of the two social groups in light of the strict behavioural protocol that is defined for individuals of the host population by tourists and the cultural norms of the origin society. Casual contact can take place when and if the tourist deems a more informal definition of the

customer-salesperson rôle to be appropriate. Intimate contact within such a environment occurs when the tourist demonstrates an ability and willingness to pay for the services of his/her host in money or in kind. Within the zone of contact at the tourist centre the rôle and behaviour of the host is dependent upon the tourist in that he/she must yield to--or at least accommodate--his/her demands. Within such an ecological and cultural bubble the tourist has no real opportunity to adapt or respond to the rôle which the destination might define for him/her because local values, ideas, and beliefs, are camouflaged by the material trappings of the origin area.

Outside of the zone of contact the relationship between tourists and hosts can be quite different. When the promise of remunerative payment does not exist contact between foreign tourist-visitors and local resident-hosts--as individuals rather than as customers and agents--will occur within an environment that is removed psychologically and most often spatially from the zone of contact. When pecuniary stimuli are absent the local resident--independent of economic dependence--will be empowered to define the level of familiarity and intimacy to be cultivated or tolerated in his/her contacts with tourist-visitors. Outside of the

zone of contact it will be the visitors who will be compelled to adapt to the rôle defined for him/her by the local population. Explorer and drifter tourists have--by definition--greater direct contact with the physical and social territory outside of the zone of contact than organised and individual mass tourists and will have more opportunities to shed their formal rôles as tourists and to establish individual contact with local residents outside of the landscape of the tourist centre.

### **Tourism and Geography. Towards a Geography of Tourism**

D. Pearce (1987: 5) has noted that "(t)he geography of tourism is not yet underpinned by a strong conceptual and theoretical base". It is true that research efforts in this field of inquiry have been spotty and too many published works have been the products of those with little more than a transient interest in the field, but with a keen desire to present little papers at conferences in nice places. L. Mitchell, in his "Tourism Research in the United States: a Geographic Perspective" (1984: 6-7) observed that the spottiness of inquiry stems from an apparent unwillingness of many to approach the subject in a systematic fashion.

as a consequence "...the stockpile of research findings (does) not advance systematically but rather progress(es) spasmodically and in a seemingly random fashion". Geographical inquiry into the field of holiday travel has been permeated and stunted by the intellectual playtime activities of too many holidaymakers. The situation is not all bleak, however. While scores of individuals have pecked away at papers that border on the inane, several geographers--and those with a serious interest in the field--have attempted to underpin geographical inquiry into tourism with a firm theoretical base.

The principal vehicle for geographical theorisation in the field of tourism has been the model. Models are created when "(t)he mind decomposes the real world into a series of simplified systems and thus achieves in one act 'an overview of the essential characteristics of a domain'" (Haggett, Chorley, 1967: 22). The process of model perfection induces the modeller to understand the reality the modelled field only to the extent that the model represents the reality of the subject phenomenon (Minshull, 1975: 89). Most models are tendered in an attempt to secure the confirmation or rejection of a specific hypothesis and good models can be tested for their validity or to elicit speedy reactions from and

revisions by others. Models are--of themselves--unable to advance the level of understanding of a specific phenomenon beyond what the creator of it possessed and serve to illustrate an hypothesis as it is believed to operate. Models are by their nature a simplification of reality. Simplification is a corollary of selection, and some element of subjectivity is always present in the process of abridgement. While some authors (Chorley, Hagget, 1967: 20) view the exercise of abstraction as a way to remove needless random information or noise from a model others (Hamilton, 1967: 373-374, Board, 1967: 698-699) recognise that such an activity is fraught with danger. R. Minshull (1975: 118) observes that the zealous elimination of random information and variation can lead to the oversimplification of a model so that the model itself may emerge as a vehicle for the dissemination of inaccurate or irrelevant information. K. Berrill (1960: 360) notes that injudicious simplification has reduced the utility of many models severely. "When a model obscures more than it reveals the case for abandoning it is strong even if a better substitute is not yet available." In spite of their obvious weaknesses models remain a popular mode of communication in geographical studies of tourism and are often treated as handy illustrative precursors of the observations--both field and imaginary--of specific phenomena.



A comprehensive geographical model of tourism remains a long way off but a series of different models have been tendered in an attempt to illustrate and explain different aspects of the phenomenon. "Individually, most give insights into particular areas and together, if they do not as yet offer a full explanation, they at least provide a valuable point of entry into analysis and interpretation" (Pearce, 1987: 19) and can point one in specific directions for profitable systematic inquiry.

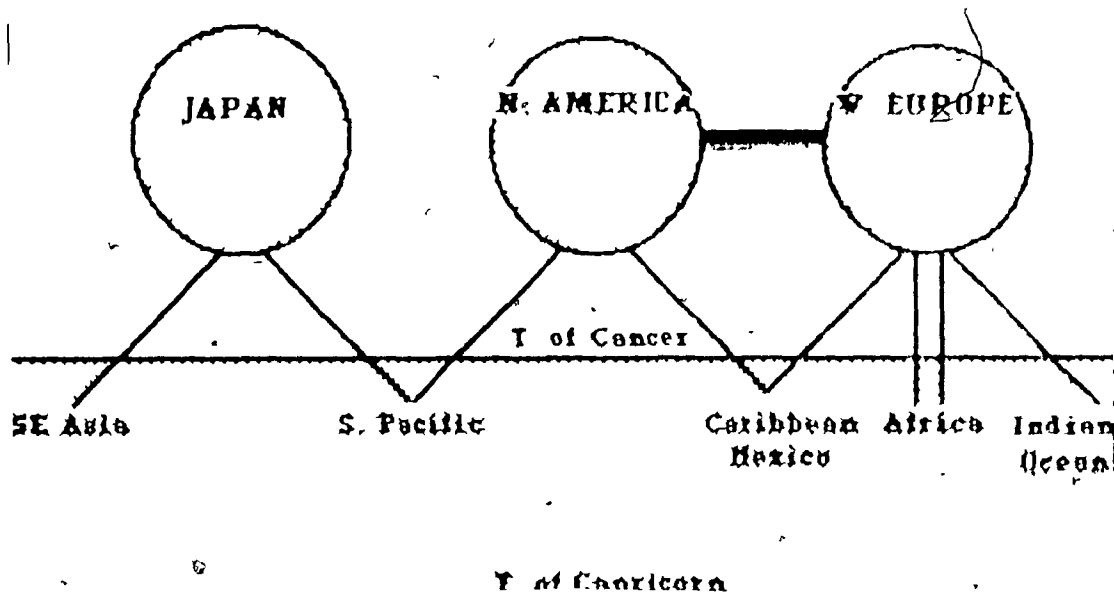
Geographical models of tourist systems may be sorted into three broad categories: origin-destination, structural relationship, and evolutionary models. In 1975 L. Turner and J. Ash noted that rates of tourism growth within a belt of warm-climate islands and coastlines had been very rapid and observed that the bulk of tourist arrivals in these areas originate in "those industrialised regions which are in closest proximity" (Weaver, 1983: 48). Figure II is a simple origin-destination model that was intended to illustrate the relationship between the principal First World centres of industrial development and selected Third World destinations located within what Turner and Ash termed the "pleasure periphery". This model is intended to show that Japan serves as the primary

origin area for Southeast Asia and is important elsewhere in the South Pacific, that North American tourists are very important/dominant in the South Pacific.

**Figure II**

**Turner and Ash's "The Evolution of a Pleasure Periphery".**

**A Simple Origin-Destination Model**

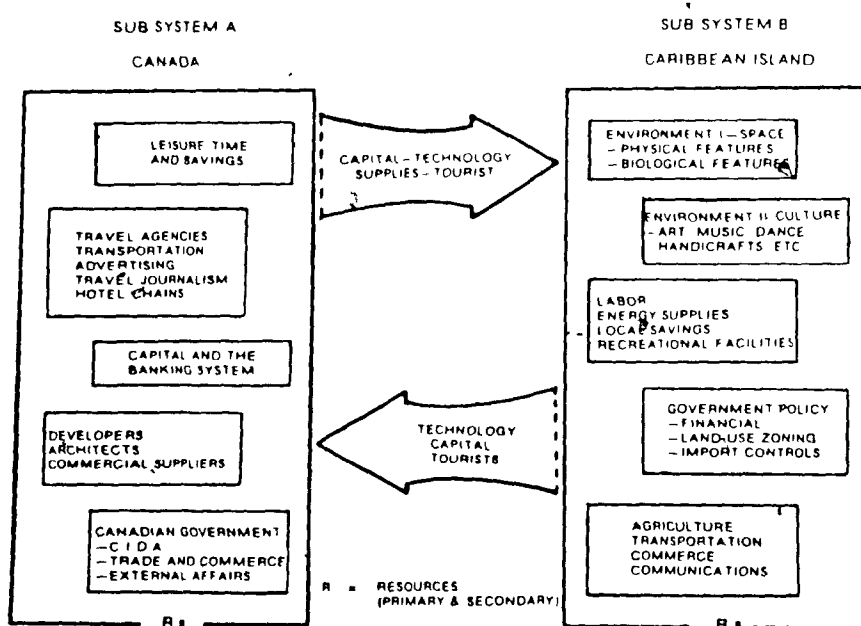


**SOURCE:** adapted from Weaver, 1983, Figure 1: 49.

the Caribbean, and in Mexico, and Western Europeans frequent the Caribbean, West and North Africa, the Seychelles, and Mauritius. As a bonus the "Pleasure Periphery" model illustrates that the principal origin areas lie to the north of the Tropic of Cancer and the principal destination areas are located between the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, which makes sense when one recalls that the

primary push factor in travel from north to south is the pursuit of warm weather. T. Hills and J. Lundgren (1977) have tendered a rather more sophisticated origin-destination model (Figure III) that attempts to illustrate the morphology of interchange between Canada as an origin area and an hypothetical Caribbean Island as a destination. The essence of the "International Tourist System" model

**Figure III**  
**The International Tourist System**



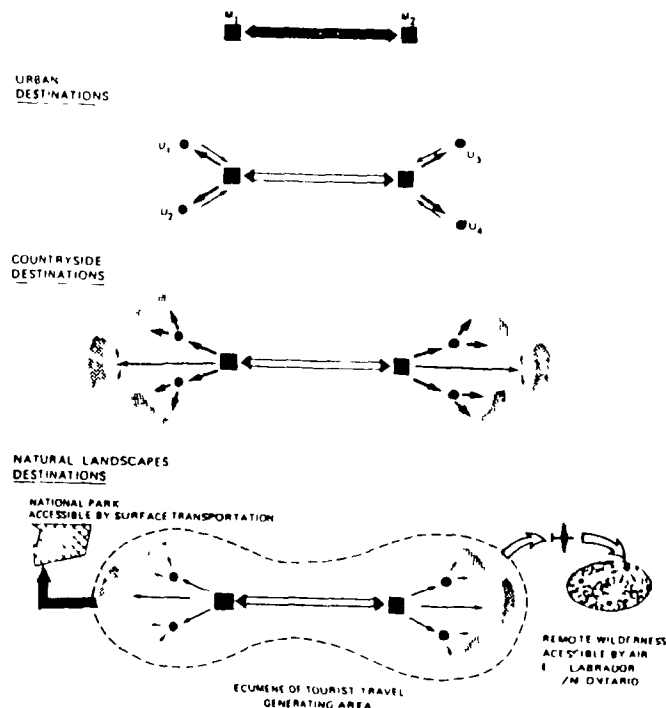
**SOURCE:** Hills & Lundgren, 1977, Figure 1: 282.

is that exchanges between the origin and destination take place under conditions of origin area dominance and destination area dependence.

J. Lundgren's 'Spatial Hierarchy of Tourist Flows' (1982) focuses upon origins and destinations as places of conceptual areal geographical rather than political distinction and notes that patterns of tourist movement will vary significantly between destination types (Figure IV). Metropolitan destinations--the uppermost category within the proposed spatial hierarchy--are characterised by high tourist flows in both directions as the two places function as both major origin areas and

**Figure IV**

**A Spatial Hierarchy of Tourist Flows**



**SOURCE: Lundgren (1982) Figure 1: 12.**

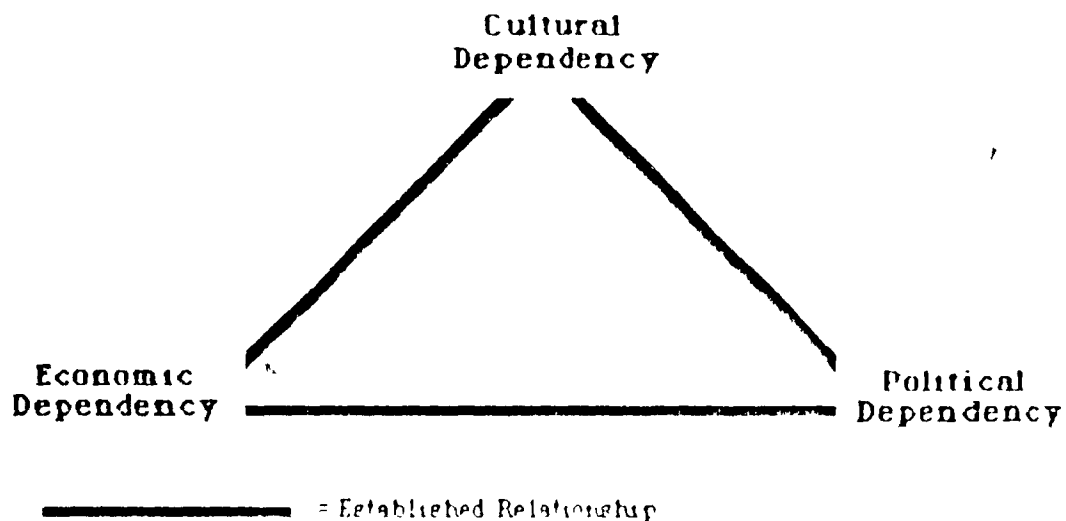
as major destinations; patterns of exchange between metropolitan destinations should--in theory, at least--tend to be equal. Peripheral urban destinations tend to have smaller ~~popula~~ populations and fewer urban functions and will tend to have a net inflow of tourists. Peripheral rural destinations extend over a much greater geographical area than either peripheral urban destinations and metropolitan destinations and will tend to have a wider array of topographic features that may be of interest; since populations in such areas tend to be small and scattered a significant net inflow of tourists is normal. Lundgren's final conceptual category--natural environment destinations--are sparsely populated, far from principal areas of tourist generation, and are often subject to stringent policies of environmental management. Since peripheral economic activities--such as natural resource extraction--are often curtailed severely or prohibited altogether such destination areas can depend very heavily upon tourist origin areas for economic stimuli.

Structural relationship models may be characterised as attempts to illustrate interactive economic, cultural, and political forces within the destination area and in relation to the origin area. The most simple--yet elegant--attempt to explore such interrelationships graphically is H.M. Erisman's (1983) 'Comprehensive

Dependency Triad' (Figure V) within an hypothetical peripheral destination area. The cultural component of the dependency triad is seen to have a pivotal rôle within Erisman's dependency equation as the norms and values of the destination area, and "the ideology underlying its organisational structures, and indeed its entire lifestyle become widely accepted in the periphery as the model to be

**Figure V**

**Comprehensive Dependency Triad**



**SOURCE:** Erisman (1983) Figure 2: 345.

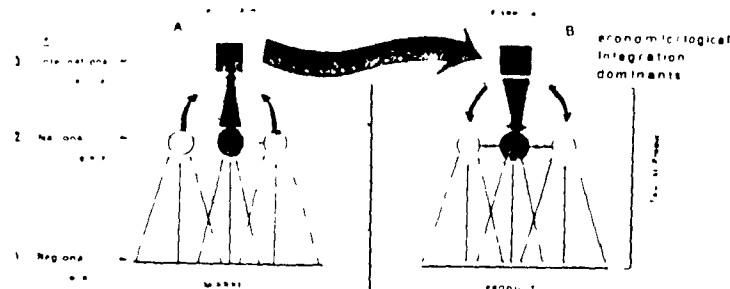
faithfully emulated (Erisman, 1983: 345). The 'Comprehensive Dependency Triad' frame of reference holds that cultural dependency develops because the socialisation process of the dependent destination state has been penetrated

extensively by foreign metropolitan cultural, economic, and political influence and--as a consequence--the local citizenry has been drawn into what may appear to be a metropolitan system of social reference.

J. Lundgren's (1974) 'Functional Mechanism of Tourist Movement' model (Figure VI) documents what are seen to be the structural relationships and patterns of

**Figure VI**

**Functional Mechanisms of Tourist Movement**



Prepared by J. Lundgren, drawn by C. Granberg  
McGill University 1974

**EXPLANATORY NOTE**

Two separate structures A and B link up through a bulk-carrying transport function, forming the functional mechanism. Each structure has three levels of operations which partake in the basic processes--concentration and dispersal. In structure A the lowest functional level is regional (local representing the market area, from where potential tourist consumers are activated by level II marketing functions (travel bureaus, tour operators, travel clubs, etc.). The next upward movement, to level III, illustrates the bulking in preparation for the ultimate A-to-B geographic transfer. The dispersal process involves a structured descent within the tourist product via the arrival mechanism (level III) to the resort accommodation facilities (level II) where the dispersal tends to stabilize. The usually insignificant interaction with the local level economic as well as cultural is indicated by reciprocal arrows.

Horizontal interaction occurs on level II and obviously on level III. For structure A this demonstrates the complementary role of operating service agents. In B the level II interaction illustrates an enclavic institutionalized tourist circulation between resort facilities, a process often actively promoted by hotel management or a certain type of resort hotel. This accentuated circulation within the level is at the expense of further direct dispersal of the tourist flow to the indigenous local level.

Horizontal and vertical economic/logistical integration dominants (dotted lines) link together structures levels and associated functions. Graylois symbols illustrate a wholly integrated system in terms of financing, management control, organization and dimensioning. International airlines--British Airways, Pan Am and TWA--institutional industrial conglomerates, sometimes with vested interests in transportation--ITT, oil companies--typify the integrated sector of the mechanism.

**SOURCE: Hills, Lundgren, 1977, Figure 2: 283.**

interaction between market and product and concentration and dispersal within an origin-destination conceptual framework and a local-regional-national-international hierarchy of participation and dominance. At the top of the hierarchy is the influence of international business interests who often have the power to develop an industry in a fashion and form that are best suited to their objectives; at the bottom of the hierarchy of dominance and control are local and regional interests in destination areas which serve as termini for tourism dispersal. J. Lundgren (1972) has suggested that this pattern of dominance-dependence is a consequence.

"of the technological and economic superiority of the travel-generating metropolitan core areas as such and the willingness of the destination areas to adopt metropolitan values and solutions in order to meet the various demands of metropolitan travellers." (1972 86-87)

Mathematical models that relate to tourism have not enjoyed much popularity amongst geographers. One of the best known of such models was developed by two economists, Iqbal Gulati and Kari Levitt (1970) in response to a contemporary--and now infamous--pseudo-survey of several Caribbean territories known as The Zinder Report (The Future of Tourism in the Eastern Caribbean, Zinder and Associates, 1969). Gulati and Levitt attempted to show that calculations of multiplier coefficients presented in the Zinder Report were not



based upon a realistic assessment of the evidence. The Gulati-Levitt model of income multiplication within an open economy can be summarised as:

$$Y = \frac{(1 - M_t) E}{1 - c(1 - M_p)}$$

**Where:**

**Y - total income generated**

**E - autonomous expenditure**

**c - propensity to consume**

**(1 - M<sub>t</sub>) - import coefficient of the initial tourist expenditure**

**(1 - M<sub>p</sub>) - import coefficient of the local population**

**SOURCE: adapted from Gulati, Levitt, 1970, Pgs. 330-331.**

With this model Gulati and Levitt were able to demonstrate convincingly--though not empirically--that the true income multiplier for the region was much closer to unity than to the 2.3 claimed by The Zinder Report: modelling techniques of this sort can be very useful in that they can yield tidy quantitative sums, in practical terms their utility is limited in that input-output analysis of this sort requires accurate input data to produce accurate output data. In wealthy countries with very limited informal economic sector activity and extensive economic data-gathering resources such data can be difficult to come by, in places where shortages of resources are chronic and a great deal of economic activity takes place outside of the formal sector requisite data inputs can be impossible to obtain or of dubious accuracy.

Origin-destination and structural relationship models analyse the form and function of tourist systems at a specific point in time, evolutionary models of tourism development attempt to delineate and predict patterns of progression and transformation that may occur. G. Doxey (1975) has generated a model that serves as a framework for an analysis of what he believes to be "the existence of reciprocating impacts between outsiders and residents" (Mathieson, Wall, 1982. 138) as they might relate to host population attitudes to tourists and tourism within destination areas. Doxey theorised that the attitudes of the host population will pass through four distinct stages of attitudes towards tourists.

**Euphoria:** this stage corresponds to the emergence of the industry within a destination area, local residents are excited at the prospect of meeting new people and the employment opportunities that the activity will bring to the area

**Apathy:** emerges once the industry has expanded and the host population comes to take tourism and tourists for granted, increased numbers of tourists and the constancy of a tourist presence serves to formalise relationships between host and guest and redefines the tourist as a potential financial resource

**Irritation:** occurs when visitation levels rise to a point where facilities are strained and the lifestyles of local residents are disrupted by tourist activities, many locals will begin to question whether continued growth in the industry would be wise.

**Antagonism:** results when irritants become acute in the eyes of locals and tourists are seen to be a focus for most of the problems that confront the host community. Many locals will treat tourists in a nasty manner and the area may develop a reputation as an unfriendly place to visit.

R. Butler (1980) developed the 'Hypothetical Evolution of the Tourist Area' curve in a similar attempt to model the linear development, decline, and subsequent rejuvenation of an hypothetical tourist destination. The model is based upon the apparent tendency for destinations to develop along a defined path of exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, rejuvenation, or decline. Butler's 'exploration' stage of development is observed to correspond closely with Doxey's 'euphoria' stage of resident attitudes to tourism, likewise Doxey's 'antagonism' can be associated with Butler's 'stagnation'. The position of a specific destination upon the tourist area cycle curve depends to a great degree upon levels of tourist arrivals and may be expected to change as the industry grows or declines over time. Both Doxey and Butler treat their hypothetical destination areas as homogeneous entities where prevalent attitudes seem to be the only ones that matter; reality is--of course--often quite different. It would be quite possible for specific groups within a community to harbour host population feelings for tourists and tourism that span the full range of attitudinal possibilities. In areas where members of the host population have had an opportunity to become very familiar with the nature of visitors they may be able to distinguish between tourist types as defined by Cohen (1972).

While Doxey's Irritation Index was based upon extensive field experience in Barbados and Niagara-on-the-Lake, Butler--like most other tourism writers--often demonstrates a preference for casual observation and academic instinct rather than empirical legwork as the basis for the conception of their models and theories. Since models are--of themselves--no more than a reflection of the author's understanding of his/her selected field of interest, unproven ideas of what should exist may not in fact correspond with what does exist. Tourism is very much a human phenomenon that is based upon the variety of human experience, it does not lend itself to tidy acid tests of validity, or to 'if p then q' relationships. For a credible theory of tourism to develop--one that will endure the variability of specifics and lead to further advances in the field--students of the discipline must be content to carry out organised fieldwork before they rush forward with their pens.

### **The Spatiality of Host Population Attitudes to Tourists and Tourism**

K. Kendall and T. Var (1984) have noted that tourism has often been used as a focus for national and regional development. Since tourist infrastructure often involves at least some environmental transformation, environmental impacts can

be significant; since tourism can generate new employment opportunities for large numbers of local residents it can also lead to changes in traditional patterns of social stratification, lifestyles, and working relationships within the host community. Since tourism is such a visible economic and cultural activity and it often contrasts sharply with traditional patterns of behaviour within a destination area few local residents can remain unaffected by it and most will develop attitudes towards it. Many attempts have been made to examine the economic impacts of tourism on both national and regional scales (see, for example, The Zinder Report, 1969, Gulati & Levitt, 1970, Ball, 1971, Armstrong, 1974, Perez, 1974, Bottomley, 1976, Britton, 1977, Sessa, 1983, Lin & Sung, 1984, English, 1986, et al.) and methodologies have been developed that serve to measure the economic impact of this activity quite well. Noneconomic impacts of tourism have also been the focus of a large number of studies and reports (such as Forster, 1964, Greenwood, 1972, Young, 1973, Butler, 1974, 1975, Francillon, 1975, Thurot, 1976, Boissenvain, 1977, Nash, 1977, Mathews, 1978, Pizam, 1978, DeKadt, 1979, Farrell, 1979, LaFlamme, 1979, Nettekoven, 1979, Bastin, 1982, Mathieson & Wall, 1982, Erisman, 1983, Derrick, 1984, Liu & Var, 1986, et al.) that vary in approach and quality but which are directed towards the

identification and measurement of the impacts of tourism upon the host community.

Brougham and Butler (1981) conducted a survey of resident attitudes towards tourists and tourism in the area of Sleat, Scotland. They observed that host population attitudes to tourists appeared dependent upon the variables of age, mother-tongue, length of local residence, and relative level of tourism exposure. Belisle and Hoy (1983) surveyed resident population attitudes towards tourism in Santa Marta, Colombia and observed that "(t)he spatial dimension of tourism impact (measured in terms of the distance between the location of respondent of the survey respondent and the centre of tourism activity) was...the only statistically significant dimension...as distance from the tourist zone increases, the impact of tourism is perceived less positively" (Belisle, Hoy, 1983: 94). Sheldon and Var (1984: 45) observed that seasonal fluctuations in levels of tourist visitation and the strains placed upon local infrastructures by large numbers of tourists appeared to contribute to the development of animosity between local residents and tourists in North Wales.

Mathieson and Wall (1982: 140) note that the initial stages of tourism development elicit enthusiastic responses from most of the host population as the potential benefits that can come from tourism are recognised. While tourism does provide opportunities for employment it imposes pressure upon traditional lifestyles and cultural values through a variety of mechanisms and modes of cross-cultural communication, sunspot tourism serves as a vector for the importation of several elements of metropolitan culture (Britton, 1980: 12) that may be inappropriate or at least in sharp contrast with the economic and cultural endowments of the destination area. The construction and operation of a luxurious resort hotel complex in a developing area can serve as an island of foreign culture within the alien cultural milieu of the destination society. Since the opulence of the tourism complex often contrasts sharply with the poverty of the surrounding area the physical presence of such installations can be viewed as visible manifestations of the economic superiority of the clientele which it serves. Unless the movements and activities of tourists are restricted severely--as they are in Albania, for example (Hall, 1984)--tourists will come to constitute a prominent aspect of the cultural landscape within the destination area and may come to exert a significant influence upon the culture of the host population

through what Bryden (1973: 95) defined as 'the demonstration effect':

The "demonstration effect" is a process that leads to "changes in attitudes, values, or behaviour which can result from merely observing tourists" (DeKadt, 1979:

65). T. Thorndike (1985: 7-8) has noted that in Grenada:

"the tourist influx helped to perpetuate, and intensify, consumer values and rising expectations of a more materialist lifestyle. West Indians, in their own estimation, were but branches of the same cultural tree as those from the colder north; not unnaturally, they wanted to be like them."

The intensity and influence of the demonstration effect is likely to exhibit areal differentiation throughout the destination area. Members of the host population who live and/or work in close proximity to large numbers of tourists might be expected to develop a more intimate familiarity with patterns of tourist consumption and behaviour. Other variables such as age--teenagers versus the elderly--and economic status--lumpenbourgeoisie versus marginalised proletariat--may also lead to significant variations in the levels of tourist-behaviour emulation within the host community.

As levels of tourist visitation increase and facilities and services are expanded in order to serve the growing demand hosts often feel squeezed out of their own



homelands and "many become increasingly antagonistic, and may eventually (become) xenophobic..." (Mathieson, Wall, 1982: 141). Xenophobic antagonism emerges when the carrying capacity of an area is exceeded, and is characterised by popular resentment, contempt, and even open hostility towards tourists and their habits. The tourism carrying capacity of a destination area is--alas--difficult to measure. Lundgren (1973: 2) mooted that carrying capacity might be defined in terms of the ratio between the number of visitors and the size of the local population, the areal extent of tourist facilities and related infrastructure, land area per visitor, and arable land area per visitor, such strategies of measurement can only serve as very crude measures of the relative intensity of tourist presence in that they are ill-equipped to measure peaks and valleys in visitation levels and neglect to consider such important elements as spatial concentrations and derths of tourists within the human environment of the destination area and differences in potential physical, economic, and sociocultural impact that may arise from the same number of different types of tourists. Thurot (1980) has adopted a more sophisticated approach to the idea of carrying capacity, he distinguishes between indigenous forces at the destination and local environmental conditions and external forces that may prevail in the

origin area or in what he defines as the transit region. Conditions within the origin area will have an impact upon levels of visitation to the destination area and the nature of origin area demand--such as the prevalence of big package-tour companies and seasonal variations in patterns of demand--may lead to variations in levels of origin area demand that may be manifested in terms of distinct preferences for certain holiday formats and types of destinations. Conditions of demand in the origin area can exacerbate or reduce tourism impact within the destination through the need for spatial concentrations of tourists and associated infrastructure and temporally through variations in levels of tourist activity throughout the year, week, or day. The nature of the international and domestic transportation systems may also have an impact on levels of disruption that tourism can impose upon host communities. If airports are isolated from the population and roads from the airports to tourist centres do not cut through urban areas fewer locals will be inconvenienced than if the main town lies under the flight paths of big jets and transportation bottlenecks occur frequently. When tourist facilities become too concentrated--here defined in terms of the expectations and needs of the tourist and/or the host--the quality of the holiday experience available to the host may be insufficient to satisfy the

need that served as the origin impetus for travel, likewise the traditional lifestyle of the host may be disrupted to a point where his/her new way of life may be unrecognisable when defined in terms of the old.

A spatial approach to an examination of patterns of interaction between hosts and guests, and their respective attitudes to tourists and to destinations can make a significant contribution to the development of an understanding of the impact of tourism activity upon the natural and human environment of destination areas.

As Pearce (1987: 208) has noted, a spatial approach should first indicate the nature and extent of tourist activity in order to identify any likely/potential problem areas and then identify and highlight "the sorts of problems which may occur in different places and arise from different sources" (Pearce, 1987: 208).

The insight that such an approach can offer in the development of an understanding of the array of forces which come to interact with each other might lead to the identification and isolation of problems and associated cause-effect relationships that may lead to the eventual formulation and implementation of more effective solutions.

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## **Chapter II**

### **The Physical Environment and its Impact Upon The Development of St. Kitts as a Tourist Destination**

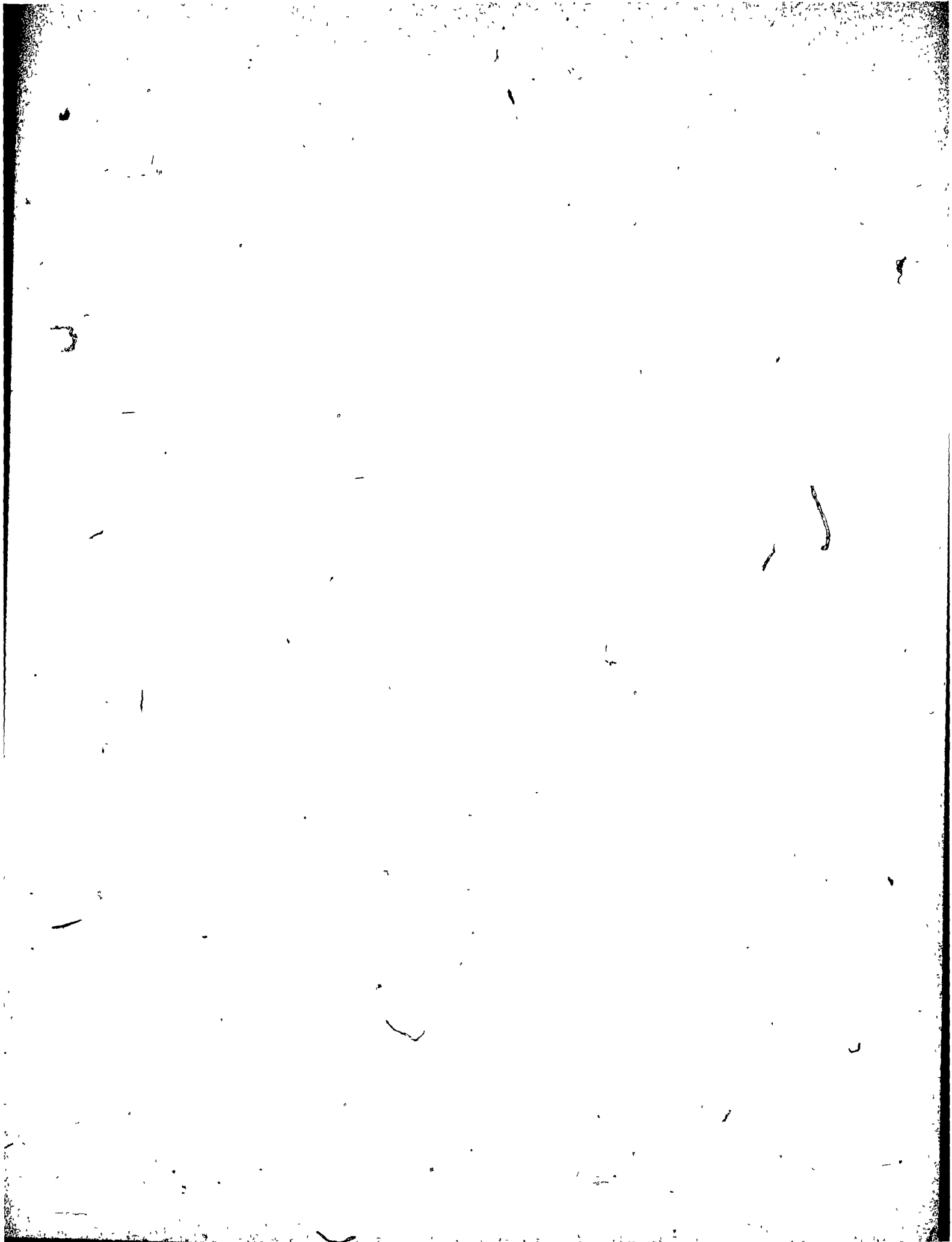
The very special--though perhaps not unique--natural resource endowment of St. Kitts served to make it very desirable for European capitalists as a location for agricultural investment, development, exploitation, and production from the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth. More recently, St. Kitts has again emerged as a valuable location for foreign capitalists, this time as a tourist destination. This chapter is intended to provide a geomorphological, climatic, and faunal review of the island as a living space where economic and other human activities take place.

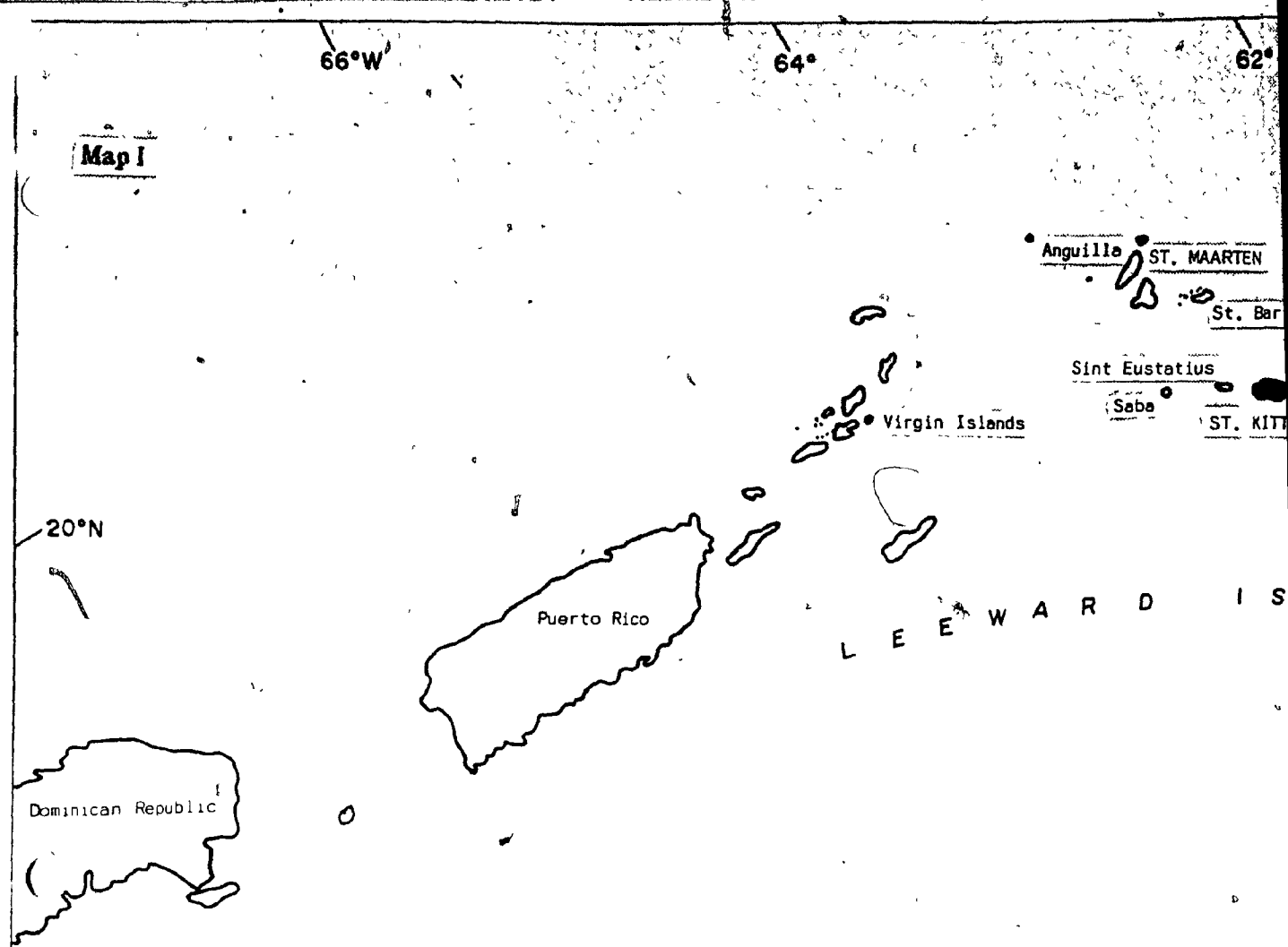
E.W. Zimmermann in his World Resources and Industries (1933) tendered a practical definition of resources that has been accepted as the basis for subsequent interpretations of resources development and exploitation. Zimmermann claimed that neither the environment as a system nor individual elements within the environment could be considered as resources until they were recognised to be capable of providing for an indentifiable need. Resources

exist as manifest-subjective, relative, and functional expressions of human appraisal and assessment, and are--as a consequence--determined and defined in light of the cultural endowment of the appraisers. The abilities, arts, and sciences of humans combine with culture wants and identified resources to overcome resistances imposed by the natural environment to generate substances and products needed for the satisfaction of human needs and desires. While natural resources serve as the material gist for environmental transformation and economic production, patterns of development and exploitation of them are dependent upon the natural physical characteristics and limitations of a specific ecosystem.

### **1. The Physical Environment**

St. Kitts is one of the Lesser Antilles, a chain of fifteen small groups of islands of volcanic origin that arcs south and east from the Virgin Islands to Grenada (Map I). St. Kitts is located in the northern half of this archipelago, at 17° N. lat. and 63° W. long. While the Bahamas and other islands of atollitic, depositional, sedimentary, and non-volcanic or tectonic origin are very flat and quite monotonous, the topography of St. Kitts--like those of the other volcanic islands



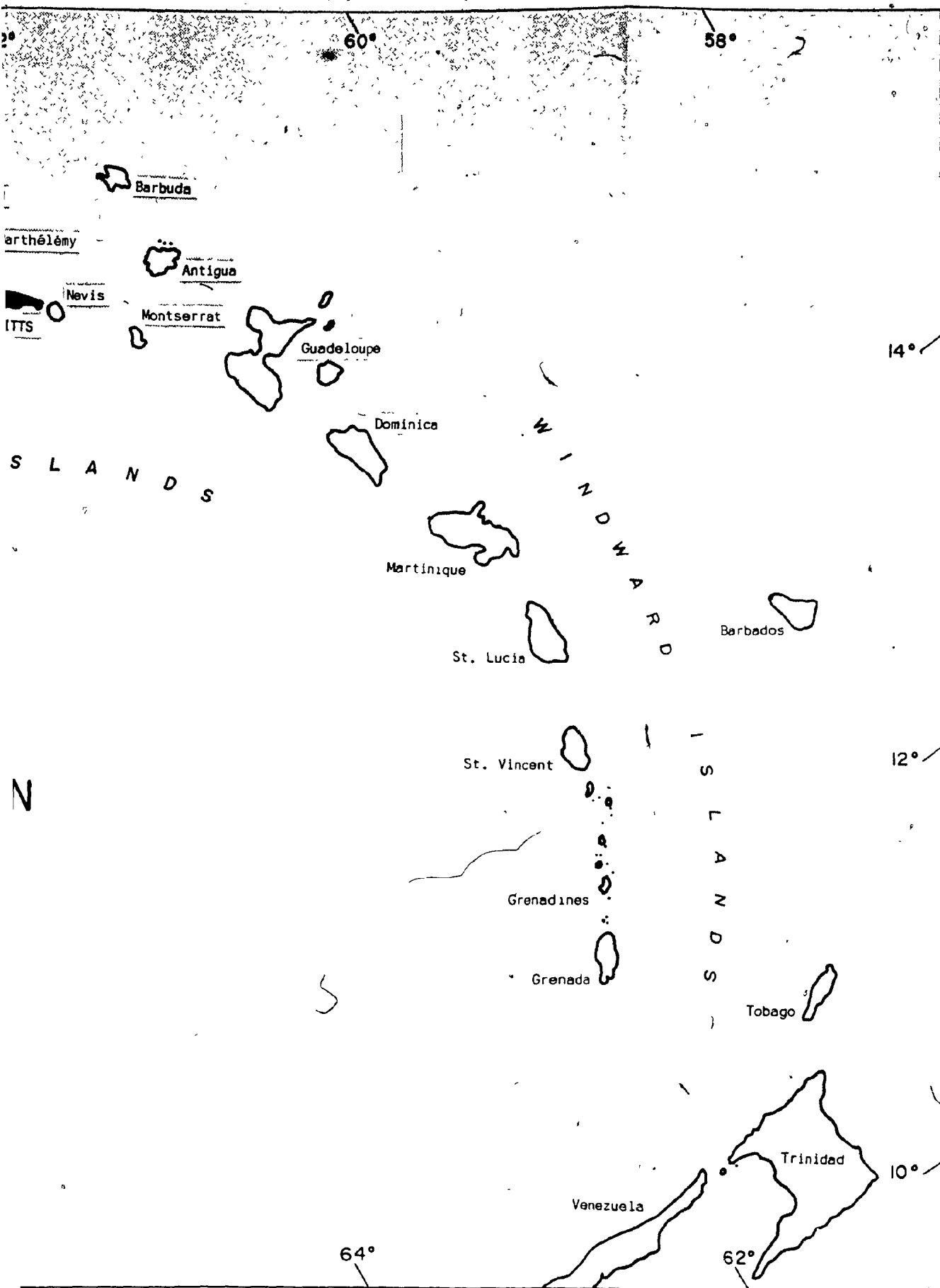


## ST. KITTS IN THE CARIBBEAN

- ST. KITTS
- OTHER COMMONWEALTH
- OTHER

50 0 100 200 km

Source: BARTHOLOMEW, WEST INDIES AND THE CARIBBEAN,  
John Bartholomew & Son Limited, Edinburgh, 1981.



in the chain--is varied and dramatic. Most of the island is formed of--and has formed around--three volcanic cones which were most active during the Pleistocene (Brookfield, 1983 p. 386); the highest peak on the island--Mount Liamuiga--remains active and rises to a height of about 1,100 metres, the other volcanic cones--Verchild's Mountain and Olivees Mountain--are inactive and rise to about 1,000 metres and 900 metres respectively (Map II). Several andesitic igneous cumulo-domes thrust through the talus overburden on the southern side of the island, the largest and most impressive of these--Brimstone Hill--thrusts skyward to a height of 200 metres and is the site of an important and extensive archaeological site, Fort George. Most of the island is covered with an overburden of volcanic ash, laid down up to 4,000 years ago. limited ashfalls have affected the northern part of the island more recently (Lang, Carroll, 1966). Brookfield (1983: 386) asserts that these fresh depositions of soil-forming material have led to the emergence of a single soil system in the central and northern parts of the island. While most soils on the island consist of fragmented volcanic rocks and ash that have weathered to form talus slopes of well drained sandy loams the dramatic topography of the island and the localised variations in patterns of rainfall, drainage, and climate





62°45'W

DIEPPE BAY

SANDY POINT

CAYON

17°20'N



0 - 100 metres



101 - 500



501 - 1000



GREATER THAN 1,000



MOUNT LIAMUIGA 1,060m



OLIVEES MOUNTAIN 970m



SOUTHEAST RANGE 908m

SOURCE: Adapted from SAINT CHRISTOPHER-NEVIS-ANGUILLA SHEET 2  
Directorate of Ordnance Surveys, London, 1959, 1984.

# ISLAND TOPOGRAPHY, ST. KITTS

0 1 2 3 Kilometres



71°20'

62°45'

have contributed to the development of a wide array of localised variants of these sandy loam soils. The volcanic peaks have overburdens of allophanoid latosolic silty loam soils, on the upper slopes of Mount Liamuiga silty loams have formed over a thick layer of ash; a broad band of loamy sand soils is located further downslope. The soils of the southeastern part of the island contrast sharply with those of the central and northern areas. Soils in the Bird Rock area--on the southeastern side of Basseterre--are composed of residual hill glaciis that have weathered to form loamy sands and sandy loams. Calcareous beach deposits serve as the parent material for the sandy soils that have formed in the Frigate Bay area. Soils in the Southeastern Peninsula beyond Sir Timothy's Mountain are made up of a mosaic of gleied beach sands and adestitic colluviums, sandy clay, and silty clay. Patterns of intensive longterm human activity have led to significant environmental transformation on the island. The lower slopes have been deforested and used for intensive sugar monoculture (Photo 1) while many steeper slopes are used for smallscale production of a wide array of foodstuffs on terraces and in foodforests. Mountaintops remain covered with island rainforest.

THE QUALITY OF THIS MICROFICHE  
IS HEAVILY DEPENDENT UPON THE  
QUALITY OF THE THESIS SUBMITTED  
FOR MICROFILMING.

UNFORTUNATELY THE COLOURED  
ILLUSTRATIONS OF THIS THESIS  
CAN ONLY YIELD DIFFERENT TONES  
OF GREY.

LA QUALITE DE CETTE MICROFICHE  
DEPEND GRANDEMENT DE LA QUALITE DE LA  
THESE SOUMISE AU MICROFILMAGE.

MALHEUREUSEMENT, LES DIFFERENTES  
ILLUSTRATIONS EN COULEURS DE CETTE  
THESE NE PEUVENT DONNER QUE DES  
TEINTES DE GRIS.



**Photo 1. Cane fields, Ponds Estate**

**Almost all of the lower slopes of the island have been cleared for the cultivation of cane, although not as pervasive as in the past, cane cultivation remains a dominant landuse feature on St. Kitts.**

Soil erosion has been significant, though by no means as serious as what has occurred in other places--such as Haiti--where deforestation, high population densities, demand for agricultural output, and an absence of environmental management have led to massive erosion and environmental destruction. Soil degradation in areas where monoculture is--or has been--practiced over a long period of time is a serious problem on St. Kitts. While the natural fertility of

Kittitian soils is legend, under present circumstances the soils of the lower slopes cannot be considered to be of any more than moderate fertility; organic and mineral supplements are required to produce verdent growth and high productivity.

The sandy beaches of St. Kitts are restricted to a series of small coves along the southeast coast, and a broad band of emergent shoreline that follows the northern coast--the Atlantic side of the island--from Sir Timothy's Hill at the junction of the Southeast Peninsula with the mainland, north to Cayon.

Most kittitian sand is light in colour--thanks to a high calcium content--though it is not as fine as Floridian or Bahamian sand. The beaches themselves are very dynamic; the sand supply is carried away and deposited on a seasonal basis, and infrequent storms have been known to strip smaller beaches of their sand deposits overnight.

## **2. Drainage and Climate**

St. Kitts has a radial pattern of drainage that consists of about thirty five major ravines--or ghauts--that extend from the upper slopes of the major volcanic

peaks down to the sea (Map III). Two major ghauts pass through the largest urban centre of the island--Basseterre--and have been incorporated into the road network in a most ingenious fashion (Photo II). There is no perennial or



**Photo II. Drainage in the Middle of a Street. Basseterre**

Ghauts flow irregularly but often with great ferocity. Those that pass through urban areas are often incorporated into the street pattern. On this the road surface has been angled to accommodate occasional inundations.

even seasonal surface flow of water on the island; while most ghauts are inconspicuous between major rainstorms they can roar into life in just a matter of moments. Most precipitation falls on St. Kitts as orographic rainfall, thanks to





62°45'W




DIEPPE BAY

Map III

SANDY POINT

CAYON

17°20'N

- GHAUTS  
INTERMITTENT STREAM, SCALE EXAGGERATED
-  SALT POND
-  MARSH
-  FRESH WATER, STANDING

SOURCE. Adapted from SAINT CHRISTOPHER-NEVIS-ANGUILLA, SHEET 2  
Directorate of Ordnance Surveys, London, 1959, 1984.

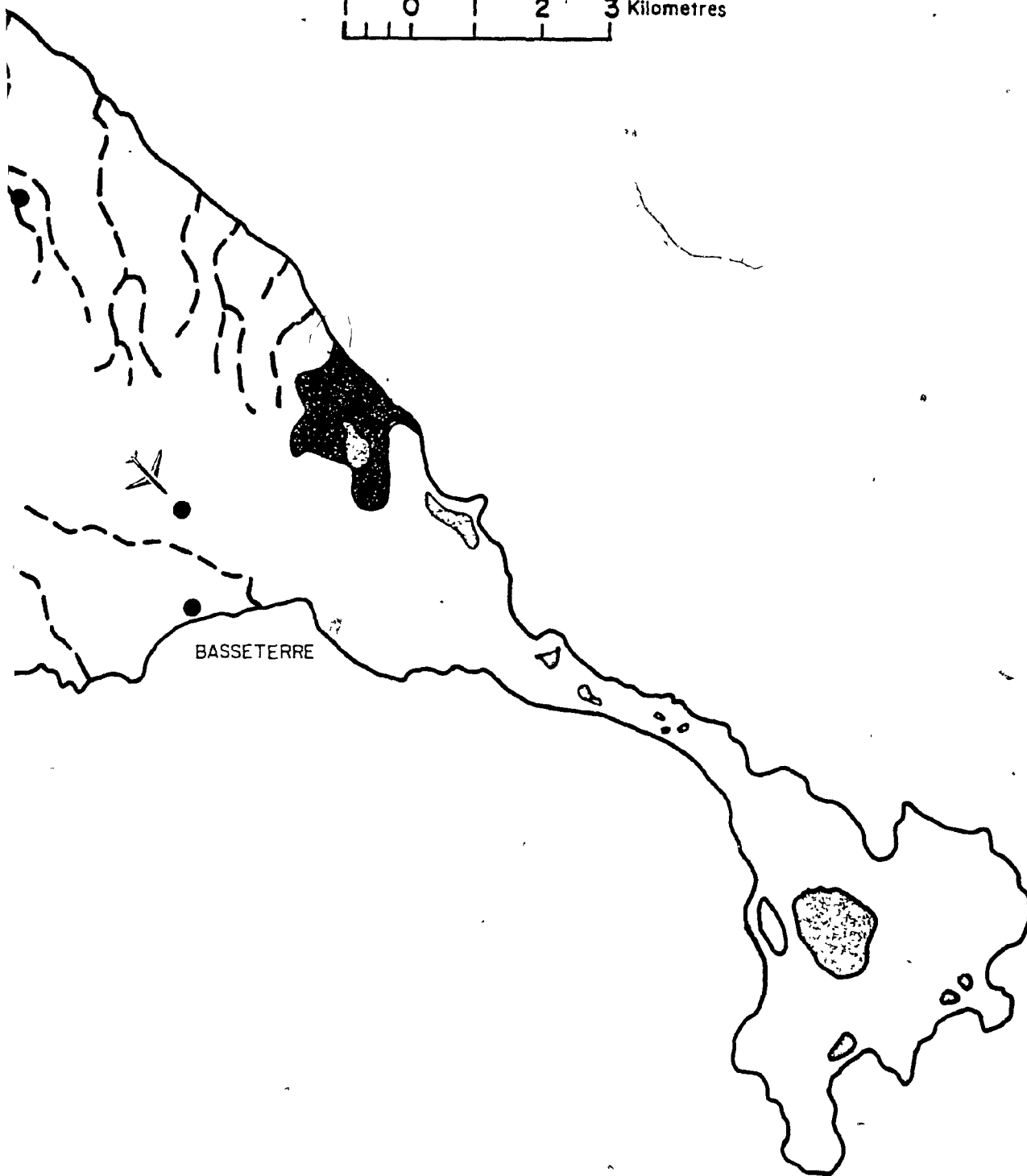
# RADIAL PATTERN OF DRAINAGE, ST. KITTS

0 1 2 3 Kilometres

17°20'

BASSETERRE

62°45'



the dramatic topography of the island. There are significant localised variations in annual régimes of precipitation throughout the island, (Map IV). The pattern of isoyhets follows the radial configuration of elevation contours on the island very closely. Up to 400 centimetres of rain falls on the upland areas of the island each year while many lowlying areas receive as little as 100 centimetres of rainfall per year. Rainfall tends to be quite erratic, and the southeastern part of the island seems most prone to dry spells (Photo III). Brush fires occur



**Photo III. Arid Region. Near Frigate Bay**

**While rainfall over much of St. Kitts allows for the growth of luxuriant rainforest, precipitation in the Southeastern Peninsula can support only cacti, acacia, agave pictas, and tough grasses.**



62°45'W

DIEPPE BAY

Map IV

SANDY POINT

CAYON

17°20'N

POSTULATED



LESS THAN 100cm



101 - 250cm



GREATER THAN 250cm

SOURCE: The Caribbean Conservation Association and the School of Natural Resources of the University of Michigan, 1980.

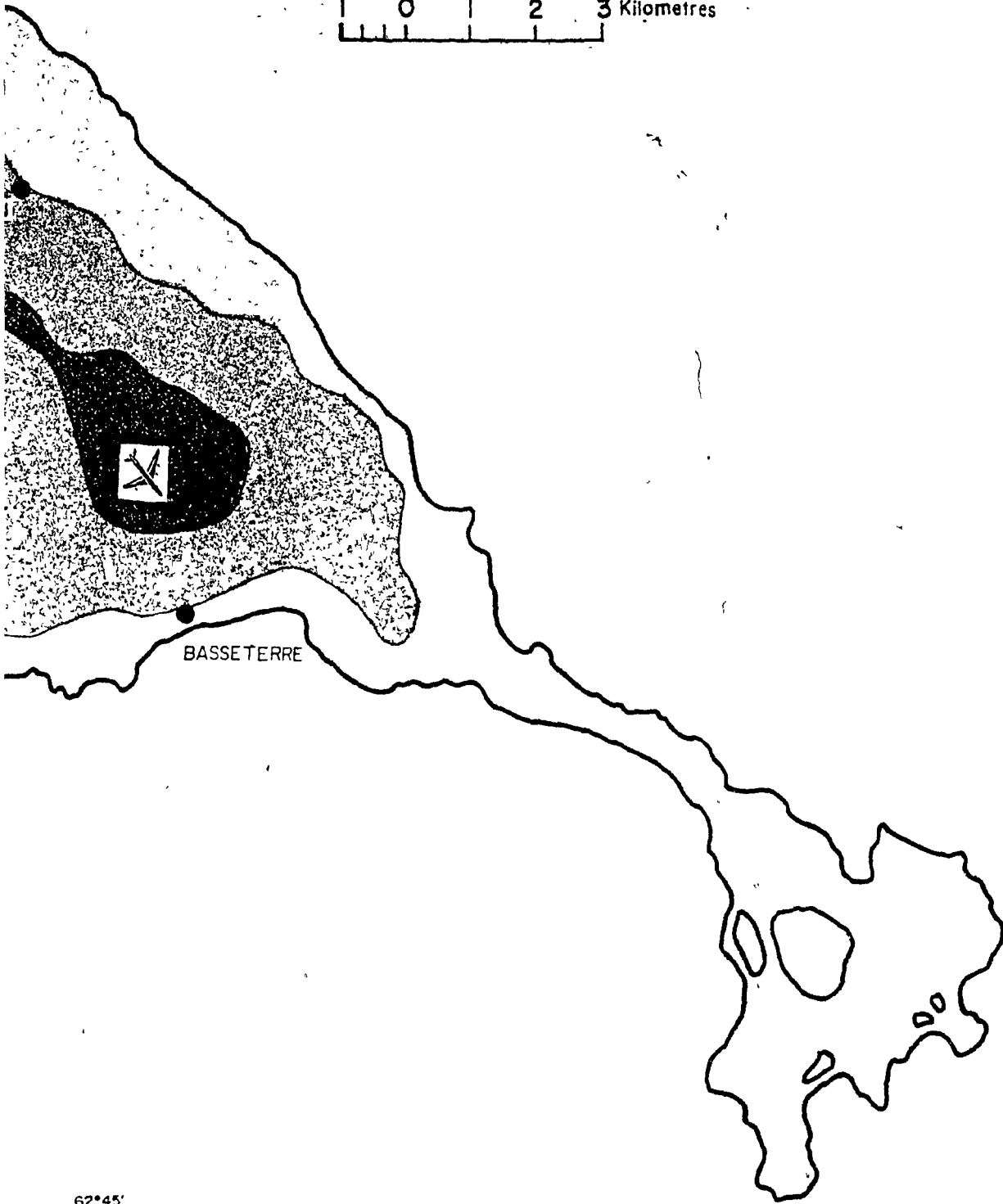
# VARIATIONS IN PATTERNS OF RAINFALL THROUGHOUT ST. KITTS

0 2 3 Kilometres

17°20'

BASSE TERRE

62°45'



frequently and are often caused by a small minority of overzealous charcoal-makers. In an absence of fire, vegetation in the droughty southern half of the island appears quite able to accommodate periodic dry spells. Browened-off and withered hillsides can turn green again in a matter of hours, and will again wither if no more rain falls within the next few days.

The temperature régime of the island is tropical. The mean annual temperature is twenty six degrees, with very little seasonal variation as is typical of islands in the region, in Grenada (Mirabeau Weather Station, 12° N. Lat.) the annual mean is twenty seven degrees, in Dominica (Melville Hall Airport, 15° N. Lat.) the mean is twenty six degrees, and in Montserrat (Blackburne Airport, 16° N. Lat.) the mean is twenty seven degrees (Caribbean Meteorological Institute Monthly Weather Summary, 1978-1984). Temperatures at high altitudes are--of course--lower. Historical precedent suggests that the risk of frost is zero. Atmospheric humidity is quite constant throughout the islands of the region--and throughout the year--at about 75 percent.

### **3. Fauna**

The lower slopes of St. Kitts have been transformed by longterm intensive human action and might now be considered to constitute a single ecosystem that

was wrought by--and continues to be managed by--human action. The upland slopes of the high volcanic cones have been subjected to much lower levels of human transformational pressures; longterm intensive human activity has led to the extinction of a wide array of indigenous faunal species. The régime of non-domesticated mammalian populations is meagre: European rats, a few species of bats, agouti, a species of armadillo, racoon, and the european field mouse. The mongoose was brought to the island in the nineteenth century to bring the snake population under control. The snakes have been eliminated, the mongoose has flourished. The green monkey is thought to have been introduced to nearby Nevis--and therefore St. Kitts as well--by the French, who maintained a presence on the island until the beginning of the eighteenth century (Gordon, 1985: 62). The green monkey population has fallen precipitously over the past two or three years in response to uncontrolled 'harvests' of their number at the direction of a disreputable and irresponsible American medical supply and vivisection company; the current population of these primates is unknown. A Canadian graduate student has undertaken to conduct a census of them as a part of his Doctoral thesis research. Doves and pigeons are plentiful, as are banana quits, redbreasted bullfinches, kingbirds,



finches, and cattle egrets, sandpipers, and hummingbirds. Several species of hawks help to keep the population of smaller animals under control. Lizards are omnipresent, and several species are represented, the green anole lizard is seen most frequently as it scurries over and strikes poses upon trees and rocks. The gecko is a cream coloured--and very endearing--little lizard that demonstrates a marked preference for house interiors and consumes a wide array of pesky insects. Bees--both domesticated and wild--are everywhere and colourful butterflies can be seen fluttering about in the early morning and after rainfalls. A rather large and nasty poisonous centipede calls St. Kitts home, it is very numerous in cane trash and in dark, cool places, it can be a significant though not life threatening hazard for those who work closely with the land and for those who forget to shake their shoes vigorously in the morning.

#### **4. Flora**

Local variations in climate, topography, soil types, and patterns of landuse have combined to produce a wide array of vegetation types on St. Kitts. With the possible exception of the Southeast Penninsula, all of the island appears to have

been forested when European activity commenced in the early seventeenth century. The introduction of sugar cultivation led to a massive program of deforestation that served to eliminate forest cover on most cultivable land below an altitude of about 150 metres. Smallscale agricultural production has also had a significant impact upon the vegetation cover on many upland slopes

The sea grape (coccoloba uvifera) is common along both rocky and sandy coastlines, very tolerant of salinity, it grows on exposed sea shores as a sprawling shrub (Seddon and Lennox, 1980: 63) and is gnarled and stunted where strong onshore salty breezes prevail. The fruit of the seagrape is popular as a snackfood on St. Kitts and provides an important source of income for many local fruit vendors. Coconut palms (cocos nucifera) also grow well in sandy coastal areas, provide a useful source of food and--in earlier times--a source of thatch (Seddon and Lennox, 1980: 67). Although palms do not form natural forests they can be induced to grow in groves like those at Friar's Bay on the Southeast Peninsula, and at the outskirts of Dieppe Bay Town on the Northern coast of the island. Another coastal tree that is common on St. Kitts is the Manchineel (Hippomane mancinella), which form groves on the Southeast

Penninsula and by the sea at Pump Estate near Sandy Point Town. The tree produces a green rounded apple-like fruit which is very poisonous. A local legend tells of a shipwrecked crew who consumed these fruits and were killed; Matheson notes that the original inhabitants of the island--the Caribs--employed manchineel-tipped arrows in their battle against the English and French at Bloody Point in 1629 (1973: 13).

In areas where prolonged droughts occur--as at Salt Pond Estate--semi-deciduous scrub constitute the vegetative régime. Many of the woody plants in this area--which are mostly short and often thorny--shed many or all of their leaves in the dry months, cactus thorn scrubs mingle with grasslands on some of the driest slopes in this area and on the slopes of Potatoe Bay. Where sugar monoculture has been abandoned acacia thorn scrub is the first form of dense vegetation cover to take over, the activities of charcoal-makers and the demand for building sites in many places--such as the unbuilt areas of Bird Rock and Harbour View on the eastern side of Basseterre--appear to thwart the development of other forms of vegetation cover.

On the upland slopes--beyond the broad band of monoculture that encircles most of the island--montane forest covers the land with a complex assembly of trees and shrubs; epiphytes such as orchids, bromeliads, ferns, and mosses are plentiful (Photo IV). The montane forests of St. Kitts are characterised by a



**Photo IV, Montane Rainforest, Middle Island Area**

The montane forests of the upland areas of the island--below an altitude of c. 800 metres--is characterised by a luxuriant diversity of plant species.

luxuriant diversity; although a systematic survey of plant types and distribution was not possible during my sojourn at the island, a brief assessment of a small small area above Wingfield Manor in St. Thomas Middle Island revealed at least

sixty distinct species to my untrained eye. On exposed ridges and high peaks, where temperatures are lower than at sea level and where the air is always saturated with moisture--as in the areas above c. 800 metres on Mount Liamuiga and Verchild's Mountain--a form of elfin woodland prevails which consists of dense vegetation that is stunted and contorted into bonsai-like shapes that appear almost ethereal in the mist shrouding these slopes.

### **5. The Physical Environment and Tourism Development**

As with any economic activity, specific factoral inputs of production are necessary for the development of a tourism industry. In the case of sunspot tourism--where large numbers of visitors are attracted to a specific destination in order to escape harsh or at least unpleasant conditions in origin areas--such factoral inputs depend much more heavily upon the physical, climatic, and other natural attributes of a destination than areas where significant levels of other forms of tourism such as experimental and existential (Cohen, 1979:22) take place. H. Burmeister (1977: 21) has noted that scenic sites, pleasant climatic conditions, and unique landscape features have had an important influence upon the level of patronage extended to specific localities. The environment of

the host region may exert an attraction for the tourist that can induce him/her to visit. A. Mathieson and G. Wall (1982:95) define the relationship between the physical environment and tourism more specifically:

"...climatic features and newly discovered or developed 'natural' attractions may influence tourists' loyalty to, substitution of and behaviour in tourist destinations. Environmental conditions place constraints on types of development and destinations lacking appropriate climatic, geological, floral, or faunal conditions are seldom selected for tourism development. Some complimentary natural characteristics are highly desirable even if a place has a rich history or is unique in archaeology or culture. Built amenities and infrastructure are usually insufficient, by themselves, for the development of tourism "

The nature of tourist accommodations that have been constructed on St. Kitts--such as Jack Tar Village in Frigate Bay, The Ocean Terrace Inn (OTI) in Fortlands, and The Golden Lemon in Dieppe Bay--suggest that the Kittitian tourism industry has developed in anticipation of--and in response to--demand for accommodation to meet the needs of recreational tourists. The physical and environmental requirements for the development of a successful sunspot tourism industry might be summarised as:

- I. **Location-Specific:** defined in terms of spatial proximity of the destination area to the origin area. Under optimal conditions a sunspot destination will be as close to the origin area as possible; to be successful it must be at least within easy reach of the origin area and no more difficult to access than other destinations that may offer similar physical conditions of attraction.

- II. Topography-Specific:** might be defined in terms of the topographical features of a specific destination that might be recognised as pleasant or unpleasant by tourists. Easy access to attractive sandy beaches is a prerequisite for the success of a sunspot destination. A secure, stable physical environment is also required; since violent volcanic eruptions do not provide the excitement that most tourists crave, an area with a reputation for significant recent tectonic and seismic activity might be seen as less desirable--or at least more risky--than a place where stability is seen to prevail.
- III. Climate Specific.** For a sunspot to be successful pleasant and predictable climatic conditions must prevail during the months when tourists are expected to visit. If a sunspot is reputed to be prone to cold snaps when demand for warm sunny weather peaks in destination areas peaks its relative value will be degraded, likewise if there is a significant possibility of long periods of dull or blustery weather a holiday at such a place may be reputed to constitute a risky business. Precipitation should be moderate but must be sufficient to provide for a reliable mains water supply of high quality. Humidity must also be at a comfortable level.
- IV. Floral and Faunal Specific:** Defined in terms of the relative attractiveness of the floral and faunal régimes of a specific area. In general, the floral régime might be considered more important than the faunal as it plays a more prominent rôle in the overall appearance of the region under consideration, a barren resort

devoid of vegetation is bleak indeed. While the merit of a destination may be enhanced by the presence of an attractive, spectacular and/or rare faunal species, it will certainly be degraded by those who may be faint of heart if unpleasant and dangerous species are common.

The location of St. Kitts provides for ready access to the island from North America and--in absolute terms-- from northern Europe. Distances and direct flight times from major cities to St. Kitts range from a low of 1,900 kilometres and about 2 hours from Miami to 7,400 kilometres and 8 hours from London, distances from cities within the 'frost belt' of North America average about 3,500 kilometres with flight times of 4 to 5 hours (Table I).

Table I

Distances and Flight Times from Major Cities to St. Kitts

<u>CITY</u>	<u>DISTANCE (KMS)</u>	<u>DIRECT FLIGHT TIME</u>	<u>SCHED. FLT TIME</u>
CHICAGO	3,800	4:10	6:30 (via JFK)
DALLAS/FT. WORTH	3,100	3:15	5:45 (via SJU)
HALIFAX	3,400	4:00	6:35 (via YMX)
LONDON	7,400	8:25	8:50 (via ANLI)
LOS ANGELES	5,400	6:00	9:20 (via JFK)
MIAMI	1,900	2:10	2:50 (via SJU)
MONTREAL	3,700	4:00	5:30 (via YMX)
NEW YORK	3,200	3:50	4:20
TORONTO	3,500	4:20	4:20

SOURCE: Reserve Air Canada Flight Booking System, data correct as per scheduled flight times, 12 December, 1987.



Flight costs vary significantly as well, from EC\$1574 ex. Miami to EC\$4549 ex. London economy (Y) class, to as little as EC\$1034 ex. Miami--and EC\$1093 from Montréal-- to EC\$2373 ex. London return. Fares from the 'frost belt' to St. Kitts range from EC\$2187 ex. Montréal and Toronto to EC\$2750 ex. Chicago 'Y' class, to EC\$1093 ex. Montréal and Toronto and EC\$1860 ex. Chicago (Table II). When journey times and travel costs to St. Kitts are compared to those of other sunspot holiday destinations (Table III) St. Kitts emerges as less accessible than

**Table II**

**Cost of Travel from Major Cities to St. Kitts (Return) EC\$, Dec. 1987**

<b>CITY</b>	<b>Y CLASS</b>	<b>\$/KM</b>	<b>EXCURSION FARE</b>	<b>\$/KM</b>	<b>CHEAPEST AVAIL</b>	<b>\$/KM</b>
<b>CHICAGO</b>	2750	.36	2045	.28	1860	.25
<b>DALLAS/FT. W.</b>	2916	.47	1928	.31	1615	.26
<b>HALIFAX</b>	2875	.57	2054	.30	1717	.26
<b>LONDON</b>	4549	.31	3508	.24	2373	.16
<b>LOS ANGELES</b>	3491	.32	2662	.25	2295	.22
<b>MIAMI</b>	1574	.42	1404	.37	1034	.27
<b>MONTREAL</b>	2187	.30	1821	.25	1073	.15
<b>NEW YORK</b>	2182	.34	1755	.28	1253	.19
<b>TORONTO</b>	2187	.32	1821	.26	1093	.16

**SOURCE: Official Airline Guide, North American Edition, Volume 13, July, 1987.**

some very popular destinations such as Acapulco, or in the case of London,

Malaga, but rather easier to visit than Hawaii or Montserrat.

The dramatic topography of St. Kitts provides an opportunity for visitors to experience a range of geomorphic relief landscapes that might be interpreted--as defined by D. Linton (1968)--as areas of scenic beauty. The designated focus for the island's mass recreational tourism industry--Frigate Bay--is large enough--and flat enough--to provide space for lowrise hotel complexes and amenities such as a golf course, bicycle paths, and riding trails.

**TABLE III**  
**SCHEDULED FLIGHT TIMES FROM MAJOR CITIES TO OTHER SUNSPOT**  
**DESTINATIONS, December, 1987**

<b><u>CITY</u></b>	<b><u>ACAPULCO</u></b>	<b><u>ANTIGUA</u></b>	<b><u>HAWAII</u></b>	<b><u>MALAGA</u></b>	<b><u>MONTSERRAT</u></b>
<b>CHICAGO</b>	4:05	6:30	8:00	9:05	6:50
<b>DALLAS/FT. W.</b>	2:40	5:35	8:00	13:55	5:55
<b>HALIFAX</b>	5:50	6:35	12:50	10:05	6:55
<b>LONDON</b> (11:05, Concorde)	13:10	8:50	18:20	2:35	9:10
<b>LOS ANGELES</b>	2:30	9:20	5:20	14:40	9:40
<b>MIAMI</b>	4:35	2:45	12:15	9:35	3:05
<b>MONTREAL</b>	5:40	5:28	12:25	7:25	6:00
<b>NEW YORK</b>	4:10	4:20	10:30	7:35	4:40
<b>TORONTO</b>	5:50	4:20	10:15	10:35	4:40

**SOURCE:** Reservec Air Canada Flight Booking System, as per scheduled flight times, 12 December, 1987.

The area is surrounded by hills that serve to define the area as a specific location and provide a scenic backdrop from the resort. Frigate Bay is situated

at one of the narrowest points of the island, only a few hundred metres separate the beach on the so-called Caribbean side and that which faces the open Atlantic. The Caribbean beach has fewer currents and is more calm and somewhat warmer than the Atlantic, but lacks the dramatic beauty of the latter and is much smaller. The hills that encircle Frigate Bay provide opportunities for the energetic to discover unexpected vistas. Tours to Mount Liamuiga are organised to allow visitors to partake of true mountain climbing and to descend into a volcanic crater. The varied topography of St Kitts permits tourists with a spirit of adventure to experience a wider array of landforms than is available at locations with flat and undramatic topographies such as Florida and the Bahamas. The small size of the island--about twenty kilometres by sixteen--makes the varied topography of St. Kitts accessible to those with no time for overnight excursions, and renders the tall mountains at the centre of the island visible from many points along the circum-island roadway. Although Mount Liamuiga is still mooted to be active, volcanic eruptions and other forms of destructive geological activity have not taken place in historical times.

Comfortable and reliable climatic conditions are vital aspects of any area that has been designated as a location for development as a sunspot tourist

destination. Temperatures must be high enough to permit unencumbered sunbathing, but should not be so high as to render light physical activity uncomfortable. When temperatures are high, physical activity will cause dilation of blood capillaries near the skin, the pulse rate to increase, and sweating in an attempt to rid the body of the excess heat generated by such movement (Lowry, 1967: 244, 248).

Table IV provides a précis of meteorological statistics recorded at Golden Rock Airport (Basseterre) from 1980 to 1982. Average daily maximum temperatures hovered around 29 degrees from December to April and relative humidity was about 74 percent. While December and April were quite moist in the years upon which the data are based, January, February, and March were much drier with an average rainfall of only six centimetres. Since rainfall on St. Kitts tends to fall as short intense showers rather than as days of drizzle the absolute impact of a wet month upon the total hours of sunshine received at the surface may not be significant. It is unfortunate that hours of sunshine do not appear to be recorded at the Golden Rock Weather Station.

L. Battan (1983: 153) has noted that atmospheric humidities exert an important influence upon human perceptions of air temperature. When the relative humidity is low--below 30 percent when the weather is very warm--most

**TABLE IV**  
**METEOROLOGICAL STATISTICS, GOLDEN ROCK AIRPORT, ST. KITTS.**  
**MONTHLY MEAN VALUES, 1980-1982 (IN CELSIUS)**

<b>MONTH</b>	<b>AVG. HUMIDITY</b>	<b>PRECIP.</b>	<b>AVG. TEMP.</b>	<b>AVG. MAX. TEMP</b>	<b>AVG. MIN. TEMP</b>
<b>JANUARY</b>	73%	6.4	25	28	22
<b>FEBRUARY</b>	73	7.7	26	28	21
<b>MARCH</b>	70	3.8	26	29	22
<b>APRIL</b>	75	12.7	26	29	23
<b>MAY</b>	77	9.3	28	30	23
<b>JUNE</b>	75	5.0	28	31	24
<b>JULY</b>	77*	11.3	28	30	25
<b>AUGUST</b>	77	12.2	28	31	25
<b>SEPTEMBER</b>	74	8.0	29	31	24
<b>OCTOBER</b>	76	14.2	28	32	23
<b>NOVEMBER</b>	76	10.5	27	30	23**
<b>DECEMBER</b>	78	13.6	26	29	21
<b>MEAN (YEAR)</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>9.4</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>23</b>

.....

\*1981-1982 only

\*\* 1980-1981 only

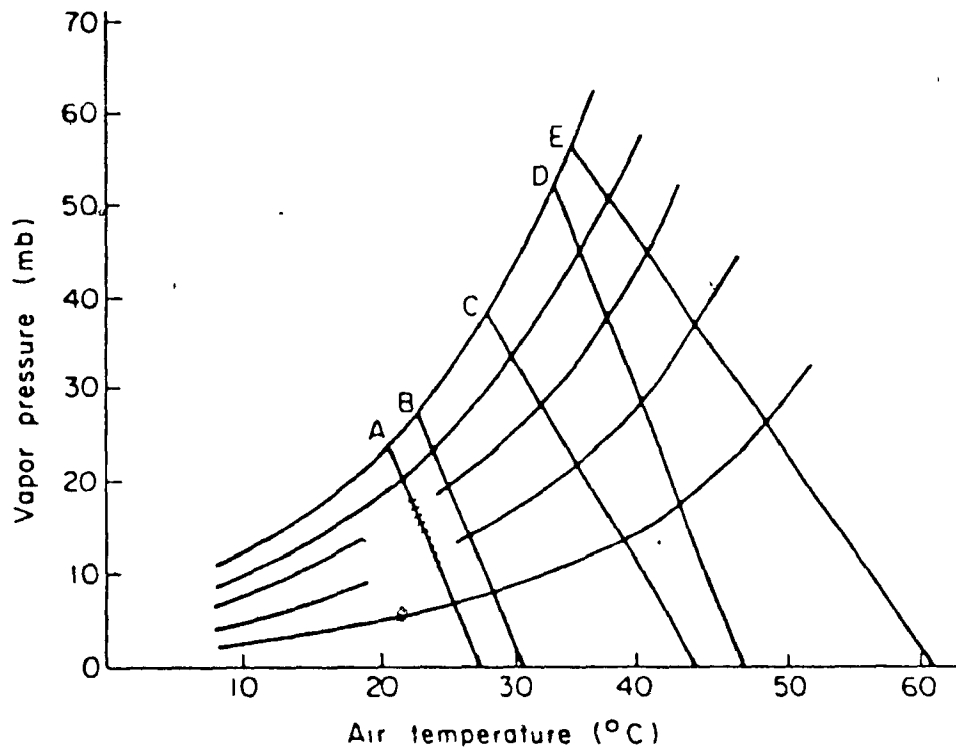
Calculated from St. Christopher and Nevis Annual Digest of Statistics for 1982, Table I

individuals will sense that the temperature is below its true value; when the relative humidity is very high the air will feel as though it is much hotter than it is. While the temperature régime of the island is ideal for outdoor recreational activities, levels of relative humidity tend to be somewhat higher than what many people might be expected to find comfortable, particularly if they intend to engage in moderate or strenuous physical activities. When the air temperature is 30 degrees and the relative humidity is 80 percent--for example--the apparent temperature is about 38 degrees (Figure 1).

Significant measures have been taken to ensure that tourists from northern climes are as comfortable as possible while on the island. In spite of very high local electricity costs major hotels--such as the Jack Tar Holiday Village and the OTI--are air conditioned, day trips around the island are designed to involve as little physical strain as possible, and electric carts are available for use on the Frigate Bay golf course to allow players in poor physical condition to move from tee to tee without fear of exertion. Such measures have been taken to relieve any discomfort that arises from excessive humidity and as such they represent corrective actions to compensate for what would seem to be the presence of a suboptimal climatic condition for sunspot recreational activity.

**FIGURE 1**

**APPARENT TEMPERATURE IN RELATION TO ACTUAL AIR TEMPERATURE  
AND RELATIVE HUMIDITY**



**from R. Quaiye, F. Dechring's "Heat Stress", Weatherwise, Vol. 34, pgs.120-124**

A. Matheson and G. Wall (1982: 101) note that vegetation serves as a major attraction for tourists in many destination areas; E. Zube, D. Pitt, and T.

Anderson in their study "Perception and Prediction of Scenic Resource Values of the Northeastern United States" (1975) concluded that "...as adjacent land uses become more compatible scenic resource value increases, as edge density increases scenic resource value increases...(and) as area or length of view

increases scenic resource value increases" (p. 166). The Zube, Pitt, and Anderson study was based upon the views of an American respondent population that resided within the frost belt of the United States; since this region serves as a primary tourist origin area, the views of respondents in their survey might be viewed to be of relevance to those of many--if not most--tourists visiting the island from the same cultural, climatic, and floral environment. The floral régime in many areas of the island consists of a broad band of caneland that extends from the seashore up to a pronounced line of dense forest (Photo V). The contrast between the silver-green of sugarcane or



**Photo V. Forest Edge. Near Frigate Bay**

The edge of unbroken forest cover is well defined throughout the island. Since this prospect is visible from the main road to Frigate Bay it is observed by almost every visitor to St. Kitts.



the pale green of former canelands allowed to revert to scrub, and the luxuriant dark green growth on the upper slopes is--as the Zube, Pitt, and Anderson study implies--very attractive indeed. At many places around the island one can take in views of large areas that extend for many kilometres (Photo VI) so that a wide variety of vegetation types and formations can be enjoyed from a single vantage point.



**Photo VI. View of Basseterre**

The hilly topography of St. Kitts provides vantage points that enable one to observe large expanses of variable territory. The sea and Basseterre are visible in the lower left, canefields in the centre of the photo and mist-shrouded Olives Mountain in the upper right.

In September of 1986 a total of 85 foreign tourists were asked whether they considered the physical environment of St. Kitts attractive, 77 (91%) responded that they found it pretty, six (7%) did not like it, and two declined to reply. Of those who declared the environment to be unpleasant two appeared to be under the influence of alcohol one had come to gamble at the casino rather than to partake of the natural delights of the island, and the other had not ventured from the Jack Tar Holiday Village compound. When asked to define the elements that made the environment attractive a total of 60 respondents (71%) made reference to the vegetation formations, 47 (56%) to the dramatic topography, 36 to the island's beaches, and eighteen (21%) to the climate,\* fourteen (16%) of those who found the scenery attractive were unable to state why this was specifically, two of those who found the scenery unpleasant attributed their dissatisfaction to the the presence of brown grass at the golf course at Frigate Bay--that part of the island was in the midst of a dry spell at the time--and one to the seaweed that had washed up onto the Caribbean beach on the morning of his interview.

\*Since the survey was conducted at the end of the summer it is possible that most respondents were less sensitive to the delights of warm weather than they would have been had they visited the island in order to escape the northern winter, it is also possible that the climate is less significant as an element of attraction for many tourists in the summer months than in the winter. In either case I suspect that warm weather would play a much more prominent rôle in the minds of northern respondents were a similar survey of tourist attitudes to be conducted in the winter.

The green monkey is the most famous faunal species on St. Kitts, although sightings of wild specimens are rare around the hotels of Frigate Bay and Basseterre the intrepid--and the observant--have a good chance of sighting some if they should venture into the forested upland areas; three respondents noted that the green monkey was a pleasant feature of the island, two respondents liked the mongoose, two liked the colourful birds, and one expressed fondness for the little gecko lizard. No one found any animal species to be unpleasant or bothersome, but then no respondents appear to have encountered any centipedes!

### **The Impact of Tourism Upon the Environment**

While the development of a sunspot tourist destination is dependent upon several aspects of the natural environment for success, tourism activity can--in turn--exert significant impacts upon the environment. In many industries such as heavy manufacturing, refining, and mineral extraction, environmental degradation is often an unavoidable consequence of development and expansion. As R. Britton (1978: 266) has noted, "(f)or tourism,...environmental quality is what attracts visitors, and it must be protected." Environmental

protection is often difficult when the resource exists as the common property of the people. Individual owners of land will often ensure that measures are taken to maintain and enhance the value of their property, but most people are much less willing to invest in the maintenance and improvement of communal land that they do not own or derive direct benefit from. The "tragedy of the commons" is a concept first coined by Garrett Hardin (1968) and refers to the damage that can be done to a communally-owned resource in an absence of stringent controls to protect it and the inability of technology--of itself--to overcome such patterns of misuse.

In areas where levels of tourist visitation are very high dramatic environmental transformation can take place: Thirty years ago Torremolinos--on the Spanish Costa del Sol--was a sleepy fishing village, it now consists of a tremendous concentration of ugly highrise hotels and the original settlement has disappeared from view; the sea around Torremolinos is now polluted and many kinds of fish are dangerous to eat, the beach has been degraded severely by overuse, garbage, and slicks of suntanning grease along the waterline. Traffic and air pollution are now serious problems along much of the Costa del Sol and

the only natural vegetation to be seen in many areas consists of a little mean scrub along roadsides and a few weeds that have broken through cracks in concrete. Torremolinos is now seen as an unpleasant destination by many potential visitors and must now compete with other resort areas by occupying a market niche at the lowest level of exclusiveness (Moynahan, 1985: 67), since Torremolinos is now one of the cheapest sunny places to visit from northern Europe it continues to attract large numbers of holidaymakers and the serious environmental degradation of the area continues.

An unregulated common property resource has several characteristics that can lead to degradation and destruction in an absence of careful management by the the ultimate owner of the resource, usually the government of the territory of which it is a part. Unregulated common property can be used simultaneously by more than one individual or agency, no individual has absolute control over the use and management of the resource, nor can any one person or agency stop others from using it. Since users are in direct competition with each other they must obtain as large a share of the resource as possible before others have a chance to step in and use it. Restraint goes unrewarded as anything not taken

will be claimed for use by others (Mitchell, 1979: 285-286). Torremolinos provides an extreme example of the potential for environmental destruction from tourism activity; other places where tourism has had a significant deleterious impact upon the environment include St. Maarten, several islands of the Bahamas, the French Riviera, and several Greek Islands. The impact of tourism upon the Kittitian environment appears to have been rather modest in recent years, but the potential for serious damage is real and may be hastened if tourist visitation levels continue to rise very rapidly in the years to come. The impact of tourism upon the environment is manifested in three broad forms: changes in patterns of land use, damage to biological systems, and aesthetic effects; specific components of the environment which are prone to damage from tourism include vegetation, wildlife, air and water quality, and some aspects of the geology of the destination area (Mathieson and Wall, 1982:101-112).

A. Mathieson and G. Wall (1982:101-102) have noted that a variety of tourist activities can have an impact upon vegetation. The collection of flowers and plants can result in changes in species composition, the careless use of fire by

campers can lead to major fires, excessive litter can cause foreign substances to leach into soils and can block out air and light on the soil surface, pedestrian and vehicular traffic can damage small plants through trampling and tracking, and can have very serious consequences when traffic over delicate areas like sand dunes is heavy. In St. Kitts the construction of the Frigate Bay recreation complex served to pave over most of the vegetation in the area with grass, but since Frigate Bay was covered with little more than scrub before the resort was developed the loss appears to have been of little consequence. Flower and plant collection is not a major passtime for most tourists visiting the island and--aside from smoking the free cigarettes that Jack Tar provides for its guests--few tourists have occasion to light fires. Much care is taken to keep the Frigate Bay area free from garbage; many tourists do scramble over the hillsides which surround the Bay area but their impact upon the vegetation cover of these slopes is--without doubt--minor when compared to the impact of the herd of cattle that call them home. The potential for damage to the vegetation of the Southeast Penninsula from tourism may be greater however; so far only a rough track over Sir Timothy's Hill connects the penninsula with the mainland, those who wish to visit the area are now forced to pass over the

hill on foot--a daunting prospect for the heat-sensitive or out-of-shape--or take a boat. The present government has allowed the sale of Friar's Bay on the Southeast Peninsula to two foreigners (The Labour Spokesman, 7.1.84, p. 1) and has planned to construct a proper road over the hill for the past several years but as yet little has been done. If the road is ever completed and massive development is allowed to take place the consequences for the vegetation régime of the area could be significant.

Damage from tourism to other biological systems can take many forms. The physical presence of extensive hotel complexes, airports, and other infra-structures can destroy the habitats of many animals. Sewage from large numbers of tourists and fertiliser seepage from extensive gardens can lead to the destruction of nearby coral reefs, vehicular traffic can cause air pollution and congestion, and air traffic can be a source of severe noise pollution.

The physical presence of tourism infrastructure on St. Kitts represents a minor form of landuse. Golden Rock Airport is quite large in relation to the total size of the island but would--in any event--be needed whether or not a tourism industry existed. Jack Tar Holiday Village and the other hotel and condominium



complexes at Frigate Bay also occupy considerable space--at least 100 hectares, by my visual estimate--but a significant portion of the area remains undisturbed. Tourist arrivals to St. Kitts have grown rapidly over the past few years, from about 32,800 in 1980 to 47,500 in 1985, an increase of about 45 percent. (Table V). If present rates of growth are extrapolated exponentially some

**TABLE V**  
**PASSENGER ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES, ST. KITTS AND NEVIS**  
**1980-1985 (IN THOUSANDS)**

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
<b><u>Passenger Arrivals</u></b>							
Arrivals	50.4	54.2	51.9	52.4	59.1	68.0	12.5'
Departures	50.8	54.7	52.4	53.5	59.2	68.0	-
<b><u>Visitor Arrivals</u></b>							
Stop Over Visitors	32.8	35.5	34.6	34.3	39.9	47.5	-
Yacht/Cruise Visitors	5.8	10.9	11.1	22.8	34.0	31.5	-
Cruise Ship Calls	8	15	12	22	40	-	-

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Source: St. Kitts-Nevis Statistics in Brief, Statistics Division Planning Unit, 1986, Table V, and The Ministry of Tourism, October 1986.

144,000 visitors will come to the island each year by 2000. In 1984 The

Democrat (28.4.84, p. 12) reported that the Prime Minister of St. Kitts-Nevis,

the Right Honourable Dr. Kennedy Simmonds had declared that "St. Kitts-Nevis expects to have an additional 1600 hotel rooms in operation by 1989". By 1985 plans for new hotel construction appear to have been reduced when it was announced--amidst great fanfare--that the Jack Tar resort was expected to add one hundred more rooms to the complex (The Democrat 7.9.85, p. 2), the revised plans for expansion appear to have been more prudent than the original, in ecological terms at least. A headlong rush to develop and construct--as had taken place in Torremolinos in the 1960s and early 1970s can destroy natural habitats. A more prudent approach is necessary if the environment is not to be endangered. Other hotels on the island--such as the Ocean Terrace Inn (OTI), the Golden Lemon, Fortlands Hotel, and the Rawlins and other plantations form a part of the urban complexes where they are located, or--as in the case of the plantation inns--exist on a very small scale and are isolated within their environments. Outside of Frigate Bay, hotel facilities occupy little space and their impact upon the habitat is--as a consequence--negligible.

Sewage from tourists who stay at--and the people who work at--Jack Tar is treated at a small plant located at the periphery of the resort (Photo VII) and very few chemicals are used in the maintenance of the resort grounds, these



**Photo VII. Sewage Treatment Works, Jack Tar Holiday Village**

The builders of Jack Tar decided--prudently--to spare no effort to avoid environmental damage to the beachfront. Human waste is rendered much less toxic to the offshore reefs as it passes through this facility. On a rather unpalatable note, someone has discovered that the plant provides an ideal environment for the cultivation of bananas, and melons!

features may serve to reduce the potential for damage to--and the destruction of--the coral reef that grows a short distance off the shore of the Atlantic Beach. Since very few people live in Frigate Bay most vehicular traffic in the area is caused by people who seek recreation, many Kittitians enjoy a swim

in the evening and a day at the beach has become a popular family outing on weekends. The proportion of traffic in the area that is generated by tourists is no more than half. So far traffic congestion does not appear to be a serious problem and vehicular pollution in the area is negligible. Elsewhere on the island traffic has increased in recent years but this appears to be a consequence of increased local car ownership--from a total of about 2,000 vehicles in 1980 to almost 2,600 in 1984 on St. Kitts and Nevis (St. Kitts-Nevis Statistics in Brief, 1986, Table IX)--rather than convoys of tourists jamming the roads. Air traffic to Golden Rock Airport has also increased significantly in recent years, from 7,700 landings in 1980 to 10,500 in 1984 (Ibid., Table V). The close proximity of Golden Rock Airport to Basseterre and to Frigate Bay may pose problems if jet traffic becomes too heavy. When a big jet takes off from Golden Rock a deep rumble can be heard for miles around and final approaches over Basseterre can be very noisy indeed. So far jet service to Golden Rock is infrequent--no more than one or two flights per day--but if the charter industry continues to grow more flights will be inevitable and levels of noise pollution will increase. Small propellar-driven interisland aircraft--like those operated by LIAT--are much less noisy than big Lockheed 1011s and Boeing 727s. It would be nice

if very easy and flexible connections on LIAT aircraft could be developed to shuttle long distance travellers to St. Kitts after they have arrived on big jets at other, nearby islands. Such a strategy would discourage some tourists who crave convenience--of course--but would reward those willing to go to a bit of extra trouble to ensure a quiet holiday. Noise pollution from big aircraft appears to pose a serious and immediate threat to the quality of the environment on the southeastern side of the island. If air traffic is allowed to become too heavy Basseterre and Frigate Bay could become very noisy places; technologies exist to make life less difficult for those who live under the flight paths, but such measures--like triple window glazing and special insulation--are very expensive and do little to solve the problem, once created. It would be good if alternatives to jet charters could be found, but since this does not seem possible, caution should be exercised to ensure that the very planes that ferry in the tourists do not disturb them--or indeed Kittitians--after their arrival

The aesthetic effects of tourism development upon the environment are difficult to measure, but can have a significant impact upon the overall appearance of a destination area. Much modern hotel architecture can be an eyesore, especially

if it is designed to dominate--rather than to blend in with--the local topography. When effective regulations to control land use are absent, the insensitivity and unfettered capitalist enthusiasm of many developers--manifested in a lust for maximisation of profit without consideration for the needs of the local population or the environment--can lead to projects that can cause offense to local residents and can jeopardise the orderly evolution of communities (Britton, 1978:266). The Hotel Riad Salam in Casablanca, Morocco, is protected by high walls into which broken bottles have been stuck, the Hilton at Cartagena, Colombia has been designed as a fortress in order to keep non-residents out. At Rodney Bay, St. Lucia, the Commonwealth Development Corporation planned to construct a large vacation complex. A channel and inland basin was excavated for a new marina that served to separate a village from its cemetery. Fred Mosser of Horwath and Horwath International (quoted in Britton 1978:267) observed that this seemed to bother the "developers" little since--as far as they were concerned--the poverty and relative shabbiness of the village was an embarrassment and an eyesore. A big hotel was then built next to the cemetery, but since no bridge was built across the channel, what should have been a short

stroll became a hike of over one kilometre. Other undesirable aesthetic effects of tourism development include insensitive environmental modifications--using bulldozers where shovels would suffice--and clearcutting of vegetation, litter, degradation and damage to historical and archaeological sites, and billboards. Such environmental damage can be of particular severity on small islands where there is no room to waste and no places to move on to once the beauty of one place has been ruined.

In St. Kitts the aesthetic impact of tourism upon the environment has been moderate. While litter and the proliferation of unpleasant billboards does not appear to be a problem, and damage to historical and archaeological sites has not taken place as a direct consequence of tourism development, some aspects of some of the hotel complexes themselves are less than inviting. The Jack Tar Holiday Village has been designed to discourage integration with the local community. What was once hailed as a premiere publically-owned property is surrounded by a chain-link fence at least four metres in height. Authoritarian signs warn pedestrians that it is forbidden for them to pass over the golf course, yet pathways to the beaches of the area have not been laid

down in a manner that provides for the efficient passage of pedestrian traffic. The garden of one home in Frigate Bay is surrounded by a wall that has been topped--Casablanca style--with broken glass. The situation is just as unfriendly though not as visible at the OTI where, instead of chainlink fences of biblical dimensions, security guards patrol the compound to discourage trespassers. In 1982 just such an intruder--described by locals as a bit of a moo moo but quite harmless--was killed by such a security guard on the hotel grounds ("Police Murder Man at OTI", The Labour Spokesman, 9.6.82, p. 1). The OTI presents a colourful and pleasant façade but experience has given many Kittitians the impression that they are as welcome inside the hotel complex as they are at a nuclear weapons base, and certainly the consequences can be the same. Seige-mentality security measures can serve to alienate local residents from their own industry and can in turn foster hostility against anything connected with tourism. In St. Kitts the situation is not yet critical, but a few more broken bottle-topped walls, high fences, no trespassing signs, and shootings could lead to serious trouble.

In the past the small numbers of tourists coming to St. Kitts have kept the impact of tourism upon the natural environment to manageable levels, with



the increasing popularity of St. Kitts as a holiday destination, it is now necessary to plan for future growth in a way that will help to avoid the sorts of problems that could make the island less pleasant for tourists and make the Kittitian environment less pleasant for Kittitians themselves. Economic and social conditions on St. Kitts demand that development take place so that chronic unemployment might be reduced and the economic well-being of the people allowed to increase, but development plans should be formulated to respect the clean, unspoiled, and natural environment of the island. Several areas of special consideration should be incorporated into--or at least considered as components of--a comprehensive master plan for tourism management, these include:

1. Regulations to control the amount of land to be occupied by tourism development and where such development should take place.
2. Procedures to ensure that proposed hotel designs will compliment rather than degrade their settings. When hotels are designed by foreign firms of architects their designs may not reflect national tastes. Since it is Kittitians who must look at the buildings all year they should be given an opportunity to have some control over what is to be built on their island.
3. Regulations for proper waste control and environmental protection should be rigid and inflexible and should exist for the protection of the environment, not for the convenience of foreign developers.
4. Expansion of jet service should only be allowed if it will not be too disruptive to local residents and nearby tourists.
5. Billboard advertising should be kept to reasonable levels.
6. Security measures should be as discreet as possible and should not be allowed to create prison-style compounds.

7. Plans should be drawn up to allow for easy traffic circulation in areas where tourist and local traffic meet. Designated pathways around and through the golf course at Frigate Bay would be much nicer than nasty "no trespassing" signs, for example.
8. Once an area is destroyed, redemption is often very difficult; a comprehensive development plan should be drawn up for the Southeast Peninsula before construction takes place in order to protect its unique and unspoiled environment.

The physical environment of St. Kitts is both attractive and valuable ecologically. The small size of the island means that the tolerance of the environment to misuse is very limited. Mistakes can turn into problems very quickly in small places, and are not often solved as easily as they are made. Care must be taken to ensure that the integrity of the Kittitian environment is maintained and even enhanced by future tourism. It would be a shame for tourists and a disaster for Kittitians if concern for the well-being of the physical environment was laid aside in the scramble to construct new hotels and tourist installations.

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### Chapter III

#### **The Human Environment and the Historical Development of St. Kitts as a Nation and a Tourist Destination**

Most tourists visit St. Kitts to partake of a little sunshine, to enjoy the lovely scenery, and to experience the hospitality of the Kittitian people. Few tourists have any real knowledge of the economic, cultural, and political forces that have interacted with each other over the past 350 years to create the environment that they experience. Tourist impressions of St. Kitts are based upon their own metropolitan-based--often meagre--understanding of the region and their earnest desire to have a pleasant holiday experience, rather than a quest for knowledge about the historical heritage and current circumstances of this fascinating island. Kittitians see their island, the tourism industry, and tourists in a manner which differs from what the tourist sees, for Kittitians tourism is an industry, and tourists are a vital component of that industry. Kittitians are a modern, well-informed people and most are much more aware of the principal tourist origin areas than most tourists are of St. Kitts upon their arrival. Since the present is a product of the past, any real understanding of the current condition of the Kittitian people must be rooted firmly in a familiarity with the

human environment of the island as it has developed.

This chapter is intended to provide an historical review of the diverse array of forces, trends, and events that have shaped the emergence of the Kittitian people.

Since firsthand knowledge of all but the most recent historical events is impossible, one must rely heavily upon secondary and even tertiary sources of information in the preparation of an history of this sort. Since all events are subject to the whims of individual interpretation, the observations and interpretations of one person may differ from those of another. The inherent fallibility of the historian is legend, just as we often wince at the apparent ignorance of many who wrote long ago, a couple of generations from now people may shake their heads at many of our own contemporary thoughts on reality. Just as people change over time, historical interpretations change as well and develop to reflect the past as contemporary historians--and the people for whom they write--would like to see it.

A tourism industry has appeared on St. Kitts only very recently and at present represents no more than a little fillip in the long historical development of the island. Just as a branch of the golden apple is grafted onto the tree of another

variety of apple, the tourism industry has been grafted onto a society and a nation that was shaped before its introduction. If an understanding of how a tree has grown and functions is sought, one can begin with an examination of the tree's roots and then move upwards to the most recent growth on the highest branches. An understanding of the essence of the Kittitian people can be gleaned in a similar manner, through an examination of their geographical and ethnic origins, and their economic, political, and cultural histories

This chapter has been divided into five broad sections in an attempt to organise the eventful heritage of St. Kitts. Section I, 'Historical Geography to 1950' reviews the pre-European history of the island, the forces that led to the establishment of the plantation system in the late seventeenth century, the consequences of slavery for the enslaved, and the impact of the abolition of this institution upon the plantation economy, the power of the plantation élite, patterns of human settlement and landuse upon the island, and the internationalisation of the Kittitian labourforce. Section II provides a critical assessment of the economic and social impact of emigration and foreign remittances upon the development of the island and documents the main political, economic, and social issues of this



important period. Section III is a current political, economic, and cultural survey of the island, and an interpretation of the significance and potential impact of recent trends and events upon the development process from the perspective of an outsider. Section IV examines the significance of historical and contemporary forces, trends, and events upon the development of tourism, and comments upon their possible impact upon the formation of the Kittitian people with special reference to their new rôle as a tourism host population.

#### I. Historical Geography of St. Kitts to 1950.

The sudden massive environmental transformations that followed the beginning of European immigration and economic exploitation of St. Kitts has obliterated much of the pre-columbian archaeological record and has rendered reconstruction of the main features of the pre-columbian occupation of the islands problematic. Artefacts such as pictographs, stone carvings, axe heads, grinders, and shell implements are--however--quite plentiful (Merrill, 1958: 43) and from them archaeologists have been able to glean some insight into the lifestyles of these former residents.

Prior to the beginning of European occupation both islands were wooded. The Arawaks--who appear to have been the aboriginal or native inhabitants of the islands--were agriculturalists who supplemented their diet of arrowroot, manioc, peanuts, pineapples, and potatoes with fish from the coastal shallows (Merrill: 44). By the first century AD the Caribs appear to have usurped the dominion of the Arawaks of the island. Like the Arawaks, the Caribs were slash and burn agriculturalists who hunted, gathered and fished the natural stocks of the area. Cassava and maize appear to have been the principal crops of the Caribs (Richardson, 1983: 59). A shell midden from a site east of Basseterre has been excavated recently and has revealed the presence of an archaic level of Arawak habitation on the island which has been dated terminus post quem--a date which cannot follow, based upon the evidence--at 2,000 B.C. (Goodwin, 1978: 6).

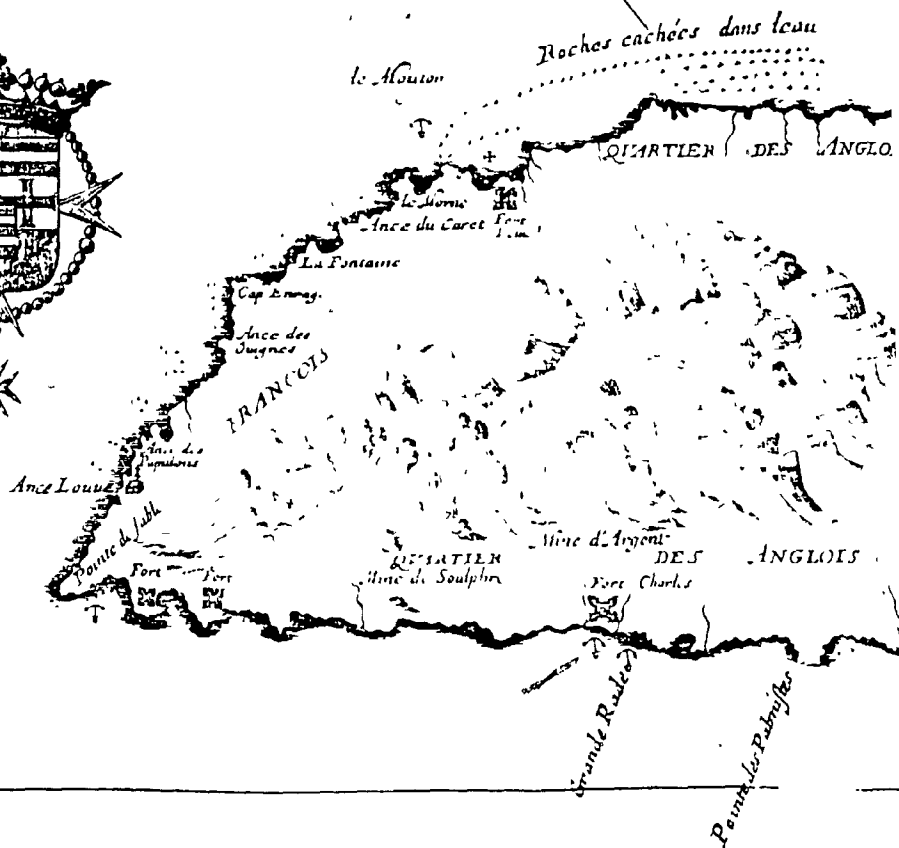
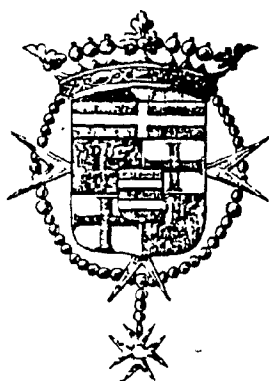
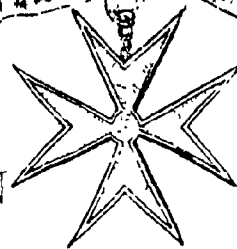
At the time of the European discovery of the New World the Caribs appear to have been in the midst of a northward invasion-migration through the Lesser Antilles. The Kittitian Carib population appears to have been less than 1,000 at the time of the first European settlement on the island in 1623 (Inniss, 1985: 2).

- Archaeological evidence suggests that "the majority of them were concentrated

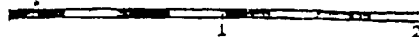
along the leeward (southern) coast between Stonefort River and Old Road" (Inniss, 1985: 2); they appear to have been exterminated by the combined efforts of Thomas Warner and Bélain D'Esnambuc in 1627 (Matheson, 1973: 12-13). St. Kitts was the first island in the Caribbean to be settled by the English, in 1623. French settlers arrived a couple of years later and upon the elimination of the Caribs the island was partitioned, the French occupied both ends of the island and the English retained control of the centre (Map 1). Most of the original English settlers were natives of southwestern England, most of the French seem to have hailed from Bretagne in northwestern France. An uneasy harmony appears to have marked relations between the two groups as long as Spain--their mutual colonial rival--remained the most important threat to the island (Richardson, 1983: 60).<sup>\*</sup> Events in Europe served to render England and France direct rivals by 1660 in their new rôles as imperialist powers and relations between the two linguistic groups were then strained.

The cultivation of tobacco appears to have been the first European-directed form of economic activity on the island (Aronoff, 1965: 32), some ten tons of the crop

<sup>\*</sup>The Spanish attacked the island in 1629 and destroyed it. They continued to make life on the islands perilous for several decades after.



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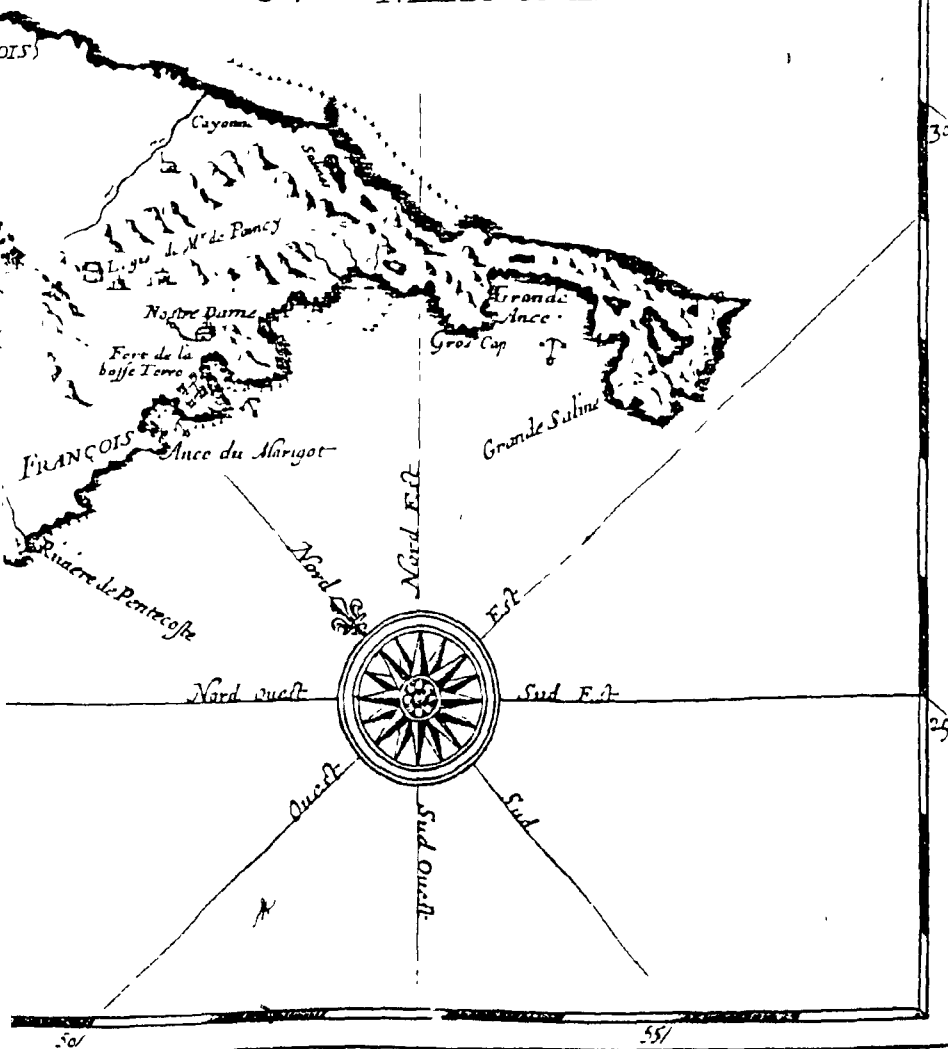


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was shipped to England in 1627. Within a few years Virginian tobacco began to dominate the market and the price which Kittitian tobacco was able to command dropped significantly. An attempt was made to cultivate indigo in 1639 but the attempt ended in failure (Aronoff, 1965: 32), cotton and ginger were then grown for a time. Sugarcane was introduced to the island in the 1640s, by 1658 it emerged as the most important crop and the organisation of local society was transformed in response to the demands of the production process and the need to maximise efficiency. Since the sucrose content of cane drops very rapidly once it has been cut plantation owners were compelled to build local mills to process the crop.

Large scale production of sugar required large investments of capital, either by the planter himself, through loans from English sugar merchants (Aronoff. 33), or through joint-venture enterprise investments from the European Metropole. In order to repay such loans and to produce the greatest possible profit from their investment planters attempted to reduce production costs so that sugar could be produced in the cheapest manner possible. The first shipments of labour to post-sugar St. Kitts were indentured white servants who were wooed to the

island with the promise of eventual grants of land (Merrill, 1958: 55). Since land was in short supply on St. Kitts and sugar production had proven very lucrative, all cultivable land was put into production very quickly; since the planters were unwilling to dispense any of their most valuable resource--land--as eventual payment for labourers a request was made to the Lords of Trade and Plantations to send prisoners to the island but only sixty ever arrived (Merrill, 1958 56).

In desperation planters then turned to Dutch slave dealers as a source of labour. Once it was proven that the tough and strong Africans were better able to survive the harsh conditions of such brutal exploitation than were the indolent and sickly English the demand for slaves increased rapidly; since slaves were very expensive and there were big profits to be made the British established their own slave business--the Royal African Company--in 1670. The company was granted exclusive control over the slave trade between West Africa and the British Caribbean and the large numbers of kidnapped Africans were then dispatched to St. Kitts and the other islands of the British Leewards.

Charlestown in Nevis became the main market and entrepôt--or holding tank--for the Royal African Company in the Leewards. Victims who had survived the

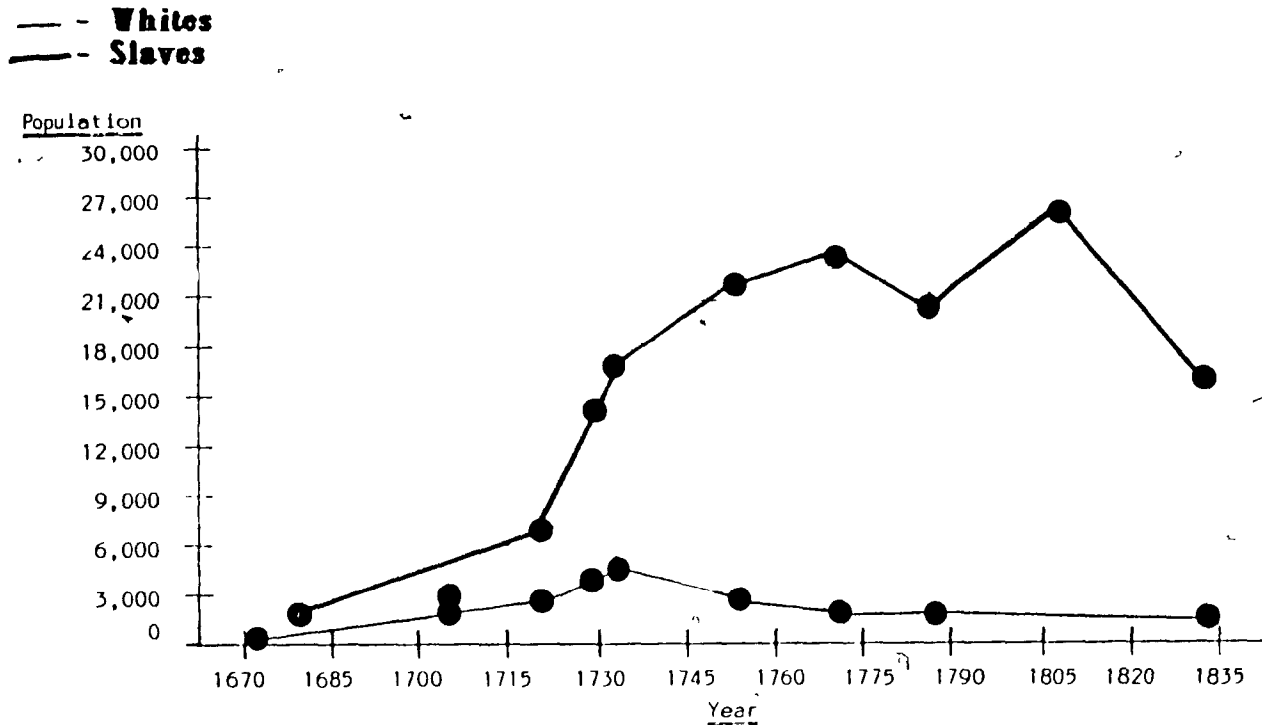
terrible conditions of their journeys from Africa were landed, washed, oiled, and--one might assume--fattened up and given a chance to recover, they were then herded to the main square at Charlestown where they were sold by auction (Merrill, 1958: 57). Although no figures for actual arrivals of slaves to St. Kitts in the early days appear to have survived, C.S.S. Higham in his The Development of the Leeward Islands Under the Restoration 1660-1668: A Study of the Foundation of the Old Colonial System (p. 165) has calculated that some 8,000 slaves were brought to the Leeward Islands between 1674 and 1686

By the end of the seventeenth century most agricultural labour on St. Kitts was black and the institution of slavery had been established as a vital component of agricultural production throughout the English and French West Indies. A small white plantation aristocracy emerged from the transformation of indigenous socioeconomic relations that took place after the introduction of sugar and this élite assumed a pivotal rôle in the economy and society of the island. The consolidation of landholdings that had taken place left many of the original white settlers without access to land and they began to leave St. Kitts at the end of the seventeenth century (Figure 1). The small white élite that remained grew more and more dependent upon slave labour to operate the plantations.



**Figure 1**

**Population of St. Kitts During the Slave Era**



**SOURCE:** Adapted from Caribbean Migrants, Environment and Human Survival on St. Kitts and Nevis, 1983, Table 3.

The sugar estates of the Leeward Islands were never large by international standards. Most had less than 40 hectares under crops at any one time and operated with fewer than 150 slaves. By the beginning of the eighteenth century a plantation of over 200 slaves was considered very large and was frowned upon by the governor of the time who considered that the continued enslavement of the blacks by the--by then--tiny white minority was vital, particularly on occasions of domestic stress, such as when the island was in danger of military

attack by other imperialist powers. In spite of these concerns the process of land consolidation continued over time and by 1828 a typical Kittitian plantation occupied a total of 90 hectares with 65 under cane in any one year (Richardson, 1983: 64).

Except for a brief period in 1782, the cohabitation of St. Kitts by the French and the English ended with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 when the English took control over the whole island (Inniss, 1985: 77). The decline in numbers of the free white population persuaded the governor to try to attract a fresh supply of whites from Britain by providing small grants of land to poor families. In addition to establishing themselves as small farmers it would appear that these immigrants were expected to serve as the lackies of the plantation élite by helping them to keep the blacks enslaved; such techniques of popular coercion were--no doubt--necessary. In 1787 St. Kitts had a population of 26,000 blacks and 2,000 whites. Very small numbers of white servants continued to come to St. Kitts throughout the eighteenth century.

### Life Under Slavery

The treatment of slaves in the Leewards was harsh, though it may not have been quite as brutal--in a physical sense--as is often assumed. Although a slaveowner

had considerable power over his human property, a slave was not--in general--regarded as a deplorable dreg of subhumanity that was to be beaten, abused, and starved at the pleasure of his or her master. The concern of the owner for his property may not have stemmed from his love of them as fellow human beings, but rather because they represented a very large investment in fixed capital. Although in the eyes of their owners slaves may have been little more than machines for the production of sugar they were nevertheless very expensive machines that were very expensive to replace. Intelligent slaveowners like John Pinney ensured that their workers were given adequate diets--often at great cost--and were provided with the physical necessities of life

New arrivals were given an opportunity to recover from their voyage before they were expected to commence hard work in the cane fields. It seems that they were acclimatised and hardened for a full year after their arrival on the plantation under the guidance of an elderly slave. Lengthy training programs may have been initiated in response to very high mortality rates among new slaves which would have represented a big financial loss to owners.

Intensive sugar cultivation occupied most of the arable land on the island, and the local population became dependent upon imported foodstuffs from Britain and the temperate colonies for its survival. From the beginning many slaves were allowed to cultivate small subsistence plots, but only on steep slopes that were unsuitable for the cultivation of cane. The local diet appears to have been deficient in protein, field rats were an important source of meat and croppers were forced to import grain and salt fish from Canada, even though there seem to have been plenty of fish offshore. Chronic food shortages cannot be blamed upon the stupidity and callousness of the planters alone. In 1698 English merchants petitioned Parliament for the repeal of a law which prohibited the export of corn, meal, flour, bread, (and) biscuit to the West Indies (Williams, 1983: 27). They claimed that the law encouraged planters to grow food instead of sugar, and would be detrimental to the home country (Williams, 1983: 27). The hurricane season--from August to October--often slowed the arrival of foodstuffs to the islands. Malnutrition and even starvation occurred frequently when supplies were cut off.

There were no regulations to provide clothing for slaves and many owners seemed to be content to permit their people to toil in a natural state. Since at the

beginning of the eighteenth century most slaves had not yet been converted to Christianity, christian ethics were not considered to be relevant as a guide for their behaviour and--conveniently, perhaps--many of those who claimed to be good christians did not feel any responsibility for their bretheren since--as non-christians or heathens--they weren't supposed to matter very much. Not all whites were quite so self-righteous, however, and many people appear to have been offended by the sight of workers 'in the buff' and provided their own with clothing. One planter--John Pinney--provided his slaves with colourful uniforms--no small expense in the era before chemical dyes--and his wife provided gifts of baby linen to the women on their estates on appropriate occasions (Merrill, 1958. 74).

In the beginning, slaves were housed in estate yards in "flimsy little huts, generally valued at £2 apiece" (Dunn, 1972: 139). By the beginning of the nineteenth century most houses were more substantial wattle and daub--mud and sticks--structures that were secured by posts driven into the ground.

Freedom was granted only rarely and then often only so the owner could avoid the payment of an annual headtax that was charged on slaves. By the end of the

eighteenth century on St. Kitts there "were only 300 blacks and mulattoes of free condition, out of a slave population of 26,000" (Merrill, 1958: 75). Not all slaves worked in the fields of course. After the introduction of plantation monoculture and the emigration of many dispossessed whites there was a serious shortage of skilled white labour, many slaves were trained in a variety of skills and trades to take the place of whites. Once trained, an owner could hire out his slave for money. Skilled slaves benefitted from the practice--though it is likely that their owners benefitted more--in that their increased value as workers often persuaded their owners to take special care of them in order to keep them healthy and happy. A few skilled slaves seem to have been able to save enough money to buy their freedom.

Although the social and material conditions of slaves were grim on St. Kitts, those caught in this trap were given some opportunities to have fun and to rest. The Sunday marketplace offered an opportunity for popular diversion, it allowed slaves from the towns and plantations to meet, converse, and to sell the surplus produce from their subsistence plots (Richardson, 1983: 68). Christmas--the most important holiday of the year--came between the scheduled planting and harvest

seasons of cane. From Christmas Eve to 2 January "was a period during which the plantation workers were allowed to do little work and gave themselves over with abandonment to their singing, dancing, serenading, beating of drums (and) playing sports..." (Mills, Jones-Hendrickson, Eugene, 1984: 7). Extra rations of meat added to the festive mood of the season and provided an energetic backdrop for the performance of Christmas Sports and participation in popular merrymaking (Mills, Jones-Hendrickson, Eugene, 1984: 7). Whenever control was relaxed over the people the possibility of rebellion emerged; until the 1820s a white guard was on duty throughout the holiday season to ensure that the popular celebrations and merriment did not lead to insurrection (Richardson, 1983: 1983, p. 69), why this practice seems to have ended in the 1820s and not at the time of manumission is unclear.

Although born into servitude and given access to little or no formal education many clever slaves learned to resist the oppression of their masters and the economic system to which they were subservient. Thefts from plantation foodstores were common and livestock tended to disappear. R. Dirks (1978: 155) has reported that one contemporary planter estimated that some twenty percent

of his cane crop was lost from the sweet teeth of his slaves. In the early nineteenth-century Leewards the penalty for arson in the cane fields was death, destructive fires seem to have occurred frequently however, and may have been disguised as incompetence since cane trash was often burned (Richardson, 1983: 69). Passive forms of resistance to slavery were even more widespread. Many contemporary whites considered slaves to be lazy, slow, dim, and wasteful, no doubt a result of the desire of many to see their masters get as little benefit as possible from their labours. Sweet revenge against the oppressors may have been the motive behind a popular pastime of the period, on Saturday evenings blacks would often gather and mock the whites, much to the distress of many of their owners (Goveia: 1965, p. 95). Black funerals were also modelled after white ceremonies, something that the touchy whites also seem to have found offensive, since most slaves had not been converted to Christianity by the end of the eighteenth century. For a time local laws were even legislated to stop these practices!

### **Sweet Coercion, the Human Dimension of the Sugar Business**

While most modern sugar estates on St. Kitts only grow cane under conditions of slavery--and until the early twentieth century--the crop was processed and



turned into molasses, muscavado, and rum at small mills located on individual estates. The preparation of land for planting and subsequent weeding and cutting were labour intensive operations. Fieldwork was carried out throughout the year so that except for the little holiday at Christmas the workforce was busy all the time. Preparing the land for planting--known as holing--was the hardest job of all and was given to strong men. Women, children, and old people were given a variety of somewhat lighter tasks, from packing cane to swishing flies.

Sugar was a very valuable commodity in the eighteenth century. In spite of the high capital investments that were needed to start up production most Kittitian plantations were able to produce enough surplus to keep their planters in some style. A few large fortunes were won from the industry. In 1817 the assets of the Pinney estate were sold for some £267,000 (Merrill, 1958: 84). The prosperity of the planters was--of course--derived from their privileged position at the top of the social and economic ladders of the island and stable high demand and price for their sugar. The eighteenth century was--for owners, at least--a period of social and economic stability on St. Kitts, the institution of slavery remained unchallenged and the old order continued to function effectively. By

the early nineteenth century, however, humanitarianism emerged as a strong force in Britain and changes in the production levels and price of sugar in the world market made the industry on St. Kitts much less profitable than it had been before. If one considers annual sugar production as a fair measure of organised economic activity--at the time there appears to have been very little else--the nineteenth century was a period of absolute economic decline on St. Kitts, throughout most of the period production was much lower than it had been a century before.

The longterm decline of the sugar industry on St. Kitts might be due to the cumulative effect of a range of developments that reduced the ability of producers on the islands to compete effectively on the world market and to make profits. The cost of slaves rose by some 300 percent between the late seventeenth century and the late eighteenth century. In the early nineteenth century (1807) the slave trade was abolished in the West Indies (Ashdown, 1979: 27) and the supply was cut off. Less labour-intensive techniques for the cultivation of cane were introduced in Cuba and in the Nordeste of Brazil. Trade between an independent United States and the colonies of the British West Indies

reduced the flow of foodstuffs and supplies from America. Since Canada was unable to compensate for the sudden surfeit of supply new European sources of supply had to be developed which were more expensive; food shortages appear to have occurred frequently on St. Kitts in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The fertility of the soil on many islands had been reduced by many decades of intensive monoculture (Ashdown, 1979: 27) and productivity--per unit of labour and capital input--fell below levels in other territories. The abolition of slavery in 1834 led to increases in production costs on St. Kitts and made Kittitian sugar more dear than in Cuba and Brazil where slavery was legal as late as the 1880s (Ashdown, 1979: 26). The Equalisation of the Sugar Duties act of 1846 ended the preferential status that the British colonies had enjoyed as suppliers to the British market. World production of sugar rose quickly in the nineteenth century and the price of the commodity fell; production of beetroot sugar in the temperate colonies and in Europe reduced effective demand for cane sugar and subsidies for beetroot production in some countries further impeded the ability of cane producers to compete for shares of overseas markets. As the profitability of the industry declined landlord absenteeism emerged as a problem. Many marginal tracts of cane land were abandoned and allowed to become scrub pasture over the course of the nineteenth century.

**Emancipation and the Emergence of the Kittitian People, 1834-1950**

The abolition of slavery in St. Kitts in 1834 had an immediate impact upon the economy and society of the island. Emancipation gave the labour force a degree of individual mobility that it had not enjoyed before. As free agents--and suppliers of labour--freedmen had the right to refuse work. On the bigger islands like Jamaica and Trinidad plentiful supplies of land allowed many people to reject work on the plantations and take up subsistence agriculture on a full-time basis and there was a critical shortage of labour after emancipation in these territories. The small size of St. Kitts-- relative to the size of the population--made it difficult to take off into the hills but from time to time many planters seem to have had trouble finding enough workers. After 1834 many planters again tried to bring in workers from England, Africa, India, Madeira, and even China. From 1835 to 1845 about 200 Englishmen were brought out to work on the estates, but like a couple of centuries before they were found to be rather awful canecutters (Richardson, 1983: 95). A few West Africans arrived on contract and seem to have worked out very well. Between 1847 to 1870 some 1,200 Portugese labourers emigrated from Madeira to Nevis and St. Kitts. By 1880 most had left the islands and those that remained no longer worked as

labourers in the industry (Richardson, 1983: 96). Temporary interisland migration also served as a source of labour for some planters.

Increased labour costs led to the introduction of a variety of labour-saving technologies in St. Kitts after 1834. Horses, oxen, and machinery reduced demand for howers and weeders (Merrill, 1958: 93). Several estates stopped production of cane and began to raise livestock, some land was leased to tenant farmers who bled the land for an immediate return rather than the longterm maintenance of soil productivity and much more land was allowed to revert to scrub. In 1825 the steam engine was brought to Nevis to grind cane and by 1850 steam technology had rendered the traditional windmills and animal-powered grinders obsolete.

Local administrative arrangements were modified in response to the labour shortage on the islands. Though never approved in London, a series of vagrancy, trespassing, and proper appearance regulations were introduced; offenders were--not surprisingly--almost always black and were forced to work in penal gangs in the cane fields as a form of 'retribution'.

**The Impact of Emancipation and Subsequent Economic Transformation upon Patterns of Settlement**

Emancipation led to significant changes in the spatial configuration of settlement on the islands. Before 1834 most workers lived in compact--meaning cramped--compounds in estate yards but after 1834 many freedmen preferred to rent small plots of land from planters that would be used to form independent villages (Merrill, 1958: 93). Though not in their interest, Landowners were forced to accommodate the wishes of freedmen on their estates for they knew that unhappy workers were free to seek employment elsewhere. The homes of freedmen--which became known as chattel houses--were small wooden structures thatched with cane leaves that could be disassembled and moved quite easily. Since cane production and processing took place throughout the lower slopes of the island and most workers and their families settled in places that were close to sources of employment the pattern of population distribution throughout the island was quite even until the middle of the twentieth century. As time progressed many Kittitians were able to accumulate enough to pay for chattel houses that were constructed of imported wood (Photo I). The chattel house remains a popular style of domestic architecture that is characteristic of St. Kitts, as it is of other islands in the Lesser Antilles that share the same socioeconomic heritage.



**Photo I. Traditional Chattel House, Verchilds**

Save for the installation of a corrugated metal roof this home appears to have changed little over the past several decades and is typical of this traditional form of domestic architecture. Most Kittitian homes are now more substantial than this example.

As the sugar industry became less labour intensive and opportunities for employment emerged in the emergent secondary and tertiary economic sectors the number of workers in the agricultural sector was reduced and increasing numbers of Kittitians began to make a living with reference to Basseterre, the principal focus of economic growth on the island. Although a good system of public transport makes it possible for one to work almost anywhere on the island

it is--of course--much more convenient for people to live in areas close to their place of employment. The centralisation of sugarcane processing on the island led in the early twentieth century led to the construction of a compound where those employed by the factory resided (Photos II & III), and many of the former estate-houses fell into disrepair. The urban complex of Basseterre has grown

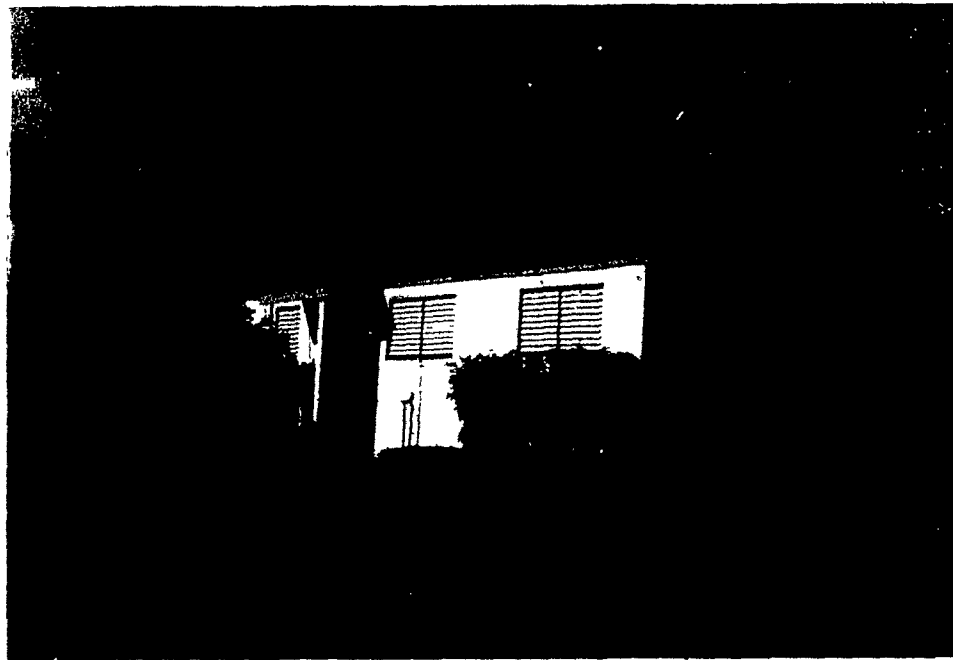


**Photo II. Managers Residence, St. Kitts Sugar Factory**

Expatriate employees of the sugar industry were not expected to suffer whilst on the island. This palatial home--set within an exclusive suburban setting of manicured hedges and verdant lawns--is now the official residence of the Prime Minister.

more rapidly over the past twenty years than the rest of the island in response to the emergence of the city as the focus of employment growth. Growth within the





**Photo III. Middle Management Home, Sugar Factory**

Not all expatriate employees of the sugar factory lived in places as opulent as that of Photo II. This home--located only partway up the hill--would have been intended for use by a Middle Manager when it was constructed.

urban complex has led to changes in patterns of residential landuse. The central areas of Basseterre, such as New Town and the Bay Road area remain much as they have been in terms of settlement patterns and despite persistent pockets of substandard housing in these areas widespread renovations have altered the overall appearance of these old neighbourhoods significantly. New shanties have been erected in recent years at the outskirts of the city as the old areas have



**Photo IV. Shanties, Northern Basseterre**

The pressures of urbanisation have led to the creation of new shantytowns on the northern periphery of Basseterre. Some of the worst housing on the island is to be found in enclaves like these.

grown more well-to-do (Photo IV). The central government has made an attempt to ameliorate the available housing stock for common folk through the construction of clusters of modest homes that rent for between EC\$200 and EC\$250 per month ("Another 500 Low-Cost Homes To Be Built In Next 2 years", The Democrat, 5.5.84, p. 1) and by the construction of The Gardens, the island's first blocks of flats--rents EC\$360 - EC\$460 per month, too expensive for most

people--on the Bay Road in Basseterre. Announced public housing construction targets have not been met however, by 1986 only 120 houses were under construction "and to be built" ("Housing, Government Continues to Deliver", The Democrat, 29.3.86, p. 1). Construction that has taken place has been concentrated in Basseterre where demand is greatest. Though bleak when new (Photo V) time

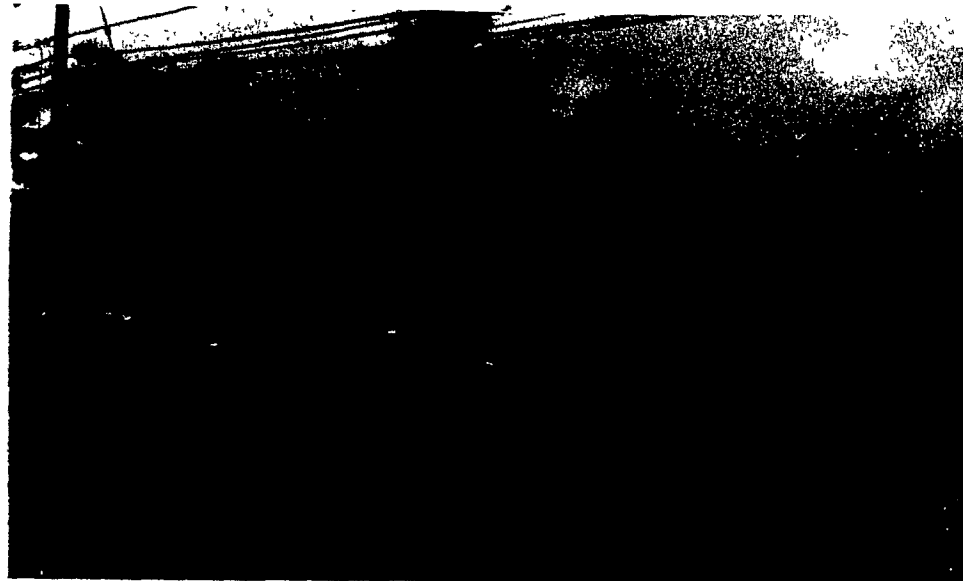


Photo V. New Public Housing, Northeastern Basseterre

**These modest and rather severe little houses are equipped with all modern amenities and are much more comfortable than overcrowded central Basseterre, housing developments like these provide a suburban lifestyle for average Kittitians.**

and a little greenery can soften their appearance significantly. The emergence of an affluent class of Kittitian professionals and administrators has led to the development of substantial suburban housing sites in Harbour View and Bird

Rock, on the eastern side of the city (Photo VI) where houses are very large--even by North American standards--and construction techniques are similar to what one encounters in southern Florida.

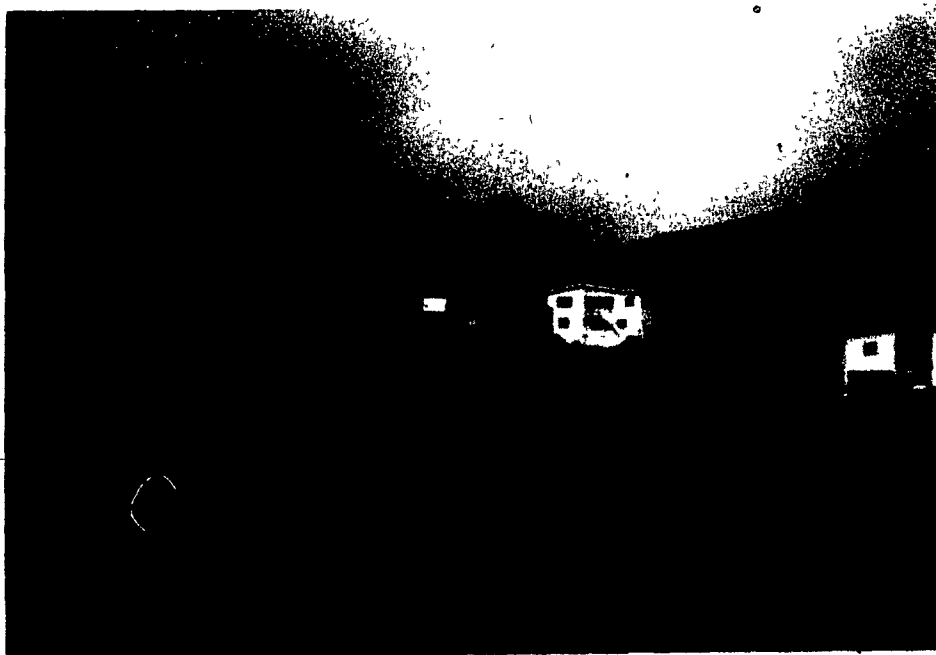


Photo VI. Suburbia, Bird Rock, Basseterre

While new affordable housing is in short supply on the island, construction of new luxury houses proceeds apace. A big home on the hillside has emerged as an important symbol of financial success, many new home construction sites even sport billboards that inform passersby of the name of the individual for whom the house is being built.

Industrialisation has been focused upon the industrial estates that have been established in the Basseterre area, as more workers are absorbed into this sector the pressures of urbanisation may be expected to increase appropriately as the

city becomes the centre of manufacturing as well as administration. The Bulk of infrastructure associated with tourism has so far been concentrated in the Frigate Bay area, near Basseterre and in the tourist-oriented shops at the centre of town. Since land costs at Frigate Bay are beyond the reach of all but the most affluent, the most practical location for workers employed within the sector at Frigate is in Basseterre. A survey of Kittitian attitudes to tourists and to tourism (see Chapter V) revealed that residents of Basseterre were much more likely to be employed within this sector than those who lived in areas more removed spatially from foci of tourism activity, whether this observed association represents a cause of patterns of employment within the sector or an effect is unclear however. If growth in tourism continues to be focused upon Frigate Bay and the manufacturing and services sectors of the economy continue to develop as they have in the recent past the prevalent pattern of urban settlement on the island will continue to shift from traditional rural estate-oriented clusters of chattel houses to the urban milieu of Basseterre.

### **Religion as a Cultural and Social Influence**

Christian missionaries did not arrive on St. Kitts until well into the nineteenth century. As long as the slaves remained heathens much of the local white élite

did not feel compelled to recognise their inherent equality as fellow human beings. Although the declared objective of the missionaries was to save the souls of the local population, one suspects that the real motive--at the beginning, at least--was to replace one institution of coercion--slavery--with another--in this case the Church of England--so that local residents might emulate the behaviour of their British patrons, even if practical equality with their former masters was not possible. At first the missionaries did little or nothing to improve the material or intellectual well-being of the people, but most freedmen did come to accept the trappings of christian worship quite readily. The obligatory pilgrimage to church each Sunday helped to develop a sense of community among the congregations, and served to reinforce the idea that they had become equal to the whites.

Most Kittitians are now very religious and a wide array of denominations are represented on the island. Big sects--like the Anglican and Roman Catholic--have large congregations and impressive churches in Basseterre; a variety of smaller orders such as Adventists, Methodists, Penecostals, and Jehovah s Witnesses have also attracted loyal followings and occupy more modest structures throughout the

island (Photo VII). Mormon missionaries are the latest arrivals on the island (Photo VIII). The Mormon method of spreading their view of morality appears



**Photo VII. Baptist Church, Upper Cayon**

**Places of worship, whether imposing or modest, serve as important foci of community spirit and social activity on St. Kitts.**

to be similar on St. Kitts as it is in other places where they are encountered.

Squeaky-clean and rosy-cheeked Americans are dispatched in pairs to spread a message of repentance to those who can be induced to believe that the Mormon way offers the safest and surest way to avoid the burning fires of Hell. The Mormon message is selective; no mention is made of traditional views



**Photo VIII. Missionaries. Central Basseterre**

**American Mormon activists are an everpresent feature throughout the island, they always travel in pairs and seek to increase support for their sect both on St. Kitts and in other islands of this strategic region.**

of the Mormon church in the United States that might be interpreted as racist, nor of the relevance--or, indeed, the morality--of the "Latter Day Saints" to non-Americans who have been the traditional victims of American imperialism. Rumor has it that the Mormons have so far enjoyed scant success on St. Kitts, though while I was on the island I encountered three young men who claimed to take the Mormon message very seriously.



American broadcast media serve as another source of foreign religious influence on the island. Ted Turner's 'Cable News Newtork (CNN) airs a wide array of fundamentalist, extremist moral-majority programs on television. One curious show which I had the misfortune to witness espoused the idea that soldiers going off to war should be issued copies of the Bible along with their guns, flame-throwers, and nuclear weapons, the theory was that if the soldiers spent some of their time reading the Book they would have less time on their hands for killing people! Other themes that were granted airtime on cable television included copious coverage and analysis of the AIDS crisis--defined as appropriate retribution for those possessed by Satan--the evils of fornication, and how much God loves the United States. A Kittitian acquaintance has informed me that the troubles of Jimmy and Tammy Baker were regarded widely as important events on the island. American broadcast media spew forth one aspect of American morality--presented as absolute truth--which has the potential to exert a significant impact upon the Kittitian consciousness. In an absence of powerful indigenous--or Kittitian grown--media interpretations of religion and morality Kittitians are left with the unhappy prospect of listening to an extreme fundamentalist vision of American reality, or nothing. Since extremism is by

nature divisive and the central theme of American fundamentalists is too often one of neofascist intolerance, the traditional rôle of religion as a centripetal focus of community on the island may be threatened.

### Nineteenth Century Wage Levels. Getting by on Sixpence

Although economic conditions on St. Kitts in the nineteenth century were somewhat better than on the Dutch and French islands of the Caribbean, they were not nearly as good as in Trinidad and Guiana. Between 1800 and 1850 Trinidadian sugar output rose from 3,000 to 16,600 tonnes per year, while in Guiana output rose from 1,200 to 29,700 tonnes (Ashdown, 1979: 27). From 1836 to 1846 hundreds of blacks migrated from St. Kitts in response to the high wages that were available in Trinidad and Guiana; migration became a very serious problem in Nevis where 2,735 of about 11,000 residents left in the decade that followed emancipation. For those who stayed behind wages remained low in spite of the apparent labour-shortage. In 1839 remuneration to first-class field workers on St. Kitts and Nevis was 6d per day, enough to purchase 700 grams of wheatflour, 1.3 kilograms of sugar, or one sock (Hall, 1971: 56). In 1836, in Antigua "...the allowance for food for a prisoner in the jail

in St. John's was 4 1/2d a day (Hall, 1971: 57). Life on 6d per day must have been bleak. By 1845 the migration-induced shortage of labour on St. Kitts had increased the daily rate of pay to one shilling but by the late 1840s the rate had again fallen back to 6d (Hall, 1971: 58).

In 1897 the Norman Commission reviewed the rôle of the sugar industry in the British Caribbean. While it recognised that the industry provided an unstable and insufficient basis for colonial economic development it noted that the demise of sugar production would "be deplorable since it would leave destitute large numbers of labourers who had been fitted for no other life" (Watson, 1982: 126). The Norman Report went on to criticise the influence of local planters on the administration of the West Indian colonies and proposed a strategy of economic diversification as a way to reduce their control and the level of dependence of the island economies upon the sugar industry. Diversification and an attempt to fit workers for other economic sectors was not to be the lot of St. Kitts, however; conditions of sugar production on St. Kitts, Antigua, and Barbados were deemed to be viable and the Commission asserted that sugar should continue to be allowed to dominate their economies (Watson, 1982: 126). A program of industrial

modernisation was launched in order to reduce production costs for the commodity. A new sugar mill was built on St. Kitts and exports of sugar rose. The new plant did serve to stimulate the economy of the island but did nothing to reduce its dependence upon sugar or to stimulate investment in other sectors.

The economic histories of Nevis and St. Kitts were quite similar until the beginning of the twentieth century; at that time a major difference emerged in the relative prosperity of the two islands (Richardson, 1983: 137). The quality of Nevisian cane had always been lower than on St. Kitts, and when prices for the commodity dropped and competition from other producers intensified it became difficult to market Nevisian sugar at a profit. An attempt was made to switch to sea island cotton in the early decades of the twentieth century but persistent infestations of pink bollworms and a severe hurricane made the production of cotton on Nevis difficult and risky (Richardson, 1983: 137). Most of the old estates were broken up, small plots of land were sold to local residents, and the small-scale production of foodstuffs came to dominate the local economy. Even though longterm monoculture had lowered the fertility of the soils of Nevis, the island became almost self-sufficient in the production of food and began to export

small quantities of local produce to St. Kitts where dependence upon imports continued. Richardson (1983: 139-140) has observed that a big difference in death rates on the two islands began to appear at this time. By 1925 the death rate on Nevis had fallen to 19 per 1,000 population, while on St. Kitts it remained stable at a very high 34 per 1,000. The birthrate on Nevis also began to drop at the time when the Nevisian people began to command direct control over the land resources of their island; in 1925 the birthrate on Nevis was 28 per 1,000, and on St. Kitts it was 43 per 1,000. While one cannot infer with certainty that the economic transformation on Nevis that occurred at a time when birth and death rates dropped was the cause of these changes, it appears that the demise of the plantations did not have a negative impact upon the health of the common folk and--in spite of severe reductions in the availability of wage employment that accompanied the economic collapse--may indeed have given Nevisians access to the resources they needed to improve their lot in life.

While surplus production from Nevis was sent to St. Kitts the quantity of food available for export was much less than what was needed to feed the much bigger island. The ongoing dependency of St. Kitts upon imported food supplies

meant that the island remained vulnerable to potential disasters from changes in the terms of trade--the relationship between the value of sugar for export and the cost of foreign foods--the ability of the metropole to provide a reliable supply of food for the island, hurricanes, droughts, and other climatic problems, and pestilence.

## **II. The Internationalisation of the Kittitian Labour Force**

A regular steamship service between the British Leewards, Bermuda, and Canada was established in 1899. The British spent great sums on military construction in Bermuda from 1901 to 1906 and thousands of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs were created. A one-way second-class passage from St. Kitts to Bermuda was dear--the equivalent of some EC\$78 in old money--but hundreds managed to raise the fare and left St. Kitts for the jobs that awaited them further north (Richardson, 1983: 118). Wages were high for the time, some 24 shillings--EC\$5 in old money--per week for a dockyard worker. The frugal could live on much less and these workers sent back over £30,000 in postal money orders alone to St. Kitts and Nevis between 1901 and 1906. When construction activity began to slow in Bermuda in 1905 many workers moved on to the United States and to

Canada to work, others went to work in the cane fields of Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and--later--Puerto Rico (Richardson, 1983: 118) where wage levels were much higher than on St. Kitts. Remittances from these workers became an important source of income for many Kittitians and for the local economy, a pattern of dependence that continues today. Very low levels of population growth on St. Kitts in the twentieth century are due to the longterm net emigration from the island that began at this time.

The first decades of the twentieth century brought some modern developments to the rural districts of the island. An inexpensive motorised bus system was established and a small-gauge circum-island railway was built to ship raw cane to the centralised sugar mill of St. Kitts quickly and efficiently (Merrill, 1958: 96).

The Great Depression had a significant impact upon the Kittitian economy. Global demand for sugar dropped steeply and the price of the commodity fell. Job opportunities abroad disappeared, remittances of foreign-earned currency dropped sharply, and hundreds of unemployed workers returned to the island.

While unemployed workers on Nevis could always resort to smallscale agriculture to survive the consolidation of the sugar industry that had taken place on St. Kitts

after the Report of the Norman Commission of 1897 meant that subsistence cropping was impossible except on the steepest slopes (Richardson, 1983: 140). Inappropriate techniques of cultivation on these slopes made the chronic problem of soil conservation much worse. Since the island consisted "almost wholly of plantations owned by Europeans" (Lewis, 1938/1977: 19) the deterioration of economic conditions and the elimination of opportunities for employment abroad caused real hardship on the island and led to resentment against the continued power of foreign plantation interests and the continued open exploitation of the island and her people by the British colonial government. While lower world prices for sugar were used as an excuse to reduce wages for workers to goat-water levels, the local industry "had paid out an annual average dividend of £17,000 from 1929 to 1934 and had added £40,000 profits to its reserves during the same period" (Richardson, 1983: 141). West Indian labour leaders visited St. Kitts in 1932, informed local residents that they were oppressed and exploited, and made an attempt to create labour unions on the island in order to respond to the traditional economic and political power that the planter élite and the imperial government exercised. The patience of the people snapped in 1935 when The Union Messenger published detailed accounts of the invasion of



Ethiopia by Fascist Italy and the failure of the British to come to the aid of the country, in spite of contemporary commitments that had been made to the League of Nations. W.A. Lewis (1938/1977: 19) noted "West Indians felt that in that issue the British Government betrayed a nation because it was black, and this...tended to destroy their faith in white government, and...(made) them more willing to take their fate in their own hands." At the end of January an angry and hungry crowd in search of higher wages gathered at Buckley's Estate and marched on to Lodge Estate where the proprietor was attacked, rocks were thrown at buildings, and farm animals were scattered. The Union Messenger (9.2.35: 1) reported that the police killed three and wounded eight in the subsequent mêlée, and people were--of course--angry for some time after. Kittitian workers were the first to use direct action as a way to cry foul at their sorry lot; by 1938 labour protests had occurred in British Guiana, Barbados, Trinidad, St. Vincent, St. Lucia and Jamaica as well (Lewis, 1938/1977: 20-38).

In 1938 yet another Royal Commission--this one, the Moyne--was appointed to conduct a systematic survey of the social and economic conditions that prevailed in the British West Indies. The Commission reported--many years later--that

conditions were grim and suggested that the agricultural recommendations of the Norman Commission--concentration and emphasis upon the sugar industry as a basis for the economy--be abandoned in favour of crop diversification and the modernisation of non-sugar agriculture. Industrialisation was again rejected as a viable strategy for the stimulation of the island economies--perhaps in an attempt to preserve the British Leewards as a market for British manufactures--though trades unions were recognised to be of value to the well-being of the workers. The Report recommended that the British government establish a general welfare fund with an annual budget of £1 million to finance development projects throughout the region (Watson, 1982: 162); minor changes were proposed for local government on the islands, though nothing was mooted that was intended to prepare the people of the islands for political independence.

In light of the recommendations of the Moyne Commission preferential access to the British market for sugar was revived. After World War II many proposals were implemented and the material wellbeing of many local residents improved a little.

Important economic changes took place on St. Kitts during World War II that served to improve the awareness and heighten the aspirations of the black labour force. Opportunities for employment were created by American military construction activity on Antigua and Trinidad (Richardson, 1983: 145) and a few locals fought in Europe. The presence of German Unterseeboots in the Caribbean--one is reputed to have landed at Nevis--and the havoc which they wrought on merchant shipping served to involve the islands of the area in the conflict directly and--in spite of a past of exploitation and oppression--rallied local patriotic fervor on the side of the British. Improved market demand for sugar and significant increases in remittances from Kittitians abroad eased the poverty of the island during the war years; many of those who had worked abroad managed to save enough money to build substantial homes and open shops upon their return (Richardson, 1983: 146). Although domestic conditions on St. Kitts at the end of the war had changed very little, Kittitian experience abroad as a result of the conflict made the world outside of the Caribbean Basin seem more accessible than before and redefined the island as a place on an equal footing with other much richer places. Extensive experience abroad served to demystify the metropole in the eyes of locals and fired a spirit to eliminate the

persistent poverty of the people; when opportunities for longterm and permanent employment in--and emigration to--Britain many Kittitians were ready and eager to embark upon the journey

### III. The Emergence of Contemporary St. Kitts, 1950-1980

From 1950 to the early 1960s some 250,000 West Indians and 15,000 Kittitians and Nevisians emigrated to Britain in order to take advantage of the opportunities that existed to participate in postwar reconstruction. Once restrictions were placed upon immigration to Britain workers began to flow to the U.S. Virgin Islands, then to St. Thomas and St. Croix, and finally--though to a lesser extent--to Canada.

Although some emigrants have returned to St. Kitts to retire, most postwar emigration from the islands to the metropole has been permanent. Foreign remittances from abroad have been large though difficult to quantify with precision due to increased reliance upon direct transfers though the banking system (Richardson, 1983: 156). While remittances of currency from abroad may have a beneficial impact upon the individual recipients of the transfer and the

economy of the island as a unit, they may also serve as a significant force of economic stratification and social stress amongst the local population due to the differences in material well-being between families fortunate enough to possess a foreign source of income and those who do not, indeed Swanson (1979: 16) regards the economic benefits from immigration and remittances to be little more than "crumbs served from the table of the rich". While foreign remittances may serve to raise the standard of living of recipients above a level of absolute poverty Conway (1984: 12) doubts whether these infusions of money play a significant rôle in the development of productive enterprise within the local economy. The typical recipient of a regular remittance from abroad is a parent of a family member who has emigrated. H. Rubenstein (1979: 332) has noted that most remittances are needed for the direct maintenance and comfort of the recipient and that most such monies are spent on consumption goods such as imported food, clothing, equipment, and housing, rather than upon productive local investment. Largescale emigration since the beginning of the century may have also contributed to the cycle of underdevelopment and poverty that has persisted on the island. Most of those who left the island were better educated than average and practiced useful skills and trades, these 'brain drains' must

have degraded the human resource endowment of the island and reduced the quantity of quality labour available to participate in national development. Since most emigration to the metropole has been permanent, few locals have returned to make productive capital investments in the local economy. Emigration has also served to destabilise family life on the islands by separating husbands from wives and parents from children "and resulted in the placement of a large number of children with 'foster' parents" (Aronoff, 1965: 35). Another problem of reliance upon remittances as a source of local prosperity is that a boom/bust pattern of economic well-being can develop where "progress is experienced during the industrial metropolis' prosperity in good years, but retrenchment and hardship occurs over a long adjustment period in lean years" (Conway, 1984: 4). One small benefit to local workers that arose from the postwar emigration was a modest real increase in wage rates for those employed in the cane fields, in response to the minor shortages of labour that appeared from the removal of many workers from the economy. More recently mechanisation has reduced the net requirement for labour in the sugar industry and the labour shortage has become a surplus.

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**Bradshaw and the Struggle for Political and Economic Independence**

The pattern of recognition and valuation of the natural and human resource endowments of the island had changed little between the arrival of sugar cultivation in the middle of the seventeenth century and 1970 and as a consequence the nature of domestic economic activity on the island changed little over that period of time. Although the standard of living rose significantly after the war most improvements occurred as a consequence of foreign remittances and foreign aid, rather than domestic economic growth and progress. Severe hurricanes hit the islands in 1949 (Union Messenger, 6 9 49, p. 1) and in 1955, great damage was done to the crops, structures, and hillsides of both St. Kitts and Nevis. By 1960 sugarcane remained the focus of the Kittitian economy while Nevis had reverted to smallscale agriculture and the cultivation of a few coconuts and a little cotton.

Although economic development was slow to arrive on St. Kitts important changes in the political and economic aspirations of the people took place hastened by the hardship of the Great Depression, World War II, and the internationalisation of the Kittitian population after the war, that rendered most Kittitians dissatisfied

with their traditional lot in life. By 1960 the local population found the prospect of continued economic and political reliance upon--and subservience to--imperialist patrons in Whitehall, and the exploitive system of socioeconomic relations imposed upon the people of St. Kitts by metropolitan plantation interests unacceptable. Dissatisfaction with the status quo appears to have been reflected in the popular desire for, and the subsequent struggle for, home rule which emerged as a collective goal after the war.

A three month long general strike on St. Kitts in 1948 wrought havoc in the canefields, led to the destruction of ten percent of the crop by fire, and resulted in the appointment of yet another Royal Commission called Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Organisation of the Sugar Industry of St. Christopher (1949).\*

In 1950 a rally that became known as 'Operation Blackburne' took place in Basseterre to protest the refusal of the British government to seek the approval of the local elected leaders before the appointment of governors and administrators to the colonies. The leader of the protest was Robert Bradshaw

\*As with the inquiries that preceded it, the Report of the Commission...of the Sugar Industry of St. Christopher noted that poverty and injustice prevailed upon the island, but recommended that the industry be modernised and intensified rather than retained as a sector within a more diversified economy.



(1916-1978) (Robert Llewellyn Bradshaw, funerary biography, 1978: 2) A Kittitian labour leader who played an important--perhaps pivotal--rôle in the realisation of Associated Statehood Status for St. Kitts, Nevis, and Anguilla, in 1967.

Robert Bradshaw had a significant impact upon the development of the island. Through the St. Kitts Workers League--later the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Labour Party--he was able to implement his philosophy of social justice for the working class of the islands (Jones-Hendrickson, 1984: 20). As a plantation economy the fortunes of St. Kitts were linked closely to the fortunes of sugar and to the largess of the plantocracy that controlled the industry since its introduction in the late seventeenth century. Bradshaw sought to break the power of this élite so that the resources of the island might be exploited in a manner that would ensure an appropriate return to those who worked in the industry directly. Nationalisation of the Kittitian sugar industry was first mooted in the early 1950s (Background to the Acquisition by Negotiations of the Assets by the St. Kitts (Basseterre) Sugar Factory Ltd. 1952: 2). When increases in production costs and falling prices induced many estates to withdraw land from sugar cane production in the early

1970s (Merrill, 1984: 6) the government saw its chance and nationalised the industry in 1975-1976. The nationalised sugar industry has not been a source of much profit over the past decade, three centuries of monoculture have drained the cane lands of much of their natural fertility and an array of chemical fertilisers are now required to keep productivity high; the sugar factory itself dates back to 1911 and is inefficient by modern standards. Given the current state of the world market for sugar continued private ownership of the resource would have led to much greater reductions in sugar production than have taken place in recent years with disastrous consequences for the labour force of the island. Under the aegis of Mr. Bradshaw healthcare, education, and nutritional levels improved significantly, and a social security program was introduced to provide some income for the unemployed and the retired. His staunch support for CARICOM implies that his nationalist strategies for progress were not confined to the narrow territorial areas of St. Kitts and Nevis (Jones-Hendrickson, 1984: 31).

Fame and progress are not often realised without considerable cost. While supporters of Bradshaw saw him as a great nationalist leader and patron of the working people of the islands, detractors viewed him as an eccentric and

ambitious opportunist who sought to fashion the country in his own image for the convenience and benefit of his supporters. Anguillian hostility against Bradshaw led to a declaration of independence by the island under the leadership of Ronald Webster (Watson, 1982: 181). Mr. Bradshaw--and many others--maintained that the event occurred because of the activities of gangsters on the island, but popular hostility against Bradshaw's Kittitian-oriented policies may have also been a significant factor. Britain invaded the island in 1969 with a contingent of forty-five policemen and Anguilla was returned to colonial status (Watson, 1982, 181). By the mid 1970s Anguillian-style alienation had spread to nearby Nevis where many had grown dissatisfied with the manner in which the government of the union of St. Kitts-Nevis had managed the affairs of the their island and of the country. Kittitians and Nevisians often claim that Mr. Bradshaw--despite the great progress that he and his party brought to the islands--initiated measures that led to the politicisation of the union's administrative bureaucracy. Nevisians had come to feel dominated--and even oppressed--by the actions and policies of Mr. Bradshaw and his Kittitian-based parliamentary majority. At the time most Nevisians opposed full political independence in partnership with St. Kitts because they feared that there would

be no recourse to a higher authority if Kittitian politicians chose to impose their will upon the people of the much smaller island. In 1975 a de facto referendum on the question of Nevisian separation was held via a vote for the Nevis

Reformation Party. The party won the support of 80 percent of the active electorate. In the 1980 election the Labour Government was removed from office and the People's Action Movement (PAM) was elected, a series of constitutional amendments and the selection of a Nevisian as Minister of Finance seems to have appeased popular Nevisian demands for separation from the union for the time being, at least.

### **Microregionalism in the Islands, a Geographical Explanation**

Although it is unreasonable to expect that islands close together in space but with distinct colonial histories and experiences would have strong affinities for each other, one would expect that islands with similar colonial, economic, and cultural traditions would be able to establish and maintain close cooperative contacts in order to enhance the collective human and natural resource endowments of the islands and--by extension--improve their prospects for collective economic development.

A lack of interisland unity has been a persistent and nagging problem in the British West Indies. A federation of the Leeward Islands was established in 1871 in an apparent attempt to rationalise the administration of the colonies in the Lesser Antilles (Ashdown, 1979: 35). Residents of individual islands appear to have been less than enthusiastic about the federation; there were fears that local identities and traditions would be lost with the political, economic, and administrative unification of the islands (Watson, 1982: 155). After the formal breakup of the Leeward Federation in 1956, St. Kitts and Nevis became members of the Federation of the British West Indies and Robert Bradshaw--one of the key architects of the federation (Johes-Hendrickson, 1984: 6)--served in the federal government as Minister of Finance. Mr. Bradshaw sought to promote unity among the islands of the Caribbean and expressed his unhappiness with fragmentation so often that "that which was expressed was impressed" (Harris, 1973: 50) on the minds of the Caribbean people. Despite such impressions the Federation of the British West Indies survived only four years; the Federation may have been rendered nonviable by the failure of the mainland colonies--Belize and Guiana--to join, individual nationalist sentiments in Jamaica and Trinidad, and fears of small territories that independence from Britain would

bring only continued subservience to larger, more powerful territories within the region (Ashdown, 1979: 44).

Longterm isolation and the policies of colonial fragmentation pursued by Britain have endowed--or cursed, depending on one's point of view--the islands with strong local identities and a strong dislike for subjugation of any form, genuine or perceived. Since islands were administered more or less individually for such a long time, and trade was promoted with the imperialist power rather than with other islands of the region, few opportunities arose for the emergence of cooperative integration within the region. British ingenuity for the perpetuation of a large number of tiny colonial dependencies rather than the development of a large and united political, economic, and cultural entity is demonstrated by the structure of the regional postal system. In an absence of direct steamship communications links between the islands a letter sent from St. Kitts to Barbados (a distance of about 700 kilometres) was first sent to London (7,400 kilometres away) where it was sorted, and then returned to Barbados (7,600 kilometres), similar restrictions existed on the movement of passengers and freight as well. In retrospect the British rationale for such a strategy of administration is easy enough to understand. Since unity leads to strength an administrative emphasis

upon the differences between the islands and measures to discourage communications between them would tend to diffuse popular dissatisfaction with any aspect of administration into a large number of small movements, rather than one big conflagration. British imperial interests appear to have been aware that a united regional uprising against domination and exploitation could not be extinguished--as could localised unrest--by a little police gunfire or a Royal Commission. The Caribbean Common Market (CARICOM) represents the most recent attempt to achieve some sort of regional unity, it is touted to represent an important vehicle of international cooperation between member states but--in terms of practical reality--appears to do little to pool the individual resource endowments of the islands in a manner that will promote practical economic development throughout the region (Watson, 1979: 188)

#### V. Current Economic, Political, and Social Survey, 1980-1986

St. Kitts and Nevis were granted full independence from Britain in 1983. The legacy of almost four centuries of economic and social exploitation left the islands with a suboptimal régime of natural resources and range of human skills that could be mobilised in an integrated and comprehensive program of national

development. The task that confronts St. Kitts and Nevis is ambitious enough. Infant mortality, at a rate of 43 per 1,000 live births (Table I) in 1982 was one of the highest in CARICOM, though the rate has since fallen to 28 per 1,000 there is still room for considerable improvement when compared with Grenada's rate of 14.9 per 1000 in 1981 but much better than the grizzly conditions that prevail in St. Vincent where the rate has been as high as 100 per 1,000 births as late as 1973. The rate of economic growth in gross domestic product (GDP) at factor cost had averaged only 1.1 percent between 1960 and 1982 (CIDA, 1984) expanded

**Table I**

**Infant Mortality Rates: Selected Islands, 1970-1981**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Barbados</u>	<u>Dolize</u>	<u>Dominica</u>	<u>Grenada</u>	<u>St. Kitts/Nevis</u>	<u>St. Vincent</u>
1970	46.5	51.2	35.2	32.8	48.4	56.2
1971	29.2	30.9	51.6	26.1	65.0	49.0
1972	30.9	34.0	34.7	16.0	69.6	69.6
1973	37.7	41.7	38.7	18.4	52.3	99.6
1974	31.5	42.5	28.1	31.1	57.7	63.4
1975	33.1	42.6	26.8	23.5	42.8	64.4
1976	26.4	45.1	23.0	27.7	33.3	54.1
1977	26.3	40.0	26.8	16.7	42.1	55.5
1978	28.5	39.9	19.6	29.0	41.5	49.2
1979	20.2	37.8	--*	15.4	49.5	38.1
1980	34.9	30.2	--*	23.7	53.0	60.2
1981	15.6	27.9	--*	14.9	45.7	45.6

\*Data Unavailable

Source: adapted from Caricom Statistics Digest 1970-1981 (1984), Table 8, and St. Christopher and Nevis Annual Digest of Statistics for 1982 (1984), Table 9.

at an average rate of 4.4 percent between 1978 and 1982 (St. Christopher and



Nevis Annual Digest of Statistics for 1982 (1984), Table 74), in 1983 a negative growth rate of 5.0 percent was recorded (St. Kitts and Nevis Statistics in Brief, 1985, Table IV).

The size of the active labour force on St. Kitts-Nevis (separate figures for each island are not available) is about 20,000. The agricultural sector is by far the largest, about one half of all active workers are employed in the industry. The secondary--or industrial/manufacturing--sector employs about thirty percent of active workers and the tertiary--services--sector about twenty percent (Investing in St. Kitts and Nevis, 1982: 9). Although official unemployment statistics were not published in St. Christopher & Nevis Annual Digest of Statistics for 1982 (1984), St. Kitts-Nevis Statistics in Brief (updated 1986), or even in The Federation of St. Christopher and Nevis Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year 1985 (1986), there can be little doubt that rates of unemployment and underemployment are very high.

With the realisation of Associated-Statehood status in 1967 the national government of St. Kitts-Nevis gained control over domestic economic policy.

The need to diversify the local economy and create employment for the local workforce had long been recognised as a serious challenge by Kittitian politicians and community leaders. Specific policies were then implemented to develop the three pillars of the island economy: agriculture, manufacturing and industry, and tourism.

#### **Agricultural Development on St. Kitts, 1970-1986**

J.R. Sargent et. al. in The Report of the Tripartite Economic Survey of the Eastern Caribbean (1967: 34) noted:

"Someone unfamiliar with these small densely-populated islands knowing only that they are heavily dependent on agriculture might reasonably expect that they would be producing as much output as the land is capable of producing at the existing level of technology. But this is far from the case: there is enormous scope for increasing output both by using unused but potentially productive land and by increasing production on land already in use."

J. S. Brierley (1985: 298) has observed that "despite an ever-increasing reliance on imported food, these nations possess substantial tracts of farmland lying idle and more than half the labour force is unemployed or underemployed."

Table II provides a comparative review of patterns of agricultural land use in selected countries of the Eastern Caribbean in each case significant quantities of land designated as agricultural had fallen from use by the mid 1970s. Idleness

ranged from a low of 22.9 percent in Grenada to a high of 89.5 percent in tiny Montserrat; on St. Kitts and Nevis--separate figures for each island are not available--idle land is also a very critical problem with some 43.6% of agricultural land in this condition. In Grenada measures were initiated under the People's Revolutionary Government of Maurice Bishop to make productive use

**Table II**

**Patterns of Agricultural Landuse, Selected Eastern Caribbean Countries (Hectares)**

<u>Country</u>	<u>Total Area of Farmland</u>	<u>Land in Permanent Crops</u>	<u>Land in non-Permanent Crops</u>	<u>Other land</u>
Grenada (1975)*	18,857	9,372 (49.7%)	5,167 (27.4%)	4,318 (22.9%)
St. Vincent (1972-1973)	13,909	3,389 (28.0%)	4,828 (34.7%)	5,186 (37.3%)
St. Lucia (1975)	33,278	13,178 (39.6%)	6,056 (18.2%)	14,044 (42.2%)
St. Kitts and Nevis (1975)	16,766	4,721 (28.2%)	4,721 (28.2%)	7,324 (43.6%)
Montserrat (1972)	2,372	39 (1.6%)	212 (8.9%)	2,121 (89.5%)

\*Year of Survey

Source: Brierley, J.S., "Idle Land in Grenada: A Review of its Causes and the PRG's Approach to Reducing the Problem", in The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe Canadien, Volume 29, No. 4, 1985, Table I.

of idle land on the island. T. Thorndike (1985, 100-101) has reported that disused land in private hands was "either allocated to the GFC (Grenada Farms Corporation) if adjacent to any of its twenty-three units, or to unemployed youths

who wanted to be small farmers. Over four years, about 2,000 took up the offer".

A rational programme of feeder-road construction and a reformed marketing system also had a significant impact upon food output. Food imports as a proportion of total imports fell from 30.6 percent to 27.5 percent between 1979 and 1982, (Thorndike, 1985: 102) and it led to increases in the volume of exports of fruits and vegetables--bound mainly for Trinidad--to increase some 300 percent between 1981 and 1982 (Coard, 1983: 28), levels of unemployment on the island also dropped, in part due to the renewed popularity of smallscale farming among young people. In St. Kitts imports of food and food products accounted for some 21.55 percent of total imports in 1981 and 22.27 percent in 1982 (calculated from St. Kitts and Nevis Annual Digest of Statistics for 1982, 1984: 53-54, 65) and represented--by my calculations--about two-thirds of total purchased food consumption on the island (derived from Ibidem: 53, 54, 66) \*

The potential for growth of the smallscale agricultural sector on St. Kitts based upon Kittitian reality and the Grenadian experience may be significant. At present, however, practical administrative difficulties arise from the fact that

\*This is an important distinction, since most food produced on village plots and much produced within the smallscale sector are not included in formal production calculations the de facto proportion of imports to total food production is--no doubt--somewhat less than this figure.

"more than 90 percent of cultivable land is occupied by plantations" (Ward, 1985: 31). Although plantations have been public property since the mid 1970s the idle public land that had once been used for cane has not been put to productive use by smallscale agronomists as efficiently as it might have been.

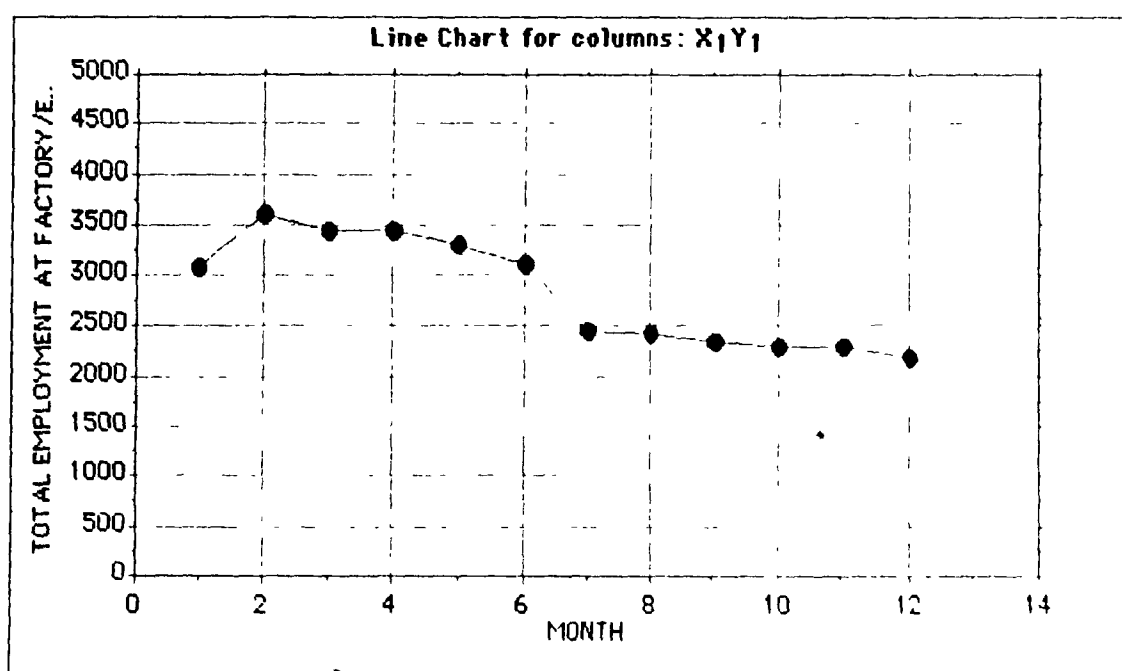
### i. Sugar

Export-oriented monoculture is the traditional mainstay of the island economy, for three centuries the demand for Kittitian sugar products determined the relative prosperity of the island; in retrospect intensive specialisation in sugar monoculture appears to have had a deleterious impact upon the ability of the agricultural sector to provide the people of the island with the range of foodstuffs that it requires. When the world price of sugar was very high the traditional fertile soils of the lower slopes of the island were cropped intensively and over many decades of abuse were degraded through erosion and exhaustion. While a wide array of crops can still be grown in these areas, chemical fertilisers must be applied in order to obtain good yields. The sugar industry remains big business on the island with an average of 2,840 participants at the sugar factory and sugar

estates in 1985; although the figure varies significantly from month to month (Figure II) on an annual basis it ranks as the largest single formal employer on the island. Although productivity in the industry increased between 1971 and

**Figure II**

**Total Employment at Sugar Factory and Sugar Estates,  
by Month, 1985**



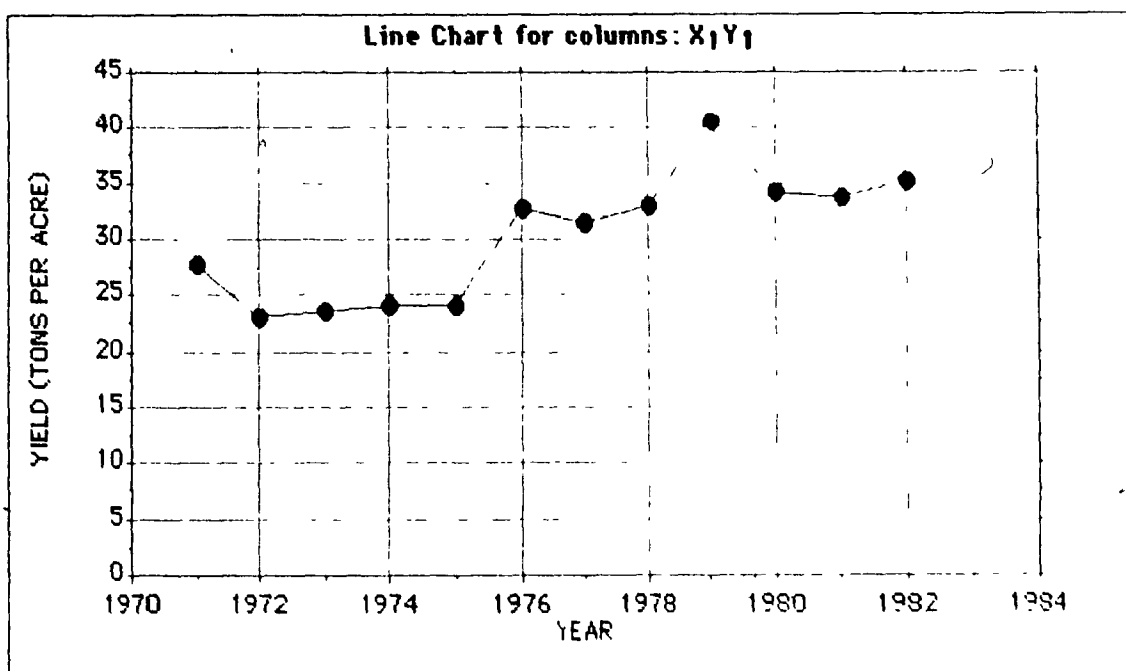
**SOURCE: adapted from The Federation of St. Kitts and Nevis Annual Report of The  
Department of Labour For the Year 1985, Table 1(d) Cont'd.**

1982 (Figure III)--the latest years for which official figures have been published--and the value of exports has increased dramatically (Figure V), the global collapse of free-market sugar prices and American largesse has hit the industry hard. Prime Minister Simmonds has noted:

"While sugar prices fell through the floor, the cost of equipment and essential materials rose through the ceiling...(i)n addition our US quota which brought us a preferential price was drastically cut by 25 percent." (St. Kitts-Nevis Anniversary Special, September, 1986.

**Figure III**

**Productivity of Sugar Industry, Measured in Tons of Cane Per Acre**  
**St. Kitts, 1971-1982**

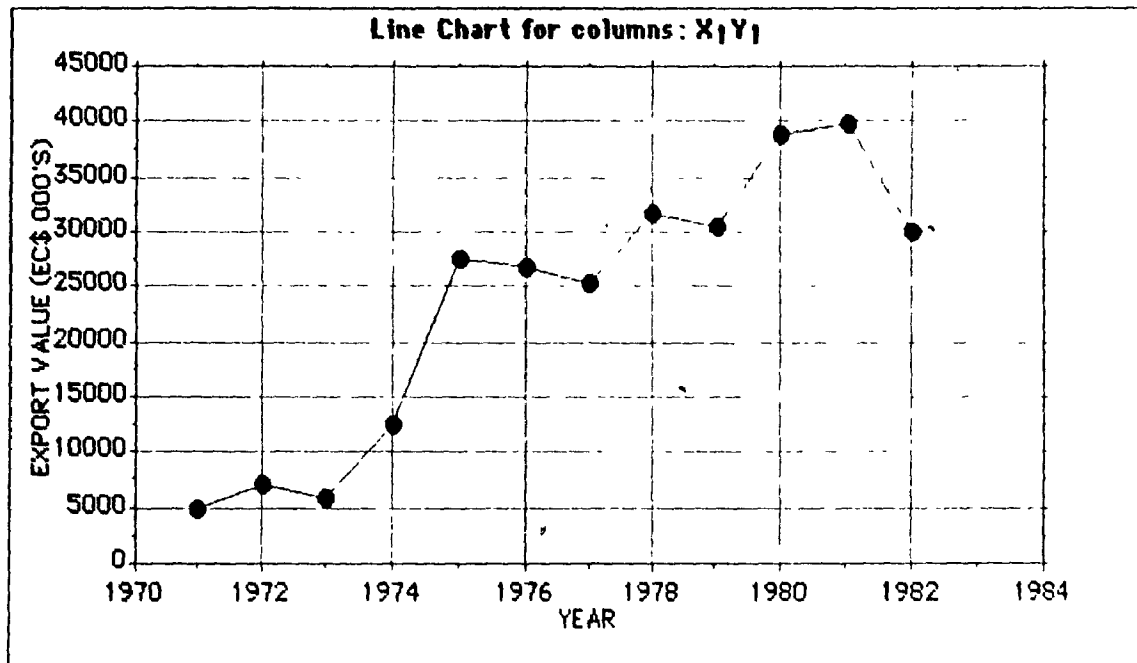


**SOURCE:** adapted from St. Christopher and Nevis Annual Digest of Statistics for 1982, (1984), Table 90.

Current government policy is directed towards the longterm stabilisation and de-emphasis of the industry and the conscious promotion of smallscale agriculture, industry, and tourism, as vehicles for the diversification of the island economy.

**Figure IV**

**Value of Sugar Exports, St. Kitts, 1971-1982.**  
**(EC\$000's)**



**SOURCE:** from St. Christopher and Nevis Annual Digest of Statistics for 1982, 89

**ii. Smallscale Agriculture**

Until the canelands of St. Kitts were nationalised in the mid 1970s control of the crop was in the hands of a small plantocracy. Smallscale agriculture has a much more populist tradition (Innes, 1972: 1). Blacks have always been the driving force behind this vital agricultural sector (Perry, 1970: 8) and local ingenuity has led to the development of a variety of forms of small-scale cultivation on the island.



Within a village environment most individuals with access to free space will use it to grow a variety of woody or tree crops such as avocado pears, bananas, custard and sugar apples, limes, plantains, and papayas. Village gardens are also used to produce a number of ground provisions such as cassava, pidgeon peas, sweet potatoes, and yams. J. Cline, an American farmer, and former Peace Corps Volunteer, has taken a sincere interest in the development of the household garden sector of agriculture on the island and operates a small test plot to determine which crops often associated with temperate climes might be grown successfully in a Kittitian household garden. He has observed that several strains of sweetcorn, tomatoes, squash, haricot beans, and courgetts can be grown with a little persuasion (Photos IX & X). Mr. Cline has kept accurate records of sowing and reaping dates and has observed that most of his sample crops mature much more quickly than they do further north. Neighbours and smallscale farmers in the area have taken a keen interest in his work and significant interchange has taken place between them. Mr. Cline has learned much of time-proven local agronomical techniques, has himself become a source of new ideas and technical expertise within the agricultural community of the area, and his garden has emerged as a most serviceable experimental farm-in-miniature. While the



Photo IX. Sweetcorn. Household Garden. Upper Cayon

**Sweetcorn can mature in as little as six weeks on St. Kitts.**

commercial implications of village plots are limited--everything produced by them is almost always consumed within the adjacent household or nearby--they appear to serve as an important, high quality, and inexpensive source of food for many--perhaps the majority--of Kittitians.

Multiple-mixed cropping--or the food forest--is another strategy of agricultural production with a long history on St. Kitts. Food forests consists of a very large



**Photo X. Experimental Household Garden Plot, Upper Cayon**

**A wide variety of temperate crops can be grown successfully on St. Kitts, in the lower right of the photo are sweetpeppers, in the middle spinach, and in the upper left tomatoes. Bagass as a mulch helps the soil retain moisture and controls weed growth.**

**number of plant types which are grown together in order to fulfill a wide array of needs. Appendix I provides a list of the plants which were observed within a**

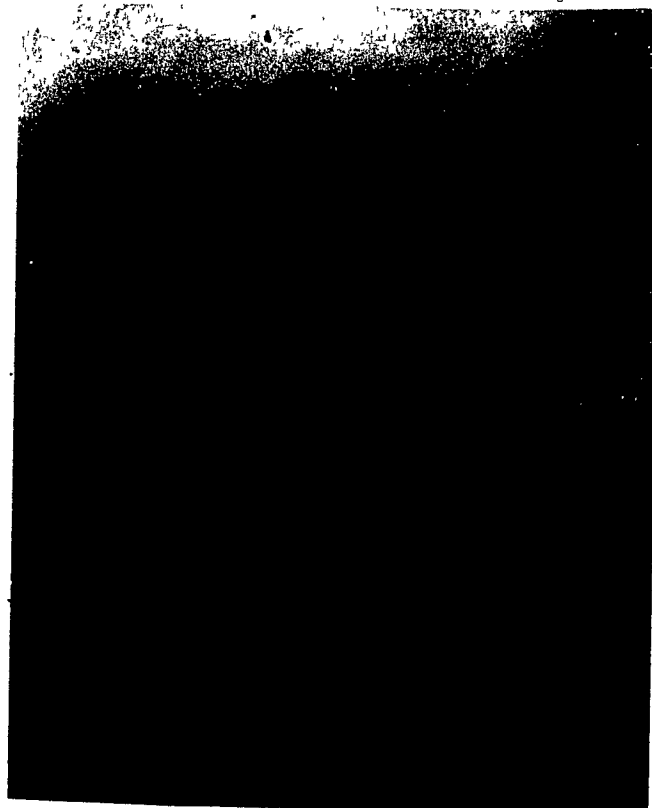
single Kittitian food forest that was studied by T.L. Hills in 1965. While some plants are grown to serve the immediate needs of individual farmers others--such as the genip, banana, sugar apple, avocado, coconut, cashew, lemon, lime, haricot bean, pumpkin, melon, yam, tomato, onion, carrot, beet, black pepper, tamarind, etc. have commercial potential. Food forests have the potential to provide bountiful yields of high quality fruits and vegetables, but their value and significance has been--with one exception (Olivier, 1936)--until very recently overlooked or discounted by metropolitan and metropolitan-trained overseers more familiar with the technologies associated with successful market gardens of temperate climes than the indigenous and sensitive ways of the Caribbean food forest farmer. Hills (1987:1) has observed:

**"The food forest has survived in scattered parts of the Caribbean, in spite of "modernization" programs generated by "development" aid and the Caribbean graduates of either North American or European agricultural colleges or local colleges modelled on the latter. The "cry" that went out from many of these programs was to abandon the traditional, without ever having taken complete stock of all that the traditional agronomy had to offer."**

By their nature, food forests are able to produce small quantities of a large number of crops, as a consequence the farmer is able to manipulate his output in a manner that will help to ensure that big surpluses of some crops and derths

of others are avoided. While largescale market gardens serve as a very effective strategy for the production of a specific crop the vagaries of the production process--and final demand--can often lead to trouble. St. Vincent is rumoured to to have been awash in red peppers a few years ago. Since many crops decay quickly and other islands of the region will also yield the same things exports can be difficult.

The present government has initiated some projects which are intended to help small farmers increase production and to market their output more quickly. In the hills to the south of Sadlers on the northwestern side of the island a paved roadway has been built up into the hills (Photo XI). While the roadway provides a pleasant drive for those with access to a motor vehicle, the practical benefit that accrues to those in the immediate vicinity of the installation is unclear. When I made inquiries about the roadway to two farmers at work in the area I was informed--in no uncertain terms, to put it delicately--that the road was constructed because a "Pamite"--a rather insulting word that refers to a die-hard supporter and beneficiary of one of the main political parties of the island--had decided to build a home in the area. The large and smelly pile of garbage that heaped at the base of the roadway in September of 1986 implied that many other



**Photo XI. Road to Nowhere. Near Sadlers**

**At least two paved drives like this have been built in recent years, though a pleasant diversion for the adventurous, they appear to serve little practical purpose.**

people in the area were also unimpressed by this specific development project.

That food forests have been able to survive as a viable strategy of agricultural production in spite of the deliberate promotion of other techniques serves to demonstrate the inherent viability of the technology, and with a little well-directed support and continued improvements in marketing the food forest might be expected to be able to supply a larger portion of market demand for fruits and vegetables.

As marginal sugar estates ceased to function many peasant farmers were able to purchase or rent plots of land from landowners (Perry, 1970: 7). Market gardens have now taken over some areas of abandoned cane land (Photo XII), and with appropriate inputs are able to yield large quantities of quality produce. One



**Photo XII. Mixed Cropping on Abandoned Cane Land, Cayen**

**As canelands are taken out of production land has become available to produce vegetables for local markets.**

market garden farmer within whom I spoke noted that the rewards can be quite good but would be better if credit were available more readily and the de facto availability of production-enhancing services such as rototilling were improved.

In 1985 the Taiwanese government donated twelve rototillers to St. Kitts, but a year later several remained idle and the charge levied by the Department of Agriculture for the service was a whopping EC\$130 per acre (EC\$292.50/hectare), an impossible sum for most small farmers to raise at planting time. One farmer with whom I spoke told me of a friend who was willing to pay the high price of this service, but had to wait some four months before machine and operator arrived to do the job!

### The Development of Industry on St. Kitts, 1970-1986

In the late 1960s an attempt was made to stimulate the economy in a manner that would be of direct benefit to the working class. Unlike many socialist economists of the period such as S. Amin (1977), P. Baran (1975), A.G. Frank (1975), or W. Rodney (1974) Robert Bradshaw never saw western economic history and the theoretical benefits to be realised from participation in global capitalist relations with the metropole as irrelevant to the potential for development in peripheral plantation economies such as St. Kitts. S.B. Jones-Hendrickson (1984: 25) has observed that the main thrust of his development philosophy was to attempt "to inject a sense of pride and power in the



working-class of St. Kitts. He was in a sense convincing the people that one of their strategies for progress in the post-independence St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla was for them to be creators of circumstances rather than creatures of circumstances."

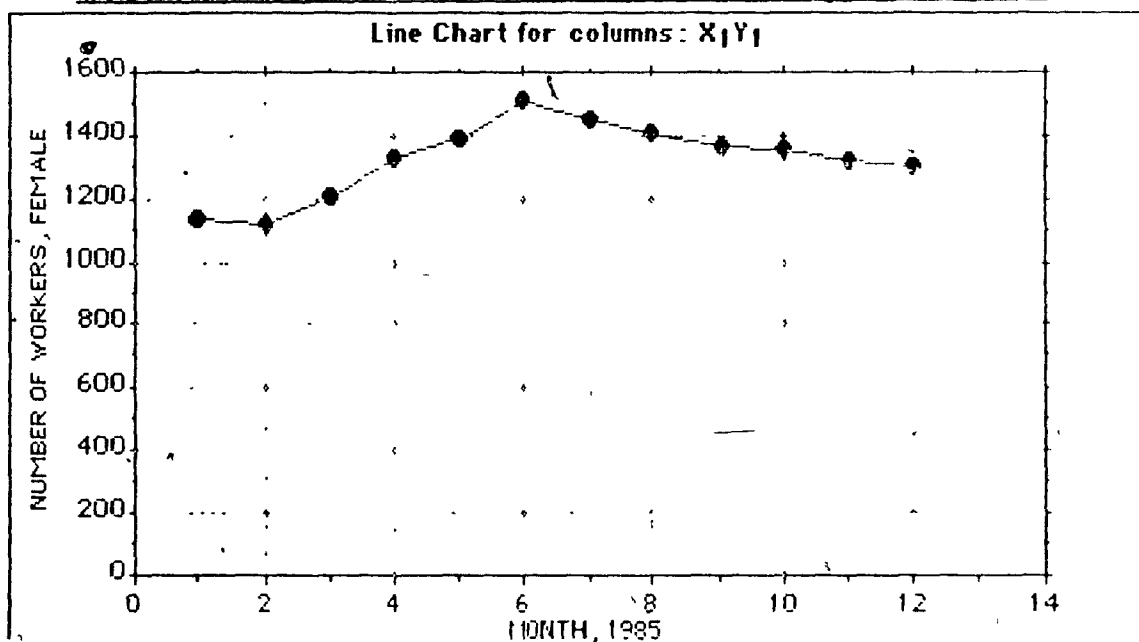
### Foreign Investment in Industry

Mr. Bradshaw developed a policy for the promotion of industrial development. Since the population of St. Kitts has long been stable at somewhat less than 40,000, a program of import substitution industrialisation for all but the lowest order goods is impractical; shortages of local capital for productive investment and a lack of local entrepreneurial experience on a large scale also serves to make locally-generated industrialisation difficult. In an attempt to woo foreign industrial investment--and provide an appropriate environment for local business to grow--the Pond's and Bird Rock Industrial Estates were established on the eastern side of Basseterre. The area was serviced with utilities and several buildings were constructed and made available to entrepreneurs who were willing to establish businesses that would provide employment for the local labourforce. A series of tax incentives, low labour, land, and construction costs,

and--more recently--a pro-private enterprise national government have, attracted a wide variety of investors. By 1985 a total of about 1,500 people were employed in the island's electronics, garment, and shoe industries, located--for the most part--in these areas. Figures V and VI show total levels of employment within the electronics, garment, and shoe industry sectors, by sex of employees. Industrial development has as the figures imply brought greater opportunities for employment to the women of the island than to the men, though security of employment in these industries appears to be greater for men than for women

**Figure V**

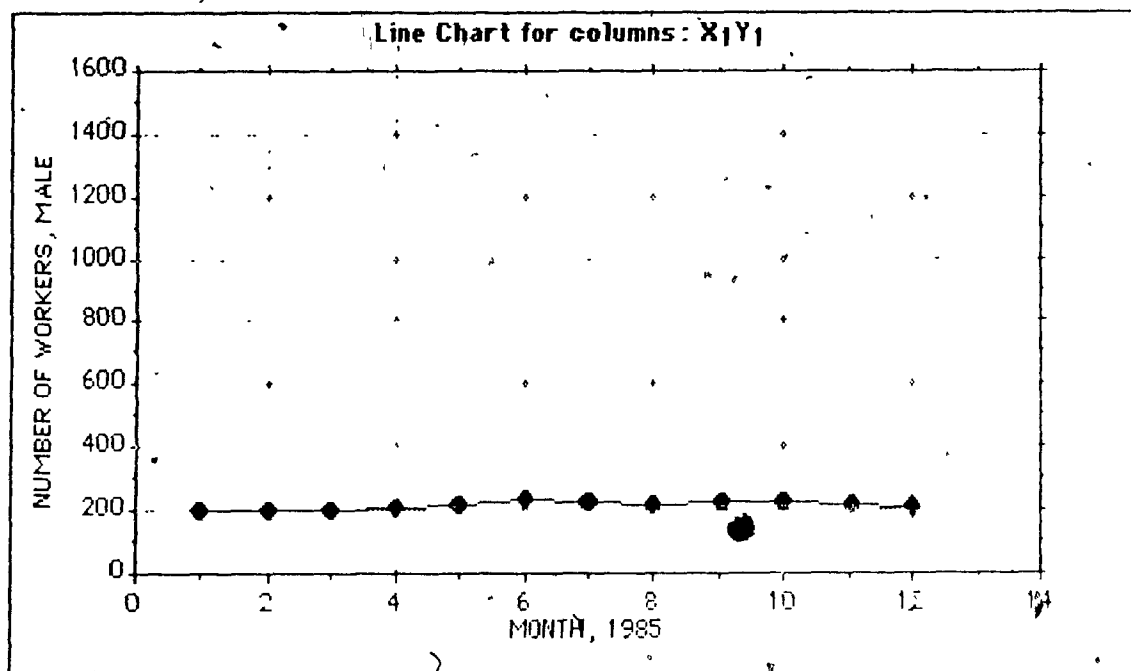
**Employment Levels for Female Workers in St. Kitts,  
In Electronics, Garment, and Shoe Industries, by month, 1985**



Source: Adapted from The Federation of St. Christopher and Nevis Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year 1985, Table I(d) Cont'd.

**Figure VI**

**Employment Levels of Male Workers in St. Kitts,  
In Electronics, Garment, and Shoe Industries, by month, 1985**



Source: adapted from The Federation of St. Christopher and Nevis Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year 1985, Table I(d) Cont'd

appears to be greater for men than for women. Most--perhaps all--

foreign-owned manufacturing enterprises that have been established on the

island rely upon inexpensive local labour to process and assemble imported

components; processed components are then exported for final assembly and

packaging elsewhere. One exception to this rule is Caribbean Shoe Manufacturers

Ltd., (Photo XIII) which assembles footwear for sale on the island and abroad, all

material components--leather, soles, laces, thread, etc.--are, however, imported.

Fixed capital investments are low in such industries, Merrill (1984: 9) has

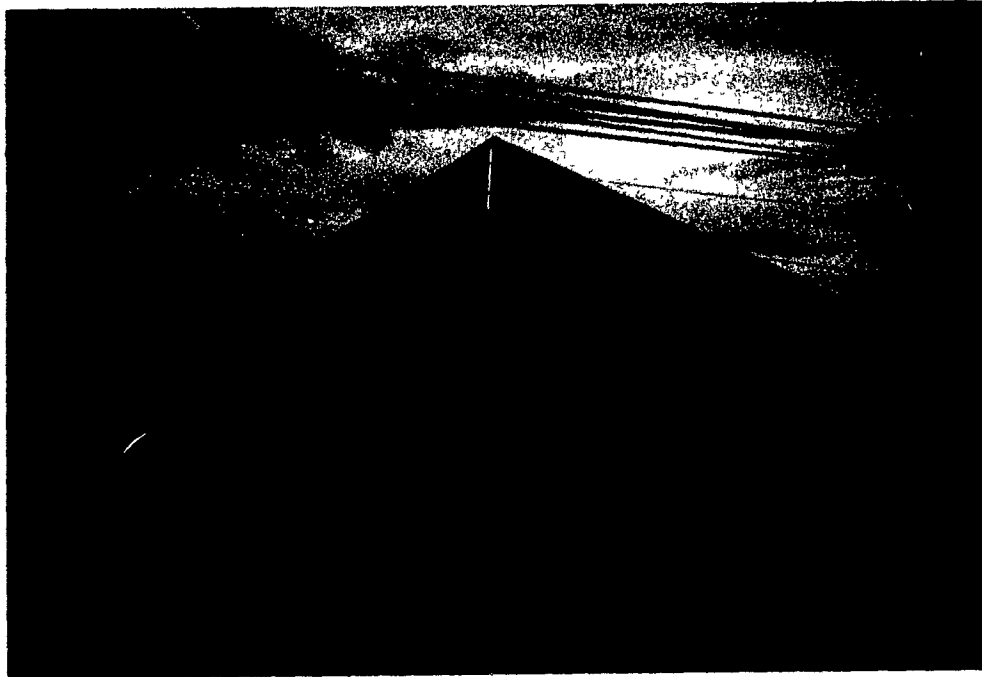


Photo XIII. Footwear Factory, Basseterre

In spite of a high quality product local rumor suggests that Caribbean Shoe Manufacturers may be in financial difficulty.

estimated an average capitalisation figure of about EC\$600 per employee. When one considers the intensity of work that is required to ensure that an assembly line runs smoothly wages are low, even by Kittitian standards.

Wellington Ltd. (Photo XIV) is a brassiere factory that assembles garments for sale in the United States, the factory was the site of a bitter strike in 1983 when the company attempted to violate the terms of the workers employment contract



**Photo XIV. Wellington Ltd., Basseterre**

**The idyllic façade of Wellington Ltd. belies the history of poor labour relations at the plant and the low wages that are paid to Kittitian workers. ③**

**(The Labour Spokesman, 26.2.83, 2.3.83, 19.3.83). Full-time work at Wellington will now net a sewing machine operator about EC\$75 (US\$28) per week.**

**Workers at Coiltronics--an electronics assembly plant--solder integrated circuit panels into prearranged configurations; technology and all factors of production but labour are imported and integration with the island economy--as represented by backward and forward linkages--is negligible. Universal Key is an American firm that is located in the eastern fringes of Basseterre. It employs**

young women to enter data onto computer tapes. Raw data such as telephone listings are imported from the United States which are then typed into computer terminals. The prepared tapes are re-exported back to the U.S.. Wages at Universal Key are quite generous by local standards--up to EC\$3.41 (US\$1.26) per hour--but for that one must be able to maintain a net rate of production of seventy five words per minute for an entire hour, a difficult feat for anyone, especially when one considers that nature of the material that is processed in such an operation. Competition for positions as Data Entry Typists is keen and the company has been able to take advantage of the reputation of Kittitians as good workers. Merrill (1984: 9) has reported that:

"I am informed that fewer young women are completing high school in St. Kitts now than in the recent past, the result of this employment that has the sole requirement of typing skill at the rate of 25 words per minute (sic). Why stay in school when you can earn (US)\$1.00 per hour working in front of a visual display terminal?"

Since the main attraction of St. Kitts as a location for industrial activity is the availability of quality labour at a low cost, foreign entrepreneurs cannot be expected to pay wages to their workers that compare favourably with those available in the metropole. It is unfortunate--especially for employees of their

operations--that most foreign industrial investors demonstrate a preference for Marx's theories of capitalist exploitation as a basis for worker remuneration rather than to the principles of christian ethics that many espouse so proudly and broadcast so loudly in order to secure the loyalty of their employees. Some rich foreign "entrepreneurs" appear to consider even outright theft from Kittitian workers to be an acceptable business practice. In 1982 Stanley Saltzman owner of Medusa Ltd. skipped the island leaving about 500 workers without a job, without their wages for two weeks, without their holiday pay, and without having paid in their social security money" (The Labour Spokesman, 12.2.82: 1). Mr. Saltzman left behind a note taped to the main entrance of the plant that thanked the workers for their loyalty! Kittitian authorities have been unable to persuade the Americans to bring Mr. Saltzman to justice.

The nature of the industrial employment created by transient foreign operations is recognised by many to be a suboptimal route to development ("Transnational Corporations Draining Us of the Little We Have", The Labour Spokesman, 3.7.82: 5), but in light of high local rates of unemployment, and the failure of other sectors to provide suitable foci of growth and opportunities for employment,

exploitive foreign screwdriver industries can be expected to remain an important sector of economic activity on the island in the foreseeable future. The present national government remains committed to continued promotion of foreign entrepreneurial investment of this sort. In 1984 plans were announced to establish a US\$26.1 million garment factory at Pond's Industrial Estate. A headline in The Democrat (26.5.84: 1) announced "2,400 New Jobs For Massive Textile Plant", and went on to state that "(t)he Government's (sic.) implementation of this enormous and ambitious industrial project will virtually wipe out unemployment in this country". Very little has been heard of the plan since, however, and few expect that it will ever be built.

The most undesirable aspect of foreign screwdriver industrial investment on the island may be the lack of future opportunity that such enterprises offer to workers who participate in the sector. Assembly-line production processes require workers with very limited skills that cannot be adapted easily to non-assembly-line work. Since few skills are required, and little capital investment is needed to establish a screwdriver industry, many such enterprises are very mobile and can leave the island whenever economic circumstances



and/or financial incentives are more favourable elsewhere. The dream of future wage increases may be illusory as well; since these companies have little investment in place at the sites of their operations, increased labour costs will make the island less attractive as a site for production than other places where labour costs are lower. As soon as the surplus of labour on St. Kitts is absorbed into the active labour force the cost of that labour--reflected in wage levels--will increase and St. Kitts will emerge as a suboptimal location for such labour-intensive, semi-, or unskilled processing and assembly and such entrepreneurs will move their operations elsewhere. Prime Minister Simmonds has also demonstrated a rather dim view of U.S.-sponsored investment in industry in the island:

"I do not believe the future of this country lies in enclave industries, which bring things in for manufacture to simply send them out. They are useful and provide employment, but when there are problems in the markets abroad, we suffer immediately...if we are able to develop that natural resource which we have, our soil, and use it to feed ourselves,...and export to other countries, then we are building an economy on a sound base." (Caribbean Chronicle, 9.83: iii)

### **Kittitian Investment in Industry**

While foreign industrial investment has been of limited value in the attempt to diversify the island economy, Kittitian entrepreneurs and those who have chosen to call St. Kitts home have been eager to invest in a wide variety of local

enterprises. Caribelle Batiks--at Romney Manor above the town of Old Road--is typical of these industries in that it was founded and has grown in response to a specialised tourist demand for distinctive souvenirs of the island. Although most materials used in the production process are imported the workers at Caribelle Batik add significant value to their product and turn out work that is of good quality and of distinctive design. Employees of Caribbean Craft Studios produce a wide array of decorative crafts that are popular with both tourists and locals. Workers are employed on a piece basis and with dedication and a little practice are able to make between EC\$150 and EC\$200 per week, a good wage when compared to levels of remuneration available to those paid on a piecework basis at most branch-plant factories on the island. Although official statistics are unavailable, a significant number of freelance craftswomen/men produce a range of souvenir items for sale in local shops or by hawkers. Other medium to large-scale locally-controlled/owned manufacturing operations include a margarine factory in Basseterre, a substantial fabric printing business--The Tropical Silk Screen Studio Ltd.--near the new deep water harbour, and a printery at the offices of The Labour Spokesman. With the emergence of a indigenous Kittitian business-oriented entrepreneurial élite one might expect that

locally-produced goods may come to satisfy an increased proportion of domestic demand in the foreseeable future and may become an important source of export income through direct sales abroad or through sales of goods to tourists.

### **The Services Sector**

About twenty percent of the total workforce is employed in the services sector. Workers in this category include those who are active in the fields of governmental and industrial administration, education, domestic service, and tourism. The most lucrative positions are those in the upper echelons of government. The basic salary--before allowances--of the Prime Minister was EC\$43,200 in 1986, the General Manager at ZIZ earned EC\$28,560, and the Senior Magistrate about EC\$30,000 (St. Christopher and Nevis Estimates for the Year 1986; 14, 16, 20). Grade A clerks at the sugar factory were paid up to about EC\$12,500 in 1985 while those with less seniority earned as little as EC\$4,600 (The Federation of St. Christopher and Nevis Annual Report of the Department of Labour for the Year 1985, Table III(b) Cont'd.). The banking industry is a large tertiary employer with an average of 236 employees in 1985. In practical terms most of the Kittitian financial sector--the Royal Bank of Canada, Scotiabank, and

Barclays is foreign-owned. A Kittitian bank--The Bank of Commerce--was once a significant financial institution on the island but it is now in receivership--due, it is rumored to a series of local scandals and conspiracy rather than genuine insolvency--and many depositors have been left in the lurch. The foreign banks are not known for their largesse as employers; tellers are expected to perform the same duties as their counterparts in Canada and Britain with antiquated equipment and for a small fraction--about one sixth--of the salary.

**The Kittitian Experience in Perspective. the Best-Levitt Model of The Plantation Economy**

The pattern of economic and social relations that prevailed on St. Kitts from the mid seventeenth century until the emergence of Kittitian nationalism under the aegis of Mr. Bradshaw did little or nothing to stimulate the indigenous economic development of the island as anything other than a sugar producer and left an entrenched legacy of economic relations that lacked the dynamism and flexibility that is necessary for rapid transformation and progress. An attempt was made to make sense of this legacy and to define it in conceptual terms when L. Best published his "Outlines of a Model of Pure Plantation Economy" (1968). The model represented an attempt to outline the implications for the plantation

mode of production upon the subsequent economic development of territories that had experienced this mode of imperialist exploitation and isolate "the institutional structures and constraints which the contemporary economy has inherited from the plantation legacy" (Best, Levitt, 1969: 12) that have served to determine or at least to define and condition the potential for the transformation of contemporary patterns of production within the former plantation economies of the Caribbean basin. Best and Levitt defined the Caribbean area in cold geographical terms as an "hinterland of exploitation" in its relations with the metropole; the latter provided the entrepreneurship, organisational expertise, investment capital, and administrative and legislative procedures that were necessary for the production of a specific commodity that was destined for consumption in the metropole. In the Caribbean hinterland of exploitation of which St. Kitts was a part labour was no more than a function of investment capital in that it was imported and purchased from an hinterland of conquest in West Africa. Social structures that developed in territories that had been designated as hinterlands exploitation were--of course--reflections of the patterns of production that prevailed in these places. The plantation emerged as a self-contained microcosm of the economy of the territory where demands of

the prevalent mode of production dictated the preservation of the institution of chattel slavery and the subjugation of the labour force as an ideal and in many instances necessary prerequisite for continued production. A central theme of the Best-Levitt model is that very little structural change has taken place within the subject economies in the three centuries since the system was established. Despite emancipation and the subsequent nominal political independence of many former Caribbean colonies (see, for example, R.E. Stewart's The United States in the Caribbean, 1982) most remain unable to stimulate economic growth and transformation from within and remain dependent upon the continued patronage of metropolitan markets for economic stimuli and investment (Best, Levitt, 1969: 22).

The Best-Levitt model of the plantation economy, and their identification of three distinct stages of development within the region appears to provide an apt descriptive review of Kittitian socioeconomic history. The Pure Plantation Economy (1493-1834) served as the formative period of the development of the main features of the contemporary economy and society in that patterns of production, patterns of landuse, a dearth of skilled labour, a racially-segregated social hierarchy, and overpopulation relative to the natural resource endowment

of the island emerged. The Plantation Economy Modified (1834-1930s) commenced on St. Kitts when slavery was abolished within the West Indies. After emancipation the sugar industry on the island entered a long period of relative stagnation and decline that ended with the downward spiral of commodity prices and the collapse of world trade in the Great Depression of the 1930s (Best, Levitt, 1969: 25). The "Plantation Economy Modified" stage of development on St. Kitts was marked by a general decline in the longterm viability of the industry and the retention of patterns of social and economic relations associated with the traditional plantation economy as patterns of settlement and economic activity continued to revolve around the plantation production unit.

The inability of the Kittitian economy to free itself from the shackles of its plantation heritage was reflected in the emergence of a significant pool of expatriate labour that left the island to seek opportunities for employment elsewhere. Foreign remittances provided much needed infusions of cash into the local economy but served to perpetuate the cycle of dependence that had prevailed up to that time and did not serve as a significant source of the venture capital that was needed for new productive investment.

**The Best-Levitt Plantation Economy Further Modified (Best, Levitt, 1969: 25-27)**

was characterised by the emergence of active intervention by governments and government agencies within the hinterland economies of the region and the emergence of the transnational corporation (TNC) as the principal force of private investment and capital movement. On St. Kitts this period began in the late 1930s and has continued through the period of decolonisation to the emergence of large-scale industrialisation and tourism on the island in the 1960s and 1970s. While the relative importance of sugarcane has declined during this period it still occupies much of the best agricultural land on the island. Local labour continues to be exploited as a factor of production in metropolitan-directed economic activity; the dearth of skilled labour and local expertise persists in light of the lure of employment opportunities abroad and a significant element of the local citizenry continues to rely upon remittances from relatives abroad for economic well-being.

By the late 1960s St. Kitts had emerged as a prime location for TNC investment and exploitation. Rapid economic growth and development had not yet arrived on the island and the expectations of local residents were not high; labour costs



were low and the government had established a series of incentives in order to woo foreign investors. The TNC investments that have taken place since then are but branch plant assembly operations and are "characteristic...of the new mercantilism of the post-war period" (Best, Levitt, 1969: 26). Since the evidence of historical precedence induces one to conclude that traditional patterns of production on St. Kitts have not led to--and cannot be foreseen to lead to--the independent economic development of the island it is logical to infer that a new strategy for the exploitation of the natural and human resource endowments of the island is needed to realise this important objective.

The tourism industry emerged as a lucrative focus of economic activity in the Caribbean in the 1950s and 1960s. The arrival of large numbers of well-heeled tourists has brought infusions of investment capital to many islands, but the ability of most of these economies to utilise such investments in a manner that will promote development through the creation of local industries to supply and service tourists has been problematic. Indeed, L. Best and K. Levitt would consider tourism to represent a minor economic modification to the Plantation Economy Further Modified in that the form of tourism that has developed on the

island--and just about everywhere else in the region--cannot exist outside of a relationship of dependence upon metropolitan market demand. Such a view may be too jaundiced, however; while the small size of the St. Kitts-Nevis domestic economy and failure of CARICOM to emerge as a viable force of economic unity mean that indigenous autonomous development is all but impossible, tourism is one sector in which St. Kitts may be able to use geographic smallness and her historical British colonial plantation legacy as a way to enhance her ability to satisfy a specific tourist-product demand niche. While the perils of subservience and dependence is a common battlecry of quasi-bourgeois metropolitan analysts of tourism, there is no reason to expect that employment in the sector need be any more demeaning or degrading to employees in the south than it is to those who work in similar occupations in the north. Brian Moynahan (1983) reports that those with an earnest desire to travel will make material sacrifices in other facets of their lives in order to be able to afford to go abroad, the millions of snowbirds trapped in the northern winter consider their flight to the sun to be a necessity. The environmental, historical, economic, and cultural heritage of St. Kitts make it an ideal location for tourists who seek a quiet, clean, and attractive holiday destination where the local culture can be readily understood by

short-term visitors and costs maintained at reasonable levels. With careful management tourism may become more than just a minor modification to the traditional plantation economy, and may represent an important focus for future economic diversification and betterment.

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## Chapter IV

### The Kittitian Tourism Industry. A Review

Tourism has emerged as a key economic sector in St. Kitts as it has in many other islands of the Antilles. Table I outlines the patterns of tourist arrivals at six Caribbean territories from 1970 to 1985:

Table I

Number of Visitors by Country of Arrival, Caribbean, 1970-1985

YEAR	ANTIGUA	DOMINICA	GRENADA	MONTserrat	ST. LUCIA	ST. KITTS NEVIS
1970	65.4	----	30.4	11.8	29.5	13.5
1971	67.7	----	35.6	12.1	33.2	15.1
1972	72.4	15.2	37.9	11.9	42.4	16.4
1973	72.8	15.5	33.5	12.3	45.8	14.9
1974	69.8	16.8	14.7	12.3	51.8	13.3
1975	63.0	18.9	21.1	12.1	46.8	14.7
1976	57.2	22.0	24.6	11.2	56.4	14.8
1977	68.3	23.5	28.5	12.7	65.4	15.4
1978	76.9	27.9	32.3	15.4	----	20.2
1979	99.5	20.3	32.3	16.9	----	25.1
1980	97.9	17.4	29.6	----	81.2	32.8
1981	95.8	17.4	29.6	----	70.7	35.5
1982	----	----	----	----	----	----
1983	101.1	22.4	32.5	14.3	77.4	34.3
1984	129.1	22.2	39.5	15.9	86.2	39.9
1985	139.7	22.0	52.0	14.5	94.5	47.5

SOURCE: assembled from Caricom Statistics Digest, 1970-1981, Tables 20 & 23, Economist Intelligence Unit, Country Profile: Guyana, Barbados, Windward & Leeward Islands, 1986-1987, Pg. 41, Ministry of Tourism, Basseterre, St. Kitts.

Although growth in tourism has been spotty in Grenada over this period and Montserrat has seen tourist arrivals grow by only 23%, other territories--such as Antigua, 217%, Dominica, 69% (1972-1985), St. Lucia, 320%, and St. Kitts-Nevis, 352%--have experienced a steady and rapid rise in tourist arrivals since 1970. Ball (1971: 22) was one of the first writers to note that much tourism growth in small developing countries had emerged as more supportive of traditional patterns of centre-periphery dependence than as a focus for small-state development. Britton (1977: 270-277) concluded that the infrastructural investments associated with the development of a tourism industry in the Caribbean represented an inefficient allocation of financial resources in light of the limited benefits that he expected might accrue to the economies of destination areas. Like Gulati and Levitt, Britton dismissed the predictions of The Zinder Report (see Chapter III) and advocated that small tourist destinations like St. Vincent or St. Kitts should seek to develop a tourism industry that emphasised high levels of integration with the local economy rather than very high levels of tourist arrivals. The spirit of local integration was the impetus for Robert Bradshaw's and the Labour Party's proposal to build a crown-owned luxury hotel resort complex on the shores of Frigate Bay--a beachfront estate that had been

acquired by the government in 1952--in the mid 1970s. The Labour government of the day recognised that the benefits that could be derived from a vertically-integrated and metropolitan-controlled tourism industry were limited and was concerned that a massive influx of foreigners would have a deleterious impact upon the integrity of Kittitian culture. Emergent nationalism and black pride led many locals to worry that a big tourism industry would renew the visible de facto subservience of blacks to whites that had been a feature throughout most of the post-Warner history of the islands.

The decision to build a crown-owned hotel complex represented an attempt to pursue a development strategy that would maximise the benefits to be derived from tourism and minimise costs that would arise from it. The contemporary theory that prevailed at the time was that planeloads of lovely rich tourists would arrive at the new improved island airport and would be shuttled off to the beachfront tourist complex where they would keep to themselves, spend much money, and then return home. Through the Frigate Bay Development Corporation profits from the hotel were to go to the people of St. Kitts and Nevis via the government treasury rather than to foreign investors. Local businesses,

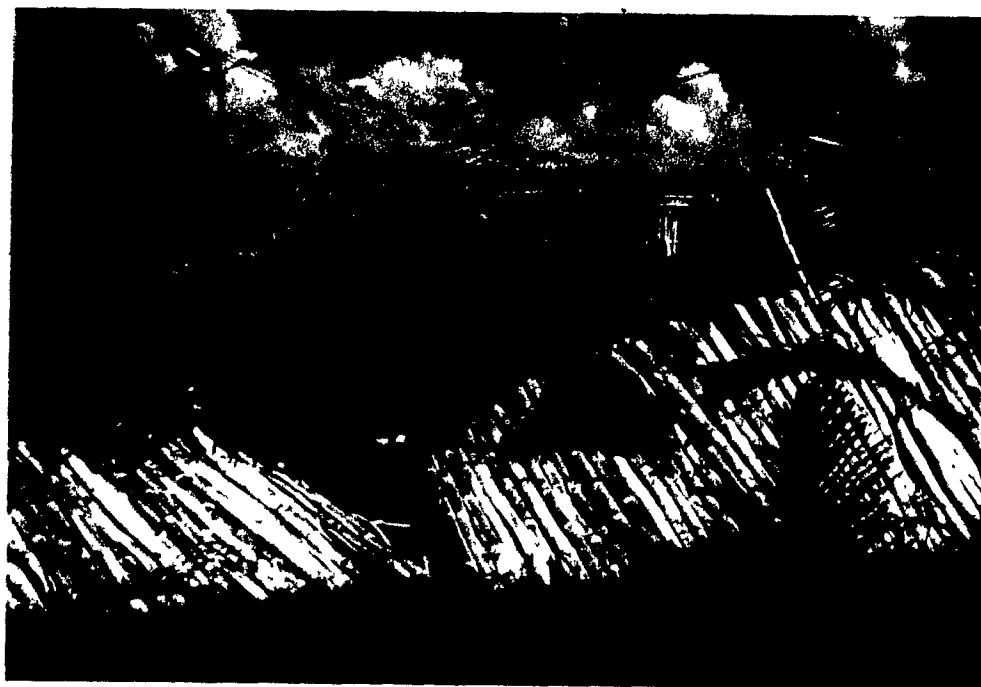
producers, and personnel were to service the complex as much as possible. The complex was financed with a development loan from an international agency and was opened with a flourish of national pride in 1975, another 50 rooms were added in 1978.

The conscious decision by the Kittitian government to avoid direct ownership of the industry by foreign business interests made the complex less accessible than other similar--but foreign owned--resorts on other islands that were marketed through metropolitan tourism brokers. Since most sunspot holidays are booked as packages through travel agents and airlines many potential visitors to the Royal St. Kitts were unaware of the attractions of the island; as an enterprise, the Royal St. Kitts was unable to compete with vertically-integrated resorts under the control of metropolitan airlines and hotel chains. Since travel agents have a greater monetary and administrative incentive to direct potential customers to the latter form of holiday destination--when a package tour is booked one telephone call can often take care of everything--the Royal St. Kitts in its original form was doomed to failure. Occupancy rates at the hotel remained very low and were subject to significant seasonal variations during the first few

years of operation and many employees of the resort were laid off during the summer months.

When the Labour party was removed from political office in 1980, the People's Action Movement (PAM) initiated significant policy changes that were intended to promote the integration of local facilities with metropolitan tourism interests in a way that was intended to maximise rates of growth. A "New Era For Tourism" (The Democrat, 16.10.82, p. 1) was announced as measures were taken to encourage stopovers by large cruiseships and to improve the hospitality skills of those employed in the industry (Ibidem, 16.10.82, p. 4). At the same time the "Kittitian Village"--a little fantasy theme-park that recreates life under slavery--was opened in the narrow stretch of beach between the Royal St. Kitts and the sea (Photo 1).

In spite of a tranquil start, a series of calamities and scandals have rocked the industry over the past few years. In early 1983 a fire broke out at the Royal St. Kitts Hotel ("Fire Destroys Part of the Royal St. Kitts Hotel", The Democrat 26.2.83, "Royal Hotel and Other Buildings Burnt Flat", The Labour Spokesman, 25.2.83). A



**Photo I, The Kittitian Village**

**"...a unique tourist attraction which...will recreate history and preserve authentic tradition in native culture and entertainment...Premier Simmonds said that the Kittitian Village is an example of what his Government intends to do in tourism." (The Democrat, 16.10.82, p. 2)**

little while later the complex was sold to foreign interests under terms that fired  
the passions of much of the local citizenry, "Government to Get \$20 Million For  
Sale of Royal St. Kitts Hotel" (The Democrat, 30.4.83, p. 1), "...inclusive of interest",  
(small print, Ibidem, 30.4.83, p. 4), "Shock Waves Around St. Kitts: Simmonds  
Gives Away Royal St. Kitts Hotel, Price EC13m, not EC20m" (The Labour

Spokesman, 30.4.83, p. 1) "The Price is Not Right" (Ibidem, 30.4.83, p. 2),

"Simmonds Betrays St. Kitts For 13 Pieces of Silver" (Ibidem, 30.4.83, p. 11), "The Royal Give Away is Rank Madness" (Ibidem, 7.5.83, p. 5). In an attempt to quell the public uproar over the matter, Prime Minister Simmonds addressed a PAM party rally on the subject:

**"Leaders of PAM Justify Sale of Royal Hotel at Big Public Meeting"**

"...The honourable Premier who had that very same day returned from his successful mission to Barbados where he played a vital role in rescuing Caricom, chaired this important meeting and was the first speaker to address the zealous crowd. Premier Simmonds outlined how his Government had turned around and put solidly on their feet the many Public Corporations (sic.) that had been mismanaged by the Labour Government. Some of them which had even been threatened with closure were now doing very well, with the Frigate Bay Development Corporation making very rapid strides evident to everyone. Premier Simmonds Also spoke convincingly about the wisdom of the sale of the Royal St. Kitts Hotel.

Before ending his brilliant address the Honourable Premier told the large crowd how badly Lee Moore was doing...the Honourable Premier also reminded the listeners how he had beaten Fitzroy Bryant in every honest area of endeavour obviously, the only areas in which Bryant had any talent was in lying and acting in a depraved manner..." (The Democrat, 14.5.83).

In spite of the Prime Minister's "brilliant address" controversy and scandal continued to surround several aspects of the industry. In 1984 The Labour Spokesman (10.3.84) reported that Kittitians were stopped from bathing at Salt Pond Peninsula and it was noted that "(t)here is increasing evidence, day by day, that Kittitians are becoming aliens on their own island", and in 1985 The Labour Spokesman (30.3.85, p. 1) reported that "we understand that the Jack Tar

concern has been granted a special concession to import anything and everything it requires (food included) duty free". On a positive note the Royal St. Kitts Hotel (renamed the Jack Tar Holiday Village) was reconstructed in only five months (The Democrat, 30.7.83, p. 1) and Pan American Airlines began scheduled flights from New York to St. Kitts in December 1984, though only after a series of delays (The Democrat 8.10.83, 1.12.84). In 1985 the government celebrated a special tourism week and the "Honourable Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Lands, Housing, Labour and Tourism of the Federation of St. Kitts-Nevis", Michael Powell (who seems to have kept "a Room at the Royal St. Kitts for 2 Years 4 Months and (Didn't) Pay a Cent" The Labour Spokesman, 26.6.82, p. 11) provided the battle cry for the week: "a healthy nation is an attractive tourist destination" (The Democrat, 2.11.85, p. 1).

The sale of the hotel complex and the tax concessions which were granted to the new owners may have been a blow to national pride and the drive for autonomous economic development but in practical terms the move served to promote reconstruction at top speed and has linked the complex to an international chain of resorts so that the flow of tourists to the island has



increased and seasonal fluctuations in levels of tourist arrivals has been reduced.

In spite of high rates of growth in the industry in recent years tourism remains a small sector of the island economy when compared with other islands of the region with 600 employed directly and an estimate of 600 indirectly in 1983 (St. Christopher and Nevis Independence Magazine, 9.83, p. 39).

### **Thirty Years of Unfettered Growth, the Experience of St. Maarten**

Tourism on St. Maarten has emerged as the product of rapid growth of an externally-propelled industry, and as D. De Leeuw has noted in her unpublished study of tourism on the island, "Perils in Paradise, Overdependence on International Tourism, Lessons for St. Kitts" (1984) the experience of St. Maarten may be a harbinger of what might occur on St. Kitts if the tourism industry is left in the hands of foreign and transnational business interests. In the 1960s a decision was made to focus the island economy around the growing tourism industry, since then the economy of St. Maarten has become dependent upon it. By the early 1980s over 200,000 tourist arrivals were recorded annually--some 16 tourists per permanent resident--and economic activity that focused directly upon tourism had come to account for some 75 percent of the island's gross

national product (De Leeuw, 1984). All of the large hotels on the island are owned by foreign interests and generate very little to no tax revenue for the island treasury. The principal source of government revenue from the industry is a five percent tax that has been levied on the retail price of hotel accommodation. Most profits from the operation of hotels and their services are repatriated to parent business interests abroad, often as direct transfers of cash since there are no restrictions on the flow of foreign exchange to and from the island.

Opportunities for the development of local industry to supply goods to the hotels have not developed and the hospitality industry on St. Maarten is dependent upon imports for all of the food consumed within the sector, and--on a wider scale--some 80 percent of all food consumed on the island is imported from Miami. All factors of production within the industry--including most labour needs--are imported. Metropolitan integration and the assembly and administration of set holiday packages abroad means that only a very small fraction of the total retail cost of a vacation package reaches the island and most of what does arrive flows right back out again in order to pay for the imports that are needed to supply the industry. Organised crime has made an appearance and is focused upon the island's casino. Drug abuse has become a popular passtime in

recent years, especially among tourists, and prostitution has become a problem.

The permanent population of St. Maarten has been transformed rapidly under the powerful influence of the tourism industry. In 1950 the permanent population of the island was only 1,500, by the mid 1980s it had risen to 15,000; about 80 percent of the active labour force is now employed--directly or indirectly--in the tourism industry. De Leeuw has noted that only 11 percent of the active labourforce was born on St. Maarten.

The pattern of tourism development in St. Maarten appears to be the result of positive interaction between three forces with the power to permit, or limit the growth of the industry, these are: the dynamic, fluid nature of metropolitan venture capital, local government, and local élites. Capital--through the actions of capitalists--sought a location where conditions were optimal for the maximisation of profit from a specific investment project. The local government--anxious to promote growth in the industry--cooperated with the demands of the agents of metropolitan capital by granting a series of generous tax incentives in an attempt to enhance the attractiveness of the island as a focus for foreign investment when compared to what was available on other islands in the region. Local élites--who

perhaps dreamed of assuming the rôle of a wealthy island lumpenbourgeoisie through investment opportunities that were expected to develop along with tourism--encouraged the island administration to make the concessions demanded by metropolitan entrepreneurs so that investments would flow into the island.

The result of three decades of very rapid growth in the tourism industry on St. Maarten has been a complete transformation of the physical appearance and patterns of landuse on the island. Although the industry has stimulated the local economy to a much higher level of activity than before and provides a rather higher material standard of living for local residents than in the past, it has increased rather than reduced the dependence of the local economy upon external stimuli for development and--more recently--survival. The flow of tourists to a specific destination from an origin area can stop even faster than it can grow, all that is needed is the idea of danger at the destination, real or imagined (Greece, summer 1986) and an organ of propaganda to spark and fan the flames of popular hysteria against a specific place (the United States vis à vis Grenada, 1980-1983, Europe and especially Greece, 1986) and many potential tourists will stay home or travel elsewhere.

The decision to concentrate growth and development of the local economy in the tourism sector has brought a measure of material prosperity to the residents of St Maarten but has enhanced the vulnerability of the island upon events in the metropole; tourism has been the principal impetus for transformation on the island in recent years and it has emerged as a machine for the entertainment and accommodation of tourists. Tourism appears to have emerged as little more than a new kind of sugar on St Maarten

The experience of St Maarten may serve as a scenario of what Kittitians might expect to realise from the industry if the mass tourism sector of the industry is encouraged by an accommodating central government to do what it will without let or hindrance. Since growth in organised mass tourism tends to promote only economic growth within an almost autonomous sector within the economy, rather than integrated development and diversification within the local industrial and agricultural sectors, it does not represent a panacea for economic problems

#### **To Control or Go With the Flow, the Kittitian Dilemma**

The dilemmas that confront the Kittitian government are difficult indeed; how can the much-needed benefits that tourism can provide for the Kittitian population be

realised as rapidly as possible? Can a large and prosperous tourism industry be developed that will not have a deleterious impact upon the laudable aspects of traditional culture? Can use of Frigate Bay by tourists be intensified greatly without squeezing out the locals? If all else fails, is rich but dependent really worse than impoverished but proud? Mass tourism remains in the early stages of growth on the island, but the potential for virulent and uncontrolled growth that is insensitive to the cultural heritage and aspirations of Kittitians is real enough.

In 1986 a feature article on St Kitts and Nevis was published in the travel section of the Sunday New York Times (5 1 86, p xx14) that displayed a condescending and/or ignorant pastoralist attitude towards the heritage of the territories as oppressed colonies, the author of the article claimed that in St Kitts and Nevis one could feel "at home in old Plantations" (p xx14) and that one could enjoy "empty beaches (and) remnants of the old British colonial 'plantocracy'" (p xx14).

Plantations--which continue conjure up images of stately homes for a few whites rather than than slavery and hard conditions for the majority--and the idea of a quaint colonial plantocracy may act as successful marketing strategies but are clearly racist in that they promote the idea of privilege for a few and the subservience of many, racist and patronising promotional campaigns may emerge

as a potential sorepoint with the Kittitian people who are likely to be offended by insensitive metropolitan attempts to romanticise and denigrate their long struggle against colonial exploitation and oppression

A tourism sector in the hands of insensitive and uncontrolled foreign business interests might be expected to emerge as a new force of social stratification on the island. At the top of the pyramid would be an expatriate managerial elite that would live on the island on a temporary basis and draw salaries that would compare favourably with those available in the metropole. If tourism were allowed to become the principal engine of economic activity on the island it is conceivable that the expatriate managerial elite might assume the rôle of the former expatriate plantocracy in that the bulk of the population could become dependent upon it for economic well-being and--indeed--survival, and would in any event be forced to give up de facto control of their economic destiny to foreign interests\*. Below this group would be local participants in the industry.

\*But not necessarily non-Kittitian interests. It has been mooted that for an undisclosed sum one will be able to obtain citizenship with no residency requirement in the near future, but it seems that others who have less money but who have been longterm residents of the islands can be refused citizenship. 'Labour Leader Condemns Government's Proposal to Sell St Kitts Nevis Citizenship', The Labour Spokesman, 29.2.86, Pgs. 4-5.

whose wages would be much lower than those of the foreigners but higher than what would be available to workers compelled to remain in other economic sectors. On St. Maarten the tourism sector has grown to a point where most of the population that had been active in traditional economic activities has been absorbed into the formal tourism sector. On St. Kitts levels of tourist arrivals would need to rise to an astronomical level before demand for labour could outstrip supply and there would be opportunities for work for everyone

It would appear that any attempt to strike a balance between the maximisation of growth and the maintenance of traditional social and cultural features that are deemed to warrant preservation involves a trade-off. The dynamics of capital dictate that maximum investment will occur in places that offer an optimal climate for investment, which usually means that places where restrictions on investment and construction are minimal will become foci of growth. Where stringent regulations and controls are in place to protect the environmental and cultural integrity of the destination area the short-term--though perhaps not the long-term--attractiveness of the location will be degraded as a site for such capital investments.



While controls on the rate and pattern of tourism growth on St. Kitts will tend to reduce employment in the sector in the short term, the long-term success of the industry--within social, cultural, and physical environments that remain Kittitian--may lie in the adoption of policies that will impose rigid controls on the construction of large-scale hotel complexes and associated tourism infrastructure. Measures should be taken to ensure that--as far as is possible--new resorts draw upon local sources of supply for as much food as possible and for low-order inputs; St. Kitts has a large textile sector whose workers would be quite able to manufacture the bedlinens, bedspreads, and draperies that a local hotel might require, local expertise in batik and fabric printing may mean that new hotel rooms furnished with local skills would have a distinctive Kittitian flavour rather than one of backwater Holiday Inn. A wide range of possibilities exist, but the task that confronts those with the power to recognise and promote longterm Kittitian interests is difficult. On one side the government must strive to reduce chronic unemployment and widespread poverty quickly and ensure that the interests of the local populace are respected in any future developments, on the other side it should be careful not to appear unreceptive to the demands of metropolitan business interests and--by extension--must not cause offense to the neighbourhood Superpower.

St. Kitts is a member of a sovereign democratic national confederacy and as such the will of the Kittitian people must serve as the principal force behind any program of tourism--or any other--development. While the tourism industry on the island remains small and very serious problems associated with tourism are not yet apparent, signs of potential trouble are not difficult to find, with packaged tourists arriving in greater numbers every year, and the largest hotel on the island in the hands of foreign business interests, the Kittitian tourism industry is now at a watershed in its development. With a firm tourism base in place the industry may now be able to afford to proceed more slowly to ensure that the interests of the Kittitian people are given priority in any development scheme, in a rush to develop future growth may take place at the pleasure of foreign business interests with only an incidental interest in the wellbeing of the local populace which would--in any event--be seen as little more than a potential labour force for jobs at resorts that foreigners would not want. Now is the time for Kittitians to take stock of their tourism industry and to determine the rôle that the sector should play in the economic, cultural, and environmental development of their young nation.

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## Chapter V

### Kittitian Attitudes to Tourists and Tourism. A Survey

In light of the recent emergence and rapid growth of tourism as an important focus of development on the island, the time has come to determine what a representative cross-section of Kittitians think of the impact of the industry upon their prospects for economic, cultural, and social development. A survey of Kittitian attitudes to tourists and tourism was conducted in August and September of 1986 in an attempt to sample popular opinions about tourism to determine whether any spatial variation in the distribution of host-tourist attitudes throughout the island might be apparent, and to identify which--if any--socioeconomic characteristics within the targeted respondent population might appear to be associated with such attitudes that might be of relevance to the local community in its attempt to anticipate, to accommodate, and to manage the social and environmental costs that are often associated with rapid tourism development.

Although several earlier published surveys have attempted to measure resident attitudes on a variety of features of mass tourism, most have focused upon destination areas in rich countries such as Niagara-on-the Lake, Ontario (Doxey, 1974), Scotland (Broughman, Butler, 1977), Arkansas (Tebbets, 1976), the

United States (Murphy, 1979) Corpus Christi, Texas (Thomason, Crompton, Kamp, 1979), Britain (Murphy, 1983), and Hawaii (Hawaii Visitors Bureau, 1972, Department of Planning and Economic Development, 1975, Liu, Var, 1983, 1984, 1986 (same survey, bigger writeup)). Doxey and Associates (no Date but about 1969) prepared a report entitled The Tourist Industry in Barbados which incorporated a survey of Barbadian attitudes towards tourists in final chapter of the book, the document paints a rosy picture of tourism along the 'to hell with paradise' theme and accepts recommendations tendered in The Zinder Report (Zinder and Associates, 1969, see chapter III) at face value Sethna and Richmond (1978) published a report on a survey of residents' perceptions of tourism in the U.S. Virgin Islands, but the report is so brief (barely two pages) that the reader is able to grasp little more than a few facts. Bélisle and Hoy (1980) conducted a survey of "The Perceived Impact of Tourism by Residents" in Santa Marta, Colombia that included place of residence--measured in terms of absolute distance from the centre of tourist action and the home of the respondent--along with age, sex, educational attainment, and socio-economic status--defined by an assessment of the quality of the respondent's home--as independent (X)

variables. The sample size of the Bélisle and Hoy survey was quite small--only 108 respondents (1980, 88)--and was stratified according to distance from the Santa Marta tourist zone and socio-economic status, and was divided equally among the three distance zones as well as the three socio-economic groups and within each distance zone the three socio-economic groups were sampled in equal numbers" (1980, 88). While such a technique might have been appropriate for the specific aim of the survey--which was to measure the impact of specific independent variables upon respondents' perceptions (undefined but used with the term 'attitudes' interchangeably) a technique of respondent selection that deviates from random sampling to such an extent, and with such a small sample size, would tend to obscure overall attitudes--or perceptions, as the authors might prefer--of the local population to the phenomena under study and lead to the introduction of large and unmeasurable sampling bias.

### **The Study Area**

Although the Kittitian tourism industry has experienced rapid growth in recent years it remains small when compared with many other Caribbean destinations.

In 1985 just under 50,000 visitors came to the island, which provides an annual tourist-resident ratio of about 1.5 to 1. Since the average tourist stay on the island is about one week the daily tourist-load on the island is in the region of 1,000, which represents a typical resident-tourist ratio of about 40 to 1. Tourism and associated tourism infrastructure are not distributed evenly throughout the island, of course. Much tourism activity is concentrated away from the location of residence of most Kittitians in the Frigate Bay area, and lesser cores of activity can be identified at the western end of Basseterre--Fortlands--around the OHI and Fort Thomas hotels, and in the immediate vicinity of The Golden Lemon in Dieppe Bay. Many of the more intrepid visitors to the island--see Chapter VI--make at least one excursion into the centre of Basseterre and many take circum-island tours to visit some of the attractions of the island; because of their physical presence, tourists are much more visible--and exist as a more prominent aspect of everyday life--among the residents of Dieppe Bay, Frigate Bay, Fortlands, and Central Basseterre, than among those in the northern and western neighbourhoods of Basseterre such as Soho, College Housing, on the north, The Villages to the west, for example, and in other areas throughout the island which attract few foreign visitors.

Several features of the physical and human environments of St. Kitts both enhance and detract from the island as a site for a resident-attitude survey of tourism.

The small size of the island allows one to consider the territory as a unit and enables one to conduct a survey of moderate complexity and scale that incorporates respondents from all over the island. The coastal topography of St Kitts restricts coastal resort development to a few locations and allows foci and hinterlands of tourism activity to be defined quite easily, a very good system of public transit enables researchers to travel throughout populated areas quickly and in comfort. High rates of literacy--in 1980 only one percent of the population over twenty-five years of age had no schooling, giving the island one of the highest rates of educational universality in the world (UNESCO, 1986, p 1-33)--mean that the vast majority of Kittitians have direct access to the two newspapers that are published regularly, understand the concept of a survey, the rôle of respondents in such an exercise, and can grasp the meaning of interviewer-respondent confidentiality with little or no difficulty. In general Kittitians are very well-informed about current domestic and international events and many have a well-developed knowledge of the dynamics of the international economic system. Most Kittitians have strong opinions, perhaps as



a consequence of the lively and often fundamental debates that rage in the local press about tourism and other issues, and in contrast to observations of others on the difficulties that can confront outsiders at work in foreign places (Hershfield, Rohling, Kerr, Hirsch-Cesar, 1983: 241-245) many are delighted to share their views with one who is content to listen

Features which make a survey rather more difficult on St. Kitts than a survey of the same sort might be in some other places include an absence of any real system of street addresses, the restricted incidence of telephone ownership throughout the island, and the concern that some residents express or imply about the intentions of data-gathering personnel. Before my arrival on the island I had grand plans to conduct a randomised survey of the Kittitian population in order to ensure that sampling-bias was minimised and to facilitate subsequent statistical analysis of gathered data. After the Chief Electoral Officer granted generous permission for me to use the Electoral List as a basis for respondent selection I discovered--much to my dismay--that recorded addresses were too vague--Mary Jones, Half Way Tree, for example--to be used to track down specific individuals efficiently. While I proceeded to make the necessary calculations and drew a

random respondent list of 250 individuals from the much larger list, the first harried day of my pre-survey trial demonstrated clearly that my initial strategy was unworkable in that I was compelled to make time-consuming inquiries of the sort that seemed to raise a sense of alarm and suspicion among local residents. Since only about ten percent of the local population have residential telephone service all interviews had to be conducted in person, a time-consuming process as each interview took about an hour to complete, but one which ensured that data was gathered in as homogeneous a manner as possible.

### Methodology and Sample

The survey had two principal objectives. to sample Kittitian attitudes to tourists and tourism in a way which would serve to identify both the positive and the negative aspects of the industry as it has developed in a way that would allow me to establish a general profile of the respondent population's satisfaction or dissatisfaction with tourism, and to determine whether any spatial patterning in the distribution of host population attitudes to the industry and its recognised effects upon the island might be identified. Two principal hypotheses were formulated as a first step in the formulation of a survey strategy:

- 1 Attitudes of respondents towards tourists and the tourism industry will vary with the socioeconomic status of individual respondents. Respondent attributes such as age, sex, educational attainment, and relative dependence upon the industry may appear to induce some groups to adopt more positive--or negative--attitudes to some aspects of the industry than others
- 2 Attitudes of respondents towards the industry will appear to vary in response to the relative proximity of their place of residence to principal foci of tourism activity. It is assumed that those who live in or near foci of tourism activity will have more opportunity to observe tourists and their impacts than those who live in the tourist hinterland and may form different attitudes towards tourism than those who have little direct contact with the industry

A seven-section interview schedule was devised in an attempt to test these two hypotheses and to sample the opinions of respondents on major categories of tourism impacts (Appendix II). Section I consisted of background information on the location of residence of the respondent and the relation of her/his place of residence to a zone of interaction of tourism activity. Section II documented selected independent socioeconomic variables--such as sex, age, occupation, education, portion of income from tourism, experience of foreign travel--that might be used to establish individual respondent profiles. Section III attempted to measure respondent attitudes to specific economic conditions that may or may not have been influenced by tourism. Section IV considered cultural and social impacts, Section V assessed Kittitian attitudes to tourists, Section VI queried local attitudes about the environmental impact of the industry, and Section VII looked at host attitudes and interpretations of the activities of tourists. In its

final form the interview schedule consisted of a total of 84 questions, 12 concerned with features considered to be independent, 41 were defined in terms of a quantitative format, and 30 employed an open-ended format. The adopted format was intended to provide an opportunity for some results to be tabulated in a fashion that would permit the preparation of frequency distribution tables, correlations, and tests of significance while allowing for consideration of individual opinions within a format that would encourage free discussion of individual impressions. Responses to many questions were assessed in terms of an answer scale which ranged from 1 (strong agreement) to 5 (strong disagreement), 3 was used to designate neutral or ambiguous responses. The interview schedule was written before my arrival on St Kitts and a few minor changes were made to it in light of a small pre-survey which I conducted in August, 1986.

Since my original plan for a randomised sample emerged as untenable upon my arrival in the field, I opted for the next-best alternative. My two able assistants and I travelled throughout the island and attempted to elicit the cooperation of respondents in numbers that corresponded approximately with the relative populations of each community. While no deliberate attempt was made to sample

specific numbers of respondents of each socioeconomic category, we were careful to approach as varied a group of respondents as possible; sexual bias emerged as a bit of a problem since my assistants demonstrated a minor bias towards male respondents and I--despite my best efforts to avoid such tendencies--also seemed to approach rather more men than women. Very young children were deemed unacceptable as respondents, though articulate people over the age of fourteen were encouraged to participate. Some respondents grew weary of the exercise or were called away after the interview began, in a very few instances it was recognised that the respondent was--for a variety of reasons--unacceptable, data to the point of interview termination was accepted in the case of the former circumstance while in the latter data was not accepted, but the individuals were recorded as participants in the survey.

A total of 265 interviews were conducted throughout the island (Map I) over a six-week period in August and September, 1986; of this group about 250 were completed. Frequency distributions were calculated for all quantitative data gathered,  $X^2$  and one-way ANOVA tests were used to determine whether any discernable relationships existed between variables--characteristics

of the respondent population and their responses to specific questions-- designated as independent and dependent. Several multiple regressions were then conducted in order to determine whether a group of selected independent variables might appear to be associated with the patterns of response observed in dependent variable questions

### Survey Results

Despite my own impression that several aspects of tourism on St Kitts might be seen by residents as unpleasant or degrading, the overall impact of tourism upon the economy, society, and environment of the island was--by an large--viewed in a positive light by most of the survey population. The majority of Kittitian respondents considered that the costs of land (59% vs 29%), modest housing (54% vs. 31%), luxuries (54% vs. 20%), taxis (87% vs. 8%), and labour (79% vs 14%) have increased in response to demand for these goods and services by tourists. Opinion was split on the idea that food costs have risen since tourists began to arrive in large numbers (44% vs 44%), many believed that taxes have been held down in light of the revenues that that industry provides the government (46% vs. 15%, 43% didn't know), and the majority thought that

wages have increased since tourism began (62% vs. 33%). In terms of overall economic impact close to two-thirds of respondents (61%) believed that tourists at Jack Tar Holiday Village--the organised mass variety--are of significant benefit for the island economy, and a sizeable proportion (56%) believed that the casino associated with the Jack Tar complex is an important source of revenue

The cultural and social impacts of tourism which were considered were also regarded favourably by the survey population. Only 2% of respondents claimed that anyone in their family had ever been bothered by tourists and just 10% considered that the nature of the work associated with the hospitality industry--work on Sundays, shiftwork, etc.--was bad for families. 68% did not think that tourism had any discernable impact upon crime levels on the island though 54% believed that police tend to treat tourists in a way which differs from what Kittitians can expect. There has been an increase in the number of police officers on the island in recent years but only 8% thought that this increase was a result of increased tourism. 63% of respondents observed that the present government has chosen to develop tourism in a manner which differs from the strategy of the former government--11% refused to answer this question, making

it the most sensitive of the survey--and 59% considered the changes to be for the better. About one quarter of surveyed residents (24%) thought that tourism had brought about visible changes to their villages/neighbourhoods, but of those who did--a total of 62 of the 258 people who answered the question--89% approved of the changes, cleaner streets (55%) and greater business activity in the immediate area (18%) were the most commonly cited improvements. Few respondents (12%) thought that their own patterns of leisuretime behaviour had been influenced in any way by what they had seen tourists do, but some 51% thought that--in general--the presence of tourists encourages Kittitians to behave in a different manner, of those who had noticed changes in local behaviour 63% stated that they did not care about the apparent influence of tourists upon the local populace. A sizeable minority (20%) were concerned about the idea of gambling at Frigate Bay, most dissenters--an official tally was not taken--expressed concerns about the relationship between casinos and organised crime rather than religious conviction as the cause of their displeasure. 17% would prefer to see the casino shut.

Questions which dealt with Kittitian impressions of different types of tourists revealed a few surprises. Despite frequent references in the literature to the



problems that can arise when wealthy visitors converge on a developing territory the vast majority of respondents (87%) disagreed with the claim that all tourists are rich. A slim majority (56%) thought that tourists in groups tend to behave in a manner which differs from the way that single tourists or couples behave 44% did not know whether single tourists cause more trouble than those in groups, opinion was split (28% in agreement, 27% in disagreement) among those who preferred a response Single men and women tourists were not considered to be particularly troublesome (52% and 53% said no respectively) though a large proportion of respondents (26% and 28%) could not comment on such claims

Participants in the survey appeared content with the manner of behaviour of the majority of tourists 81% felt that most tourists displayed proper respect for local residents, only 11% noted that there were problems occasionally, 83% found tourists to be nice and polite whenever they were in contact with them Few (18%) considered tourists to be stupid, but many remarked wryly that some could be pretty strange! A substantial portion of the surveyed population (56%) had seen patterns of tourist behaviour that they found objectionable, when asked what it was that they considered inappropriate an interesting collection of responses was gathered:

**Table I**

**Patterns of Tourism Behaviour Deemed Unacceptable by Respondents.**

**Frequency Tallies**

**QUERY: 1. "Lots of tourists do things that I don't like to see people do"  
2. (if yes) "what?"**

<u>Pattern of Behaviour</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1. Inappropriate Patterns of Dress away from the beach	83	56.1
2. Alcohol and drug abuse	22	14.9
3. Foul language	7	4.7
4. Cigarette Smoking in public (considered to be unladylike)	5	3.4
5. Leud and uncouth gestures and antics	5	3.4
6. Racism	5	3.4
7. Traffic violations, esp. "traffic keeps to the LEFT in St. Kitts"	5	3.4
8. Gambling	3	2.0
9. Displays of materialism	3	2.0
10. Don't know	2	1.4
11. Gay tourists	2	1.4
12. Littering	1	0.7
13. Thievery	1	0.7
14. Dangerous ignorance (tasting unknown fruits and berries)	1	0.7

It is apparent that a significant element of the local population is offended by the tendency of tourists to wander about in a state of partial undress. Drunkards, smokers, and those who like to cuss should also be informed that their antics do not amuse. One respondent observed--perhaps quite wisely--that tourists should

be informed of the dangers of the manchineel tree (which resembles an apple tree very closely, see Chapter II) before they toddle off into the hills.

The impact of tourism upon the environment was not deemed to be a serious problem by most respondents. Most Kittitians (80%) disagreed with the claim that a little rubbish about was not bothersome and expressed a preference for a tidy environment. A slim majority (53%) thought that tourists were even more careful than locals about litter though a substantial minority (32%) saw little difference between the two groups in this respect. Most (82%) observed that there was more traffic on the island than before the tourism industry began to expand rapidly and only 38% considered tourists to be courteous drivers due--in large part--to the right-handed tendencies of the majority of visitors to the island. Opinion was divided over whether tourism has made pollution--air, water, and noise--worse or better, 24% say yea, 24% nea, 42% have observed no significant difference.

The collection of open-ended questions that were incorporated in the interview schedule yielded an interesting variety of responses. While I had no preset

notions of what appropriate answers to these questions should be when they were composed, it was found that most could be categorised by theme.

When asked which types of tourists were though to be the nicest and most respectful, the following count was taken:

**Table II**

**What Kinds of Tourists are the Nicest and Most Respectful?**

**Frequency Tabulations**

<b>Group</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percent</b>
1. Don't know	85	32.4
2. All kinds are nice	41	15.6
3. Americans	35	13.4
4. Canadians	25	9.5
5. Old tourists	24	9.2
6. Refuse answer	15	5.7
7. Americans and Canadians equally	8	3.0
8. Rich tourists	6	2.3
9. Poor tourists	4	1.5
11. Young tourists	4	1.5
12. White tourists	3	1.1
13. Black tourists	2	.8
14. British and Canadians equally	2	.8
15. Caribbean tourists	2	.8
16. Other European tourists	2	.8
17. British tourists	1	.4
18. Britons and Americans equally	1	.4
19. Gay tourists	1	.4
20. Men tourists	0	--
21. Women tourists	0	--

Although about one-third of respondents were unable to identify specific groups that they preferred, many (16%) thought all kinds were nice, Americans,

Canadians, and mature tourists were also mentioned frequently, at the other end of the scale Caribbean tourists were identified rather less often than one might have expected--perhaps they are a less visible element than are most snowbirds--lone respondents liked British and gay tourists. Nobody expressed a preference for men or women.

At another point in the interview schedule respondents were asked which types of tourists they considered unacceptable:

**Table III**

**What Kinds of Tourists are Bad? Frequency Tabulations**

<b>Group</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percent</b>
1. Don't know	102	41.8
2. None are bad	64	26.2
3. Americans	20	8.2
4. Sailors/military personnel	17	7.0
5. Drug addicts	14	5.7
6. Men	5	2.1
7. Women	5	2.1
8. Gay tourists	3	1.2
9. Racists	3	1.2
10. Other European tourists	2	.8
11. British tourists	2	.8
12. Poor tourists	2	.8
13. Canadian tourists	1	.4
14. Rich tourists	1	.4
15. Russian tourists	1	.4
16. All tourists	1	.4

While a lot of respondents did not know (42%) or believed that all were ok (26%) Americans appeared to be none too popular--making them the most loved and least loved of tourist groups. Sailors, though not tourists in the traditional sense, many do visit the island in the capacity of holidaymakers and were thought to be the source of a lot of trouble. Drug addicts were--quite understandably--regarded dimly, and gay tourists were treated to a day or so of dubious notariety after a bigoted fundamentalist christian 'documentary' about gay men--linked inexplicably with heroin addiction and possession by Satan--was aired on an American cable television channel. One respondent was none too fond of Russian tourists, perhaps a result of yet another American television program, and one cheery soul thought all tourists were bad. When asked which kinds of tourists were the most stupid most respondents (64%) did not know, 12% asserted that none were, 8% thought Americans often displayed a shortage of grey matter, young people (4%) were mentioned a few times, 4% thought all tourists were stupid, and 2% considered drug addicts to be pretty dense.

When respondents were asked to define the benefits that they derived from tourism personally most (61.1%) were unable to identify any specific good /

**Table IV**

**What Good Does Tourism Do For You? Frequency Tabulations**

<b>Benefit</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percent</b>
1. Nothing	149	61.1
2. Principal source of income	17	7.0
3. Casual source of income	16	6.6
4. Direct employment	14	5.7
5. Indirect employment	14	5.7
6. Indirect business benefits, through spinoffs	13	5.3
7. Cultural benefits of various kinds	8	3.3
8. Fun/"liven up the place"	7	2.9
9. Hope for future/opportunity	4	1.6
10. Don't know	2	.8

About 29% indicated that they derived some economic benefit from the industry, whether through direct (6%) or indirect (6%) employment or through the stimulation of local business. Cultural benefits--often touted highly by tourist promoters--are no big deal in the eyes of most Kittitian respondents (3%).

When asked what bad things tourism does to respondents as individuals 197 people (75% of those who provided an answer) stated that they had not been harmed or bothered in any way by tourism, 7% did not know, 1% of respondents complained of rising costs, cultural domination, drug abuse in the family, and sexually transmitted diseases that they believed had come from tourists.

When asked to provide an indication of the benefits that tourism provides for the island Kittitians responded in the following fashion:

**Table V**

**What Good Does Tourism Do For St. Kitts? Frequency Tabulations**

<b>Benefit</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percent</b>
1. Brings money into the economy	76	29.0
2. Provides employment for Kittitians	66	25.2
3. Promotes economic diversification	41	15.6
4. Nothing	19	7.3
5. Refuse Answer	18	6.9
6. Don't Know	16	6.1
7. Spreads goodwill about St. Kitts	8	3.1
8. Liven up local social life	3	1.2
9. 'Makes Pamites happy'	3	1.2
10. Economic/Investment opportunities	2	.8

About 70% considered the principal benefits to be economic, 13% didn't know or refused to answer, 3% believed that the island would benefit from an enhanced reputation in origin countries, a few thought tourism made local social events more exciting, and a few made snide remarks about benefits that they believed went to local members of the 'People Action Movement'--Pamites in local slang--rather than to the community as a whole.

No popular consensus emerged among the respondent population when it was asked to identify negative consequences of tourism development on the island:



**Table VI**

**What Bad Does Tourism Do to St. Kitts? Frequency Tabulations**

<b>Cost</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percent</b>
1. Nothing	131	50.2
2. No Answer/Refuse Answer	29	11.1
3. Don't Know	20	7.7
4. Promotes drug abuse on the island	18	6.9
5. Introduces Sexually Transmitted Diseases to the island	17	6.5
6. Corruptive moral influences	14	5.4
7. Cultural domination	8	3.1
8. Degradation and subservience within our own homeland	7	2.7
9. Benefits from tourism go to the rich	5	2.0
10. Increases in cost of living for Kittitians	4	1.5
11. Bad for the development process	2	.8
12. Crime rates have increased because of tourists	2	.8
13. Foreign gangsters on island	2	.8
14. Environmental consequences of tourism	2	.8

Half the respondents (50.2%) who answered the questions believed that tourism had no detrimental impact upon the island, 11% did not respond to the question or refused to answer, and 8% didn't know. Drug abuse, the introduction of sexually transmitted diseases, and the corruptive moral influences of tourists all figured prominently among those who provided a response; of less apparent significance were fears of cultural domination and Kittitian subservience, the unequal distribution of benefits from tourism, the rising cost of living, crime, and the presence of organised crime on the island.

When asked if it would be good if more tourists came to St. Kitts 73% of respondents said yes, 8% said no, 4% had mixed feelings, 5% didn't care, and 9% did not know. When asked what kinds of tourists respondents would like to see come to the island the following data was provided

Table VII

What Kinds of Tourists Would You Like to See Come to the Island?

Frequency Tabulations

<u>Group</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1. All kinds	67	23.1
2. Rich ones	42	17.5
3. Americans	27	11.3
4. Canadians	21	8.8
5. Don't care	20	8.3
6. Nice ones	16	6.7
7. Old ones	12	5.0
8. Americans and Canadians	7	2.9
9. Europeans	3	1.3
10. White tourists	3	1.3
11. Young ones	3	1.3
12. British and Canadians	2	.8
13. Christians	2	.8
14. Heterosexuals	2	.8
15. Don't want any tourists	2	.8
16. Britons	1	.4
17. Educated people	1	.4
18. Gay people	1	.4
19. Nonsmokers	1	.4

All kinds of tourists (28%) emerged as the most popular type, followed by rich ones (18%), Americans (11%), Canadians (9%) and a wide array of other sorts of people. Overall, 72% declared that they were concerned about tourism and its future on the island, 16% stated that they were not concerned about it, 3% did not know whether it mattered to them or not, and 10% of those asked offered no answer at all.

At the end of each interview respondents were given an opportunity to state whatever they might like about tourism. As one might imagine this question yielded a mixed bag of responses, pro and con, serious, and amusing

Homemaker, Sandy Point

"I like tourism, it gives us much and maybe could give us more if more come

Teacher, Sandy Point

"Tourism is good because of the opportunities it makes for advancement and employment and as a viable alternative to sugar"

Shop Clerk, Soho

"Too much is dependent on government now, people have trouble selling directly (to) and dealing directly with tourists when they come to the island."

Clerk, Ponds Site

"There is no evidence of any big problems as yet, at Jack Tar there should be a 'free night' so that tourists will be encouraged to get out and about and spread more benefits to local restaurants and taxi drivers"

Businessman, Basseterre

"The concern is not tourism It must come Proper planning and selective goals in tourism by the personnel involved in tourism promotion is my greatest concern "

Retired Domestic Servant, Dieppe Bay

"I am an old lady and tourism is of no benefit to me but the young people are coming up and they need jobs, tourism should help them "

Stone Pounder, Godwin Ghaut

"I don't care what they do, it don't matter to me "

Retired Canecutter, Newton Ground Area

"To hell with tourism and the government, I live my own life without them and FUCK them "  
(Respondent's emphasis)

Canecutter, Labourer, Saddler's Village

"Tourism should continue because it will help build the country."

A tally was taken of the overall tone--positive, negative, ambiguous--of final comments offered by respondents. 53% were positive, 11% negative, 18%

ambiguous, and in 4% of cases one could not tell; 14% of respondents had no final comments at all.

### Independent Variables and Their Apparent Impact Upon Responses

Survey results were sorted by sex, age, the experience of foreign travel, the possession of family members abroad, participation in the tourism industry, and location of residence in relation to areas of tourism activity in order to determine whether any of these variables might appear to play a significant role in the formation of attitudes and opinions about tourists and their impact upon the island. In each case the dataset was sorted by appropriate categories of the selected independent variable and frequency distributions of responses given to dependent variables were calculated for each category; one factor F-tests, Z-tests, and  $X^2$  tests were then conducted--as appropriate--to determine whether observed differences between responses given by subgroups might be of statistical significance at a 95% confidence interval or higher. Tests of significance are valid only if one assumes that the respondent population is representative of the whole population from which it has been drawn, that those who were interviewed constitute a random selection of the population and that each

individual in the population had an equal opportunity to be interviewed. This was not the case; while my original strategy would have allowed for the selection of a respondent list that was intended to randomise the sample--see above--this proved unworkable in the field and an alternative strategy had to be adopted. While a good cross-section of the Kittitian population was interviewed, one vital demographic characteristic of those interviewed did not correspond very closely with what the most recent official population census revealed. In 1980 the total population of St Kitts was 33,881, 16,414 were men and 17,467 were women (48.4% men 51.6% women) in my sample of 265 Kittitians 145 respondents were men (55%) and 118 were women (45%). A Z-test of statistical significance was conducted on the observed frequency of men and women in the sample and the actual frequency of these population groups, as revealed by the 1980 population census of the island (Appendix III). The Null Hypothesis used in the calculation, "that the observed difference--between that of the survey sample and the census average was a reflection of chance variation" had to be rejected as the probability that results as extreme--or more extreme--than those observed could have been obtained by chance was only .9 of 1%. The observed variation between the sexual distribution of respondents in the survey population and the

actual sexual distribution of the Kittitian population implies strongly that the survey population selection process led to the introduction of bias into the sample.

Another manner in which the survey respondent population appears to differ from the Kittitian population as a whole is in the area of the reported educational attainments of the two groups. The UNESCO Statistical Yearbook (1986) reports that only about 1% of the adult population has had no schooling (1980 data), in the survey sample 12% of respondents declared that they had never been to school. On the basis of the observed differences between the sample population and the population as a whole any inferences one might wish to make about the wider applicability of survey data must be regarded as somewhat speculative as it is not known how the two populations might differ in other ways.

#### Sex. Appendix IV-I

Very few differences have been observed between responses given by male respondents and female respondents. More women (69%) than men (55%) in the sample stated that they did not believe the local police force to be nicer since

tourism began, but the results were not significant at even a 90% interval of confidence. The only dependent variable that appeared to vary by sex of respondent was the claim that single women tourists cause more trouble than men tourists on the island; the mean female reply constituted a stronger rejection of the claim than the male, a  $X^2$  test revealed this variation to be significant at a 95% confidence interval, provided one assumes that the sample represents a randomised selection of the whole population<sup>1</sup>

#### Age. Appendix IV-II

Respondents were divided into three categories of age young (under 30), middle aged (30 to 50) and mature (over 50). Significant variations in patterns of response between those of different age categories were observed. Mature respondents were more likely to have experienced foreign travel than those who were of more tender years, they tended to be more in agreement with the claim that food costs have risen on the island in response to demand from tourists, were more undecided than younger people about whether utility costs have risen because of tourists, agreed more vigorously that wages are better now than they were before, and were somewhat less certain that the nature of work in the



tourism industry was not a bad influence upon family life. Fewer mature respondents were able to decide whether police behaviour had become more pleasant since tourism began and fewer were able to offer an opinion about whether police treatment of tourists differed from the manner in which Kittitians were treated or whether recent increases in the size of the police force have been caused by increases in tourism-related crime. Young respondents agreed more readily with the claim that tourists in groups tend to behave in a manner which differs from single tourists. Young and middle-aged respondents had a rather lower opinion of tourists as automobile drivers than did mature respondents.

#### **Experience of Foreign Travel. Appendix IV-III**

70% of respondents asserted that they had been abroad, of those 65% have travelled to other places within the Caribbean basin, the rest have journeyed outside of the region. Those who have experienced foreign travel are more likely to live in or near the principal zones of host-tourist interaction and are much more likely to be active in the tourism industry (31%) than those who have not been abroad (13%); those who have not been abroad are much less likely to have family abroad than those who have travelled (27% vs. 73%). Other variations in

patterns of response between the two groups of respondents include what appears to be a greater tolerance of gambling among those who have been abroad and those who have not, while only 13% of travellers would prefer to see the casino at Jack Tar Holiday Village shut, while 25% of non-travellers claimed to be amenable the idea; though not significant statistically a greater proportion of non-travellers than travellers asserted that the idea of gambling was troublesome to them (23% vs. 19%). Many more travellers than non-travellers agreed with the claim that tourists were--in general--more careful with rubbish than Kittitians and were less tolerant of litter in general than were non-travellers. Non-travellers disagreed less strenuously than travellers over the claim that most tourists were of weak intelligence.

#### **Family abroad. Appendix IV-IV**

Survey respondents without family abroad lived--on average--some five kilometres further away from a principal zone of interaction than others (11.6 kms. vs. 6.6 kms.) and were much less likely to consider themselves to be active in the tourism industry than those with family abroad (11% vs. 28%). Other substantial variations in patterns of response between these two groups appear

to be consistent with what one might expect where members of one group tend to be further removed from tourism activity than the other. Only 15% (vs. 25%) of non-family abroad respondents asserted that tourism had brought about changes to their village but a greater percentage (85% vs 74%) liked the changes that tourism had brought about. Those without family abroad considered themselves less well-placed to assess tourists as drivers than those with family connections to other places (25% don't know, vs. 11% don't know). Though not quite significant at an interval of confidence of 95%, fewer Kittitians without family abroad claimed to be concerned at the prospect of a shut-down at the casino (28% vs. 5%) quite possibly because of the greater dependence upon tourism as a source of livelihood among those who stated that they had family abroad.

#### **Participation in Tourism Industry, Appendix IV-V**

Respondents who claimed to have family abroad were more likely to consider themselves to be active in the tourism industry (28%) than those who did not (11%); likewise of those who had experienced foreign travel 31% claimed to be active in the industry while only 11% of those who had never been abroad worked in the tourism sector. Participation in the industry appears to decline

with distance between the zone of interaction and the location of the respondents principal residences, within the zone some 48% of respondents were active in the industry, 37% were active in peripheral areas, and only 20% were active in areas removed from the zone of interaction. Given that levels of respondent participation in the industry appear to increase with proximity to tourism areas it is not surprising that more of those active in tourism have noticed changes to their village that have been brought about by tourism (34%) than those who do not (22%); variations in individual and local dependence upon the industry for economic well-being may help to explain why only 4% of participants in the industry disapprove of the changes that tourism has brought to their communities, while a still small but rather larger proportion (17%) of those not active in the industry view some aspects of tourism-induced change with concern. Participants in tourism agreed more strongly with the claim that tourists in groups behave in ways which differ from those who are alone or with one other person than those who were not participants. Rather more difficult to explain is the observation that 21% of those active in tourism noted that they did not feel sadness when the Royal St. Kitts Hotel burnt, while only 13% of those not active in the industry did not feel sadness when the fire took place. In retrospect the fire

may have had a beneficial impact upon the resort complex, as one respondent noted:

"The main building at Jack Tar is much nicer now than before, and of course a lot of people got jobs when they cleaned up the site and rebuilt the buildings. The old building was wood and not so nice."

It may be possible that a greater proportion of those respondents active in tourism interpreted the question to mean *in retrospect* rather than *at the time*. It is difficult to imagine anyone dependent upon the industry for one's livelihood to not feel regret at the destruction of much of the island's biggest hotel.


#### **Educational Attainment. Appendix IV-VI**

Respondents were sorted by the number of years that they claimed to have spent at school. Of 265 interviews, 49 individuals did not respond to the question in an appropriate fashion, of the rest--215 individuals--12% (Group 1) had no educational experience, 20% (Group 2) had spent between one and eight years in school, 52% (Group 3) had between nine and fourteen years of schooling, and 15% (Group 4) claimed to have been in school for fifteen years or more. The mean distance between the principal residences of respondents and the Zone of

Interaction varied little between groups, at 4.7 kilometres those in Group 2 were--on average--rather closer to principal tourist areas than the other respondents (5.4 kilometres). As one might expect in a country which has experienced rapid development in recent years the educational attainment of young respondents--those under thirty years old--is higher than for older respondents. The distribution of employment within the tourism industry varied between the four groups of the sample population, while between 30 and 35 percent of Groups 1,3, and 4 respondents claimed to be active in tourism, only twelve percent of those in Group 2 derived direct economic benefit from the sector; this observed deviation from the general pattern is all the more surprising when one recalls that--on average--individuals in this group live a little closer to the main tourist areas than the rest of the respondent population. Group 2 respondents appeared to fare poorly in other ways as well. While one might expect that those who had never been to school would tend to have lifestyles that were more isolated than those who had at least some schooling, this does not appear to have been the case, some 96% of respondents who had no schooling had experienced foreign travel by the time of the survey but only 37% of Group 2 respondents had ever been abroad. While 94 - 96% of those in Groups 1,3, and 4

claimed to have family members who lived abroad only 68% of Group 2 respondents had family outside the country.

The apparent relative isolation of Group 2 respondents and their low collective rate of participation in the industry may account for many of the observed differences in patterns of response to specific questions about the impact of the industry upon the island. Only 20% of Group 2 respondents agreed strongly with the claim that the casino at Jack Tar brings much money to the island (versus, 41%, 52%, and 37%). Between 43 and 62% of other respondents asserted that tourists at Jack Tar do much economic good for the island but only 26% of Group 2 interviewees thought as much. A relative dearth of positive feelings about the benefits of tourism among Group 2 respondents did not appear to be reflected in more negative attitudes towards the industry, though the number of neutral and ambiguous responses tendered by those which fell into this category of classification tended to be higher than those of other groups. In response to the claim that the casino at Jack Tar brings much money to the island some 43% of Group 2 interviewees responded in a neutral fashion while an average of 25% of other respondents expressed neutral sentiments; although 32% of Group 2's did



not know whether the tourists at Jack Tar did much economic good for the island, an average of 16% of the rest of the surveyed population did not know. In spite of a smaller mean distance between the location of residence of Group 2 respondents and the rest of the population only 4% of those surveyed thought that tourism had brought visible changes to their villages or neighbourhoods versus an average of 27% of the rest of the respondents who had observed changes; of the few in Group 2 who had noticed tourism-induced changes, all approved of what they had seen. While Group 2 respondents have observed fewer changes to their villages that they attribute to tourism development they do not appear to be--as a group--any less sensitive to environmental transformation than the rest of the population, some 98% of this group disagreed with the claim that traffic on the island is the same as before tourism began in contrast to an average of 73% of others. Although Group 2 respondents appeared to derive fewer direct benefits from tourism than other groups they appear to have been--on average--less concerned with issues such as the presence of casino gambling on the island than the balance of the survey population; only eight percent disapproved of gambling at Jack Tar while 21% of the rest expressed



misgivings about it, 4% wanted to see the casino shut while about 20% of the balance of the population liked the idea.

The observed low rate of participation in the tourism sector among those with some--though relatively little--formal education might be accounted for in terms of the pattern of employment opportunities that tourism has created on St. Kitts. Group 2 respondents appear to be--on average--a bit older than those in other educational groups, and there is a universal tendency among employers to select new workers and trainees who are young rather than mature. Most tourism jobs fall into two broad categories: those which require a polished countenance and numerical, literary, and technical skills of a high calibre, and those which require skills that an elementary formal education does not provide, such as cleaning, gardening, farming, and vending. Since those who come into frequent direct contact with tourists on a formal professional basis are likely to be selected for such positions on the basis of superior educational qualifications and those who work elsewhere in the industry would be hired on the basis of non-educational criteria, too many Group 2 individuals might be considered overqualified or too old for manual work but underqualified and too old to be trained for professional

employment within the industry. It might be useful to conduct another survey that is targeted more specifically towards the measurement of the distribution of benefits and costs of tourism among the Kittitian population. With a clearer picture of the dimensions of this potential problem, specific measures might then be formulated--such as the improvement of skills of this population group in a manner that will enable those within it to compete with others for professional positions, practical training that may enable them to compete for practical jobs more effectively, and measures to prohibit employer discrimination on the basis of age--to ensure that all Kittitians have an opportunity to compete for employment within the sector on an equal basis.

#### **Location of Principal Residence. Appendix IV-VII**

Respondents were sorted by the distance in kilometres between the locations of their principal residences and the principal zones of tourist-host interaction at Frigate Bay, Central Basseterre, Fortlands, Romney's Manor, Brimstone Hill Fortress, Dieppe Bay-Black Rocks. Respondents who lived less than one kilometre from one or more of these places were considered to be likely to encounter tourists on a daily basis both at their homes and within their neighbourhoods, the

interview schedules of such individuals were classified as Group 1. Those who lived from one up to five kilometres from such places were hypothesised to have--in an absence of direct employment within the sector--less direct but still rather frequent contact with tourists than those who lived in close proximity to places frequented by them, such interview schedules were classified as Group 2. Group 3 interview schedules belonged to survey respondents who lived five kilometres or more from the defined zones of tourist-host interaction, it was considered that--except for those employed directly within the industry--individuals would encounter tourists infrequently, except on occasions when they visited areas frequented by tourists themselves. If greater temporal and pecuniary resources were available it would have been worthwhile to conduct a systematic territoriality-tracking survey of Kittitians of the sort carried out by F.W. Boal (1980) in order to determine the importance of factors other than simple distance-decay in the movement of individual Kittitians throughout their living-space; my inability to bolster the theoretical assumptions that I have been forced to make in reference to the mobility to Kittitian respondents vis à vis their direct exposure to places that have been influenced greatly by tourism activity by empirical evidence may serve to reduce the overall accuracy of this somewhat ragamuffin system of classification.

Participation in the tourism sector appears to decline as the distance between the residence of the respondent and opportunities for direct employment within the sector increase, while 32% of Group 1 respondents claimed to be active in the sector, the figure dropped to 19% of Group 3 respondents. The incidence of participation in tourism amongst members of the immediate families of respondents also appeared to decay as distance between his/her home and the defined tourism centres increased. Most respondents in all groups had experienced foreign travel and though more of those who lived more than five kilometres from tourism centers claimed to have no family abroad--17% vs. 5% and 8%--rates of foreign travel were above the average of the other two groups. More respondents in Groups 1 and 2 than in Group 3 agreed with the claim that tourism has served to increase the cost of modest housing on the island (62% and 63% vs. 49%) though agreement on the impact of tourism upon food prices, electricity and water, luxury items, wage rate, labour costs, and the cost of local transportation varied little from group to group. While less than 1% of Groups 1 and 2 respondents noted that their families had been troubled by tourists in the past, some 7% of--significant at 95% interval of confidence  $\chi^2$ -test--those who lived five or more kilometres from tourist centres and major attractions asserted

that tourists had been bothersome in the past. Since one might expect that those who live far from tourists should see them but little and have less occasion to object to their behaviour than those who must contend with a constant tourist presence it is difficult to rationalise how those far from tourists might be bothered by them more than others. One explanation may lie in the lower rates of participation that Group 3 respondents claimed to have in the industry, since fewer local residents rely upon tourism for their livelihoods perhaps the benefits of the activity are less visible in this area than elsewhere and--as a consequence--more individuals are less tolerant or perhaps more easily annoyed by tourists and their impacts than those who live in closer proximity to them. Indeed, about one-quarter of respondents in each group noted that tourism had led to changes in their villages/neighbourhoods, but while 4% and 0% of Groups 1 and 2 respondents disapproved of these changes, some 16% of those in the tourism hinterland did not like the changes they had observed to their communities but amongst residents of even very touristy areas direct participation in the industry does not approach universality and one might expect that there would be plenty of individuals who get little from tourism but must contend with the problems that they pose on a daily basis. This

phenomenon may be consistent with Bélisle and Hoy's (1980: 94) conclusion that "(t)he spatial dimension of tourism impact (was)...the only statistically significant dimension" of analysis in their study of host-population attitudes to tourism in Santa Marta, Colombia and "as distance from the tourist zone increas(ed), the impact of tourism (was) perceived (sic.) less positively"; the features--be they economic, social, cultural or distance itself--that interact with distance--or function--to produce this affect remain to be identified empirically.

Group 1 residents appear to have been much more likely to believe--69% vs. 24%--that the island police force treats tourists in a manner which differs from the treatment accorded to Kittitians, in the tourism hinterlands opinion appears to be divided almost equally on the issue with 40% and 39% of respondents asserting and refuting the claim that treatment accorded to tourists by the police differs from that given to everyone else. When respondents were asked whether--in their experience--tourists were nice and polite to them as individuals 5%, 7%, and 6% in their respective groups said no.

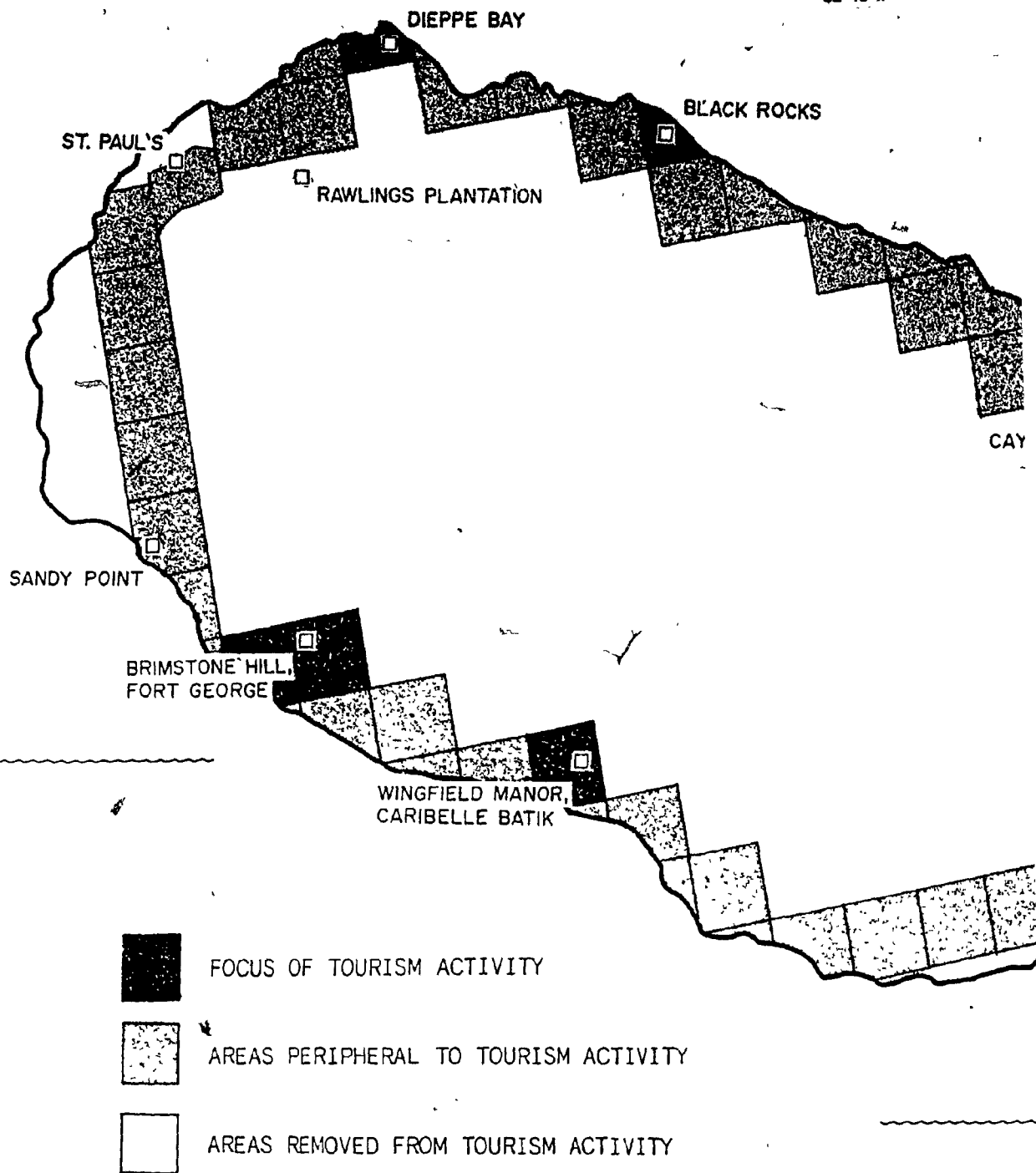
**Categorical Location of Principal Residence Appendix IV-VIII**

While a measure of distance between the home of a specific respondent and foci of tourism activity serves as an indication of the relative proximity between one and the other it does not take into account the pattern of tourist movements throughout the island in a way that considers the pattern of exposure of hosts to guests. A map was prepared in light of my own rather detailed survey that divided the territory of the island into three categories of tourism landuse (Map I). Areas where tourists congregate and pursue recreational and other activities and where Kittitians were likely to be presented with opportunities to interact with tourists on a daily basis within their own neighbourhoods were designated as foci of tourist-host interaction, places over which tourists transit frequently in order to gain access to attractions but where few opportunities emerge for hosts and guests to interact with each other--where tourists would be seen but not known--were designated as peripheral areas, parts of the island where tourists seldom visit and where local residents would not encounter them regularly were considered to be removed from the zones of interaction. The declared places of residence of survey respondents were then plotted on a map to determine the spatial pattern of respondent distribution throughout the island





62°45'W

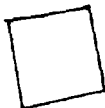


SOURCE: Raymond Knock, 1986

# PATTERN OF TOURISM LANDŪSE ON ST. KITTS

0 1 2 3 Kilometres

17°20'



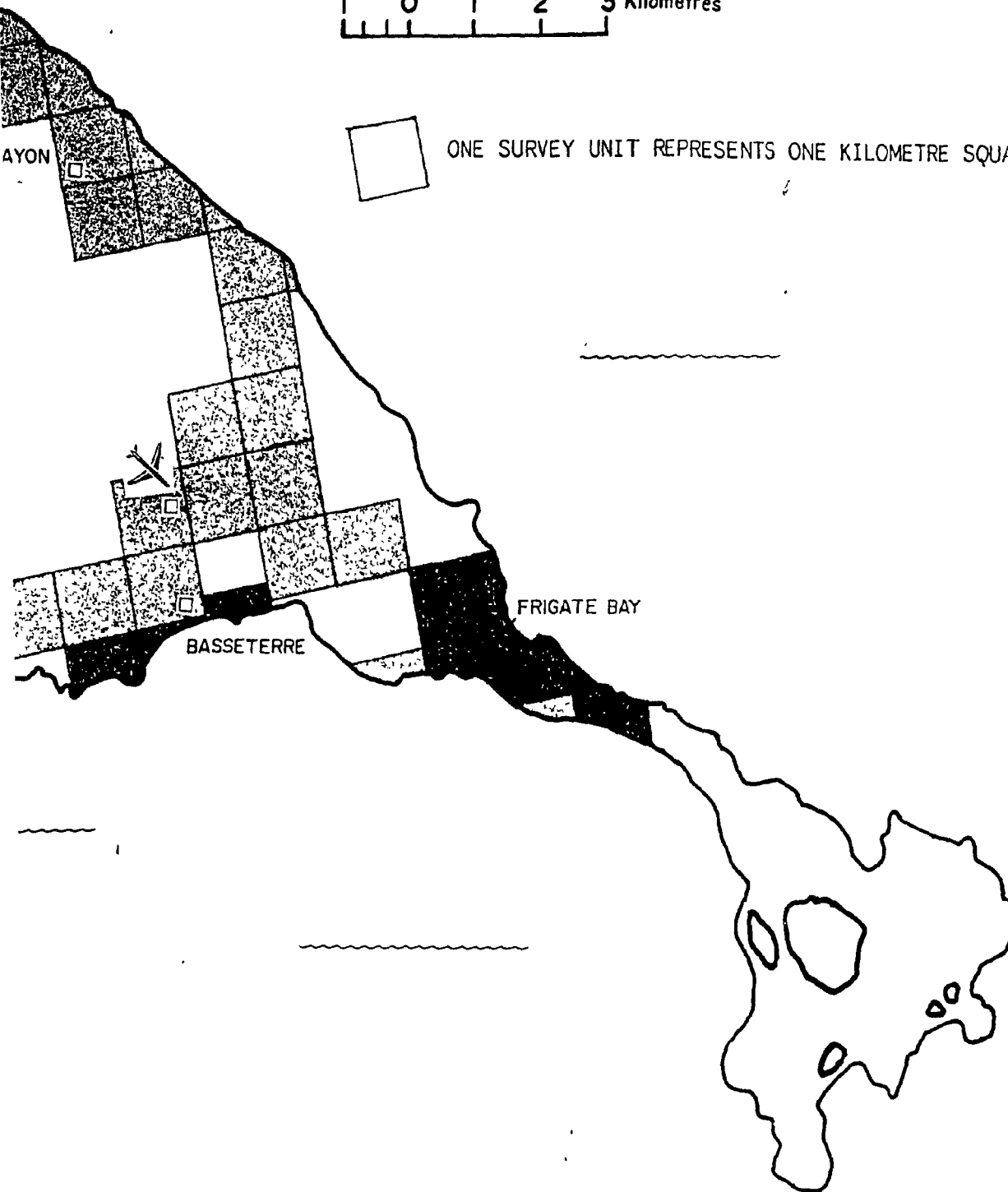
ONE SURVEY UNIT REPRESENTS ONE KILOMETRE SQUARE

AYON

BASSETERRE

FRIGATE BAY

62°45'



(Map II), since a conscious attempt was made to obtain a survey sample that was as representative of the population as possible the distribution of survey respondents follows the distribution of the Kittitian population throughout the island very closely. Very few Kittitians as a proportion of the total live in the Frigate Bay area and in the centre of Basseterre where tourists congregate 11% of survey respondents considered such places to serve as the locations of their principal residence; many Kittitians live along the circum-island road over which tourists travel to visit the attractions of the island and 73% of respondents lived in such areas, 16% of those surveyed lived in Monkey Hill, Molineux, and other places where tourists seldom visit.

The impact of tourism appears to be--as one might expect--more visible in territory within the recreation space of the tourism industry than in places removed from it. More residents of central areas consider that tourism has led to increases in the cost of land and modest housing than those who live in the tourism hinterland. More respondents who live in designated zones of interaction believe that criminal activities have increased in frequency as a result of tourism than those who live elsewhere. While only a few respondents claimed that either



Map II

62°45'W

DIEPPE BAY

SADLERS

ST. PAUL'S

TABERNACLE

CAYON

SANDY POINT

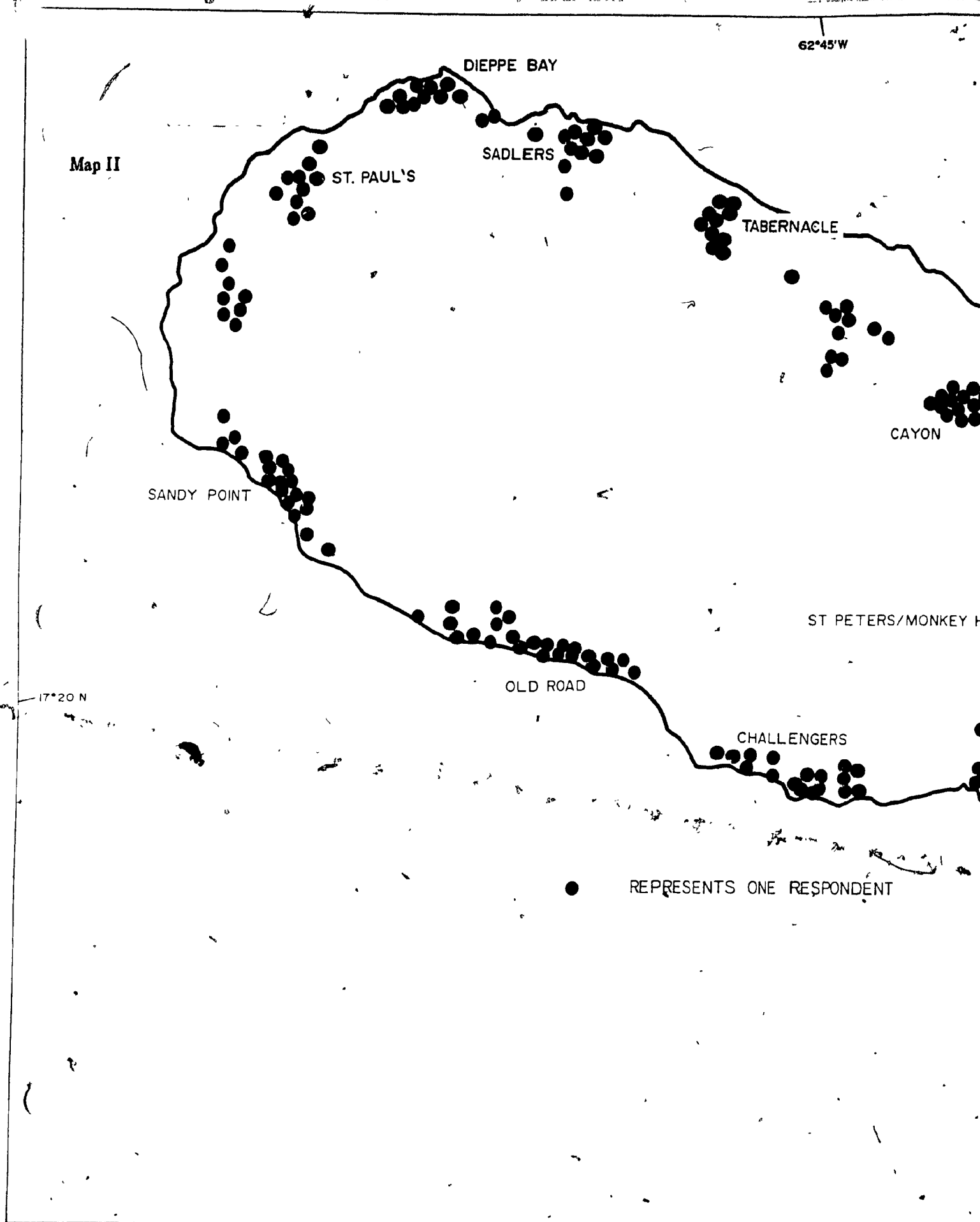
ST PETERS/MONKEY H

OLD ROAD

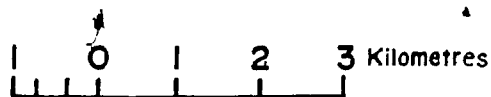
CHALLENGERS

17°20'N

● REPRESENTS ONE RESPONDENT



SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF LOCATION OF PRINCIPAL  
RESIDENCE, RESPONDENT POPULATION, SURVEY I



17°20'



62°45'

they or their families had been troubled by tourists in the past all such people lived in areas removed from tourism activity. Other differences in patterns of response between groups appear to be minor; 66% of those who lived within the tourist zones asserted that tourists--in general--were more careful with garbage than Kittitians, in the hinterland the figure was 40%, 23% of those removed from tourism activity believed that tourism had brought about a decline in environmental quality on the island while only 14% of those within the zone thought this was so, no respondents who lived at the centres of tourist action had ever found tourists to be discourteous to them personally, while 7% of those isolated from tourists asserted that they were often impolite. As one might expect in many instances levels of uncertainty about specific questions were higher among those with infrequent exposure to tourists than among those in daily contact with them but--as with the variable of distance between respondents and tourists, see above--the spatial dimension appears to play a rather minor rôle in the formation of resident attitudes to tourism on the island.

### **Multiple-Regression Analysis**

Multiple regression is a technique of analysis that is used in an attempt to predict and explain the variation of a single dependent variable from a number of

independent--or predictor--variables (Shaw, Wheeler, 1985: 230) it takes the form of the equation:

$$Y = a + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + \dots + b_jX_j + e$$

Where:

$a$  = intercept value

$b_1$  to  $b_j$  = partial regression coefficients

$e$  = error term

Educational attainment, age, and distance between the residence and zone of interaction were selected as independent variables and an array of questions that related to the potential impact of tourism upon the cost of living, the economy, social conditions, and the environment were selected as dependent variables

The selected independent variables were tested for evidence of

multicollinearity--Age & Distance ( $X_1Y_1$ ) = +0.56, Age & Education ( $X_1Y_1$ ) = +.288,

Distance & Education ( $X_1Y_1$ ) = +0.56--and were then calculated against each dependent variable (Table VIII).

Although educational attainment, age, and distance appear to associated with variations in patterns of response that relate to the cost of housing and the impact of direct participation in the industry upon family life at a 90% interval of confidence the null hypothesis--that the observed variation is a reflection of



chance variation--could not be rejected at a 95% interval of confidence or higher in a single instance.

**Table VIII**  
**Results of Multiple-Regression Analysis of the Impact of**  
**Respondent Educational Attainment, Age, and Distance from**  
**Zone of Interaction upon Selected Dependent Variables**

<u>Y Variable</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>R<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>Adjusted R<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>F-Statistic</u>	<u>Probability</u>
Land Costs	195	.074	5.5 <sup>-3</sup>	-1.0 <sup>-2</sup>	1.629	.358	.7832
House Costs	196	.187	3.5 <sup>-2</sup>	2.0 <sup>-2</sup>	1.627	2.338	.0749
Food Costs	197	.13	1.7 <sup>-2</sup>	1.6 <sup>-3</sup>	1.706	1.105	.3481
Utilities Costs	194	.135	1.8 <sup>-2</sup>	2.7 <sup>-3</sup>	1.556	1.176	.320
Casino	183	.15	2.2 <sup>-2</sup>	6.1 <sup>-3</sup>	1.474	1.379	.2506
Jack Tar	184	.083	6.9 <sup>-3</sup>	-1.0 <sup>-2</sup>	1.487	.417	.7407
Crime	198	.083	6.8 <sup>-3</sup>	-8.4 <sup>-3</sup>	1.528	.447	.7194
Work Bad For							
Families	195	.188	3.5 <sup>-2</sup>	2.0 <sup>-2</sup>	1.472	2.339	.0748
Men Trouble	193	.071	5.1 <sup>-3</sup>	-1.1 <sup>-2</sup>	1.544	.324	.8083
Women							
Trouble	194	.115	1.3 <sup>-2</sup>	-2.3 <sup>-3</sup>	1.449	.849	.4686
Rubbish	191	.161	2.6 <sup>-2</sup>	1.0 <sup>-2</sup>	1.7	1.675	.1738

**DF** = degrees of freedom (N - number of X variables used in model)

**R** = coefficient of multiple determination or correlation coefficient (indicates the proportion of the variance in the Y variable accounted for by the regression model)

**SE** = likely size of the chance error

**F-Statistic** = a ratio of variance

**Probability** = the chance--expressed as a fraction of 1.0--that the observed pattern of variance, or a pattern of variance more extreme than that observed, could have been obtained as a result of random chance.

### **Open-Ended Questions, Appendix IV-IX**

All participants in the survey were asked a series of twenty questions that were answered at the complete discretion of the respondents. As one might expect the

patterns of response were as varied as the individuals who provided them and --of course--reflected a diverse array of personal opinion. Each interview schedule was then examined, the overall tone was identified, and was then classified as representative of a positive, negative, or ambivalent attitude towards tourism on St. Kitts. In thirteen instances--5% of participants--the respondents were determined to be suboptimal for a variety of reasons--intoxication, emotional/mental instability and weakness, senility etcetra--open-ended questions were not asked to these people so that we might move on as quickly as possible! The system of classification employed in the assessment of open-ended questions was quite unscientific and represents a reaction against a tendency to overemphasise the quantitative and neglect to even attempt to interpret the bounty of qualitative data that any detailed survey will yield.

Frequency distributions have been prepared in order to identify any relationships that might be apparent between the range of variables designated as independent, and the overall tone of the interview schedules as the dependent variable. The sex and age of survey participants appears to have had little impact upon overall attitudes to tourism on the island but educational attainment

of respondents appears to have been much more important. 63% of those who had never been to school expressed a positive attitude to tourism on the island, this figure rose steadily to 66% for those with 1-8 years of formal education, and to 76% for those with 9-14 years, and to 81% for those with more than 15 years of schooling. Experience of foreign travel and the possession of family members who live abroad also appear to coincide with an increased incidence of positive attitudes towards tourism, 77% of those who had been abroad liked tourism while 58% of those who had not expressed positive attitudes to it, 74% of respondents who had family outside of St. Kitts-Nevis thought well of tourism while only 50% of those without family members elsewhere in the world mustered good things to say about it. The incidence of overall satisfaction with tourism appeared to increase as the portion of family income derived directly from tourism increased, 63% of those who claimed to get nothing from tourism spoke well of it while 91% of those who relied upon the industry for 50% or more of family income waxed golden about its benefits, as participation in the industry among members of the immediate family of the respondent increased satisfaction with tourism also increased.

The distance between the residences of survey participants and foci of tourist activity has no visible impact upon overall attitudes towards the industry. 70% of those who lived less than one kilometre from such a place spoke of tourism in a positive fashion, 71% of those who lived more than five kilometres away expressed similar sentiments, 19% of both groups of respondents had ambivalent feelings about it all. The designated relationship between residences of respondents and zones of host-tourism interaction may be of some importance but the results are not--alas--significant statistically; 83% of participants who lived within the zone spoke of tourism in a positive fashion, 74% of those who resided in areas peripheral to the action were happy about it, and 69% of those removed from the zone spoke of the industry in warm or glowing terms.

### Conclusions, Survey I

The two principal hypotheses that were formulated as a basis for the survey--that variations in the socioeconomic status of individual respondents will be associated with variations in their attitudes towards tourists and tourism, and that attitudes of respondents towards with industry will appear to vary in response to the relative proximity of their place of residence to principal foci of

tourism activity--appear valid in some instances, though not in a way which might suggest that any specific variables of consideration might serve as a key determinant in overall respondent attitudes towards the industry. Sex does not appear to be associated with significant variations in patterns of response, age was associated with rather more variations in patterns of response that were significant at a 95% interval of confidence than sex, but such manifest differences may have occurred in light of the greater propensity of older people to have experienced foreign travel, lower rates of participation of this population group in the industry, and a lower mean level of educational attainment among mature respondents than among those in younger age categories. Experience of foreign travel appears to be associated with a greater tolerance of tourist pastimes such as gambling and--to a limited extent--what seems to be a greater familiarity with the nature of tourists as individuals rather than as a group. Respondents with family abroad tended to live closer to foci of tourism activity than those without family outside the country, were--on average--better educated, and were more likely to be active in tourism than the rest of the population. Individuals with family abroad tended to be more assertive than those without in that they proffered fewer neutral responses to questions than others. Those with family

abroad agreed more strongly with the idea that tourism is of economic benefit for the island, perhaps because rates of participation in the industry are higher among members of this group than among the rest of the population and their closer physical proximity to foci of tourism activity has enabled more individuals within this group to observe the changes that tourism has brought to the area than those without family abroad who are less likely to be employed in the sector and are more likely to live in areas far removed from it. Respondents who claimed to be active in the tourism industry tended to demonstrate a more positive attitude to it than those who were inactive.

\* Low rates of participation in the sector among those with one to eight years of education suggest that the employment opportunities generated by tourism have not been distributed equally among the population. The average age of respondents in this category of educational attainment was higher than the figures for other categories but it is not clear whether low rates of participation are the result of voluntary retirement from economic activity or employer discrimination on the basis of age, the interests of equity and fairness dictate that opportunities for employment should be equal for everyone, irrespective of age.

Those who live near major tourist areas more often claim to have noted upward pressure on prices as a result of tourism demand than those who live far from the principal zones of interaction and--as a group--appear to take a more jaundiced view of the oft-supposed claim that casino gambling is a major source of revenue. In spite of much higher rates of participation in the sector among those who live near to foci of tourist activity than among those who are distanced from it opinion was divided equally about the overall economic benefits that accrue to the island from international resort-style tourism; respondents and their families who lived places in or close to touristy areas appear to be bothered less by the physical presence of tourists than those who live far from them which implies that the longterm physical presence of moderate numbers of tourists within a specific area may not be overly disruptive once the local populace has had an opportunity to adjust to--and to derive some benefit from--their presence. When respondents were sorted with reference to the relationship between location of residence and the main zones of host-tourist interaction the same sorts of patterns of response emerged as when respondents were sorted by distance. Participation in tourism appears to decline as distance between residence and the industry increases and although negative attitudes towards the sector do not

appear to increase with relative accessibility/distance the incidence of neutral/indifferent responses to does appear to be associated with these variables. Were I granted an opportunity to repeat the survey I would be quick to include the question "if you had an opportunity to do so, would you like to work in tourism?" In that way it would be possible to measure the relative propensity of the respondent population throughout the survey area to consider employment in the sector as desirable.

Relative proximity of foci of tourism activity does appear to be associated with increased incidences of important factors of potential economic wellbeing such as family abroad, which can be of significant benefit through remittances of money from abroad and increased accessibility to opportunities in other places, longer educations, which tend to be associated with increases in earning power, and participation in the tourism industry, which provides more pleasant conditions of employment than jobs in many traditional sectors. The manifest association between factors of economic wellbeing and the accessibility of individuals to foci of tourism activity--which, including Central Basseterre, takes in the main urban-complex of the island--is a surprise. On an island as small as St. Kitts one can



travel at moderate cost by public bus from the far side of the territory to the centre of town in about forty minutes. Given the relative ease with which Kittitians should be able to gain access to opportunities generated by economic activity at the core of the island one would not expect socioeconomic conditions in the hinterland to vary to any great degree from those in the core

St. Kitts has emerged as a place where ambivalent--rather than negative--attitudes to tourism appear to increase in incidence as the distance from the zones of host-tourist interaction to the location of residence of respondents increases, as an economic territory the island appears to be divided into de facto cores and peripheries which function in a manner that has led to an unequal distribution of opportunities for economic amelioration among the island population. Future research into the operational dynamics of the different places within the spatial hierarchy of this territory might serve to enhance our understanding of the nature of tourism benefit distribution throughout the island and the causative forces that have contributed to the emergence of this hierarchy.

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## **Chapter VI**

### **Tourists' Attitudes and Impressions of St. Kitts. A Survey**

While Chapter V focused upon the attitudes of Kittitians to tourists and tourism, this section is based upon a survey of holiday makers to the island, their impression of St. Kitts as a tourist destination, and of Kittitians as a host population. Just as a host population may be expected to develop impressions and attitudes towards tourists and tourism that reflect the spatial and socioeconomic context of its occurrence and their relationship with it, tourists will tend to reflect on their experiences within the context of their rôles as visitors to a foreign locale and the circumstances of their encounters with the host population. E. DeKadt (1976: 50) has observed that three categories of tourist-host encounters can be expected to take place at a destination:

1. When the tourist purchases some good or service from a member of the host population
2. When the tourist finds him/herself in association with a member of the host population on a beach, in a café, or at some other place of mutual attraction
3. When individuals from each group come together in order to exchange information or ideas.

Since it is all but impossible to visit a destination without some commercial exchange between the visitor and the host the first category of contact is by far the most common within the context of resort tourism be the host an independent businessperson or an agent. The second category of contact will occur

more frequently among intrepid tourists--explorers and drifters in the nomenclature of Cohen (1972, 164-182, see Chapter I)--who venture beyond the main tourist centre (Chapter I, Fig 1). The third category of contact is likely to take place among those able to immerse themselves in local society and culture in an absence of spatial and/or temporal constraints, or with the aid of professional or other contacts unavailable to the typical mass tourist with a week to partake of a little sunshine.

As Mathieson and Wall (1982: 135) have observed, most of the published literature that is concerned with tourist-host relationships focuses upon the social environment that is generated by mass tourism. A UNESCO study of the phenomenon (1976, 82) has mooted that the transitory nature of mass tourist visitation, the temporal and spatial constraints that limit the movement of the mass tourist, the lack of spontaneity that is inherent to the package resort tourist leisure product, and the inequality of guest and host--especially in their common rôles of served and server--conspire to provide the tourist with a sanitised, simplified, and superficial impression of the destination area. Since the activities, patterns of movement, and often patterns of consumption of resort

tourists are controlled directly by resort owners in collusion with package tour operators, or indirectly by the location of resort installations and facilities in isolated places, even superficial formal contact between guest and host can be limited severely. Resort-style tourism compounds serve to isolate the tourist from the destination area and the host population from the tourists. Mathieson and Wall (1982: 136) assert that this form of tourism gives the tourist little or no opportunity to develop any sort of personal relationship with the territory and society of his/her holiday destination and because the tourist has been nurtured to crave only the generic material trappings of a sunspot holiday--sun, sea, sand, sex, liquor, and perhaps gambling--consumer loyalty to a specific destination is often very low. Under conditions of low consumer loyalty, tourists who have no personal affection for one place will consider all places for their next holiday equally and will be influenced by cost considerations and/or the dictates of the latest fashions in marketing rather than by personal preference. Destinations that seek to satisfy this segment of market demand will find that--over the long term--their resorts will be forced to go 'downmarket', as in the case of Torremolinos, in order to respond to pressures to increase price competitiveness.



and that demand for their product will fluctuate in response to periodic crises--real and imagined--that render other destinations more favourable to the fickle resort-tourism segment of demand.

A small survey of tourist attitudes to Kittitians and to St. Kitts was conducted on the island in September of 1986 in an attempt to identify the morphology of resort-tourism on the island and to determine the extent of site and host-specific contact between tourist and destination. Since the exercise was intended to explore and document, rather than to test, corroborate, and/or refute, no formal operative hypotheses have been tendered. An interview schedule was composed (Appendix V) that was made up of eight sections. Sections I and II dealt with independent spatial and socioeconomic variables, where the tourist was from, where he/she was staying, and his/her age, sex, occupation, income, etc. Section III was intended to gather data on the itinerate details of the respondents' holiday and to track his/her realised and intended pattern of travel throughout the island. Sections IV and VI explored the impressions and experiences of the tourist population to Kittitians, while Section V dealt with their experiences of the natural environment, in Section VII respondents were asked to comment on what

they saw as their rôle as tourists and the impact of their physical and economic presence on the island. The final section consisted of a mixed bag of questions

### The Study Area

The site of the present survey was focused upon the principal residential focus of of resort-style tourism on St. Kitts, in the Frigate Bay area (Photo 1). Although the Jack Tar Holiday Village is not the only large resort hotel on the island, it is the largest and the only one with direct access to a proper beach. Tourists at the

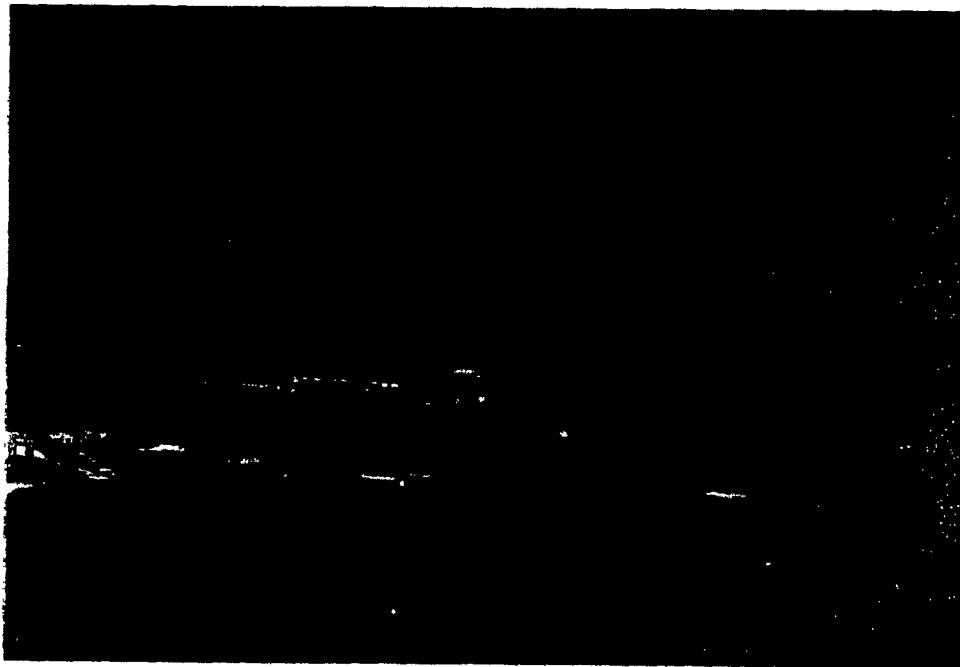


Photo 1. Frigate Bay

As a focus for resort-style tourism on the island Frigate Bay offers the tourist the requisites for a beach holiday: sun, swimming, golf, and gambling. Many visitors to St. Kitts never leave this isolated--and rather plain--part of the island.

other big hotels--like the Ocean Terrace Inn--will often make at least one visit to Frigate Bay for serious beach activities. An attempt was made to conduct a few interviews in Basseterre but it was found that most tourists were resident in the Frigate Bay area and that the foamy rumble of gentle breakers and the rustle of coco thatch (Photo II) made a much more pleasant location for such an operation than an hot and steamy pavement. The principal hotel in the area, the Jack Tar

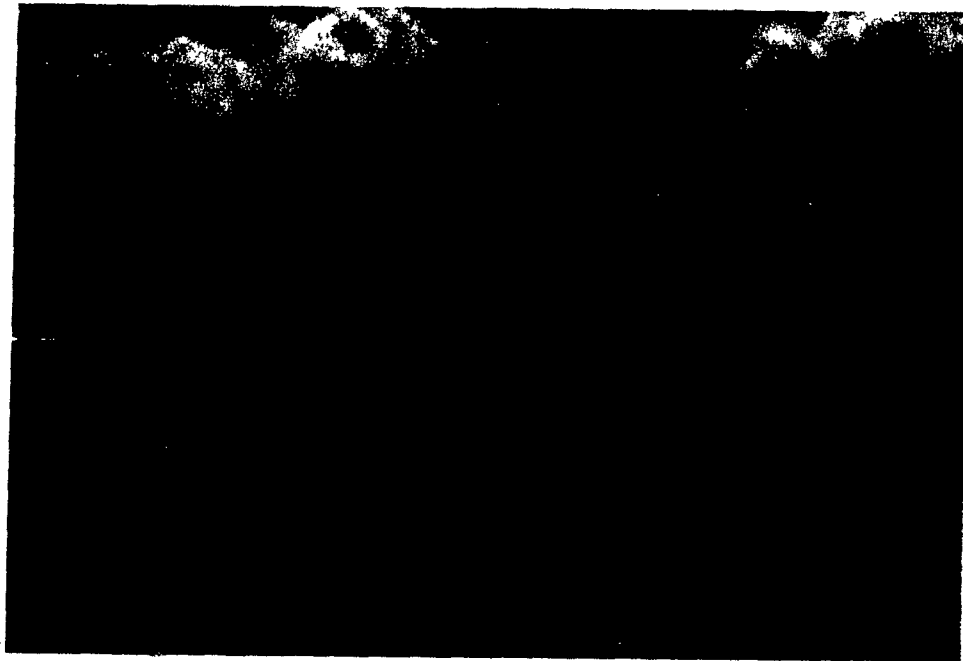


Photo II. The Atlantic Beach, Frigate Bay

Where most holidaymakers on the island relax, the Atlantic Beach is an ideal location for interviews.

Holiday Village (Photo III) is a large rambling and rather imposing structure of little architectural interest that provides guests with 'all-in' package holidays.

Meals, unlimited booze, even cigarettes are provided to guests on demand, they



Photo III. Jack Tar Holiday Village, Frigate Bay

Isolated from the mainstream of Kittitian life, 'Jack Tar' is a place where tourists can get away from everything if they choose.

must pay only for caddy and green fees when they make use the adjacent golf course, game chips in the casino, and purchases such as US News and World Report and The Democrat newspaper in the hotel shop.\* Optional packaged excursions are organised at the hotel for guests who wish to venture outside of Frigate to see the attractions of the rest of the island.

\*The largest newspaper on the island, The Labour Spokesman, was--for some reason--unavailable at the the shop during the fieldwork component of my survey, the clerk employed there did not know when --or if--copies of this popular local publication might be delivered.

Frigate Bay differs from the rest of St. Kitts in several respects. Together with the Southeastern peninsula, it is located in the driest and sunniest part of the island. While agriculture is practiced almost everywhere throughout the island the only example of this activity that I encountered in this area was a small and luxuriant plot of bananas and vegetables in the vicinity of the Jack Tar sewage treatment facility. Everything in Frigate Bay has been built on a grand scale. The golf course (Photo IV) is of spectacular design and--when rainfall is



Photo IV, The Golf Course, Frigate Bay

Marred only by the occasional 'No Trespassing' sign, the golf course is one of the most attractive in the Antilles and serves as a focus for luxurious residential development in the area.

plentiful--luxuriant. Residential construction in the area is often imposing and of an opulence that is not typical of the rest of the island (Photo V) where homes

are much more modest and often much meaner (Photos VI & VII).

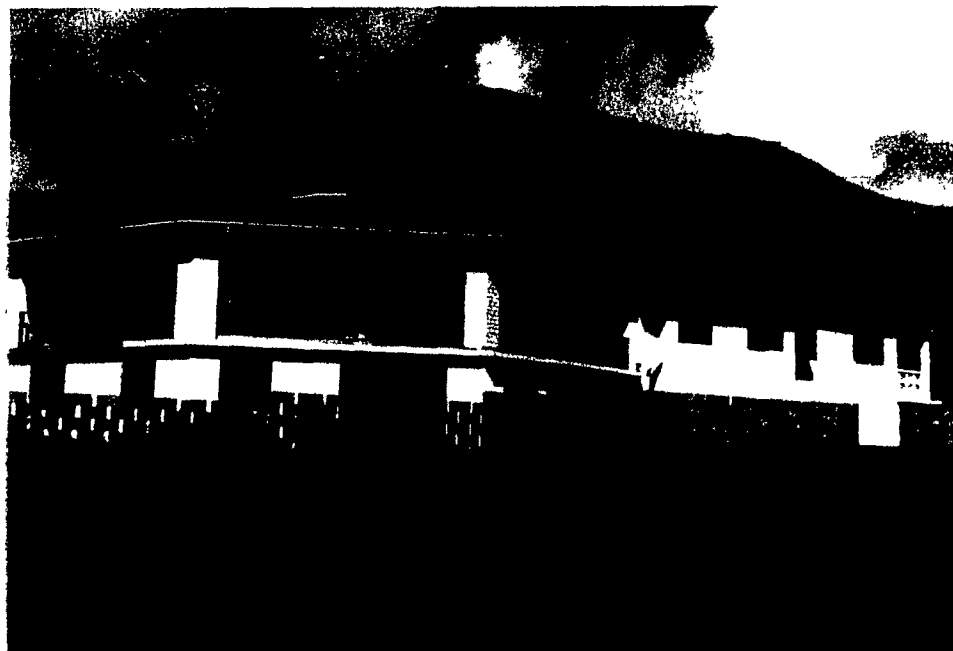


Photo V. New Home, Frigate Bay

Much new home construction on the island caters to the carriage trade. This house is one of the larger--though not the largest--of the area and contributes to the Californian or Floridian atmosphere of the enclave.



Photo VI. New Popular-Priced Housing, Basseterre

Most Kittitians live in much more modest accommodation than that found in Frigate Bay. Some are fortunate enough to be able to lease pleasant little homes like these for a reasonable sum.



**Photo VII. Substandard Housing, Snut Alley, Basseterre**

**While spectacular new home construction proceeds apace in Frigate Bay and in Bird Rock and Harbour View pockets of severe poverty remain plentiful throughout the island.**

Any tourist who confines him/herself to a holiday in Frigate Bay would almost certainly be able to pick up a tan but would miss an opportunity to see most of what is beautiful on the island and witness some of the problems of development

### **Methodology and Sample**

A total of 85 interviews of tourists were conducted in the Frigate Bay area in September of 1986. All interviews were conducted on either the Atlantic beach or the nearby Caribbean beach, no interviews were conducted within the Jack Tar compound which--as private property--was off limits to all but approved

activities. While an attempt was made to approach a balanced cross-section of respondents it is certain that the respondent population did not constitute a random selection of foreign tourists. Since the interviews were conducted in September when rates at the hotel are but a fraction of what they are in midwinter one might expect that the financial conditions of visitors to the island might also vary in a similar fashion from season to season. Since all the interviews were conducted on public property the research team might not have had access to some visitors to the island such as compulsive gamblers, alcoholics, and those who spent little time in the area.

The vast majority of tourists contacted were delighted to participate in our little survey; since an important component of the exercise was to track areal patterns of tourist movement throughout the island and to collect personal rather than preconceived ideas about the island an attempt was made to approach those who had neared the end of their visits, sometimes it was necessary to provide respondents with a mail-back request for information to be completed at the end of their stays (Appendix VI), a total of 55 such requests were handed out, the response rate was very high indeed, with some 41 replies (75%) received; why the response rate was so much higher than is usual for this sort of exercise



is unclear, it may have been the interesting and unthreatening topic of the survey, the humble naiveté of the request itself, the respectful but friendly manner of the data gatherers, or exceptional cooperativeness and consideration among the respondent population

Frequency tabulations have been prepared for the completed interview schedules and a map drawn to show the pattern of movement of participants throughout the island. Since the respondent selection process was not random formal tests of statistical of significance have been deemed inappropriate.

### Survey Results, Appendix VII

About half (52%) of respondents were from the United States, Canadians made up about one-third (31%) and Venezuelans 8%. The vast majority (87%) stayed at Jack Tar Holiday Village on an 'all-in' package programme, five stayed in private homes and the rest at the OTI, Frigate Beach Hotel, and the very exclusive Rawlins Plantation. Fully 60% of surveyed tourists resided in the zone of interaction at Frigate Bay.

Women constituted 61% of those surveyed, men 39%, this rather large disparity may reflect the composition of the targeted survey population rather than sample bias. Small groups of women seemed much more likely to take holidays together as friends than men, all of whom appeared to be either in the company of women travel companions, or together as couples. Although summertime holidays at Frigate Bay were popular with all age groups, those under 30--often honeymooners--were very numerous. One-third of respondents had never been abroad before and 87% were visiting the island for the first time. The survey respondents were affluent. Only 3 had family incomes of less than EC\$39,000 per year, the average family income was about EC\$116,000 and may have been even higher but for several rich-looking respondents who declined to respond to the question.

About 75% of those surveyed intended to spend one week on the island and all but a few no more than two weeks. Two thirds travelled in couples and 11% alone. Respondents' experiences of Kittitians as a host population were quite positive. Over 90% found Customs and Immigration pleasant and proper upon their arrival at Golden Rock Airport, no mean feat when one realises the difficulty

authorities must encounter when two hundred impatient visitors descend upon the small facility. While rather few visitors had occasion to consult the island police force for advice, those who did were quite happy with the treatment that they had received. The staff at Jack Tar deserve special skudos as declared satisfaction with the level of service offered at the hotel was all but unanimous. The "Befuddlement Effect" (Adams, 1972) does not appear to exist as a major force on St. Kitts, shopclerks appear to know how to make proper change, even when working in their own currency, the island taxi service--so often a font of horror stories from Malaga to Malta--was regarded in a positive light by most who had made use of it

About half of those surveyed had experienced some informal contact with members of the general public and in all but one case\* described the experience as positive. When tourists were asked if Kittitians seemed to be well mannered and behaved--translation: were they harassed and bugged as they wandered about--only two respondents reported any sort of trouble, but in each instance the problems described were very minor.

\*A pitiful individual who considered 'free liquor' to be the most alluring feature of the island; he then referred to his comrade-tourists as 'chicken shit' for their demonstrated preference for the prudence whilst gambling at the casino and insulted several respectable minority groups before losing consciousness on his chaise longue.

Most respondents (87%) found the island clean and well-maintained wherever they had been and almost everyone (93%) liked the scenery. About 20% were less than thrilled about the beaches they had seen, a few thought that more care should be taken to ensure that seaweed and litter were picked up more regularly while the rest made wistful comments about the coarse texture and colour of the beach sand. Only 4% were dissatisfied with the facilities at their hotel, which attests to the general high calibre of tourist accommodation on the island. Traffic does not appear to have been bothersome to most of those surveyed, as some 92% of respondents found Kittitians to be courteous drivers.

When asked what they liked best about the island most of those surveyed (72%) liked aspects of the physical and built environments--the beach, the island topography, the Jack Tar complex, and the weather--best. A smaller proportion (24%) preferred aspects of the human environment above all else. Although many respondents (40%) were unable to identify anything specific that they disliked about the island, 32% were disturbed by the visible symptoms of poverty that they had seen, a few--two from New York City and two from Houston--thought that shopping facilities on the island were less than impressive.

Inadequate conditions of food preparation hygiene (4%), Venezuelan tourists, (4%) and the presence of gay and lesbian tourists on the island (1%) were also mentioned.

Just as most Kittitians consider the economic benefits to be derived from tourism to be very important over half (56%) of surveyed tourists thought that their visits would stimulate the economy through the creation of employment or the infusion of money. 19% had a much less euphoric view of tourism and claimed that their visit would do nothing for St. Kitts, 25% considered the cultural aspects of tourism to be of premiere importance. Almost four-fifths (79%) of surveyed tourists could think of nothing that they might do as tourists that could be troublesome to Kittitians; inappropriate dress--the 'bit of pant' phenomenon--was the most popular recognised source of potential irritation and corresponded with the most common complaint of Kittitians against tourists. Though not a problem with Kittitians who like to see tourists spend lots of money, patterns of conspicuous consumption by tourists were mentioned on a few occasions. Boisterous Venezuelans were deemed to be a potential sore spot among a couple of non-Venezuelan respondents, and one person thought that Kittitians would be

offended at the sight of 'faggots'--gay people?--holding hands on the Atlantic beach.

The majority (70%) of tourists considered tourism to be either vital or important for the economy of the island, 7% thought that it represented only a minor sector of economic activity. About fifteen remarked that the potential for growth was great and about ten went on to express concern that rapid growth could lead to the destruction of the tranquil beauty of the place. 61% of respondents thought that tourism in its present form benefitted the majority of kittitians but a substantial minority (29%) were uncomfortable with such a claim. Most visitors (82%) tried their hands at the Jack Tar casino at some point of their sojourn at the island, of these 73% admitted that they had lost money overall--at least a couple in excess of US\$ 1,000!--14% finished about even, and 13% came out ahead. In spite of the financial carnage that seems to have taken place at the casino satisfaction with the Kittitian holiday experience was almost unanimous.\*

\*The dissenters consisted of a big city gentleman who had come to the island in order to shop but had instead lost his money at the casino, and an embittered Canadian alcoholic who chose to interpret the world with frequent references to 'chicken-shit'.

a strong testimony to the hospitality of Kittitian residents as an host population and to the ability of the staffs and managements of hotels and tourist-oriented businesses throughout the island--but especially at Jack Tar where most respondents stayed--to provide a high-quality tourism product consistently.

In spite of overwhelming satisfaction (98%) with St. Kitts as a destination only 79% stated that they would like to return to the island if present conditions were to continue; most of those who did not intend to come back claimed that they wanted to discover some of the other islands of the region. It appears that for at least some respondents the theory of Mathieson and Wall (1982:132) that tourists who visit a destination to partake of the generic trappings of a sunspot holiday will not develop a strong sense of consumer-loyalty to the destination appears to be of at least some significance with reference to St. Kitts.

In spite of the 'all-in' holiday format as a marketing strategy many tourists appear to grow weary of habitual patronage of the same business. One Kittitian survey respondent suggested that a 'free night' at Jack Tar would encourage visitors to venture into town for dinner and would provide more business for Kittitian entrepreneurs at no extra cost to tourists and at little cost to the hotel.

Many respondents (56%) of the tourism survey liked this idea, though a substantial minority expressed a preference for the 'no hassle' catering provided for them at the resort compound. While the logistics of administering a refunds or discount policy for those who might care to dine in town some evening would be rather difficult the benefits that might be expected to accrue to local business and the enhanced holiday experience of participants in the plan--Basseterre is a beautiful place after nightfall--may justify the effort.

The cost of a holiday in St. Kitts appears to vary quite a lot, even within the 'all-in' package format marketed by Jack Tar. The net retail price of a weeklong stay at the resort--transportation included, but without any special concessionary discounts and as reported by respondents--varied between US\$600 and US\$1,000. Surprisingly, both the cheapest and most expensive holidays of this type were marketed in Toronto, which was also the furthest away of the major origin areas. Prices are--of course--much higher in winter when one week 'all-in' can cost much more than US\$1,000.



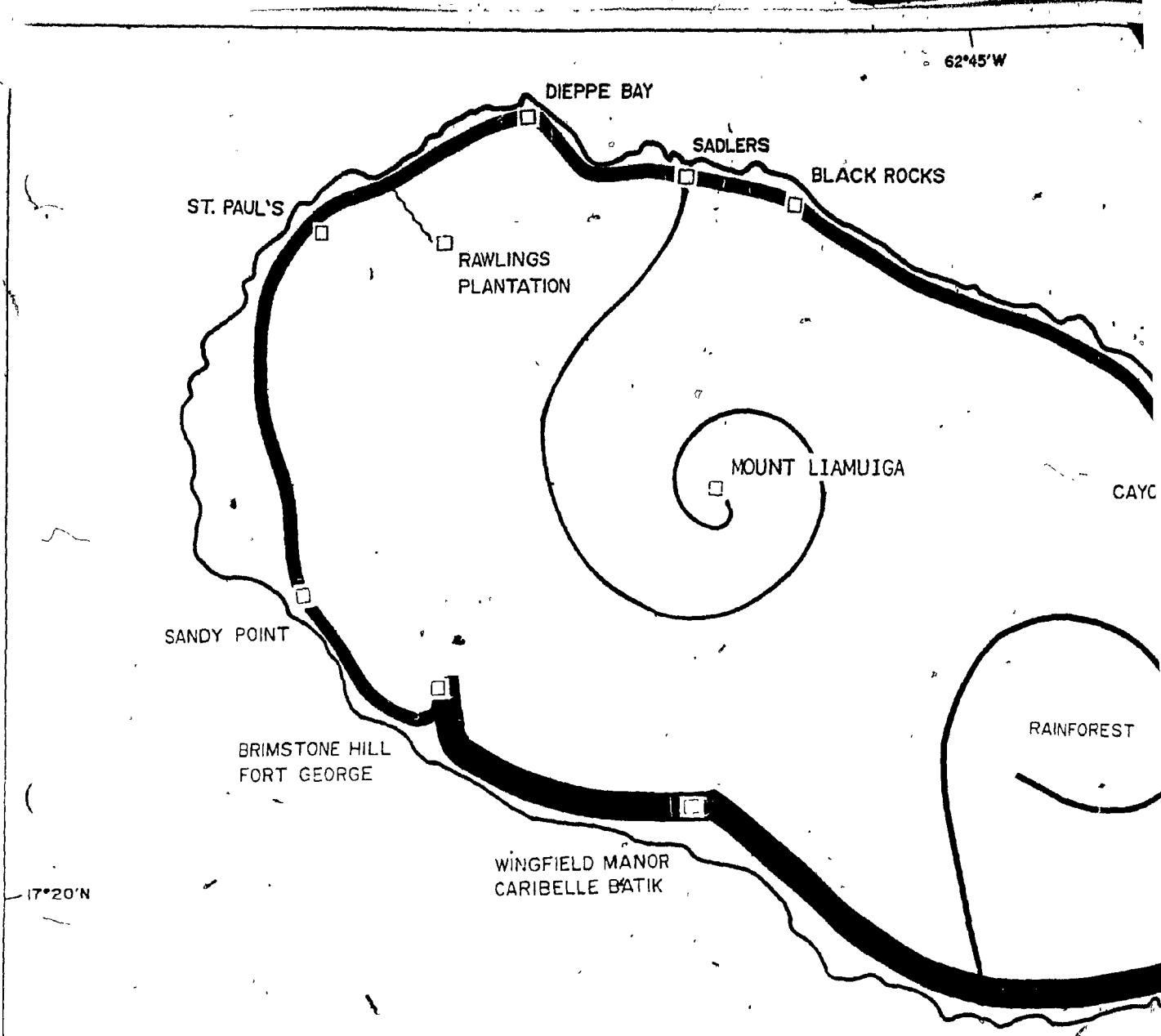
### **Tourism-Movement Tracking Survey**

A central aspect of the survey of visitors to St. Kitts was to determine in an empirical fashion the nature and extent of tourist interaction with the territory of the island. By tracking the movement of respondents over the course of their stay on the island it has been possible to measure the relative popularity of most of the principal tourist destinations on the island and to identify important points of contact between tourists and hosts throughout the island (Map 1). On the basis of the data gathered from the exercise and the different patterns of movement and spatial contact that have been identified, it has been possible to prepare a provisional profile of patterns of declared spatial gregariousness among tourists that corresponds to Cohen's (1972: 164-182) nomenclature of tourist types.

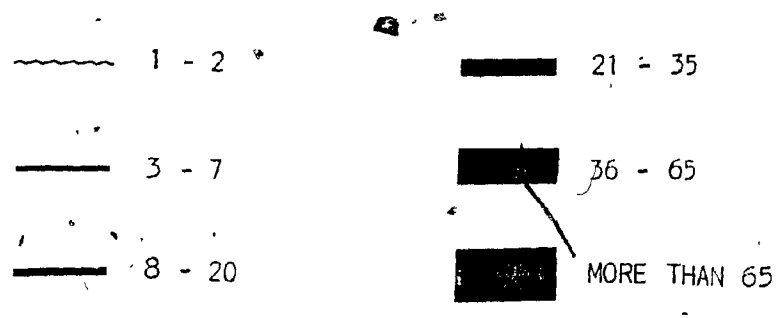
### **Methodology**

Each respondent was asked what he/she had visited whilst on St. Kitts. Those who were first approached before the end of their holidays were asked to predict what they thought they might visit before their return home, such people were given a little questionnaire (Appendix VI) and were asked to mail it to me upon their departure from the island. Each questionnaire was given a number which





Number of Respondents



SOURCE: Raymond Knock, 1986

# TOURIST-MOVEMENT TRACKING SURVEY, PATTERNS OF RESPONDENT POPULATION MOVEMENT THROUGHOUT ST. KITTS, SURVEY II

0 1 2 3 Kilometres

17°20'

## Reported Frequency Distributions of Visitations

Basseterre	65
Batik Factory	56
Black Rocks	34
Brimstone Hill	55
Dieppe Bay	35
Mount Liamuiga	6
Nevis	11
Rainforest	16
Rawlings Plantation	2
Southeast Peninsula	2
Nothing	12
TOTAL	86

Arrivals by  
Air

V  
V

YON

FRIGATE BAY

BASSETERRE

TO NEVIS

62°45'

corresponded to a number on each interview schedule so it was possible to put the two together later. At 75%, the response rate was very high--see pages 272 and 273--although the sample size and technique was too crude to guarantee complete accuracy it does appear to have been satisfactory for the provision of a good indication of the general movements of tourists about the island. All respondents but one arrived on St Kitts at Golden Rock Airport and from there travelled to Frigate Bay or to Fortlands, and--in one instance--to Rawlins Plantation. While some visitors--the 'Organised Mass' variety--confined themselves to Frigate Bay for the duration of their holidays, most (76%) were a little more intrepid and managed to visit Basseterre (Photos VIII & IX)



Photo VIII. The Circus, Basseterre

Central Basseterre offers much to the sightseer who has an interest in British colonial architecture and pleasant urban prospects. The Circus is the centre of tourism activity in the city, some of the best duty-free shops are located in an arcade in the white building at the centre of the photo, the building on the left is one of four banks--Barclays, Royal Bank of Canada, Scotiabank, and Bank of Commerce--that face the square.



Photo IX. Small Shop, Basseterre

The small scale of Basseterre makes it possible to discover many unexpected and delightful places on one's own; as one moves away from the hub of the Circus the shops become less pretentious and are much more interesting than the routine duty-free. This shop extolls passersby to pick up a bottle of Alcolado Glacial, a rather strange alcohol-based cologne that turns one from hot to cold in one splash.

to do a little shopping, see the sights, and meet the locals. The second most popular tourist attraction on the island was the Caribelle Batik Factory at Romney Manor where visitors can watch artisans at work and purchase colourful batiks.

While the batiks at Caribelle are indeed attractive the experience cannot compare with what is offered at the Brimstone Fortifications a little further down the road; effective advertising campaigns, high latent demand by tourists for quality Kittitian-made goods and the inclusion of the factory as the first stop of the popular circum-island tour account for what appears to be a strange anomaly.

65% of those surveyed visited Brimstone Hill (Photo X) and Fort George, one of the most spectacular historical sites in the Caribbean and a scenic highlight of any

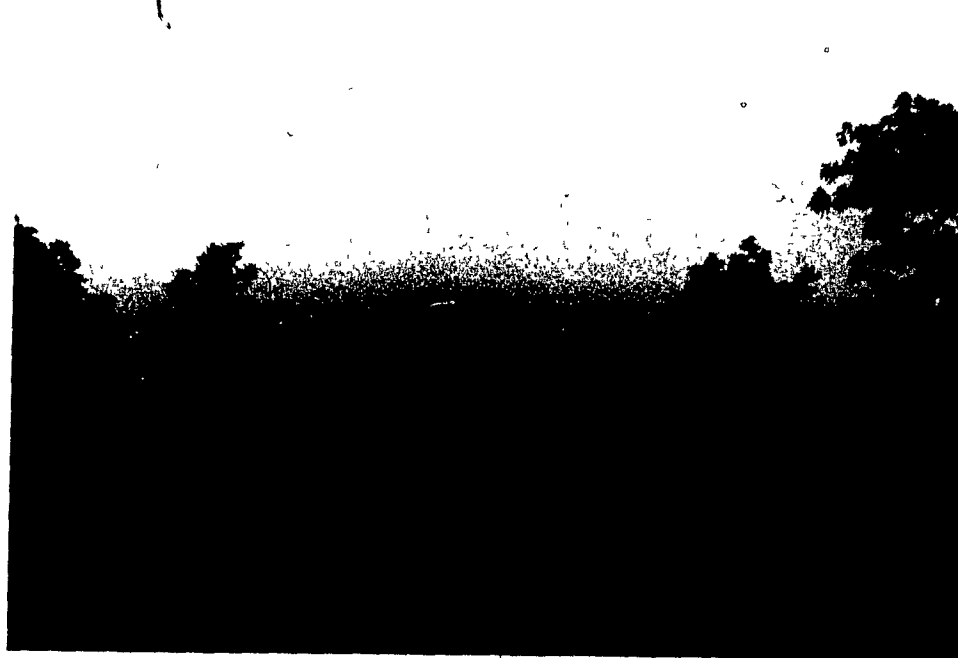


Photo X. Brimstone Hill

As a premiere historical landmark in the Caribbean Fort George on Brimstone Hill is in itself worth a visit to St. Kitts. Many tourists are unaware of this attraction before their arrival on the island, however.

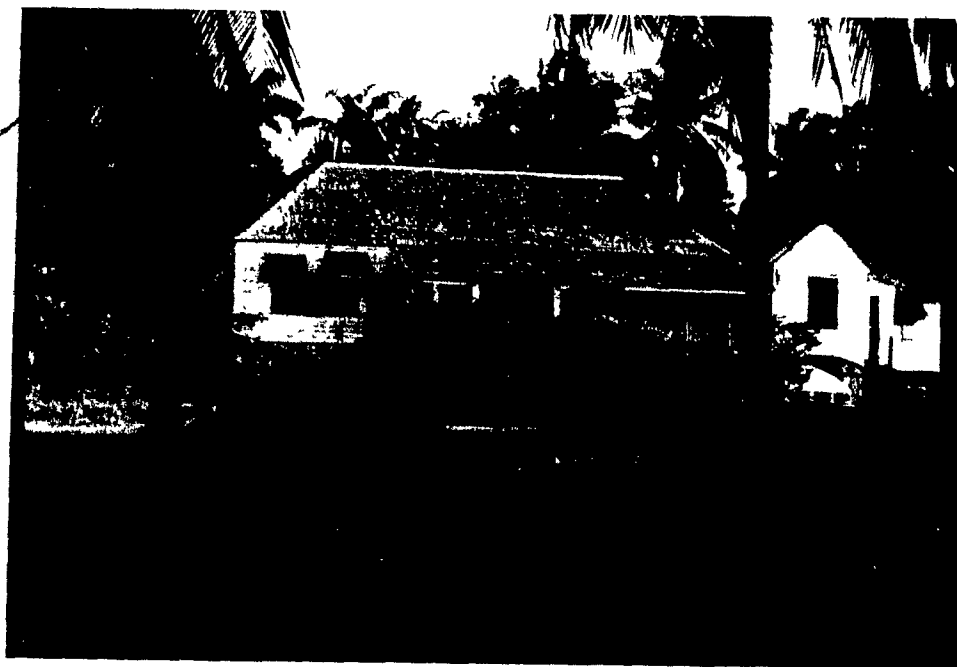
visit to St. Kitts. The majority of visitors to the site are excursionists from cruiseships, rather than tourists, who have little time and are on a tight schedule. On the northwest coast of the island are Black Rocks and Dieppe Bay, which were visited by 40% and 41% of respondents. Black Rocks (Photo XI) is a recent basaltic lava flow, Dieppe Bay is a pretty community where a popular inn and restaurant--The Golden Lemon--and many crafts ateliers are located



Photo XI. Black Rocks. Near Dieppe Bay



Visitors who take a circum-island tour are given an opportunity to make a passive inspection of the material circumstances and the physical environment of the majority of Kittitians (Photos XII & XIII) and locals who live in areas which are



**Photo XII. Estate House, Northwestern St. Kitts**

While the sugar estates were nationalised several years ago many original structures have been maintained and stand as impressive monuments of times past. Some estate houses are visible from the main highway.

peripheral to tourism have an opportunity to see tourists passing by but have few chances to make contact with them directly. More opportunities for direct contact between host and guest and for individual communion with the physical environment of the island await tourists who adopt the rôles of the explorer and

drifter and break away from the spatial constraints imposed upon those who visit the island as organised and individual mass tourists. Jack Tar Village caters

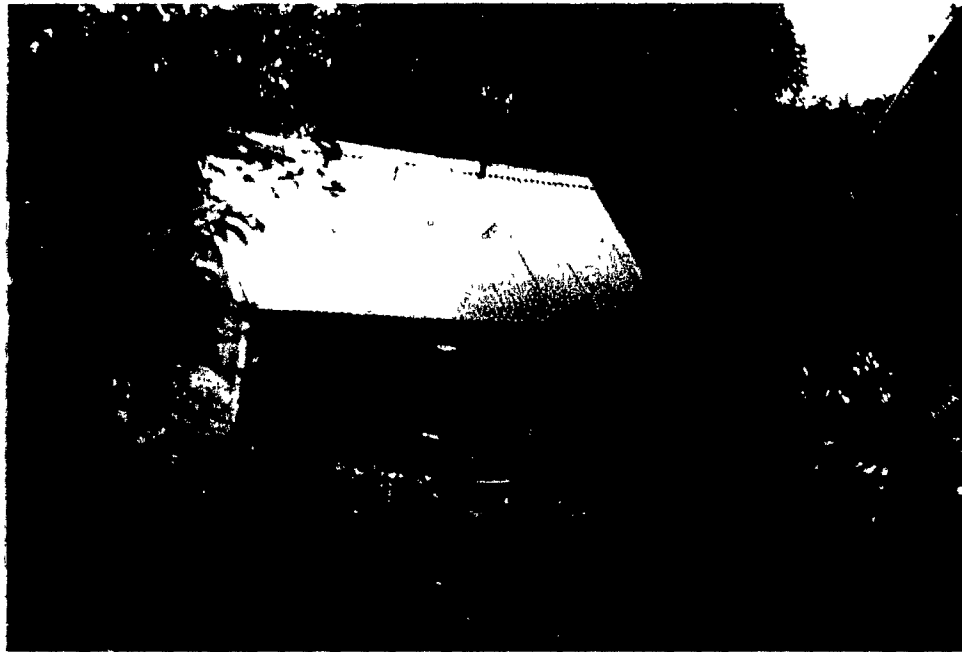


Photo XIII. Chattel House, Half Way Tree

A traditional feature of domestic architecture throughout much of the Caribbean, the chattel house remains a popular form of housing along the circum-island roadway. Despite their frequent surfeit of amenities the homes weather to a gentle dove-gray colour and can be very attractive.

to those with a desire to visit places on the island that are off the beaten track

with excursions to the rainforest--taken by 19% of respondents--Mount Liamuiga

(Photo XIV), and the Southeast Peninsula (Photo XV) which were both visited by

7% of those surveyed. Although described by one individual as "quite interesting,

though nothing special for the money" such excursions allow tourists who might not be very adventurous to experience the diverse array of physical



**Photo XIV. Mount Liamuiga**

At a height of about 1,000 metres, Mount Liamuiga dominates landward vistas of most of the western part of the island. In the foreground is an abandoned sugar-mill.

environments that exist on this small island. 13% of respondents made a day excursion to nearby Nevis; since tourism is an important sector of economic

activity on the sister island of the Federation efforts to encourage more visitors to



**Photo XV. Southeast Peninsula with Nevis in the Background**

**As yet undeveloped, the Southeast Peninsula offers a chance for visitors to experience an unspoiled coastal environment. Many tourists take a boat to this part of the island but the energetic can gain access to it by hiking over Sir Timothy's Mountain.**

travel across the strait might serve to increase tourism expenditures within the Federation and lead to a more equitable and far-reaching spread of benefits that arise throughout the national economy.

Survey respondents have been classified into the categories proscribed by Cohen's nomenclature of tourist types on the basis of their declared pattern of movement throughout the island (Table I). Visitors who confined themselves to the Frigate Bay area for the duration of their visits were defined as organised mass tourists, those who made excursions to popular attractions and/or to Basseterre via taxis or tourist minibuses were classified as individual mass tourists; those who ventured off the beaten track and made extensive use of public transport were defined as explorers. Since all survey respondents were on the island for a fixed period of time and resided within foci of tourist interaction none fell into the drifter category as defined by Cohen. Three respondents were on the island to visit friends or relatives and--while tourists, officially--did not fit into the defined categories well, and were not considered for this component of the exercise.

**Table I**

**Respondent Tourist Types, Based Upon Extent of Declared Spatial Integration With St. Kitts**

<b>Tourist Type</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Organised Mass Tourists</b>	14	17%
<b>Individual Mass Tourists</b>	56	68%
<b>Explorer Tourists</b>	9	11%
<b>Drifter Tourists</b>	--	0%
<b>Others</b>	3	4%

When 'tourist type' was treated as an independent variable and correlated with selected variables defined as dependent, some results of potential interest were observed (Appendix VII). While one might expect that organised mass tourists would pass much of their time in the casino individual mass tourists appear to have a greater propensity to gamble than others surveyed (90% vs. 67-69%). This tendency may be a result of the restricted budgets of many respondents that were classified as organised mass. The economic condition of Venezuela was difficult at the time of the survey and successive devaluations of the Bolivar made St. Kitts a very expensive place for visitors from this country. It may be that most Venezuelan tourists surveyed--and perhaps some other organised mass tourists did not gamble nor venture outside of Frigate Bay because they could not afford to do so, rather than from a lack of interest in the island.\*

When respondents were asked whether they would return to St. Kitts for another visit if conditions on the island remained the same all explorer tourists said that they would, 80% of individual mass tourists answered positively, but only 43% of

\*One poor fellow had no idea of where he was. After he paid his bols. he did try to find St. Kitts in an atlas, but did not realise that it was listed under 'San Cristobal', which--of course--doesn't look much like St. Kitts, his travel agent wasn't much help either, apparently.

organised mass tourists stated that they would consider St. Kitts in any future holiday plans. The apparent association between increased spatial access to the territory of the island and levels of consumer loyalty to St. Kitts as a future holiday destination--manifested in terms of declared propensity to return--suggest that those who have experienced only the generic trappings of a sunspot holiday have little opportunity to develop an attachment to a destination and/or its host population. Since all explorer tourists surveyed declared a willingness to return it appears that those who become familiar with the non-tourist elements of the island will come to see more than just a sunny stretch of beach. It is unfortunate that the sample size of the present survey was limited to 85. Although the variance in patterns of response is significant statistically at a 99% interval of confidence--if one assumes that the Gauss model applies, with no bias, that the data is distributed normally, and with calculation of the appropriate number of degrees of freedom--the sample size was too small to allow for each defined element to contain more than 30 individuals, and the respondent selection process too restricted to allow one to have more than a nominal genuine confidence in the observed results. A more thorough survey of the possible relationship between spatial integration with the island by individual

tourists and their subsequent declared consumer loyalty to it might shed more light on the rôle of destination peripheries and hinterlands in patterns of development within the core areas of tourism. Butler (1980: 5-12) generated his 'tourist area cycle curve' in an attempt to model the linear development, decline, and rejuvenation of an hypothetical tourist destination. It may be that the secret to the longterm success of a sunspot tourist destination such as St. Kitts lies in the maintenance of a varied and unspoiled tourist hinterland. If those who have experienced non-resort St. Kitts are more likely to return than those who have not the industry may over time develop a loyal customer base that would be less subject to the vagaries of annual fashion, marketing strategies, or imperialist politics for continued success. If potential visitors can be made aware of the variety of non-touristy experiences that await them on the island it is possible that individual mass and explorer tourists might be expected to come the island. Organised mass tourists--which tend to arrive in foreign airplanes, confine themselves to foreign-owned hotels, and spend little or nothing within the local economy--might be used to 'top up' not-quite-full hotels rather than form the basis of the industry.



### Postscript. The Way Ahead

A diverse array of physical, historical, cultural, and economic factors have led to the development of St. Kitts as a tourist destination that can compete effectively with other destinations in the region. Survey I demonstrated that most Kittitian respondents viewed tourism optimistically. While the portion of the island workforce that is active in the industry remains small, the potential for future growth is great. It is unfortunate that the economic benefits to be derived from tourism appear to demonstrate a propensity to focus spatially upon those who reside in or near the tourism core areas of the island and demographically upon the young, while those who are older and/or live in the hinterland regions are less likely to benefit from it. Measures should be initiated to determine the extent of the associations which may exist between spatial and demographic linkages with tourism and a deliberate attempt should be made to ensure that those who express a desire to participate in the industry are given as much opportunity as possible to do so. Possible programmes and projects that might serve to enhance the equity of distribution of tourism benefits might include courses of training for older workers to enable them to compete more effectively for positions in the industry, the development of a public transport system to better serve workers from outlying parts of the island who may work in the Frigate Bay area, and/or--possibly--an environmental assessment of other coastal areas to determine whether an appropriate location on the western side of the island might be available for selective controlled development.

Survey II demonstrated that almost all surveyed tourists were satisfied with their Kittitian holidays. Whilst on the island surveyed tourists engaged in a wide variety of activities, some confined themselves to the Frigate Bay area while others sallied forth into the tourist hinterland of the island. Those who demonstrated strong spatial propensities to establish direct contact with the hinterland appeared to develop a greater familiarity with--and affinity for--St. Kitts as a diverse and interesting island than those who confined themselves to the beach; the explorers were much more likely to declare themselves willing to consider a return visit to the island than others. Since organised mass tourists who restricted themselves to their--foreign owned--hotel compounds for the duration of their stays appeared to contribute less to the island economy through direct expenditures than the intrepid it may be worthwhile to try to promote an image of St. Kitts as a good destination for explorers rather than tanners. Further study of the possible relationship of interdependence between tourism core areas and hinterlands that may exist might lead to the development of a better understanding of destination areas as extensive and conterminous spatial entities. A longitudinal study of host population attitudes to tourists and tourism on St. Kitts would help to identify the myriad of associations that may exist between specific phenomena and resident satisfaction, and might provide empirical spatial, economic, and cultural gist for a systematic examination and interpretation of Kittitian responses to them.

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## Appendix I

### Products of the Kittitian Food Forest. Survey by T.L. Hills and G. Merrill, 1958

#### Trees

Shade

Timber

Several unidentified shade and timber trees

#### Fruit Trees &

#### Bushes

mango  
banana  
orange  
genip  
pineapple

avocado  
soursop  
lime  
custard apple

papaya  
sweetsop  
grapefruit  
coconut

#### Legumes

pigeon pea

lima bean

#### Vegetables

breadfruit  
christophene

plantain

eggplant

#### Roots & Tubers

yams (3 varieties)  
arrowroot  
ginger

tannia  
sweet potato

dasheen  
cassava

#### Beverages

granadilla

sorrel

tamarind

#### Spices, Fibres,

#### Herbs

majoram  
basil

thyme  
garlic

escallion

#### Flowers,

#### Ornamentals,

#### Medicinals, &

#### Grasses

sugar cane  
dragon's blood  
indian shot

hibiscus  
castor oil  
napier grass

cassia  
physic nut  
bamboo

SOURCE: T.L. HILLS

## APPENDIX II

### INTERVIEW SCHEDULE. KITTITIAN ATTITUDES TO TOURISM

#### I. Spatial Variables. Independent

Location of Principal Residence \_\_\_\_\_

Within zone of interaction \_\_\_\_\_

Peripheral to zone of interaction \_\_\_\_\_

Removed from zone of interaction \_\_\_\_\_

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#### II. Socioeconomic Variables. Independent

1. Sex of Respondent \_\_\_\_\_

2. Age of Respondent \_\_\_\_\_ less than 30    30 - 50    50+

3. Occupation of Respondent \_\_\_\_\_

4. Educational attainment of Respondent \_\_\_\_\_

5. Active in tourism industry? \_\_\_\_\_

6. Number of persons in immediate family employed in industry \_\_\_\_\_

7. Portion of income from tourism. \_\_\_\_\_

8. Number of dependents (children, parents) \_\_\_\_\_

9. Foreign travel? If so, where? \_\_\_\_\_

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10. Family members living abroad? If so, where? \_\_\_\_\_

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#### III. Economic Variables. Dependent

Agree

Disagree

1. Tourism has made land in this area dear

1 2 3 4 5

2. Tourism has made a nice little house cost more

1 2 3 4 5

3. Food is more dear now because of tourists

1 2 3 4 5

4. (where appropriate) my electricity/water is more dear now because of tourists. 1 2 3 4 5
5. Luxuries cost less now thanks to tourists 1 2 3 4 5
6. It costs less now to hire a man than before 1 2 3 4 5
7. People get paid better wages now than before tourism began 1 2 3 4 5
8. My land and house tax aren't too high now because hotels give the government lots of money 1 2 3 4 5
9. It costs lots more to go around the island in a taxi now because tourists drive up the price 1 2 3 4 5
10. It costs more to take a bus now because tourists drive up the price 1 2 3 4 5
11. The casino at Jack Tar brings much money to the island 1 2 3 4 5
12. The tourists at Jack Tar do lots of good for the island 1 2 3 4 5

#### IV. Cultural/Social Variables. Dependent

1. There is more crime now because of tourists 1 2 3 4 5  
(If agreement is voiced) what kinds of crime? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. The tourists and the nature of the work in the business is bad for families 1 2 3 4 5
- 2b. Is your family troubled by tourists? YES NO  
(if yes) how? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. How do you think young people are changing because of the tourists? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

4. Has the way that you play/have fun changed because of what you see tourists do when at play?

YES NO

5. Has tourism made any changes to your village?

YES NO

ii) (if yes) for better or worse? \_\_\_\_\_

iii) What has changed in your village? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

6. Do you think that tourism is being developed the same way now as before?

YES NO

ii) for better or for worse? \_\_\_\_\_

iii) How? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

7. Are the police nicer since tourism began?

YES NO

8. Do police treat tourists any different from locals?

YES NO

ii) (if yes) How? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

10. Do tourists make locals act any different?

YES NO

ii) (if yes) How? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

iii) Do you care that they act different? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

11. Do you care whether tourists gamble at Jack Tar? YES NO
12. Would you be happy if the casino was closed? YES NO DON'T CARE
- ii) Were you sad when the Royal St. Kitts Burnt down? YES NO DIDN'T KNOW
- ii-i) If not, why not? \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_

**V. Kittitian (Host) Views of Tourists. Dependent**

1. Tourists that go around in groups act different from those that are only with one other person or alone 1 2 3 4 5
2. Ross University students act just like regular tourists 1 2 3 4 5
3. Single tourists cause less trouble than those in groups 1 2 3 4 5
4. Single men tourists cause more trouble than women tourists on the island 1 2 3 4 5

ii) (if in agreement) what kinds of trouble? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

5. Single women tourists cause more trouble than men tourists on the island 1 2 3 4 5

ii) (if in agreement) what kinds of trouble? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

6. Students from Ross University School are not like regular tourists 1 2 3 4 5

ii) (if in agreement) how are they different? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



7. Do you think all tourists are rich? 1 2 3 4 5

ii) (if in agreement) Why are tourists rich? \_\_\_\_\_

8. Do you get angry when you see tourists flaunt their money?

YES NO

9. Tourists are rich because they are white

1 2 3 4 5

#### VI. Environmental Variables. Dependent

1. Tourists throw away less rubbish than Kittitians

1 2 3 4 5

2. Has tourism made pollution worse or better?

WORSE

LITTLE/NO DIFFERENCE

BETTER

3. Traffic on the island is the same as before

1 2 3 4 5

4. Are tourists nice drivers?

YES NO DON'T KNOW

5. A little rubbish about is OK

1 2 3 4 5

#### VII. Kittitian Attitudes to Activities of Tourists. Dependent Variables of Assessment

1. Most tourists show proper respect for Kittitians

1 2 3 4 5

2. What kinds of tourists are the nicest and most respectful? \_\_\_\_\_

3. Are tourists nice and polite to you?

YES NO DON'T KNOW

4. Are Ross University Students nice and Polite to you?

YES NO DON'T KNOW

5. What kinds of tourists are bad? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
6. Most tourists are kind of stupid 1 2 3 4 5
7. Do you care than many tourists seem more stupid than Kittitians? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
8. What kinds of tourists are the most stupid? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
9. Lots of tourists do things that I don't like to see  
people do YES NO DON'T KNOW  
ii) (if yes) what? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

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**VIII. Host Population Attitudes to Tourists and Tourism, Open-Ended Questions**

1. What good does tourism do for you? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. What good does tourism do for St. Kitts? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3. What bad things does tourism do to you? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

4. What bad things does tourism do to St. Kitts? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

5. Would you be happy if even more tourists came to St. Kitts? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

6. What kinds of tourists would you like to see come to the island? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

7. If you could choose the kinds of tourists that came to the island, which kinds would you pick? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

8. Are you concerned about tourism and its future here on St. Kitts? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

9. Is there anything more that you would like to say about tourists and tourism as it is developing here on St. Kitts?

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### Appendix III

#### Z-Test for Reliability of Sample as a Random Reflection of the Whole

##### Intended Survey Population

##### CENSUS DATA (1980) OF SEXUAL DISTRIBUTION OF KITTITIAN POPULATION:

**MEN:** 16,414 (48.4% of total)

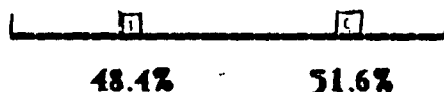
**WOMEN:** 17,467 (51.6% of total)

**SOURCE:** St. Christopher and Nevis Annual Digest of Statistics for 1982 (1984), Table 3, Pg. 3.

##### SURVEY DATA OF SEXUAL DISTRIBUTION OF KITTITIAN POPULATION:

**MEN:** 145 (55% of total)

**WOMEN:** 118 (45% of total)



In order to conduct a Z-test in this manner one must define the problem in terms of a box model with an unknown large number of elements. Boxes marked "1" are used to represent residents of St. Kitts who are women, those marked "0" are used to represent residents of St. Kitts who are not women (ie. men). The sample is obtained by making 265 draws--at random--from the box.

Null Hypothesis: that the observed difference--between that of the survey sample average and the census average--is a reflection of chance variation.

Alternative Hypothesis: that the observed difference between the survey sample and the census average is real.

$$\bar{X} = \frac{X_1 + X_2 + \dots + X_n}{n}$$

$$= .516$$

$$m = (\text{expected value}) = (265) (.516) = 136.7 = 137$$

$$\text{SD for box} = \sqrt{484 \times .516}$$

$$= .4997 = .5$$

$$\text{SE for sum} = \sqrt{\text{Number of Draws from the box} \times (\text{SD of the box})}$$

$$= 265 \times (.5)$$

$$= (16.3) (.5) = 8.14$$

### Z-test

$$Z = \frac{\text{observed value} - \text{expected value}}{\text{standard error}}$$

$$Z = \frac{118 - 137}{8.14}$$

$$Z = \frac{-19}{8.14}$$

$$Z = -2.34$$

The probability that the observed results, or results more extreme than those observed could be obtained--just by chance--is represented by the area under the normal curve to the left of  $Z = -2.34$ , that is:

$$P \text{ of } Z = (Z - 2.34)$$

$$P = 50 - 1/2 (\text{area between } Z = -2.34 \text{ and } Z = 2.34 \text{ under the normal curve})$$

$$= 50 - 1/2(98.1)$$

$$= 50 - (49.1)$$

$$= .9$$

$$P = .9 \text{ of } 1\%$$

Since the P value is less than 1%, the results must be considered to be significant statistically. It is very unlikely that the observed results could have been obtained by chance; the Null hypothesis must be rejected and the Alternative hypothesis retained. There appears to be some bias in the respondent sample.

## APPENDIX IV-I

### Variations in Patterns of Response, Sorted by Gender of Respondents, Survey I

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	Male	Female
Frequency Distribution of Respondents	55%	45%
Location of Respondents with reference to Zone of Interaction		
Within zone.	10%	12%
Peripheral	19%	14%
Removed:	71%	75%

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## II. Socioeconomic Variables, Independent

### Age of Respondents

Less than 30	49%	43%
30-50	26%	35%
More than 50	26%	22%

### Educational Attainment of Respondents (years)

0	14%	10%
1-8	16%	27%
9-14	51%	54%
15+	20%	9%

### Proportion of Respondents Active in Tourism Industry

Active	26%	26%
Inactive	74%	74%

### Number of Persons in Immediate Family Employed in Tourism Industry

0	4%	3%
1	73%	72%
2+	22%	25%

	Male	Female
<u>Number of Dependents. Respondents</u>		
0:	40%	25%
1-2:	29%	32%
3-5	19%	34%
6+	12%	8%

Experience of Foreign Travel Amongst Respondents

Experience of foreign travel	71%	69%
No experience of foreign travel	28%	31%

For Respondents Who Have Been Abroad. Where?

Other Caribbean Islands.	45%	46%
Nevis:	1%	
Canada:	5%	
United States:	6%	10%
Britain:	6%	8%
More than one Metropolitan Country:	8%	4%
World Traveller.	1%	2%

Number of Respondents with Family Members Abroad

Family abroad:	92%	85%
No family abroad:	7%	15%

III. Economic Impact of Tourism. Dependent Variables

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Strong 5
<u>Tourism has made land in this area dear:</u>					
Male:	42%	19%	12%	7%	21%
Female:	44%	14%	13%	4%	24%



	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Tourism has made a nice little house cost more</u>					
Male	41%	14%	15%	8%	22%
Female	38%	16%	16%	5%	25%
<u>Food is more dear now because of tourists</u>					
Male	31%	10%	11%	9%	38%
Female	35%	12%	12%	7%	33%
<u>Electricity and water are more dear now because of tourists</u>					
Male	20%	7%	18%	9%	46%
Female	17%	10%	21%	7%	46%
<u>Luxuries cost less now because of tourists</u>					
Male	15%	2%	26%	7%	49%
Female	16%	5%	29%	8%	41%
<u>Response to claim that it costs less now to hire a man than before</u>					
Male	9%	4%	6%	10%	70%
Female	11%	4%	8%	9%	68%
<u>Response to claim that people get better wages now than before tourism began</u>					
Male	50%	12%	6%	6%	27%
Female	41%	20%	5%	5%	29%
<u>Response to claim that land and house taxes are not too high now because the hotels give the government lots of money</u>					
Male	10%	5%	39%	10%	36%
Female	10%	3%	48%	13%	26%

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<u>Response to claim that taxis have increased in price because of tourists</u>					
Male:	83%	4%	6%	3%	5%
Female:	80%	6%	6%	4%	4%
<u>Response to claim that buses have increased in price because of the tourists</u>					
Male:	28%	7%	8%	9%	48%
Female:	26%	11%	16%	7%	39%
<u>Response to claim that the casino at Jack Tar brings much money to the island</u>					
Male:	52%	7%	18%	6%	16%
Female:	41%	9%	36%	7%	8%
<u>Response to claim that tourists at Jack Tar do much economic good for the island***</u>					
Male:	47%	17%	14%	2%	19%
Female:	42%	17%	24%	1%	17%

#### IV. Cultural/Social Impacts of Tourism. Dependent Variables

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<u>Response to claim that there is more crime now because of tourists</u>					
Male:	18%	6%	9%	8%	58%
Female:	16%	1%	13%	12%	58%
<u>Response to claim that tourists and the nature of the work in the business is bad for families**</u>					
Male:	8%	4%	8%	6%	74%
Female:	7%	3%	10%	13%	67%

	Yes	No	Don't Know
<u>Is your family troubled by tourists?</u>			
Male:	1%	99%	--
Female:	3%	97%	--
<u>Has the way you play/have fun changed because of what you see tourists do when at play?</u>			
Male:	15%	84%	1%
Female:	7%	93%	--
<u>Has tourism made any changes to your village?</u>			
Male:	24%	75%	1%
Female:	24%	74%	2%

	Better	Worse	Don't Know
<u>If tourism has made changes to your village, have they been for better or for worse?</u>			
Male:	86%	6%	9%
Female:	89%	11%	--

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Do you think that tourism is being developed in a different way now than before?</u>				
Male:	69%	14%	7%	10%
Female:	64%	18%	10%	8%

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	Better	Worse	<del>Don't</del> Know
<u>If yes, for better or for worse?</u>			
Male	59%	33%	9%
Female	58%	28%	15%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are the police nicer now than since tourism began?</u>				
Male	19%	55%	23%	3%
Female	11%	69%	15%	5%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Do police treat tourists any different from locals?</u>				
Male:	55%	31%	13%	2%
Female:	55%	34%	9%	2%

<u>Are there more police now because tourists break many laws?</u>				
Male:	8%	81%	11%	7%
Female:	9%	78%	12%	1%

<u>Do tourists make locals act any different?</u>				
Male:	49%	45%	7%	--
Female:	54%	35%	10%	--

<u>(If yes) do you care that tourists make locals act different?</u>				
Male:	35%	63%	3%	--
Female:	29%	62%	9%	--

<u>Do you care whether tourists gamble at Jack Tar?</u>				
Male:	19%	80%	1%	--
Female:	23%	76%	2%	--

.../VII

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Would you be happy if the casino at Jack Tar was closed?</u>				
Male:	16%	82%	1%	--
Female:	18%	80%	2%	--
<u>Were you sad when the Royal St. Kitts hotel burnt down?</u>				
Male:	77%	18%	5%	--
Female:	82%	11%	6%	--

**V. Kittitian Views/Impressions of Tourists. Dependent Variables**

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<u>Response to claim that tourists which go around in groups act different than those with only one other person or alone</u>					
Male:	50%	4%	18%	4%	23%
Female:	55%	4%	22%	1%	19%
<u>Response to claim that Ross University students act just like regular tourists</u>					
Male:	11%	6%	38%	10%	35%
Female:	7%	4%	46%	11%	32%
<u>Response to claim that single tourists cause less trouble than those in groups</u>					
Male:	31%	3%	37%	8%	22%
Female:	23%	1%	53%	5%	18%
<u>Response to claim that single men tourists cause more trouble than women tourists on the island</u>					
Male:	22%	1%	25%	5%	47%
Female:	19%	2%	27%	8%	44%

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	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Response to claim that single women tourists cause more trouble than men tourists on the island*</u>					
Male:	20%	4%	28%	2%	46%
Female:	7%	5%	27%	9%	52%
<u>Response to claim that students from Ross University are not like regular tourists</u>					
Male:	40%	9%	38%	1%	12%
Female:	27%	9%	46%	2%	5%
<u>Response to claim that all tourists are rich</u>					
Male:	6%	3%	6%	4%	80%
Female:	6%	3%	2%	1%	88%

## VI. Environmental Variables. Dependent

### Response to claim that tourists throw away less rubbish than Kittitians

Male:	45%	11%	16%	4%	25%
Female:	43%	6%	17%	6%	29%

### Response to claim that traffic on the island is the same as before

Male:	11%	1%	4%	3%	81%
Female:	15%	--	4%	4%	77%

### Response to claim that a little rubbish about is ok

Male:	12%	7%	4%	10%	68%
Female:	6%	8%	5%	11%	70%

	Worse	Better	No Difference	Don't Know	Refus: Answ
<u>Has tourism made pollution in the island worse or better?</u>					
Male:.	21%	27%	44%	4%	4%
Female:	26%	21%	41%	6%	6%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are tourists nice drivers?</u>				
Male:	30%	32%	34%	4%
Female:	29%	33%	32%	6%

**VII. Kittitian Attitudes to Tourist Activities and Behaviour, Dependent Variables of Assessment**

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<u>Response to claim that most tourists show proper respect for Kittitians</u>					
Male:	67%	14%	9%	1%	9%
Female:	74%	9%	7%	5%	5%

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<u>Response to claim that most tourists are kind of stupid</u>					
Male:	12%	8%	10%	7%	63%
Female:	8%	7%	11%	7%	66%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are tourists nice and polite to you?</u>				
Male:	85%	5%	6%	5%
Female:	82%	6%	4%	8%

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	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are Ross University students nice and polite to you?</u>				
Male:	41%	9%	46%	4%
Female:	31%	5%	58%	6%

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\*Significant at a confidence interval of 95%

\*\*Significant at 97%

\*\*\*Significant at 99%



## APPENDIX IV-II

### Variations in Patterns of Response. Sorted by Age of Respondents

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	Under 30	30-50	Over 50
Frequency Distribution of Respondents	47%	29%	24%
Relationship to Zone of Interaction			
Within:	10%	9%	16%
Peripheral	21%	12%	13%
Removed	69%	79%	71%

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## II. Socioeconomic Variables, Independent

### Sex of Respondents

Male:	48%	26%	26%
Female:	43%	35%	43%
Unknown:	1%	--	--

### Educational Attainment of Respondents (Years)\*\*\*

0:	7%	13%	24%
1-8:	13%	22%	39%
9-14:	63%	50%	26%
15+:	17%	15%	11%

### Proportion of Respondents Active in Tourism Industry

Active:	26%	32%	17%
Inactive:	74%	68%	81%

### Number of Persons in Immediate Family Employed in Tourism Industry\*\*\*

0:	39%	14%	48%
1:	43%	24%	14%
2:	15%	46%	21%
3+:	3%	15%	17%

Under 30    30-50    Over 50

Number of Dependents, Respondents\*\*\*

0:	54%	12%	34%
1-2:	65%	23%	11%
3-5:	28%	53%	19%
6+:	15%	44%	41%

Experience of Foreign Travel Amongst Respondents\*\*

Experience of foreign travel:	62%	77%	79%
No Experience of foreign travel:	38%	23%	19%

For Respondents Who Have Been Abroad, Where?

Other Caribbean Islands:	45%	53%	37%
Nevis.	1%	--	--
Canada:	3%	1%	3%
United States	8%	8%	6%
Britain:	2%	5%	19%
More than one Metropolitan Country:	3%	6%	11%
World Traveller.	--	3%	2%

Number of Respondents with Family Members Abroad

Family abroad:	90%	94%	81%
No family abroad.	10%	6%	17%

III. Economic Impact of Tourism. Dependent Variables.

Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
1	2	3	4	5

Tourism has made land in this area dear:

Under 30:	44%	17%	10%	6%	23%
30-50:	41%	17%	9%	5%	27%
Over 50:	41%	17%	20%	7%	15%

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Tourism has made a nice little house cost more</u>					
Under 30	39%	14%	15%	3%	29%
30-50	39%	14%	13%	9%	24%
Over 50	41%	17%	19%	12%	12%
<u>Food is more dear now because of tourists</u>					
Under 30	30%	9%	11%	7%	43%
30-50	36%	9%	8%	12%	35%
Over 50	36%	18%	18%	5%	23%
<u>Electricity and water are more dear now because of tourists</u>					
Under 30	19%	4%	20%	8%	49%
30-50	14%	8%	16%	9%	53%
Over 50	23%	16%	21%	9%	37%
<u>Luxuries cost less now because of tourists</u>					
Under 30	13%	3%	26%	4%	55%
30-50	22%	4%	29%	12%	33%
Over 50	15%	5%	27%	9%	44%
<u>Response to claim that it costs less now to hire a man than before</u>					
Under 30	12%	4%	5%	8%	71%
30-50	12%	3%	7%	14%	65%
Over 50	3%	5%	12%	8%	72%
<u>Response to claim that people get better wages now than before tourism began</u>					
Under 30	38%	15%	6%	5%	36%
30-50	48%	16%	7%	4%	25%
Over 50	59%	17%	3%	8%	12%

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<u>Response to claim that land and house taxes are not too high now because the hotels give the government lots of money</u>					
Under 30:	9%	5%	45%	9%	32%
30-50:	6%	4%	46%	14%	30%
Over 50:	16%	4%	32%	13%	36%

Response to claim that taxis have increased in price because of tourists\*\*\*

Under 30:	86%	2%	2%	3%	6%
30-50:	87%	3%	5%	4%	1%
Over 50:	66%	12%	14%	2%	7%

Response to claim that buses have increased in price because of the tourists

Under 30:	26%	9%	7%	8%	49%
30-50:	29%	7%	9%	8%	47%
Over 50:	27%	9%	24%	9%	31%

Response to claim that the casino at Jack Tar brings much money to the island

Under 30:	50%	7%	24%	5%	14%
30-50:	49%	8%	26%	7%	10%
Over 50:	37%	9%	28%	9%	16%

Response to claim that the tourists at Jack Tar do much economic good for the island

Under 30:	46%	17%	18%	3%	18%
30-50:	42%	20%	15%	--	23%
Over 50:	45%	12%	24%	4%	14%

**IV. Cultural/Social Impacts of Tourism. Dependent Variables**

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<u>Response to claim that there is more crime now because of tourists**</u>					
Under 30:	16%	4%	13%	4%	63%
30-50:	13%	3%	12%	12%	60%
Over 50:	27%	3%	7%	20%	43%

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Strong 5
<b><u>Response to claim that tourism and the nature of the work in the business is bad for families**</u></b>					
Under 30:	4%	8%	9%	6%	74%
30-50:	8%	2%	10%	7%	74%
Over 50:	13%	6%	10%	17%	54%

	Yes	No	Don't Know
<b><u>Is your family troubled by tourists?</u></b>			
Under 30:	5%	95%	--
30-50:	1%	99%	--
Over 50:	1%	99%	--

<b><u>Has the way you play/have fun changed because of what you see tourists do when at play?</u></b>			
Under 30:	11%	88%	1%
30-50:	16%	84%	--
Over 50:	7%	93%	--

<b><u>Has tourism made any changes to your village?</u></b>			
Under 30:	25%	75%	--
30-50:	20%	78%	3%
Over 50:	27%	72%	2%

	Better	Worse	Don't Know
<b><u>If tourism has made changes to your village, have they been for better or for worse?</u></b>			
Under 30:	87%	10%	3%
30-50:	93%	--	7%
Over 50:	81%	13%	6%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Do you think that tourism is being developed in a different way now than before?</u>				
Under 30:	11%	67%	16%	6%
30-50:	5%	72%	13%	10%
Over 50:	10%	60%	21%	10%

	Better	Worse	Don't Know
<u>If no, for better or for worse?</u>			
Under 30:	59%	32%	9%
30-50:	58%	32%	10%
Over 50:	56%	57%	17%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are the police nicer now than since tourism began?*</u>				
Under 30:	17%	65%	13%	5%
30-50:	15%	70%	10%	5%
Over 50:	15%	46%	38%	--

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Do Police treat tourists any different from locals?***</u>				
Under 30:	70%	25%	4%	1%
30-50:	52%	36%	9%	3%
Over 50:	25%	44%	29%	2%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are there more police now because tourists break many laws?*</u>				
Under 30:	5%	88%	6%	1%
30-50:	12%	74%	12%	1%
Over 50:	10%	68%	22%	--

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Do tourists make locals act any different?</u>				
Under 30	49%	44%	7%	--
30-50:	60%	31%	9%	--
Over 50	48%	43%	9%	--
<u>(If yes) do you care that tourists make locals act different?</u>				
Under 30.	38%	59%	3%	--
30-50	25%	64%	11%	--
Over 50	29%	69%	3%	--
<u>Do you care whether tourists gamble at Jack Tar?</u>				
Under 30	24%	75%	1%	--
30-50	16%	82%	1%	--
Over 50:	18%	78%	3%	--
<u>Would you be happy if the casino at Jack Tar was closed?</u>				
Under 30:	19%	80%	1%	--
30-50:	12%	86%	1%	--
Over 50:	19%	76%	5%	--
<u>Were you sad when the Royal St. Kitts hotel burnt down?</u>				
Under 30:	79%	84%	75%	--
30-50:	84%	11%	5%	--
Over 50:	75%	18%	7%	--

#### V. Kittitian Views/Impressions of Tourists. Dependent Variables

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<u>Response to claim that tourists which go around in groups act different from those with only one other person or alone***</u>					
Under 30:	61%	5%	11%	2%	21%
30-50:	51%	4%	23%	1%	20%
Over 50:	34%	2%	34%	7%	22%

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<b><u>Response to claim that Ross University students act like regular tourists</u></b>					
Under 30:	10%	4%	36%	15%	35%
30-50:	8%	4%	33%	5%	47%
Over 50:	9%	7%	61%	9%	14%
<b><u>Response to claim that single tourists cause less trouble than those in groups</u></b>					
Under 30:	31%	1%	43%	4%	20%
30-50:	30%	4%	42%	4%	21%
Over 50:	17%	2%	48%	13%	21%
<b><u>Response to claim that single men tourists cause more trouble than women tourists on the island</u></b>					
Under 30:	25%	--	27%	4%	44%
30-50:	18%	3%	22%	4%	53%
Over 50:	14%	2%	32%	14%	39%
<b><u>Response to claim that single women tourists cause more trouble than single men tourists on the island</u></b>					
Under 30:	12%	4%	27%	2%	55%
30-50:	18%	3%	27%	7%	46%
Over 50:	14%	5%	32%	11%	39%
<b><u>Response to claim that students from Ross University are not like regular tourists***</u></b>					
Under 30:	42%	11%	35%	2%	11%
30-50:	49%	7%	32%	3%	9%
Over 50:	17%	7%	69%	--	7%
<b><u>Response to claim that all tourists are rich***</u></b>					
Under 30:	4%	3%	2%	2%	89%
30-50:	4%	3%	5%	--	89%
Over 50:	14%	2%	9%	9%	67%



**VI. Environmental Variables Dependent**

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Response to claim that tourists throw away less rubbish than Kittitians</u>					
Under 30:	44%	6%	14%	3%	34%
30-50:	43%	8%	22%	5%	22%
Over 50:	48%	14%	13%	9%	16%
<u>Response to claim that traffic on the island is the same as before</u>					
Under 30:	16%	--	6%	2%	77%
30-50:	15%	1%	4%	3%	77%
Over 50:	5%	--	--	7%	88%
<u>Response to claim that a little rubbish about is ok</u>					
Under 30:	9%	6%	2%	9%	74%
30-50:	11%	7%	3%	12%	67%
Over 50:	5%	11%	11%	13%	60%

	Worse	Better	No Difference	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Has tourism made pollution in the island worse or better?</u>					
Under 30:	28%	23%	42%	5%	2%
30-50:	23%	22%	45%	4%	6%
Over 50:	14%	30%	43%	5%	8%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are tourists nice drivers?</u>				
Under 30:	35%	33%	30%	2%
30-50:	30%	35%	32%	3%
Over 50:	31%	16%	48%	5%

**VII. Kittitian Attitudes to Tourist Activities and Behaviour. Dependent Variables of Assessment**

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Response to claim that most tourists show proper respect for Kittitians</u>					
Under 30:	68%	12%	5%	4%	11%
30-50:	64%	16%	8%	3%	9%
Over 50:	79%	5%	14%	2%	--
<u>Response to claim that most tourists are kind of stupid</u>					
Under 30:	14%	9%	9%	5%	63%
30-50:	9%	5%	12%	12%	61%
Over 50:	4%	17%	11%	7%	71%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are tourists nice and polite to you?</u>				
Under 30:	84%	8%	5%	3%
30-50:	83%	6%	4%	6%
Over 50:	83%	--	6%	11%
<u>Are Ross University students nice and polite to you?</u>				
Under 30:	35%	14%	49%	--
30-50:	47%	3%	45%	5%
Over 50:	25%	--	65%	10%

\*Significant at a confidence interval of 95%

\*\*Significant at 97%

\*\*\*Significant at 99%

## APPENDIX IV-III

### Variations in Patterns of Response, Sorted by Experience of Foreign Travel by Respondents, Survey I

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	Abroad	Never Abroad
Frequency Distribution of Respondents	70%	30%
Location of Respondents with Reference to Zone of Interaction**		
Within Zone:	13%	5%
Peripheral:	17%	14%
Removed:	81%	70%

---

## II. Socioeconomic Variables, Independent

### Age of Respondents

Less than 30	41%	61%
30-50	32%	23%
More than 50	27%	16%

### Educational Attainment of Respondents (Years)\*\*\*

0:	16%	2%
1-8:	11%	44%
9-14:	55%	46%
15+:	19%	9%

### Proportion of Respondents Active in Tourism Industry

Active:	31%	69%
Inactive:	13%	87%

### Number of Persons in Immediate Family Active in Tourism

0:	3%	5%
1:	72%	78%
2:	22%	16%
3+:	3%	1%

	Abroad	Never Abroad
<b><u>Number of Dependents. Respondents</u></b>		
0:	32%	38%
1-2:	28%	36%
3-5:	27%	22%
6+:	13%	4%

**For Respondents Who Have Been Abroad. Where?**

Other Caribbean Islands:	64%
Nevis:	1%
Canada:	4%
United States:	10%
Britain:	11%
More than one Metropolitan Country:	8%
World Traveller:	1%

**Number of Respondents with Family Abroad\*\*\***

	Abroad	Never Abroad
Family Abroad:	93%	81%
No Family Abroad:	7%	19%

**III. Economic Impact of Tourism. Dependent Variables**

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<b><u>Tourism has made land in this area dear:</u></b>					
Abroad:	43%	16%	12%	7%	22%
Never Abroad:	40%	20%	13%	4%	23%

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Tourism has made a nice little house cost more</u>					
Abroad:	40%	12%	17%	8%	23%
Never Abroad:	38%	23%	11%	4%	24%
<u>Food is more dear now because of tourists</u>					
Abroad:	31%	12%	12%	8%	37%
Never Abroad:	38%	11%	9%	7%	35%
<u>Electricity and water are more dear now because of tourists</u>					
Abroad:	19%	9%	17%	9%	47%
Never Abroad:	19%	7%	24%	4%	46%
<u>Luxuries cost less now because of tourists</u>					
Abroad:	13%	5%	26%	7%	50%
Never Abroad:	22%	1%	30%	10%	37%
<u>Response to claim that it costs less now to hire a man than before</u>					
Abroad:	7%	5%	8%	7%	72%
Never Abroad:	15%	1%	5%	15%	63%
<u>Response to claim that people get better wages now than before tourism began</u>					
Abroad:	49%	15%	7%	4%	25%
Never Abroad:	36%	20%	1%	8%	35%
<u>Response to claim that land and house taxes are not too high now because the hotels give the government lots of money</u>					
Abroad:	9%	5%	41%	12%	33%
Never Abroad:	11%	5%	46%	9%	29%

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<u>Response to claim that taxis have increased in price because of tourists</u>					
Abroad:	82%	5%	6%	3%	5%
Never Abroad:	81%	5%	7%	3%	4%
<u>Response to claim that buses have increased in price because of the tourists</u>					
Abroad:	27%	9%	10%	9%	46%
Never Abroad:	27%	8%	15%	8%	41%
<u>Response to claim that the casino at Jack Tar brings much money to the island</u>					
Abroad:	49%	7%	23%	6%	15%
Never Abroad:	44%	8%	32%	8%	9%
<u>Response to the claim that tourist at Jack Tar do much economic good for the island</u>					
Abroad:	58%	16%	16%	2%	19%
Never Abroad:	38%	20%	23%	3%	17%

#### IV. Cultural/Social Impacts of Tourism. Dependent Variables

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<u>Response to claim that there is more crime now because of tourists</u>					
Abroad:	20%	2%	11%	8%	59%
Never Abroad:	14%	5%	9%	15%	57%
<u>Response to claim that tourists and the nature of the work in the business is bad for families</u>					
Abroad:	7%	4%	10%	6%	73%
Never Abroad:	6%	8%	9%	15%	62%

	Yes	No	Don't Know
<u>Is your family troubled by tourists?</u>			
Abroad:	2%	98%	--
Never Abroad:	3%	97%	--
<u>Has the way you play/have fun changed because of what you see tourists do when at play?</u>			
Abroad:	12%	88%	1%
Never Abroad:	12%	88%	--
<u>Has tourism made any changes to your village?</u>			
Abroad:	22%	76%	2%
Never Abroad:	27%	73%	--

	Better	Worse	Don't Know
<u>If tourism has made changes to your village, have they been for better or for worse?</u>			
Abroad:	88%	8%	5%
Never Abroad:	85%	10%	5%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Do you think that tourism is being developed in a different way now than before?</u>				
Abroad:	69%	16%	7%	8%
Never Abroad:	10%	62%	16%	12%

	Better	Worse	Don't Know
<u>If no. for better or for worse?</u>			
Abroad:	59%	29%	13%
Never Abroad:	57%	37%	6%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are the police nicer now than since tourism began?</u>				
Abroad:	11%	65%	20%	4%
Never Abroad:	28%	55%	15%	3%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Do police treat tourists any different from locals?</u>				
Abroad:	59%	30%	10%	2%
Never Abroad:	47%	38%	14%	1%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are there more police now because tourists break many laws?</u>				
Abroad:	10%	79%	10%	1%
Never Abroad:	3%	81%	16%	--

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Do tourists make locals act any different?</u>				
Abroad:	56%	38%	6%	--
Never Abroad:	40%	47%	13%	--

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>(If yes) do you care that tourists make locals act different?</u>				
Abroad:	33%	62%	5%	--
Never Abroad:	30%	64%	6%	--

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Do you care whether tourists gamble at Jack Tar?</u>				
Abroad:	19%	80%	1%	--
Never Abroad:	23%	74%	3%	--



	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<b><u>Would you be happy if the casino at Jack Tar was closed?*</u></b>				
Abroad:	13%	85%	2%	--
Never Abroad:	25%	73%	3%	--
<b><u>Were you sad when the Royal St. Kitts hotel burnt down?</u></b>				
Abroad:	79%	16%	5%	--
Never Abroad:	82%	11%	7%	--

**V. Kittitian Views/Impressions of Tourists. Dependent Variables**

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<b><u>Response to claim that tourists which go around in groups act different than those with only one other person or alone*</u></b>					
Abroad:	58%	2%	15%	3%	21%
Never Abroad:	38%	8%	30%	1%	23%
<b><u>Response to claim that Ross University students act just like regular tourists</u></b>					
Abroad:	11%	5%	43%	8%	34%
Never Abroad:	5%	4%	41%	16%	33%
<b><u>Response to claim that single tourists cause less trouble than those in groups</u></b>					
Abroad:	28%	2%	41%	5%	25%
Never Abroad:	28%	--	49%	11%	12%
<b><u>Response to claim that single men tourists cause more trouble than women tourists on the island**</u></b>					
Abroad:	22%	2%	27%	6%	43%
Never Abroad:	17%	--	25%	7%	51%

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Strong 5
<u>Response to claim that single women tourists cause more trouble than men tourists on the island**</u>					
Abroad:	14%	3%	29%	4%	49%
Never Abroad:	15%	5%	26%	7%	47%
<u>Response to claim that students from Ross University are not like regular tourists</u>					
Abroad:	38%	8%	41%	2%	11%
Never Abroad:	39%	11%	45%	--	5%
<u>Response to claim that all tourists are rich**</u>					
Abroad:	4%	2%	5%	3%	86%
Never Abroad:	10%	4%	4%	1%	81%

## VI. Environmental Variables. Dependent

### Response to claim that tourists throw away less rubbish than Kittitians\*\*\*

Abroad:	50%	10%	17%	2%	21%
Never Abroad:	29%	6%	14%	11%	40%

### Response to claim that traffic on the island is the same as before

Abroad:	16%	1%	5%	2%	78%
Never Abroad:	8%	--	3%	7%	82%

### Response to claim that a little rubbish about is ok

Abroad:	8%	6%	4%	10%	73%
Never Abroad:	13%	11%	4%	13%	59%

	Worse	Better	No Difference	Don't Know	Refus: Answ
<u>Has tourism made pollution in the island worse or better?</u>					
Abroad:	23%	24%	44%	4%	4%
Never Abroad:	25%	22%	42%	5%	6%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are tourists nice drivers?</u>				
Abroad:	38%	35%	19%	6%
Never Abroad:	44%	32%	17%	6%

**VII. Kittitian Attitudes to Tourist Activities and Behaviour. Dependent Variable: of Assessment**

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<u>Response to claim that most tourists show proper respect for Kittitians</u>					
Abroad:	70%	10%	8%	2%	10%
Never Abroad:	67%	14%	8%	7%	4%

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<u>Response to claim that most tourists are kind of stupid</u>					
Abroad:	8%	7%	11%	7%	67%
Never Abroad:	17%	10%	10%	8%	56%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are tourists nice and polite to you?</u>				
Abroad:	84%	5%	4%	6%
Never Abroad:	82%	5%	6%	6%

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	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are Ross University students nice and polite to you?</u>				
Abroad:	36%	7%	52%	5%
Never Abroad:	35%	8%	52%	5%

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\*Significant at a confidence interval of 95%

\*\*Significant at 97%

\*\*\*Significant at 99%

## APPENDIX IV-IV

### Variations in Patterns of Response, Sorted by Possession of Family Abroad, Survey I

	Family Abroad	No Family Abroad
Frequency Distribution of Respondents	73%	27%
Location of Respondents with Reference to Zone of Interaction*		
Within Zone:	11%	4%
Peripheral:	17%	14%
Removed:	72%	82%
Mean Distance from Zone of Interaction (Kms.)***	6.6	11.6

## II. Socioeconomic Variables, Independent

### Sex of Respondents

Male:	57%	43%
Female:	43%	64%

### Age of Respondents

Less than 30	47%	43%
30-50	31%	18%
More than 50	22%	39%

### Educational Attainment of Respondents (Years)\*\*\*

0:	13%	5%
1-8:	16%	63%
9-14:	56%	21%
15+:	16%	11%

### Proportion of Respondents Active in tourism Industry\*\*\*

Active:	28%	11%
Inactive:	72%	89%

### Number of Persons in Immediate Family Active in Tourism

0:	3%	5%
1:	72%	78%
2:	22%	16%
3+:	3%	1%

	Family Abroad	No Family Abroad
<b><u>Number of Dependents. Respondents</u></b>		
0:	33%	39%
1-2:	31%	29%
3-5:	25%	32%
6+:	11%	--
<b><u>Respondents with Experience of Foreign Travel</u></b>		
Experience of foreign travel:	73%	46%
No experience of foreign travel:	46%	54%
<b><u>For Respondents Who Have Been Abroad. Where?</u></b>		
Other Caribbean Islands:	47%	29%
Nevis:	1%	--
Canada:	3%	--
United States:	8%	--
Britain:	7%	7%
More than one Metropolitan Country:	6%	11%
World Traveller:	1%	--

### **III. Economic Impact of Tourism. Dependent Variables**

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<b><u>Tourism has made land in this area dear:</u></b>					
Family abroad:	40%	19%	11%	6%	23%
No family abroad:	56%	--	26%	4%	15%

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Strong 5
<u>Tourism has made a nice little house cost more</u>					
Family abroad:	40%	15%	13%	7%	25%
No family abroad:	35%	15%	31%	4%	15%
<u>Food is more dear now because of tourists</u>					
Family abroad:	33%	10%	11%	9%	37%
No family abroad:	30%	19%	15%	4%	33%
<u>Electricity and water are more dear now because of the tourists***</u>					
Family abroad:	19%	8%	16%	8%	48%
No family abroad:	19%	4%	42%	4%	31%
<u>Luxuries cost less now because of tourists</u>					
Family abroad:	15%	4%	26%	8%	47%
No family abroad:	19%	--	33%	7%	41%
<u>Response to claim that it costs less now to hire a man than before</u>					
Family abroad:	10%	4%	5%	9%	71%
No family abroad:	11%	--	22%	11%	56%
<u>Response to claim that people get better wages now than before tourism began</u>					
Family abroad:	48%	15%	5%	5%	27%
No family abroad:	26%	26%	7%	7%	33%
<u>Response to claim that land and house taxes are not too high now because the hotels give the government lots of money</u>					
Family abroad:	10%	5%	43%	12%	31%
No family abroad:	9%	5%	32%	9%	45%

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	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<u>Response to claim that taxis have increased in price because of tourists</u>					
Family abroad:	83%	4%	5%	4%	5%
No family abroad:	69%	12%	15%	--	4%
<u>Response to claim that buses have increased in price because of the tourists</u>					
Family abroad:	28%	8%	9%	9%	46%
No family abroad:	26%	11%	30%	4%	30%
<u>Response to claim that the casino at Jack Tar brings much money to the island</u>					
Family abroad:	49%	8%	23%	7%	14%
No family abroad:	33%	8%	46%	4%	8%
<u>Response to the claim that tourists at Jack Tar do much economic good for the island*</u>					
Family abroad:	46%	16%	16%	1%	19%
No family abroad:	31%	19%	35%	8%	8%

#### IV. Cultural/Social Impacts of Tourism, Dependent Variables

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<u>Response to claim that there is more crime now because of tourists</u>					
Family abroad:	18%	3%	12%	10%	58%
No family abroad:	15%	7%	7%	15%	56%
<u>Response to claim that tourists and the nature of the work in the business is bad for families</u>					
Family abroad:	7%	6%	9%	8%	70%
No family abroad:	5%	1%	8%	20%	65%

.../V



	Yes	No	Don't Know
<u>Is your family troubled by tourists?</u>			
Family abroad:	2%	98%	--
No family abroad:	4%	96%	--
<u>Has the way you play/have fun changed because of what you see tourists do when at play?</u>			
Family abroad:	12%	87%	1%
No family abroad:	8%	92%	--
<u>Has tourism made any changes to your village?</u>			
Family abroad:	25%	74%	1%
No family abroad:	15%	85%	--

	Better	Worse	Don't Know
<u>If tourism has made changes to your village, have they been for better or for worse?</u>			
Family abroad:	88%	7%	5%
No family abroad:	75%	25%	--

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Do you think that tourism is being developed in a different way now than before?</u>				
Family abroad:	8%	68%	16%	8%
No family abroad:	11%	57%	18%	14%

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	Better	Worse	Don't Know
<u>If no. for better or for worse?</u>			
Family abroad:	59%	31%	10%
No family abroad:	53%	26%	21%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are the police nicer now than since tourism began?</u>				
Family abroad:	16%	61%	19%	4%
No family abroad:	13%	67%	20%	--

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Do police treat tourists any different from locals?</u>				
Family abroad:	55%	32%	11%	2%
No family abroad:	52%	36%	12%	--

<u>Are there more police now because tourists break many laws?</u>				
Family abroad:	18%	81%	11%	--
No family abroad:	15%	69%	15%	--

<u>Do tourists make locals act any different?</u>				
Family abroad:	51%	41%	7%	--
No family abroad:	50%	36%	14%	--

<u>(If yes) do you care that tourists make locals act different?</u>				
Family abroad:	32%	63%	5%	--
No family abroad:	33%	60%	7%	--

<u>Do you care whether tourists gamble at Jack Tar?</u>				
Family abroad:	20%	78%	2%	--
No family abroad:	19%	81%	--	--

.../VII

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Would you be happy if the casino at Jack Tar was closed?</u>				
Family abroad:	15%	83%	2%	--
No family abroad:	28%	68%	4%	--
<u>Were you sad when the Royal St. Kitts hotel burnt down?</u>				
Family abroad:	80%	14%	6%	--
No family abroad:	74%	22%	7%	--

V. Kittitian Views/Impressions of Tourists. Dependent Variables

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Stron
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Response to claim that tourists that go around in groups act different than those with only one other person or alone</u>					
Family abroad:	53%	4%	18%	3%	22%
No family abroad:	48%	--	32%	--	20%
<u>Response to claim that Ross University students act just like regular tourists</u>					
Family abroad:	9%	5%	40%	10%	35%
No family abroad:	8%	8%	60%	12%	12%
<u>Response to claim that single tourists cause less trouble than those in groups</u>					
Family abroad:	27%	2%	43%	7%	21%
No family abroad:	29%	--	46%	4%	21%
<u>Response to claim that single men tourists cause more trouble than women tourists on the island**</u>					
Family abroad:	20%	1%	26%	5%	47%
No family abroad:	21%	--	33%	13%	33%

.../V

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<b><u>Response to claim that single women tourists cause more trouble than men tourists on the island***</u></b>					
Family abroad:	15%	4%	27%	4%	50%
No family abroad:	8%	8%	36%	12%	36%
<b><u>Response to claim that students from Ross University are not like regular tourists**</u></b>					
Family abroad:	40%	9%	39%	2%	10%
No family abroad:	27%	8%	25%	--	--
<b><u>Response to claim that all tourists are rich**</u></b>					
Family abroad:	5%	3%	4%	3%	85%
No family abroad:	15%	4%	4%	4%	73%

## VI. Environmental Variables. Dependent

### **Response to claim that tourists throw away less rubbish than Kittitians**

Family abroad:	45%	8%	16%	5%	26%
No family abroad:	36%	12%	16%	8%	28%

### **Response to claim that traffic on the island is the same as before**

Family abroad:	14%	--	4%	3%	79%
No family abroad:	8%	--	4%	8%	80%

### **Response to claim that a little rubbish about is ok**

Family abroad:	9%	7%	4%	10%	70%
No family abroad:	12%	12%	4%	16%	56%

	Worse	Better	No Difference	Don't Know	Refu: Answ
<u>Has tourism made pollution in the island worse or better?</u>					
Family abroad:	24%	25%	41%	5%	5%
No family abroad:	18%	11%	61%	4%	7%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are tourists nice drivers?</u>				
Family abroad:	39%	38%	17%	6%
Never Abroad:	39%	21%	33%	6%

**VII. Kittitian Attitudes to Tourist Activities and Behaviour. Dependent Variables of Assessment**

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<u>Response to claim that most tourists show proper respect for Kittitians</u>					
Family abroad:	68%	13%	8%	3%	8%
No family abroad:	80%	--	4%	8%	8%
<u>Response to claim that most tourists are kind of stupid</u>					
Family abroad:	10%	7%	11%	8%	65%
No family abroad:	16%	16%	8%	4%	56%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are tourists nice and polite to you?</u>				
Family abroad:	84%	6%	5%	6%
No family abroad:	79%	7%	4%	11%

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	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are Ross University students nice and polite to you?</u>				
Family abroad:	38%	7%	51%	4%
No family abroad:	21%	7%	61%	11%

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\*Significant at a confidence interval of 95%

\*\*Significant at 97%

\*\*\*Significant at 99%

## APPENDIX IV-V

### Variations in Patterns of Response Between Respondents Who Claim to be Active in Tourism and Those Inactive. Survey I

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	Active	Inactive
Frequency Distribution of Respondents	26%	74%
Location of Respondents with reference to Zone of Interaction		
Within zone:	21%	7%
Peripheral:	24%	14%
Removed:	56%	79%

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## II. Socioeconomic Variables. Independent

### Age of Respondents

Less than 30	47%	47%
30-50	37%	27%
More than 50	16%	26%

### Educational Attainment of Respondents (years)

0:	14%	11%
1-8:	9%	24%
9-14:	57%	51%
15+:	20%	14%

### Number of Persons in Immediate Family Employed in Tourism Industry

0:	--	5%
1:	60%	78%
2:	37%	15%
3+:	3%	2%

.../II

	Active	Inactive
<u>Number of Dependents, Respondents</u>		
0:	25%	36%
1-2:	35%	29%
3-5:	28%	25%
6+:	12%	10%

Experience of Foreign Travel Amongst Respondents

Experience of foreign travel	85%	15%
No experience of foreign travel	65%	35%

For Respondents Who Have Been Abroad, Where?

Other Caribbean Islands:	46%	--
Nevis:	1%	--
Canada:	1%	5%
United States:	12%	3%
Britain:	6%	6%
More than one Metropolitan Country:	13%	7%
World Traveller:	4%	4%

Percentage of Respondents with Family Members Abroad\*\*\*

Family abroad:	76%	87%
No family abroad:	87%	13%

III. Economic Impact of Tourism. Dependent Variables

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Tourism has made land in this area dear:</u>					
Active:	47%	12%	7%	4%	29%
Inactive:	40%	19%	14%	6%	20%



	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Tourism has made a nice little house cost more</u>					
Active:	37%	10%	13%	7%	32%
Inactive:	40%	16%	16%	7%	21%
<u>Food is more dear now because of tourists</u>					
Active:	32%	12%	10%	6%	40%
Inactive:	33%	11%	12%	9%	35%
<u>Electricity and water are more dear now because of tourists***</u>					
Active:	27%	1%	10%	10%	51%
Inactive:	16%	10%	22%	7%	45%
<u>Luxuries cost less now because of tourists</u>					
Active:	23%	2%	30%	2%	44%
Inactive:	13%	4%	25%	10%	47%
<u>Response to claim that it costs less now to hire a man than before</u>					
Active:	10%	--	6%	6%	78%
Inactive:	10%	5%	8%	11%	67%
<u>Response to claim that people get better wages now than before tourism began</u>					
Active:	53%	7%	10%	3%	27%
Inactive:	43%	19%	4%	6%	28%
<u>Response to claim that land and house taxes are not too high now because the hotels give the government lots of money</u>					
Active:	9%	3%	51%	3%	34%
Inactive:	10%	5%	39%	15%	31%

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Response to claim that taxis have increased in price because of tourists</u>					
Active:	83%	4%	5%	4%	5%
Inactive:	69%	12%	15%	--	4%
<u>Response to claim that buses have increased in price because of the tourists</u>					
Active	29%	5%	5%	6%	56%
Inactive	27%	10%	14%	9%	40%
<u>Response to claim that the casino at Jack Tar brings much money to the island</u>					
Active:	58%	9%	19%	5%	9%
Inactive	43%	7%	28%	7%	14%
<u>Response to claim that tourists at Jack Tar do much economic good for the island*</u>					
Active:	54%	3%	17%	3%	22%
Inactive:	41%	22%	19%	2%	16%

**IV. Cultural/Social Impacts of Tourism. Dependent Variables**

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Response to claim that there is more crime now because of tourists</u>					
Active:	22%	3%	12%	4%	59%
Inactive:	16%	3%	11%	12%	57%
<u>Response to claim that tourists and the nature of the work in the business is bad for families</u>					
Active:	6%	4%	7%	2%	82%
Inactive:	7%	6%	10%	11%	65%

	Yes	No	Don't Know
<u>Is your family troubled by tourists?</u>			
Active:	3%	97%	--
Inactive:	2%	98%	--
<u>Has the way you play/have fun changed because of what you see tourists do when at play?</u>			
Active:	15%	85%	--
Inactive:	11%	89%	1%
<u>Has tourism made any changes to your village?</u>			
Active:	32%	66%	1%
Inactive:	21%	78%	1%

	Better	Worse	Don't Know
<u>If tourism has made changes to your village, have they been for better or for worse?</u>			
Active:	95%	5%	--
Inactive:	83%	10%	8%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Do you think that tourism is being developed in a different way now than before?</u>				
Active:	69%	15%	7%	9%
Inactive:	66%	17%	9%	9%

	Better	Worse	Don't Know
<u>If no. for better or for worse?</u>			
Active.	62%	23%	15%
Inactive.	57%	33%	10%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are the police nicer now than since tourism began?</u>				
Active	17%	63%	17%	3%
Inactive	16%	61%	19%	4%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Do police treat tourists any different from locals?</u>				
Active.	57%	37%	4%	1%
Inactive.	54%	31%	14%	2%

<u>Are there more police now because tourists break many laws?</u>				
Active.	8%	85%	6%	2%
Inactive.	9%	78%	13%	1%

<u>Do tourists make locals act any different?</u>				
Active.	57%	34%	9%	--
Inactive.	50%	42%	8%	--

<u>(If yes) do you care that tourists make locals act different?</u>				
Active.	38%	52%	10%	--
Inactive	31%	65%	4%	--

<u>Do you care whether tourists gamble at Jack Tar?</u>				
Male.	24%	75%	1%	--
Inactive:	19%	80%	2%	--

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Would you be happy if the casino at Jack Tar was closed?</u>				
Active:	15%	84%	1%	--
Inactive:	17%	81%	2%	--
<u>Were you sad when the Royal St. Kitts hotel burnt down?</u>				
Active:	75%	21%	4%	--
Inactive:	81%	13%	6%	--

V. Kittitian Views/Impressions of Tourists. Dependent Variables

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Response to claim that tourists which go around in groups act different than those with only one other person or alone**</u>					
Active:	69%	3%	6%	1%	21%
Inactive:	46%	4%	24%	3%	22%
<u>Response to claim that Ross University students act just like regular tourists</u>					
Active:	9%	1%	42%	4%	43%
Inactive:	9%	6%	42%	13%	31%
<u>Response to claim that single tourists cause less trouble than those in groups</u>					
Active:	34%	0%	41%	5%	20%
Inactive:	26%	3%	44%	7%	21%
<u>Response to claim that single men tourists cause more trouble than women tourists on the island***</u>					
Active:	23%	--	15%	6%	55%
Inactive:	19%	2%	31%	6%	42%

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Response to claim that single women tourists cause more trouble than men tourists on the island*</u>					
Active:	18%	1%	21%	3%	57%
Inactive:	13%	5%	31%	5%	46%
<u>Response to claim that students from Ross University are not like regular tourists</u>					
Active:	42%	6%	37%	1%	13%
Inactive:	37%	10%	44%	2%	8%
<u>Response to claim that all tourists are rich**</u>					
Active:	4%	--	4%	3%	88%
Inactive:	6%	4%	4%	3%	83%

## VI. Environmental Variables, Dependent

### Response to claim that tourists throw away less rubbish than Kittitians

Active:	42%	6%	19%	--	33%
Inactive:	45%	9%	15%	7%	24%

### Response to claim that traffic on the island is the same as before

Active:	19%	1%	1%	1%	76%
Inactive:	11%	--	5%	4%	80%

### Response to claim that a little rubbish about is ok

Active:	13%	3%	1%	5%	78%
Inactive:	7%	9%	5%	13%	65%

	Worse	Better	No Difference	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Has tourism made pollution in the island worse or better?</u>					
Active:	29%	26%	35%	7%	1%
Inactive:	21%	23%	46%	4%	6%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are tourists nice drivers?</u>				
Active:	31%	34%	34%	1%
Inactive:	28%	31%	31%	10%

**VII. Kittitian Attitudes to Tourist Activities and Behaviour. Dependent Variables of Assessment**

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Strong 5
<u>Response to claim that most tourists show proper respect for Kittitians***</u>					
Active:	73%	11%	5%	2%	11%
Inactive:	68%	11%	9%	4%	7%

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Strong 5
<u>Response to claim that most tourists are kind of stupid</u>					
Active:	10%	3%	9%	3%	75%
Inactive:	10%	9%	11%	9%	60%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are tourists nice and polite to you?</u>				
Active:	88%	6%	3%	3%
Inactive:	82%	6%	6%	7%

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	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are Ross University students nice and polite to you?</u>				
Active:	35%	12%	51%	1%
Inactive:	36%	6%	52%	6%

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\*Significant at a confidence interval of 95%

\*\*Significant at 97%

\*\*\*Significant at 99%



## APPENDIX IV-VI

### Variations in Patterns of Response, Sorted by Educational Attainment of Respondents, Survey I

#### Educational Attainment of Respondents (Years)

Group 1: 0  
Group 2: 1-8  
Group 3: 9-14  
Group 4: 15+

	<u>GROUP 1</u>	<u>GROUP 2</u>	<u>GROUP 3</u>	<u>GROUP 4</u>
Frequency Distribution of Respondents	12%	20%	52%	15%
<u>I. Spatial Variables, Independent</u>				
Mean distance between principal residence of respondents and Zone of Interaction (in kilometres)	5.1	4.7	6.0	5.2

#### II. Socioeconomic Variables, Independent

##### Sex of Respondents

Male:	14%	16%	51%	20%
Female:	10%	27%	54%	9%
Unknown:	--	--	1%	--

##### Age of Respondents

Less than 30	7%	13%	63%	17%
30-50	13%	22%	50%	15%
More than 50	24%	40%	26%	11%

##### Proportion of Respondents Active in Tourism Industry

Active:	33%	12%	30%	35%
Inactive:	67%	85%	70%	65%

##### Number of Persons in Immediate Family Employed in Tourism Industry

0:	96%	80%	67%	68%
1:	4%	15%	32%	29%
2+:	0%	2%	1%	4%

**GROUP 1    GROUP 2    GROUP 3    GROUP 4**

**Number of Dependents, Respondents**

0:	43%	26%	27%	28%
1-2:	17%	31%	35%	41%
3-5:	35%	32%	27%	17%
6+:	4%	11%	10%	14%

**Experience of Foreign Travel  
Among Respondents\*\*\***

Experience of Foreign Travel	96%	37%	75%	84%
No Experience of Travel	4%	61%	25%	16%

**For Respondents Who Have Been  
Abroad, Where?**

Other Caribbean Islands:	58%	20%	58%	32%
Nevis:	--	--	1%	--
Canada:	4%	2%	2%	7%
United States:	4%	5%	5%	16%
Britain:	17%	10%	2%	6%
More than one Metropolitan Country:	4%	--	4%	23%
World Traveller:	4%	--	2%	--

**Number of Respondents with Family  
Family Members Abroad\*\*\***

Family Abroad:	96%	68%	96%	94%
No Family Abroad:	4%	30%	4%	6%

**III. Economic Impact of Tourism, Dependent Variables**

Agreement		Response		Disagreement	
Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong	
1	2	3	4	5	

**Tourism has made land in this  
area dear:**

Group 1:	39%	17%	4%	--	39%
Group 2:	51%	22%	17%	5%	5%
Group 3:	38%	22%	6%	9%	25%
Group 4:	45%	10%	13%	3%	29%

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Tourism has made a nice little house cost more*</u>					
Group 1:	45%	13%	8%	--	33%
Group 2:	55%	23%	13%	5%	5%
Group 3:	31%	16%	13%	12%	28%
Group 4:	32%	10%	16%	3%	39%
<u>Food is more dear now because of tourists***</u>					
Group 1:	33%	4%	4%	4%	54%
Group 2:	29%	17%	27%	7%	20%
Group 3:	34%	15%	3%	15%	34%
Group 4:	23%	10%	13%	7%	47%
<u>Electricity and water are more dear now because of tourists</u>					
Group 1:	17%	4%	9%	4%	65%
Group 2:	10%	10%	28%	8%	45%
Group 3:	20%	10%	18%	10%	43%
Group 4:	19%	10%	10%	10%	52%
<u>Luxuries cost less now because of tourists</u>					
Group 1:	8%	4%	21%	--	67%
Group 2:	18%	--	33%	13%	36%
Group 3:	25%	5%	20%	10%	40%
Group 4:	10%	6%	13%	6%	65%
<u>Response to claim that it costs less now to hire a man than before</u>					
Group 1:	8%	4%	--	83%	--
Group 2:	10%	3%	8%	15%	65%
Group 3:	10%	4%	3%	14%	68%
Group 4:	6%	6%	3%	3%	81%
<u>Response to claim that people get better wages now than before tourism began</u>					
Group 1:	54%	4%	4%	--	38%
Group 2:	37%	22%	5%	12%	24%
Group 3:	44%	22%	7%	4%	24%
Group 4:	39%	16%	10%	6%	29%

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	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5

Response to claim that land and house taxes are not too high now because hotels give the gov't money\*\*

Group 1:	13%	4%	30%	4%	48%
Group 2:	11%	3%	34%	13%	39%
Group 3:	9%	6%	47%	17%	20%
Group 4:	11%	4%	15%	7%	63%

Response to claim that taxis have increased in price because of tourists

Group 1:	83%	--	9%	--	9%
Group 2:	73%	8%	15%	--	5%
Group 3:	80%	6%	3%	6%	5%
Group 4:	77%	3%	3%	6%	10%

Response to claim that buses have increased in price because of tourists\*\*\*

Group 1:	39%	4%	17%	4%	35%
Group 2:	17%	16%	35%	8%	22%
Group 3:	24%	7%	9%	13%	48%
Group 4:	23%	16%	3%	10%	48%

Response to claim that the casino at Jack Tar brings much money to the island

Group 1:	41%	5%	32%	9%	14%
Group 2:	20%	11%	43%	9%	17%
Group 3:	52%	8%	23%	5%	12%
Group 4:	37%	7%	20%	10%	27%

Response to claim that the tourists at Jack Tar do much economic good for the island

Group 1:	62%	14%	10%	--	14%
Group 2:	26%	21%	32%	3%	18%
Group 3:	46%	20%	15%	2%	18%
Group 4:	43%	10%	23%	7%	17%

.../V

**IV. Cultural/Social Impacts of Tourism. Dependent Variables**

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Response to claim that there is more crime now because of tourists</u>					
Group 1:	21%	--	8%	8%	63%
Group 2:	15%	7%	10%	22%	46%
Group 3:	15%	2%	13%	10%	60%
Group 4:	20%	10%	17%	10%	43%

Response to claim that tourists and the nature of the work in the business is bad for families

Group 1:	14%	5%	5%	3%	74%
Group 2:	8%	8%	13%	20%	50%
Group 3:	6%	5%	9%	9%	69%
Group 4:	5%	5%	14%	3%	71%

	Yes	No	Don't Know
<u>Is your Family troubled by tourists?</u>			
Group 1:	1%	99%	--
Group 2:	--	100%	--
Group 3:	--	100%	--
Group 4:	8%	93%	--

Has the way you play/have fun changed because of what you see tourists do when at play?

Group 1:	10%	90%	--
Group 2:	13%	87%	--
Group 3:	13%	87%	--
Group 4:	17%	82%	1%

Has tourism made any changes to your village?

Group 1:	26%	74%	--
Group 2:	4%	92%	4%
Group 3:	30%	69%	1%
Group 4:	26%	74%	--

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	Better	Worse	Don't Know
<u>If tourism has made changes to your village, have they been for better or for worse?*</u>			
Group 1:	75%	--	25%
Group 2:	100%	--	--
Group 3:	78%	22%	--
Group 4:	94%	6%	--

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Do you think that tourism is being developed in a different way now than before?</u>				
Group 1:	67%	13%	17%	4%
Group 2:	71%	17%	10%	3%
Group 3:	71%	15%	4%	10%
Group 4:	61%	19%	16%	3%

	Better	Worse	Don't Know
<u>If yes, for better or for worse?</u>			
Group 1:	47%	35%	18%
Group 2:	47%	40%	13%
Group 3:	60%	28%	12%
Group 4:	40%	50%	10%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are the police nicer now than since tourism began?</u>				
Group 1:	33%	44%	22%	--
Group 2:	10%	63%	27%	--
Group 3:	17%	64%	13%	6%
Group 4:	5%	70%	20%	5%

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	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Do Police treat tourists any different from locals?</u>				
Group 1:	70%	22%	9%	--
Group 2:	56%	28%	15%	--
Group 3:	59%	33%	7%	1%
Group 4:	71%	23%	6%	--
<u>Are there more police now because tourists break many laws?</u>				
Group 1:	8%	79%	13%	--
Group 2:	10%	75%	15%	--
Group 3:	10%	84%	6%	--
Group 4:	3%	77%	13%	7%
<u>Do tourists make locals act any different?</u>				
Group 1:	67%	25%	8%	--
Group 2:	37%	63%	0%	--
Group 3:	47%	47%	6%	--
Group 4:	53%	40%	8%	--
<u>(If yes) do you care that tourists make locals act different?</u>				
Group 1:	50%	50%	0%	--
Group 2:	13%	81%	6%	--
Group 3:	31%	62%	7%	--
Group 4:	31%	61%	8%	--
<u>Do you care whether tourists gamble at Jack Tar?</u>				
Group 1:	16%	81%	3%	--
Group 2:	8%	92%	0%	--
Group 3:	25%	73%	3%	--
Group 4:	22%	78%	1%	--
<u>Would you be happy if the casino at Jack Tar was closed?</u>				
Group 1:	26%	71%	3%	--
Group 2:	4%	92%	4%	--
Group 3:	20%	78%	3%	--
Group 4:	13%	86%	1%	--

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Were you sad when the Royal St. Kitts hotel burnt down?</u>				
Group 1:	79%	21%	--	--
Group 2:	67%	25%	8%	--
Group 3:	85%	10%	5%	--
Group 4:	79%	14%	7%	--

**V. Kittitian Views/Impressions of Tourists. Dependent Variables**

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Response to claim that tourists which go around in groups act different from those that are with only one other person or alone*</u>					
Group 1:	79%	--	4%	--	17%
Group 2:	38%	8%	38%	--	18%
Group 3:	52%	3%	14%	5%	26%
Group 4:	52%	3%	19%	3%	23%
<u>Response to claim that Ross University students act just like regular tourists</u>					
Group 1:	9%	17%	43%	--	30%
Group 2:	5%	8%	48%	15%	25%
Group 3:	10%	3%	31%	17%	39%
Group 4:	13%	--	42%	6%	39%
<u>Response to claim that single tourists cause less trouble than those in groups</u>					
Group 1:	48%	4%	35%	--	13%
Group 2:	25%	--	47%	13%	16%
Group 3:	23%	4%	43%	7%	22%
Group 4:	36%	--	36%	--	28%
<u>Response to claim that single men tourists cause more trouble than women tourists on the island</u>					
Group 1:	23%	--	32%	14%	32%
Group 2:	15%	--	35%	13%	38%
Group 3:	21%	2%	21%	6%	51%
Group 4:	19%	--	32%	--	48%



Response to claim that single women tourists cause more trouble than men tourists on the island\*\*

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
Group 1:	26%	--	39%	9%	26%
Group 2:	8%	--	38%	13%	38%
Group 3:	13%	8%	21%	4%	54%
Group 4:	16%	--	39%	--	45%

Response to claim that students from Ross University are not like regular tourists

Group 1	39%	--	39%	9%	13%
Group 2	38%	13%	48%	--	3%
Group 3	47%	9%	30%	2%	13%
Group 4	35%	10%	35%	--	19%

Response to claim that all tourists are rich

Group 1	9%	--	4%	--	87%
Group 2	13%	5%	--	8%	75%
Group 3	5%	2%	2%	2%	89%
Group 4	3%	6%	13%	3%	74%

VI. Environmental Variables Dependent

Response to claim that tourists throw away less rubbish than Kittitians\*\*\*

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
Group 1:	56%	--	26%	--	17%
Group 2:	33%	10%	20%	18%	20%
Group 3:	41%	13%	13%	2%	31%
Group 4:	61%	--	16%	--	23%

.../X

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	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Response to claim that traffic on the island is the same as before</u>					
Group 1:	10%	--	10%	--	79%
Group 2:	3%	--	--	5%	93%
Group 3:	18%	1%	1%	2%	78%
Group 4:	26%	--	13%	3%	58%

Response to claim that a little rubbish about is ok

Group 1:	22%	--	4%	--	74%
Group 2:	8%	18%	5%	18%	53%
Group 3:	9%	7%	2%	14%	67%
Group 4:	7%	10%	7%	10%	68%

	Worse	Better	No Difference	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Has tourism made pollution in the island worse or better?</u>					
Group 1:	21%	17%	54%	4%	4%
Group 2:	22%	15%	46%	15%	2%
Group 3:	22%	21%	51%	2%	5%
Group 4:	19%	23%	58%	--	--

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are tourists nice drivers?</u>				
Group 1:	29%	28%	32%	6%
Group 2:	38%	31%	28%	5%
Group 3:	47%	26%	18%	7%
Group 4:	39%	34%	19%	8%

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**VII. Kittitian Attitudes to Tourist Activities and Behaviour. Dependent Variables of Assessment**

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Response to claim that most tourists show proper respect for Kittitians</u>					
Group 1:	78%	9%	4%	4%	4%
Group 2:	65%	13%	10%	5%	8%
Group 3:	71%	12%	5%	4%	8%
Group 4:	52%	19%	10%	3%	16%
<u>Response to claim that most tourists are kind of stupid</u>					
Group 1:	13%	--	9%	4%	74%
Group 2:	8%	10%	20%	10%	53%
Group 3:	13%	10%	27%	12%	58%
Group 4:	10%	6%	16%	6%	61%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are tourists nice and polite to you?</u>				
Group 1:	83%	4%	8%	4%
Group 2:	90%	2%	5%	3%
Group 3:	88%	6%	1%	6%
Group 4:	81%	6%	10%	3%
<u>Are Ross University students nice and polite to you?</u>				
Group 1:	29%	4%	63%	4%
Group 2:	51%	2%	44%	2%
Group 3:	42%	8%	46%	5%
Group 4:	39%	19%	42%	--

\*Significant at a confidence interval of 95%

\*\*Significant at 97%

\*\*\*Significant at 99%

## APPENDIX IV-VII

### Variations in Patterns of Response, Sorted by Distance Between Location of Principal Residence of Respondent and Zone of Tourist-Host Interaction, Survey I

#### Distance Between Principal Residence and Zone of Interaction (Kilometres)

Group 1: Less than 1 kilometre  
Group 2: From 1 up to 5 kilometres  
Group 3: 5 kilometres and more

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Frequency Distribution of Respondents	40%	17%	43%

#### II. Socioeconomic Variables, Independent

##### Sex of Respondents

Male:	60%	46%	54%
Female:	39%	55%	47%
Unknown:	1%	--	--

##### Age of Respondents

Less than 30	53%	41%	43%
30-50	23%	45%	30%
More than 50	25%	14%	27%

##### Educational Attainment of Respondents (years)

0:	16%	5%	11%
1-8:	20%	25%	18%
9-14:	47%	58%	56%
15+:	17%	13%	15%

##### Proportion of Respondents Active in Tourism Industry

Active:	32%	28%	19%
Inactive:	68%	71%	81%

##### Number of Persons in Immediate Family Employed in Tourism Industry

0:	74%	62%	83%
1:	23%	33%	15%
2+:	3%	5%	2%

	<u>GROUP 1</u>	<u>GROUP 2</u>	<u>GROUP 3</u>
<u>Number of Dependents, Respondents</u>			
0:	38%	13%	26%
1-2:	30%	41%	32%
3-5:	22%	26%	33%
6+:	9%	18%	10%

Experience of Foreign Travel Amongst Respondents

Experience of foreign travel	73%	63%	70%
No experience of foreign travel	27%	35%	30%

For Respondents Who Have Been Abroad, Where?

Other Caribbean Islands	48%	20%	52%
Nevis:	1%	--	--
Canada:	3%	1%	3%
United States:	8%	3%	9%
Britain:	7%	3%	8%
More than one Metropolitan Country:	6%	3%	7%
World Traveller:	1%	1%	1%

Number of Respondents with Family Members Abroad

Family abroad:	95%	91%	83%
No family abroad:	5%	8%	17%

III. Economic Impact of Tourism. Dependent Variables

	<u>Agreement</u>		<u>Response</u>	<u>Disagreement</u>	
	<u>Strong</u>	<u>Mild</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Mild</u>	<u>Strong</u>
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Tourism has made land in this area dear:</u>					
Group 1:	47%	15%	8%	7%	24%
Group 2:	34%	25%	9%	9%	23%
Group 3:	41%	16%	18%	4%	21%

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Strong 5
<u>Tourism has made a nice little house cost more*</u>					
Group 1:	45%	12%	11%	9%	24%
Group 2:	36%	27%	7%	9%	20%
Group 3:	36%	13%	23%	5%	24%
<u>Food is more dear now because of tourists*</u>					
Group 1:	34%	13%	9%	8%	38%
Group 2:	34%	7%	16%	20%	23%
Group 3:	32%	12%	13%	4%	40%
<u>Electricity and water are more dear now because of tourists</u>					
Group 1:	20%	14%	13%	7%	47%
Group 2:	19%	5%	21%	9%	47%
Group 3:	18%	4%	24%	9%	45%
<u>Luxuries cost less now because of tourists</u>					
Group 1:	19%	3%	19%	5%	55%
Group 2:	23%	2%	33%	9%	33%
Group 3:	10%	5%	32%	9%	44%
<u>Response to claim that it costs less now to hire a man than before</u>					
Group 1:	10%	4%	6%	9%	71%
Group 2:	14%	2%	2%	7%	74%
Group 3:	8%	5%	10%	11%	67%
<u>Response to claim that people get better wages now than before tourism began</u>					
Group 1:	43%	16%	7%	6%	28%
Group 2:	47%	16%	--	5%	33%
Group 3:	48%	15%	6%	5%	25%

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<u>Response to claim that land and house taxes are not too high now because the hotels give the government lots of money</u>					
Group 1:	10%	4%	35%	11%	39%
Group 2:	16%	7%	40%	16%	21%
Group 3:	6%	4%	51%	9%	30%

<u>Response to claim that taxis have increased in price because of tourists</u>					
Group 1:	82%	5%	5%	4%	4%
Group 2:	84%	3%	5%	5%	5%
Group 3:	80%	6%	7%	2%	6%

<u>Response to claim that buses have increased in price because of the tourists</u>					
Group 1	23%	8%	8%	10%	51%
Group 2	31%	7%	10%	10%	43%
Group 3:	30%	9%	15%	6%	39

<u>Response to claim that the casino at Jack Tar brings much money to the island**</u>					
Group 1:	46%	7%	48%	8%	22%
Group 2:	39%	5%	39%	5%	12%
Group 3:	52%	10%	27%	6%	

<u>Response to claim that the tourists at Jack Tar do much economic good for the island</u>					
Group 1:	47%	14%	15%	4%	19%
Group 2:	36%	17%	26%	2%	19%
Group 3:	46%	19%	18%	--	18%

#### IV. Cultural/Social Impacts of Tourism. Dependent Variables

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<u>Response to claim that there is more crime now because of tourists</u>					
Group 1:	19%	4%	9%	10%	58%
Group 2:	18%	3%	14%	11%	55%
Group 3:	15%	4%	13%	10%	58%

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Response to claim that tourists and the nature of the work in the business is bad for families</u>					
Group 1:	9%	7%	9%	8%	66%
Group 2:	8%	4%	17%	8%	63%
Group 3:	4%	4%	5%	10%	77%

	Yes	No	Don't Know
<u>Is your family troubled by tourists?*</u>			
Group 1:	1%	99%	--
Group 2:	1%	99%	--
Group 3:	7%	93%	7%

<u>Has the way you play/have fun changed because of what you see tourists do when at play?</u>			
Group 1:	14%	86%	--
Group 2:	14%	84%	2%
Group 3:	9%	91%	-

<u>Has tourism made any changes to your village?</u>			
Group 1:	26%	73%	1%
Group 2:	23%	77%	--
Group 3:	23%	75%	2%

	Better	Worse	Don't Know
<u>If tourism has made changes to your village, have they been for better or for worse?</u>			
Group 1:	93%	4%	4%
Group 2:	90%	--	10%
Group 3:	80%	16%	4%



	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Do you think that tourism is being developed in a different way now than before?</u>				
Group 1:	70%	17%	8%	6%
Group 2:	70%	16%	10%	5%
Group 3:	13%	63%	16%	9%

	Better	Worse	Don't Know
<u>If yes, for better or for worse?</u>			
Group 1:	55%	35%	10%
Group 2:	52%	36%	12%
Group 3:	64%	24%	12%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are the police nicer now than since tourism began?</u>				
Group 1:	18%	52%	22%	8%
Group 2:	15%	74%	11%	--
Group 3:	13%	66%	21%	--

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Do Police treat tourists any different from locals?***</u>				
Group 1:	69%	24%	7%	1%
Group 2:	58%	37%	2%	2%
Group 3:	40%	39%	19%	2

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are there more police now because tourists break many laws?</u>				
Group 1:	9%	82%	8%	1%
Group 2:	7%	89%	5%	--
Group 3:	8%	73%	17%	1%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Do tourists make locals act any different?</u>				
Group 1:	50%	49%	1%	--
Group 2:	52%	35%	13%	--
Group 3:	53%	34%	13%	--
<u>(If yes) do you care that tourists make locals act different?</u>				
Group 1:	27%	68%	5%	--
Group 2:	40%	45%	15%	--
Group 3:	35%	63%	2%	--
<u>Do you care whether tourists gamble at Jack Tar?</u>				
Group 1:	14%	85%	1%	--
Group 2:	20%	77%	2%	--
Group 3:	27%	71%	2%	--
<u>Would you be happy if the casino at Jack Tar was closed?</u>				
Group 1:	10%	89%	1%	--
Group 2:	27%	70%	2%	--
Group 3:	20%	77%	3%	--
<u>Were you sad when the Royal St. Kitts hotel burnt down?</u>				
Group 1:	79%	17%	4%	--
Group 2:	86%	9%	5%	--
Group 3:	77%	15%	8%	--

**V. Kittitian Views/Impressions of Tourists. Dependent Variables**

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Strong 5
<u>Response to claim that tourists which go around in groups act different than those with only one other person or alone</u>					
Group 1:	52%	6%	9%	4%	29%
Group 2:	59%	--	25%	2%	14%
Group 3:	49%	4%	28%	2%	17%

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Strong 5
<u>Response to claim that Ross University students act just like regular tourists</u>					
Group 1:	9%	6%	33%	15%	37%
Group 2:	12%	5%	26%	9%	49%
Group 3:	8%	4%	56%	7%	25%
<u>Response to claim that single tourists cause less trouble than those in groups</u>					
Group 1:	31%	3%	38%	9%	19%
Group 2:	36%	6%	39%	3%	15%
Group 3:	21%	--	49%	6%	24%
<u>Response to claim that single men tourists cause more trouble than women tourists on the island</u>					
Group 1:	22%	1%	25%	6%	47%
Group 2:	16%	2%	27%	2%	52%
Group 3:	21%	1%	28%	8%	42%
<u>Response to claim that single women tourists cause more trouble than single men tourists on the island</u>					
Group 1:	15%	5%	27%	5%	49%
Group 2:	16%	2%	30%	2%	50%
Group 3:	13%	4%	29%	7%	48%
<u>Response to claim that students from Ross University are not like regular tourists***</u>					
Group 1:	43%	12%	30%	2%	14%
Group 2:	52%	2%	27%	5%	14%
Group 3:	29%	8%	59%	--	4%
<u>Response to claim that all tourists are rich</u>					
Group 1:	4%	3%	5%	4%	84%
Group 2:	9%	2%	--	--	89%
Group 3:	7%	3%	6%	3%	81%

**VI. Environmental Variables. Dependent**

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<u>Response to claim that tourists throw away less rubbish than Kittitians</u>					
Group 1:	51%	5%	14%	5%	25%
Group 2:	48%	7%	14%	2%	30%
Group 3:	37%	13%	19%	6%	26%
<u>Response to claim that traffic on the island is the same as before</u>					
Group 1:	14%	1%	4%	1%	80%
Group 2:	20%	--	--	2%	77%
Group 3:	9%	--	6%	6%	79%
<u>Response to claim that a little rubbish about is ok</u>					
Group 1:	13%	4%	4%	13%	66%
Group 2:	2%	9%	5%	7%	77%
Group 3:	8%	10%	4%	11%	68%

	Worse	Better	No Difference	Don't Know	Refu: Answ
<u>Has tourism made pollution in the island worse or better?</u>					
Group 1:	20%	27%	44%	3%	6%
Group 2:	34%	23%	39%	5%	--
Group 3:	23%	24%	43%	5%	5%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are tourists nice drivers?</u>				
Group 1:	42%	39%	13%	6%
Group 2:	48%	39%	10%	3%
Group 3:	45%	27%	20%	8%

**VII. Kittitian Attitudes to Tourist Activities and Behaviour. Dependent Variable of Assessment**

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Strong 5
<u>Response to claim that most tourists show proper respect for Kittitians</u>					
Group 1:	72%	8%	9%	4%	7%
Group 2:	55%	16%	14%	2%	14%
Group 3:	73%	13%	5%	3%	7%
<u>Response to claim that most tourists are kind of stupid</u>					
Group 1:	12%	6%	11%	10%	61%
Group 2:	16%	9%	11%	9%	55%
Group 3:	7%	8%	9%	5%	71%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are tourists nice and polite to you?</u>				
Group 1:	83%	5%	7%	6%
Group 2:	91%	7%	--	2%
Group 3:	81%	6%	5%	8%
<u>Are Ross University students nice and polite to you?</u>				
Group 1:	44%	9%	42%	6%
Group 2:	55%	9%	36%	--
Group 3:	22%	5%	67%	--

\*Significant at a confidence interval of 95%

\*\*Significant at 97%

\*\*\*Significant at 99%

## APPENDIX IV-VIII

### Variations in Patterns of Response, Sorted by Classification of Location of Principal Residence of Respondents in Reference to Zone of Host-Tourist Interaction. Survey 1

#### System of Classification used to Designate Individual Residences in Reference to of Interaction

**Within Zone:** Residences located at a major focus of tourism activity

**Peripheral:** Near big attractions but removed from view of tourists at play

**Removed:** Away from tourist attractions and places they often pass through

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	Within	Peripheral	Removed
Frequency Distribution of Respondents	11%	16%	73%

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#### II. Socioeconomic Variables. Independent

##### Sex of Respondents

Male	52%	63%	54%
Female	48%	37%	46%
Unknown	--	--	1%

##### Age of Respondents

Less than 30	41%	61%	45%
30-50	24%	21%	32%
More than 50	34%	19%	23%

##### Educational Attainment of Respondents (years)

0	21%	18%	9%
1-8	21%	23%	20%
9-14	42%	45%	56%
15+	17%	15%	15%

##### Proportion of Respondents Active in Tourism Industry

Active:	50%	37%	20%
Inactive:	50%	63%	80%

##### Number of Persons in Immediate Family Employed in Tourism Industry

0	69%	69%	79%
1	21%	29%	20%
2+	10%	2%	1%

.../II

**Within Peripheral Removed**

Number of Dependents. Respondents

0.	36%	47%	24%
1-2:	40%	25%	34%
3-5:	20%	25%	31%
6+:	4%	3%	11%

Experience of Foreign Travel Amongst Respondents\*\*

Experience of foreign travel	84%	74%	68%
No experience of foreign travel	16%	26%	32%

For Respondents Who Have Been Abroad. Where?

Other Caribbean Islands:	55%	33%	47%
Nevis.	--	--	1%
Canada	--	9%	2%
United States	17%	9%	6%
Britain:	4%	10%	7%
More than one Metropolitan			
Country:	7%	10%	5%
World Traveller:	4%	2%	1%

Number of Respondents with Family Abroad\*

Family Abroad:	83%	74%	68%
No Family Abroad:	14%	26%	32%

**III. Economic Impact of Tourism. Dependent Variables**

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Tourism has made land in this area dear*</u>					
Within Zone	63%	7%	4%	7%	19%
Peripheral	40%	14%	10%	5%	31%
Removed	40%	19%	14%	6%	21%

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Tourism has made a nice little house cost more**</u>					
Within:	55%	--	7%	17%	21%
Peripheral:	40%	19%	7%	2%	31%
Removed:	37%	16%	18%	6%	22%
<u>Food is more dear now because of tourists</u>					
Within:	31%	17%	14%	--	38%
Peripheral:	33%	10%	5%	14%	38%
Removed:	33%	11%	13%	8%	35%
<u>Electricity and water are more dear now because of tourists</u>					
Within:	17%	10%	17%	3%	52%
Peripheral:	18%	13%	8%	13%	50%
Removed:	19%	7%	22%	8%	45%
<u>Luxuries cost less now because of tourists</u>					
Within:	14%	4%	25%	4%	54%
Peripheral:	23%	3%	15%	5%	55%
Removed:	14%	4%	30%	9%	43%
<u>Response to claim that it costs less now to hire a man than before</u>					
Within:	7%	11%	7%	4%	71%
Peripheral:	10%	3%	--	15%	72%
Removed:	10%	3%	9%	9%	69%
<u>Response to claim that people get better wages now than before tourism began</u>					
Within:	59%	10%	7%	--	24%
Peripheral:	44%	17%	5%	5%	29%
Removed:	44%	17%	5%	6%	27%



	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<u>Response to claim that land and house taxes are not too high now because the hotels give the government lots of money</u>					
Within:	11%	4%	43%	4%	39%
Peripheral.	14%	6%	36%	11%	33%
Removed:	9%	5%	44%	13%	30%
<u>Response to claim that taxis have increased in price because of tourists</u>					
Within:	71%	7%	7%	4%	11%
Peripheral.	90%	5%	3%	3%	--
Removed	81%	4%	7%	4%	5%
<u>Response to claim that buses have increased in price because of the tourists</u>					
Within:	30%	4%	11%	11%	44%
Peripheral.	26%	8%	10%	8%	49%
Removed	28%	9%	12%	8%	43%
<u>Response to claim that the casino at Jack Tar brings much money to the island</u>					
Within:	44%	4%	15%	15%	22%
Peripheral.	43%	5%	24%	3%	24%
Removed	49%	9%	28%	6%	9%
<u>Response to claim that the tourists at Jack Tar do much economic good for the island</u>					
Within:	62%	4%	12%	4%	19%
Peripheral.	47%	13%	18%	5%	16%
Removed.	41%	19%	19%	1%	19%

IV. Cultural/Social Impacts of Tourism. Dependent Variables

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<u>Response to claim that there is more crime now because of tourists</u>					
Within:	28%	4%	7%	4%	59%
Peripheral:	17%	7%	12%	7%	56%
Removed:	16%	3%	12%	12%	58%

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	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Response to claim that tourists and the nature of the work in the business is bad for families</u>					
Within:	8%	8%	8%	4%	72%
Peripheral:	5%	2%	12%	10%	71%
Removed:	7%	5%	9%	9%	70%

	Yes	No	Don't Know
<u>Is your family troubled by tourists?</u>			
Within:	--	100%	--
Peripheral:	--	100%	--
Removed:	3%	97%	--

<u>Has the way you play/have fun changed because of what you see tourists do when at play?</u>			
Within:	7%	93%	--
Peripheral:	20%	81%	--
Removed:	11%	89%	1%

<u>Has tourism made any changes to your village?</u>			
Within:	31%	69%	--
Peripheral:	29%	69%	2%
Removed:	22%	77%	1%

	Better	Worse	Don't Know
<u>If tourism has made changes to your village, have they been for better or for worse?</u>			
Within:	100%	--	--
Peripheral:	83%	9%	9%
Removed:	85%	10%	6%

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	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Do you think that tourism is being developed in a different way now than before?</u>				
Within:	79%	7%	7%	7%
Peripheral:	9%	65%	16%	9%
Removed:	9%	65%	18%	8%

	Better	Worse	Don't Know
<u>If no, for better or for worse?</u>			
Within:	61%	30%	9%
Peripheral:	47%	33%	20%
Removed:	60%	30%	10%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are the police nicer now than since tourism began?</u>				
Within:	6%	67%	22%	6%
Peripheral:	20%	60%	16%	4%
Removed:	17%	60%	20%	3%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Do police treat tourists any different from locals?</u>				
Within:	64%	32%	4%	--
Peripheral:	67%	29%	2%	2%
Removed:	51%	34%	14%	2%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are there more police now because tourists break many laws?</u>				
Within:	8%	81%	8%	4%
Peripheral:	10%	86%	5%	--
Removed:	8%	78%	13%	1%

.../VII

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Do tourists make locals act any different?</u>				
Within:	63%	38%	--	--
Peripheral:	45%	55%	--	--
Removed:	52%	37%	11%	--
<u>(If yes) do you care that tourists make locals act different?</u>				
Within:	31%	63%	6%	--
Peripheral:	28%	64%	8%	--
Removed:	33%	62%	4%	--
<u>Do you care whether tourists gamble at Jack Tar?</u>				
Within:	17%	83%	--	--
Peripheral:	17%	83%	--	--
Removed:	22%	76%	2%	--
<u>Would you be happy if the casino at Jack Tar was closed?</u>				
Within:	10%	90%	--	--
Peripheral:	15%	85%	--	--
Removed:	19%	79%	3%	--
<u>Were you sad when the Royal St. Kitts hotel burnt down?</u>				
Within:	79%	14%	7%	--
Peripheral:	78%	20%	2%	--
Removed:	80%	14%	7%	--

#### V. Kittitian Views/Impressions of Tourists. Dependent Variables

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<u>Response to claim that tourists which go around in groups act different than those with only one other person or alone</u>					
Within:	48%	3%	7%	4%	38%
Peripheral:	56%	5%	10%	2%	27%
Removed:	52%	4%	24%	3%	17%

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	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Stron 5
<u>Response to claim that Ross University students act just like regular tourists</u>					
Within:	14%	4%	29%	4%	50%
Peripheral:	5%	8%	31%	18%	38%
Removed:	10%	4%	46%	10%	30%
<u>Response to claim that single tourists cause less trouble than those in groups</u>					
Within:	37%	--	26%	5%	32%
Peripheral:	35%	4%	38%	10%	14%
Removed:	25%	2%	47%	6%	20%
<u>Response to claim that single men tourists cause more trouble than women tourists on the island</u>					
Within:	21%	--	18%	7%	54%
Peripheral:	22%	--	20%	10%	49%
Removed:	20%	2%	30%	5%	43%
<u>Response to claim that single women tourists cause more trouble than single men tourists on the island</u>					
Within:	17%	--	28%	7%	48%
Peripheral:	22%	7%	24%	5%	42%
Removed:	12%	4%	29%	5%	50%
<u>Response to claim that students from Ross University are not like regular tourists</u>					
Within:	41%	7%	31%	--	21%
Peripheral:	49%	12%	27%	5%	7%
Removed:	36%	8%	47%	1%	9%
<u>Response to claim that all tourists are rich</u>					
Within:	7%	--	14%	4%	76%
Peripheral:	5%	5%	--	3%	88%
Removed:	7%	3%	4%	3%	84%

**VI. Environmental Variables. Dependent**

	Agreement Strong 1	Mild 2	Response Neutral 3	Disagreement Mild 4	Strong 5
<u>Response to claim that tourists throw away less rubbish than Kittitians</u>					
Within:	66%	4%	10%	7%	14%
Peripheral:	49%	10%	17%	--	24%
Removed:	40%	9%	17%	6%	29%
<u>Response to claim that traffic on the island is the same as before</u>					
Within:	14%	4%	7%	--	76%
Peripheral:	20%	--	--	3%	78%
Removed:	12%	--	4%	4%	80%
<u>Response to claim that a little rubbish about is ok</u>					
Within:	18%	4%	7%	4%	68%
Peripheral:	15%	2%	--	17%	66%
Removed:	6%	9%	4%	11%	70%

	Worse	Better	No Difference	Don't Know	Refu: Answ
<u>Has tourism made pollution on the island worse or better?***</u>					
Within:	14%	55%	31%	--	--
Peripheral:	30%	14%	47%	5%	5%
Removed:	23%	22%	44%	5%	6%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are tourists nice drivers?</u>				
Within:	53%	36%	12%	--
Peripheral:	43%	40%	12%	5%
Removed:	42%	32%	19%	7%

**VII. Kittitian Attitudes to Tourist Activities and Behaviour. Dependent Variable: of Assessment**

	Agreement		Response	Disagreement	
	Strong	Mild	Neutral	Mild	Strong
	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Response to claim that most tourists show proper respect for Kittitians</u>					
Within:	79%	4%	7%	4%	7%
Peripheral:	73%	10%	5%	3%	10%
Removed:	67%	13%	9%	3%	8%
<u>Response to claim that most tourists are kind of stupid</u>					
Within:	4%	7%	10%	3%	76%
Peripheral:	17%	10%	12%	5%	56%
Removed:	10%	7%	10%	9%	64%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Refuse Answer
<u>Are tourists nice and polite to you?</u>				
Within:	93%	--	7%	--
Peripheral:	86%	5%	5%	5%
Removed:	81%	7%	5%	7%
<u>Are Ross University students nice and polite to you?</u>				
Within:	48%	10%	41%	--
Peripheral:	47%	7%	42%	--
Removed:	32%	7%	55%	6%

\*Significant at a confidence interval of 95%.

\*\*Significant at 97%

\*\*\*Significant at 99%

## Appendix IV-IX

### Variations in Patterns of Response, Sorted by Overall Tone of Respondents' Interview Schedules

#### Explanation of Nomenclature

- Positive:** Interview schedules with responses to open-ended questions that imply overall satisfaction with tourism on St. Kitts.
- Negative:** Interview schedules with responses to open-ended questions that imply significant overall dissatisfaction with tourism on St. Kitts.
- Ambivalent:** Interview schedules with responses to open-ended questions that manifest symptoms of both satisfaction and dissatisfaction and/or apathy with tourism.
- Suboptimal:** Interview schedules of respondents whose interviews were terminated in light of signs of intoxication, emotional instability, threatening gestures/verbal abuse etc.

	Positive	Negative	Ambivalent	Suboptimal Respondent
Frequency Distribution of Respondents	71%	5%	18%	5%

#### Independent Variables

##### Sex of Respondents

Male:	72%	6%	18%	4%
Female:	69%	4%	20%	7%

##### Age of Respondents

Less than 30:	70%	5%	22%	3%
30-50:	77%	3%	15%	5%
More than 50:	67%	10%	16%	8%

##### Educational Attainment of Respondents (years)

0:	63%	8%	25%	4%
1-8:	66%	10%	22%	2%
9-14:	76%	4%	15%	4%
15+:	81%	3%	16%	--

##### Number of Dependents:

0:	79%	7%	11%	3%
1:	67%	8%	17%	8%
2:	70%	5%	22%	3%
3+:	68%	5%	21%	5%



	Positive	Negative	Ambivalent	Suboptimal Respondent
<u>Respondents with Family Abroad</u>				
Family abroad:	74%	4%	17%	5%
No Family abroad:	50%	14%	29%	7%
<u>Experience of Foreign Travel Amongst Respondents</u>				
Experience of foreign travel	77%	4%	14%	5%
No Experience of foreign travel	58%	8%	29%	5%
<u>Respondents Active in Tourism Industry</u>				
Active:	87%	3%	7%	3%
Inactive:	66%	6%	22%	6%
<u>Proportion of Income Derived from Tourism</u>				
0:	63%	7%	25%	6%
More than 0, less than 25%	87%	1%	7%	4%
More than 25, less than 50%	--	--	--	--
50% or more	91%	4%	4%	--
<u>Number of Family Members in Industry</u>				
0:	66%	6%	22%	6%
1:	69%	4%	6%	2%
2+:	88%	5%	5%	2%
<u>Relation to Zone of Tourism Interaction</u>				
Within Zone:	83%	3%	14%	--
Peripheral to Zone:	74%	5%	16%	5%
Removed from Zone:	69%	6%	20%	6%
<u>Distance from Zone of Interaction</u>				
Less than 1 kilometre	70%	6%	19%	6%
More than 1, less than 5 kilometres	75%	9%	16%	--
5 kilometres or more	71%	3%	19%	6%

## APPENDIX V.

### INTERVIEW SCHEDULE. VISITORS' IMPRESSIONS AND EXPERIENCES

#### OF DESTINATION AREA. ST. KITTS

##### I. Spatial Variables. Independent

1. Country of origin of respondent

\_\_\_\_\_ United States  
\_\_\_\_\_ Canada  
\_\_\_\_\_ United Kingdom  
\_\_\_\_\_ Caribbean  
\_\_\_\_\_ Other European  
\_\_\_\_\_ Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

2. Location of residence on St. Kitts

Fairview Inn \_\_\_\_\_  
Frigate Bay Beach \_\_\_\_\_  
Jack Tar Village \_\_\_\_\_  
OTI \_\_\_\_\_  
Rawlins \_\_\_\_\_  
Golden Lemon \_\_\_\_\_  
Private Home \_\_\_\_\_  
Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

i. Within zone of interaction \_\_\_\_\_

ii. Peripheral to zone of interaction \_\_\_\_\_

iii. Removed from zone of interaction \_\_\_\_\_

---

##### II. Socioeconomic Variables. Independent

1. Sex of Respondent \_\_\_\_\_

2. Age of Respondent \_\_\_\_\_ Less than 30 \_\_\_\_\_ 30-50 \_\_\_\_\_ 50+ \_\_\_\_\_

3. Occupation of Respondent \_\_\_\_\_

4. First trip abroad? \_\_\_\_\_ if no, where else have you travelled to? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

5. First visit to St. Kitts? \_\_\_\_\_ if no, how many times have you been here before? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Have you relatives and/or friends who have visited St Kitts in the past? \_\_\_\_\_  
if yes, details, please \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
7. What is your approximate annual family income, GROSS, rather than NET of tax?
- |       |                               |
|-------|-------------------------------|
| _____ | LESS THAN \$20,000 or £13,000 |
| _____ | LESS THAN \$40,000 or £25,000 |
| _____ | LESS THAN \$60,000 or £40,000 |
| _____ | OVER \$60,000 or £40,000      |

(Be sure to specify C\$, US\$, UK£, EC\$, TT\$ or whatever)

### III. Itinerate Details of Holiday

1. How long have you been on the island? \_\_\_\_\_
2. How long do you plan to stay? \_\_\_\_\_
3. How many people are in your party?
- |       |                 |
|-------|-----------------|
| _____ | Alone           |
| _____ | With one other  |
| _____ | With family     |
| _____ | Organised Group |
4. What/where have you visited since your arrival?
- |                 |       |
|-----------------|-------|
| Basseterre      | _____ |
| Batik Factory   | _____ |
| Brimstone Fort  | _____ |
| Dieppe Bay      | _____ |
| Circum-Island   | _____ |
| Tour            | _____ |
| Nevis           | _____ |
| Rainforest      | _____ |
| Other (specify) | _____ |
| Nothing         | _____ |

.../III

5. What/where do you plan to visit before the end of your holiday in St Kitts?

Basseterre \_\_\_\_\_  
 Batik Factory \_\_\_\_\_  
 Brimstone Hill \_\_\_\_\_  
 Circum-Island \_\_\_\_\_  
 Dieppe Bay \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nevis \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rainforest \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nothing \_\_\_\_\_  
 Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

6 How do you get about whilst on St Kitts?

\_\_\_\_\_ Taxi  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Hotel Shuttle Bus  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Rental Car  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Other Rental  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Local Bus  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Foot  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Other (specify)  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Have not done so

#### IV. Tourists' Experiences and Impressions of Host Population. Dependent

1. Did you find Customs and Immigrations officials pleasant and proper upon your arrival on St. Kitts? YES NO

(if no), specify \_\_\_\_\_

2 Have the police proven helpful and pleasant to you? \_\_\_\_\_

No opportunity to observe \_\_\_\_\_

3. What about the island taxi service, have you found it satisfactory? YES NO

(if no) specify \_\_\_\_\_

4. Have the staff at your hotel proven adequate in every way? YES NO

(if no) in what way are they unacceptable? \_\_\_\_\_

5. Have you had an opportunity to meet any Kittitians outside of your hotel complex or the shops? YES NO

(if yes) what are your impressions of them? \_\_\_\_\_

6. Do any specific groups of Kittitians appear more friendly than others? YES NO

(if yes) which ones? \_\_\_\_\_

7. Prices for many items on St Kitts are high by North American or European standards, but do you feel that you have been overcharged deliberately for anything since your arrival here? YES NO

(if yes) what/details \_\_\_\_\_

8. Do Kittitians appear to know how to make proper change? \_\_\_\_\_

9. Are all Kittitians well behaved, well mannered, and pleasant around you? YES NO

(if no) who causes problems? \_\_\_\_\_

**V. Attitudes of Tourist to Physical Environment of Destination Area.**  
**Dependent**

1. Do you find St. Kitts to be clean and pleasant everywhere? YES NO

.../V

2. How does the rest of the island compare with the Frigate Bay area? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3. Is the scenery what you expected? \_\_\_\_\_ YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO

Do you find it pleasant? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

4. Are the beaches as attractive as you expected? \_\_\_\_\_ YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO

Are the facilities at your hotel/plantation satisfactory? \_\_\_\_\_ YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO

(if not) in what way are they unsatisfactory? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

6. Are Kittitians nice and courteous drivers? \_\_\_\_\_ YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO

(if no) what might be done to improve the situation? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

7. What aspect of the island do you find the most pleasant/attractive? \_\_\_\_\_ 3

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

8. What aspect of the island do you find to be the least pleasant/attractive? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**V. Spatial Variable. Impressions/Attitudes of Tourists to Hosts**

**Question intended for those who have indicated that they have made excursions outside of the Frigate Bay area.**

1. Do you find--from what you have seen--that Kittitians treat you in a different way when you venture beyond the usual tourist haunts? YES NO

(if yes) how? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**VI. Tourists' Self-Appraisal of the Impact of their own Activities upon St. Kitts**

1. What benefit have you brought to St. Kitts by your visit? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

2. Do you think that any aspect of your presence here--as a tourist--might be in any way troublesome to Kittitians? YES NO

(if yes) what? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3. From what you have seen, how would you asses the importance of tourism for the local economy?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ Vital  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ Important  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ Significant  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ Little Import.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ Don't Know

4. Have you gambled at Jack Tar, personally? YES NO

(if yes) may I as how you fared? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

5. Do you think that tourism is of benefit to the majority of Kittitians? YES NO

**VII. General Comments**

1. In general, are you happy with your holiday here on St. Kitts? YES NO

2. Would you return to the island if present conditions continued? YES NO

3. If you were to rate the island on a scale of 1 to 10, what would you give it? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

4. If you could change anything on the island--to make it more pleasant for you--what would it be be?

5. What do you think of the quality of shopping and handicrafts on the island?

- 5b. What have you purchased/what do you plan to purchase while here on St. Kitts?

6. What was the approximate cost of your holiday here, please? US\$            \*NIGHTS             
C\$            \*NIGHTS             
£            \*NIGHTS             
EC\$            \*NIGHTS             
Bols            \*NIGHTS             
Other (Specify)            \*NIGHTS

.../VIII



Are you here Modified American Plan (MAP) or Full American Plan (AP)? \_\_\_\_\_

8. Would you enjoy a free night, so that you might venture into town for supper, without foregoing a prepaid meal?

---

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- 9 Have you any final comments? \_\_\_\_\_

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5

## Appendix VI

### Mail-in Questionnaire Survey II

PLEASE COMPLETE THIS LITTLE FORM AT THE CONCLUSION OF YOUR HOLIDAY AND POST IT TO ME IN THE PROVISIONED ENVELOPE. SHOULD YOU DISCOVER THIS REQUEST--DUSTY AND FORGOTTEN-- AFTER YOU RETURN HOME, PLEASE MAIL IT TO: RAYMOND KNOCK,

4952 CHEMIN DE LA REINE MARIE,  
APP. 39,

MONTREAL, QUEBEC, CANADA, H3M 1X2,

--IF YOU ENCLOSE YOUR ADDRESS I WILL RETURN THE COST OF POSTAGE TO YOU.

WHILST IN ST. KITTS DID YOU VISIT:

<input type="checkbox"/>	BASSETTERRE
<input type="checkbox"/>	BATIK FACTORY
<input type="checkbox"/>	BLACK ROCKS
<input type="checkbox"/>	BRINSTONE HILL
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DIEPPE BAY
<input type="checkbox"/>	MOUNT LIANUIGA/MOUNT MISERY
<input type="checkbox"/>	NEVIS
<input type="checkbox"/>	RAINFOREST
<input type="checkbox"/>	NONE OF THE ABOVE

OTHER, PLEASE SPECIFY \_\_\_\_\_

WHILST IN ST. KITTS DID YOU TAKE A TOUR AROUND THE ISLAND? YES NO

THANK YOU VERY MUCH INDEED FOR YOUR KIND COOPERATION, HAPPY HOLIDAYS!

*Raymond B. Knock*

## Appendix VII

### Frequency Distributions of Responses, Survey II

#### I. Spatial Variables, Independent

<u>Country of Origin</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>
United States	44	52%
Canada	26	31%
Venezuela	7	8%
Other Caribbean	2	2%
Germany	2	2%
Denmark	1	1%
Norway	1	1%
United Kingdom	1	1%

<u>Place of Residence on St. Kitts</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Jack Tar Holiday Village	74	87%
Private Home	5	6%
Ocean Terrace Inn	3	4%
Frigate Beach Hotel	2	2%
Rawlins Plantation	1	1%

<u>Relationship to Zone of Interaction</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Within	76	90%
Peripheral	3	4%
Removed	5	6%

---

#### II. Socioeconomic Variables, Independent

<u>Sex of Respondents</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Male	33	39%
Female	52	61%

#### Age of Respondents (Years)

Less than 30	40	47%
30-50	23	27%
Over 50	22	26%

#### First Trip Abroad?

Yes	28	33%
No	57	67%

**First Visit to St. Kitts?**

	<b><u>Count</u></b>	<b><u>Percent</u></b>
Yes	74	87%
No	11	13%

**Have You Relatives/Friends who have visited St. Kitts?**

Yes	23	27%
No	62	73%

**Approximate Annual Family Income of Respondents (Converted to US\$)**

Less than 15,000	3	4%
15,000-30,000	15	19%
30,000-45,000	22	29%
45,000-60,000	12	16%
60,000-75,000	10	13%
75,000-90,000	12	16%
More than 90,000	3	4%
No Answer	7	8%

**III. Logistical Details of Holiday**

**How long have you been on the island?**

Less than 3 days	8	9%
4-5 days	3	4%
6-7 days	46	54%
8-9 days	21	25%
10-14 days	1	1%
More than 14 days	6	7%

**How much longer do you plan to stay on the island?**

Less than 3 days	65	77%
4-5 days	4	5%
6-7 days	7	8%
8-9 days	6	7%
More than 10 days	2	2%

.../III

<u>How many people are in your party?</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 only	9	11%
2	55	66%
3	4	5%
4	1	1%
5	1	1%
6	1	1%

What/where visited during stay on the island (completed with mail-in portion of interview schedule, Appendix

Frigate Bay	85	100%
Basseterre	65	76%
Batik Factory	56	66%
Brimstone Fortress	55	65%
Circum-Island Tour	50	59%
Dieppe Bay	35	41%
Black Rocks	34	40%
Rainforest Excursion	16	19%
Nothing (Except Frigate Bay)	12	14%
Nevis	11	13%
Mount Liamuiga Excursion	6	7%
Southeastern Penninsula	6	7%
Rawlins and other Plantations	2	2%

Mode of Transport whilst on the island

Taxi	41	49%
Hotel Shuttle Bus	21	25%
Have Not Moved About	7	8%
Local Transportation System	6	7%
Rental Car	3	4%
Foot	3	4%
Wee Scooters	2	2%

IV. Tourists' Experiences/Views of Hosts. Dependent Variables

Immigration and Customs Pleasant and Proper?

Yes	76	92%
No	7	8%

**Have the Police been Helpful and Pleasant?**

	<b><u>Count</u></b>	<b><u>Percent</u></b>
No opportunity to observe	60	72%
Yes	22	27%
No	1	1%

**Is the Taxi Service Satisfactory in every way?**

Yes	57	67%
No	12	14%
No taxi taken/no answer	16	22%

**Is the Staff at your Hotel Adequate in every way?**

Yes	76	97%
No	2	3%
Question not applicable	7	--

**Have you had an opportunity to meet Kittitians outside of the hotel complex and the shops?**

Yes	41	49%
No	43	51%

**(If Yes) What are your impressions of them?**

Very friendly and hospitable (or similar)	30	73%
Polite and respectful (or similar)	4	10%
Cannot generalise	6	14%
Impolite racist remark (uttered by a most offensive immigrant to Canada)	1	2%

**(If yes) Do some groups of Kittitians appear more friendly than others?**

Yes	5	10%
No	47	90%

**Do you feel that you have been overcharged for anything over the course of your stay?**

Yes	26	32%
No	51	62%
Nothing purchased by time of interview	5	6%

(Of those who have made purchases)  
Do Kittitians appear to know how to  
make proper change?

	Count	Percent
Yes	74	96%
No	3	4%

Are Kittitians well behaved,  
well mannered and pleasant  
around you?

Yes	80	98%
No	2	2%

---

**V. Attitudes of Tourists to Destination Area Environment. Dependent**

Do you find St. Kitts to be clean  
and Pleasant everywhere you've been?

	Count	Percent
Yes	72	87%
No	11	13%

Do you find the scenery pleasant?

Yes	77	93%
No	6	7%

Are the beaches as attractive as you  
expected?

Yes	67%	80%
No	17	20%

Are the facilities at your hotel/plantation  
satisfactory?

Yes	72	92%
No	3	4%
Question not applicable	6	--

Are Kittitians nice, courteous drivers?

Yes	68	92%
No	6	8%

.../VI

Count

Percent

**What aspect of the island do you find the most pleasant/attractive?**

Sea/Beach	23	31%
Scenery	19	25%
People	8	11%
Hotel facilities	9	12%
Tranquility/Slow pace of Island	7	9%
Culture of island	3	4%
Weather	3	4%
Architecture of hotel	2	3%
Free liquor at hotel	1	1%

**What aspect of the island do you find the least pleasant/attractive?**

Nothing	33	40%
Poverty	16	20%
Beach	10	12%
Housing conditions	5	6%
Sewage in streets	5	6%
Shopping	4	5%
Food Preparation (poor hygienic conditions)	3	4%
Venezuelan tourists	3	4%
Gay and lesbian tourists	1	1%

**V. Tourist-Host Attitudes. Spatial Variables (asked of those who had made unescorted excursions outside of Frigate Bay area)**

Count

Percent

**Do you find that Kittitians treat you in a different way when you venture beyond usual tourist haunts?**

Yes	8	14%
No	45	79%
Cannot say	4	7%



**VI. Tourists' Assessments of the Impact of their Activities upon St. Kitts**

	Count	Percent
<b><u>What benefit have you brought by your visit?</u></b>		
Money	38	46%
Smile	16	19%
Nothing	16	19%
Employment	8	10%
Culture	5	6%

**Might any aspect of your presence as a tourists be troublesome to Kittitians?**

Yes	13	15%
No	66	79%
Don't know	5	6%

**(if yes) What?**

"Inappropriate dress among some" (et var.)	6	--
"Patterns of conspicuous consumption (et var.)	4	--
"Boisterous Venezuelans" (et var.)	2	--
"Faggots holding hands on the beach, ugh!"	1	--

**How would you assess the importance of tourism for the local economy?**

Vital	35	43%
Important	22	27%
Significant	15	19%
Little importance	6	7%
Don't know	3	4%

**Have you Gambled at Jack Tar?**

Yes	68	82%
No	15	18%

**(If yes) how did you fare?**

Net winner	9	13%
Net loser	51	73%
About even	10	14%

**Do you think that tourism is of benefit to the majority of Kittitians?**

	Count	Percent
Yes	51	61%
No	24	29%
Don't Know	8	10%

**VII. General Comments**

**In general, are you happy with your holiday?**

	Count	Percent
Yes	82	98%
No	2	2%

**Would you return to the island if present conditions continued?**

Yes	65	79%
No	17	21%

**Visitors' Rating of Island, 1-10**

4	3	4%
5	3	4%
6	4	5%
7	14	18%
8	27	34%
9	12	15%
10	17	21%

**Cost of Holiday (US\$)**

Less than 500	6	8%
500-800	9	11%
900-1100	42	53%
1200-1500	9	11%
1600-1900	6	8%
2000+	7	9%

.../IX

Count

Percent

Would you like a free night to venture  
into town for supper?

Yes

42

67%

No

32

43%

---

## Appendix VIII

### Variations in Patterns of Response Between Tourist Types. As Defined By Declared Patterns of Movement Throughout the Island

#### Tourist Types

- Organised Mass Tourists:** Those who remained within the Frigate Bay area for the duration of their stays on the island.
- Individual Mass Tourists:** Those who visited principal tourist attractions but used tourist-oriented modes of transportation such as taxis and minibuses
- Explorer Tourists:** Those who ventured off the beaten track as individuals and made extensive use of non-tourist modes of transportation, such as public bus.
- Others:** Those on the island to visit family/friends specifically.

#### Frequency Distribution

	Frequency	Percent
Organised Mass Tourists	15	18%
Individual Mass Tourists	58	68%
Explorer Tourists	9	11%
Others	3	4%

#### Sex of Respondents

	Male	Female
Organised Mass Tourists	18%	17%
Individual Mass tourists	58%	75%
Explorer Tourists	18%	6%
Others	6%	2%

#### Nationality of Tourists (%)

	Organised	Individual	Explorer	Other
Americans	14%	70%	16%	--
Canadians	12%	77%	8%	4%
Venezuelans	86%	14%	--	--
Germans	--	100%	--	--
Danes	--	100%	--	--
Norwegians	--	100%	--	--
Other Caribbean	--	--	--	100%

#### Previous Experience of Foreign Travel

	Yes	No
Organised Mass Tourists	40%	60%
Individual Mass Tourists	29%	71%
Explorer Tourists	33%	67%
Others	67%	33%

**Previous Visits to St. Kitts**

	Yes	No
Organised Mass Tourists:	87%	13%
Individual Mass Tourists:	91%	9%
Explorer Tourists:	67%	33%
Others:	67%	33%

**Response to Question: "Are the beaches as nice as you expected?"**

Organised Mass Tourists:	57%	43%
Individual Mass Tourists:	86%	14%
Explorer Tourists:	67%	33%
Others:	100%	--

**Response to Question: "Have you gambled at the Casino?"\*\***

Organised Mass Tourists:	69%	31%
Individual Mass Tourists:	90%	10%
Explorer Tourists:	67%	33%
Others:	33%	67%

**Response to Question: "Would you Return to the island if present conditions continued?"\*\*\***

Organised Mass Tourists:	43%	57%
Individual Mass Tourists:	80%	20%
Explorer Tourists:	100%	--
Others:	100%	--

	Nothing	Little	Imports Only	Many Things
<b><u>Response to Question: "What do you plan to buy here?"</u></b>				
Organised Mass Tourists:	56%	25%	13%	--
Individual Mass Tourists:	19%	39%	7%	11%
Explorer Tourists:	11%	56%	11%	--
Others:	33%	33%	33%	--

\*Significant at a 95% interval of confidence with appropriate number of degrees of freedom; assuming that--in this instance--that the Gauss model applies, with no bias, and that the data is distributed normally.

\*\*Significant at 97%.

\*\*\*Significant at 99%.