TOBAGO: THE SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT OF
A CARIBBEAN TOURIST INDUSTRY

by

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Since world war two, tourism has evolved into a major industry within the Caribbean region. This development has not occurred evenly in space, and significant discrepancies in intensity exist among and within the islands. The evolution of the tourism industry on the island of Tobago may be divided into a number of stages, including pre-touristic, early developmental and developmental. These constructs, based on tourist arrival and accommodation data, resemble the earlier phases of the product diffusion 'S'-curve. Each stage is the product of a set of geographical, technological, political, cultural and economic constraints, both internal and external. As these change, the spatial aspects of tourism are also modified. Currently, tourism intensity within Tobago ranges from a pre-tourism construct over most of the island to a developmental resort-oriented region along the west and north-west coastal area. The Scarborough region in contrast suggests a decline phase. Particular stages of tourism development may be associated with certain positive and negative economic, social and environmental impacts. These impacts vary as the geographic setting changes from place to place. In the case of Tobago, a high level of domestic tourism and local control suggests a more positive social and economic impact. However, environmental and aesthetic concerns may arise as current growth rates and patterns continue. A spatial planning policy for Tobago should take into account national developmental priorities and the carrying capacities of specific areas within the island for particular tourist-related land uses. Future growth should be directed for the most part to the Crown Point-Arnos Vale area, Scarborough, and the new Charlotteville-Speyside region. The periphery would be utilised by the tourism industry for such limited activities as hiking and touring. This strategy would contribute to a diversification of touristic opportunities as well as to a limited dispersion of the industry outside of the Crown Point-Arnos Vale area.
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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Tourism constitutes one of the most important economic activities in the world today. In 1976, some 220 million international tourist arrivals were recorded, accounting for expenditures in the magnitude of forty billion dollars (Britton 1979, p.276). Despite this large level of activity, the social sciences have studied the phenomenon of tourism extensively only since the 1960's. This is in part due to the fact that tourism did not appear as such a large-scale activity until the post world war two era. As tourism industries have developed in more and more places during the past two or three decades, the range of economic, social, cultural and environmental impacts has become more apparent. Many of these issues are being addressed by the social sciences, but our understanding of the implications still falls short of that necessary to minimize the detrimental consequences of tourism for a particular area.

The recent development of tourism has been particularly noticeable in many areas of the so-called "developing" world. Because of the often pronounced differences between
the host and guest cultures in these newly affected places, special attention must be accorded to the mechanics and impacts of touristic development in the Third World.

1.1 The Role of Geography in Touristic Studies

The geographic perspective primarily concerns space and landscape. Like the processes of industrialization or urbanization, tourism must be recognized as an important agent of landscape modification, and virtually every aspect of the industry involves the static or dynamic use of space. It is within the scope of geography to describe and explain the unequal spatial development of tourism, whether the scale is global, regional, national or local. The geographer seeks patterns and explores spatial relationships, and attempts through the examination of the specific to generate models which are universally applicable.

A more suitable range of developmental alternatives in tourism is made available to places where a comprehensive survey of local variables (climate, topography, cultural traits, etc.) has been undertaken. The regional geographer is perhaps best qualified to catalogue and synthesize these influences, thereby assisting in the identification of those areas which are conducive to varying intensities of tourism development, as well as those areas which are sensitive to virtually any sort of intervention.
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The more specific aspects of tourism which are relevant to geographic research are numerous and varied. Within the broad field of economic geography, possible avenues of investigation include the location of touristic facilities, the movements of tourists as functions of monetary constraints and the utilization of natural resources by tourism. The cultural geographer on the other hand may be more concerned with the effects of tourism on the traditions of host populations, and the extent to which these diminish as one moves away from the centres of intensive tourist activity. Other research thrusts include the role of tourism in development, and more specifically in reducing regional disparities, the delineation and description of touristic landscapes, the effect of political boundaries upon development, and the impact of tourism upon other forms of land use, such as agriculture. Many of these avenues may be useful in the formulation of a regional and national planning policy. These few examples serve to suggest the diversity of research avenues, though all are related in emphasizing the spatial perspective.

1.2 Review of the Literature.

As early as the 1930's, tourism was recognized by some geographers as a significant factor in landscape
modification. Many of these studies were concerned primarily with recreation, and dealt with land use change induced by cottage and other recreation-oriented construction (McMurray 1930). In this context, "recreation" assumes a broader context than "tourism", which usually refers to the activities of non-residents. The actual line between the two terms is vague, and according to Britton, "the absence of a defined and accepted distinction between tourism and recreation is an important conceptual weakness" in the literature (Britton 1979, pp.276-77). The two terms are in fact often employed synonymously, while tourism has sometimes been considered as a sub-category within recreational geography (Britton 1979, p.277).

Studies of tourism during the 1940's and 1950's were primarily descriptive in nature, and considered the growth of resorts and the increasing economic importance of tourism to particular areas. Gilbert (1949), for example, considered the development of Brighton, England, as a resort community. Discussed in the article were the changing spatial patterns and landscapes associated with resort development, and the reasons for these patterns.

For the most part, these early studies were concerned with specific resorts or areas, and little systematic attempt was made to account for touristic differentiation over larger areas, especially complete nations or other political entities. In 1963, Christaller examined the
location of tourism infrastructure in certain parts of Europe, stressing the tendency of tourism to locate in peripheral regions, away from industrial and urban agglomerations:

It is typical for places of tourism to be on the periphery. In this way, regions economically benefit from factors which cannot be utilized otherwise...Hence it now happens that traffic no longer peters out at the periphery. Instead, during certain seasons peripheral places become destinations for traffic...and become seasonal central points (Christaller 1963, p.96).

We are therefore provided with a theoretical base which would help to account for the heavy concentration of the industry along the Riviera and in France's Brittany (to cite the examples utilized by Christaller).

Fussell in 1965 examined the intensity of tourism development along the South Carolinian coast, and in doing so provided a map illustrating different levels of touristic land use (Fussell 1965). Two years later, Ritter described the spatial location of tourism in Israel, providing reasons for these trends (Ritter 1967). In this same work, an attempt was made to identify and differentiate concentrations of tourism in Israel, and to define the concept of "tourist region" in general:
A tourist region might be geographically defined as an area of some attraction where all or the majority of settlements engage in the tourist industry. There may be one place in a leading position as a tourist centre. An isolated resort would be a settlement engaging in tourism, whose neighbours, if any, do not follow the example (Ritter 1967, p.176).

Ritter's work was one of the first to describe the growth of tourism in a less developed context. Previous studies were seen to deal primarily with resorts and peripheries in Europe and North America, rather than with the world periphery, consisting of the so-called developing countries within Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. One work which did consider such a region is offered by Pearson, who described the tourist regions of Jamaica (Pearson 1957). The author offered several reasons for the evolution and location of tourist facilities at Kingston, Mandeville and along the north coast. In addition, Pearson suggested that different types of tourist patronized each of these regions, depending on whether a particular type preferred either an urban setting, mountain resort conditions, or beach and sun amenities (Pearson 1957, p.22).

There appears to be a modest amount of literature dealing with the actual morphology of resort and tourist areas, and few authors in the past have considered the
processes whereby destination areas evolve temporally through a number of stages or phases. Christaller (1963) described a "typical course of development" whereby a succession of artists, poets, entrepreneurs and finally the mass tourist patronize and change the face of a tourist-attractive area:

Painters search out untouched unusual places to paint. Step by step the place develops as a so-called artist colony...The place becomes fashionable and the entrepreneur takes note. The fisherman's cottage...become(s) converted into boarding houses and hotels come on the scene. Meanwhile the painters have fled and sought out another periphery...More and more townsmen choose this place, now 'en vogue' and advertised in the newspapers. Subsequently the gourmets, and all those who seek real recreation, stay away. At last the tourist agencies come with their package rate travelling parties; now the indulged public avoids such places. At the same time, in other places the same cycle occurs again; more and more places come into fashion, change their type, turn into everybody's tourist haunt (Christaller 1963, p.103).

In similar vein, Cohen (1972) and Turner and Ash (1975) cite the role of the "explorer" or "drifter" in opening up undeveloped areas to successive touristic intrusions, each of which capitalizes on specific circumstances of the era.

A sort of consensus emerged in the 1960's regarding the conceptual nature of the geography of tourism. Many of the important works in this respect have originated in Europe:
European geographers in the mid-1960s generally agreed that the geography of tourism was mainly concerned with the spatial differentiation of tourism and the recognition of general regularities in its occurrence (Pearce 1979, p.247).

This also involved "an examination of both the ways in which the location and distribution of tourism was influenced by different physical and cultural factors and of the manner in which the landscape was modified by tourist development" (Pearce 1979, p.250).

The conceptual ambiguity and paucity of research which appears to characterize tourism studies in the 1960's reflects the relatively recent character of geography's involvement in tourism. This is due in part to the fact of tourism's rapid growth since 1950, after which the industry began to develop in many areas of the world hitherto unaffected. Britton, however, points out other reasons for the apparent neglect (to a lesser extent even today) of tourism as a subject of geographic investigation (Britton 1979, p.276). Many researchers have been reluctant to study leisure activities in general because of their apparently frivolous character. This bias to deal with "important" issues has perhaps been reinforced by the greater intangibility of tourism and recreational pursuits. In addition, the subject by its nature is multidisciplinary, and the conceptual framework within geography, outside of its spatial perspective, has not been fully developed.
Finally, there is the problem once again of defining just exactly what the concepts of "tourist" and "tourism" entail. It is only in very recent times that any attempt has been made to standardize tourism data among the tourist-receiving destinations. The researcher is therefore handicapped by the paucity of such data and by the lack of standards in collecting and reporting found among the various islands. The Tourism Function Index, cited by Pearce (1979) may represent one attempt to utilize this data in a standard relative way. The Index is essentially a ratio between the resident population and the number of accommodation units on the island. This provides an indication of tourism intensity over the whole area, which may not be apparent from absolute statistics alone.

Many of the earlier works associated with tourism were uncritical of the industry, and failed to take into consideration the possible economic, social, cultural and environmental costs associated with it. One early exception to this is provided by Croker, who in 1950 concluded that few benefits accrued to the peasantry of Canton Graubunden in Switzerland as a result of tourism. Recent research has tended to be more critical, perhaps because tourism in certain places has evolved to a point where greater analysis can be made (Bryden 1973). Some authors, especially in the "developing" world, have approached tourism with an attitude bordering on hostility (Jafari 1976). This is not
surprising in light of the fact that much of tourism's recent growth, with its positive and negative ramifications, has occurred in the poorer areas of the globe.

The recognition of tourism's possible impacts has led to considerable research since the early 1970's into the planning aspects of future tourism development. Recent research avenues in tourism have included the development of methodologies for assessing the potential of tourism in various areas, and for providing a range of options and their consequences (Hall 1974, Butler 1977). Young (1979) considers tourism as an increasingly significant agent of landscape modification, and one which is largely constrained by "the prevailing political-moral ideology" (Young 1979, p.2). This suggests the need for the delineation of tourism planning regions as a means of directing future development of that sector. Pearce recognized that such research would be valuable in identifying new areas suitable for tourism, a function which had hitherto been assumed largely by consulting and development agencies (Pearce 1979, p.250). One recent work of this nature is provided by Young (1980), who has conducted an empirical analysis of Maltese tourism, with emphasis upon the actual and potential spatial distribution of the industry. Such a survey was designed in part to identify those areas where future development would be desirable.
To date only a small number of geographers have attempted to formulate theoretical and conceptual models of tourist space, which may prove to be of value in the practical application of planning techniques. Two of the few examples are provided by Miossec (1976,1977) and Yokeno (1974), English summaries of which are provided by Pearce (1979). Miossec in particular has offered a spatial dynamics model which considers the location of resorts, transport networks, tourist behaviour and attitudes of local decision makers and population (Pearce 1979, p.264). Although the cartographic illustrations are not entirely clear, the model in essence suggests the development of a resort and transportation network hierarchy as tourism expands in an area or region. Concurrently, tourist behaviour changes as visitors become more aware of the new possibilities, leading to re-definitions of Cohen's "tourist space" (Cohen 1979). Certain areas may then be perceived by the local population as touristic, leading to possible zoning regulations and other locally-induced spatial modifications (Pearce 1979, p.262).

Recent investigation into the tourist "cycle" concept may also prove valuable in understanding and predicting the spatial and temporal development of the industry. Perhaps the most recent and clear attempt to describe the touristic cycle is provided by Butler (1980). Butler has proposed an equation of this evolution with the product cycle concept,
Figure 1

Hypothetical Evolution of a Tourist Area

Source: Butler 1980, p. 7
which is expressed by the asymptotic curve (see figure 1). In this model, the cycle commences with the exploration phase, which is commensurate with the process described previously by Christaller. In this phase, "the physical fabric and social milieu would be unchanged by tourism", and no specific facilities would be provided for tourists. As more people are attracted to the area, a local entrepreneurial element will respond to the opportunity provided by these visitors, and a definite trend towards resort definition will arise. In this involvement phase, advertisement and reputation will set the stage for infrastructural improvements and the introduction of outside capital on a larger scale, as diffusion of information attracts even more visitors. In the development stage, tourism becomes a major (if not THE major) local economic sector, and large visitor increments are added to the area each year. There are very noticeable changes in the physical landscape as facilities change to meet the demands of the mass resort tourist. Local involvement in control becomes minor, and some degree of social tension and resentment may be anticipated as the traditional social milieu breaks down in response to the touristic intrusion.

In the consolidation phase, total numbers still increase, although the rate of growth will fall sharply. The area by now is well known in the public's travel consciousness, and tourism with its associated activities
becomes the overwhelmingly dominant activity. As well, diseconomies of scale begin to set in as the resort area becomes aged and overcrowded, and local resentment may reach great proportions. The stagnation phase may then set in as the peak number of visitors is reached, and there is little or no scope left for expansion as negative publicity, bad reputation and a lack of space all become acute problems.

Butler envisages a number of scenarios which may subsequently occur depending on circumstances. In the decline stage, facilities begin to close down as they are no longer economically viable due to the above problems. Many facilities are converted to other purposes, and ironically, the local element may once again dominate as these facilities become affordable. Patronage will increasingly consist of locals, retired individuals and others on a low or fixed income. Eventually the tourist function may cease altogether.

In another scenario, rejuvenation may occur as a result of certain factors. Renewed popularity may result from lower prices, infrastructural improvements, the injection of new government or private capital, or the tapping of new resources.

Butler's cycle must be considered as a generalization at best, and obviously no two studies will display completely similar patterns of growth. However, a valuable paradigm is made available against which specific case
studies may be compared and evaluated. Certain conclusions may be reached where the stages of growth exhibited by one study area coincide in essence with the stages outlined above.

As indicated above, a paucity exists in the literature dealing with the theoretical aspects of tourism as it applies to spatial development and differentiation, as well as to the "cycle" concept. The field is still relatively new therefore, and many research possibilities exist. The geography of tourism is in fact today a very wide-ranging sub-discipline which incorporates numerous research possibilities. The multifarious nature of tourism was recognized by some geographers during the 1970's (Matley 1976, Robinson 1976). Pearce for example stated that tourism extends "beyond the bounds of economic geography to embrace aspects of just about every systematic branch of the discipline" (Pearce 1979, p.248).

The island of Tobago itself has not been considered previously from the stage-cycle or landscape perspective. The present study therefore provides an opportunity to explore these aspects in touristic geography from a number of perspectives, including that of the developing world, the British Caribbean, and the small resource-scarce island entity. These perspectives are especially relevant since one major thrust of research tends to emphasize planning and the creation of tourist plants which contribute to the
positive development of the poorer nations (see Young 1979, above). With such a goal in mind, some insight into the underlying processes and patterns behind tourism may be provided.

1.3 The Study Area

The Caribbean region, incorporating all the islands within the Caribbean Sea, has probably been affected by tourism more than any comparably sized area during the last thirty years. This is largely because of the accessibility of the region to one of the largest tourist-generating markets, North America, and because of the abundant supply and ready availability of natural amenities conducive to tourism development. Since 1964, the growth in the number of tourists has averaged 11.6% per annum, compared to 8.1% in the world as a whole (Pollard 1976, p.50). The absolute number of stopovers has increased 81% between 1970 and 1978, from 3.9 million to seven million (Young 1979). Because of this, there is a need for continued research in all aspects of the tourist industry within the Caribbean. It was largely in response to this need that the Caribbean Tourism Research and Development Centre (CTRC) was established in 1974 (Holder 1979, p.ix). Although each island or political entity within the region is ideally perceived as a unique individual entity, certain commonalities do exist among certain groups of islands.
The British Caribbean islands are treated throughout as a common area of study due to the many similarities found within the group (see map 1). "British Caribbean" refers to those islands which are politically dependent upon the United Kingdom, or were, prior to independence. Reference will be made to other islands for comparative purposes, especially Puerto Rico, the American Virgin Islands and some of the French and Dutch islands. Although not technically considered as part of the Caribbean region, Bermuda will be included because of its proximity and similarities to other islands in the West Indies. Guyana and Belize are not included. Passing or no reference is made to the nations of Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Haiti, as these in many ways are so unlike the above islands.

Within the British Caribbean, Tobago has been chosen for detailed analysis as a tourist-receiving destination. Like many other islands within the group, Tobago is relatively small in area (25 miles in length and 6 miles in width, on average), consisting of 116 square miles. This is comparable in size to such islands as Antigua (101), Grenada (133), St. Vincent (150) and Barbados (166). Its population of approximately 40,000 results in a density of about three hundred persons per square mile. This is somewhat less than such islands as Grenada, St. Vincent and Antigua, which have densities approaching or exceeding one thousand persons per square mile. In this respect however, Tobago is comparable
to Montserrat, Dominica and the British Virgin Islands. About 44% of the largely black population is under fifteen years of age, and the labour force consists of 16,600 individuals, as of 1978 (Trinidad and Tobago 1978b). The population is unevenly distributed, with much of it dispersed in rural villages along the coast and in the main town of Scarborough. This represents a typical construct found in many of the Windward Islands, although it is quite different than the pattern in Barbados. This is true also in respect to the mountainous and forested nature of the interior, as well as precipitation. The virtually uninhabited interior east of Scarborough is mountainous and covered with forest. The climate is tropical with an uneven distribution of rainfall due to the nature of the terrain. The dry season extends from January to May, with the rainy season lasting from June to December. There are 120 mm of rainfall per year. The minimum and maximum mean temperatures (1974-1978 average) are 22.1 and 30.7 degrees Celsius respectively, and there is an average of seven hours of sunshine per day throughout the year (Trinidad and Tobago 1978b).

The resource base of Tobago is somewhat restricted, and economically, a dualism exists between the dominant export agricultural system and subsistence farming. Such a dualism is typical of other Caribbean islands, many of which suffer from severe natural resource scarcities. Extensive coconut
estates are found on the flat coral lowlands between Crown Point and Scarborough, while cocoa estates are located in the coastal hills east of the capital. Abandoned estates (covered presently by secondary forest) and small freehold plots are located in the interior between the higher mountains and the coast. A very limited amount of quarrying and lumbering is found on the island, but these must be viewed as minor activities. Aside from the production of local handicrafts, there is no manufacturing to speak of on the island. The "Ju-C" bottling plant near Scarborough is the largest factory, with about thirty employees (interview with tourist official, 1980). The tourist industry is a recent introduction to this structure, and currently employs about one thousand individuals directly (based on an average of one job per each accommodation unit). This industry has helped to ameliorate an unemployment rate of 19% as of 1978 (Trinidad and Tobago 1978b). The actual rate of unemployment, as in the poorer islands such as St. Vincent, may be even higher. (Significant geographical variables for Tobago are provided in appendix 1).

The above brief geographic survey is important for several reasons. First, the place of Tobago within the region is clarified, and the limits to its applicability as a case study for the British Caribbean group are better appreciated. Secondly, the above structure suggests an array of factors which influences the actual and potential
location of the tourist phenomena. This contributes to our understanding of the development of the tourist industry, and to the planning process. Thirdly, the ramifications of touristic intrusions are better understood in light of the socio-economic and environmental milieu within which they are introduced. Possible examples of this include the heritage of slavery, high chronic unemployment, and the existence of natural resource scarcities. These and other factors will be dealt with in chapter six.

In summary, the Tobago case study provides an intra-island perspective of the spatial aspects of tourism development in the region. The analysis which is accorded to Tobago will first be applied to a more limited extent to the other islands above, thereby providing a basis for intra-regional comparisons. In other words, Tobago will be spotlighted as an example of a Caribbean tourist-receiving area, unique in many respects, while at the same time representative in some ways of the wider study area.

1.4 Statement of Purpose

The purpose of the present study is to describe and analyse the spatial morphology of the Tobagonian tourist industry against a theoretical construct, both within the historical and present day perspectives, and to apply these
findings to the wider regional context, in order to better appreciate the processes and consequences of tourism growth in a "developing" area. Comparisons with other Caribbean islands will also be made in assisting the planning process in tourism development.

The hypothesis under investigation states that the development of the tourist industry in Tobago and throughout the study area proceeds in a stage-like process which approximates the "S" curve of diffusion, as measured by the number of tourist arrivals and accommodation units. Each of these stages in turn is manifested by a changing emphasis in the locational, behavioural and sectoral characteristics of the tourist industry.

1.5 Methodology

The methodology employed in the present study is based upon an examination and description of tourism landscapes on the island of Tobago. The collection of Tobago-related data was facilitated through personal field research conducted between January 19 and July 1, 1980. This included approximately one month of data collection in Trinidad, as well as week-long excursions to Barbados, St. Vincent and Grenada for comparative purposes. The spatial characteristics of the present Tobagonian tourist industry have been noted largely through personal observation. In
the field, the compilation of data was facilitated by the use of 1979 aerial photographs and the 1963 topographical series (scale of 1:10,000) which was updated through personal investigation. During the course of research on Tobago, all known major tourist facilities (of at least ten rooms) were personally located, and interviews were conducted with many of the proprietors.

Other information was obtained through West Indian library sources, including the Scarborough Public Library, the Industrial Development Corporation library in Port of Spain, the University Library in St. Augustine, Trinidad, and the West Indian Reference Library in Port of Spain. A large amount of information was also made available by the Tourist Boards in Scarborough and Port of Spain.

Numerous personal interviews (approximately 200) were conducted with tourists, local people and government officials in Tobago. Many of these were held with beach users at Store Bay and Pigeon Point, which are the two major tourist-utilized beaches on the island. Those approached included "white" North Americans and Europeans, as well as Trinidadians and other West Indians. Contacts were also made with local beach users, who were largely young and male. With only one exception, the beach users proved to be very friendly and responsive, even if negative opinions were expressed. Typical questions asked of tourists included general level of satisfaction with Tobago, comparisons with
other Caribbean destinations, and recommendations for improvement of the sector. About two-thirds of the foreign tourists expressed overall satisfaction with Tobago, citing the climate, quality of the beach area, unspoiledness and the quiet pace. Only about five per cent were definitely negative in their impressions, mentioning high prices, boredom, lack of amenities and unfriendliness among the locals. Generally, Tobago was seen as being quieter and less developed than other islands, the most frequently cited one being Barbados.

Local people were approached informally, and again, most were friendly and helpful. A social and geographic cross-section was approached, and typical items of conversation included their attitude towards increased tourism development and their attitude towards foreign and Trinidadian tourists. It is acknowledged that these responses may be biased severely, considering the obvious differences between the interviewer and the local population. However, most expressed basically positive attitudes towards the tourist industry, although those who were opposed to it were generally very much against it. The latter tended to be young and male, although many in that category were equally enthusiastic. About one in ten appeared basically opposed to tourism, based on the sample of perhaps 100 local residents approached informally. (In most cases, these opinions were brought out in casual conversation).
Interviews were also held with officials in the Tourist Board and with some proprietors of hotels and guest houses, including The Robinson Crusoe (the Nothnagels), Tropikist, Della Mira, Crown Reef and Store Bay Resorts. These interviews tended to be somewhat more formal, with the academic intent of the study made more clear. Topics of discussion included government objectives and strategies in tourism, recent trends, and future predictions. Specifically, such personal conversations helped to estimate the domestic and foreign tourist flows to Tobago, explained government's rationale for the preferential rates structure in hotels for non-foreign patrons, and contributed to a reconstruction of the historical development of tourism.

It must be stressed again that except for the last group above, these interviews were conducted informally in order to gauge basic impressions regarding the tourist industry. The manner in which these were held is not conducive to quantitative analysis, and the results are not utilized statistically. In the text, "local interview" refers to information obtained during one or several of the interviews with the Tobagonian people.

The theoretical background for the study has been obtained through literature research, especially at Wilfrid Laurier University, the University of Waterloo, and the University of Guelph. Study material for other tourist-receiving destinations utilized herein was also obtained to a large extent from these sources.
In the present study, frequent reference is made to hotels and guest houses of varying size. "Large" is employed generally to mean any hotel of over fifty units, while "small" usually refers to ten units or less, thus incorporating most guest houses. Those in between are referred to as "medium-sized". The term "tourist" is used to refer to those not normally resident on Tobago, who visit the island primarily for recreational purposes. This includes the foreign tourist flow (and cruise ship patrons) and the Trinidadians, or domestic tourist segment. The above definition may lead to some problems in estimating the tourist flow, and the issue is dealt with further in chapter 2.

1.6 Chapter Outline

Chapter 2 commences with a general consideration of the regional context. This includes a discussion of the uneven spatial and temporal development of the industry throughout the British Caribbean. Basic tourism-related data for selected destinations will also be provided, and a very basic typology of islands will be proposed based on this data, as well as other characteristics.

Having established the general regional context, chapter 3 proceeds with a largely descriptive history of tourism development on the island of Tobago. This is
divided into a number of preliminary phases for convenience, and serves to illustrate the changing spatial and qualitative nature of tourism and the reasons behind these changes.

The spatial morphology of Tobagonian tourism is approached more analytically in chapter 4. A theoretical modification of the "stages" construct is utilized, against which the experience of Tobago is compared. Based on this analysis, Tobago will be divided into a number of stages, taking into consideration significant variations in the growth curve and associated qualitative changes in the industry itself.

Whereas chapter 4 is concerned primarily with an analysis of the historical development of tourism on Tobago as a whole, chapter 5 considers the differential intensity of tourism within Tobago in the present spatial context, and the reasons for this. Consideration is given as to whether the various tourism landscapes presently discernable on the island can be compared with the historical stages discussed previously.

In chapter 6, a discussion of general developmental scenarios is given, in terms of their actual existence and their likelihood of occurring in Tobago and the other islands, based on the circumstances observed in these places. The implications of these scenarios under various circumstances are also discussed.
Specific planning guidelines for the future development of the Tobagonian tourist industry are outlined in chapter 7. These are based upon a consideration of the above scenarios, the experiences of other islands in the region, past and present growth patterns, and other variables, such as topography and vegetation cover. This is followed by a presentation of the main findings originating from the present study, both in theoretical and practical terms.
Chapter 2

PATTERNS OF TOURISTIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE CARIBBEAN

Although the Caribbean region as a whole is frequently perceived as a tourist-destination area, the development of this industry has not occurred equally throughout in time nor space. In the same way that certain parts of Tobago may prove more conducive to tourism than others, various Caribbean islands have developed intensively as resort destinations, while other islands have barely developed at all. These inter-island variations have resulted from a combination of factors, many of which will be considered presently. Although each Caribbean island or political entity entails a unique combination of geographic factors, it may be possible within limits to identify groups of islands combined on the basis of certain significant commonalities in the nature of their respective tourist industries. These in turn may be discussed with reference to the growth curve as employed by Butler. Having attempted to identify areas in the "exploration", "involvement", "development", "stagnation" and other phases, (and the
factors responsible for these), it will remain to identify Tobago within the regional context as belonging most accurately to a particular group, or combination of groups. By examining other places within the region, it may be possible to envision the possibilities and consequences of various scenarios as potentially affecting Tobago in the future. The recognition of these and the factors behind them may contribute to the formulation of an optimum developmental strategy for the island's tourist industry.

2.1 Unequal Touristic Development Within the Caribbean

As a viable economic activity, the tourist industry in the Caribbean may be traced in some islands as far back as the late 1800's. Among the very first destinations to develop in this way was Bermuda, although the latter is not technically considered as part of the Caribbean in a geographic sense. The initial stimulus for this growth was provided by the introduction of regular steamship service from England and North America after 1880. By 1883, two winter-season hotels were operating on the island (Tucker 1975, p.133).

Like Bermuda, the Barbados tourist industry began in the nineteenth century, and "from earliest times...had a reputation as a health resort" (Lewis 1979, p.205). During these early years, a number of guest houses and hotels
catered to a small but consistent number of visitors from North and South America, Europe, Great Britain and other West Indian islands (Lewis 1979, p.205).

The early development of the above places relative to other Caribbean islands is accounted for by a number of factors. One important reason lay in the climate of those islands, which was often perceived as healthy, and not as stifling or sickly as the South American coast, for instance. A second major factor is found in the early strategic value of these islands (especially Bermuda) as stops along overseas trade routes and as military bases during the imperial expansion era. This strategic value resulted in the relatively early introduction of regular trade and transportation links with England and North America. In some respects, they served as gateways to other British Caribbean islands which were not as close to the metropolitan power. In addition, the recognition of this strategic value resulted in the establishment of strong and uninterrupted cultural and political links with England since the early 1600's. From these early times therefore, Bermuda and Barbados were familiar and attractive to many as stable, healthful "pseudo-Britains" which were reasonably accessible and developed compared to the Antilles and other West Indian islands.

There is a general scarcity of information on the early (pre-world war two) development of tourism within the
Figure 2

Estimated Tourist Arrivals
Selected Caribbean Destinations
1945-1980

Sources: Crayston 1976, Holder 1979, Gilles 1980
Caribbean region, and relevant data are virtually unobtainable. Perhaps the most intense development during the early twentieth century continued to occur on Bermuda, which was most favourably located in relation to both England and North America. As early as 1920, tourism surpassed all other sectors as the single most important economic activity. Improvements in ocean transportation after the first world war initiated increased touristic development, including the construction of the six-story "Bermudiana" hotel in 1920 (Tucker 1975, p.148). As early as this therefore, it is possible to discuss Bermuda in terms of Butler's early "development" phase, as the construction of such large-scale facilities for that era represented a concrete response to the demand for the island's natural amenities. As well, the clientele for such operations differed somewhat from that which is identified with Tobago and other islands still in the "exploration" or "pre-tourism" phase. Bermuda was frequented after the 1920's by a regular flow of winter vacationers who for the most part sought out the pleasant seasonal climate. In this respect the tourist type tended to correspond more to the heliotropic sector, albeit on a more moderate level. This contrasts with the sporadic input of "explorer-travellers" who occasionally visited Tobago and other islands.

It was not until after world war two that Caribbean tourism on the regional level began to evolve as a major
economic activity. This growth is illustrated in figure 2, commencing in 1945 for select island clusters and individual cases. The important stimuli for this growth were provided by the technological, economic and other circumstances of the post-war era, most of which were actually external to the islands themselves. Those factors which were by contrast essentially internal include the availability of desirable natural amenities. Until recently, even the political basis (and thus the primary legislative and administrative force behind tourism development) of most islands was external, due to the colonial status of these. The Anglo-American Commission's conference held in 1946 has been cited previously as one political factor which encouraged this growth through the recognition of tourism as a primary long-range means for economic development in the region.

Among the essential external factors for this growth was the arrival of the so-called "jet age" in the post war era. As indicated in the case of Trinidad, this influence was gradual as technological improvements resulted in increased carrying capacities and lower costs to the consumer. For instance, it was not until 1958 that regular Boeing 707 air service was initiated between New York and Barbados (Lewis 1979, p.207). This not only cut the travel time between the two centres to only four hours, but also provided the basis for a steady tourist flow which would
permit economies of scale to operate. It is not surprising therefore to note in figure 2 that the "take-off" stage in the Barbadian tourist industry is apparent after 1960, as quantified by the number of foreign arrivals to the island. The "jet age" effect was diffused to a greater or lesser extent throughout the region, but the impact was obviously greater where the infrastructure to accommodate the large planes was made available. The large airport in Bermuda is one example of this (see map 2).

Caribbean tourism after 1945 was further stimulated by rising discretionary incomes arising from the post-war expansion of the North American and European economies. Combined with the institutionalization of annual vacations, the potential market base for Caribbean tourism was greatly expanded. In 1956, approximately twenty-six million American families earned incomes of over US$4,000 after taxes, compared with twelve million in 1950 (Lewis 1979, p.208). As discussed earlier, this new tourist "invasion" differed from the previous input not only in quality, but also in quantity. Once the political and infrastructural considerations were made, the islands were opened to mass resort tourism, while the economies of scale involved would lead to increased foreign participation and other trends which typify Butler's "development" phase.

Following the acceleration of development on Bermuda (and several other islands to a more limited extent) the
main area of touristic development in the early 1950's shifted to the Bahamas and Cuba. The process whereby the city of Havana during Batista's presidency became an American casino haven has been vividly described by Turner and Ash (1973). The main factors which facilitated this growth was the island's close proximity to the American mainland, and the presence of a government which was amenable to foreign investment, including tourist interests. Following the Revolution of 1958, tourism in Cuba came to a virtual standstill and the main focus once again shifted, this time to Puerto Rico, the American Virgin Islands, and most of all to the Bahamas. Both Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands were attractive because of their perceived political and social stability, while their status as American possessions greatly facilitated the influx of capital from North America.

Perhaps the most intensive touristic development took place in the Bahamas, which would eventually become the single largest destination for tourists, with the possible exception of Puerto Rico. In recent years, this flow has averaged one million visitors annually. As in the cases discussed above, the Bahamian islands benefitted from their closeness to Florida and from the availability of superb white sand beaches and a year-round semi-tropical climate. The political unrest in Cuba caused many entrepreneurs to seek locations in the Bahamas, and this trend was encouraged
by the colonial government of the time. Following independence, the governing party has continued this favourable attitude towards tourism (Turner and Ash 1975, pp.104-105). Despite the intensity of touristic development in the Bahamas, the overwhelming proportion of facilities has been restricted to only two islands within the archipelago. The islands of New Providence and Grand Bahamas both contain international airports and relatively large and sophisticated urban centres (Nassau and Freeport) as well as infrastructure. Both in addition have developed into major ports of call along cruise ship itineraries.

By the middle of the 1960's, the Caribbean region was well into the "take-off" stage, due to the disproportionate degree of intensification on a number of islands. The diffusion of tourism as a major economic activity began with peripheral Bermuda, then gradually spread to include the Bahamas, Puerto Rico, the American Virgin Islands, Cuba (till 1958), the Barbados and Jamaica. As in the case of the Bahamas and as described in detail for Tobago, this development was for the most part restricted to certain areas of the islands or political entities. This would entail for example the north coast of Jamaica, Barbados' western and southern coasts and the San Juan area of Puerto Rico. Despite the somewhat limited spatial distribution of these facilities, tourism on certain islands began to assume an economic value of great importance. In the case of the
Bahamas, tourism alone would eventually account for some seventy per cent of the total gross national product. By contrast, many islands, such as St. Christopher, Barbuda, St. Vincent and Montserrat possessed virtually no tourist industry to speak of in the mid-1960's due to a variety of reasons which will be discussed below.

In the early 1970's, the consistently high growth rates were for the first time greatly reduced. Large drops in the number of tourist arrivals were felt in virtually all of the destination islands in the Caribbean (see figure 2). This slump was also felt in Puerto Rico (Robinson 1976, p.370), although this was not readily apparent because of the high volume of family visitors and other essentially non-tourists from the United States. The islands experiencing severe recessions were for the most part intensely developed, including Jamaica's north coast and parts of the Bahamas. Such cases may represent the termination of the first developmental phase and the beginnings of stagnation or other phases. In Butler's discussion, this often commences as a result of such internal factors as social unrest and negative image, outmoded accommodations and lack of competitiveness. To a certain extent, these problems did arise in areas, reflecting the possible beginnings of internal diseconomies of scale. The great impetus for this slump was however external. Due to the insular nature of the Caribbean, virtually all tourists, excepting cruise
ships, must arrive by air. Any disruptions in this "lifeline" are likely to have severe repercussions for the tourist industry. In the 1970's, rising fuel costs contributed to steadily rising transportation costs, while the accompanying economic recession in the tourist-generating countries reduced the number of potential Caribbean vacationers. Combined with a tarnished image due to social unrest and high costs vis-a-vis certain European and North American destinations, a net reduction in the regional tourist input appeared inevitable (These problems are discussed in more detail in Robinson 1976, pp.376-77).

Despite the above difficulties, a number of previously underdeveloped (in touristic terms) islands have since the early 1970's undergone tourism "booms" relative to their small sizes. Islands which have entered the "take-off" stage during this period have included the Cayman Islands, St. Lucia, Antigua, Tobago and the British Virgin Islands (BVI). Many of the reasons for this lag are quite evident, and include a lack of infrastructure, limited or non-existent air facilities (and relative inaccessibility) and an absence of government involvement in the competitive tourist market. As these have been rectified in certain cases, so too has the number of tourists tended to increase, despite the external economic problems cited above. This may not seem to be such a paradox when one realizes the very small initial tourist numbers involved. It may however also
be constructive to speculate upon the extent to which these increases may reflect a "spillover" or diffusion effect from the other possibly saturated islands. As islands such as Tobago and St. Lucia are touted as unspoiled and undiscovered, a certain proportion of vacationers may wish to be among the first in the mass touristic wave to visit these newly accessible (on a large-scale) destinations. Ironically, these inherently attractive features may gradually give way to more commercial, large-scale operations, thereby resulting in a modification in the attraction base of the island.

At present, a number of islands may still be typified as underdeveloped, as their growth curve continues to suggest persistence in the "exploratory" or early "take-off" phases. These possibly include Dominica, St. Christopher, St. Vincent and the Turks and Caicos Islands. Reasons for this include lack of airport capacity, limited accommodation space, climatic uncertainties, and in the case of Dominica, a deliberate policy of strict tourism control.

The above discussion demonstrates that Caribbean tourism has not developed evenly over the area, even if the Commonwealth Caribbean islands alone are considered. For a number of reasons as mentioned, this growth has tended to favour certain islands, resulting in an uneven distribution of touristic concentrations:
(Consider) the massive difficulty of co-ordinating the required Airlift from Tourist-producing destinations to the various dissemination points in the region and the subsequent internal distribution pattern, and it can readily be seen that the growth of the Industry throughout the islands of the Caribbean, was, and still is, a particularly haphazard affair (Bell 1979, p.50).

Among all the islands under consideration, it is possible through examination of the industry and its growth data to identify places which in the present spatial context approximate "exploration", "involvement","developmental", "stagnation" and post-stagnation phases. One initial way of determining this is to examine the curves which show tourist arrivals for the various islands (see figure 2).

The grouping together of islands on the basis of the above "stages" construct provides one means of identifying regional commonalities within the British Caribbean, with other islands included. It is then instructive to explore the characteristics common or unique among these islands, which account for the identified level of development. This could include for example the presence of international airports on the developed islands, and the absence of white sand beaches on the pre-tourist islands. Presently, other criteria will be utilized in the grouping together of various Caribbean islands, and the extent to which their growth patterns (stages of development) are similar may be discussed.
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<th>Destination</th>
<th>pop. 000's</th>
<th>pci US$</th>
<th>% of GNP</th>
<th>tourist arrivals 000's</th>
<th>tji</th>
<th>host/guest ratio</th>
<th>hotel units</th>
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* .1976
a included with Trinidad
pci per capita income
GNP Gross National Product
tji Tourist function index
BVI British Virgin Islands
USVI United States Virgin Islands

Sources: Crayston 1976, Holder 1979, Gilles 1980.
Towards a Typology of Islands

Few attempts have been made to group the islands of the Caribbean together on the basis of commonalities within their respective tourist industries. Pollard has developed a linkage tree of the region on the basis of tourist origin (Pollard 1976, pp. 59-60). Using this criteria, five groups of islands were identified. In each case, there is a geographical and political dimension which unites certain islands on the basis of proximity to the tourist-generating nations, and to some degree to the present or past political affiliation of certain places. Thus, the first group incorporates Haiti, Jamaica, Bahamas, Cayman Islands, Puerto Rico, Aruba and the British Virgin Islands. Americans in each case comprise over fifty per cent of the tourist clientele, and the air connections between the United States and these islands are well developed. (The American Virgin Islands would also undoubtedly be included in this group although data for the study was unavailable at the time). The second group of islands consists of Curacao by itself due to the high proportion of South American patronage, especially from Venezuela. A third group comprises Antigua, Grenada, Trinidad, Tobago, St. Lucia, St. Kitts-Nevis, Montserrat and St. Vincent. Many of these islands are less sophisticated in the touristic sense, and the West Indian component is very strong. Barbados and
Martinique-Guadeloupe respectively make up the fourth and fifth groups, the former because of the high proportion of Canadians. Martinique and Guadeloupe are alienated because of their status as French overseas departments and the resultant high percentage of French and other European arrivals (Pollard 1976, p.60).

The above analysis is valuable in isolating one variable as the main criterion for the formulation of an island typology. In more general terms, a number of indices may be employed as means of quantifying the tourist industry for purposes of inter-island comparison. Such simple indices must be utilized cautiously however, since ostensibly similar figures may have entirely different implications for different islands. This is because of the wide regional variation in such factors as local density and distribution of tourist facilities, origin of tourists, political status, and socio-economic circumstances. In recognizing these crucial variations, the following typology seeks only to differentiate on the basis of apparent relative and absolute intensity of the industry. These can be further clarified and perhaps sub-divided by considering the growth patterns and tourist-origin data as discussed above, as well as other variables. Special consideration will be accorded to Tobago, as this will assist in determining the implications of various developmental scenarios, as well as the very likelihood of these same scenarios occurring.
The most basic measurement of the size of the tourist industry in a given area is expressed by the absolute number of tourist arrivals and accommodation space (the latter usually expressed as the total number of rooms or beds in hotels, guest houses and other tourist-oriented structures). Although the resultant figure is valuable as an absolute indicator, it is perhaps more important to gauge the relative importance of tourism in relation to the total population, the economic structure and the land area of the islands. The social impact of 100,000 culturally different tourists upon a host population of ten thousand, for example, is different, and probably greater, than the same input upon a host population of one million. This example in practical terms could apply to the Cayman Islands (population ten thousand) and Trinidad (population one million), both of which have received approximately 100,000 stopover tourists annually in recent years.

One potentially useful index for quantifying the relative importance of tourism is cited by Pearce (Pearce 1979, p.249) and is referred to as the Tourist Function Index, expressed as $Tfi=N\times100/P$, where $N$ equals the total number of accommodation units, and $P$ equals the local population. The higher the index, the greater the intensity of tourism relative to the domestic population. This index may be further supplemented by a simple ratio between the number of arrivals in a given year and the local population.
Inter-island comparisons are made somewhat difficult due to the lack of a standard definition of "tourist" among the islands of the Caribbean. It has been one of the tasks of the recently established Caribbean Tourism Research Centre (CTRC) to standardize these definitions, thereby providing a more reliable basis for such comparisons (Holder 1979, p.320). A discussion of the various definitions of "tourist" and "tourism" as utilized by different entities is provided by Leiper (Leiper 1979). Even if a method of standardization were implemented, there remains the problem of differential impact exercised by different types of tourist. Individuals who are perceived in very different ways by the host society may be classed alike under a common definition. The latter makes no distinction for example between the New York Puerto Rican who is visiting with his family, and the "white" English-speaking American who is visiting a gambling establishment in San Juan. This once again illustrates the limitations of formulating a typology strictly on the basis of simple indices, such as the tourist function index.

Several measures of impact have been calculated for various Caribbean destinations for the year 1979, as illustrated in table 1. The first general group of islands which may be identified are those with relatively high tourist function indices and tourist-resident ratios. Included in this group are the Bahamas, Bermuda, the British
Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands and the American Virgin Islands. Although there are great discrepancies among these islands in terms of absolute visitor numbers, the overwhelming dominance of tourism as a single economic activity, and the high excess of tourists over residents are both readily appreciated. The most blatant example of tourism's economic dominance is found in the Bahamas, where its share of the gross domestic product exceeds seventy percent (Maynard 1979, p.162). Politically, only the Bahamas are independent. Puerto Rico and American Virgin Islands are both outlying possessions of the United States, while the British Virgin Islands, Bermuda and Cayman Islands are dependencies of the United Kingdom. In addition, the material standard of living for these islands, as measured by per capita income, is the highest in the Caribbean. This of course is not entirely a consequence of tourist expenditures and revenues, although the high absolute and relative levels of these must be taken into consideration as an important factor.

The governments of the above destinations have traditionally been favourably disposed towards tourism, attracting developmental capital, mainly from America. In selected areas of each case, the choicest beach amenities and safe bathing waters are available while the climate is equitable the year round. As also discussed previously, natural hazards are relatively scarce, especially during the
peak tourist season. All destinations in this group are very important as ports of call for cruise ships. Charlotte Amalie, in the American Virgin Islands is one of the busiest tourist ports in the Caribbean, with over seven hundred cruise ship calls annually (Gilles 1980, p.81). As the "stopover" numbers cited in table 1 do not include these, the addition of the cruise ship sector to the total number of tourists would greatly expand this figure. The impact potential of 100,000 cruise ship tourists on top of the 87,000 stopovers in the British Virgin Islands during 1976 greatly increases, as the tourist-host ratio becomes twice as large (Rickards 1980, p.183). The infrastructure of these islands is also well developed, and (with the possible exception of the British Virgin Islands) the main towns of the above islands provide for service levels and retail opportunities far above those needed for the indigenous population alone. Large-scale airport facilities have also been provided (see map 2) which are capable of accommodating high capacity direct jet traffic from the main tourist-generating airports at New York, Miami, London and Toronto. To a greater or lesser extent, these factors have combined to produce economically dominant, locally high intensive tourist industries on islands or island groups of small area, small relative population, and high living standards with good accessibility (geographic, political and transportation) to the primary tourist-generating nations.
The growth patterns displayed by the above island groups are basically of two kinds. The islands of Bermuda, Bahamas and to a lesser extent the American Virgin Islands all have a relatively long history of tourism development, although the accelerated "development" stage becomes quite apparent between 1960 and 1970. In the 1970's, this growth has stabilized due to a combination of factors considered previously. In contrast, the British Virgin Islands and Cayman Islands have developed more recently, and are presently showing growth trends which were typical of the first group in the late 1960's. This trend, which contrasts with regional growth patterns, may be partially explained by the recent provision of infrastructural improvements, persisting quasi-colonial status, and the "spillover" effect considered above, where the vacationer responds to changing trends and images within the region. However, as the tourist plant on such places as Bahamas (at least on the two dominant islands) has approached a sort of saturation, so too will such circumstances face the British Virgin Islands and Cayman Islands, which are areally small with low supportive populations.

A second group of islands is characterized by the presence of important and large tourist industries as a percentage of the total regional input, although the proportion of the local gross domestic product is relatively small. The two primary examples in this category are
Jamaica and Puerto Rico, while Trinidad (without Tobago) may also be included. For these three islands, tourist arrivals account for approximately one-third of the regional tourist flow, although the cumulative contribution to the gross domestic products of the three islands is only about four per cent of the total. The indices given in table 1 show these islands to have relatively large populations, thereby producing low tourist function indices despite the high absolute numbers of arrivals. Although locally intensive tourist plants have evolved along Jamaica's north coast, in Port of Spain and around San Juan in Puerto Rico, the economic landscape is much more diverse and extensive on these islands. Within the Caribbean context, they have high living standards, large land areas (over one thousand square miles in each case) and are considered "more developed" because of their diverse economic structures, in which such activities as agriculture, manufacturing, mining and services are equal to, or more important than tourism in terms of a percentage of the gross national product (Barham 1979, p.146).

Air links between these islands and inter-regional locations are well integrated, but this connectivity does not cater almost exclusively to tourist traffic as it does in some of the other destinations. A large proportion of air traffic consists of business and socially-motivated travel originating from cities with large expatriot
populations, such as London, New York and Toronto. While generally supportive of tourist growth and cognizant of that industry's important contributions, the governments in these three islands (especially independent Jamaica and Trinidad) appear to regard tourism as a sector which should be approached as one component within an integrated national developmental plan (Trinidad's policy in this regard has been outlined above, page 88). Jamaica, under the Manley administration, pursued a policy whereby tourism was placed within the context of an overall national developmental plan, as well (Young 1979a). The policy towards tourism may change as a result of the election of a new government in 1981. By developing tourism in such a way as to control its growth and non-local intervention, recent downward fluctuations, while causing some problems, do not exercise an all-pervasive effect upon their economies. In the case of Trinidad, visitor arrivals show that the island is still in the early developmental stage, in part because of its geographical location in the extreme southern Caribbean. The proportion of the gross national product accounted for by tourism is lower for Trinidad than any island previously discussed.

A group of intermediary islands may be identified which have tourist function indices and tourist-host ratios of between one and three. Included here are Barbados, Antigua and arguably the Turks and Caicos Islands, although in the
latter case, both the population and number of tourists are very small. Living standards are fairly high, while the economic base is somewhat diverse, although less so than in Jamaica or Trinidad. In the case of Barbados, tourism accounts for approximately thirty per cent of the gross national product, while a large proportion of the remainder is provided by the sugar cane industry. Antigua and Barbados have good direct international connectivity, images of stability, pro-tourism governments and excellent natural prerequisites for tourism growth. The growth patterns of both have shown recent signs of recovery following the slow-down of the early 1970's. Barbados in fact has recently been cited as the present "boom" island within the region (Gilles 1980, p.72).

The final general group of islands consists of those which have not only low tourist indices, but also low absolute numbers of arrivals. These include Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis, St. Vincent, St. Lucia and Tobago. The data for St. Lucia suggest that this island may well be considered a border-line case with the preceding intermediary group. Tourism accounts for almost one-quarter of the gross domestic product, while tourist growth rates have been increasing rapidly over the last ten years. At the opposite end of the spectrum, Dominica is somewhat unique in its maintenance of a very low-profile industry which even presently suggests a "pre-tourism" construct.
Its tourist function index and tourist-host ratio are among the lowest in the Caribbean. Grenada, St. Vincent, Montserrat and St.Kitts-Nevis are somewhat more developed than Dominica, with locally intensive areas of concentration found for instance in the Grenadines, around St. Vincent's Indian Bay, and along Grande Anse Beach in Grenada. Tourist indices in each case are small, and most islands show characteristics of the "involvement" or early "take-off" stages, though absolute numbers are small at present.

The reasons for these low levels of development are essentially opposite to the reasons given which account for the large-scale industries present in the Bahamas, Barbados and the Virgin Islands. Grenada's apparent entry into a more developed stage in the early 1970's was arrested by the series of political disruptions which commenced with independence in 1974. When it appeared that these troubles were abating, and the tourist industry was on its way to recovery, the political coup of 1979 produced a government which was distinctly leftist in its inclinations. Although the construction of a major new airport is intended to revitalize the tourist industry, the image of Grenada as a puppet-island of Cuba has discouraged many potential visitors from North America. In the instance of Dominica, the government has deliberately pursued a policy of restricted tourism which differs from the typical resort-type prevalent elsewhere in the region. Severe
natural disasters have hindered touristic activity and growth in Dominica and St. Vincent, which recently suffered the effects of a volcanic eruption and hurricane (1979). In addition, the prevalence of black volcanic-sand beaches on St. Vincent and Montserrat have proven to be less attractive to tourists and therefore to entrepreneurs, as compared to the white coral beaches such as are found in Barbados and Antigua. Because of the "lesser developed" character of these islands with their lack of diversity and poorly developed infrastructure, the capacity to receive foreign arrivals is limited, and major new projects, such as larger airport runways, cannot proceed without massive injections of foreign aid. As a result, the journey to such islands can often entail a round-about, time-consuming and expensive ordeal. Considering the motives and expectations of the winter resort vacationers, such detractions will force many to choose the proven destinations and those which do not suffer from the problems of the above. In addition, the travel agencies, which to a large extent influence travel preferences and promotions to particular islands, will continue to orient their operations to the more competitive islands.

Within the regional context, Tobago displays many of the characteristics of this group, based in part on the data in table 1. The low tourist-host ratio however disguises the high level of local tourism which originates from
Trinidad (see chapter 3). The tourist function index has also increased rapidly over the last ten years, suggesting a similarity with the islands of Antigua and St. Lucia. The growth rate of Tobago is also more typical of the developmental stage as illustrated by the British Virgin Islands and Cayman Islands. A more thorough investigation of the tourist industry's development in Tobago is contained in the following chapter. This will allow for a clearer perspective of Tobago within the regional context, and will facilitate further intra-regional comparisons.

An examination of tourism's historical development has revealed its unequal growth in space and time over the region. Figure 2 illustrates the growth of Caribbean tourism for selected destinations, thereby providing a basis for designating certain islands as belonging to "pre-tourism" and subsequent phases (without analysing intra-island variations, as was done with Tobago). This by itself however is not sufficient in attempting to group islands together for more encompassing comparative purposes. The resultant typology has additionally considered the absolute and relative size of the industry (as quantified in table 1) as well as certain other parameters which will influence the level of impact. Taking all of these together, and while continuing to recognize the inherent uniqueness of all individual cases, it is possible to
construct such a typology based upon certain crucial similarities.

The first group consists of tourism-intensive islands which rely on the industry for a very large share of their gross national products. Local populations and land areas are small relative to the tourist influx, and living standards are very high, as measured by per capita income. In some cases, a point of saturation has been reached (Bermuda, New Providence) while in other examples this has not yet occurred.

A second group comprises those islands in which tourism is important in the regional context, but not so dominant as in the other group. Populations and land areas are relatively large, and high living standards are attributable to diverse economic structures. Tourist areas tend to be locally concentrated, and in some cases a point of local saturation may have been reached. However, alternate areas for tourist development are available, although the direction and nature of this is largely determined by government.

A third group consists of those intermediary islands which show characteristics half-way between the previous two categories. Tourist arrivals are roughly equal to the host populations, and tourist contributions average about twenty-five to thirty per cent, suggesting some degree of diversity. St. Lucia shows these characteristics and may be
perceived as the newest member of this group, along with Tobago.

The final group consists of those islands which are touristically and economically under-developed. To a greater or lesser extent, the growth constructs and tourist indices indicate this low level of growth. This is due to a number of factors, ranging from deliberate government policy to political unrest and disaster risk. The place of Tobago within this typology will be made clearer following a detailed analysis of that island's tourist industry.
3.1 The Early Era

The island of Tobago has been a destination for travellers since the earliest days of European colonization. Early accounts of such visits, motivated by other than strictly economic or political considerations, appear sporadically throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. (See for example E.W. Andrews, ed., for a 1927 reprint of the "Journal of a Lady of Quality, Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina and Portugal, in the years 1774-1776"). Experiences of the above type are somewhat extraordinary, and most excursions from the metropolitan country were undertaken with the aim of establishing European settlement and influence on the island (Niddrie 1966, pp.67-76 and Andersons 1970, pp.365-69).

It is not until the early years of the twentieth century that travelogue-type accounts of West Indian and Tobago visits become more commonplace. Examples of such contemporary accounts which consider Tobago to a greater or
lesser extent include F.H. Hammond's 1910 publication "A Tour Around Tobago by Land and Sea", and Franck's "Roaming Through the West Indies" of 1920. The possibilities for such excursions were enhanced in 1910 with the initiation of scheduled weekly steamboat service from Trinidad, which had recently acquired Tobago as a ward in an attempt to consolidate colonial government in the region (Sigurdsson 1974, p.71). A relatively consistent means of reaching Tobago was now made available for the first time, although the first patrons consisted overwhelmingly of individuals motivated by political, economic and social considerations. These included members of the colonial government as well as estate owners and operators, who dominated the economy of the island. The collapse of Tobago's dominant sugar industry in the 1880's was in fact largely responsible for the eventual unification with Trinidad which took place in 1898 (Niddrie 1959, p.20).

Those who visited Tobago for strictly touristic purposes in the early part of the century were for the most part members of a wealthier class which could afford the time and expense involved for a trip to the distant and relatively isolated West Indies. Contemporary sources indicate a tourist type which sought out the bucolic landscapes and lifestyles which were perceived to exist on islands such as Tobago (Hammond 1910).
As might be expected, touristic infrastructure was virtually nonexis tant in Tobago during this era. Travellers had to make do with other sources, and the appearance of a tourist was likely a notable occasion, as described in one early publication:

Hotels, properly speaking, find no place in Scarborough, but it has at least two boarding houses, "Peru Cottage", and "The Lodge", where comfortable, if limited accomodation may be had at a moderate charge...

"Resthouses" primarily intended by the Government for the use of its officials when "on duty", are located at Roxborough, Charlotteville and Parlativier, these on occasions may be used by ordinary travellers, permission being obtained...It is almost needless to add that the members of the Union Club of Scarborough readily extend hospitality to visitors suitably introduced. (Trinidad and Tobago Handbook 1912, p.128).

The primary touristic attractions cited are located in close proximity to the Scarborough port of entry, and include old Fort George, the Botanical Gardens and the Government Farm (see map 3). The entire island is touted as an attraction in itself, although internal travel was greatly restricted by the lack of an integrated transport network and by primitive means of transportation. Worthy of special mention is the pony ride along the Windward Road to Speyside, thence to the recently established bird sanctuary on nearby Bird of Paradise Island. This attraction was of
great interest to naturalists and others, being the only location in the Western Hemisphere where the bird of paradise could be viewed in a "natural" state. By this one attraction alone, Tobago became familiar to many in Europe and North America. Still others became familiar with the island as a result of the proposed contention that Daniel Defoe's story of "Robinson Crusoe" took place on Tobago. The Buccoo Reef, located off the coast near Pigeon Point, was also cited as an attraction.

The first accommodation facility motivated primarily by touristic considerations was established at Speyside some years prior to world war one. The Speyside Inn, as it was first called, took advantage of Bird of Paradise Island's popularity, and was itself a converted private residence belonging to a local estate owner (interview with the Nothnagels, proprietors of the Robinson Crusoe Hotel, 1980). More emphasis was placed on tourism-related development during the 1920's, as more estate owners sought alternate sources of income after cocoa prices began to decline drastically. Cocoa had replaced sugar as the mainstay of the agrarian economy. Around this time, the estate owners established a number of larger inns and guest houses in the Scarborough area. By 1930, the Robinson Crusoe Inn and Bacolet House (see map 3) were open to tourists and other visitors (Bowman 1939, p.215). This early era was thus characterized by a close association between touristic
development and the local estate system of land tenure, a relationship which would subsequently influence future stages of development.

The prospect of a growing touristic clientele was stimulated by the colonial government's acquisition of two modern steamships, the S.S. "Trinidad" and the S.S. "Tobago" in 1931 (Sigurdsson 1974, p.73). The number of inter-island trips between Trinidad and Tobago was increased from one to three per week, in order to accommodate the expected increase in traffic (Bowman 1939, p.19). In addition, the scope for intra-island touring was greatly enhanced by the establishment of a regular round-island cargo route by the S.S. "Trinidad". A number of cabins for travellers were provided in this service, which primarily functioned to collect agricultural produce from the estates, many of which were located on the isolated northern coast east of Plymouth. As a result of this service, a number of small rural communities were exposed to a very limited form of tourism (Trinidad and Tobago Handbook 1934).

By the late 1930's, the tourist infrastructure of Tobago consisted of three major inns, a number of small guest houses, and several private residences (estate houses) which were periodically made available for rent (Bowman 1939, p.21). With the notable exception of the Speyside facility, these accommodations were located in the vicinity of Scarborough, which functioned as the capital and main
town for the island. The social, political and economic life of Europeans on Tobago was centered here, thereby providing an accessible and logical location for overnight facilities, and a base for intra-island travel. As cited above, a number of primary attractions were to be found in the vicinity, and good bathing beaches were located at Bacolet and Rockley Bays. It was on these two beaches that the Bacolet and Robinson Crusoe Inns respectively were situated.

Reference is also made in the late 1930's to the estate-owned Aquatic Club at Pigeon Point, located in the extreme north-western part of the island (Bowman 1939). Because of its excellent white sand beach and calm bathing waters, this spot gradually developed into a major recreational area and social place for the local planters as well as the increasing numbers of American and Canadian winter visitors (Bowman 1939, p.81).

Although the Tobagonian tourist industry of 1939 can best be described as a relatively minor adjunct to the dominant agricultural sector, it is intriguing to note the critical observations offered by one contemporary source regarding the prospects for tourism on the island:

Life, perhaps, has degenerated since the more prosperous days: but now the prospect of more tourists has excited many of the planters, who are planning bungalows to rent during the winter season. It is a sad thing to see this
less real industry springing up in such a fertile land. These days it is always easy to prophesy a new tourist mecca, and Tobago seems to be on the way: yet we wondered if this was to be the real fate of the island, and how remunerative it would be if all fifty or sixty white families would compete for its profits (Bowman 1939, p.215).

3.2 World War Two to Hurricane Flora

By the beginning of world war two, a number of carriers had established regularly scheduled flights to Trinidad, which functioned as something of a stop-over in regional flight plans. Pan-American Airways flew from Miami to Port of Spain twice weekly, while the Dutch carrier KLM began weekly flights from the Dutch colony, Curacao, and thrice-weekly flights from Barbados (Aspinall 1939, pp.487-88).

While the jet age would help in revolutionizing the tourist industry in future years, immediate benefits were mitigated by the world war, which forced the curtailment of air traffic from overseas. Military considerations played some role in the construction of Crown Point Airport on Tobago in 1940. Limited inter-island air transport was initiated by the newly formed carrier BWIA (British West Indies Airways) (Ottley 1969, p.22), but the initial service was very limited and sporadic. A low volume of traffic resulted from the state of war, infrequent scheduling (two
or three times a week), high cost and low seating capacities of eight to ten persons (Nothnagels interview 1980). The main bulk of travel between Trinidad and Tobago was still facilitated by sea, though this too was not totally unaffected by the war. Rumours around this time persisted regarding the presence of German U-boats in Tobagonian waters, one of which was seen surfacing in King's Bay (local interview 1980).

It is not surprising that the number of visitors reaching Tobago from foreign sources during the war was very small. Although accurate figures are unavailable, this flow probably amounted to five hundred to one thousand individuals per year, a negligible sum in any case (interview with BWIA official 1980). The proportion of these which was touristic in the stricter sense was probably very low.

Attempts to establish an accurate estimate of subsequent tourist flows to Tobago are hampered by a number of obstacles. Since cumulative stopover figures are only available for the two islands of Trinidad and Tobago together, one must estimate by other means the proportion of foreign visitors who reach Tobago. Approximately ten per cent of inter-island air traffic consists of non-residents, while this local air service in total volume averages out to be twice as large as the total number of foreign stopovers. Therefore, a guarded estimate of twenty per cent is employed
as the proportion of total visitors from foreign sources reaching Tobago (interviews with BWIA official, 1980). The figure is only an approximation from which general indications of growth may be derived. It is best employed for this purpose in conjunction with the number of available accommodation units, as given in table 2 (see p.69). Table 2 also provides the approximate incremental increase of tourists and units from one year to the next, thereby allowing for a relative indication of tourism growth. Because the early percentiles for the number of tourists may be misleading due to rounding, the increments for accommodation units may prove to be more useful. A degree of caution must be utilized in the early (pre 1956) incremental figures, since the opening or closing of only one small facility would result in a significant decline in the relative availability of accommodation space, because of the small numbers involved. Accommodation-oriented data becomes even more valuable as indicators of growth because of the additional problem of determining the domestic tourist flow. Within local inter-island traffic, no indication is readily available regarding motivation, length of stay, activities, type of accommodation, and other variables which contribute to a meaningful distinction between tourist and non-tourist.

Based on resultant estimations, the Tobagonian tourist industry after 1945 shows a consistent rate of growth,
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* Interpolation

although the absolute number of arrivals remains relatively small each year. It is interesting to note the decline in available accommodations during the interval 1948-1949. Despite this decline, the number of units shows an average annual increase of twelve per cent between 1946 and 1957 (see table 2). The increase in arrivals is accounted for in part by an expansion in the number and carrying capacity of flight schedules, as well as by an increase in inter-island service. The high proportion of local or domestic tourism alleviated somewhat Tobago's geographic disadvantage of being one of the more distant and less accessible West Indian islands. Unlike several other islands which were served directly from overseas airlines, Tobago could be reached only through air connections via Trinidad, thereby resulting in further inconvenience.

Despite these and other disadvantages, the colonial government began to perceive the economic benefits which could apparently be derived from tourism. The late 1940's heralded the inception of a more defined publicity campaign aimed primarily at the more accessible and economically prosperous North American market. Allocations for touristic purposes within the government were increased from TT$18,000 in 1936 to TT$80,000 for each of the years 1946 through 1948. In addition, funds specifically allocated towards publicity increased from TT$6,000 in 1947 to TT$43,500 in 1949. The printed folder "Tropical Enchantment", designed
to promote Tobago as a resort destination, was released in an edition of 100,000 copies (Trinidad and Tobago Tourist Board 1949, pp.1-3).

The growing number of tourist arrivals to Tobago resulted in the construction of two new facilities during 1950 and 1951, the first new hotels since the Robinson Crusoe and Bacolet Inns were established some years earlier (Nothnagels interview 1980). The Coral Cove hotel was described as a typical "town" hotel (Issa 1959, p.18), located along the beach just outside of Scarborough, near the Robinson Crusoe. The Bluehaven Inn was constructed adjacent to Bacolet beach (see map 4), and enjoyed a reputation as one of the more elegant facilities on the island. The construction of these two hotels contributed to the importance of the capital city area as the focal point of the tourist industry, although the airport had been sited in the coral lowlands some ten miles to the south-west. An ever-increasing proportion of entries were handled by the airport, and access to Scarborough along the main road was not difficult.

In 1953, a major hotel was constructed by British entrepreneurs at Arnos Vale estate on the north coast near Plymouth (see map 4) (Rodman 1968, p.170). This was the first major facility to be built outside of the capital region, taking advantage of the seclusion offered by Arnos Vale Bay. Three years later, the largest hotel to date,
consisting of about seventy units, was constructed at Crown Point, thereby greatly increasing the amount of accommodation space. The Crown Point hotel was the first facility to take advantage of the beach and bathing opportunities offered at Store Bay and Pigeon Point. As well, the airport was located only a very short distance away, thus providing a convenient facility for tourists.

The 1950's heralded the arrival of the North American seasonal "leisure" tourist in the Caribbean on a grand scale, as middle class incomes and jet capacities both increased. Despite Tobago's inherent disadvantage in terms of distance, a certain proportion of this new leisure class chose Tobago for their holiday destination. This was influenced in part by the new publicity campaigns which emphasized the Bird of Paradise and Robinson Crusoe points of reference. In contrast to the traveller-explorer type encountered in earlier years, the new resort tourist sought out the so-called "three S" amenities consisting of sea, sand and sun. Tobago was well suited towards providing these desired attributes, especially along the coast in the south-western coral lowlands, where white sand beaches and calm bathing waters were found. The new Crown Point facility was ideally geared towards catering to the mass resort tourist traffic, both because of its size and location.
The establishment of a Tourist Board office in Scarborough during 1949 reflected the increasingly active supportive role played by the government of Trinidad and Tobago in the development of the tourist industry (Trinidad and Tobago Tourist Board 1949, p.2). The Hotel Development Corporation was established in 1956 to assist private enterprise in the construction of new hotels such as the Crown Point (Trinidad and Tobago Five Year Plan 1958, p.14). This was followed by the Hotel Development Act of 1963 which provided among other incentives a ten year tax exemption on new projects, the free entry of building materials and equipment, and an accelerated depreciation on equipment at the rate of twenty per cent per annum (Trinidad and Tobago Five Year Plan 1958, p.14).

While the predominant role of government in the tourist industry during the 1950's was supportive, the main thrust of development was undertaken by a combination of local estate interests, and increasingly, foreign (especially British and American) entrepreneurs. As contrasted with estate agriculture, tourism provided an apparently foolproof means of income generation. Such perceptions were supported by a number of contemporary reports which encouraged a continued laissez-faire attitude towards tourism development. Among these was the 1959 Issa report on tourist potential in the Eastern Caribbean, which perceived the industry as an unalloyed good:
For tourism, being a business, has to be tackled in a business-like way. There can be no half-hearted approach to its development. If we decide that we want a major tourist industry, then we must go all out for it... (It is) vitally necessary to provide the only sure hope of prosperity for the area... we cannot afford not to have it (Issa 1959, p.7).

Issa went on to recommend the development of Tobago as the "obvious area for resort development for the mainland (Trinidad)", and as a destination which would be patronized increasingly by Trinidadians themselves (Issa 1959, p.19).

Despite the steady increase in the number of arrivals to Trinidad and Tobago, and the provision of three daily inter-island flights by 1962, virtually no growth in the amount of available hotel accommodation is recorded between 1956 and 1968 (see table 2). As indicated in table 1, this growth averages only one per cent between 1958 and 1968, with several years showing declines of over five per cent. The media cited the "crying need" for more tourist facilities and complained about a lack of government push in the attempt to lure a greater proportion of the Caribbean tourist dollar to the islands of Trinidad and Tobago (Trinidad Guardian Jan. 2, 1961). Although absolute annual increases in tourist-related allocations were made, these were still relatively small compared to a number of other Caribbean islands (see chapter 1). The absence of a diverse recreational base and an inadequate road network were
mentioned several times as major impediments to growth. One source specifically cited the need for more sports facilities, including tennis and golf (Martin 1960, p.292). Concerning the inadequacies of the internal road system, the government did in fact announce the proposed construction of a north coast road which would provide "the greatest impetus to the development of the tourist industry in Tobago" (Trinidad and Tobago Five Year Plan 1958, p.14). In the publicity campaigns of the day, the north coast was seen as the "Riviera of the West Indies" (Trinidad and Tobago Five Year Plan 1958, p.14), while the island as a whole was described with enthusiasm by one writer as the "last remaining Shangri-la on earth" (Trinidad Guardian May 6,1962).

Despite these publicity campaigns sponsored by a government seemingly amenable to tourism development, no major activity was undertaken to provide adequate accommodation space for the expected increases in arrivals. Pro-tourism articles and reports continued to lash out at a government deemed to be apathetic towards that sector. The Krapf-Michel report of February 1963 cited a lack of "tourist-mindedness", and stressed the need to provide additional hotel units in order to attain a level which "would justify an active tourist policy and a more vigorous approach to potential markets" (Krapf and Michel 1963, p.14).
By 1964, the year following independence, the tourist industry was still concentrated around Scarborough (see map 3), although relatively large new facilities had been recently built to the north and west of town. These new facilities were the first to cater specifically to the new resort tourist by taking advantage of the natural amenities offered by these coastal areas. Bird of Paradise Island remained a popular spot for tourists, along with the Scarborough area, Pigeon Point and the Buccoo Reef. Despite the shortage in accommodation space, some nine thousand tourists (derived from calculations, see p. 67, above) visited Tobago, mainly from the United States and Great Britain. The island became familiar to a large segment of the American and British population as a result of Princess Margaret's visits there in 1955 and 1960 (Trinidad Guardian May 6, 1962). By 1963, it appeared that the only hindrance to a more intensive growth of tourism was the attitude of government itself, at least in the perception of the dominant pro-tourism sector.

3.3 Hurricane Flora to 1980

In October 1963, Hurricane Flora struck Tobago, and the result was extensive material damage and loss of life. The tourist sector was severely affected by the disaster, and virtually all facilities experienced a greater or lesser
MAP 4
TOBAGO
TOURISM LANDSCAPES C.1963

LEGEND
- Capital Town
- Selected Villages
- Hotel
+ Point of Interest
- Sandy Beach

Bird of Paradise Island
SPEYSIDE INN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
CARRIBBEAN SEA
Charlotteville

FOREST RESERVE
Windward Road
proposed road

ARNOS VALE
Scarborough
Coral Cove
Robinson Crusoe
Bacolet Bluehaven

Crown Point Airport
Buccoo Reef
Pigeon Point

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amount of damage (Trinidad and Tobago Planning Team Report 1963). A number of hotels were forced to close down temporarily for repairs, and only the Arnos Vale recorded near-capacity patronage for the following winter season. Up to ninety per cent of the winter bookings were cancelled or deferred, and many of these resulted from a negative spate of media coverage which reached North American and European audiences. Many of these reports exaggerated the presence of pestilence and food shortages resulting from the hurricane (Trinidad Guardian Feb.2, 1964).

Despite the serious financial losses induced by that hurricane, an incentive was provided for the revitalization of the tourist industry. Both the government and the private sector convincingly perceived tourism as the best means of recovering the wounded Tobagonian economy. Once again, tourism would be seen as a vital long-range alternative to agriculture, which though always subject to unpredictable economic and climatic oscillations, was particularly hard hit by Flora. It had been estimated for instance that about one-half of the vital coconut acreage had been destroyed with most of the remainder suffering serious damage (Trinidad and Tobago Planning Team Report 1963, pp.37-38). It was the report of the Tobago Planning Team which formally encouraged the pursuit of the touristic alternative:
With the destruction of a large area of the economy by the hurricane it is clear that (tourism) must assume new proportions both in the short-term and long-term outlook for Tobago...we are convinced that the industry must be made absolutely and relatively more important as a generator of employment and income in the island if a rapid rate of economic recovery and growth is to be achieved (Trinidad and Tobago Planning Team 1963, ch.11).

Included among the recommendations of the Team were the construction of "scenic roads", improved beach services and the preservation of historical sites (Trinidad and Tobago Planning Team 1963, p.76). In addition, it was strongly recommended that the degree of foreign land acquisition and hotel ownership should be controlled, to be replaced by an increased proportion of local participation. It is important to note that these new proposals were made shortly after the independence of Trinidad and Tobago. For the first time, a system of zoning was also proposed, in order to determine and define permissable levels of recreational development throughout the island. It was proposed that the Crown Point and Scarborough areas be zoned as "high density recreational areas", with density-reduced "general outdoors" areas being allowed in the north-west from Buccoo to Plymouth, as well as around Speyside and Charlotteville. "Natural environment areas" would include the already protected forest preserve in the interior, while special protection would be given to areas of "unique scenic,
scientific or historic interest". Within this category would be placed such unique attractions as Bird of Paradise Island and the Buccoo Reef (Trinidad and Tobago Planning Team Report 1963, pp.93-94).

The recommendations of the Planning Team provided a basis for Trinidad's post-independence tourism policy. Immediate implementation was not forthcoming however, as private foreign enterprise continued to provide the capital and initiative for new projects. Although the foreign-sponsered Mount Irvine hotel and golf complex was announced as early as 1965 (Trinidad Guardian May 16, 1965), it was not until the opening of this facility four years later that a major addition to the available level of accommodation space was realized. In 1966, business interests spoke of the need for at least five hundred to one thousand new units, in addition to the two hundred already existing, in order to meet projected medium-term demands (Trinidad Guardian July 3, 1966). At the same time, the Minister of Public Utilities announced government's intent to put Tobago on the "international scene" by raising Crown Point Airport to international standards (Trinidad Daily Mirror July 31, 1966). In addition to the Mount Irvine project, a number of further plans were announced in the late 1960's. These included plans for a large resort complex on Minister's Bay, near Scarborough, and for a Hilton to be built at Rocky Point, near the existing Mount
Irvine project (Ottley 1969, pp.101-03). Permission was also granted to a private firm to build a hotel, marina and holiday residence complex at Pigeon Point (Trinidad and Tobago Facilities Report 1968).

Despite this flurry of project announcements during the late 1960's, little became of them except for the Mount Irvine complex. Private enterprise and those involved in the tourist industry continued to criticize government, which was seen as the necessary main force behind such tourism inducements as the provision of incentives, publicity, etc. The president of the Tourist Board in Tobago at the time pointed out other perceived reasons for government's apparent apathy, despite the recommendations of the Planning Team:

(Tony) Bishop (president of the tourist board) is irritated at the red tape that holds tourism in Tobago to a trickle and he envies Jamaica...'If only they'd extend our runway for jets and start building hotels.' All this slowness is caused by Trinidad's merchants and politicians, who want Piarco to be the sole terminal and Port of Spain the only shopping mart. 'Two week package flights from the States give Tobago the last two days, which makes tourists mad as hell. They leave saying it should have been the other way around' (Rodman 1968, pp.169-70).

The political opposition also levelled charges of inactivity against the governing party, and as an alternative proposed the construction of hotels in the interior which would be
linked to the beaches by fast road access (Rodman 1968, p.171). In defense of government, the Prime Minister (Eric Williams) cited the Mount Irvine project as a positive first step, although he also emphasized a policy of careful planning and control in order to avoid the formation of an industry based on exclusiveness, as had occurred at Montego Bay in Jamaica (Rodman 1968, p.175). Despite pressure from some private sources, government enforced the old "Three Chains Act" which in essence ensured unlimited public access to the beaches and public control of same (Trinidad and Tobago Planning Team 1963, p.7). Some developers believed that such shared access would result in reduced numbers of foreign tourists on the beaches.

The draft of Trinidad and Tobago's third five year plan, announced in 1968, clarified government's position on tourism, and established the pace for the future development of that industry. Tourism henceforth would be developed as an integrated component within a national developmental strategy emphasizing full employment, economic diversity and economic independence (Trinidad and Tobago Third Five Year Plan Draft 1968, p.iii). This statement of long-range objectives implied a new tourism policy implementing many of the recommendations of the Planning Team proposed five years earlier. Stressed in the new policy was the need for local participation and control as well as a balanced approach which would discourage an overemphasis on tourism at the
expense of other sectors. Despite this last stated objective, Tobago was once again singled out as an ideal resort destination which might utilize its natural attributes best through tourism, especially in the north-west:

Trinidad's resort accommodation is at present structured to meet the more sophisticated aspects of global tourist movements; and Tobago, with its rustic charm and highly attractive beaches, is poised to catch the anticipated rapid growth of the holiday visitor traffic (Trinidad and Tobago Third Five Year Plan Draft 1968, p.321).

This rapid growth anticipation was corroborated by a 1968 report which predicted a fourteen per cent growth rate for the region, including Trinidad and Tobago (IBRD 1968 p.7). It too specifically mentioned Tobago as a logical area for the construction of resort facilities (IRBD 1968, p.9).

Between 1963 and 1967, the growth in the number of total foreign stopover arrivals to Trinidad and Tobago did in fact average an annual increase of fourteen per cent from about 35,000 to 62,000 (Trinidad and Tobago Third Five Year Plan Draft 1968, p.322). Assuming a continuation of this high growth rate, it was estimated that about one thousand new rooms would have to be built in addition to the two hundred presently available, along with three hundred new units required in the guest house sector (Trinidad and Tobago Third Five Year Plan Draft 1968, p.325). Greater
emphasis was to be placed on the guest house sector, which centered around Scarborough (ten to fifteen establishments, of five to ten units each) and catered to a largely local clientele. A number of contemporary reports (Henry 1970, Small Business Committee 1970) suggested greater guest house development as the best means for meeting government's aim of increased local participation and ownership. Although the incomes generated by this source were recognized as being considerably lower than in the resort hotel sector, it was pointed out that the high level of local input minimised the monetary leakages characteristic of foreign-owned establishments (Bryden 1973, p.213).

Until the addition of the Mount Irvine complex in 1969, the major problem associated with tourism in Tobago concerned a bottleneck in supply and not in demand, as proven by the large annual increases in arrivals. This high rate of growth was temporarily curtailed by the so-called "Black Power" disturbances in 1970. Although most instances of trouble occurred on Trinidad, negative media publicity contributed to a decline in Tobago hotel occupancy from 48.7% in 1969 to 41.5% in 1970 (Trinidad Guardian Sept.16, 1971). At least one source attributed much of the problem to the persistant high proportion of foreign ownership in the tourism sector, estimated as late as 1974 at eighty per cent (Allahar 1974, p.5). According to another source, "the whole focus of the Black Power demonstrations in Tobago was
on Tourism and foreign ownership of tourist services, causing leaders to launch bitter attacks on large hotels such as Crown Point" (Abdullah et al. 1974, p.16). The disturbances of 1970 contributed to the closure of the Bacolet and Bluehaven Inns the following year (Nothnagels interview 1980). However, it must also be stated that both facilities were somewhat aged and suffered from competition with the newer facilities, especially those located outside Scarborough.

The recovery of the tourist industry was delayed further by the typhoid epidemic of 1971, although the drop was slight and numbers rapidly recovered. The bottleneck in supply was also convincingly surmounted by a succession of major hotel openings after 1970. The construction of the Crown Reef and Turtle Beach Hotels (see map 5) in the early 1970's practically doubled the amount of available accommodation space. Since the construction of these two "super-hotels", most of the new projects have been undertaken by concerns based in Trinidad. These have been assisted to a large extent by such government agencies as the Industrial Development Corporation, established in 1959 to provide incentives and assistance to local entrepreneurs (Citibank 1978, p.41). These new projects have tended to range from small to medium (usually taken to mean fifty rooms or less), although government has since acquired control of the large Crown Reef hotel at Store Bay.
By 1975, over six hundred hotel rooms were available in Tobago, representing a two hundred per cent increase over 1968. Between 1968 and 1978, this growth has averaged twelve per cent annually, although much of this increase is accounted for by the construction of two large (over one hundred units) hotels between 1968 and 1978. The bulk of this recent development has taken place along the south-western coastal area between Crown Point and Plymouth, where natural amenities are considered most conducive to resort tourism. Since 1975, new projects along this coast have included the Sandy Bay Resorts, the Tropikist and Sunset Inn, as well as additions to Crown Point, which has since been converted to condominiums.

These facilities in general have come to be identified largely with the "package-tour" winter vacationer from North America or Europe. Such facilities as the Mount Irvine and Arnos Vale have traditionally relied on these sources to provide the bulk of patronage. In more recent years, an increasingly large proportion of the total has originated from within Trinidad itself, where the level of societal affluence has continued to grow. For example, thirty-eight per cent of Mount Irvine's 1979 clientele consisted of nationals from Trinidad and Tobago, while most of the newest facilities have a local majority among patrons.

By 1975, the Scarborough area had diminished absolutely and relatively greatly from its longstanding former role as
the centre of the Tobagonian tourist industry. No less than three closures have occurred during the 1970's, including the Bacolet, Blue Haven and Coral Cove facilities. In addition, the Robinson Crusoe hotel had deteriorated somewhat and has decreased the number of units available. While competition from the newer centres has played an important role in this decline, the Robinson Crusoe has also suffered as a result of erosion which has destroyed the beach frontage and main road fronting the hotel.

Very little growth has occurred in other areas of the island, although the Blue Water Inn has been opened near the Bird of Paradise Inn (formerly the Speyside Inn) in Speyside.

Although Tobago as a whole has undergone a certain pattern of touristic growth, it is apparent that this development has not occurred evenly in time or space within the island. The following chapter will focus upon a more systematic analysis of these two aspects in an attempt to characterize the stages of development both from the temporal and spatial perspectives.
MAP 5
TOBAGO
TOURISM LANDSCAPES C.1978

LEGEND
- Capital Town
- Selected Villages
- Hotel
- Defunct Hotel
- Proposed Hotel
- Estate Housing
- Point of Interest
- Sandy Beach
Chapter 4

GROWTH STAGES IN TOBAGONIAN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

In the present study, the island of Tobago is treated as a case study of tourism evolution in the Caribbean region from a spatial-developmental perspective. This evolution, having already been described previously from a historical perspective, will be compared in the following section against the generalized diffusion curve as modified and described by Butler above. Following this, the present day (c. 1980) tourist landscapes of Tobago will be examined in detail as possible spatial representations of these stages.

4.1 Stages of Growth in Tobago's Touristic Development

Preliminary examination of the data illustrating the number of arrivals and hotel units in Tobago since 1940, suggests what appear to be possible stages in the evolution of the tourist industry. These data are provided in figure 3 for the absolute growth of tourist arrivals and accommodation units (see p. 90). A consideration of the nature of this growth and the factors behind it may provide the first clues towards a more competent delineation and
Figure 3

Estimated Foreign Stopovers and Hotel Units, Tobago
1946-1979

Sources: see table 2
definition of this stage-like process. This in turn facilitates a comparison with Butler's modified diffusion curve. In figure 3, one may discern three phases, labelled ostensibly as the "early growth", "stability" and "accelerated growth" stages. In purely descriptive terms, the chart shows a basic trend indicating accelerated growth for both variables after 1965-1968, following a period of low but steady growth from 1940 to 1956, and a period of oscillation from 1957 to 1966. During this interval, the growth in accommodations averaged only one per cent, whereas a twelve per cent average annual increase is noted for the periods 1945 to 1957, and 1968 to 1978. These relative increases are illustrated in figure 4, which, on the basis of a four year average, shows the two periods of relatively high growth, separated by a period of depression. With the exception of these periods of minor variation, the trend appears to coincide with the first half of the diffusion-acceptance curve. Despite the similarity, it remains to be seen to what actual extent these phases can be compared to Butler's three relevant phases, which correspond to the first half of the generalized curve.

The phases initially delineated above are the product of a multifarious array of factors, many of which have been specifically alluded to in the previous chapter. In generalized terms, these factors, both internal and external, consist of geographic, technological, economic,
Figure 4
Per Cent Increase in Foreign Stopovers and Hotel Units, Tobago 1946-1979
(Based on 3 year averages)
political, social and cultural constraints. As it will be shown, significant changes or innovations in one or more of these may lead to a transitional phase resulting eventually in a new stage of development. This transition may be gradual, as result for instance of increased incomes in North America (an external factor resulting in gradually increasing arrivals) or the change may be sudden, as a result of the construction of a large airport or due to a political coup d'etat (or other internal factors resulting in great increases or drop-offs in arrivals).

As suggested by Butler, each phase appears to be manifested by a particular pattern of spatial organization, and by changes in such characteristics of the industry as relative economic importance, local attitudes, the type of tourist, control, etc. It is important to understand the nature of these changes and the combination of factors from which they are derived. These will of course vary from place to place depending on the unique circumstances attributable to a particular case. Thus, the special combination of factors which characterize Tobago produces a set of causal relationships unique unto itself. It must also be stated that these relationships, to a variable degree, may also reflect the situation on other Caribbean islands, since in many ways Tobago is typically British Caribbean, at least in a historical socio-economic sense. With this in mind, the development of tourism on Tobago,
previously detailed as a history, will be analysed and characterised within a stages construct.

4.2 Early Stage Constructs

The first stage of Tobagonian tourism, considering both the previous chapter as well as figure 3, extends from an indefinite period before the turn of the present century to the decade following world war two. Although figure 3 includes data following 1940 only, the numbers previous to this are very small as noted in chapter 3, and a trend of stability at this very low level is assumed for the period. For reasons which will be made clear presently, this may be referred to as the "pre-tourism" stage. Although this in no way suggests the absence of tourism during this period, the available and assumed tourist-related statistics do indicate a very low absolute and relative level of development and very slow growth during that interval. The fifty or so hotel rooms available in 1950 does not differ significantly from the number available twenty years earlier. One also finds a consistently low rate of foreign arrivals, of whom only a very small proportion were tourists in the stricter sense of the word. In terms of economic significance compared with agriculture, tourism accounted for only a very small share of revenues (Trinidad and Tobago Handbooks 1912 and 1934). For these reasons, the
pre-tourism phase is comparable with Butler's exploration phase in many crucial respects. Important among these is the prevalence of "explorer" tourist types who travelled to Tobago despite the lack of tourist facilities, in order to experience the unchanged social milieu of the island (see p.61 above).

Indications of an involvement phase are observable in the 1920's, when for the first time local entrepreneurs, the estate owners, began to establish facilities specifically for the convenience of tourists. Obviously, there is no clear cut line between the exploration and involvement phases, since Tobago until very recently had not been "discovered" at all by large proportions of the travelling public. It was forty years or so after the first involvement in the 1920's that tourist arrivals to Tobago began to show a definite absolute and relative acceleration.

A combination of factors account for the development and status of tourism during this early period. Some of these are unique to Tobago, while others apply to the Caribbean in general. Geographically, Tobago was and to a certain extent still is isolated from its traditional tourist markets. Traditionally, most foreign tourists originated from North America and the United Kingdom, while Venezuela and the other Caribbean islands together have consistently supplied about thirty per cent of the tourist flow (Trinidad and Tobago Tourist Board Annual Report 1949,
p.8 and Trinidad and Tobago International Travel Report 1979, p.x). As Tobago had long since lost any strategic military or economic pre-eminence that it may have had several centuries ago, metropolitan transportation links were tenuous, and dependent upon the connection with Trinidad to a large extent. A journey to Tobago from overseas entailed much time, expense and inconvenience. Islands such as Barbados and Bermuda acted as intervening opportunities to which the few North Americans and Europeans who could afford the time and money were attracted. Such islands were also long developed as "little Britains" in which the traveller might enjoy more conveniences in a somewhat more familiar environment.

Potential traffic to Tobago was hindered by a sequence of external events, including the two world wars and the economic depression of the 1930's, all of which affected other Caribbean destinations as well. For all these reasons, the colonial government placed little emphasis on tourism development until the early 1950's. The onus of development originated independently during the 1920's with the estate owners, who were seeking supplements to the agricultural sector, and saw in tourism a viable alternative. The "pre-tourism" phase, as discussed in chapter 3, above, was therefore closely identified with estate involvement, thereby laying the basis for future touristic development.
The spatial characteristics of the tourist industry during this early era are, not surprisingly, reflections of the economic, geographic, technological, political and social circumstances of the day. Since the only means of visiting Tobago prior to world war two was by sea, most accommodations were clustered around the port of call in Scarborough. This primary town was the centre of all vital functions and the logical place for such facilities to congregate. This clustering was also the first indication of tourism's apparent tendency to regionalise. Since the bulk of early visitations included individuals whose motivations were other than strictly touristic (business and political for example), Scarborough again was the best location for accommodation facilities. The only exception to this rule until the 1950's was the Speyside node.

The less tangible concept of "tourist space" (Cohen 1979, p.27) may also be considered at this point. Such space incorporates those areas which are characterized by varying degrees and types of touristic activity. In the pre-touristic phase, the entire island is perceived as an attraction, representing a sort of bucolic periphery untainted by modern ways. The small core of tourists represents an exploratory-expeditionary type who were willing to undergo the arduous journey and to cope with the relative lack of transportation and other facilities in order to experience the "true" periphery. As mentioned
above, these tourists act as the pioneering group which opens up an area to local involvement and development. MacCannell had referred to these pathfinders as "hippies", with the proviso that this may include anyone "who comes to town but does not leave after a few days" (MacCannell 1976, pp.171-72).

It would appear that the information diffused as a result of these cumulative early visits may comprise an important element in attracting greater numbers of individuals to visit a new "undiscovered" location. This could include for example the scientist-journalist who visits Bird of Paradise Island and submits an article for publication in a contemporary journal or magazine. This diffusion of information may be seen as a contributing factor in the transition from the "pre-touristic" to the later stages of development.

By the mid 1950's, there is a general indication of an upward trend in the number of arrivals, while the number of hotel units available was significantly increased with the opening of the Crown Point facility. The precedents for this transition into an early "take-off" situation (or development phase in Butler's terminology) are found somewhat earlier. Paramount among these was the 1940 opening of the Crown Point Airport, which provided a technological innovation potentially capable of greatly enlarging the market area and volume of tourism. The
results were not immediate, but increasing jet capacities and flight frequencies since 1940 have played a dominant role in the growth of the industry. One possible bottleneck in this situation however is the fact that virtually all flights to and from Tobago have had to connect in Trinidad.

A second factor which contributed to the new governmental awareness of tourism's potential was the conclusion reached in 1946 by the Anglo-American Commission regarding the stimulation of West Indian economies. The Commission, which was to later become the Caribbean Travel Association (CTA), stated that tourism appeared to constitute the most viable long-range economic alternative for the Caribbean region, based on the existing economic base and natural amenities of the region (Turner and Ash 1973, p.102). This sentiment would later be echoed by other reports, such as the Issa report encountered in chapter 3.

The development of a large leisure-oriented class in North America and Europe provided an ever-growing market for holiday destinations around the world. With rising disposable incomes and extended vacation time, this increase in affluence allowed a larger group of people to search for vacation opportunities in the West Indies. This new class of tourist was differentiated in general terms from the "traveller-explorer" type encountered previously, in terms of motivation and expectation. These in turn would necessitate a re-thinking of the "tourist space" concept.
The island of Tobago, with its strength in the so-called "three S" attractions, was suited to the attraction of the heliotropic tourist (Pollard 1976, p.50). In Cohen's discussion of touristic differentiation, this leisure-oriented class sought recreational and diversionary opportunities, rather than those which could be otherwise classed as experimental, experiential and existential (Cohen 1979, p.22). These motivations and expectations are manifested by changes in the touristic landscape which reflect the desire to pursue a different set of activities within a specialized environment. In effect, the beach area became the primary focus of touristic activity. The more aesthetically pleasing beaches (Store Bay, Pigeon Point, Mount Irvine Bay) became prime sites for the location of new accommodations, as evidenced by the construction of the Arnos Vale and Crown Point facilities.

This early take-off phase deviates therefore from the pre-tourism phase in many crucial respects. Many of these changes came about gradually as a result of precedents set much earlier. Much of the impetus for these transitions was provided by shifts and innovations in the economic, political and technological circumstances of the times. As leisure time in market countries increased, the heliotropic tourist supplanted the traveller-explorer as the dominant type. As technological improvements allowed large increases in carrying capacity and market scope, the emphasis began to
shift from the tourist as "occasional guest" to the tourist as "mass consumer" (Ferrario 1979, p.18). In response to these increased economies of scale, the local estate owners were being replaced by the foreign entrepreneurs as the primary source of capital for the new projects. These tended to consist increasingly of multi-unit resort complexes located on or near the beach, which now became the primary focus of the island in terms of tourist activity. Government's role evolved from virtual non-involvement to a supportive role through the provision of publicity and a favourable investment climate. According to Ferrario,

...as soon as a destination area becomes aware of its attractions and masters the techniques of inducing tourists to come and pay for them, inevitably large-scale developments and building programmes begin (Ferrario 1979, p.18).

Finally, tourism in this era begins a shift from its role as an adjunct of the prevailing estate economy to a dominant economic sector in its own right.

In spatial terms, the above changes, first noticeable in the mid-1950's (and indicated on figure 3 from a graphic perspective), constituted the beginnings of a shift in the tourist industry from the Scarborough area to the west and north-west. Although the capital still dominated, its inherent attractions and status as port-of-call were no longer sufficient to attract the majority of
leisure-oriented tourists, especially from foreign sources. As air travel supplanted sea travel as the dominant means of tourist transportation, the proximity of facilities to the airport became advantageous in attracting business.

This early take-off stage, analogous to Butler's early developmental phase, exhibits signs of stagnation between 1956 and 1968 (see figure 3). The is particularly true for the number of accommodation units, which does not appear, during the interval, to increase at a rate sufficient to match the increase in the number of arrivals. This would appear to support the earlier statements in chapter 3 which alluded to the shortage of accommodation space on the island. A number of reasons for this interval of stability may be cited. Despite the apparent increase in the supportive role of the government, contemporary sources allude time and again to the lack of "tourist-mindedness" exhibited by the authorities. This points out the very crucial role played by governments in the development of tourism through publicity, infrastructural improvements and the provision of incentives and other stimulants to private enterprise. It may not be altogether accurate however to assume that a greater degree of governmental activity would have resulted in an earlier resumption in the high growth rate. During the 1950's, a number of Caribbean islands were entering the developmental phase, taking advantage of the post war era of prosperity in the market countries. These
islands had governments which were very favourably inclined towards tourism. They had relatively extensive air connections, and increased carrying capacities became available with the construction of large new airports. (These factors have been discussed in chapter 2.) In addition, such islands were usually located in closer proximity to the major market source, North America, and therefore provided a less expensive and more convenient intervening opportunity for those vacationers.

For these reasons as well as others, Tobagonian tourism appeared to stabilize after 1956, although the island seemed poised on the threshold of a major developmental era. This may have occurred earlier than 1968, but the industry was set back several years as a result of Hurricane Flora in 1963. Previous to this, the actual number of arrivals showed small decreases after 1960, likely as a response to the lack of facilities. The steady recovery in arrivals after 1963 is a strong indication that the problem was indeed one of supply, since the demand to visit Tobago was apparently very strong. The lack of facilities may be attributable not only to a perceived lack of "business-mindedness", but also to other external factors over which the government had little control. These include the hurricane and the accelerated development of other more favourably situated competitive destinations in the region.
4.3 Recent Stage Constructs

The report of the Tobago Planning Team which was presented after 1963 provided an impetus for the renewed stimulation of Tobago's tourist industry. This document not only cited the potential of tourism as a means of rapid economic recovery, but also suggested fundamental revisions which would eventually form the basis for the post-independence tourism policy. Over the following ten years however, the trend appeared to fit conveniently into the characteristic "take-off" stage pattern as detailed earlier. After 1965, several very ambitious projects were unveiled which involved extensive inputs of foreign-based capital, including the Hilton chain. By 1970, the Mount Irvine complex and golf course was opened, thereby making available a virtually self-contained large-scale resort facility as well as an additional two hundred or so hotel units.

With the exception of the oscillations caused by the Black Power and typhoid incidences during the early 1970's, the growth in tourist arrivals and hotel units has as far as 1980 shown steady increases, averaging ten to fourteen percent per annum. This rate of growth, as indicated in figure 4, has slowed somewhat in the latter half of the 1970's, mainly as a result of government's recent emphasis on smaller-scale locally-built projects. The rate may show a
higher rate once again when the Carawak and other hotels (including the possibility of a new Hilton) are opened for business in the early 1980's. This growth has persisted despite the continued existence of several bottlenecks, which may also account in part for the recent growth decline. Critical among these has been the low capacity of Crown Point airport in accommodating large jet volumes from international sources. Piarco airport in Trinidad remains the sole connector for all in-and-out-bound flights to Tobago. This situation has frequently been cited as a source of inconvenience to tourists (tourist interviews 1980) and may therefore influence some vacationers to choose alternative destinations.

Despite the apparent increase in demand since the mid-1960's, Tobago is disadvantaged by high air fares, attributable in part to the island’s relative geographical isolation from the North American market. There appears moreover to be a discrepancy in fare rates between Trinidad and other islands equally "remote". It was calculated in 1975 that the air fare from New York to Trinidad was US$282. The fare to Curacao, which is located approximately the same distance from New York, was only US$195 (Ruoff 1979, p.172). This discrepancy may be accounted for by differential subsidizations and other factors, but does suggest one avenue of manipulation, since the Trinidadian national carrier is subject to governmental control. Among travel
agencies and tourists (interviews 1980) hotel rates for Tobago are perceived to be clearly more expensive than other regional destinations. These two factors strongly militate against visiting Tobago in the eyes of a certain proportion of potential customers. The implications of this are particularly apparent since the mid-1970's, when adverse economic conditions were prevalent throughout the traditional market countries, thus increasing the regional competition for the tourist dollar.

The present "take-off" growth stage is similar, at least in appearance, to the "development" phase in Butler's paradigm. A fuller consideration of Trinidad and Tobago's tourism strategy since 1975 will however reveal several crucial deviations from Butler's characterization. These may in turn indicate important modifications and transitions in the model despite the similarity in the growth curve itself. Such modifications, suggestive of stage transition, may hold implications which will affect future trends in the development of the Tobagonian tourist industry. In other words, the onset of a consolidation phase as a result of diseconomies of scale may not necessarily occur in Tobago, because of a governmental policy which encourages local participation, thus reducing the potential for local resentment and vulnerability to external conditions.

Several trends serve to indicate a present transition into a new phase of development, even though, as suggested
above, the present growth rate in foreign arrivals seems to parallel Butler's development phase, with its emphasis on non-local participation and mass resort tourism. One of these trends concerns the rapid increase in the level of domestic tourism. As estimated earlier, approximately ninety per cent of inter-island air traffic is local, of which an increasing proportion visits Tobago for recreational purposes. The great majority of guest house patrons consists of nationals, while a growing proportion of hotel and resort patronage is also accounted for by Trinidadians (fieldwork 1980). This is especially noticeable in the "off-season", which extends from May to November. This trend is a reflection of the observable increase in the Trinidadian standard of living and the associated increase in levels of disposable income available for recreational purposes (Citibank 1978, p.12). Secondly, this in part is a consequence of deliberate government policy which encourages Trinidadians to spend their holiday money at home, rather than in such traditional vacation spots as Barbados and Miami (interview with Trinidad tourist official 1980). This governmental intent has led many establishments to introduce a differential rates policy which favours citizens of Trinidad and Tobago.

The trend towards increased domestic tourism may provide a buffer against a potential decline in the tourist industry as a result of external factors, many of which have
been discussed above. Even though present growth rates in foreign arrivals are consistent and healthy, these may very well decrease if economic circumstances continue to worsen within many of the major tourist-generating nations. An increased reliance on the foreign tourist component may well result in some detriment to the tourist industry if this happens. It is not inconceivable that the high growth rates of the 1970's reflect a "spillover" effect from other more saturated islands (see chapter 2). In this case, the likelihood of such rates being sustained into the 1980's and beyond is excellent if active promotion is carried out, but the cultivation of a local clientele becomes all the more vital. Such considerations play no small part in recent attempts to attract more visitors from adjacent nations, especially Venezuela.

Another trend characteristic of the present tourist industry in Tobago concerns the increased level of local participation and control. As revealed in the previous chapter, such a strategy was first recommended by the Planning Team after 1963, and confirmed as a policy in order to meet the post-independence objectives outlined in the Third Five Year Plan. This would be achieved in a two-prong approach which would provide incentives on one hand to private local entrepreneurs (Hotel Development Act 1963), while on the other hand encouraging government participation through the acquisition of tourist facilities by the public sector.
The trend towards increased local ownership represents an induced reversion to dominant local involvement. In Butler's post-consolidation phase, such a reversion results when foreign interests are forced to sell at a reduced rate as diseconomies eventually result in consistent losses to the entrepreneur. In the present Tobagonian context, this reversion is the logical consequence of governmental objectives, and does not necessarily indicate the existence of such diseconomies. (This can be seen from the consistent rise in the number of foreign arrivals over the last decade). The scope of those involved in the reversion to local involvement has expanded beyond the controlling group of the past, which for the most part consisted of estate owners. By the 1970's, the public was represented as a major force through the government, while an array of local entrepreneurs, many of whom were based in Port of Spain, were involved with many tourist related projects.

It may be seen therefore that as the scope of domestic tourism and local involvement increases, one can perceive certain changes in the industry which cumulatively suggest the beginnings of the transitional phase suggested earlier. This in turn could have implications for the spatial nature of tourism as regards the location and type of facilities as well as the "tourist space" concept. From a supportive role in the past, government has become a competitor, and had defined its role as the controlling force behind future
development through zoning provisions and other legislative means. This is in part designed to ensure that tourism does not evolve into an all-dominant sector, but rather serves as an integrated component contributing to the wider national objectives.

A "stages" construct for Tobago as a whole has been suggested, based upon the analysis of tourist-related data and the observation of perceived trends and changes in the character of the industry. It has been proposed that the historical tourist industry may be divided into a pre-tourism phase previous to 1955, followed by a period of stability ending in the mid-1960's. The industry does show high levels of growth in the period 1950-1954 (especially in accommodations, see figure 4), but the absolute numbers involved are small (see figure 3). Although the precedents are observable earlier in time, the take-off or development phase commences about 1967, to be followed by a transitional period discernable in the mid-1970's. This marks the point at which the effects of government policy regarding local participation and the encouragement of local patronage are discernable. As figure 4 indicates, the rate of foreign arrivals has evened out, and there is a decline in the growth rate in the number of available accommodation units. It may also be noted that individual facilities also go through certain stages. The Blue Haven, for instance, was once quite luxurious, but has since deteriorated for a
number of reasons, and has since closed down. This does not, however, rule out the possibility that the facility may some day undergo "rejuvenation".

These stages are not mutually exclusive in time, and considerable overlap exists between them. Many observations may imply changes of emphasis which appear gradually and then persist into subsequent phases. Thus, although the present phase is best typified as a combination of foreign heliotropic resort tourists and a growing number of locals from Trinidad (who may also be oriented towards the resort facilities), there are still elements of the traveller-explorer type to be found on Tobago. It should once again be emphasized here that these "types" are generalizations, and the nature of tourist motivations and expectations is perhaps best conveyed along a continuum. In another example, foreign interests in the hotel industry persist into the 1980's even though the present phase is closely identified with the reversion to local control. The paradigm offered in figure 5 indicates these general trends and changes through the three main stages of development outlined above. This suggests that the stages of Tobagonian tourism may be distinguished by changes in the quality of the industry, as perceived from a number of perspectives.

The following chapter will consider spatial variations within the Tobagonian tourist industry. Having outlined a stages theory, it remains to be seen how the touristic
landscape varies internally, and whether the above paradigm is applicable in differentiating tourist regions within Tobago as representative of specific temporal stages of development.
Selected Changes in the Tourism Sector, Tobago

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Pre-tourism</th>
<th>Take-off</th>
<th>Present Take-off</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status of Tourism</td>
<td>peripheral</td>
<td>major activity</td>
<td>major component of national plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Role</td>
<td>peripheral</td>
<td>supportive</td>
<td>controlling and competitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source of Capital</td>
<td>estate interests</td>
<td>foreign business</td>
<td>local; public and private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic Volume</td>
<td>occasional guest</td>
<td>mass consumer</td>
<td>local and foreign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist Type</td>
<td>traveller-explorer</td>
<td>heliotropic</td>
<td>heliotropic and local</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
<td>touring</td>
<td>beach-related</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facilities</td>
<td>small hotels</td>
<td>resort</td>
<td>diverse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seasonality</td>
<td>year-round</td>
<td>winter emphasis</td>
<td>year-round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation to Tobago</td>
<td>boat</td>
<td>air</td>
<td>air</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 5

PRESENT DAY TOURIST LANDSCAPES ON TOBAGO

The contemporary tourist industry in Tobago is characterized by the presence of differential touristic landscapes and tourist-related land uses. Although the stages construct considered earlier entails the development of the entire island, these landscapes attest to the fact that such growth has not occurred evenly over the surface. The internal spatial development of the industry is in part a reflection of changing socio-economic, technological, political and other variables. This can be illustrated using the example of Scarborough, which lost its touristic dominance due to changes in technology (the airport replacing the port as the main means of entry), and the socio-economic changes in the market countries (which gave rise in turn to a different kind of tourist with different amenity requirements best facilitated by other areas). The following discussion will in part reflect the literature which considers the spatial evolution and differentiation of touristic landscapes. Tobago will be presented as an agglomeration of tourist landscapes which reflect differential development.
MAP 6

TOBAGO
MAIN TOURISM REGIONS

LEGEND

- Tourism Regions
- Sandy Beach

Bird of Paradise Island
Charlotteville
Speyside
Kings Bay

Sandy Beach

SCARBOROUGH

Plymouth

Buccoo Beach
Pigeon Point

Forest Reserve

CARIBBEAN SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN

0 5 10
m
5.1 The Tourism Periphery

Tobago is subdivided into four tourist areas, as illustrated on map 6. Three of these will be seen as constituting tourist regions, employing in part Ritter's definition previously offered on a macro scale. Within each defined area, the touristic infrastructure and influence is discussed, and graphs are presented which depict the growth in accommodation space for that particular region. Utilizing these data as a means of quantifying tourism growth, these graphs can be compared to Butler's curve, and analogies may be drawn. Figure 6 is provided in order to illustrate the proportion of accommodation (hotels only) space contained within each area.

The first tourism area (designated "1" on map 6) which will be considered encompasses perhaps ninety-five per cent of the land area, and may be characterized as "pre-touristic". This area is for the most part sparsely populated, and the interior is mountainous and heavily forested. Most settlement and estate agricultural enterprises are found in the coastal areas. A number of characteristics will be discussed which illustrate the similarities between this area at present, and the Tobagonian tourist industry in general previous to 1950. The first characteristic which must be noted is the relative paucity of touristic infrastructure and activity. As shown
Figure 6

Proportion of Hotel Units in each Region of Tobago 1980

Source: Fieldwork 1980
in figure 7, there are few hotels and no significant growth over the last thirty years. This peripheral area as whole only accounts for approximately four per cent of all hotel units on the island. The basic trend is comparable to Butler's "exploration" phase. The greatest concentrations of tourist activity are located at Speyside, Charlotteville and along the main road from Crown Point to the outskirts of Scarborough. In addition, a number of very small guesthouses and cabin facilities are situated sporadically in the western interior and along the Windward Road to Charlotteville. Attractions include Bird of Paradise Island, Man O' War Bay, King's Bay Waterfall, the Hillsborough dam, and the slave graves at Golden Lane. The many small settlements and the mountainous setting are also touted as tourist attractions in their own right.

Like Tobago before 1950, the traveller who spends most of his time in this area must cope with a conspicuous lack of tourist-oriented infrastructure. Hotel facilities are restricted to Speyside, and these are relatively small operations which are better described as inns or guest houses. Good transportation routes are limited to the main road, the North Coast Road, and to the cross-island arteries in the western half of the island. Unlike the general "pre-tourist" landscape, these roads are frequented today by visitors in taxis or rented cars who stay for the most part in the larger hotels, venturing out for a one-day excursion
to see the island. Since such tourists seldom venture away from the "beaten track", a sort of perceptual tourist space is created which encompasses the visual field of these auto-excursionists. Along this field, small nodes of sporadic tourist activity are located at the attractions cited earlier.

Because of this lack of amenities, and information pertaining to those which do exist, this area (with the exception of the auto-excursionists) is generally visited today by a small number of explorer-expeditionary types, in many ways similar to the dominant type in the early part of the century. These "occasional guests" must utilize local bus services, hitchhiking and pedestrian travel in order to visit this area. Many prefer to lodge in available local residences and some may even be found camping on the beaches or less frequently in the interior. The greater part of the area is accessible only by a low-grade network of "crown traces" which are in general negotiable only by foot. Because of this, these are sometimes utilized by the "explorer" who is sufficiently motivated in the quest to really experience what is perceived to be an authentic and untainted landscape and way of life. Despite certain similarities in spatial preference, this group in fact actually constitutes a broad selection of age, nationality and motivation types. Most typical perhaps is the young habitual traveller from Europe or North America who on a
shoestring budget is attempting to see as much of the local scenery as possible during a short stay. One may also encounter scientists and naturalists as well as those who attempt to emulate such non-conformist groups as the Rastafarians, some of whom may found in the more remote areas. All these types together constitute the exploratory vanguard of the tourist movement which may eventually lead to subsequent stages of development.

In light of the above, tourism must considered a minor activity in region "1", as it was in the whole of Tobago during the pre-tourist era prior to 1945. Estate agriculture is still the dominant economic activity over much of the interior, and only a small proportion of the population is employed in tourist-related activities. This is partly due to the difficulties encountered in travelling from the small villages to the tourism areas on the coast. The situation is somewhat better for those living in the interior west of Scarborough. Unlike the Tobagonian tourist plant prior to 1945, the estate owners do not apparently dominate the industry. However, one owner has established cabins at Charlotteville, while several estate homes are available for rent to visitors and others.

The tourism policy of the government during the late 1970's (as defined in the National Physical Development Plan and the Third Five Year Plan) appears to preclude any major development in the regions, although Speyside and
Charlotteville have been proposed for the intensification of resort development, within the framework of stated national goals and objectives (National Physical Development Plan 1978, p.163). Much of the interior is earmarked for preservation (the forest reserve is already protected), while agriculture is given priority as the mainstay of the economy in the periphery. This low level of government involvement in tourism is similar to the pre-1945 phase, although there are qualitative differences in terms of official motivation and resources.

5.2 Existing Tourist Regions

Two closely related regions in the north-west together present a landscape more typical of a "take-off" or "developmental" stage of growth, and are designated "2a" and "2b" on map 6. In general, both areas consist of relatively intensive tourist facilities located on or near good bathing beaches. The first area may designated the Crown Point region, and is located in the extreme west, near the airport (see map 7). As indicated in figure 6, the Crown Point region accounts for over one-half of all the hotel units on Tobago. The major developments, Crown Reef and Crown Point, are located adjacent to Store Bay, which has the popular bathing beach on the island. It has been estimated that this beach is utilized daily by some three hundred to five
hundred persons, despite its small size (interview with lifeguard 1980). In addition, Store Bay serves as one of the main takeoff points for excursions to the Buccoo Reef, which has become the single most important tourist attraction, excepting the beaches, on Tobago. To the north of Store Bay is Pigeon Point, which is very attractive and accessible to tourism. No accommodations are located along the beach, and the land is currently held by private interests who charge a small fee for the right to enter the grounds. The beach itself is fully accessible to the public because of the Three Chains Act cited above. For this reason, Pigeon Point perhaps more than any other area on Tobago is identified locally with foreign "white" tourism (Abdullah et al. 1974, p.14).

The foreign component for both beach areas in fact peaks during the winter season, from December to April, while the local element dominates overwhelmingly during the summer months. This local element consists mainly of short-term visitors from Trinidad who take advantage of numerous (forty or more on certain holidays) daily inter-island flights and the very low subsidized rate for the round trip (approximately US$11.50 at the time of writing).

As indicated, the largest facilities (those with over one hundred units) are located immediately adjacent to Store Bay, and these tend to charge the highest prices because of
although both were initially built primarily with foreign capital, the Crown Reef has since been acquired by the government, in a move which conforms with national objectives concerning the tourist industry. The Crown Point is also locally operated, and has been converted to condominiums. At present, a large new addition is being constructed which will add some fifty units to the tourism plant.

A number of locally operated medium-sized facilities have been built recently to the south and east of Store Bay, on the flat coral lowlands typical of the area. These include Sandy Point Resorts (1977), the Tropikist (1977), the Golden Thistle (mid 1970's) and Store Bay Resorts (1976), which consists of a number of apartment-like units within walking distance of Store Bay. A new facility, the Carawak, is under construction adjacent to the airport. An additional local medium-sized facility is located to the north of the Crown Reef, near Pigeon Point. All of the above establishments are relatively small, and have been built in the last half of the 1970's. The new projects currently under construction indicate that this relatively intensive developmental phase has not yet abated. In addition to a twenty acre parcel of land at Milford Bay specifically designated for small local projects (Cuffie 1972, p.64), a number of properties in the area have been put up for sale. Because of its accessibility to the beach
Figure 7

Estimated Hotel Units, Area "1"
1930-1980

Figure 8

Estimated Hotel Units, Crown Point Subregion
1940-1980
area, there is a likelihood that these will be developed as tourist-related facilities.

A number of infrastructural improvements have been carried out in the area, including the re-alignment of the main road, terminal improvements at the airport, and the construction of an electrical sub-station. In addition to the hotels, a number of private residences in the area are made available for rent, and some of these are found along the road north of Store Bay to the main road.

Without doubt, the Crown Point region contains the most intensive tourist development found on the island. As indicated in figure 6, about 54% of all hotel units found on Tobago are located here. Virtually all of the facilities are locally operated, and a large proportion of the tourist flow is accounted for by the local sector. The size and price of facilities appears to decrease with distance from Store Bay, which along with Pigeon Point provides the focal point for the area. This is not surprising considering the motivations of the dominant heliotropic tourist type. Proximity to the airport and to Buccoo Reef also partially explain the build-up in this area. As illustrated in figure 8, the increase in hotel units is especially pronounced since 1970, resulting in a growth curve which is representative of a "development" phase, in Butler's terminology. The qualitative nature of this growth however is considerably different from Butler's discussion, the
Source: Fieldwork 1980
significance of which will be dealt with in subsequent chapters.

The Buccoo-Arnos Vale tourist region would probably constitute one larger entity with the above area were it not for the presence of the Bon Accord lagoon mangroves. This feature presents a natural barrier to coastal development, although proposals have been made previously which would have involved extensive clearing and development (see p.81 above). The likelihood of such modification may increase as recreational pressures continue to raise the economic feasibility of such projects. On the other hand, increasing environmental awareness may result in the creation of an anti-development lobby, since the area constitutes the largest and finest example of mangrove on the island. At present, no significant direct tourist impact is felt in the mangrove, though this could change as a result of development, or if the mangrove was to be protected as a national park (in this way becoming a tourist attraction in itself). As a result of either scenario, it is conceivable that both regions could amalgamate spatially into one region, thus creating a developmental landscape extending from Crown Point to Arnos Vale.

The Buccoo-Arnos Vale region consists mainly of gently undulating hills covered with coconut plantations and secondary deciduous forest (lastro). It is very sparsely populated except for the three villages (Buccoo, Black Rock
and Plymouth) which are found there. The area receives considerably more rainfall than the flat Crown Point region, and the waters are rougher due to the exposure of the beaches to the prevailing winds. This region is dominated by the presence of three major resorts, the largest of which is the Mount Irvine complex (see map 8). The other two hotels, the Turtle Beach and Arnos Vale, cater largely to the foreign winter vacation sector, although neither facility approaches the Mount Irvine in scale. In addition to these facilities, the tourist accommodations plant consists of one small hotel in Plymouth (the Cocrico Inn), as well as a number of guesthouses, especially in the village of Buccoo, which serves as a major take-off point to the Buccoo Reef. All of the facilities are located on or near beachfront, which extends more or less continuously from Buccoo Point past Plymouth. Despite this length, the beachfront is generally considered to be inferior for bathing purposes to either Store Bay or Pigeon Point. One very noticeable feature of the region is the golf course, which encompasses several hundreds of acres adjacent to the Mount Irvine complex of which it is part. The golf course attracts tourists from facilities throughout the island, and the level of local participation appears to be on the increase.

Both the Mount Irvine and Arnos Vale complexes are complemented by estate housing projects which were developed
Figure 9

Estimated Hotel Units
Buccoo-Arnos Vale Subregion
1940-1980

Figure 10

Estimated Hotel Units, Scarborough Region
1940-1980
at the time the hotels came into being. These facilities have appeared as disposable incomes in Trinidad and Tobago have continued to increase, while Tobago has gradually developed a reputation as the resort area for the country. Although this housing is not in the strict sense considered to be touristic, they are closely linked to hotel facilities which were components of the original development plan when the estates were initially sold and subdivided in previous years. Because of the high recreational-vacation motivation component for their construction, such developments are located in close proximity to the same amenities (beach, golf course, hotel night life) sought by tourists proper. It is because of these two reasons that such housing projects are considered complementary to tourism and are often located within tourist regions. This is further reinforced by the fact that many houses are made available for rent to vacationers when not in use by their owners.

New development is continuing in this region, although the scale is not quite as large as that which has been undertaken around Crown Point. Still under negotiation is a proposal by Hilton to construct a large new hotel at Rocky Point, which is located midway between Mount Irvine and Turtle Beach. Such a project, if realized, would greatly increase the available accommodation space. A major development which commenced in 1980 has seen the subdivision of a large portion of Grafton estate for estate housing
sites (see map 8). As this develops, it is possible to envision virtually contiguous housing and hotel land use from Buccoo to Arnos Vale. This continual coastal build-up is at the present time interrupted by areas of local freehold in and around the three villages cited above, which contain only the most rudimentary of tourist accommodations. The village of Plymouth does moreover contain a number of popular tourist attractions, including Fort James, the "mystery grave", and the Courlander Monument.

This coastal area has been provided with better transportation services as a result of recent highway construction which has widened, improved and straightened out the old road. The new highway circumnavigates the three villages, and its quality would appear to anticipate further growth (since present traffic volumes are very moderate) in the estate projects, as well as increased tourist traffic.

Unlike the Crown Point region, the above area is more diverse and oriented along the coast to a larger degree. The result is a number of tourist-related land uses distributed along an aesthetically well-endowed coastline. The density of land use does not appear high, though this may change once the Grafton estates are developed, and if the proposed Hilton project is undertaken. Despite the undulating terrain, the area is well suited for continued development (the topography does result in some spectacular vistas), and high property values have lent an air of
exclusiveness to the area. With the recent provision of infrastructural improvements, along with the maintenance of demand for lots in the region, the likelihood for continued development is enhanced. The growth in the number of hotel units has been sporadic, and each major increase illustrated in figure 9 represents the opening of one of the three major facilities along the coast. As each progression is closely related to the development of a particular estate entity, the longstanding relationship between the estate system of tenure and the development of the tourist industry must once again be emphasized. Nowhere is the association so apparent as in this region. Like Crown Point, figure 9 shows an accelerated "developmental" or "take-off" construct, although the nature of this growth must also be taken into consideration, since the establishment of one facility alone, the Mount Irvine, has accounted for a large share of the total increase. At present, the region accounts for about one-third of all hotel units on the island (see figure 6).

The Scarborough area, designated region "3" on map 6, presents upon examination an entirely different growth construct, since the amount of accommodation space available has decreased dramatically in the last twenty years (see figure 10). The region presently accounts for only eight per cent of the island's hotel units, as shown in figure 6. As illustrated on map 9, closures have included the Bacolet,
Source: Fieldwork 1980
Coral Cove, and Blue Haven hotels, while the amount of space at the Robinson Crusoe has been reduced relative to former times. The Coral Cove has since been converted to government office space, while the Blue Haven is currently abandoned. The main facilities still available in the Scarborough area include the Treasure Isle condominiums and the Della Mira guest house, which contains one of the island's main nightclubs. The Minister Bay project east of Scarborough cited above (see p.81) has not yet materialized, although this could potentially stimulate additional new growth in the region. Part of the problem may be due to the issues of local involvement and in the scale of the proposal. Figure 10 does not take into account guest house units, the total of which may well exceed the number of hotel units.

The dominance of the guest house industry around Scarborough attests to the local nature of tourism and to the decline of the town as a major tourist centre, relative to other areas of the island. The area is not as aesthetically pleasing as the former regions, and development is perhaps hindered by the steep gradients found in the main urban area itself. The growth construct corresponds with Butler's "decline" phase, one of the possible post-stagnation scenarios envisioned. In this phase, the area has suffered from competition and outmoded facilities, resulting in closures and a reversion of
remaining hotels to virtually complete local ownership. Despite this apparent decline however, Scarborough still contains a number of attractions for tourists, and retains such tourist-related functions as the Tourist Board office, BWIA office, banking, government services, ferry service to Trinidad, and cruise ship occasional port-of-call. Because of the relatively short distances between Scarborough and the two tourist regions in the west, these functions will assure a certain degree of tourism retention in the region. This is likely also due to the fact that many locals and foreign tourists, travelling on limited budgets, are attracted to the cheaper guesthouse facilities in Scarborough. Since many tourists travel through the island on local transportation, the bus terminal is one focal point for tourists as well. In general it is accurate to say that Scarborough is not particularly attractive to resort tourists (Bacolet beach is the only "good" remaining bathing area) because its shopping opportunities and general orientation is reflective more of local life styles and living standards, which do not necessarily entail a bucolic situation attractive to many tourists. However, those on a more limited budget, the local tourist sector, and those seeking urban services, may assure that some level of touristic activity will be retained in the Scarborough region. Some future possibilities will be considered in the concluding chapter. Essentially, the "decline" or
"post-stagnation" designation for Scarborough implies more a shift of emphasis to a more local orientation, as opposed to a complete elimination or disruption of tourism.

The above discussion illustrates the uneven spatial development of tourism in Tobago, even when the area under consideration is in itself small, and as an entity perceived by many as one single tourist region. In fact, the main tourist space, consisting of the two western regions and Scarborough, constitutes in total only a very small proportion of the total area. The two regions which together account for most of the facilities and activities may be thought of as the tourist "core", a role which was formerly assumed by the Scarborough area. In contrast, the pre-touristic landscape which incorporates most of the island including all of the interior may be designated the tourism periphery. As such, this area may provide certain unique touristic opportunities, some of which will be considered in chapter 7. Although it is not necessarily accurate or instructive to compare this core-periphery dichotomy with the construct more frequently utilized in the urban-rural sense, certain comparisons may suggest a trend towards a developmental acceleration and consolidation of infrastructure in the tourism core, at the expense of the periphery. The implications of this process will be considered in more detail below.
This chapter has considered various areas of Tobago as constituting tourism landscapes, which in the present temporal perspective reflect various stages and intensities of tourism development existing simultaneously over the island's surface. Thus, one may identify a pre-tourism landscape over most of the island, a "developmental" stage in the area between Crown Point and Arnos Vale, and a post-tourism area in the vicinity of Scarborough. These regions respectively display characteristics of the stages as outlined in the model on page 12, but it must be emphasized that overlap does exist, since the regions exist in close proximity over such a relatively small area. The implications of these observations will be made more apparent in the following chapters, which consider possible developmental scenarios for tourism industries, and a planning proposal for Tobago specifically.
Chapter 6

DEVELOPMENTAL SCENARIOS IN TOURISM AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

The great number of possible scenarios for touristic development are all dependent upon various combinations of the many external and internal factors cited throughout previous chapters. Some of these are inherent or otherwise uncontrollable (in practical terms), such as location and the provision of a particular set of natural features. These may affect the range of potential scenarios. Other variables may be manipulated more easily, such as the presence of a pro-tourism attitude by government or the construction of airport facilities. The forces behind this control may be local (government or local entrepreneurs) or they may be non-local, consisting of travel agencies, foreign aid departments, airlines and other governments. In discussing the scenarios, it is important to recognize the extent to which the variables may be manipulated, and what the results of these might be. The general histories outlined earlier give some indication of this, as in the case where political disturbances in Cuba led to major development in Puerto Rico, which was an American commonwealth island. The second factor then considers who in actuality does the manipulating, and here may be cited
Batista's Cuba, which was widely believed to be controlled by certain elements in the United States (Turner and Ash 1975, pp.104-105). In this case, the decision-makers were external, and it may be true even today that in some instances the real power lay in non-local sources.

As a number of previously cited sources have indicated, environmentally, Tobago is ideally suited for resort development in many places over its 116 square mile territory. Although natural disasters are not unknown, as shown by Hurricane Flora's occurrence in 1963, the island is generally safe from these in comparison to other islands. In this regard therefore, no major impediments exist to any major expansion of the physical plant in future. It has been indicated that the existing structure directly covers only a very small proportion of the land, and many potential beachfront areas at present contain no development at all. The desirability of such intensification in socio-economic terms is another matter, since even a limited range of facilities can produce social tensions and environmental disruptions. Because of this, it is important to assess the social and environmental carrying capacities of destination areas, and of particular regions and locations within these areas, when planning the future development of tourism. According to de Kadt,
countries should attempt to develop tourism and tourism projects on a scale, at a rate of growth, and in locations, which are consistent with making maximum use of national and local resources, which do not place undue strain on such resources, and which avoid serious adverse social, cultural, or environmental impacts (de Kadt 1979b, p.340).

One possible means of determining this is through the use of a cost-benefit analysis, in which the benefits of tourism (mainly economic, direct and indirect) are weighed against the costs, both tangible and intangible, present and future.

The following discussion will consider a number of basic developmental alternatives in tourism, with special reference to Tobago and other British Caribbean islands. Some positive and negative implications of each will be discussed, towards the formulation of an optimum development strategy for the Tobagonian tourist industry, taking into consideration its particular circumstances.

6.1 Scenarios in Tourism Development; High Intensity

A range of touristic scenarios may be envisioned along a continuum, from the total absence or elimination of the industry to a completely free market policy of unrestricted development, supplemented by a most competitive provision of incentives. There is likely to be a spatial intensification in the distribution of tourist-related phenomena as one
### Figure 11

**Developmental Scenarios in Tourism**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absence or Elimination</th>
<th>Local Guest House</th>
<th>Compromise Option</th>
<th>Large-scale Resorts</th>
<th>Unrestricted Induced Growth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

- **Less Intensive**
- **More Intensive**
moves towards the latter possibility. This may, however, occur within a relatively small space, as seen above, in the case of Tobago and other Caribbean islands. The range of possibilities within this continuum is virtually limitless, and it is therefore sufficient to consider a reasonable number of general strategies which cover most of the likely alternatives. Certain generalizations may be made about the above paradigm (figure 11).

In economic terms, the absence option implies a nil contribution to the gross domestic product, while a total commitment may result in the overwhelming dominance of tourism in the economic structure of the area. Similarly, the social and environmental impact range along the continuum from non-existent to all-pervasive, as the intensity and scale of development accelerates. At the same time, the foreign component may also increase, especially on the small islands which do not possess the resources or diverse economic base to engage in large-scale development. This immediately suggests that such islands will be potentially affected to a larger degree by such development than the larger and more diverse destinations.

Despite the ongoing debate concerning tourist development in the Caribbean region (Britton 1973, Jafari 1976, Goulet 1977, de Kadt 1979, Britton 1980, Rogalsky 1981), the prevailing attitude continues to favour additional growth in that sector. The apparent advantages
and disadvantages of this option will be discussed first, because of its traditional dominance. In the paradigm (figure 11), this may be labelled the "large-scale resort tourism" option. In its most simplistic terms, this pro-tourism perspective is based on the observation that tourists from more affluent markets spend considerable amounts of money on destination areas, without actually taking anything back with them outside of souvenirs, etc. As recognized by the Anglo-American Commission during the post war era, the exploitation of these "invisible exports" appeared to provide a panacea in an area with severe resource limitations. A thorough examination of the area's (especially the British Caribbean) socio-economic history would, however, have revealed regional peculiarities which provide the basis for certain sensitivities regarding tourism development. Among these traits are included the legacy of slavery, the plantation-estate economy, and the persistance of colonial rule well into the 1960's. These and other characteristics, such as the the limited resource base, all exercise an important effect upon the impact of tourism. In total, these impacts may be problematic to the extent that the net detriment of tourism may outweigh the input of tourist dollars in some cases.

The advantages and disadvantages of large-scale tourist development in the Caribbean can be considered from the economic, social and environmental perspectives. These will
of course vary from island to island, but a general perspective is valuable as an indication of impact. Until very recently, the tourism industry was perceived strictly in economic terms, and the value of this was for the most part unquestioned (see for example Zinder 1969, Mings 1969). It had been widely assumed that the receipt of tourist revenue, while lucrative in itself, would also stimulate backward and forward linkages in the local economy, thereby compounding the actual dollar input. This effect has been measured by the "tourist multiplier index", and a number of calculations made during the late 1960's appeared to confirm the theory. Zinder in 1969 proposed a multiplier of 2.3, which implied that each tourist dollar spent in the Caribbean actually translated to $2.30 in real economic benefits (Zinder 1969). Such estimates were almost immediately afterwards criticized by some authors as failing to account for all factors. In 1970, Levitt and Gulati arrived at a figure of 1.191 after taking into account various economic leakages induced by the lack of economic diversity (Levitt and Gulati 1970, p.336). More recently, Archer has calculated figures of .7815 for the Bahamas (Archer 1977, p.43) and 1.0996 for Bermuda (Archer 1977, p.62).

The main argument in the above revisions concerns the capital leakages which result from the necessity of importing tourist-oriented consumer goods and technology
which cannot be provided indigenously. In this regard, the islands in the second category of the previous chapter's typology are best suited to provide these linkages. Islands such as Jamaica and Trinidad possess the agricultural, industrial and entrepreneurial base to support in large part the consumption generated by tourism. Part of the problem however stems from the perceived propensity of foreign resort tourists (the heliotropic type in particular) to expect "North American" service standards, amenities and food while on vacation (V. Smith 1977, p.10).

In contrast to islands such as Jamaica, most of the small islands with intensive or non-existent tourism industries lack the above resources necessary to initiate and sustain the sector. In the small heavily populated islands of the Leeward and Windward chains, the economy has traditionally been based upon estate agriculture alone, thereby providing an apparent excuse for diversification through tourism development. However, the traditional agrarian base is insufficient for supplying the linkages cited above. It has been estimated for example that ninety per cent of tourist-consumed goods on St. Lucia must be imported, thereby creating a serious capital outflow (Momsen 1979, p.4). The situation is even more crucial on islands such as Bahamas (especially New Providence and Grand Bahama) and Bermuda which rely on tourism for a very large proportion of their gross domestic products.
Economic losses, direct and indirect, may also result from a high share of foreign (non-local) control in the tourist industry. Multi-national and other foreign companies which operate in the highly competitive Caribbean market will favour those islands which offer the best investment climate. Although the islands do benefit from hotel taxation, employment, and other sources of hotel-related income, this amount is often offset by the incentive provision, publicity and infrastructural expenses. Perez has estimated that seventy-seven cents of every tourist dollar in the Caribbean flows back to the metropolitan countries as a result of leakages and foreign ownership of the hotels and airlines (Perez 1974, p.480). In addition to this economic perspective, the desirability of extensive foreign control must be scrutinized, especially since the region is rapidly de-colonizing and political independence is the new goal of most governments. Because of the limited local entrepreneurial base and the long history of colonialism, most British Caribbean tourist industries are dominated by British, American and other foreign capital. Once again, the problem is worse on those islands which have developed high-intensity plants. As seen above, Trinidad and Jamaica have adopted more independent postures which favour increased local control, thereby making tourism less vulnerable to external circumstances, and allowing the government to have more manipulative power
over the control factors which determine the direction of development. The problems of foreign control are further clarified by Matthews:

Caribbean tourism is dependent upon a supply of North American and European visitors. The flow of these visitors is controlled by metropolitan institutions which chose to send them to the Caribbean rather than to some other destination. This is done through marketing devices: package sales made possible by wholesalers and tour operators who can pull the plug of Caribbean tourism at any time. This means that Caribbean tourism as a whole is controlled by external factors including foreign airlines, tour operators, major hotel firms, and others (Matthews 1978, p.47).

It may however be argued that international hotel firms will not "pull the plug", as long as they have at stake large investments in the physical infrastructure, in the form of resort hotels. As long as they control these facilities, they will attempt to maintain a steady flow of clients. This situation serves to illustrate the interdependence which exists between tourist destinations and the entrepreneurs who operate facilities within these places.

Further erosion of tourism revenue occurs as the result of monies spent in attracting entrepreneurs and tourists. As mentioned above, the Caribbean tourist industry is considered highly competitive, and a generous set of incentives are provided by most islands in order to attract
hotel development (A complete list of such relevant legislation as of 1973 is provided by Shankland and Cox 1973, pp.420-26). Furthermore, governments which have attracted large numbers of tourists have tended to allocate large amounts of money for promotional campaigns, infrastructural improvements and other projects. It has been estimated for example that the Bahamas during 1980 spent US$83 per capita on the tourism budget, compared to four cents for the United States (Gilles 1980, p.71).

Destinations which evolve as high-intensity tourism areas also subject themselves to the many vulnerabilities and risk factors inherent in tourism. Since a high level of foreign (and mainly North American) visitors is required to sustain a high-level tourism plant in, for example, the Bahamas, seasonal fluctuations (as most are winter vacationers) create annual recessions in the industry. This can only be overcome through cheaper off-season rates and diversification of the market and the activities available (gambling, for instance). Other factors include the changeability of image and fashion, recession in market areas, airline re-routes, restrictive legislation in allowable tourist expenditures, and rising airline fees. Many of these consist of external factors which are practically beyond the manipulation of most Caribbean destination islands.
Other economic problems associated with large-scale tourist development include the diversion of monies which would otherwise be appropriated for agriculture and other sectors. Although it must be granted that estate agriculture too suffers from inherent problems (competition, climate, surplus and deficit, etc.), Bryden maintains that "tourism has a higher import content and a lower value added per unit of foreign exchange earned vis-a-vis export agriculture" (Bryden 1973, p.47). The subsequent neglect of agriculture then forces increased importation of foodstuffs. This may be exacerbated by tourism's apparent tendency to divert labour from more traditional sectors, where the opportunities are more limited and wages lower. Bryden has cited Antigua as a case where the sugar crop declined considerably as a result of this process (Bryden 1973, p.25).

An even less tangible cost of tourism is associated with the so-called "demonstration effect", whereby the more affluent lifestyle of the resort tourists is transformed into an expectation model for the relatively poor resident (Jafari 1974, p.234). As priorities change, this may create a pattern of consumption requiring the importation of "unnecessary" luxury goods, despite low average incomes. The extent to which tourism in itself is responsible for such patterns is unknown, but the all-pervasive effect of other stimuli cannot be ignored;
...the tourist-receiving countries...are heavily exposed to the media: television in Europe, the transistor radio and above all magazines in the Third World where the considerable trade in old newspapers and magazines reflects the fascination exerted by the developed world. It is also possible, therefore, that tourism is only the catalyst of the disturbances noted... (UNESCO 1976, p.87).

The above discussion points out some of the more apparent economically-related problems associated with large-scale tourism industries in the Caribbean. It must be granted that due to the inherent geographical and economic circumstances of many of these islands, similar problems would probably be encountered in any other introduced industry which attempted to "modernize" the existing structure.

The problems associated with tourism must therefore be weighed against these available alternatives. On the positive side, it must be acknowledged that tourism provides a certain amount of diversity in situations which were previously dependent upon export agriculture. Hotels and related activities also result in employment opportunities, however menial, in an area where chronic real unemployment in excess of thirty per cent is not unusual. Although the calculation of living standards through per capita income figures must be treated cautiously, it appears that islands with intensely developed tourist plants are much better off
than pre-tourism islands, due to the highly skewed tourist-host ratios, and the introduction of associated activities.

Until recently, the social consequences of tourism had been given only scant consideration in the academic literature. Here again, the social history of many islands must be understood in order to appreciate the possibilities for social tension. Essentially, the legacy of estate agriculture and slavery has resulted in a sensitivity to class and colour matters, especially since the image of colonialism has only recently been abandoned by some islands. The possibilities for social tension increase where the tourist flow is conspicuously affluent and white, while the indigenous population is predominantly black and relatively poor (Jafari 1974, pp.244-46). Resentment resulting from these discrepancies may culminate in demonstrations of anti-tourist sentiment, which in turn contribute to a negative image and a drop-off in tourist arrivals. The Black Power demonstrations in Tobago during 1970 are one illustration of such problems.

Other socially-oriented problems of a less tangible nature include the cheapening or fabrication of such cultural expressions as music, when these are tailored to conform to the expectations of tourists. The demonstration effect cited earlier may also lead to generational conflicts as the young tend to abandon "old" ideas and traditional
occupations. The widespread presence of the "beach boy" phenomenon is yet another indication of possible social conflict.

A number of environmental consequences must be faced when the physical plant of tourism increases. On one hand, many facilities are carefully designed and sited so as to complement the surrounding area. The incentive to plan with sensitivity is provided by the inherent attractiveness to tourists. Often however, a syndrome of contiguous development occurs as entrepreneurs bid for expensive prime beachfront real estate. Choice beaches may become overcrowded, and their aesthetic qualities sacrificed to high-density high-rise development. In addition to hotels, this may include the establishment of such related facilities as condominiums, luxury apartment units and commercial development. Much debate has recently surfaced in the Barbados regarding the loss of the "windows to the sea" on the south and west coasts of that island nation. The continuation of beachfront development has led to a situation where the best beaches are not provided with adequate public rights-of-way, thereby creating grounds for anti-tourist sentiment (Trinidad Express April 12, 1980, p.10).

It has been argued that many areas of historical and physical interest are preserved because of their inherent value as tourist attractions. Otherwise, many of these
potential attractions may be neglected or lost (Cohen 1978, p.218). On the other hand, the common tendency of tourism to develop in peripheral areas has led to the opening-up and exploitation of remote, often environmentally and culturally sensitive areas in the hinterland. From the standpoint of reducing regional disparities, it may be that tourism does indeed provide a relatively non-destructive means of modernizing peripheral areas of a state, if approached conscientiously.

Accompanying any intensification of the tourist industry's growth is the risk of waterfront pollution, as very often the existing infrastructure is incapable of handling the high volumes of waste during peak periods of usage. As littoral areas are usually particularly sensitive in terms of carrying capacity, potential problems arising from the destruction of natural habitat such as the mangroves and sand dunes through intense development are more likely.

From the above discussion, economic, social and environmental consequences, both positive and negative, may result from the tourism-intensification option. Both the advantages and disadvantages of these have been documented from those cases where industries of high intensity have already been established. Governments on islands which presently do not contain the same intensity of development should consider these possible ramifications. The above
impacts have been considered from a general perspective, and the cumulative impact will vary from place to place. Despite the apparent possibilities for attracting the lucrative tourist dollar, and raising island living standards while contributing towards economic diversity, a high corresponding price may have to be paid. This includes a reduction of monetary gains through export leakages and non-local involvement, vulnerability to foreign control, and inherent sector oscillations as well as various social and environmental costs. In general, such vulnerabilities are felt more succinctly on those relatively "less developed" islands which lack a diverse resource base and suffer from chronic poverty and unemployment. Ironically, it was to assist such places in particular that the first proposals to support tourism were made.

6.2 Scenarios in Tourism Development: Low Intensity

As the many apparent problems associated with tourism-intensification have come to the fore, some segments of the Caribbean intelligentsia as well as certain governments have supported various low-key developmental options. This runs counter to the continued prevailing trend found on most islands, despite the occurrence of the first real slump in the early 1970's.
The model proposed by those supporting this option may take several forms, though all are careful to restrict non-local participation. A case study is provided by Dominica, which has the lowest tourist-function index and tourist-host ratio of any major Caribbean island (see table 1). The island may be perceived as lacking the competitive advantages of many other destination areas: white sand beaches are scarce, hurricanes are frequently encountered in recent history, and infrastructure is poorly developed. Because of these and other factors, no attempt has been made to pursue the development-intensive option. Instead, the emphasis of Dominican tourism has been to concentrate on those attraction aspects in which the island is favoured. At the same time, the possibilities for limited resort tourism are recognized, as outlined in the aims of the policy:

1. To preserve and develop Dominica's special qualities as a holiday destination, particularly its unspoiled expanse of mountain and forest. 2. To provide a range of choice to satisfy different tastes and needs for both accommodation and tourism. 3. To attract the selective tourist seeking an unusual vacation but at the same time to recognize the importance of beach-based tourism to the Caribbean holidaymaker (Cracknell 1973, p.137).

In practical terms, this translates in part into a policy of promoting guest house tourism. Although the input of
tourist dollars is considerably lower than in the case of resorts, a higher proportion of the sum is diffused within the local economy. This is due to the very high proportion of local ownership and the development of local linkages, such as food, tour operators and accommodations. This also helps to control the problem of external decision-making, prominent in tourism. In brief, the proposals for the development of the Dominican tourist industry include the delineation of four tourist zones, the creation of a national park in the interior, and the establishment of a system of scenic roads and hiking trails (Shankland Cox n.d.).

The Dominican tourism policy caters to a "selective" tourist type which in some ways resembles the "explorer-traveller" encountered during the pre-tourism phase of development in the wider region. In a sense, this stage is maintained through the manipulation of those control factors which would in a possible evolution lead to the "development" phase and beyond. The vacationer who would visit Dominica (and there were only twenty thousand per annum in recent times) is likely to be motivated largely by a desire to experience the local culture and landscape, thereby providing less of a basis for social resentment and "demonstration effect". As well, two-thirds of the traffic has tended to originate from within the West Indies, so that cultural similarities may contribute to a more harmonious tourist-host exchange (Cracknell 1973, p.133).
The tourism sector accounts for approximately nine per cent of Dominica's gross national product, which is relatively low considering the island's lack of a diverse economic base. By contrast, the tourist sector of St. Vincent, which also has a relatively small tourism industry, accounts for twenty per cent of the gross national product (see table 1). Because of the physical nature of the island, some attempt has been made to diversify agriculture and to develop the lumber industry. If tourism was to wane as a result of uncontrollable external factors, the economic repercussions may not be so detrimental as they would be in the Bahamas or Bermuda. Such external factors may not prove to be so totally devastating to tourism itself however, since such a large proportion of the flow originates from within a relatively short distance.

Environmentally, the possibilities for safari-style expeditions into Dominica's wild interior has proven to be a catalyst for the formation of a national park in the mountains (Mowforth 1980, p.17). Because the tourism industry would in future be based upon the preservation of these natural features, there is added incentive, over and above the ecological perspective, to control development and land use on the island.

It may be argued that the limited tourism approach as practised by Dominica suppresses the economic development of the island. Critics may cite Dominica as an example of a
place which is proud, independent, but poor. The high apparent living standards in such places as the Barbados and American Virgin Islands may be seen as arising largely out of the presence of an intensive tourist plant. As islands around Dominica begin to prosper from tourism (if circumstances are conducive to this), there may be an outflow of labour, largely young and male, to seek employment in the larger, better-paying resort hotels. However, the improvement and provision of infrastructure for touristic purposes could also result in benefits to the domestic population, and provide a basis for the introduction of external developmental capital. It may be true however that the risk induced by the sporadic occurrence of hurricanes may in the final analysis discourage extensive foreign hotel investment, unless exceedingly generous compensating incentives were provided.

6.3 The Status of Tobago: Towards a "Middle Ground"

Tobago is in many respects similar to other Caribbean islands. These include the limited resource base which is dominated by estate agriculture and tourism, the small territory, and the presence of a largely black population. In several other crucial areas, Tobago is quite different from the islands in the Windward and Leeward chains. The first and most important difference is the political
affiliation with Trinidad, which generates a particular set of decision-making and manipulative mechanisms which affect the nature and development of the tourist industry. This and other characteristics must be considered when the likelihood and implications of the various scenarios are assessed.

In reference to the typology proposed in chapter 2, the difficulties of placing Tobago within one or another category are made more apparent. From the standpoint of the tourist function index and tourist-host ratio, Tobago is similar to the intermediary islands, which include Antigua and Barbados. From the perspective of foreign arrival numbers, hotel units and the lack of an international airport, comparisons are valid with the lesser developed islands, such as Dominica and St. Vincent. Because of the ramifications of Tobago's political affiliation with Trinidad, it is also possible to associate the island's tourist industry with the more developed islands. The following discussion considers some of the crucial variables in the Tobagonian tourist industry which will influence the future growth and planning of the sector.

Unlike many regional instances, the Tobagonian tourist industry is largely in local (Trinidadian and Tobagonian) hands. The trend towards local ownership, as noted in chapter 4 above, has become apparent since the mid-1970's. Many, though not all, of the linkages (such as skilled
labour and construction materials) are supplied from within the nation, and the necessary entrepreneurial skills have been increasingly provided by local graduates of the Hotel Training School (Cuffie 1972, p.64). Even with intensification, the continuance of local decision-making control is more likely, while the tourist sector will evolve as an integrated component within the wider national developmental strategy. Of course, the economic base of Trinidad cannot guarantee a completely local enterprise, and a certain proportion of goods and skills will have to be imported. Similarly, the foreign component (United States, Canada, United Kingdom, Venezuela, Europe) will always vary as external factors such as travel restrictions (through monetary ceilings, such as the amount of money allowed to leave the country) come into play. As for the expectation of foreign visitors for "North American" amenities and food, the general trend within the nation has gradually seen an orientation towards such foods and general lifestyle (especially in urban areas) which would be considered "North American". As these patterns are consolidated, such goods may in fact be produced indigenously, further reducing the need for food imports to supply these tourists.

A second crucial factor in Tobagonian tourism is the very high proportion of local visitors, especially from Trinidad. Transportation links are very well developed through the creation of the "air bridge", and it is
inexpensive enough to allow for one-day excursions between the islands. This high local volume assures that many hotels, and especially the small to medium-sized establishments, will retain a clientele even if the foreign input should be curtailed. If this domestic component is maintained, the likelihood of entering a stagnation or decline phase is reduced, and the government is in a better position to control the variables involved. It may be argued that the relatively low proportion of foreign tourism restricts the amount of foreign capital entering the island. Many sources have cited the need for airport expansion in order to bring in these tourist dollars. This could lead to a great expansion in foreign arrivals, and this sector would utilize locally owned and supplied hotel facilities.

The domestic tourism aspect may also be considered from a social perspective. It is possible that the opportunities for social resentment and tension are reduced due to the elimination of the more blatant "black-white" dichotomies induced by a heavy foreign visitor input. Tobago is also reasonably prosperous partially as a result of its association with Trinidad, so that the visible wealth difference between tourist and host is not so pronounced. This is not to imply a complete lack of tension between the Trinidadians and Tobagonians. As in many core-periphery relationships within national entities, a certain amount of resentment or even hostility may be generated against
facilities which are owned and operated by non-local sources. This is true in the case of Gozo Island in relation to Malta (Boissevain 1979) and in other "underdeveloped" national instances. Many Tobagonians, representing a societal cross-section, have expressed displeasure with the perceived alienation of good agricultural and scenic lands by interests in Trinidad (local interviews 1980). Because there are no political borders between the islands, there are in fact few restrictions to the influx of Trinidad-based capital. This may in total be seen as a positive factor in the developmental process, although the potential for social and environmental problems may also be increased if this development occurs haphazardly.

It is to a large extent in environmental and aesthetic terms that the direction of tourism development in Tobago must be assessed. As seen in chapters two and three, Tobago is currently experiencing a "developmental" phase, characterized largely by the construction of hotels and other facilities along a narrow shoreline in the north-west. A certain amount of ecological stress will continue to be exerted upon such strategically located areas as the Bon Accord mangrove and the Buccoo Reef. Other problems which may be exacerbated include the erosion and disruption of beach sands through poorly sited facilities and jetties. Infrastructural overload has led to the dumping of untreated
wastes into the water. In addition, the aesthetic ramifications of intensive development must be considered, as some poorly-planned hotels have detracted from the beauty of certain areas. It is apparent in the Store Bay area that the increased build-up of facilities is leading to a "boxed-in" feeling, while the beach itself is subject to overcrowding during increasingly longer periods of time.

Although it has been suggested that tourism plants help to stimulate the local agricultural sector through the supply of fresh foods, there is some concern in Tobago that tourism is competing with agriculture for the use of choice land. South-western Tobago is ideally suited for copra production, though in total terms, the area characterized by gently undulating topography and fertile soil is very small. Such areas have already been developed for tourism in the Mount Irvine area (especially the golf course and hotel) and in the estates at Grafton, Bacolet and Arnos Vale.

From the above discussion, it appears that the development of tourism in Tobago is occurring at a fairly rapid pace, and that this is proceeding largely through local initiative and under local control. Much of this growth is occurring in the domestic tourist sector, thereby creating difficulties in the quantification of the flow. The level of foreign arrivals has averaged about ten per cent annually since the mid 1970's, and this relatively low figure is
probably a reflexion of the nation's relatively well-balanced economy, which does not rely solely on tourism receipts (interview with tourist official 1980). This means that the instances of foreign leakages and manipulative control are minimized, since Trinidad is the centre of such control, as well as the sole major transportation link with the island. Socially, the large proportion of Trinidad-based tourism may reduce the possibilities for social tension, although this must be expected to some extent within any core-periphery construct. If extensive development were to occur in such presently undeveloped areas as Castara or Bloody Bay, then the resultant disruptions may be greater than perhaps if such growth was to occur in the south-west. Possibilities for such projects in the remote areas of Tobago seem to be controlled at least partially by the guidelines of the National Physical Development Plan, which recommends specific areas for resort development. It appears that one major area for concern is contained in the possible environmental and aesthetic detriments incurred by extensive and concentrated resort-related development, especially in the south-west. It is largely with this in mind that future planning recommendations must be made. These pressures may be expected to increase as the nation continues to enjoy increasing levels of disposable income, some of which is diverted towards recreational purposes. This is especially
true since the government has pursued a policy of encouraging domestic vacations, in order to prevent a loss of foreign exchange to such places as Barbados, which has acted as a traditional vacation area for Trinidadians.

In reference once again to the paradigm illustrated in figure 10, the situation in Tobago suggests continued high growth in tourist-related construction, although this will occur under local control and participation guidelines. At the same time, the plant may be considered a mix of resort and local tourisms, since some areas, especially Scarborough, are geared presently towards guest house tourism. Despite intensification, it is possible that tourism will not contribute such a large proportion to the gross domestic product as found in the Bahamas, due to the greater opportunities for diversity provided by the links with Trinidad. In this sense therefore, present Tobagonian circumstances, because of their uniqueness, may be perceived as a sort of "middle ground" between large-scale foreign dominated resort tourism, and low-intensity, essentially pre-touristic constructs, as found on Dominica. A number of advantages and disadvantages for this may be cited, as above, although the situation does appear to derive economic benefit from tourism while attempting to minimise the economic and social detriments of that sector. The extent to which this is achieved will largely depend upon the actual direction that the industry takes in future years, as circumstances in all areas continue to change.
Chapter 7 will consider a number of proposals for the future development of the tourist industry in Tobago. As will be noted, these in large part reflect a strategy which could be categorized somewhere between the two basic "extreme" options discussed in 6.1 and 6.2 above.
An examination of tourism's historical development on Tobago reveals an activity which is unevenly distributed in space, both in quantitative and qualitative terms. This pattern is the product of many interacting variables. As this set of factors has developed in the past, so too in response has the spatial character of tourism. Perhaps the greatest importance in determining these influences lies in their potential applicability to the planning process. If these are better understood, there is an increased likelihood that they may be manipulated in order to build an optimum tourism plant which meets national objectives. Future growth constructs and stages in tourism would reflect manipulation and planning, rather than a basically unregulated or misunderstood interaction of variables. This in turn would be reflected in the spatial characteristics of the industry.

Because of its economic potential in a basically resource-scarce setting, the tourist industry in the West
Indies cannot be allowed to proceed haphazardly. It must instead be structured in such a way as to produce maximum returns from the available local resources. The need for planning and government intervention is further illustrated by the possible social, cultural and environmental damages which may result from uncontrolled or misguided development. The sensitivity of destinations to tourist intrusions varies widely, even among the relatively homogeneous British Caribbean islands. As seen previously, Tobago is in many ways typical of this group, although planning must also take into account such factors as the political links with Trinidad, the high level of domestic tourism, and other characteristics which are unique to the island.

This section considers one possible developmental strategy for the Tobagonian tourist industry. Planning guidelines for tourism have been provided previously by the World Tourism Organisation (United Nations 1978) and Gunn (1979). The intent is to formulate a planning construct which produces maximum economic, social and environmental benefits for the island, and as such, reflects the "middle ground" between the extremes of the previous chapter. In large part, this strategy also recognizes the national planning goals outlined in the National Physical Development Plan (1978), which include full employment, economic diversification and local control over the economy.
MAP 10

TOBAGO

PLANNING PROPOSALS

LEGEND

Planning Region
Scenic Road
Crown Trace

proposed national park
Buccoo Reef
Pigeon Point
Crown Point

CARIBBEAN SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN

FOREST RESERVE
Castera
Northside Road
Hillsborough Dam

SCARBOROUGH

Arnos Vale
Plymouth

Charlotteville
Speyside
Bird of Paradise Island

Roxborough
King's Bay

Belle Garden
7.1 Policy Recommendations for Tobago

Because of the geographical nature of the study, the spatial emphasis in the following recommendations is recognized. A primary goal considers the identification and delineation of tourist planning regions, which take into account overall guidelines, local potentials and existing facilities. As a preliminary and necessary step towards any detailed strategy, the government should produce an inventory of all existing and potential tourist resources on the island, as well as a complete general geography. The above might include topographical features, vegetation cover, littoral characteristics, the road and "crown trace" network, population distribution, precipitation, etc. This information should be accompanied by a series of questionnaires and polls to gauge the attitudes and expectations of the local population, interest groups and the tourists themselves. Surveys of this nature have in fact already been undertaken in the past, and should be updated (Abdullah et al. 1974, Trinidad and Tobago, Report of Tourism Surveys 1975). The results of such surveys would no doubt contribute to a clarification of the "national goal", since this should in part reflect the aspirations and motivations of a large segment of the population.

As indicated in map 10, three main tourism planning regions would be recognized on Tobago. The first and
largest would encompass the presently existing Crown Point and Buccoo-Arnos Vale regions. This area currently includes most of the hotels on the island. In order to avoid the possibility of continuous development along the entire length of this coast, a national park should be established which would include the Buccoo Reef, the Bon Accord lagoon, the mangroves along this lagoon, and Pigeon Point. At the present time, the intensity of boat traffic to the reef poses a threat to the ecology of the attraction. The mangroves present a special problem, since waterflow modifications undertaken in areas outside the proposed park could have an effect upon the biome.

The area between the airport and Pigeon Point could be zoned as an intensive-use area oriented around the beach at Store Bay. As for the actual definition of such terms as "high intensity", these could be determined by government. At present, they are utilized as general indicators of density. Such a zoning designation for the Store Bay area reflects present intensities of recreational use in the vicinity. The present emphasis on "low rise" development must be maintained for aesthetic reasons, and new facilities, as intended by government, will be of the small or medium-sized variety undertaken with maximum local input. The level of development should not however proceed to a point where the aesthetic qualities of the area are compromised, especially along the beach. Projects must also
be undertaken while considering the capacities of the local infrastructure, so as not to induce irregularities in the provision of water, electricity and other services.

Recommendations in the past have been noted for the expansion of the Crown Point airfield, which currently accommodates flights from Trinidad only, with very limited service to Barbados. The construction of a longer runway could have great implications in the future number of tourist arrivals, if direct flights were instituted between Tobago and such primary tourist takeoff points as New York, Miami, London, Toronto and Caracas. Before such a move is taken, a thorough impact study is necessary. For example, the takeoff and landing of the large jets may result in noise and safety problems, since many hotels are located in close proximity to the airport.

The Buccoo-Arnos Vale segment of this primary tourist planning region would be zoned for medium intensity use, and no future hotels should be built, with the possible exception of the Hilton at Rocky Point, especially if improvements to the airport are undertaken. Ultimately, this area would consist of a blend of larger resort hotels and estate housing projects, with the golf course serving as a sort of focal point. Development in the three villages should be restricted to guesthouses, if this is desired by the local residents. The Alefounder bird sanctuary on Grafton estate should be protected. The incentive for this
may be provided by its promotion as a major tourist attraction. There may also be some value in restoring the military ruins at Rocky Point, as has been done with the ruins of Fort Milford near Store Bay.

The second planning region would be centered around Scarborough, which currently serves as a centre for the guesthouse (or "local") tourist industry. This region requires substantial revitalization if it is to become a viable tourist region once again. The main strategy would entail the improvement and expansion of retail opportunities, local attractions, and of hotel facilities in the area. The old hotels which still stand (Robinson Crusoe, Coral Cove, Blue Haven) should be restored with their original character intact. These would be designed in such a way as to complement the newer hotels located in the first region. They could prove attractive because of their proximity to the new business and retail opportunities of Scarborough, and a system of quick access to Pigeon Point may be considered. A concerted effort should be launched to reinstate Scarborough once again as a major entry port for tourists. Although it can never compete with the airport, ferry service could be improved and designed to provide fast and comfortable access to Port of Spain. The ferry service is at present oriented almost completely towards local traffic. In addition, Scarborough should be improved and promoted as a major destination for cruise ships. For
example, convenient access could be made available to Fort George, the Botanical Gardens and the new tourist-oriented shopping opportunities which would be established in the upper town near the government buildings. It is important as well that some beach-based facilities be provided in the Scarborough area. Presently, only Bacolet beach is utilized somewhat as a tourist-oriented beach. The shorefront west of town could however be improved and cleaned (with gardens, promenades, etc.) as an attractive amenity.

The above recommendations for the Scarborough area could prove to be very beneficial to the local population in terms of providing better infrastructure, amenities and shopping opportunities, not to mention the economic opportunities provided by the increased tourist flow. The status of Tobago as the centre of the guesthouse industry should also be maintained, since this sector provides perhaps the best direct entrepreneurial benefits to the local population. A healthy and well-publicized system of guesthouses would assure a steady flow of local and foreign tourists on more limited budgets. For those tourists wishing to experience a more "local" lifestyle, the guesthouses could be encouraged to utilize locally-grown foodstuffs. If this were to prove attractive to travellers, the establishment of stronger links between tourism and the local agricultural sector might be realized. Underutilized sectors which could benefit include the fishing industry and
the small-scale producers of mangoes, papaya and other tropical fruit which grow well in Tobago.

The revitalization of the Scarborough region represents an induced response to the "decline" phase which characterises the area at present. It also helps to balance the facilities within Tobago, which are presently tending to concentrate in the first region above. The designation of a third region in the Speyside-Charlotteville area will further balance the distribution of touristic facilities, and provide certain opportunities for the periphery. The area has for many years contained tourist-related facilities, primarily due to its accessibility to Bird of Paradise Island. Two small facilities currently exist in Speyside. Other similar facilities, oriented towards special interest groups (scuba divers, naturalists) could be built in the area of the two villages. In addition, excellent beach-based opportunities are provided by Pirate's Bay and Speyside beach. In total, this region would be characterized by a low intensity of development capitalising on the remoteness, slow pace and special features of the area. It would be developed as the eastern anchor of the tourist industry.

The large proportion of Tobago identified as the tourism periphery would be treated as a special case within the plan. The social and environmental sensitivities of the area warrant very careful assessment of the potentials and
possibilities. Large-scale developments should be avoided, although limited guesthouse industries could provide employment in the small villages, such as Moriah, Castara, Roxborough and Belle Garden, which are relatively untouched by the tourist industry at the present time. A number of villages, such as Castara, contain excellent bathing beaches which could prove attractive to guesthouse patrons. Before any such projects are undertaken, however, it is important to determine local attitudes regarding the desirability of such changes. If implemented, this strategy would result in a limited diffusion of the tourist industry into the periphery.

The periphery contains a number of roads which not only connect the major tourist regions, but also could be designated as "scenic highways" which feature scenic vistas, small villages, and such attractions as the King's Bay Waterfall, Hillsborough Dam and the slave graves at Golden Lane. The roads which could be designated accordingly are the main highway between Scarborough and Charlotteville, the North Coast road, and the cross-island road through the rain forest from Bloody Bay to Roxborough (see map 10). The North Coast road, once touted as opening up the "Riviera of the West Indies" (see p.75), must be completed and upgraded in order to attract a tourist flow. Again, this development could prove beneficial to the local population, thereby serving the dual functions as a means of local development.
and as an attraction to tourists. They would also provide connectivity between the major tourist regions of the east and west.

The rain forest and the interior mountains may also be exploited as tourist attractions, although special attention must be paid in order to protect the environmental integrity of the area. The utilization of the mountains and rain forest on a limited basis may in fact act as an incentive for the continued protection, and future improvement of the interior. The Hillsborough dam area has the potential to become a restricted camping and fresh-water recreational area, since the lake is unique as the only impounded fresh water on the island. The function of the resevoir as a source of fresh water for the public must take priority, however.

Tobago may benefit from the experience of Dominica in planning the future "development" of the mountainous interior (Shankland Cox n.d.). The interior is ideal for the establishment of a hiking trail network, making use of the existing system of crown traces. Trails which appear ideal for excursions include those at Merchiston, Adelphi, and the old Mt. St. George-Castara road, which crosses the island through the rain forest. These trails are ideal for academic field trips, naturalists and for any other interested individuals. Shelters could be provided at intervals, and locals might be trained to conduct guided
tours. The potential traffic, which may be quite large, is currently unaware of the possibilities which exist even today in the interior for hiking, bird watching, and "exploring" in the mountainous, heavily forested interior. It may even prove feasible to establish hostels or other facilities (old estate houses, for example) in the interior to accommodate the special interest segment which would be interested in pursuing opportunities in the interior.

The above strategy contains a number of features which deserve reiteration. The regional aspect of tourism development is entrenched, and three main regions are delineated to contain the great majority of present and future projects. Each region in turn is marked by differing intensities of facilities and activities. The north-west is essentially beach-based (and the golf course constitutes a special feature) and contains the larger resort facilities, while Scarborough will emphasize the revitalized town-based opportunities and facilities. The third region contributes to a greater balance in the distribution of facilities, thereby alleviating some of the pressure from the western part of the island.

These regions are linked by networks of scenic roads within the periphery, thereby dispersing some of the tourist movements into the hinterland, where limited local guesthouse facilities could be opened. The interior would
be characterized by a very moderate development of hiking trails along the crown traces in order to encourage the special interest segment. This sector would also likely be less oriented by seasonal considerations in visiting Tobago.

In summary, the future tourist map of Tobago consists of tourist areas, networks and points which attempt to best utilize the available resources of the island. In order to reduce the problems of local over-concentration of facilities and tourist activity (as in the Store Bay area, for example), the plan suggests some dispersion of the industry to a greater degree in Scarborough and to the Speyside-Charlotteville area. Some movement would also be encouraged in the interior, although to a much lesser extent. In order to reduce the problem of seasonality caused by a dominance in the resort-oriented sector, greater diversification in the provision of touristic facilities and opportunities is to be encouraged. Strategies for attracting a wider range of tourists throughout the year include the provision of shopping and business opportunities in Scarborough, the attraction of cruise ship stops, and the promotion of the interior for hikers and naturalists. For the future, tourism will continue to constitute an excellent means for utilizing the available resource base of the island. The position of Tobago as a primary resort area for the nation will be consolidated. This development could prove to be of great benefit to the island, provided that a
carefully considered planning policy is implemented. This contribution from a geographer, with its emphasis on the spatial nature of such a strategy, will, it is hoped, be of some value in contributing to the quality of life in Tobago.
The major findings and observations of the present study are listed below. Research opportunities are also suggested which may assist in clarifying or modifying these, in order to better understand the spatial and temporal dimensions of tourism evolution in a developing context. As stated earlier, geographic studies dealing with the spatial aspects of Caribbean tourism are a relatively recent phenomena, and therefore the following discussion may be at least of some heuristic value.

An historic analysis of the Tobagonian tourist industry reveals an evolution through a series of discernable stages. The growth construct resembles the first half of the product diffusion or "S" curve. This suggests conditional acceptance of the hypothesis stated in chapter 1. Initially, one may discern a "pre-touristic" or "exploratory" phase, followed by the first indications of a "take-off" or "developmental" phase of accelerated growth. This latter phase appears to commence after world war two, but then is interrupted by a period of stagnation after 1957
during which the rate of growth in the number of accommodation units declines from twelve per cent annually to one per cent annually. After 1968, the annual rate once again shows a twelve per cent figure to 1978. The slowdown in the rate of growth in both accommodation units and foreign tourists may be indicative of a new phase which reflects current government policy regarding the tourist industry. Compared with Butler's cycle of tourism evolution, Tobago deviates in so far as the local decision-making and involvement component is preserved in the present developmental stage. This is because of the political affiliation with Trinidad and the recognition of certain wider national developmental parameters, of which tourism is a component. In the ongoing planning of the Tobagonian tourism industry, these parameters must be given priority, in order to prevent the development of sectoral weaknesses associated with non-local control.

Many internal and external factors contribute to the transition from one particular stage or phase to the next. These are subject to varying degrees of control, either by forces within the area or nation, or by foreign (external) forces. For example, the geographic position of Tobago and its provision of natural amenities can only be manipulated in so far as convenient markets may be cultivated (e.g. Trinidad, West Indies, Venezuela), and the touristic "type" can be sought out which is best suited to the natural
amenities available. Other occurrences, such as the hurricane of 1963 or the cocoa collapse of the 1920's are unpredictable, yet exercise a significant impact, both in the long and short-terms, upon the future development of the tourist industry. Other factors are controlled locally, especially the provision of governmental attitudes regarding the status of tourism and the direction that its development should take. Government's pervasive role in the sector is demonstrated by its responsibility to formulate a statement of intent, to conduct publicity campaigns, to provide incentives and other relevant legislation, and increasingly, by its role as a competitive component in its own right. Government is also important for providing such facilities as airports and other infrastructure which will directly affect the number of arrivals and the construction of tourist facilities.

Variables which are more or less subject to non-local control include relations with foreign governments and their policy regarding travel money restrictions. These also include conditions in foreign economies which could influence the potential travel market, and the machinations of such external tourism-related institutions as the airlines and travel agencies. In some instances, the factor may induce immediate change in the tourist industry, as in the case where the provision of an incentive results in the construction of a large new hotel facility. In contrast,
events or circumstances such as the political affiliation with Trinidad or World War Two may exercise a long-term and indirect effect upon the industry. Future research may well be directed into a more complete assessment of the factors, internal and external, direct and indirect, long-range and short-range, which in combination result in a particular tourist plant in a given place at a given time. This would be valuable in determining the degree to which certain factors could be manipulated in creating a tourist industry which best meets the objectives of the local population and of the nation at large. Again, the indigenization of Tobago's tourism industry through increased economic diversification, especially in Trinidad, along with legislative regulations, increases the range of factors which can be locally manipulated in order to conform with these objectives.

Each of the above stages appears to be characterized by changes in the spatial organization and quality of the tourist industry. As tourism-market economies and technologies expand, a greater opportunity is provided for the expansion of the tourist plant, and this can be greatly facilitated by governments favourably inclined towards such growth. Tourism may then increase in relative importance as the "occasional guest" is transformed into the "mass consumer", and tourism becomes an important component of the local or national economy. The changing motivations and
expectations of this new tourist flow results in a demand for a different set of amenity requirements and activity space. The new emphasis is placed on beach-resort facilities and "tourist space", resulting in areal shifts of the touristic infrastructure to these areas. As stated above, these changes may also reflect or motivate changing government roles in the industry and therefore in the primary driving forces behind its development. All of these transitions contrast with the early era of tourism, when available technologies and the economic situation produced a particular set of touristic characteristics and relationships. Once again, the transition in most cases has been gradual, suggesting a need for caution in the tendency to draw abrupt boundaries between what appear to be different stages of development. A greater comprehension of these stage-like transitions and their accompanying spatial manifestations may contribute to the identification of those areas where future growth is likely to occur. This has obvious value in the planning process. As well, it may be possible to predict the likelihood of certain stages evolving in a particular area, given the variables above, and their effects. There may be some value in pursuing a more detailed description and delineation of historic tourism landscapes in certain areas, in order to better understand the processes outlined above. While of academic interest in its own right, this information may
prove valuable in the formulation of a tourism master plan for Tobago.

Within the present spatial context, the Tobagonian tourist industry is characterized by its pronounced areal differentiation in terms of quality and intensity. Even though the island as one entity may be classified best as resembling, with qualifications, a "take-off" situation, specific areas may more accurately approximate other stages of development in terms of the distribution of tourist facilities, type of tourist, and other characteristics. For example, rapidly developing and intensive tourist plants have developed along the north-western coast of Tobago, indicating a "take-off" construct of resort tourism and related activity. The Scarborough area by contrast represents a "decline" phase which currently acts as a centre for local guest house tourism. This decline is attributable to the loss of the tourist-port function, competition with the north-west coast as tourist types have changed, and other factors. Finally, the remainder of the island is essentially "pre-touristic" and for the most part unaffected by large-scale tourism intrusions. Much of this area is inaccessible, just as the island of Tobago was during the 1930's and previously. Further research may seek to assess more fully the factors behind the present areal differentiation of the tourist industry on an island or developing situation. While some of these may appear
obvious, such as the availability of choice beachfront, other factors, such as precedent, tenure, topography, climatic variations, etc., may play a decisive but less apparent role. For example, it has been seen previously how the estate system was responsible for the development of tourism at a certain time in certain locations within Tobago. There may be some value in determining means to map and quantify these differential landscapes on the surface of a particular area. The decreasing intensity of tourism-related facilities may be measured by the location of accommodation units and by the spatial behaviour of tourists. This in turn could be mapped using either a dot pattern, isoline gradient, or choropleth method. These would enhance the simple nominal data maps included in the present study, which serve as a primary indicator of impact delineation. Recognition of these variations would help prevent the overconcentration of facilities, if this is considered undesirable. In general terms, there is no doubt some value in knowing where varying concentrations of the industry occur, especially if these can be correlated to instances of environmental or social stress. This information can subsequently be utilized in the planning process to assist in the delineation of tourist zoning potential.

Given an "open" situation, the tourist industry in terms of facilities shows a clear tendency to regionalize.
As above, some of the reasons for this may appear obvious, while others are not readily appreciated. Three factors which do appear to exercise some influence in this tendency include the provision of desirable climatic, littoral and topographical amenities, tenure, and the recognition by government of certain areas as being most conducive to touristic development. These have resulted in the relatively high concentration of facilities in the Crown Point and north-west coastal areas. Despite the relative importance of tourism on Tobago (as expressed in one way by its contribution to the gross domestic product), tourism-oriented land uses actually cover only a very small proportion of the island's land area. The less tangible effects, such as social impact, land speculation and the effect upon other land uses, are likely to be more pervasive over the total area. Continuing research is necessary to determine the full range of touristic spatial impacts, from the actual location of tourist facilities to areas affected less obviously by the industry. The value of perceiving the above spatial relationships in "core-periphery" terms should be determined. The core may be seen as constituting the two regions in the south-west as well as Scarborough to a lesser extent, although the latter is more accurately described as a former core which has since lost its primacy in touristic terms. The extent to which this perspective resembles the better known urban-rural dichotamy may be investigated. For
instance, it may be argued that labour is diverted from the villages in the periphery to the core, where infrastructural development and favourable natural factors continue to solidify the dominance of the core area as centre for tourism activities. The effect of this process upon the peripheral areas of the island (which in effect is the periphery of a peripheral region) should be considered.

As in the case within Tobago, the various islands within the Caribbean have also developed unequally, with certain islands showing characteristics of various stage constructs, from the "pre-touristic" (Dominica), to "take-off" (Cayman Islands) and stagnating (New Providence) and beyond (Cuba). Without doubt, each of these cases also displays internal differentiation, although it is beyond the scope of the present study to examine these in detail. This differentiation is attributable to such variables as natural amenity provision, political climate and accessibility. More research is necessary to determine the extent to which these patterns are accounted for by inducements (incentives, promotion, etc.), external manipulations (travel agencies, foreign relations), natural market forces, and the natural process of tourism diffusion as information is made more available.

A typology of islands is possible based upon not only the above consideration of stages, but also upon other relative and absolute variables related to the tourist
industry. While ideally recognizing intra-national/island variations and the uniqueness of particular cases, one may identify tourism-intensive islands where tourism accounts for a very large proportion of gross domestic products, and tourist function indices are very high. More diversified cases with important tourism plants are found in Jamaica, Puerto Rico and Trinidad, while intermediate cases are also found. A group of islands are recognized which have developed important but limited tourist industries, due to a range of factors. Tobago approximates an intermediate case if the statistics are examined, and this is partially attributable to its political affiliation with Trinidad, and the very high domestic tourist sector. The above typology is valuable in providing a framework for assessing the impact of tourism upon various types of islands. Within each group, it is worthwhile to study differential social and economic impacts in future, despite the apparent similarities in the nature of tourism found among those islands. This is particularly relevant here for example in attempting to predict the likelihood and various impacts of different development options upon Tobago.

A number of general scenarios can be envisaged along a continuum, although the three most basic and practical options appear to incorporate the low intensity local option, the large-scale resort possibility, and the compromise "middle ground" in between. The general effects
of these can be seen by considering islands which fall into these basic categories. However, the negative effects can also be assessed and controlled to some degree, especially in a case such as Tobago, where many of the linkages can be supplied from within the nation. In the instance of Tobago, which appears to be undergoing an intensification of the tourist industry, the potentially detrimental impact of foreign control and importation is modified by the large degree of purposeful domestic control. The social impact may also be modified by the high proportion of locally-generated visitors. At the same time however, foreign visitors should be encouraged through the discontinuation of the differential rate structure in effect in some hotels which favours nationals of Trinidad and Tobago.

One of the most important foci of tourism research in geography should consider more thoroughly the true economic, social and environmental costs which are exacted by the tourist industry. Such research could provide a wider range of options for a particular place to choose from, depending on local circumstances and aspirations. Although a number of problems associated with uncontrolled tourism development have become apparent in recent years, this industry will still continue to provide a lucrative source of revenue in an area of severe resource limitations, providing that careful planning strategies are implemented. One such strategy is recommended in chapter 7, and proposes the
establishment of three major zones of tourist development. The main intent of the plan is to contain growth within certain areas of the island which are most conducive to various intensities of tourism development. Assuming that the level of local and foreign tourism continues to grow at a rate of approximately ten per cent annually, the future provision of facilities will be contained mainly within these zones. A more limited dispersion will be allowed in the periphery, which would contain scenic connecting roads and a network of hiking trails. Such a strategy could prove to be of great benefit to the island of Tobago, provided that a carefully considered planning policy is implemented, working towards the deliberate dispersion and diversification of the sector.
APPENDIX

TOBAGO: TOPOGRAPHY

Contour intervals as given

Source: Evans 1968 p.45

TOBAGO: NATURAL VEGETATION

- rain forest
- deciduous forest
- littoral forest
- mangrove and swamp

Source: Niddrie 1962, p.9
TOBAGO: TENURE

- estate lands
- state land
- small plots

Source: Niddrie 1962, p.41

TOBAGO: PRESENT LAND USE

- primary and secondary forest
- cocoa, lastro, small plots and scrub
- coconut estates

Source: Fieldwork 1980
TOBAGO: POPULATION DENSITY

area of settlement

Sources: Niddrie 1962, p.46
Fieldwork 1980

TOBAGO: TRANSPORTATION NETWORK

main roads

secondary roads

select crown traces

Source: Fieldwork 1980
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