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TOURISM IN TOBAGO - THE CASE FOR UPGRADED GUESTHOUSES

University — Université

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée

MASTER OF ARTS

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade

1982

Name of Supervisor — Nom du directeur de thèse

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TOURISM IN TOBAGO
THE CASE FOR UPGRADED GUESTHOUSES

by

Wolfgang Haider

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate
Studies and Research in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of Master
of Arts
in Geography

Department of Geography
Carleton University
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ABSTRACT

TOURISM IN TOBAGO THE CASE FOR UPGRADED GUESTHOUSES

By Wolfgang Haider

This study analyzes the accommodation sector of the regional tourist industry of Tobago, in order to distinguish the various types and categories of accommodation. Before any conclusions on the feasibility of small accommodations can be made, other components of the tourism sector are analyzed as well. This provides the background for determining the impact and significance of small accommodations. The small guesthouse is identified as the most indigenous form of accommodation with close links to the local community, but the upgraded guesthouse is suggested as the most beneficial accommodation because of its higher potential to attract international and domestic clients. The mere construction of such guesthouses is regarded as insufficient for the purpose of attracting international clients. Rather the entire product, including infra- and superstructure, must be established at once for the satisfaction of the client and to interest travel intermediaries. A detailed marketing strategy is required to penetrate the international market.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As is usual for a study of such volume-based on primary research, the list of people who contributed to its completion is long. Firstly, I am grateful to the dozens of people in Tobago and Trinidad who took their time to answer my questions, and provided material and information which gave me the insight for this study. Professor D.R.F. Taylor is to be thanked for acting as supervisor, and for his patience in reading and commenting on the drafts, along with professors D.B. Knight, G.D. Taylor and I. Wallace. The support of Chris Burn, Colin Jacobs and Carol Lee in the form of collegial discussion is greatly appreciated. Lynda Muir offered welcome editorial assistance, and Elizabeth and Fred Bloch did the typing. Finally, I wish to thank to my wife Elisabeth, whose financial and moral support were invaluable in the completion of this project.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ldc less developed country
mdc more developed country
IDC Trinidad and Tobago, Industrial Development Corpora-
 tion
CARICOM Caribbean Community
CTRC Caribbean Tourism Research Centre

Meal Plans available

AP	American Plan	- all meals
MAP	Modified American Plan	- breakfast and dinner
CP	Continental Plan	- breakfast only
EP	European Plan	- no meals

Origin of Visitors

US	United States
Can	Canada
UK	United Kingdom
Eu	Continental Europe
Car	Commonwealth Caribbean
Ven	Venezuela

LIST OF EQUIVALENTS

Currency

1 Trinidad and Tobago Dollar (TT) = .50 \$ Canadian
= .42 \$ US

Equivalent Terms used for Categories of Accommodation

Category I : Luxury Hotel, Luxury Accommodation, Resort
Resort Hotel

Category II : Economy Class

IIa: Small Hotel

IIb: Large, Upgraded Guesthouses

Category III: Small Guesthouse

1

ANECDOTE

"Why don't you work, instead of just lazing around here?" the White Man asked the Native who was lying in the shade of a palm tree at mid-morning. The Native replied, "Why should I work?" - "Then you can earn some money and buy yourself something." "What should I buy?" - "Well you could buy a bicycle, and use it to ride to work each day - or perhaps even a motor-scooter. The Native gives the White Man a dubious look: "You have got a big car - you must have really worked hard?" "Of course! For more than twenty years, every day and often even on holidays." - "And now you have a car - so why are you still working?" - "So that when I am old I will be able to retire. Then I can take life lazy, lounge in my deckchair and gaze at the sun..." "The Native nodded: "That's what I am already doing..."

(Helmut Swoboda: Der Kampf gegen die Zukunft, Frankfurt am Main, Fischer Alternativ, 1978, 31).

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION AND DEFINITION

1.1 Statement of Problem and Methodology

The introductory anecdote is a humorous reminder that there is no one truth when opinions, based on different value systems, clash. And this is precisely the problem inherent in all questions related to Third World development, encountered by every "White Man", no matter if he is a businessman, tourist, missionary, or employee of an aid organization. They all will be confronted with this basic attitudinal difference in one form or another. Although there is no one solution to these problems, it is worthwhile to make different opinions explicit, to analyse them and to discuss possible alternatives.

One of the most controversial issues at present, tourism, is the subject of particular concern for this study. Increasing leisure time and higher income in most North American and European countries, together with improved global communications and transportation have facilitated travel over long distances during the past decade. Parallel to that, tourism has grown to be the single most important global economic sector. Initially, tourism seemed to be a promising tool for the development of many less developed countries (lde's). Only recently have the economic and sociocultural drawbacks connected to its development been realized.

One model that clearly reveals the nature of tourist movement from developed to developing countries with a geographical view point, is Hills and Lundgren's model on

the "Functional Mechanism of Tourist Movement" (1977) (see Appendix 2). Tourism is a highly centralized, "wholly integrated system". The economic terms of "market" and the "product" are applied to the tourist generating region of North America and the tourist receiving region of the Caribbean respectively. Each of these structures is divided further hierarchically according to the centre-periphery concept, so that each then consists of three levels. All interactions follow the hierarchical order strictly and actual contact or transfer between the market and the product occurs only on level three. This model can readily be applied to the movement of the tourists *per se*, which is usually accomplished through "bulk-carrying", due to its comparative cost advantage; this service is provided by a few airlines only.

The same principle applies to the underlying factors of the tourist movement. These are, in particular, the physical development of the resort facilities (level 2), which depend largely on international capital for construction, and the broad spectrum of transportation infrastructure and services (i.e. marketing and retailing) to connect the product with its market. The latter is controlled by a few enterprises located in the centre of the market. Due to this oligopolistic structure of the entire tourism industry, emphasized by the "economic/logistic integration dominants", ldc's have not fully derived the expected benefits from tourism.

Constructive criticism most commonly suggests an altered tourism product, i.e. smaller, indigenously-owned accommodation units. If one then used Hills and Lundgren's model, this would imply the intentional change of one element on level 2 of the product side, which will initiate

not only changes in the entire tourism product, but also, more importantly, improve its impact upon the host population (level 1). But, as many findings prove, in today's complex world, change cannot be accomplished by just altering one element of the model. Any suggested solutions must take into account the complexity of modern tourism, presented so clearly by this model.

First, smaller accommodation units can only operate if they are sufficiently tied into the remaining infrastructure and superstructure on levels 2 and 3. It is as important to obtain maximum usage from already existing services, as it is to identify and plan for essential additional facilities. If this is not taken into account, then the operation of the altered product is condemned to failure. The second principal question would be: is the present structure of international tourism an insurmountable determinant to which the new product has to adjust completely, or is it possible to change certain elements of it to the greater benefit of ldc's?

These two principal questions provide the parameters for the central topic of this study; namely a comparison of the various types and categories of accommodations in order to establish the advantages of smaller, indigenously-owned accommodations for the host population. More specifically, such a recommendation would provide benefits not only to the regional economy, but to the local inhabitants who by investing could become integrated into the development process.

The island of Tobago provides a suitable milieu in which these questions can be researched. Tobago is a small island in the Eastern Caribbean which, has experienced moderate development. Various indicators suggest that a period of

rapid growth may soon commence. Its tourism policy, formulated in the National Physical Development Plan for Trinidad and Tobago (1978), suggests a diversion from usual patterns of tourism investment in a Caribbean region. It proposes that perhaps the production structure should place emphasis on (1) a high labour:capital ratio; (2) a high employment multiplier; (3) an indigenous level of technology; (4) satisfaction of domestic demand; and, (5) the sympathetic development of amenity resources ¹⁾ (Development Plan, 1978: II, 157,158). More detailed strategies to achieve these goals may be under consideration by the Tourist Board and other governmental bodies. However, this seems to occur behind "closed doors", since, for example, the term "guesthouse" has been mentioned frequently, but no concrete strategy of implementation has been made public. Before any suggestions for an improvement of the present situation can be made, the accommodation-providing sector of Tobago must be examined in order to establish the basic distinctions between the various types and categories of accommodation.

To gather data necessary for this examination, the fieldwork has been conducted in two steps. First, a questionnaire was mailed to each of the 39, then identified, accommodations on the island²⁾. A response figure of 20% was insufficient to allow any conclusions. This deficiency was eliminated during the second stage of research, the fieldwork, when primary data were obtained from almost all establishments³⁾. However, the second purpose of the field-

1) In harmony with environment and community.

2) Appendix 1; mailed in August 1980.

3) December 1980.

work was to interview hotel and guesthouse owners/managers about their opinion regarding present and future prospects of tourism development in Tobago, and to contact representatives of the various governmental bodies in both Tobago and Trinidad. These informal interviews together with secondary material (brochures and recipient government documents) then complemented any information obtained from the questionnaires.

Thus, Chapter 1 explains the basic concepts of tourism, ldc's, and their relationship on a general level as well as in a Caribbean perspective. Only after the presentation of Tobago's tourism resources in Chapter 2, can an analysis of the tourism product be possible (Chapter 3). Emphasis is on characterizing and explaining the different types and categories of accommodation. In order to provide a complete picture, a brief discussion of infrastructure and superstructure follows. Chapter 4 surveys the second major component of tourism, the market, using visitor statistics. The presentation of the various elements of a regional tourism sector is completed in Chapter 5 with an explanation of the political framework and government policy. Only then can the impact of the various categories of accommodation upon the host community be discussed in economic, social, and cultural terms (Chapter 6). After consideration of these aspects, it will be argued that small accommodations are more beneficial to a remote region of an ldc. Lastly, Chapter 7 offers proposals as to how obstacles to the implementation of locally-owned, small hotels and guesthouses, identified in the above introduction, could be overcome.

1.2 Definition of Tourism

The definition of tourism can perhaps best be couched within a conceptual framework that tries to establish a relation between leisure, recreation, travel and tourism, as all of these seem to be relevant terms for the understanding of the tourist phenomenon (Fig. 1.1)¹⁾

The work/leisure polarity is one of the fundamental phenomena in an individual's lifetime, as the time spent on one aspect is always at the cost of the other. Leisure thus involves the use of "discretionary time", that is, time that remains after work, sleep and other necessary personal and household chores have been completed (Wall, 1973:3).

The other three expressions refer to activities that can be performed during leisure time. They represent a hierarchy, with travel as a specialized form of recreation, and tourism as a subcategory of travel.

Recreation, which has often falsely been used as a synonym for leisure,

...embraces a wide variety of activities which are undertaken in leisure. The majority of these activities require skills, knowledge and effort, and participation is usually a conscious choice. (Wall, 1973:3)

It must be emphasized that recreation means only the active use of leisure time. No word in the English language covers the inactive use of leisure time, so the term leisure must be used again. Scholars of recreation usually distinguish between indoor and outdoor recreation. This does not seem

1) The conception of this model coincides with that by Mieczkowski (1981), who depicted it in a different graphic form.

Fig. 1.1

THE RELATION BETWEEN
LEISURE, RECREATION, TRAVEL AND TOURISM

useful in an attempt to define tourism, as both are essential elements of it.¹⁾

The question of where the recreational activity is taking place leads to a geographical distinction; the possible answers are "at home" or "away", which implies that an individual has to travel for the recreational purpose. In its narrowest sense, travel encompasses the activity of every individual who leaves his house and uses any means of transportation. But for the purpose of defining tourism, travel shall only refer to situations where the person leaves his "...habitual place of residence..." (Madley, 1976:2).

Bearing that limitation in mind, the various forms of travel are a function of time and distance, both of which in turn depend on the means of transportation. Originally all "...travel for the pleasure of traveling..." (Lundberg, 1972:7) was termed "tourism", but nowadays it seems more useful to classify tourists into 3 groups:

(1) International tourists have been defined precisely by the IUOTO (International Union of Travel Organizations) for the UN in 1963 as,

...temporary visitors staying at least twenty-four hours in the country visited and the purpose of the journey can be classified under one of the following headings: a) Leisure (recreation, holiday, health, study, religion, Sport).

b) Business, family, friends, meeting, mission.
(Peters, 1969:16)

1) For example, we can consider winter tourism with both skiing as an outdoor activity and swimming as an indoor activity.

(2) There is no such precise explanation for the domestic tourist, but retaining the same concept as the definition, he must be considered as a visitor with one or more of the above-mentioned characteristics, but one who remains in his own country.

(3) Within this context, the excursion is seen as a form of travel that occupies a short period of time and covers a short distance only; it can be found mainly in the urban hinterland. In the present context, it is very often one choice, of how tourists spend their leisure time once they are at their destination.

The model also considers that travel and tourism may be aspects of work. Therefore migration (essentially a long-term, one-way movement) and commuting have been listed as forms of working travel. Business tourism has been placed adjacent to leisure tourism, which emphasizes the fact that this special form of travel is always included - but not necessarily distinguished - in tourism statistics.

Despite the hierarchy outlined above, recreation and travel constitute the two major elements of tourism, as suggested by Madley (1976:2). According to Madley the dynamic component of tourism is "the journey" and the static is "the stay". Then the three terms, which have previously been identified as subnotions of leisure, appear as being interrelated in a repetitive cycle. The repetition occurs, as every tourist engages in any recreational activity during his stay, some of which will be travel again. Depending on the specific type of tourism, which is defined by the motivation of the individual, emphasis fluctuates considerably between the dynamic and the static elements of tourism, i.e. travel may be just a tool to reach another place, or it may

be the goal in itself.

This study focuses on the implications of beach holiday tourism for the destination area. The visitor's travel time from home rarely exceeds one day, during which he covers a long distance, whereas the average stay extends over one or two weeks. Thus the recreational aspect becomes very important, part of which encompasses travel again (e.g. sightseeing). As far as tourism planning at the destination is concerned, it does not matter if the individual spends his leisure time on recreation or on leisure; planning has to allow for all eventualities¹⁾.

A final aspect of tourism is its interdisciplinary nature, which will be demonstrated throughout this study.

The analysis of tourism in any geographical region must be as complete and integrated as possible. In this respect economic, social, cultural, and political aspects must be considered.

1.3. International Tourism and Less Developed Countries

Only the global importance of tourism to ldc's shall be stressed here; a more detailed discussion of the Caribbean tourist region will follow in the next chapter.

The usual measures for tourism on a global or continental scale are tourist arrivals and tourist receipts. Due to the fundamental differences and some deficiencies in the

1) e.g. lying on the beach can generally be regarded as leisure, but implies that (1) hotels are located close to the beach or provide convenient access to it, (2) amenities on the beach must be provided (deckchairs, sun umbrellas) in sufficient quantities, (3) periods of inactive lying are interrupted by swimming, bar visits, etc.

collection of national statistics, the accuracy of both measures remains at a low level to date. Studies conducted by Peters (1969) and Bryden (1973) provide good examples of how similar statistical data can be compiled differently, or how similar results can be interpreted in various ways.

The most recent data on international tourism were compiled on the basis of 1978 national statistics for the "International Tourism - Exchanges" (ITB) in Berlin in 1980 (Lodahl and Wilkens, 1980). Their diagram on world tourism indicates the flow of international travellers within each of the regions in the three-world concept, as well as the interregional flow. (see Fig.1.2) However, it makes no distinction between holiday and business travel.

Lodahl and Wilkens (1980:23) determined that, in 1978, of the 243,5 million international tourists ¹⁾ 79% originated from the western industrial nations; half of all international travel occurred as exchange within Western European countries. Another 12% came from Eastern Europe and 9% from developing countries.

The ldc's received 13% of all international tourists in 1978, increasing their share by 2% since 1970 (Lodahl and Wilkens, 1980:23). This does not seem to be much, especially

...when it is considered what space is given to the exotic attractions of these regions in the image promoting publicity of international tourism.

(Lodahl and Wilkens, 1980:23)

1) 1950: 25,2 million international tourists
 1960: 71,0 " " "
 1967: 138,0 " " "

(Peters, 1969:34)

Fig. 1.2

(Lodahl & Wilkens, 1980:23)

Travel to ldc's is subject to a number of external influences, as a holiday in these destinations usually involves a long-distance flight. The recently observed trend that travel is becoming a necessity (Pulse, 1980:8),

or is shifting from being a discretionary to an indiscretionary form of expenditure (Taylor, 1980), has not affected international tourism which can be offset by any form of domestic travel.

The importance of business trips is clearly underlined by individual national statistics, which show the OPEC countries as the highest ranking third world countries in regard to receiving as well as generating tourism (Lodahl and Wilkens, 1980:26).

A superficial interpretation of international tourism's contribution to the economies of the various ldc's shows a slightly more positive picture. They received only 13% of all international tourists, but their share of global receipts was around 20% in 1978 (Lodahl and Wilkens, 1980:27)¹⁾.

The reasons are to be sought not only in the remoteness of the destination, which makes longer stays seem more worth-while and thus calls for greater expenditure on the part of the tourist; it is probably more important on the one hand that it costs more to satisfy the exacting requirements of Europeans and North

1) International Tourist Receipts (R) and Expenditures (E) for 1978, in million US \$.

	R	E
World	68,592	69,042
OECD	54,428	66,303
Developing countries (Excluding OPEC)	11,448	6,636

(Lodahl and Wilkens, 1980:33,40)

Americans in far-away places, than it does at home, and on the other hand travellers from developing countries appear to belong mostly to the privileged classes, who have no need to be unduly carefull about what they spend in the industrial countries.

(Lodahl and Wilkens, 1980:27)

The high concentration of tourist expenditures as well as arrivals in a few locations is remarkable. Although a process of dispersion can be observed, the top ten countries accounted for 69% of the entire tourist expenditure in 1978 (compared to 75% in 1970) (Lodahl and Wilkens, 1980,27).

Peters (1969:34) observed a concentration of 65% of all expenditures in the top twelve countries for 1965.

If these figures are comparable with each other, then the peak of concentration occurred in the early 1970's and now a gradual process of improvement for the ldc's in general has started.

The net economic benefits for ldc's, expressed in tourism's contribution to the balance of payments, receive very different comments: Bryden (1973:64) used for his analysis¹⁾ the IUOTO Travel Statistics for 1965 and found,

...that the developing countries outside Europe and the Mediterranean are, in aggregate in significant deficit on their travel accounts, indicating a net flow of resources from the developing countries to the developed through the tourism market.

This is countered by Lodahl and Wilkens (1980:22):

1) His analysis excludes travel expenses per se, which would undoubtedly place the ldc's into a more disadvantageous position.

Tourism is ... the only item for which non-oil exporting developing countries managed to achieve a positive balance, and one which is constantly improving.

A general feature of tourism, whether domestic or international, is a capital flow into the lesser developed regions due to the uneven spatial distribution of resources (Matley, 1976:11). Also worth noting is the contradiction inherent in the development process itself, as it often destroys tourism resources.

Thus,

...the direction of the flow of receipts... complies by and large with the necessities of international development aims.

(Lodahl and Wilkens, 1980:21)

Turner (1977) went even further and described international tourism as the "International Division of Leisure".

Although the above-quoted recent German study labels tourism on a global scale as a favourable economic activity for ldc's, even Lodahl and Wilkens concede that for many reasons some countries or regions may suffer considerably. The market-segment for this long-distance travel and exotic tourism is small, and changes in demand occur frequently and are reinforced by the high dependency on international tour operators. Furthermore, the construction and maintenance of tourism facilities require high proportions of foreign exchange investments (Lodahl and Wilkens, 1980:22) which leads to the often quoted "leakage-effect" that counterbalances the receipts.

Recently there has arisen a greater awareness of the social costs of tourism which can be analysed from many different points of view and will be discussed fully later.

Nevertheless, future prospects for international tourism look very promising:

Foreign tourism is going to remain a growth industry par excellence. To every percentage point of the national product growth, tourist expenditures, in the OECD countries; for example, have reacted with a plus of 1.4%. The centres of additional tourist sources might well be found in countries which hitherto displayed only a relatively moderate travel intensity.

(Lodahl and Wilkens, 1980:22)

Trinidad and Tobago might soon join the ranks of these new tourist-generating countries.

1.4 The Caribbean

The Caribbean, which is often described as the "Mediterranean of the Americas", is indeed one of the major global tourist-receiving areas.

The name of the region is widely used in its marketing, because to the North American and European population the word "Caribbean" conjures up

...a tropical sea with typical tropical flora, mood and sea breezes... palm trees waving in balmy breezes, the limbo dance, straw markets, new hotels set in scenic beauty.

(Lundberg, 1972:207)

But before the tourism sector of the Caribbean can be reviewed, it is necessary to define this region precisely.

1.4.1 The Concept of the Caribbean

Whereas the Caribbean Sea can be clearly defined in

its geographic location as being surrounded by Central America in the West, South America in the South and the chain of islands in the East and North, the Caribbean Region can not be located that precisely. In reference to those islands, Blume (1968:2,3) favours, in his "Geography of the Caribbean Islands" this term over "West Indian Islands", which he agrees upon in a historical context only.

There exist certain common features among the various entities that make up the "Caribbean", which justify discussing it as a region.

Demas (1979:vii) integrates the many different existing definitions into three major concepts:

- (a) the English-speaking Caribbean or Commonwealth Caribbean;
- (b) the Caribbean archipelago which includes all the islands of the Caribbean Sea plus the mainland "extensions" of Guyana, Surinam, and Cayenne on the South American mainland and Belize on the Central American mainland; and
- (c) the Caribbean basin, consisting of the countries of the Caribbean archipelago plus the littoral nations of Central and South America.

The English-speaking Caribbean includes those islands of the West Indies and those countries of Central and South America that were part of the British Colonial Empire and therefore inherited a common language and a similar political system and an outward orientation towards the same metropolis.

Before independence an attempt was made to change the prevalent economic structure towards a more regionally oriented one, but after four years of existence, the "West Indian Federation" failed in that attempt, and the various

members gained independence in the period thereafter. The need for more cooperation between these new micro-states was felt, and in 1968 the "Caribbean Free Trade Association" (CARIFTA) was established. From that basis the urge for an even tighter form of cooperation led to the "Caribbean Community" (CARICOM).¹⁾

The concept of the Caribbean archipelago adds to the English speaking Caribbean all non-English-speaking West Indian Islands. Despite the different languages and different forms of colonial rule experienced by the various islands, some common features can be found (Demas, 1979:ix):

...a very long history of political colonialism, a heavy African element in the population, a long history of economic dependence on the metropolis, the legacy of slavery and indentureship, and the dominance of the sugar plantation in their economic history.

Therefore Demas (1979:ix) draws the conclusion that

it is this unity underlying so much diversity that makes the Caribbean Archipelago a "culturearea". It is my view that this "culturearea" is the "true" Caribbean.

The Caribbean basin is a geopolitical concept that bears high potential for the future. Many Caribbean countries tried recently to establish closer ties to Latin

1) Members States: Antigua - Barbuda, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guayana, Jamaica, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent-Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago; the Crown Colony of Montserrat; Bahamas are associate member.

America, as is shown by their membership in the Organization of the American States (OAS), the Interamerican Development Bank and the UN Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA).

1.4.2 Assessment of Tourism in the Caribbean

In 1978, all the Caribbean islands, including the Bahamas and the mainland destinations of Belize and Venezuela, were visited by approximately 67 million tourists (Steigenberger, 1980:I/55), which is equivalent to 2.7% of all global tourist arrivals. The number of yearly visitors to this region has increased by 72%, or almost 10% annually since 1970.

A survey of the tourism performance of the 10 CARICOM countries between 1969 and 1974, conducted by the CTRC, which distinguished between the mdc's and ldc's,¹⁾ revealed significant differences in the development of tourism in these two categories.

The annual growth rates and the market share of the ldc's are shown in Table 1.1 which has been updated to 1978.

Prime (1976:17) observed a lower annual growth rate and a resulting steady decrease in the market share for ldc's especially during the period of recession of 1973/74.

Major reasons for the better performance of the mdc's are their better transportation links to the market areas (Prime, 1976:24), and the fact that these larger

1) mdc's = more developed countries.

For countries included, see table 1.1.

Table 1.1

VISITORS TO THE CARICOM ¹⁾ 1969 - 1978

Year	Visitors	Annual growth in %	Visitors to ldc's in %	Yearly growth rate in %		
				ldc's	mdc's	Barbados, T & T
1969	663,412		23.6			
1970	727,887	9.7	24.1	12.1	9.0	5.8
1971	848,371	16.6	22.2	7.5	19.4	23.5
1972	945,577	11.5	22.5	12.8	11.1	8.2
1973	976,468	3.3	21.5	-1.1	4.5	7.0
1974	991,341	1.5	19.7	-5.6	3.5	3.5
1975	935,550	-5.6	19.8	-4.4	-5.5	-1.6
1976	904,877	-3.3	21.7	5.7	-5.5	7.6
1977	927,250	2.5	24.3	15.1	-1.0	14.6
1978	1,164,606	25.6	24.3	28.4	+24.7	13.9
growth rate 1969-78				64.5	59.1	104.8

Sources: for 1969-74: PRIME 1976: 19

for 1975-78: STEIGENBERGER Consulting, 1980, I/55

1) CARICOM consisting of:

mdc's: Barbados
Jamaica
Trinidad and Tobago
(T. & T.)

ldc's: Antigua
Dominica
Grenada
Monteserrat
St. Kitts/Nevis/Anguilla
St. Lucia
St. Vincent

destination areas can be served more economically by tour operators.

4. The data for 1975-78 reveal a time lag in the decline of the visitor flow to ldc's in contrast to the mdc's. The mdc's had their worst year of performance in 1975; Prime's analysis does not take this fact into consideration. Nevertheless, their overall performance was better than that of the ldc's especially if, for the interpretation of the period after 1974, only Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago are taken as representatives of mdc's. This measure is justified by Jamaica's poor performance over these years due to the political unrest in that country, which caused a decline in the absolute number of visitors over three successive years, followed by an outstanding rate of growth immediately after the turmoil ended in 1978.

The very same pattern, which indicates tourism's sensitivity towards political instability, can be observed for mdc's in the period 1970/71, when the Black Power movement shook Trinidad.

The visitors mainly originate from the US, especially going to those destinations in immediate proximity to the mainland. The second important market is Canada, whose share of visitors to the islands varies considerably, depending on the availability of cheap airfares. The number of Europeans visiting Caribbean destinations is small and evenly distributed between those originating from the UK and from the Continent, although the number of the latter is increasing to many destinations.

Tourism's importance for the domestic economy is very different for the various islands. For some states, especially the smaller ones, it is the major economic sector contributing to foreign exchange earnings, whereas

the bigger countries have other, equally or more important, export sectors.¹⁾ This is particularly true for Trinidad and Tobago. However, the following section will establish the relevance of this economic sector for the entire nation as well as for the region of Tobago alone.

1.5 The Purpose of a Study of Tourism in Tobago

Can the island of Tobago, which constitutes politically a province of the medium developed country (mdc) of Trinidad and Tobago, serve as an example for tourist planning problems that may be encountered by other Caribbean islands or even other ldc's?

A typical feature, found in other third world countries, is a rather advanced metropolitan area, on the one hand, which in the case of Port of Spain is extremely dynamic at present due to the oil boom, and on the other hand, has some relatively backward peripheral areas. This spatial centre-periphery phenomenon is most obvious in the case of Tobago, as this province is situated on its own island; thus the usually occurring differences from the centre are accentuated by the sharp natural border (compare

1) Receipts from foreign tourism as per centage of total export earnings:

	<u>1973</u>	<u>1979</u>
Trinidad and Tobago	10,4	5,5
Jamaica	19,5	15,9
Barbados	47,0	45,8
Grenada		41,2(1978)

(IMF, Balance of Payment Year Book, 1981)

with A. Isaac 1979).¹⁾

In Tobago one can observe the phenomenon of heavy migration to the national centre (as well as to North American metropolises), which suggests a complete political and economic domination of the province by the centre and therefore the absence of an indigenous political or business elite. Similarly, all international transportation and information linkages are provided solely via Port of Spain.²⁾

The government of Trinidad and Tobago has never favoured tourism as an important development sector. (Compare various development plans). The official reasons given for this neglect are the consciousness of negative economic and social impact, which has been surveyed and analysed in other tourist areas; but there also seems to be the notion that Tobago should be kept as an indigenous playground. Tourism's contribution to the GNP has not exceeded four percent annually.

Compared to other Caribbean islands, Tobago's underdevelopment in general and the lack of tourist facilities in particular make it an ideal object for a study that is based

- 1) Isaac analysed the conditions of underdevelopment that prevail in Tobago to date under the framework of the dependency theory. Her conclusions are that the historical process of colonialization has only been modified to a global dependency of ldc's on the metropolises. Trinidad and Tobago provide an example. Furthermore, she argues that the new centres of ldc's or mdc's, in this instance Port of Spain, act as dominating as the metropolises once did and indeed in this instance still do. Thus Tobago's situation can be overstated as "the periphery of a periphery".
- 2) These facts make Tobago an almost unique case in the Caribbean, as most other, often smaller, islands have their own centre located on the island (with the exception of St.Kitts/Nevis and Antigua/Barbuda).

on the existing resources. This approach accords with the official ideas on any future tourism development. The government has clearly recognized the drawbacks of large-scale tourist development elsewhere, but policy and strategy are yet to be fully formulated regarding the domestic situation.

Tourism might become more important for the regional economy of Tobago, as well as the national economy of Trinidad and Tobago, through one or more of the following causes:

- (1) if the oil revenues of Trinidad and Tobago decline, the country will have to look to the use of other resources, one of which undoubtedly is tourism.
- (2) Should Tobago be granted a more autonomous status, the island will have to rely more on its own resources, the major one of which is tourism. A first step towards such a development occurred in November 1980, when Tobago was allowed to form its own House of Assembly. Nobody is able to judge the economic and political implications of this for the future.
- (3) As Trinidad develops further, more of its populace will advance into higher income groups and be potential tourists to Tobago; their impact upon the island will be enormous, and therefore this has to be considered in a planning concept as well.
- (4) The reconstruction of Crown Point Airport in Tobago, already started, will make the island accessible to big aircraft and consequently will attract more foreign visitors as well as the interest of tour operators and international capital in general.

- (5) The present government policy towards tourism stands in direct conflict with the interests of the national air carrier (BWIA) and part of the newly emerging domestic business elite, who seek any investment opportunity; tourism has to be regarded as one of these.

Tourism to Tobago can be described in a model that applies Hills and Lundgren's concept to this specific situation (see Fig. 1.3.). Most important is the introduction of a third hierarchical structure that represents the market of domestic tourism from Trinidad to Tobago. Its features are very similar to the general observations about tourism to the Caribbean made earlier. Again, the major contacts between the market and the product occur on level three, only this time they are national in nature. This description is most accurate in the case of the actual movement of people.¹⁾ The barrier between the lower levels, which has been identified as very effective in the case of international tourism, is not such an insurmountable factor for domestic tourism. One example of this is domestic tourism marketing, which is not very structured in Trinidad at the present. More important is the visitor's familiarity with the tourist area along with promotion by word of mouth. This is made explicit in the model by connecting level one of the market side with level two of the product (new connection 1). Another direct contact can be observed between the levels 2, as small entrepreneurs from Trinidad invest in accommodations in Tobago without necessarily using the hierarchically structured ways of financing, so characteristic to the international scene.

1) "bulk-movement" by air from Piarco to Crown Point
by sea from Port of Spain to Scarborough.

Fig.1.4 FUNCTIONAL MECHANISM OF TOURIST MOVEMENT TO TOBAGO

after Hiltz and Lundgren (1977) by W. Haider

Within the two structures, direct contact between levels 1 and 3 is much more likely to occur than in the case of international tourism. On the market side, most Trinidadians travel to Tobago without using the services of a travel agent or another intermediary, except for the purchase of the ticket. Similarly, a more informal process of dispersal can be observed in Tobago, when Trinidadians use the local means of transportation instead of those established for tourists. They also are more likely to use indigenously owned accommodation. All this contributes to a deeper penetration of level 2, as demonstrated in the model (new connection 3).

At the same time, this third structure can be used to emphasize Trinidad's dominant position in regard to international tourism to Tobago. Overseas visitors arriving by air must use Piarco Airport as port of entry, before they can be tied into the national transfer from Trinidad to Tobago.

The economic/logistical integration dominants have to be restructured completely. Economic domination, which usually centres in developed countries, is increasingly being taken over by Trinidadian investment.

CHAPTER 2

TOBAGO'S TOURISM RESOURCES

2.1 Introduction

This chapter leads beyond the listing of resources by discussing the geographical, historical, cultural and social aspects in order to provide a background for the subsequent analysis. In the context of this thesis, tourism resources will be viewed as the potential of a given region for any tourist development in the course of which tourist facilities are established. This approach stands in contrast to much of the tourism literature, which defines the potential as well as the facilities as resources.¹⁾ But the analysis of the accommodations, the most important facility and central part of this thesis, justifies the definition of resources as encompassing only the natural and man made (cultural) pretouristic environment.

At a latitude between 10°N and 11°30'N, Trinidad and Tobago are the two southern most islands of the Caribbean Archipelago. Trinidad, with an area of 4 827 km² and a population of 1,1 million (estimate for 1977; Statistical Digest 1978:23) is the bigger of the two and is only 12 km off the northeastern Venezuelan coast of the South American continent. Tobago has 301 km² and 40 000 inhabitants (Statistical Digest 1978:23) and lies another 33km northeast of Trinidad.

Trinidad and Tobago represent one of the few cases in the world in which two islands form a single political entity. In the Caribbean the only similar political structure are St. Kitts - Nevis - Anguilla and Antigua - Barbuda, but

1) For example compare Kaiser and Helber: "Hotels can also become destinations or attractions on their own." (1978:177)

these are much smaller. Tobago is left as the only island of its size and population in the Caribbean without any form of self-government. It was only in 1980 that the Tobagonians received some control over internal affairs, when they were allowed to form their own House of Assembly.

Tobago's tourism resources are similar to those of the other Caribbean islands, of which the primary ones are the beaches, combined with a warm climate all year. All other resources that might be found on the various islands have to be considered as secondary, as they only come second in the decision-making process in course of which the tourist selects his destination. This implies that the tourism product is highly competitive.

2.2. Natural Resources

Three major landscapes can be distinguished in Tobago:

- (1) The Lowlands - southwestern part of the island; flat
- (2) The Windward side } {central and northeastern part of
- (3) The Leeward side } {the island; both mountainous

So far the major tourist development has occurred in the Lowlands, but the whole island has potential for tourist development. At present most sites are accessible for one-day excursions.

2.2.1 Geology and Morphology

The principal scenic difference between the various parts of the island is of geological and morphological nature.

The mountainous central and northern part of the island is composed of Cretaceous schists and metamorphics, and of various volcanics (Niddrie, 1961:3). After a long period of change from marine submergence and uplift, the

final elevation occurred in the post-Pliocene era, during which time the island was tilted from northwest to southeast. There is not one exceptionally high mountain peak, but the central Ridge, which runs eastwest in the northern half, with a maximum height of 572 m (Blume, 1968:368), appears as a rather uniform range, from which the terrain falls gradually to the foothills in the south and southwest (Niddrie, 1968:3). Because of the relatively recent uplift, the shoreline changes its appearance frequently, as steep and rocky sections are interrupted by sandy beaches which form tranquil bay areas (Niddrie, 1968:4). This division of the shore into small sections is one minor contributing factor to the present lack of largescale tourist development of the type that can be observed in many coastal areas all over the world, where continuous sandy beaches provide the ideal environment for mass tourism. In Tobago most of the steep rocky surroundings will remain undeveloped for a long period of time and contribute further to the more "natural" environment and scenery. Even so, some development along the stretches with sandy shores might occur.

The differentiation between Leeward and Windward side is more geomorphological than climatic. The Windward side has a number of larger river basins, each with a well-developed tributary system, whereas the narrower Leeward side is made up of a number of small steep valleys, which are separated from each other, and the final descent is commonly by way of a waterfall over 20m cliffs (Niddrie, 1961:4). The only exception to that pattern on the Leeward side is the Courland River Basin, which now is used as an important water catchment area.

The Lowlands

"...are with the exception of a few hills in the centre... made of a series of flat coral terraces nowhere more than 150 feet high..." (Macpherson, 1963:66)

but

"There are, however, no well-developed 'swal lowholes' or prominent karstic features in the coral limestone itself, such as are encountered in the limestone islands like Barbados." (Niddrie, 1961:5)

The only karst phenomenon of some importance is the "Robinson Crusoe Cave" about which Fodor's Travel Guide (1979:504) remarks:

"It can be reached by foot. 'A local descendent will take you there', writes Commander Alford, but it is only fair to warn you that there is not very much to see."

Probably the most important and interesting resources are the coral reefs, which can be found off the shore on many parts of the island. World fame is claimed for the Buccoo Reef.

2.2.2 Climate

Tobago is regarded as a tropical island. In a tropical climate the critical variables for attracting tourists are determined by seasonal precipitation, wind velocity and humidity; temperature stays favourable all year round.

The temperature varies between 20°C and 33°C. Trinidad's monthly means minimum and maximum temperature (similar values can be assumed for Tobago) are as follows:

monthly mean of minima lowest in January	20.5°C
highest in May	23.0°C

monthly mean of maxima lowest in January	29.5°C
highest in May	32.0°C

(Values read at Piarco Airport; mean for 1969-78)
(Statistical Digest 1978:4)

"Diurnal variation is small (less than 5°F) and for human beings this is undoubtedly tiring, particularly in the wet season when the relative humidity is generally at its maximum."

(Niddrie. 1961:5)

Due to the more southern location of Trinidad and Tobago, the trade winds do not determine the weather to the same extent as in the rest of the Caribbean (Blume, 1968:23). But nevertheless in Tobago,

"The predominant direction is northeasterly, blowing steadily at a velocity varying from 5-12 knots. Throughout the year the general wind velocity is slightly reinforced by a midafternoon sea breeze, and on the coral lowlands a shortlived, occasional light reversal of directions is brought about by a land breeze at night."

(Niddrie, 1968:6)

The average annual rainfall of 1,796 mm for Trinidad and Tobago is slightly higher than the average for the Caribbean as a whole with 1,478 mm (Steigenberger, 1980:I/22); but it is less than on other comparable islands. ¹⁾ For Tobago, two varying readings of precipita-

1) Grenada 2,157/mm But Barbados 1,275 mm
St. Lucia 2,200 mm
Guadeloupe 3,560 mm (highest in Caribbean)
(Steigenberger, 1980:I/22)

tion could be found, which reflect the difference in the observation period and a different selection of measuring stations:

1,726 mm mean of 1969-78; average of 23 stations;

(Statistical Digest 1978:2)

2,174 mm mean of unspecified 26 years; average of 14 stations.

(Niddrie, 1961:6)

The yearly precipitation is highest in the northeast of the island and drops gradually towards the southeastern end. This trend is further modified by a slightly higher rainfall on the Windward side compared to corresponding Leeward places. The Central Ridge is not high enough to create a significant rain shadow.

Over the years the variation in the annual amount of rainfall has been considerable. During the observation period for 1969-78 the high of 2 108 mm in 1975 was followed by a low of 1 387 mm in 1977. A similar variation can be observed between the same months in different years, as the observed minimum rainfall in each of them is approximately half the amount of the maximum. These last two measures are the most important in the context of tourism, as they provide an idea of the variability of rainfall and which climatic conditions visitors are to expect.

During the rainy season from June to December the precipitation is above 150 mm/month, with an insignificant reduction in September. The dry season lasts from January to May with a monthly rainfall below 100 mm/month. As will be discussed in detail later, the tourist industry takes full advantage of this period, which coincides with the winter months in North America.

The existence of a second tourist season in August can hardly be explained by climatic conditions. Ironically, the average rainfall on both islands is lower in July and September than during their peak domestic travel month. The slightly more favourable conditions on Tobago in respect to precipitation in August¹⁾ might be reinforced by a lesser cloud cover compared to Trinidad. No statistical evidence for this is available. Trinidadians travel in August due to the holiday policy of the government, which is inherited from colonial times.

A definite advantage for Tobago resulting from its low latitude is that it is hardly ever devastated by hurricanes.²⁾

A year-round water temperature of 20°C assures excellent bathing conditions.

2.2.3. Flora and Fauna

Due to a former land bridge Tobago's "...flora is still essentially continental but possesses a character of its own." (Beard, 1949:180), and unlike Trinidad, "...its forests are in closer relationship to those of the Lesser Antilles." (Beard 1949:182).

Niddrie (1961:8) distinguishes four different types of natural vegetation:

- (1) Swamp and mangrove
- (2) Littoral woodland
- (3) Deciduous seasonal forest
- (4) Tropical rain forest

1) Precipitation in August: Tobago 208mm
 Trinidad West Belt: 240mm
 Trinidad East Belt: 304mm
 (Statistical Digest 1978:2)

2) The last one was hurricane "Flora" in 1963.

Swamps and mangroves cover the lowest areas of the Lowlands and the mouths of larger rivers, especially on the Windward side (Niddrie 1961:9). Recently they were subjected to various forms of exploitation, except where protected by law.

The deciduous seasonal forest encompasses higher parts of the Lowlands and the adjacent foothills. Towards the northwest it changes gradually to the lower rain forest. This area is under intensive agricultural use and the forest is almost completely replaced by tree crops, rough pastures and gardens (Niddrie, 1961:10).

The rain forests developed where sufficient humidity remains even during the driest months to support evergreen species. The lowland rain forest, which is found up to a height of 300 to 400 m is the second major agricultural production area (Niddrie, 1961:10). Parts of the lower mountain forest (above an elevation of 300 m) and most of the xerophytic rain forest (only found on soils derived from igneous rocks) are preserved in the Rain Forest Reserve. The origin of this reserve dates back to the year 1765, when "Woods for the Protection of the Rains" were set aside. Over the years its area was enlarged, and due to its inaccessibility no selective felling of useful timber has been undertaken for years (Niddrie, 1961:11). Thus today it is one of the few almost indigenous rain forests of the Caribbean and can be developed into a valuable tourist resource. This environment provides an ideal living space for an outstanding fauna, in particular a variety of exotic birds.¹⁾ These can be watched in

1) The centres of attention are:

2 private sanctuaries

Rain Forest Reserve

Little Tobago (the only place where the Bird-of-Paradise can be observed wild outside New Guinea).

Hillsborough Reservoir.

peace, as no harmful animals threaten (see brochures by Trinidad and Tobago Tourist Board, "Bird Life Study").

The sea fauna and flora provide a similar attraction. The Buccoo Reef certainly is the focus of attention, but around the entire island are areas that gain the attention of scuba divers (see brochure by Trinidad and Tobago Tourist Board, "Marine Life").

2.3 Man-made Resources

Historic sites and cultural attractions can fill the holiday of vacationers with certain activities.

2.3.1 History

Little evidence can be found from the pre-Columbian era. Tobago was inhabited by the Caribs, a savage tribe, who displaced the Arawaks. Pottery and stone weapons of both are exhibited in the historical museum.¹⁾

Myth and historical truth meet as "...Tobagonians are fond of telling the world that their land is Robinson Crusoe's island." (Fodor, 1979:501)² But it certainly is true that the Swiss Family Robinson was stranded and lived on Tobago in course of their adventure (Fodor, 1979:501). Both stories could be useful for the marketing of "Romantic Tobago".

1) Attached to Mt. Irvin Hotel.

2) There is no clear historic evidence for or against it. Fodor (1979:501) locates that story on the Pacific island of Juan Fernandez. Lou Lichtveld (Crusoe's only Isle; Imagination supported by facts, Trinidad, 1974) argues strongly in favour of Tobago.

The major historic sites are the ruins and forts which are legacies of the turbulent colonial period and the warfare between the various European powers that set foot on Tobago. It changed ownership between the French, Spanish, Dutch, English, Courlanders and Pirates no less than 22 times (Carmichael, 1961:305), until it finally became a British possession in 1803. The warfare can be explained by the different interest that each of these powers had in holding Tobago. Spain's major concern in its colonies was the exploitation of precious metals. The Spanish acquired possession of Trinidad early, when that island was traded as one possible site of the legendary "El Dorado". Tobago lacked metals, but was of some strategic importance in keeping rival nations off Trinidad (Isaac, 1979:37).

The French had more interest in developing Tobago's agricultural potential, but never were able to keep the island for a long period of time and finally lost it in 1803. French place names are the only remainders of that period.

Britain's colonial power originated from extracting mainly agricultural raw materials. When Britain finally acquired ownership of Tobago, the already established planters of the other islands tried to prevent the emergence of yet another rival (Isaac, 1979:38).

The early part of the 19th century saw the peak of economic activities in Tobago. Historic evidence of that period consists mainly of ruins of windmills (today called "Chimneys"), which were a necessity on every cane-estate, unless water was available as power source to

crush the cane.¹⁾

The decline of Tobago's prosperity in the course of the 1800s has many causes, which are listed here without any detailed discussion:

- (1) After 50 years of continuous exploitation, the soils were exhausted (Niddrie, 1961:17);
- (2) The abolition of slavery, enacted in Tobago in June 1838, led to the immediate departure of freed slaves to small holdings and villages, and determined the present day land use and settlement patterns (Niddrie, 1961:18);
- (3) The collapse of the West Indian Bank in 1847 (Niddrie, 1961:19);
- (4) Severe hurricane destruction in 1847 (Niddrie, 1961:19);
- (5) The bankruptcy of Gillespie Bros. in 1884 (Tourist Board Brochure, Historic Tobago);
- (6) The political subordination to Trinidad in 1889 (Niddrie, 1961:20);
- (7) The degradation to a ward of the larger island in 1898 (Niddrie, 1961:20);
- (8) Due to the underpopulation of the island, there never was sufficient military protection; nor was the population large enough to warrant the colonial powers establishing a basic infrastructure (Niddrie, 1961:50).

As a result of these historic events, over the past 80 years Trinidad's development overshadowed that of Tobago.

1) An example of the latter is the wheel of the Bird of Paradise Estate.

2.3.2 Cultural Landscape

The cultural landscape encompasses all the features of a certain area that came into existence due to the activities of man. It is, therefore a function of the natural landscape and how man has used and uses this potential. This, in turn, depends on his stage of development as well as the political and economical organization of the society in question.

The single most influential force is agricultural activity, as the pattern of land use and the selection of crops determine the physical appearance of the landscape, commonly known as "scenery", a very important tourist resource.¹⁾ Other important features are the settlement pattern as well as the architecture of each individual dwelling.

The trend towards a "romantic holiday" will put more emphasis on these characteristics. Thus they have to be regarded as the most valuable secondary resources.

The importance of the cultural landscape can be seen when tourists' perceptions of various Caribbean destinations are compared. Grenada is perceived as the "nicest island" and reasons given for that judgement are the fact that it fulfills commonly held expectations of a tropical island, due to its appearance as an "eternal garden" or "paradise". Perhaps the intensive land use unknown to other Caribbean islands, rather than the force of nature, has created this image of Grenada. The impact of this intensive land use on the long range productivity of a tropical region cannot be discussed here,²⁾ but its

1) 75% of the island's surface is agricultural at present; 40% is under cultivation (Blume, 1968:368).

2) Niddrie (1961:36) mentions the erosion and mineral outwash.

value as a tourist resource for the Caribbean has not been pointed out so far.¹⁾

Because land uses vary between the individual landscapes, they will be discussed separately. To determine the degree to which the substitution of the sugar cane plantation economy by coconut groves in the beginning of this century raised the recreational value of the Lowlands would require a detailed study. Especially along the beach, the coconut tree reinforces the cliché of the "tropics".

The foothills are cultivated by peasant smallholders as well as by some estates. The major crop of both is cocoa (Blume, 1968:89). This is the area with similar potential to Grenada.

Commonly, the perceived "laziness" of the people, the social overhead structure provided by the government of Trinidad and Tobago, and high emigration are blamed for the steady decline in agricultural production.²⁾ They certainly are contributing factors, but most important seems the proximity to Trinidad and the availability of cheap means of transportation between the two islands, which prohibit the establishing of a steady domestic food supply in Tobago (Niddrie, 1961:31).

Additionally, the productivity of the land decreased because of heavy use over the past 100 years, and it

1) Compare to Central Europe where mountain peasants get paid not only for their product, but also for the activity of mowing the mountain pastures, similar to park wardens.

2) Opinion of Trinidadians as well as Tobagonians.

is thought it would need a 20-year fallow period (lastro, or secondary forest) for recovery (Niddrie, 1961:39).

Since 1960, more land has been abandoned, which seems, for reasons mentioned above, to be ecologically satisfactory. The abandoned land can be found on steep hills as well as valley bottoms and is covered either with grass or lastro (Niddrie, 1961:36). These higher portions are visible from a distance and contribute to the unkempt impression often perceived by tourists. On the contrary, still intensively used gardens are almost hidden behind thick natural fences. Even today there are many areas where a large variety of tropical crops are grown, and they certainly offer an opportunity for some tourists to be introduced to tropical agriculture and to be made familiar with the products and their environment.¹⁾

Estates can be found all over the island, and some of them offer tours to acquaint visitors with their activities; especially active in this respect are those estates that process cocoa, located in the northern part of the island.

2.3.4 Culture

In contrast to Trinidad, Tobago is an almost entirely black society. The major cultural expressions are the same as in Trinidad, namely the steelband and calypso, two indigenous form of entertainment, whose development is

1) At present, one hotel experiments along that line by offering various "educational" day excursions.

closely related to Carnival.¹⁾ Steelband music was developed after world war II and has its roots in two traditional african instruments, the "tamboo-bamboo" and the "croix-croix". Only after the technique of "tuning" the bottom of metal barrels was invented during the war, was it quickly developed into the now sophisticated art (Burnette, 1977).

2.4 Summary

Beaches and climate must be regarded as Tobago's major resources for the development of the tourism industry. Scenic landscape and some historic monuments together with a comparatively friendly population and a relaxing atmosphere must be regarded as additional assets. Given this potential, the next chapter provides an analysis of the physical structures that have been developed in order to capitalize on these resources.

1) Carnival was introduced in Trinidad by French settlers who arrived around 1800 and continued their tradition of celebrations between Christmas and Ash Wednesday, which coincided with the period of least agricultural labor input. After "Emancipation", Carnival changed from an upper class activity to a form of mass entertainment, including periods when "masquerades" committed crimes and started riots against the police. Towards the end of the century, parades in their present form were established (Pearse, 1971). The Carnival Development Committee was founded in 1958 (Third FYDP, 1969:334).

CHAPTER 3

THE TOURISM PRODUCT

3.1 Introduction

In the context of this study, the tourism product will be understood as encompassing all man-made structures that are essential for a region to attract and fulfill the expectations of tourists, i.e. accommodation, other tourism related facilities (superstructure) and infrastructure. As has been emphasized in Chapter 1, the focus of this thesis is on accommodation. Their structural analysis (conducted in the first section of the following chapter) is mainly based on the responses to the questionnaire (Appendix 1) and interviews, both conducted by the author during 1980. Subsequently the infrastructure and superstructure are analysed briefly from secondary sources, in order to complete the discussion of the tourism product in Tobago.

3.2 Accommodation Survey of Tobago

In this section, all types of accommodation that exist in Tobago will be presented and categorized, then the various categories will be analysed comparatively in terms of their characteristics. This analysis of the accommodation and their determining factors of physical appearance and clientele are the major components of level 2 in Hill and Lundgren's model. Only after achieving an understanding of this sector, can alternatives that could lessen the negative impact and strengthen positive aspects of the tourist trade be considered.

• In accordance with the taste and purchasing power of the clientele the type and quality of accommodations vary.

(1) Hotels (and guesthouses) in their traditional forms are most common.

In addition to rooms, hotels should have food and beverage service, and a number of convenience services or amenities,... (Kaiser and Helber, 1978:177)

The categorization into international and standard is a function of quality and size (Kaiser and Helber, 1978:177). Due to the nature of Tobago's tourism most of the hotels qualify as "Resort Hotels", which are

...dependent upon natural and/or developed amenities which provide recreational attraction to tourists. (Kaiser and Helber, 1978:179)

A more exact definition of these includes only hotels with

...rooms for at least 20 persons, and provision for at least two types of recreational activities excluding lawn games, children's playgrounds and swimming pool. (Epperson, 1975:175)

Taking this into consideration, all the international standard hotels of Tobago qualify as resort hotels, with the beach and the tennis court as principal attractions.

(2) A guesthouse¹⁾

...is an accommodation facility operated by an individual or family in conjunction with the owner's own living quarters. (Kaiser and Helber, 1978:182)

1) Kaiser and Helber use the term "pension".

Beside shelter, guesthouses provide food in most cases.

This distinction between hotel and guesthouse does not serve the need of the government whose major concern in that matter is a precise legal definition for taxation purposes. In the case of Trinidad and Tobago a guesthouse must not exceed the size of 15 rooms.

(3) Condominiums are a more recent feature. They

...provide full, apartment-type living facilities, as contrasted with the simple guest rooms which lack facilities for cooking and eating within individual units... (and)... imply separate ownership of individual living units. (Kaiser and Helber, 1978:180)

In contrast to condominiums, apartment hotels,

...are owned on an equity basis by a single individual or entity. (Kaiser and Helber, 1978:180)

Both of the principal forms of condominium ownership occur in Tobago.

(a) In the "unit ownership with rental pool agreements"

Individual families or groups of persons own separate units within a condominium. When the owners are not using their units, the management of the facility attempts to rent them to visitors. (Kaiser and Helber 1978:180, 181)

(b) Under the "timesharing or shared-utilization basis"

...individuals contract to use a facility for a limited amount of time each year. Participants can actually own a divided interest in a condominium unit... However, such plans

usually leave ownership and operating responsibilities in the hands of a management entity, placing limited liability on participating vacationers. (Kaiser and Helber 1978:181)

Condominiums require a hotel-like operation and will therefore be surveyed together with the hotels and guesthouses.

(4) Cottages are the fourth important type of accommodation. These are detached or semi-detached dwellings of varying quality, and are in general for the use of groups (4-10 persons). As their rental mode and the data collected for this study differ widely from the other types of accommodations, cottages will be discussed in a separate section.

In 1980 throughout Tobago 40 businesses could be identified that provided accommodation in the form of hotels, guesthouses and condominiums. Similar to Rodenburg's (1980) analysis of Bali's accommodations they can be classified into three groups¹⁾ (Table 3.1). Unlike Rodenburg's distinction of size, which automatically implied a very different (internal) organizational structure, the classification of Tobago's accommodations is based on a combination of factors, each of which has very different characteristics according to the particular category (Table 3.2).

1) Rodenburg used the following terminology: Large Industrial, Small Industrial, Craft.

Table 3.1

HOTELS AND GUEST HOUSES IN TOBAGO

Category ¹⁾		Number of establishments		Total number of rooms	
I	International standard hotel	5	12,2%	415	48,8%
II	Economy class	13	31,7%	248	29,2%
III	Small local Guesthouses	23	56,1%	187 ²⁾	22,0%
Total		41	100,0%	850	100,0%

Compiled by the author; for detailed list see Appendix 4.

-
- 1) Throughout this study, in referring to these three categories, either their name or their number (Roman figures) will be used.
- 2) Estimate; the precise number of rooms could not be elicited for all guesthouses.

Table 3.2

SUMMARY OF THE CRITERIA FOR THE CLASSIFICATION OF TOBAGO'S ACCOMMODATIONS

Characteristics Categories	Size in no. of rooms	Origin of owner	Management form and origin	Domestic clientele in %	Package visitors in %	Winter prices US \$/day	Services provided
I International Standard Hotels	> 30	foreign or Trinidad	salaried foreign or Trinidad	< 40	> 25	min: \$111.1 max: \$131.5 Ø: \$115.5	private bath airconditioning (in every room) pool restaurant(s) bar(s) shops
II Economy Class	14-50	Trinidad or Tobago	salaried (Trinidad) family (Tobago)	40-90	< 25 (0 is usual)	min: \$ 74.6 max: \$ 38.0 Ø: \$ 57.1	private bath airconditioning (optional)
III Small Local Guesthouses	< 14	Tobago	family Tobago	> 90	0	min: \$ 27.3 max: \$ 16.8 Ø: \$ 23.8	almost no facilities

Compiled by the author.

Sources: Tourist Board brochures and author's investigation.

3.2.1 Size, Location and Time of Construction

In the context of Tobago, the size of an accommodation, measured by the number of rooms each establishment has available, is an insufficient indicator of the quality and type of accommodation. The histogram (Fig.3.1) on the number of rooms in each establishment does not immediately suggest the division into three categories, but it proves to be useful for the explanation of some features.

International standard hotels have at least 30 rooms, although internationally 100 rooms are quoted as the minimal size for their economic operation, considering all the essential services required. By a 100 room definition, Tobago would have only two international size hotels. But there are three smaller hotels that still meet other criteria for being classified as international. Although they do not provide all the services required for a truly international standard, they attract a very international clientele, as will be shown later.

The pattern of frequency distribution for the intermediate group shows a wide dispersal, with peak occurrences at the size of 14 rooms, due to the above mentioned government regulations. The other four establishments in that group are considerably above the 14 room limit in an attempt to take advantage of their scale, while offering lower quality accommodation. No small guesthouses, - with one exception that was temporarily closed - exceed a capacity of 14 rooms, and in general they stay a few rooms below that, depending on such circumstances as availability of labour, size of the site, financial resources, etc. Additionally, it has to be mentioned that in this last group, size cannot be taken as a clear indicator of the actual capacity of a particular establishment (the normal rule would be: no. of rooms x 2), as they often use dormitory-style rooms with bunk beds.

Fig. 3.1 HOTELS AND GUESTHOUSES IN TOBAGO Size of Accommodations

Source: Tourist Board Price Lists; Author's investigation.

Some interesting patterns emerge if each establishment is plotted into a time/size diagram (Fig.3.2) as over the years the rationale for constructing an accommodation has changed. Changes in the size of an individual establishment were not considered separately, (with the exception of the big hotels Mount Irvine and Crown Point, both of which underwent fundamental changes after 1970) as particularly the smaller ones grew gradually. Only the present number of rooms has been taken into consideration and was plotted against the year of the original opening.

The historic list of establishments is incomplete (Appendix 4), especially in respect of the small guesthouses, as it is impossible to trace all of those that existed previously but are out of business at present. The origin of two establishments goes back to before the Second World War.¹⁾ Unlike other Caribbean islands, Tobago has not been an important destination for the wealthy North American tourists who started to come in bigger numbers to the other Caribbean destinations immediately after the war. Trinidad and Tobago was simply too far away from the major market when air transportation was in its initial phase and was relatively expensive, while boat transportation was too time consuming.²⁾

In 1950 the first hotel was built which oriented itself to the newly emerging trend of resort holiday

1) The Robinson Crusoe, a typical colonial hotel as found in many other former British colonies, and the Bird of Paradise Inn, a remote resort offering basic facilities only, which still has all the features of its original style of the '30s.

2) The exception was February as Carnival time.

Fig. 3.2 HOTELS AND GUESTHOUSES IN TOBAGO Size and Year of Opening

Sources Tourist Board Brochures.

tourism.¹⁾ The external conditions of travel above described, explain the small size of this particular hotel, but its outstanding location offsets a lack of facilities.

In the course of the fifties, two guesthouses were founded, both of which are still operating.²⁾ They were not constructed to full size at once. Their present appearance is the product of a gradual process of offering some rooms, waiting for the market response, and adopting to additional demand by extension. This is reflected in their physical appearance, which is of a bungalow type. It is interesting to note that both owners came from Trinidad, but have since stayed in Tobago. Additionally, four low standard hotels (comparable to the economy class) were founded in this period, two of which went out of business, whereas the others were converted into condominiums.³⁾ All were located in Bacolet Street of Scarborough, close to Bacolet Beach. They catered to the more important passenger boat traffic of the time, and Bacolet Beach was the closest beach to the only port of entry of the island in Scarborough. But that location proved to be disadvantageous in respect to the beaches on the Leeward side and Crown Point Airport, which gained importance as a

1) Arnos Vale Hotel.

2) Millers, which has very basic facilities but an excellent location at Buccoo, and Della Mira in Scarborough. Its owner aims to cater to foreign tourists as well as government officials from Trinidad, who have to spend some time in Tobago.

3) Castle and Bacolet Hotel - out of business. Tabc changed its name to Treasure Isle. Bluehaven is in the process of converting to Cabanas and reduced its size.

port of entry as air traffic increased during the 1960s. Another factor contributing to the closing of these accommodations was their lower standard, which was not suited to meet the rising expectations of the international clientele; the desperately required capital for adaptation was better invested into construction of new establishments in the Crown Point area.

The 1960s were the take-off period of international tourism in Tobago, as it corresponded to the development of cheaper air transportation over long distance. This is clearly reflected in the development of the Crown Point area. The opening of three hotels¹⁾ was followed by an increasing local initiative to construct guesthouses of various standards.

The early '70s saw the peak in tourist development with the opening of one medium and one big international beach hotel.²⁾ At the same time the two already existing medium-size hotels extended into large establishments.³⁾ The trend towards large-scale operation was encouraged by the availability of international capital. During this period no small hotels were opened. Blue Waters Inn and The Old Haven, both located in the remote North of the island, do not exceed the size of a guesthouse. The construction of small guesthouses continued.

The period after 1976 did not see foundation of another big hotel, but did witness the opening of five small medium standard hotels.⁴⁾ The present construction of a similar hotel indicates a continuation of this

1) Crown Point, Mount Irvine, and Crown Reef.

2) Turtle Beach and Crown Reef respectively.

3) Crown Point and Mount Irvin.

4) Tropikist, Cocorico Inn, Golden Thistle; Sandy Point Beach Club (time-sharing condominium), Store Bay (apartment guesthome).

trend.¹⁾ The major reason for this development seems to be the oil crisis of 1973. Higher fuel prices would put the island of Tobago into an even more disadvantageous position. Also the lack of infrastructure on Tobago to date is a constraint to the bringing in and serving of a greater number of tourists. Furthermore, increasing oil revenues for Trinidad and Tobago from domestic drilling have made more capital available to private domestic entrepreneurs, for whom the tourism sector is just one field of activity. This has brought about a trend to smallscale development due to a lack of expertise in largescale domestic operation as well as stringent government regulations.²⁾ As a result of all these factors, the present thinking in official circles in Trinidad and Tobago about future tourist development is closer to recent recommendations of international social science research than that of most other countries.

Fundamental to the location of establishments are two patterns: the shift of the tourist centre with the advent of modern air travel from the Bacolet area in Scarborough to the Crown Point area and the Caribbean coast of the Lowlands has been described already. Secondly, the distance to the next beach varies considerably between the three categories. While all resort hotels are located on a beach, a number of category II establishments are in a more disadvantageous location (average distance to beach 680 m), and only few guest-houses of category III, not considering those located in Scarborough off Bacolet St., are located close to

- 1) Kariwak Village; to be opened in Spring 1981; postponed to spring 1982 due to financial difficulties.
- 2) The official arguments for the restrictions in size are to maximise economic advantage and lessen the negative socio-cultural impact. The lack of expertise that makes domestic large-scale development impossible has never been addressed.

beach (average distance 1,400 m ; Appendices 4 and 5).

3.2.2 Ownership and Management

The country of origin of the owner of an establishment can be considered as indicative of the foreign domination of a country's or region's tourist industry, and gives an idea of where business profits will be directed. The origin of the manager indicates a lack of highly skilled employees in the surveyed region.¹⁾

As mentioned before, the fact that the nation of Trinidad and Tobago consists of two separate islands provides a classical example of the polarization between centre and periphery. One aspect of this domination by the centre is the origin of individuals in leading positions, for example in the tourism sector. This is the reason for the following distinction between Trinidadians and Tobagonians.

Table 3.3

ORIGIN OF OWNER

	Tobago			Trinidad			Foreign		
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
I	0			3	262	87,3	2	153	76,5
II	4	55	13,7	9	193	21,4	0		
III	23	187	8,2	0			0		

(compiled by the author)

1) Ownership and Management are characteristic variables for both, the structure of the accommodation sector as well as for their economic impact (Chapter 6.2)

Table 3.4
ORIGIN OF MANAGER

	Tobago			Trinidad			Foreign		
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
I	0			1	35	35,0	4	380	95,5
II	5	69	13,8	8	179	22,4	0		
III	22	187	8,2	0			0		

(compiled by the author)

- a Number of establishments
- b Number of rooms
- c Rooms/establishment

Of the five international standard hotels in Tobago, three are owned by nationals of Trinidad and Tobago or a company with the majority of the shareholders from that country; only two are owned by foreigners.¹⁾ Surprisingly, the number of rooms/accommodation does not differ to a high degree as a function of ownership.

Various forms of ownership can be found:

	No.
government (foreign)	1
companies	3
group of persons	1
single person	1

In comparison to the situation of 1972, this is an encouraging improvement for the national economy of Trinidad and Tobago. In the era before the world oil crisis of 1973, only one of the five establishments had some domestic shareholders, whereas the other four businesses were completely foreign owned.

While the number of foreign owners is small, four hotels still have foreign managers (Table 3.4). These are

1) One by the Malaysian Government, who acquired ownership when nationalizing foreign assets, (of which this hotel was part) in their own country.

among the larger hotels, and the UK citizenship of these managers reflects the historic ties to the former metropolis, which still provides skilled labour and as recently as ten years ago, supplied many entrepreneurs. This pattern is reinforced by the fact that all managers from the three next biggest businesses gained their expertise in the UK.

The group of intermediate establishments shows a picture of complete contrast. All 13 accommodations are owned nationally, but a distinction between Trinidadian ownership and Tobagonian shows the domination of the former; Trinidadians own eight businesses, with an average of 21 rooms/establishment, whereas Tobagonians own five establishments only, with an average of 13 rooms per accommodation...

* This picture of Trinidadian domination is reinforced by the type of management used by these establishments. All 5 accommodations owned by Tobagonians are managed by their owners. All establishments that are in Trinidadian hands (2 of them are companies) employ a manager. In 4 cases this manager is hired and salaried, whereas in 3 cases the manager may be salaried, but a kinship relationship to the owner exists. The type of management used by the Trinidadians is a function of the size of the establishments, as is shown below:

	a) 1)	b) 1)	c) 1)
Salaried	4	90	22,5
Family	3	27	12,3
by Shareholder	1		

1) For explanation, see Table 3.3..

All the small guesthouses are owned by Tobagonians, who manage them themselves. In general it can be observed that women play a major management role, as a number of establishments are owned by single ladies. In the case of married couples, the women work in the establishment full-time, whereas the husbands have some land, for agricultural use, or another business.

The trend in the form of ownership of newly constructed establishments is to corporate structures, because the capital demand for a higher standard accommodation, even if it is small in size, exceeds the financial capacity of an individual.

Bryden's (1973) study confirms a similar pattern of size and ownership of hotels and guesthouses for the other Eastern Caribbean destinations:

"Individual hotels in the Eastern Caribbean tend to be small in size." (1973:120)

"...a very high proportion of hotels in the smaller Caribbean islands are foreign owned. Generally speaking, involvement of indigenous entrepreneurs is confined largely to small guest houses which generally account for a smaller proportion of gross tourist receipts."

(1973:121)

He then summarizes "...reasons for the reluctance of indigenous owners of capital to enter the new hotel industry..." (1973:121); the relevance of these observations is altered by the dualistic structure of the nation of Trinidad and Tobago but may be considered as follows:

(a) The observation of "A relative shortage of domestic savings..." (1973:121) holds true for the regional

economy of Tobago, but not for the national economy of Trinidad and Tobago, which no longer represents a "...highly restricted capital market..." (1973:121).

- (b) "The highly skewed distribution of wealth in the Caribbean" (1973:121) certainly is exaggerated by the polarization between the two islands.
- (c) Therefore "...the relatively easier availability of financing of foreign entrepreneurs" (1973:122) is not the case in Tobago.
- (d) "A lack of past experience and expertise in the hotel industry or perhaps more important, in any bureaucratically organized business. This applies particularly to the larger hotels beyond the capacity of 'family' management" (1973:123).

The latter point has been corroborated in the discussion above of the emergence of Tobago's tourism facilities. A new element in that system is the Trinidadian entrepreneur, who can go beyond family management, but still lacks experience for larger operation. If the present trend continues, Trinidadians will completely replace international investment. This development undoubtedly has to be approved from the point of view of the national economy; but the effects of this process of concentration upon Tobago as peripheral island remain to be seen.

In that respect, Tobago's situation as peripheral island of a two-island state is similar to that of Bali within the nation of Indonesia, where Rodenburg (1980) observed for the category of small industrial accommodations

"...a gradual shift of ownership ...out
of the hands of the Balinese (Noronha,
1976:12) ...into the hands of other In-
donesian corporations."

3.2.3 Services

Amenities offered by an accommodation can be considered as the variable that determines the standard and price of each establishment. The decision for their provision has to be made at the beginning of the planning phase and reflects trends at time of construction and the tastes and desires of the intended clientele. Services encompass the comfort offered in each room separately (e.g. private bathrooms, airconditioning) as well as the centrally provided amenities (e.g. swimming pool, shops, bars). The provision of central amenities depends on the size of the establishment and a certain minimum attendance is required for their economic operation.

As mentioned above the literature quotes a minimum size of 100 rooms for a truly international standard hotel. Seen from this point of view, establishments in Tobago that are well below the 100 room size but are nonetheless well equipped, represent an exception. The ambiguity about their economic feasibility is reflected in the differing opinions of people involved in the tourist business. Most of the managers interviewed were happy with the size of their particular establishment, although their reasons cannot be expressed in monetary terms.

The following table lists all amenities which the establishments of the three categories offer to their guests; these amenities are rated according to the frequency of occurrence.

Table 3.5

AMENITIES OFFERED

	Category		
	I	II	III
<u>Amenity in the room:</u>			
airconditioning	+	?	-
private bathroom	+	+(?)	?
<u>Amenity in the hotel:</u>			
pool	+	?	-
tennis court	+	-	-
bar	+	?	-
restaurant	+	?	-
live entertainment	+	-	-
shops	+	?	-
laundry	+	?	-

(compiled by the author)

- + essential
- ? some establishments offer it/
- partly offered in every establishment
- not offered

The above listed centrally provided amenities are the features so typical of beach holiday tourism and resort hotels. They often are criticized for leading to the creation of "tourist ghettos", as the guests do not need to leave the hotel compound for any reason. The resort-type accommodation is partly asked for by the client, but its present domination is reinforced by the structure of the travel industry.

A private bathroom (equipped at least with toilet and shower with hot and cold water) is conceived as essential for an international standard hotel as well as for the intermediate group, if these are to attract a North American and European clientele.¹⁾ Only few of the small guesthouses offer piped water to individual rooms; common facilities with cold water only are usual.

Airconditioned rooms certainly are vital for the international standard hotels in the tropical climate, although there are periods during the dry season (the major travel period), in which the temperature drops sufficiently that no cooling device is required. For establishments of the medium quality it is usual to equip half of the rooms with airconditioning, and offer the other half without. This explains in most cases price differentials within the same accommodation. It is worth mentioning that the decision whether to equip the rooms with airconditioning or not has to be taken during the initial planning period, as it must be possible to seal airconditioned rooms completely; whereas, if no airconditioning is installed, a special ventilation design for the maximum possible air flow through the rooms has to be considered. Most appropriate for this purpose seems to be the traditional method of putting hollow bricks at opposite ends of the room. Needless to mention, the small guesthouse never offers airconditioned rooms.

Similar to airconditioning, a swimming pool is an absolute prerequisite for all top hotels, although all

1) Compare with the recent trend of upgrading many guesthouses and bed and breakfasts in Europe. The very same phenomenon was observed in progress in one category III guesthouse.

varieties of pools from a children's pool to the length of 25m can be found. The size of pool reflects the size of the hotel as well as its proximity to the beach, as almost year round favourable swimming conditions in the sea, interrupted only by a few days of strong waves, make the construction of big pools unnecessary for well-located establishments.

Centrally provided amenities will be discussed in context with the other tourist infrastructure of the island.

3.2.4 Prices

All the above discussed aspects of accommodations are reflected in the price charged for its use, which therefore is the most sensitive indicator with regard to the demand-supply relationship. It has to be expected that each establishment attempts to find an optimal price level, which will be a function of operating expenses and the number of visitors. Due to the uneven distribution of visitors over the year, an additional instrument for adjustment is to charge more at periods of high demand. Three aspects of the pricing policy of the accommodations in Tobago will be surveyed; for all, the basis of comparison is the price per room at double occupancy with MAP.¹⁾

(1) A comparison of the prices charged by the various accommodations during the winter season, which is the major travel season of North Americans to the Carib-

1) This method excludes most of the condominiums and apartment hotels, which usually offer EP only. Those establishments are too few for a separate analysis.
 MAP = modified American Plan; breakfast and dinner
 EP = European Plan; no meals included.

bean, serves as an overall indicator for the quality of an establishment.

- (2) Seasonal changes in the price level should stress the importance of various periods for each of the three categories; whereas the peak demand for international tourism occurs during the winter months, the major holiday and travel month for Trinidadians is August.
- (3) A historical review of the ~~prices~~ will help to explain differences in the price policy of the various establishments and should reveal certain forces that brought some changes in policy.

In the histogram (Fig.3.3) the prices each establishment charges for the winter and summer seasons respectively are plotted in price groups of US\$5. The pattern revealed by this method is neither a continuum of establishment between the minimum and maximum price charged, nor a frequency distribution forming a Gauss curve, but rather that the accommodations form clusters that coincide with the categories observed in the chapters above. These results justify taking the winter prices as one of the criteria for the classification of Tobago's accommodations, and due to the lack of a more adequate scale for the quality of accommodations, winter prices will be used as a measure, in the attempt to determine seasonal price fluctuation (Fig. 3.4).

The degree of seasonal price adjustments (Table 3.6) differs widely among the three categories, with international standard hotels reducing their prices by one third for summer, while small guesthouses charge slightly more during that season. The minimal difference in the seasonal fluctuation between the top four and bottom four establishments of group II is surprising, although the

Fig. 3.3 HOTELS AND GUESTHOUSES IN TOBAGO Prices charged

Source: Price lists of the Tourist Board

Table 3.6

Average Seasonal Price Charged by Category

	C A T E G O R Y ¹⁾			as % of I	
	I (4)	II		II	III
		a (4)	b (4)		
Summer	78.75	44.5	37.0(5)	55.6	28.6
Winter	119.02	57.2	46.9	47.9	19.5
Summer as % of Winter	66.02	79.7	78.9		

Compiled by the author.

Source: Price lists of Trinidad and Tobago Tourist Board.

1) Numbers inside brackets indicate establishments surveyed.

average price charged differs significantly.

A comparison of the price range within each group for each of the two seasons suggests that in the high season of each category (winter for I and summer for III), the prices charged by these establishments move within a closer range, due to the similar services provided, their similar image and attraction they create on the market, and the attempt by all establishments to derive the maximum possible revenue during the peak season. Pricing policy during the low season is more subject to individual preferences, internal economies of each business, and the additional attractions which then become more evident.

The probable causality between the degree of seasonal fluctuation and the quality of an establishment (quality being expressed by the prices in winter) can be proved in a Spearman Rank Correlation (Fig. 3.4). Establishments of category I show the greatest similarity in their seasonal pricing policy. Variations within category II is due to the above described differences in the quality of these particular establishments. The seasonal price adjustment within the group of small guesthouses varies according to quality as well, but seems to depend more on individual decisions, i.e. if the prices shall be changed at all, or which season is given priority. The only serious digression¹⁾ can be explained by the fact that the establishment has been recently upgraded and has therefore not yet conformed to the usual pattern.

Only fragmentary information could be compiled for a price analysis covering the past 17 years.²⁾ Therefore the

1) Sun Star.

2) Price lists are unfortunately an item that is never kept in evidence anywhere. The Caribbean Handbook updates its price quotes only for completely revised editions. In that source, the most recent quotation (Winter 1977/78) has to be rejected as an error.

Fig. 3.4 HOTELS AND GUESTHOUSES IN TOBAGO
Correlation of Seasonal Price Fluctuation and Quality of Establishment

Sources. Tourist Board. Price lists

yearly fluctuations that are very likely to have occurred cannot be observed, but a few crude trends in the pricing policy of individual establishments or groups of establishments can be revealed. For the same reason the analysis of the price development within the various categories remains incomplete. This is especially true for the winter seasons, as the lack of data, particularly for the years 1974 and 1975, prevents any interpretation of possible effects of the first oil crisis. The only possible method of deriving some results from that crude data base is by assuming for every year of observation the price charged by a certain establishment to be 100% and then expressing the prices charged by other accommodations as a percentage of that figure. The basis of comparison will be the Arnos Vale hotel as the oldest and most consistent establishment.¹⁾

A superficial examination of the results (Fig.3.5) by itself suggests the existence of the three earlier distinguishable categories throughout the observation

1) Most establishments quote two prices for the MAP, only one of which could be chosen for the comparison. For group I the lower price has been selected, due to the assumption that it refers to the regular double bedroom, whereas the higher price usually refers to suites or other more luxurious types of accommodation, only few of which are offered by each establishment. For establishments of group II and III, the differing prices usually refer to similar rooms, but the higher price, which was selected for the comparison, is the result of additional amenities i.e. airconditioning or private bathroom. The resulting interpretation presumes that any observed price distinction are reflections of other differences, which cannot be traced in any other way.

Fig. 3.5 COMPARISON OF PRICES OF VARIOUS ACCOMMODATIONS

period. The trend of these three categories towards each other is similar in both seasons, although the polarization of accommodations into the three groups is much more pronounced for the winter season, during which the lack of an intermediate price group between category I and II becomes especially apparent.

All prices quoted for the era before 1970 are summer prices. They once more emphasize the fundamental changes that occurred in Tobago's accommodation sector at the start of that decade. Of the two establishments that originated in the fifties and continued operation throughout the seventies, only the international standard hotels could maintain their relative price level for both seasons (Arnos Vale). The guesthouse (Della Mira) had to decrease its relative value for the summer but not for the winter season. Furthermore, one establishment in each of categories I and II respectively continued as condominium-type hotel after a complete reconstruction (Crown Point, Treasure Isle) and now offer EP only, and the four accommodations that constituted a former intermediate group either went out of business (Bacolet, Castle, Robinson Crusoe), or are in the process of renovation and change to an apartment hotel (Blue Haven).

It must be suspected that the increasing "internationalization" of the Tobagonian tourism sector in the course of the seventies forced these establishments out of business. In addition to their already identified deficiencies e.g. location and structure of demand, the structure of these businesses was not suitable for the mode of operation of the international tourism industry. This suspicion is confirmed by the example of Tabc, which was converted into the Condotel "Treasure Isle" and undoubtedly was upgraded in the course of its conversion,

but as can be seen from (Fig. 3.5) integrated itself completely into the now relatively low price structure of group II after its reopening in 1977.

The group of international standard hotels proved to be the most homogenous one throughout the seventies, particularly for the winter season. It is too early to explain the recent price increases of two establishments (Mount Irvin and Turtle Beach). Only the developments in future years can show if Mount Irving Bay Hotel will manage to distinguish itself as the most prestigious establishment of the island. Perhaps these recent price increases are only the initial stage of another round of increases, which other establishments will be following soon.

The pricing policy of international standard hotels during the summer season has never been uniform, and throughout the observation period no underlying pattern of explanation for the fluctuations of the prices charged by individual establishments can be found.

In the discussion of category II, again one has to distinguish between small hotels and big guesthouses. The small hotels are a new phenomenon, and can be considered as a new intermediate group, filling the gap between category I and II mentioned above, if judged by the type of services they offer and by their summer prices, which lie in the range of 80% of Arnos Vale. During the winter season their prices remain under 70% of Arnos Vale, a fact that indicates that the recent emergence of these accommodations is mainly supported by domestic tourism from Trinidad.

The two representatives for the big guesthouses (Della Mira, Coral Reef) managed to increase their winter

prices in relation to Arnos Vale throughout the seventies, but for the summer, Della Mira had to adjust downwards.

For the winter season, continuous price elevations are lacking for most small guesthouses. Their very positive performance throughout the summers of the seventies has to be attributed to the increasing number of Trinidadians travelling for vacation purposes to Tobago. The relative decline of their prices from 1979 to 1980 seems due to the sharp price increase of Arnos Vale.

It is impossible to judge by this method whether the profit margin for the guesthouses has remained the same over the past decade. A detailed analysis would be required.

The other aspect of a price analysis ought to be a comparison in an international context. Without going into a detailed discussion, one study of Caribbean tourism (Steigenberger's 1980 comparison on national basis, based on EP) suggests that the average room rate in Trinidad and Tobago is lower than that of comparable Caribbean destinations:

Table 3.7

COMPARISON OF PRICES IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO
TO THE CARIBBEAN AVERAGE

	Average room rate		
	summer	winter	summer in % of winter
Trinidad & Tobago	36.70	47.48	.773
Caribbean	44.45	63.17	.704
difference	8.25	15.69	

(Steigenberger, 1980: 268/269)

These differences can be interpreted in many ways:

(1) Prices are somewhat lower because the accommodations are of a lower standard; (2) at the same time, a higher occupancy rate in Trinidad and Tobago (Prime, 1976:39) is the result of the availability of a summer season, so that hotels do not rely to the same extent on profits gained in an extremely short period; (3) Trinidad and Tobago is remote from the European and North American markets and therefore cheaper accommodation can somehow offset higher transportation costs.

From a global point of view, prices for accommodation charged in the Caribbean "...compare unfavourably with ...some Mediterranean and African resorts." (Powell, 1973:42). These higher prices are due to the generally higher price level in all sectors of the regions, which certainly affects all major inputs, from hotel construction to manpower used during operation.

3.2.5 Cottages

As has been mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, cottages form a more informal type of accommodation in Tobago. This is reflected in (1) their lower organizational level of marketing, (2) a wide variation in types and prices, and (3) in the lack of a precise definition of their legal status. Therefore they cannot be analysed as exhaustively as the other forms of accommodation surveyed above.

The characteristics of cottages in Tobago are the following:

- (1) like apartment hotels and condominiums, they provide a bedroom, a living room, bathroom and kitchen;
- (2) they are constructed as bungalows;
- (3) for an additional charge, they usually offer maid and

cook service;

(4) their rates cover either the period of one week only, or one can choose between daily and weekly tariffs, usually with a discount on the latter;

(5) for all these reasons, the more private atmosphere which is guaranteed by living in a cottage attracts in particular families as clientele.

If the primary purpose for construction of the dwelling is taken as the distinguishing factor, two types of cottages can be differentiated: (1) "Commercial Cottages" which are constructed solely with the intention of being rented to tourists and constitute, due to their commercial purpose, an extension of the guesthouse sector, and (2) cottages that serve primarily as "Second Homes" and are rented out only during periods in which they are not being used by the original owner.

The commercial cottages are organized in the "Tobago Cottage Owners Association", whose most important task is the provision of an information sheet for promotional purposes.¹⁾ Altogether, at present, 18 cottages of this type

Table 3.10

COMMERCIAL COTTAGES IN TOBAGO

Origin of owner	Number of owners	Number of cottages	Total capacity
Tobago	8	13	76
Trinidad	4	5	27
Total	12	18	103

Sources: Cottage Owners Association Brochure

1) This pamphlet is also distributed through the Tourist Board.

are rented in Tobago, with a capacity for 103 guests; they are owned by 12 persons. Eight of the owners are residents of Tobago, four of Trinidad. Of the latter it is evident in three cases that the primary purpose of the cottage is to function as a second home, but the membership in the Cottage Owners Association demonstrates a vital commercial interest too.¹⁾ It has to be expected that more cottages of that type exist all over the island, but cannot be traced due to the lack of any formal organization. Their promotion is done by word of mouth, and it can be expected that they mainly cater to Trinidadians.

Tobagonians have various motives for providing cottages. (1) This form of accommodation is less labour intensive than the operation of a guesthouse, but can be a similar source of additional income. This seems to hold true especially for the two estates in the northern part of the island. (2) Some cottages belong to persons who came to Tobago only recently, or they are owned by returning former emigrants. Both groups use cottage rental as an investment for capital gained abroad; by so doing they secure a living for the period of retirement, combined with an interesting and useful activity. (3) Another reason for providing cottage accommodation is the lack of government regulations for their operation. At least one guesthouse owner, whose establishment has reached the upper limit of the legally defined size, found in the construction of cottages a way for further expansion of his business.

1) They adjust to the price level of comparable cottages of the Association and usually employ a Tobagonian manager, on a part-time basis, who cares for administration and house-keeping.

The tariffs charged by cottages have to be considered as extremely favourable compared to hotels and even to condominiums and guesthouses. The price for a two-bedroom (the most common size) lies between 30 and 50 US\$ per day. This translates to approximately 10 US\$ per person/day or less as compared to 25 US\$ per person/day for a guesthouse of category II and almost 50 US\$ in the luxury hotels. Weekly tariffs usually give one day of free stay per week and rates for bigger units compare even more favourably.

The other type of cottage is the one with the primary function as a second home. Second homes can be found throughout the island, but in this context only those that engage in the commercial activity of renting, at least during part of the year, are relevant. Of the three historic phases of second-home development identified by Henshall (1977:75) for the Caribbean, only stage III is of significance to Tobago:

Only in the last decade has second-home ownership become a noticeable element in the Caribbean region's tourist trade as Caribbean real estate has become an attractive investment to people in North America, Europe and Latin America. (1977:75)

In Tobago they can be found "...scattered throughout..." the island, as well as on large scale real estate developments, which are "...emphasising the separateness of the second-home owners from the local environment..." (Henshall, 1977:76).

Due to the recent rapidly increasing wealth of Trinidad and Tobago, this second-home development in Tobago is only in part a phenomenon indulged in by escap-

ists and retired persons (Henshall 1977:76) from developed countries.

In Tobago it is more one of the typical features of any hinterland of an industrialized urban area, in which recreational land use by the urban middle class prevails. This development bears potential for a future conflict, as urban recreational land use and tourism development compete for the same natural resources (scenery).

Those three second homes whose owners are members of the "Tobago Cottage Owners Association" have been discussed above already. The second cottage rental association is operated by the "Tobago Estates Agency Ltd". This is primarily an estate and land development firm, which operates on three sites on the island.¹⁾ Only Mount Irvine Estate has seen considerable housing development so far. The provision of the rental service had not been planned originally, but the need for such a service arose after completion of the first housing units. At present it is used by the owners of 13 villas that are located on this particular estate. The agency even established its own promotional and sales connections to travel agents in North America.²⁾ Besides the more dispersed location of the single units - still at the same estate - the organizational structure of this operation resembles the one of the above discussed condominiums.

No detailed information on the origin of owners and occupancy rates could be obtained, but at least two or three houses are owned by North Americans, and the rental business is flourishing at least during the winter months.

1) Mount Irvine Bay Estate, Buccoo Estate, Bacolet Estate; interview with Mrs. Gremi of Tobago Estates Agency Ltd.
 2) i.e. "Home abroad" in New York.

3.2.6 Summary

In this section, the various types of accommodations have been identified and categorized. Furthermore their structure has been explained in terms of ownership, management, size, services offered, and prices charged. Basic differences between luxury hotels, small hotels and guesthouses have been identified in regard to all these items. This information will provide the basis for the further evaluation of the tourism sector, which is accomplished in Chapter 6.

3.3 Infrastructure

The remaining (man-made) structures of the tourism product, are essential features for the successful operation of tourism in Tobago, and will be the subject of discussion in this and the following section:

Infrastructure can be described as

...including all forms of construction on and below ground required by any inhabited area in intensive communication with the outside world and as basis for the intensive human activity within.

(Burkart and Medlik, 1974:228)

3.3.1 Water

Potable water and electricity are available throughout the island as a result of the first two Five Year Development Plans (1958-62, 1964-68), which placed heavy emphasis on their provision. In fact, most of the island's water supply is reasonably adequate (National Physical Development Plan, 1978:I,58).

Only the Lowlands with their limestone subsoil suffer severely from a water deficit during the winter season (Niddrie, 1961:5). Unfortunately, the major developments - including tourism - are located here, which necessitates a piped water supply. Water from the Hillsborough Dam, which was completed in the late fifties, was piped first to Scarborough and then in course of the sixties the pipe network was extended to most of the Lowlands (First FYDP, 1958:115; Second FYDP, 1963:331). The supply never satisfied the growing demand, especially once the large hotels on the Caribbean coast of the Lowlands opened during the seventies.

After the completion of the Courland River Water Catchment Project - the second major water supply project on the island the expected alleviation did not occur. During periods of heavy rainfall its pumps must be closed to prevent any damage. Thus the water supply is interrupted along the entire coast of the Lowlands and in the Crown Point area where the major accommodations of the island are located. Large hotels are affected almost as badly as small ones, because their water storage tanks cannot hold more than one day's supply, consisting of 350 - 400 gallons of water/room.¹⁾

1) This matches the recommendations for hotel development, found in the literature (e.g. Kaiser and Helber, 1978:165).

Hotel managers have a hard time explaining this ironic situation of water shortage during and after periods of rainfall to their guest. Thus, whenever the situation occurs, much of their time is spent fighting for a truck-load of water.

3.3.2 Electricity

The supply of electrical power is similarly unreliable. So far, all electrical power is transmitted by two undersea cables from Trinidad to Tobago. At present a generating station is under construction in Scarborough, which, once in operation, should ensure a more continuous supply of this basic utility.¹⁾

The frequent interruptions that occur at present are not so distracting to the big establishments as to smaller ones. The resort hotels have back-up generators installed, which at least secure continuous food refrigeration and food preparation. However, power failures constitute a real threat to establishments of category II, since such accommodations have to offer breakfast and dinner to their guests in order to be competitive. This situation requires the storage of considerable quantities of partly perishable foodstuff, especially if European or North American dishes are to be prepared. In this particular instance small guesthouses, which prepare local dishes, are in a more favourable position. Others avoid this problem entirely by offering cooking facilities to their guests, who must adjust to the infrequent supply.

1) The shift in policy with respect to the power supply of Tobago is interesting. After the capacity of a diesel alternator, established on Tobago in 1958 was exhausted (First FYDP, 1958:115), a submarine cable was installed from Trinidad to Tobago, which enabled energy to be economically supplied to the sister island. The old plant was to be "...retained for stand-by purpose..." (Second FYDP, 1964:251). A second cable was added in 1970 (Third FYDP, 1969:359).

3.3.3 Sewerage

No water-borne sewerage system exists in Tobago (National Physical Development Plan, 1978:I,60). Special attention should be given to this issue along the Caribbean coastline of the Lowlands, not only because it is the major area of touristic development both at present and in future, but also because it is an intensively populated area with hotel sites usually located between local residential areas.¹⁾

3.3.4 Transportation and Communication

International tourists in general and beach holiday tourists in particular demand as easy access as possible to their destinations. For Tobago this implies easy accessibility by air. However, many components of international aviation are beyond the destination's control, such as the timing of arrivals and departures, routing, pricing, etc. In this respect, Trinidad and Tobago is in a more advantageous position than all other Eastern Caribbean nations, as it owns the region's leading airline. The destination's responsibility really begins with the provision of adequate ground facilities and adequate links between the airport and the resort facilities and sights.

1) The potential hazard of pollution was noticed in December 1980, when a rainstorm flushed accumulated debris into the waters of Courland Bay and at the same time it was kept in the bay by the current.

2

4

Airport

At present, the largest aircraft that can land on the 6,500 foot long runway of Crown Point Airport¹⁾ are DC 9s. Therefore, practically no international flights approach Tobago directly.²⁾ Visitors have to enter Trinidad and Tobago via Piarco International Airport in Trinidad and can continue to Tobago on board the twinengine planes of Trinidad and Tobago Air Service only after they have cleared Customs and Immigration at Piarco.³⁾ A reconstruction of Crown Point Airport towards truly international standard started in early 1981 under Canadian supervision. A new 9,800 foot runway will allow the landing of all presently used, wide body planes. Although a new airport terminal will be constructed on the eastern side of the new runway, the first step of the renovation program is the extension of the present building⁴⁾ (Interview with E.D. Pickell, Manager of Crown Point Airport).

-
- 1) Paved in 1959 despite the fact that the First FYDP contained no provisions of this improvement (Second FYDP, 1964:249)...
 - 2) Except a stop-over by BWIA's only DC 9 (purchased especially to service Tobago) on the daily route from Piarco to Barbados and back.
 - 3) These procedures often can be very time consuming and the waiting in the building without airconditioning can put considerable strain on visitors, particularly those from the North during the winter months, who have to adapt to the sudden climatic change.
 - 4) Presently, waiting in the usually crowded building presents the worst experience for most visitors to Tobago. Besides, the terminal would be too small for proper handling of the ever-increasing domestic demand.

This urgent improvement of the airport is at least partly the achievement of the "Belle Report" (1979), which identified the "removement of these bottlenecks" (i.e. both airports) as the prime targets for any improvement of the tourism product. In the eyes of the committee, the present option was a secondary alternative, as it would have preferred a relocation of Tobago Airport, because of the inherent conflict in the land use for an airport as opposed to recreation. But several arguments can be made against a relocation:

- (1) A relocation would make the new airport more expensive (extra cost for land acquisition and probably infrastructure);
- (2) on the island, flat land is rather scarce and the relocation would add to wastage of valuable agricultural land which, though not in high demand at the moment, could become so later;
- (3) the present location guarantees minimum sound pollution, as the overflowed land area is minimal;
- (4) the above conflict of dual land use emerged when the affected accommodation sought the locational advantage of better accessibility to the outside world.

(see historical development of accommodations, Chapter 3.2).

The decision to leave the airport at Crown Point will have considerable effect on any future development, which will most likely disperse to various parts of the island.

Boats

An alternative way of travelling to Tobago is by boat. Cruise ships carry a special type of tourist who

stay at most one day on the island.

The two ships that have provided a regular scheduled connection between Trinidad and Tobago since 1963¹⁾ have never been able to compete for passenger traffic against the cheaper and more convenient air connection. However, a new dimension to sea traffic was added in the autumn of 1980 with the introduction of a ferry boat, that allows roll-on and roll-off car transportation and offers more amenities to passengers.

This ferry allows Trinidadians to travel to Tobago more cheaply and it enables them to bring along their own cars. (This may create unprecedented traffic problems for the island). The new service is also of importance to many hotels who purchase most of their foodstuffs in Trinidad and are now able to transport it to Tobago by the truckload.

Road

Roads are the only form of surface transportation in Tobago. The road network is very dense in the Lowlands, but thins out towards the Northeast of the island.²⁾ Its importance to tourism has been realized since the First FYDP (1958-62), which provided funds for the construction of the Tobago North Coast Road. It was seen as the catalyst for tourism development along the Caribbean coast. The southern half of the road up to Castara was completed

1) At that time the "Bird of Paradise" and the "Scarlet Ibis" replaced two old coastal steamers.

2) Residents of the Lowlands and Scarborough frequently refer to it as "the end of the island".

by 1963 (Second FYDP, 1963:245), but after Hurricane Flora devastated the island, more urgent repair work interrupted its continuation. All the roads are narrow and windy and their surface is in general disrepair. According to the National Physical Development Plan (1978:II,119,120), the entire road network of Tobago should be improved and upgraded, but this task will take considerable time. More so, the construction of the Scarborough Parkway, a four-lane highway linking the airport with Scarborough, takes considerable resources away from the improvement (widening and resurfacing) of all other routes.

A circuminsular road (presently the connection between Castara and Charlotteville is missing), would constitute an additional attraction to sightseers and would also be essential to any eventual development of accommodation along the northwestern coast. Obviously, its costs are a prohibitive factor to its development.

Mail and Telecommunication

The remarks that have been made about Tobago's peripheral position are probably best exemplified in the hierarchical structure of Tobago's access to the international communication network, all of which is channelled through Trinidad.

The mail service is fairly efficient, but telecommunication manifests the real problem. While the telephone service within Tobago is reliable, simple phone-calls to Trinidad require a considerable amount of patience. International calls are even more difficult to make.

Big hotels recently installed telex machines, as a

means for performing the basics of their business quickly and efficiently, i.e. booking and confirmation. This again puts medium and small-sized accommodations into a disadvantageous position, as they cannot afford such expensive equipment.

3.3.5 Summary

Despite the remarkable achievements in the infrastructural development of Tobago over the past 20 years, many deficiencies can be identified. They are to a large extent inevitable in the course of the development process of developing countries. For example, facilities become quickly inadequate due to increasing internal demand as well as the new challenges created by the innovations originating mainly from the industrialized nations. The airport provides an excellent example of this dualistic stress, as this facility must be reconstructed entirely after being in service for less than 20 years.

As has been mentioned elsewhere in this chapter, the different categories and types of accommodation demand basically the same facilities, but their degree of infrastructural dependency differs. Generally, smaller accommodations are more likely to require a continuous supply of infrastructural services because of their inability to equip themselves with stand-by equipment. Where they are dispersed or remotely located, a more extensive communications and transportation network is essential. As in the past, it must be stated that Tobago's "rapid" infrastructural development in the foreseeable future is only possible given a continuous flow of government funds from the center to the periphery. If

Tobago's tourism potential is to be further exploited, as is demanded by various government sources (National Physical Development Plan, 1978; Belle's Committee, 1979), then securing an extension of the basic infrastructural services is fundamental for such an achievement.

3.4 Superstructure

In conjunction with the definition of recreation in Chapter 1, the "superstructure"¹⁾ can be perceived as the "infrastructure for recreation". It includes all facilities, the operation of which depends directly on tourism, although after their installation they "...serve the needs of residents as well as of tourists" (Burkart and Medlik, 1974:228).

The recreational activities in demand at any particular destination are a function of the resources available and the particular clientele attracted - the latter's choice is influenced by the entire tourism product. Those activities pursued in Tobago fall into the following categories:

- (1) underlying basic features: tourist transportation and shops;
- (2) entertainment, including dining facilities;
- (3) sightseeing;
- (4) sport and other outdoor activities.

3.4.1 Underlying Basic Features

Tourist Transportation

The major means of transportation for tourists are

1) This term is used by Burkart and Medlik (1974:228); Robinson (1975:148) calls it "suprastructure" while Kaiser and Helber (1978:188) created the term "support industries".

taxis and rental cars. The taxi is convenient and represents security to the visitor who is not experienced in moving around in strange places (Kaiser and Helber, 1976:153). In Tobago, all taxi drivers are members of the Taxi Cooperative and offer fixed fares on their routes¹⁾, so that visitors need not bargain or feel cheated. Nevertheless, the prices are exorbitant due to the high import duties on cars, high insurance rates, and the high maintenance costs caused by poor road conditions. Since Tobago does not attract an exceptionally wealthy clientele, the taxi cannot be the exclusive means of transportation for most visitors.

Public transportation facilities in Tobago are also in the process of being restructured. Traditional buses are by far the cheapest, but cover only the major routes on a fixed schedule with low frequency.²⁾ Of growing importance is the minibus service. These vehicles are owned privately and operate on fixed routes, and can adjust their frequency according to demand. These minibuses, together with the "collective taxis", fulfill most of Tobago's mass transportation needs.

Unfortunately the bulk of beach holiday tourists are not the adventurous type of traveller who will easily

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- 1) The prices are posted at the airport and in most hotels. (e.g. 30 TT for Crown Point Airport to Scarborough). This progress has been achieved recently upon recommendation of the Belle Committee; its second recommendation, to explore the use of maxi-taxi in the tourist industry, is yet to be followed (Belle, 1979:24).
 - 2) A new bus terminal has just been completed in Scarborough.

adjust to these unfamiliar forms of transportation, which requires them to wait on the side of the road for an unscheduled and overcrowded vehicle.

For the very same reasons as taxis, car rental is extremely expensive (70-90 TT/day). Again, only a few tourists can afford this means of transportation on a permanent basis, especially as the distances to be covered are short. The number of cars available for rentals is difficult to estimate.²⁾ At least one, sometime both subsidiaries of two larger international companies operate an office in the lobbies of each international standard hotel. Additionally, there exist a number of small independent agents, who operate by word of mouth or on a business card basis. They usually are cheaper, (50-70 TT/day) although they do not have the scale advantage of big operators. Furthermore the paucity of information concerning their whereabouts does not encourage further enquiry.

Principally, two groups of tourists can be identified as rental car users. First, this means of transportation is more important to the cottage renters, whose accommodation is usually distant from shops, restaurants, sights and beaches. This disadvantage is offset by comparatively cheaper accommodation with additional amenities, in most cases the rental car is used by a group of people or a family. Second, hotel and guesthouse visitors rarely rent permanently. Most of them rent a car for one or two days only, during which they make a sightseeing trip to the northern part of the island. For the rest of their

2) "Hub Travel" of Trinidad and Tobago represents Hertz (30 cars available), and "Crušoe Car Rental Ltd." in Scarborough is a licensee of National Car Rental (10 cars).

time they stay in the resort, taking only occasional taxi trips. Those who rent cars over the entire period of their stay are the most affluent, or frequent visitors who usually know exactly what they desire of a holiday in Tobago. For example, they stay in a "family-atmosphere guesthouse" located off the beach and have a car to pursue their recreational interests, whether these involve enjoying various beaches, or scuba diving.

Although the number of cars available cannot meet the demand during the high season, precautions should be taken that their number increases parallel to road improvement only. There is always the danger of conflicts arising due to the increasing volume of traffic, for which the locals will blame the tourists first.

Motorbikes can be rented on an informal basis. This means the tourist has to ask his way around to get in touch with the right person. Again, these are comparatively expensive (30 TT/day) and have to be regarded as a dangerous vehicle particularly at night, for tourists, who are not familiar with badly surfaced roads.

Bicycle rental is advertised in some hotels, but no identifiable personnel could be traced by the author.

Stores

Tourists demand basically the services of two types of stores: (1) food stores and (2) those stores carrying other daily appliances and souvenirs.

Parallel to the increase of visitors using self-catering accommodations (cottages and apartments) is the rising importance of the food store. Those directed towards tourists clearly distinguish themselves from the

local stores in their physical appearance, that is, they are very similar to North American style supermarkets. One supermarket is located in Scarborough, while a second one is found on the premises of Crown Point Hotel, the largest condominium on the island.

Adjacent to each hotel is at least one store selling beach and swimming utensils, toiletry and souvenirs. In bigger resorts, several more specialized stores can be found. These are owned by the hotels, but leased to individual operators.

Both types of stores cater to the different tastes and consumption habits of tourists, almost exclusively. In the near future it can be expected that completely independent stores will develop in the Crown Point area.

Interestingly, some guesthouses of category II have established a store that carries toiletry and swimming utensils in an attempt to copy resort hotels. These stores are operated directly by the owner or manager.

3.4.2 Entertainment

Restaurants

As mentioned in Chapter 3, virtually every hotel operates a restaurant. Those of category I are open to "walk-in" guests as well. For these units, restaurants are an essential prerequisite, partly because their reputation calls for a complete line of services, and also because no alternatives are available in their immediate surroundings. Most traditional type hotels offer MAP¹⁾, only some leave the option for EP. The common policy is that guests are not fully reimbursed for meals not consumed, but are charged considerable more for a breakfast

1) For explanation see section 3.2

or dinner if they opt for EP. The manager's attitude towards the desire of some clients to "eat out" varies. Some view the above constraints as means of ensuring maximum profits for their establishments, though others are fully aware that this situation will not contribute to a satisfactory holiday experience for their guests. This issue will grow in importance, as nowadays an entertainment component is added to dining. Condominiums usually offer EP, but at the same time they provide a restaurant on their premises. Thus guests have a choice between their own cooking or dining out. The dining facilities of establishments of category II and III are in most cases for the exclusive use of guests and usually provide no choice of menu.

For these reasons, not many independent restaurants have developed in Tobago. The oldest one is located in Scarborough,¹⁾ whilst new ones followed after a considerable time lag into the new tourist centres of the Crown Point area and along the Caribbean coast.²⁾ In the latter two cases, the intention of both owners was to attract clientele from the adjacent hotels. At the moment it is too early to judge whether they have succeeded in this attempt. One common feature among these three restaurants is the owner's external link (Mr. Kilhman is Swedish, Voo Doo is owned by a Swiss, and the owner of Kariwak Village is Trinidadian, but is married to a Canadian, and lived in Canada for 10 years).

1) Voo Doo Restaurant, opened in the sixties, Creole cuisine (seafood), 28 seats, exotic interior.

2) Kilhman Restaurant, opened in fall 1980, Italian-French cuisine, local styling with open porch, 22 seats, one menu per evening.

Restaurant adjacent to Kariwak Village Hotel, to be opened February 1981, North American and Creole Food, 60 seats, dining à la carte.

It is the author's opinion that this new attempt will be more successful in the Crown Point area, where Kariwak Village is within walking distance of several accommodations. On the other hand, the location of Kilhman in the village of Black Rock perhaps places too much strain on the average tourist in terms of visiting a new environment. Furthermore, the use of a taxi would create additional expenses for the client.

A truly indigenous initiative is represented by only two other restaurants. "Flamboyant", located across the street from Crown Reef Hotel, is owned and operated by the Taxi Cooperative. Its future success is very dubious, as its present style and mode of operation stands in direct contrast to the tastes of the clientele staying in the two nearby international standard hotels (Crown Point Hotel, Crown Reef Hotel), to which it attempts to cater. The second truly indigenous establishment, "Mon Cheri" in Black Rock, is a bar for local residents, but provides full course meals upon pre-order. It will be interesting to see if a gradual upgrading of small, indigenous enterprises is possible in the tourism sector of Tobago. From the business point of view, a mixed structure of clientele should prove more stable for these enterprise.

Entertainment

The tourist's major places for evening entertainment are the hotel bars. Each of the international standard hotels has at least one bar in addition to its beach bar; larger establishments usually operate two bars (one of

conventional type, one in Caribbean style) during the high season. The usual form of entertainment are steel bands which perform twice a week. It is common practice for hotels to hire the band from a nearby village for the entire season. Only the two largest hotels (Crown Reef and Mount Irvin) plan social activities every day in addition to entertainment by "pan".

The numerous bars outside the hotels are rarely visited by the tourists of large hotels, and usually only upon invitation from locals, whom they have previously met on the beach. They are more likely to be frequented by the less numerous clients from smaller accommodations.

The same is true for discos, a couple of which exist in Scarborough.

Beside these regular, scheduled events, some annual festivities, like the preliminary local steelband and calypso competition during the Carnival Season, provide additional attractions.

The briefness of this list certainly reflects the truth which is contained in the slogan "...tranquil Tobago."

3.4.3 Sightseeing

Although the prime motivation for tourists visiting the Caribbean is a beach holiday, sightseeing is regarded as a very basic activity that can be pursued in one form or another during the stay. It interrupts the routine of lying on the beach and provides impressions of the local environment, which are, for the visitors, an important addition to the status of their holiday after their return home. Last but not least, sights are a very important means for the destination to distinguish itself from its

competitors.

To date there are almost no organized sightseeing tours offered in Tobago. The choice for most visitors is, therefore, between driving a rented car or hiring a taxi for a one-day trip to the Northeast of the island. Although the taxi trip is twice as expensive as going by rented car, cab drivers claim that their clients "get their money's worth", as the drivers function simultaneously as tour guides.

Only one larger hotel (Crown Reef) organizes one-day and half-day excursions in minibuses for their guests.¹⁾ Some of these trips feature special themes, like tropical vegetation, the historic ruins of Tobago, etc.

The travel agency - a subsidiary of a Trinidadian firm - which has an office in every hotel lobby, provides services only for external trips.²⁾ The BWIA office in Scarborough caters for domestic clientele, both for internal and interregional travel.³⁾

Tobago's most interesting sight, the Buccoo Reef, is located off-shore. Access is provided by a number of independent boat owners, who attempt to entice the average tourist, usually a novice to the "undersea world", to take a trip in their glass-bottom boats. The boaters give basic explanations about the reef and provide rubber shoes (sometimes flippers) and snorkels for a first diving

-
- 1) At least as important as the trip itself is its purpose to break down communication barriers between guests (Interview with Social Manager).
 - 2) For example reconfirmation of return journeys, or booking of sightseeing trips to Trinidad and other Caribbean islands.
 - 3) The office is decorated with posters from European and North American destinations.

attempt. These boat tour operators resemble a classical example of a truly indigenous type of support industry. In many cases, it is a one-man business, in which the owner maintains the boat, advertises by talking to tourists on the beaches and by handing out business cards containing his name and phone number. They leave either from Buccoo, Store Bay or Pigeon Point. Some boaters maintain connections to taxi drivers, stationed at certain hotels located further away, and the two of them offer a specially priced package for the taxi ride and boat trip combined.

3.4.4 Sport and Other Outdoor Activities

A "traditional beach holiday", one which developed originally in Tobago, is still in demand today. It does not require many facilities, and is the prime reason why all the bigger resorts are located close to the beach and provide sunchairs and shades as well as showers. At the more congested beaches, such as Store Bay, the Tourist Board has taken over the supply of facilities (see Chapter 5).

The recently emerging trend towards a more active holiday increases the demand for all sorts of "beach and water sports". Thus the superstructure in Tobago must undergo certain adjustments if the island wishes to remain attractive to more than one type of clientele.

Tobago's most outstanding assets are the various reefs, which provide excellent conditions for scuba-diving. At two locations, the Buccoo Reef and the Blue Waters Inn, suppliers of boats and diving equipment, with basic instruction as an option, have established their own businesses. The operators complain however, about the

increasing capital requirements of satisfying the growing demand, as well as the trend towards the use of more sophisticated and expensive equipment. So far they do not enjoy government incentives, i.e. duty free concessions for the import of outfits, which places them at a disadvantage against their competitors in other Caribbean destinations (Belle, 1979:25).

3.4.5 Summary

The various components of Tobago's superstructure are of a very different structural appearance. While a number of services are still offered by individual, small-scale entrepreneurs (e.g. boating, some car rental, motor bike rental), sound economic planning is necessary in the determination of horizontal and vertical integration of other services. Car rental provides an excellent example for the comparative cost advantages that accrue to multinational corporations as a result of economies of scale. Furthermore, they are able to offer services without intensive local marketing efforts as their "brand-names" provide sufficient attraction in these remote regions. Similarly, horizontal integration is a phenomenon of increasing importance in the entire tourism field. Many of the individual services can be provided by one single supplier much more economically than by a number of independent businesses. Hub Travel of Tobago is a case in point. They operate a number of single-clerk offices in hotels, and despite their dispersed locations offer additional services for almost no extra cost¹⁾. As will be discussed further in Chapter 7, the mode of provision of these tourist services is of particular significance for small accommodations.

1) Originally travel agent, but now offers at the same time car rental, sightseeing tours, etc.

CHAPTER 4 TOBAGO'S TOURISM MARKET

4.1 Introduction

A common method used to survey the market of a tourist destination is by means of analysing the visiting guests. The purpose of a visitors survey is to obtain "...a profile of the [past and] current tourist volumes" (Kaiser and Helber, 1976:62,63) as a basis for a better understanding of present problems as well as for future planning and marketing.

There are two principal places to collect the desired data from:

- (1) at the port of arrival;
 - (2) in the accommodations.
-
- (1) Immigration cards, which must be completed by every person entering or leaving Trinidad and Tobago are collected by the Immigration Authorities and forwarded to the Central Statistical Office. These statistical publications contain information about the foreign visitors, but do not allow any further regional breakdown of the place of stay, once the visitors are in the country. Secondly, they cannot be used to trace domestic tourism.
 - (2) All establishments that are members of the Trinidad and Tobago Hotel Association are provided with form sheets to list visitor volumes by month and country of origin. Unfortunately, no official agency can be identified that collects and analyses these data. Only some establishments were willing to release their data directly to the author.

The isolated location of Tobago would allow for a count of visitors upon arrival, which would be the application of method one on a regional level. Unfortunately, the major transporter, Trinidad and Tobago Air Service, keeps records on the overall passenger movement only, without distinguishing between Trinidadians, Tobagonians, foreigners, or the purpose of the visit. Various specific surveys in regard to tourism in Tobago have been conducted at Crown Point Airport, using a sampling method of these passengers. These surveys fulfilled their task of economic and social impact analysis, but do not allow any conclusion on the total number of visitors to the island.

Because of these drawbacks, the following chapter will focus on two perspectives. In the first part, the general characteristics of visitors to Trinidad and Tobago will be presented in detail,¹⁾ because it can be assumed that the characteristics of those travelling to Tobago are very similar. The analysis in the second part will establish differences between the clientele of the various categories of accommodations,²⁾ particularly in regard to origin and time of travel. Finally, with the scarce information available, a profile of the visitors to Tobago shall be drawn.

4.2 Visitors to Trinidad and Tobago

The "Annual Travel Report" records all travellers entering Trinidad and Tobago. Of those, only the category of "visitors" is relevant to this thesis. After 1970, visitors are defined as

1) Data source are the "Annual Travel Reports" mainly.

2) Data provided by the Tourist Board and compiled by author during fieldwork in 1980.

Non-resident persons entering the country to stay for a period less than one year (International Travel Report, 1970:vi).

These are differentiated into four sub-categories:

- (a) Hotel Holiday Visitors - Any "visitor" who intends staying at an hotel or boarding house.
- (b) Private Holiday Visitor - Any "visitor" who intends staying at a private home.
- (c) Business Visitors - Any person (except students) permitted to enter the territory for a period of less than one year mainly on business or to work on a short term contract...
- (d) All Other Visitors
(International Travel Report, 1970:vi)

The category of hotel holiday visitors is of particular concern to this study, though references to the other two categories will be made frequently. Private holiday visitors are included, even though they do not use commercially provided accommodations, but often compete with clientele of hotels and guesthouses for the use of other tourism-related facilities. Of least concern are the business visitors, who remain mainly in Port of Spain and constitute a constant influx of approximately 2,000 persons per month all year round.

4.2.1 The Development of Visitors from 1951 to 1979

The total number of visitors¹⁾ arriving in Trinidad and Tobago rose from a mere 17,719 in 1951 to 190,060 in

- 1) Throughout this chapter, no distinction has been made between arrivals by air or sea, mainly because of the insignificance of the latter. In the late seventies they accounted for less than one percent of all arrivals by holiday visitors, of which most originated from other Caribbean countries. Nevertheless, sea arrivals were important until the nineteen fifties, when about one quarter of all holiday visitors (24% in 1953, 29,7% in 1956) used this mode of transportation. Thereafter, their absolute as well as relative share declined for all countries except those of the Caribbean (US 1953:17,3%, 1962:4,2%; Canada 1953: 17,9%, 1962: 7,2%; other Caribbean 1953: 52,5%, 1962: 47,8%; Venezuela 1953: 3,7%, 1962:2,9%) (Trinidad and Tobago Tourist Board 1953:18; Central Statistical Office, International Travel Report 1961,1962). Due to the availability of mooring facilities in Scarborough, it was theoretically possible that a certain number of these guests would arrive directly in Tobago. No information concerning the port of disembarkation could be found. The paucity of information prevents any definite conclusions being made.

1979 (Fig. 4.1 and Appendix 6.1). The following table shows the average annual growth rates¹⁾ of holiday visitors from 1951 to 1979:

Table 4.1

AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH RATES
OF HOLIDAY VISITORS

1950-54 ²⁾	--
1955-59 ³⁾	19,25%
1960-64 ²⁾	3,85%
1965-69	12,50%
1970-74	8,94%
1975-79	14,03%

(Source: see Appendix 6.1)

The pattern revealed is not as continuous as expected, with high growth rates over the first periods due to the small absolute number and a subsequent decline. Rather it fluctuates considerably with extremely low growth rates in the early sixties and early seventies.

A further clarification of the pattern of growth is provided, when these holiday visitors are disaggregated into their two subcategories, which is possible for the past decade (Fig. 4.2).

Throughout the past decade, the highest growth rates were achieved by private holiday visitors, whereas the number of hotel holiday visitors remained virtually unchanged. This development can be best exemplified by the

1) Calculated by averaging the sum of all visitors for each period and comparing the growth to the preceeding period.

2) 3-year average.

3) 4-year average.

Fig. 4.1 VISITORS TO TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

changing ratio of hotel holiday visitors to private holiday visitors over that period. It was almost 1:1 (84 hotel holiday visitors per every 100 private holiday visitors) in 1970, but dropped to 1:3 (32 hotel holiday visitors for every 100 private holiday visitors), by 1979. Over the same period, the number of business visitors doubled. This puts the generally positive trend of the past ten years into a more unhealthy perspective.

A continuous flow of visitors depends on a number of variables, of which the most important ones are a prosperous economy in the market areas, with political stability and a favourable environment at the destination. The flow of visitors to Trinidad and Tobago exemplifies the consequences of all three disturbances.

The impact of a global economic recession can be observed clearly by the reaction of the volume of visitors to the aftermath of the oil crisis of 1973. Business visitors decreased immediately after 1973 (particularly from the US and Canada) and did not decline during the following years of global recession. Private holiday visitors reacted to the changed situation immediately and their number decreased slightly during 1974 for the only time during the decade. In contrast, the category of hotel holiday visitors was not affected before 1975, but was able to improve its annual performance during the following years.

Both categories of holiday visitors suffered a similar decline in 1970, when Black Power demonstrations occurred in Trinidad and in Tobago. By contrast, in 1979, when yellow fever was reported in Trinidad, private holiday visitors continued to enter Trinidad and Tobago at the same rate, while hotel holiday visitors were scared "away". The sensitivity of holiday seekers to these

hazards has been shown frequently,¹⁾ whereas the behaviour of private holiday visitors is more influenced by other forces such as the introduction of cheaper airfares.

4.2.2 Origin

A more distinct pattern of the above-discussed features emerges when the country of normal residence of visitors is considered. Presently, around 30% of all visitors originate from the US. Visitors from other Commonwealth Caribbean countries were able to reach the same level by 1979 after years with high annual growth rates. Canadians constitute 13%, followed by visitors from the UK with 10% and continental Europeans with 6% (Appendix 6.2, Fig. 4.2).

Unfortunately, there are no data available on the origin of visitors for the period from 1963 to 1969. Statistics of the previous years do not disaggregate the category of holiday visitors. Nevertheless it becomes apparent that the US market rose to its dominant position immediately during Trinidad and Tobago's first important tourist growth phase in the fifties. In contrast, visitors from the adjacent Commonwealth Caribbean countries did not increase at the same rate and their number remained stagnant during the sixties. Visitors from Venezuela declined after a peak in 1960 to a level below that

1) Bell(1979) came to the same conclusion in a comparison of the Hilton International Hotels in the Caribbean, Latin America, and Canada: "These vacation/travel oriented hotels are highly sensitive to the slightest hint of a recession and the slightest signs of a negative attitude on the part of the local population or political instability in the country."

Fig. 4.2 ORIGIN OF HOLIDAY VISITORS TO TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

(2) Private and Hotel Holiday Visitors 1970 - 1979

(1) Holiday Visitors from 1951 - 1960

Source: see Appendix 6.2

of 1953. For the past decade, the very different development of the two subcategories originating from the various countries is documented in the official statistics.

Private holiday visitors originate mainly from those countries that traditionally were centres of immigration for natives of Trinidad and Tobago (US, Canada, UK).¹⁾ Obviously, the long-lasting recession in the UK caused a stagnation of private holiday visitors after 1975, while numbers from North America increased unprecedentedly. The enormous recent growth of this category from the Commonwealth Caribbean suggests the emergence of an informal intra-regional tourism sector. This reflects regional economic well-being of at least part of the population.²⁾

The hotel holiday sector relies even more heavily on the US market (1978:38%), although its share decreased steadily throughout the seventies. US vacationers prove to be most sensitive to the above-mentioned external influences. Their annual fluctuations can be described as oscillating between a maximum of 16,000 annual visitors (1971, 1978) and a minimum of 12,000 (1975, 1979), which could also be attributed as "crisis level". The Canadian market in contrast remained stable with 3,000 to 4,000 annual hotel holiday visitors. The increase of hotel holiday visitors from the UK and the doubling of Europeans over the past decade (from 3,000 in 1971 to 7,000 in 1979) is a development that can be observed throughout the

1) Therefore this category can be termed "ethnic travellers" (EIU, 1977:30).

2) Especially West Indians employed in the tourist industry quickly adopt the behaviour of their patrons and go on holidays to other islands themselves.

Caribbean. It was accompanied by the introduction of package deals (e.g. British Airways to Tobago).

4.2.3 Time of Arrival and Seasonality

Seasonality is a basic phenomenon in tourism and is of particular concern for the hotel industry. In the case of international tourism to the Caribbean, it is mainly of climatic origin, as the pleasant dry season in the Caribbean, providing ideal conditions for a beach holiday, coincides with the undesired winter season in the "northern" hemisphere. For the, to date, small segment of intracaribbean tourism, the major travel season is July and August, the traditional holiday period inherited from the British system.

Unfortunately, the data available distinguish only quarterly periods, which do not coincide with the officially designated tourist seasons.¹⁾ Only for 1974 and 1975 are data available on a monthly basis (EIU, 1977:33), which will be used to confirm assumptions from the less suitable quarterly material (Fig. 4.3, 4.4).

About 60% of all holiday visitors arrive during the winter half of the year. But even within quarters, arrivals vary considerably. The three first months of the year together with December constitute the main season for holiday visitors. Arrivals of both subcategories peak at the time of Carnival celebrations in February. Although celebrations concentrate in Port of Spain, hotels in Tobago derive some fringe benefits (EIU, 1977:32). A second peak of arrivals is registered during the summer months of July and August. This leaves April, May and June as well as September and October as months with particularly few arrivals.

Fig. 4.4 MONTHLY ARRIVAL OF HOLIDAY VISITORS TO TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO 1974/75

Fig. 4.3 QUARTERLY ARRIVAL OF HOLIDAY VISITORS TO TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO 1970 - 1979

Source: EIU, 1977.33

Source: Annual Travel Reports

Another important aspect is the discrepancy in the time of arrival from the various countries. While North Americans tend to arrive mainly during the first quarter of the year, Europeans contribute to a certain balance of seasonality, as they tend to arrive during the final quarter. The example from 1975 suggests that these earlier arrivals do not occur so much during December, but rather during October and November, as autumn is the most unpleasant season on the continent (during winter itself, Europeans tend to take a skiing holiday).

Though the observation of this seasonal variation on a quarterly basis over the past decade reveals only a crude picture, the annual repetition of this cycle becomes apparent. The degree of annual fluctuation can be expressed quantitatively by means of a seasonality index (S),²⁾ which assesses the variation of arrivals for each year.

As Table 4.2 suggests the seasonality does not vary significantly between hotel holiday visitors and private holiday visitors. Among the former, it shows a marked difference between the various countries of origin. For Canada the index is always high due to the more severe winters in that particular country. Despite the different national levels, over the past decade, the annual index for the various countries fluctuates in a parallel manner. It can be hypothesized that a distinct clientele in the high and low season, reacting differently to the external stress of an economic recession (1974-77), explains the

1) High season: December 15 to April 15

Low season: April 16 to December 14

2) $S = |I_1 - 25| + |II_1 - 25| + |III_1 - 25| + |IV_1 - 25|$

i: year observed

I, II, III, IV: quarterly proportion of annual arrivals in %.

Table 4.2

SEASONALITY INDEX
1970 - 1979

Holiday Visitors

	US	Can	UK	Eu	Car.	Hotel	Private
1970	27.9	52.7	29.7	33.0	23.3	27.8	24.2
1971	18.3	16.4	19.0	21.6	22.8	15.4	24.2
1972	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1973	17.1	31.6	18.6	30.8	17.8	7.9	18.4
1974	30.6	37.9	27.7	45.1	10.3	23.0	16.9
1975	32.1	47.6	15.3	47.4	19.2	25.2	19.2
1976	21.3	52.1	13.5	22.7	15.2	15.0	18.3
1977	29.4	43.7	22.0	32.9	14.0	18.7	16.8
1978	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1979	20.2	33.8	14.7	15.2	25.2	11.5	11.2

Source: Annual Travel Reports, Quality Arrivals.

Fig. 4.5 SEASONALITY INDEX 1970 - 1979

Source, see above

deviations over the years. The more affluent guests who constitute the majority of visitors during the high season are less affected by the recession, while the more budget-conscious, low season travellers may be forced to alter their holiday plans completely.¹⁾ The resulting relatively severe decline of low season travellers in the course of a recession reinforces seasonality for all countries of the "northern hemisphere", as the graph reveals. Only the index for visitors from other Commonwealth Caribbean countries runs directly contrary to this pattern. This does not come as a surprise, as intracaribbean tourism is a different phenomenon. The major travel season is the summer months of July and August, or in other words, the low season. If it is assumed that the Caribbean visitors consist of the same two groups of clientele, that is to say the two groups have similar seasonal preference as those of the visitors from the North, then it follows that a decline of the more numerous but less affluent summer visitors causes this decline of the index.

As the figures for the years 1970 and 1979 show, this index does not monitor non-economic shortlived disturbances, which usually occur suddenly (political crisis, epidemic). Rather, they affect the travel motivation of the visitors to Trinidad and Tobago, and because they are budget-independent, cannot be attributed to the groups of clientele.

Other variables, like duration of stay of the visitors, will not be discussed in this context, because they will

1) The selection of a cheaper, in most cases closer to home destination, is more likely than the cancellation of the entire holiday.

differ considerably between the nation as a whole and Tobago alone¹⁾.

4.3 Visitors to Tobago

The lack of centrally-provided information on the flow of visitors to Tobago requires the reliance on data from individual accommodations which contain the Trinidadian as well as the foreign clientele. Therefore, such data do not allow for any direct comparison to Section 4.2. For an earlier period (1969-74), room occupancy rates are provided by two different sources (Tourist Board, 1975, unpublished; World Bank, 1974). For a review of the present situation, data were collected from individual establishments in the course of the fieldwork at the end of 1980. Yet, even relying on this original source of information, some factors impede the direct comparison between the various categories. For example, the form sheets provided by the Hotel Association for listing the monthly volume of visitors and their country of normal residence ask for roomnights, but various establishments misinterpreted the question and answered in bednights. In contrast guesthouses keep only records of arrivals.

4.3.1 Occupancy Rates 1969-74

During the period 1969-74, the yearly occupancy rates were approximately 10% lower for those hotels and guesthouses located in Tobago than those for the entire nation. The major reason continues to be the lack of business visitors to Tobago. The discrepancy between the

1) Some packages offered include stays on both islands.

Table 4.3

ANNUAL AVERAGE OCCUPANCY RATES 1969 - 74

	Trinidad and Tobago	T o b a g o ⁽¹⁾		
		Total	Cat. I	Cat. II
1969	61.0	48.7 (7)	41.2 (2)	45.4 (1)
1970	51.6	43.6 (8)	47.5 (2)	42.8 (2)
1971	60.6	48.5 (5)	46.4 (3)	49.8 (2)
1972	53.0	42.2 (6)	44.3 (3)	39.2 (2)
1973		48.2 (6)	57.6 (3)	49.6 (2)
1974		46.2 (6)	50.3 (3)	47.1 (2)

1) Number in brackets indicates number of establishments, used as basis of calculation.

Sources: Tourist Board, 1975, unpublished; World Bank 1974

two categories of accommodations is surprising. While small hotels and guesthouses followed the yearly fluctuations observed for all establishments in Trinidad and Tobago, in accordance to the economic and political pattern established in Section 4.1, the occupancy rate of resort hotels deviated entirely. This must be explained by the fact that the early seventies were the time of several new hotel openings (Turtle Beach Hotel in 1971, Crown Reef Hotel in 1972) and closings (Crown Point in 1973). Thus the number of available rooms fluctuated, affecting occupancy rates and in fact overruling political and economic influences.

The average monthly occupancy rates of the two categories under survey differed significantly (Fig. 4.6). Whilst that of resort hotels oscillated between 80%

Fig.4.6 AVERAGE MONTHLY OCCUPANCY RATES OF SELECTED ACCOMMODATIONS IN TOBAGO 1970 - 1974

Source: Tourist Board, unpublished

and 30%, with the winter months of November to March and August as periods of high demand, the monthly variation of small hotels and guesthouses is less severe, between 35-60%. They have the same peak periods, only with reverse emphasis, as the winter demand is lower compared to resort hotel and summer demand higher.

4.3.2 Occupancy, Origin and Seasonality in 1979/80

Occupancy rates from those establishments which provided data comparable to the 1969-74 survey, indicate that for resort hotels, the situation improved (e.g. approximately 60% for two international standard hotels), and remained unchanged for category II.

Data on the origin of visitors were provided by a number of establishments, but, again were based on any one of the three above-outlined method of accounting, or quoted in relative terms. Only relative figures of some representative establishments for each category are quoted below; this meets the requirement of confidentiality expressed by the hotel managers.

The share of individual countries or regions in the overall volume of visitors to any establishment varies considerably from year to year, and even more so between single establishments. These discrepancies can be explained by (traditional) ties of ownership and management that various hotels have to specific countries, and by their marketing strategies and dealing with travel wholesalers. However, with respect to foreign visitors, these figures again corroborate the dominance of the North American market in Tobago, the only difference being that the Canadian element is emphasized more than on the national scale; the UK and Europe maintain a similar share

Table 4.4

ORIGIN OF VISITORS IN % TO SOME SELECTED ACCOMMODATIONS

	Category I				Category II		Category III		
	A ¹⁾	A ²⁾	B ²⁾	C ¹⁾	D ¹⁾	E ¹⁾	F ¹⁾	G ²⁾	H ²⁾
USA	9.5	16.6	9.9	35	2.4	10	7.7	0.4	0.4
Canada	11.3	9.0	26.1	20	4.1	5	1.1	1.3	1.1
UK	24.4	23.4	7.7	15	1.5	2	1.1	1.7	1.5
Europe	9.5	11.7	13.2	5	3.0	7	3.3	2.5	1.8
Venezuela	3.8	1.8	0.9	2	0.0	5	1.1	0.2	0.2
Other	3.8	6.9	2.2	3	1.2	20	11.1	0.3	0.2
Trinidad	22.7	30.4	39.9	20	87.1	50	73.3	93.6	94.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100	100.0	100	100.0	100.0	100.0

A - H Selected individual accommodations

1) 1979 period of observation

2) 1980 (December estimated)

Source: Author's investigation

of visitors. Various managers indicated that the European market in particular seems a prospective one for the future.¹⁾ As mentioned earlier, Venezuelan visitors lost their dominating position more than 20 years ago.

The ratio among the foreign tourists is similar for all categories. The major discrepancy is due to the varying share of Trinidadian clients. Trinidadians constitute 20 to 40% of the visitors to international standard hotels, while category II establishments rely on this market by 50 to 90% and small guesthouses almost entirely

1) Part of their enthusiasm is based on the proposed direct service by BWIA to continental Europe.

on domestic tourism (at least 70%, but more than 90% is usual). Unfortunately, there are no data available to document the growth of Trinidadian visitors during the past decade.

The seasonal distribution of visitors to the various establishments is shown in Table 4.5. The distribution of visitor volume over the year corresponds by and large with the seasonal fluctuations observed for the occupancy rates between 1969 to 1974. However, discrepancies between the three categories are remarkable and again confirm the pattern corroborated for categories I and II above. For resort hotels, the busiest months are December, January and February, with August almost reaching that level due to the domestic holiday season. Small hotels and guesthouses certainly show a similar seasonal pattern over the year, but on a slightly lower level, with the exception of August, which accounts for more than 20% of their business. A small winter season for guesthouses is confined to February, when many Trinidadians flee the Carnival activities. The skewed distribution for establishment D of category II is due to the yellow fever outbreak which occurred in Trinidad during early 1979 and may represent the low volume of visitors during that period.

The second season during summer (unusual for the Caribbean destinations) can best be documented by tracing the origin of visitors according to the monthly percentage of the yearly volume, which is tabulated below for the combined data of two resort hotels (Fig.4.7).¹⁾ This clearly shows the contrasting travel behaviour of Tri-

1) Combined montly volume = roomnights of Hotel A + bednights /2 of Hotel B.

Table 4.5

MONTHLY DISTRIBUTION OF VISITOR VOLUMES TO SELECTED
ACCOMMODATIONS IN TOBAGO, 1980

Month	Category I		Category II		Category III
	A	B	C	D ^{a)}	E
J	11,1	10,9	9,3	3,9	9,5
F	12,1	11,2	7,1	6,3	11,9
M	8,4	9,2	8,1	8,8	8,2
A	10,2	8,7	8,9	12,8	5,8
M	6,9	4,5	6,8	2,5	7,8
J	4,2	5,6	5,7	5,2	4,3
J	6,4	6,4	8,5	9,4	5,9
A	9,1	11,3	15,0	23,8	22,6
S	5,3	6,7	7,1	4,2	3,8
O	7,8	5,3	6,9	3,6	7,6
N ^{b)}	8,9	9,2	7,8	6,2	4,3
D	9,6	10,9	8,9	13,3	8,3

A - E Selected establishments

a) 1979

b) Estimate

Source: Author's fieldwork

Fig. 4.7 MONTHLY ARRIVAL AND ORIGIN OF VISITORS.
TO TWO TOBAGONIAN RESORT HOTELS 1980

Source Author's investigation

nidadians. Their number increases in April, parallel to the decrease of foreigners, to take advantage of the more favourable off-season prices nationals can enjoy after mid-April, in addition to the already lower prices available to nationals.

4.4 Visitors to Tobago - Factors of Attraction

Abdulah (1974) surveyed the importance of the various attractions Tobago has to offer in order to determine the influence of the various assets on the choice for a holiday on this particular island. Visitors are mainly attracted by the natural attractions of beaches (77% of the foreigners, 58% of the Trinidadians) and the peace and quietness that can be enjoyed here (70% of the foreigners, 53% of the Trinidadians). These two factors are of top priority to foreigners as well as Trinidadians. However, the two groups of clientele differ in their rating of other attractions. Particularly climate, which is almost as important as the beaches to foreigners (72%), is ranked seventh only by Trinidadians (33%). In contrast, ease of travel takes third place in the motivation for Trinidadians (35%), while it is, very understandably, no factor of motivation for foreigners (20%).

Thus, Tobago can be characterized as a beach holiday area. However, it distinguishes itself from many other beach holiday destinations by priding its quietness instead of lively entertainment, a factor which is stressed in various recent advertisements of the Tourist Board ("tranquil Tobago").

Abdulah (1974) did not ask for the attraction exerted by various recreational activities, which are available. The model in Section 6.3.1 will argue that their availability will become increasingly important for beach holiday tourism. As discussed in Section 3.3., these facilities are yet

not very developed in Tobago, particularly those of interest to the average mass tourist (e.g. windsurfing, boating, waterskiing). On the other hand, a small group of visitors, socalled "insiders" enjoy the excellent opportunities for scuba diving.

It must be suspected, that the existence of this slightly different clientele is closely connected to the more difficult access to Tobago for international tourists. The necessity of an additional flight after the major travel from North America or Europe to Piarco in Trinidad must be regarded as protective mechanism for the above mentioned secondary attractions of Tobago (quietness and friendly people). Most visitors choose Tobago consciously in view of these rare assets, and this whole mechanism must be regarded as an essential means of minimizing the negative effects of social and moral corruption. The author fully agrees that Tobago's transportation linkages need improvement. As alternative to the presently proposed construction of a fully-sized international airport on Tobago, the improvement of the air-link to Trinidad should be considered, in order to assure maximum economic and social benefits from future tourism development.

4.5 Summary

This chapter explained the basic characteristics of visitors to Trinidad and Tobago and in particular established the importance of two tourist seasons, depending on two differing clienteles. The addition of a summer season gives higher occupancy rates to the international standard hotels of the island, which mainly cater to foreigners, and makes most guesthouses viable, because of their heavy reliance on domestic tourism. In other words, there exist two

essentially different types of tourism and tourist accommodations in Tobago. Those oriented externally are tied into the international system of tourism and cater to the tastes and demands originating from the developed countries. On the other hand, there is also a very basic indigenous product, as a result of the economic development of Trinidad and Tobago.

Besides data on the origin, and the factors of extraction, no other socio-economic information on these divergent clients are available. Such data would be essential to the development of effective marketing strategies. However, in Chapter 7, a discussion of how the existence of two different demands can aid future development of Tobago's tourism resources, is presented.

CHAPTER 5 TOURISM POLICY IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

5.1 Introduction

The foundation for Trinidad and Tobago's tourism policy was laid in the second half of the 1950s, when important bodies, such as the Hotel Development Corporation, the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC), and the Tourist Board were initiated through an Act of Parliament. Since then, the legislation of the Alien's (Landholding) Ordinance and the Hotel Development Act, both of 1963, are the only important additions.

In addition to tourism, Trinidad and Tobago is blessed with various natural resources. As a result, tourism development is not of as high priority as in other Caribbean nations. It will, however, be interesting to review the government's attitude towards tourism in general, since, similar to most other Caribbean countries, the prevalent socio-economic priorities are:

- (1) to activate economic diversification;
 - (2) to lower unemployment;
 - (3) to develop indigenous technology.
- (Third FYDP, 1969:5-9)

Commonly, tourism has been regarded as one economic sector which can contribute to the elimination of these problems.

Before the various aspects of the politics of tourism in Trinidad and Tobago are reviewed, general functions of a government vis-a-vis tourism development are summarized

1) FYDP= Five Year Development Plan

below in order to provide a holistic picture of the role of a government in tourism:

- (1) coordinating the fragmented elements of the industry...;
- (2) promoting the total travel experience of a country or region...;
- (3) giving leadership to private operators;
- (4) strengthening weak elements of the industry;
- (5) serving as catalyst to the growth and development of tourism;
- (6) optimizing the use of resources.

(Canada, Dept. of Industry, Trade and Commerce, 1977)

5.2 The Government's General Attitude towards Tourism

The major source for documenting a government's attitude towards tourism are the various development plans. Between 1958 and 1973 Trinidad and Tobago set up three Five Year Development Plans (FYDP). Since Trinidad and Tobago is no longer an international aid recipient, the rigid periodic development plans were replaced by a National Physical Development Plan (Draft of 1978), which establishes the guidelines for the development of the various sectors.

The First FYDP (1958-62) fully recognized the nation's and especially Tobago's tourism potential. Its exploitation seemed "...to be limited only by the islands ability to accommodate tourist visitors", and by some other infrastructural shortcomings (First FYDP, 1958:112), which were expected to be removed by the end of that planning

period. According to the spirit of that time, it was hoped that the economic benefits from tourism, i.e. employment and investment in accommodation and ancillary services (First FYDP; 1958:112) would make the tourism industry, then declared a "basic industry" (First FYDP, 1958:7) one of the major foreign exchange earners of the new nation. This would then allow the purchase of capital goods for industrial and economic development (First FYDP, 1958:7). This first plan also called for a strong institutional framework (First FYDP, 1958:80; First FYDP, 1958 Report, 1960:18) under which the public sector could handle tourism. Thus the Tourist Board and the IDC were established in 1958. Tobago's distinctiveness was emphasized throughout the plan; perhaps a reflection of the fears held at that time that the sister island might take the chance of separating from the nation shortly before independence.

In the Second FYDP, emphasis shifted from tourism to the expansion of other industrial sectors. Tourism was no longer regarded as a "...major industry..." (Second FYDP, 1963:233). This policy certainly contributed to a growing inequality between the two islands, since Tobago's only resources are agriculture and tourism. The former was neglected and declined for a variety of reasons, whilst the latter was not supported by sufficient infrastructure to allow it to grow according to its actual potential. Nevertheless, the economic benefits of tourism were still viewed positively, and for the first time special reference was made to the "...high national import content of the tourism sector...", i.e. leakages. In addition, to resolve the problem of seasonality, the construction of smaller hotels, which would attract lower income groups during the off season, was suggested (Second FYDP, 1963:235).

Only during the implementation period of the Third FYDP (1969-73), did the major development of accommodation occur in Tobago. In this plan, the economic outlook on tourism remained relatively unchanged. However, for the first time, the weak linkage of tourism to the rest of the economy was criticized and particularly the potential for the agricultural sector was stressed (Third FYDP, 1969:257). New was the recognition of the socio-cultural impact tourism might have (:263) and the call for a greater promotion of domestic tourism (:235).

The most recent government publication (National Physical Development Plan for Trinidad and Tobago, Draft, 1978), outlining the new position of the government towards tourism development, continues to show an exceptionally high level of awareness concerning problems connected to tourism development. This plan is much more self-critical, since, for the first time, the public incentive policy is criticized as being geared towards the international model of tourism (1978:II,157), which does not seem appropriate in achieving the desired socio-economic goals (see Appendix 8). The domestic tourism sector is regarded as equally important as international tourism and special reference is made to the newly emerging trend and problem of "second homes".¹⁾

5.3 The Legal Framework (Institutions and other Regulations)

The government proposes to channel tourism development into the desired directions by using its legislative power.

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- 1) These are likely to be more popular in Trinidad, but with the improved transportation links between the two islands, Tobago will develop into a "recreational hinterland" of Port of Spain with all the well known features of such a hinterland.

This power consists largely of institutions, especially assigned with various tasks in the tourism sector, and the legislation of guidelines, mainly comprising incentives and restrictions.

In Trinidad and Tobago there are two governmental bodies designated to act as catalysts between the many private and public groups with an interest in tourism development. Both are statutory boards, operating under the auspices of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. Both came into existence prior to independence in 1958, when the basic institutional framework for the development of the country was being created. Their international development as well as the assessment of their performance over the past twenty years provide an excellent example of the inflexibility characteristic of a bureaucratic system, once it is established.

5.3.1 The Tourist Board

The Tourist Board in its present form was legally enacted with the Tourist Board Ordinance of 1957 and started operation in 1958 (First FYDP, 1958:14).¹⁾

Implicit in the vague formulations originally assigned to the Tourist Board (Appendix 7) were all tasks related to tourism development with the exception of direct and indirect (supervision of incentives) involve-

1) Two Annual Tourist Board Reports from 1953 and 1957 document the existence of a predecessor. It was a "...voluntary body... [lacking]...statutory power to force anybody to carry out its recommendations." (Tourist Board, Annual Report for 1953:20). The major focus was on promotional activities of various kinds (overseas offices in New York and Montreal, publications of brochures, incentives to documentary filmmakers) and some basic development of historic and natural sites as the only concerns.

ment in hotel development. Indeed, the Tourist Board had the enormous potential to act in its capacity, given the mandate defined in section 12(h) of the Tourist Board Ordinance 1957.

The Board fell short of satisfying all expectations during the first planning period. Therefore budget and tasks assigned to the Tourist Board were reduced in the Second FYDP; this brought about the limited role of the Tourist Board throughout the sixties. At the time of formulation of the Third Plan, a Tripartite Committee¹⁾ detected a major inefficiency in the public sector through an overlapping of responsibilities between the Tourist Board and the IDC, and suggested that "...the long run development of the tourism industry should be concentrated in one body (Third FYDP, 1969:262). Upon this recommendation, the Cabinet

...agreed that the Board should be reorganized, and defined its responsibilities as follows:

- (i) hotel development;
- (ii) training in tourism and hotel management;
- (iii) tourism promotion;
- (iv) regulation and certification of hotels and guesthouses;
- (v) other related matters.

(Belle, 1979:5)

Despite various suggestions and attempts towards improvement, little success has been recorded over the past ten years. "The complex and diverse nature of tourism development..." (Belle, 1979:5) is used to describe the principal difficulties this agency has to overcome. Yet such an explanation is inadequate since coordination

1) Comprising representatives of Government, the Business Sector and the Trade Union Movement.

was and is one of the Board's basic tasks. A brief evaluation of the Tourist Board's performance, as conducted by the Belle Committee clearly emphasizes its major shortcomings.

The Board's annual budget increased from 2.3 million TT in 1973 to 9.8 million TT in 1979. In 1979, 31% was spent on advertising, 14% on representation abroad - publicity and promotion, and 22% on special services (which includes the provision of lifeguard service on public beaches, preservation of historic sites, and maintenance of beach facilities and other attractions and sites; Tourist Board, unpublished paper).

Duties which were performed satisfactorily or at a mediocre level are discussed below:

(1) Promotion

Overseas offices have been established in the major market areas (Miami, New York and Toronto, as the centres of the traditional market areas; London and, particularly Geneva, to enter the lucrative European Market). Their purpose is to establish contacts with wholesalers, advertise themselves in papers and magazines and distribute promotional material. The Belle Committee (1979:18) found that their success varies but can on an overall basis be rated positively, although promotional success depended more on individual efforts of the office managers, rather than a sound strategy initiated by the office.

In effect, the communication between the centre and its branches requires improvement from both parties in the form of a mutual exchange of ideas, strategies and decisions, as well as the timely and adequate supply of the offices with promotional material. Relatively recent is the Tourist Board's activity in promoting domestic tourism, which is particularly beneficial for Tobago.¹⁾

Tourist information in the country is adequate. In Trinidad, information offices are located in Port of Spain and at Piarco Airport; in Tobago the office is in Scarborough and a new bureau is planned in the Crown Point area. Their purpose is to distribute promotional material and provide information on accommodation and other points of interest.

Likewise, there are sufficient promotional publications available, e.g. price lists (biannually), colour brochures,²⁾ leaflets on topical matters and one periodical (Sites and Sights).

1) Started in 1976. Now the Tourist Board subsidizes up to 50% of the advertising expenditure of Tobago's hotel operators aimed at Trinidadians (Borrell, 1980).

2) Titles of Brochures:

General Information	Marine Life
Vacation Guide	Bird Life Study
Festivals	Flora and Fauna
Shopping, Dining and Entertainment	Story of the Steel Band
Beaches and Sport	Historic Tobago
A Brief Guide to Sightseeing and Shopping	

(2) Historic and Natural Sites.

A complete list of the historic, scenic and natural sites, which are made accessible and maintained by the Tourist Board is attached in Appendix 3. At the most popular beaches, changing cubicles and showers are provided and life-guards are on duty during busy hours.¹⁾

(3) The Familiarization Tour Committee

This was instituted by the Tourist Board along with the airlines operating in the country, the ground tour operators and the hotels. It

...has the responsibility of planning and organizing all programmes for travel agents who visit the country with a view to familiarizing themselves with the tourism product, which they are engaged in selling (Belle, 1979:13).

These tours have been criticized for being open to abuse, but nevertheless they should be kept as an important promotional activity (Belle, 1979:13).

(4) Regulation and Certification of Hotel and Guesthouses

This task, which was demanded by the Tripartite Committee in 1970, commenced seriously in 1980, when an independent Swiss commission of tourist experts rated all accommodations of the two islands (Interview with A. Whitehall, Head Office Tourist Board). This is a first

1) Public Beaches in Tobago:

Store Bay, Mt. Irvin, Buccoo, Rockley, Bacolet, King's Bay, Charlotteville; note that Pigeon Point is a private preservation area, where an entry fee is charged.

step to an important standardization of the tourism product in the sense that these ratings will be provided in brochures.

(5) Facilitation Meetings

These have been instituted by the Tourist Board together with all other bodies involved in the procedure of arrival of tourists

They meet prior to arrival of any group, with the task of minimizing any delay upon entry due to required formalities (Belle, 1979:14). Not only should these meetings be continued to facilitate group travel (Belle), but serious thought should be given as to how all the required arrival formalities for every tourist could be facilitated, e.g. customs clearance at the most important northern gateways (Toronto and New York), and the provision of a separate terminal for transit passengers to Tobago in Piarco.

Criticism must be levied against the Board for poor performance or neglect in the following issues:

(1) Research

Probably the most serious neglect occurred in the field of basic research, i.e. lack of market research, tourist statistics, and data on available facilities (Belle, 1979:35), on which any sound policy and development decision should be based.¹⁾

1) For example: The individual accommodations compile monthly statistics on origin and length of stay of clients. These form sheets are handed over annually to the Hotel Association. The latter and the Tourist Board accuse each other of withholding the material.

(2) Membership in Organizations

The representation of Trinidad and Tobago in regional or international tourist organizations leaves much to be desired. Worse than that, memberships in various organizations (e.g. Caribbean Hotel Association, Caribbean Tourist Research Centre) have been terminated recently (Belle, 1979:6, confirmed in 1981 Yearbook of International Organizations).

(3) (Annual) Tourist Board/ BWIA Marketing Meeting

Similarly, the (Annual) Tourist Board/BWIA Marketing Meeting, first held in 1977, was not held thereafter. Although a separate marketing agency is now taking over this matter, a coordination of the various representing agencies abroad would be useful (Belle, 1979:1).

(4) Hotel Development

No steps have been undertaken to increase the involvement of the Tourist Board in "Hotel Development". A transfer of these responsibilities from the IDC to the Tourist Board was implicit in the Cabinet's decision of 1970 (Belle, 1979:5).

(5) Training in Tourism and Hotel Management

Neither has the Tourist Board commenced any activity relating to the training of employees in the tourism sector. The "Trinidad and Tobago Hotel and Catering School" is operated by the IDC, which represents

one segment of the tourism sector only, and the Tourist Board cannot influence any decisions in that matter. These last two issues touch directly on the overlapping responsibility between the Tourist Board and the IDC and will be discussed below.

Within the organization of the Tourist Board, two key issues can be identified which seem to be the major sources for these shortcomings: staffing policy and the institutional setting of the Tourist Board. The present staff is criticized by Belle (1979:8) for lacking "...delegation which tended to stultify initiative", on the one hand, and for a certain rigidity in its internal operation, on the other. Together, these lead to frustration and resignation of the younger members. For an improvement, Belle suggests the transfer of "administrative freedom" for staff recruitment and disciplining to the Tourist Board, away from the "Statutory Authority Service Commission", a status enjoyed by the IDC (Belle, 1979:15).

The second fundamental problem is the Board's position on a sub-ministerial level under the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, whose overall interest in tourism remains on a rather low level. Since there is no staff within the Ministry solely concerned with tourism, the Minister relies on the advice of either the Tourist Board or the IDC. The latter, because of its central role in providing financial incentives, possesses greater influence. As Belle puts it:

Neither the Ministry nor the Board seem to have been in a position to exercise that central coordinating role necessary to the development of a saleable product with vital

inputs from several ministries, departments and agencies. (Belie, 1979:8).

Before these problems are discussed in detail, the functions of the IDC must be specified.

5.3.2 The Industrial Development Corporation (IDC)

The IDC had a predecessor in the tourism sector, namely the "Hotel Development Corporation" (HDC), which was created in 1956 "...with the task of promoting increases in the amount of hotel accommodation available..." (First FYDP, 1958:14) in Trinidad and Tobago. It was disbanded in 1958, when the newly founded IDC took over the agenda of the HDC.

The IDC is designed to be

...The Country's principal agency for development, initiation and implementation of its industrial programme... to promote and stimulate industrial development and the development of hotels, and to act as liaison between Government and the private sector in such matters. The IDC, in pursuance of its objectives, administers the Government system of incentives and assists industrialists foreign or local, in utilizing the incentives offered to establish manufacturing plants, hotels or small businesses and to expand existing ones.

(IDC, Brochure)

This definition, formulated at the time of its foundation, clearly emphasizes the commitment to tourism development.

In reviewing the activities of the agency, this obligation must be doubted. Its internal structure, for example, contains no separate division for tourism af-

fairs, despite the distinct demands of this economic sector¹⁾. Over the past twenty years, its only major function in the tourism field has been the administration of legally embodied incentives²⁾ and that of the Hotel and Catering School.

The "Trinidad and Tobago Hotel and Catering School"³⁾ was opened in 1962 and provides formal courses as well as in-service training at approved hotels and catering establishments (Second FYDP, 1963:136), for middle management, chef training, food and beverage supervision, front office operation, waiters and waitresses, housekeeping and cooks (Belle, 1979:31)⁴⁾. So far "...the school has concentrated its activities on training new students..." (Belle, 1979:31), who eventually find jobs in the major resort areas of the Eastern Caribbean. At least in Trinidad and Tobago, many encounter difficulties in finding work as they cannot compete with old-established personnel (A. Whitehall). The School's inclination for large-scale operations is not surprising, since it was established at a time when the IDC was entrusted with the

1) The operating division of the Corporation are:

- Small Business Division
- Industrial Estates Division
- Industrial Liaison and Extension Services
- Promotions, Public Relations
- Economic Studies and Planning
- Finance and Accounts
- Secretariat and Administration
- Industrial Library
- (IDC, Brochure)

2) Provisions established under the "Hotel Development Act 1962" (regulates tax benefits and duty free concessions), Hotel Loan Fund.. Small Business Lending Programme (see 5.3.3).

3) Located in Chaguaramas, the major resort area of Trinidad.

4) Approximately 75 graduates yearly, thereof 10-15 in middle management (A. Whitehall).

administration of the construction of the Trinidad Hilton. The School's recent participation in seminars for Reef Tour operators and Taxi Drivers in Tobago (Belle, 1979:31), unfortunately remained its only activity in the important field of retraining. So far, hoteliers are reluctant to retrain their staff, and the long proposed branch of the School in Tobago has not materialized (Second FYDP, 1963:136, Belle, 1979:31). As interviews with the owners and managers of accommodations in Tobago showed, the overall impact of the School upon the island is not very large, as most personnel originate from the island and are trained on the job.

5.3.3 The Conflict between the Tourist Board and the IDC

The two basic areas of conflict between these two agencies (both of which are designed to support tourism development), are the Hotel and Catering School and the administration of incentives. As outlined above, the structure of the School is not geared towards the needs of small accommodations.

Although the one seminar for the support industries seems like a fruitful beginning for an increasing interest by this educational institution in small businesses, it is unlikely that any further activities will be directed towards small tourism enterprises, as long as the School remains under the auspices of the IDC. This agency has a vital interest in large-scale operations and the Small Business Division is insignificant to the tourism sector. Therefore, it must be assumed that if the overall tourism development goals are to be pursued more intensely, this would have to be the task of the Tourist Board, the only national organization supposedly showing a profound inter-

est in the well being of the entire tourism sector. As experience has shown, this Tourist Board will only be able to fulfill that task when qualified personnel is employed.

Similarly, the financial incentives to the tourism industry, which probably constitute the most powerful tool for policy making, are administered entirely by the IDC, despite constant criticism and various attempts to implement change. What is worse, the most serious attempt to strengthen the position of the Tourist Board in 1970, led to the abandonment of the Hotel Loan Fund by the IDC (compare Belle, 1979:7).¹⁾

Generally, both sides, as well as a general lack of tourism consciousness by the public, must be blamed for several inadequacies.

First, the IDC regards itself as the only government agency, capable of performing the various required administrative tasks. Undoubtedly, its skills and organizational capacity are superior to other institutions, particularly the Tourist Board. Though its functions are multiple in the sense that it promotes the development of the entire industrial sector of the nation, of which tourism is only one aspect, the IDC is not willing to take into account specific requirements of the tourism sector. Instead, tourism projects are dealt with in the usual "industrial manner", as no specially trained officers are employed, let alone a separate division established.

1) It was not possible for the author to establish what had happened. However, no reference could be found to the Hotel Loan Fund after 1970 (frequently mentioned in the three FYDPs) and it is not known by various officers of the IDC.

Second, the Tourist Board, for its part, clearly failed to take advantage of the various chances of further improvement it had over the past 20 years. Reasons for its poor performance have been outlined above.

Third, it must be stated that basic to these problems is the indifferent attitude towards tourism of the general public as well as the government. Since the island of Trinidad offers a variety of opportunities for "conventional industrial development", on the basis of hydrocarbons as a foreign exchange earner as well as raw material for the industries, not much attention is paid to tourism potential, particularly that of Tobago. For example, the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, which is the government body to which the Tourist Board and the IDC report, does not employ even one tourism expert. Thus, the vicious circle of lack of public support, caused at least partly by the lack of administrative willingness to make tourism a more central issue, remains to be broken.

5.3.4 Incentives

Incentives consist mainly of financial provisions, and have the purpose of attracting investors and/or facilitating the operation and refurbishing of existing establishments. A list of the incentives that are made available in Trinidad and Tobago either to accommodation businesses exclusively, or to enterprises generally, are outlined below:

- (1) The Hotel Development Act of 1962 (Trinidad and Tobago Government Act No 3 of 1963) regulates the two major incentives of tax benefits and customs and excise duty exemptions. The tax benefits are available to hotel

operators or hotel owners¹⁾, and consist of:

- (1) a tax holiday period on profits for 5 to 10 years;
- (2) an accelerated depreciation;
- (3) a capital allowance.

Customs and duty exemptions are provided to all permit holders for building materials and articles of hotel equipment.

A list provided by the IDC (1980) reveals that two of the category I hotels in Tobago qualified for a tax exemption period of ten years, while six medium-sized accommodations and one guesthouse of category III received a five year tax holiday²⁾.

- (2) The Hotel Loan Fund, the only lending institution geared directly to tourism development, was considered of inadequate size at the end of the sixties (Third FYDP, 1969:262), and unfortunately discharged in 1970 (Belle, 1979:7). Records from earlier years prove that its focus in its lending programme was on small accommodations³⁾.

1) Can be claimed from all establishments with a minimum size of 10 rooms (in Port of Spain, 15) for the construction of new hotels, as well as the renovation, conversion or furnishing and equipping of old establishments.

2) For 10 years: Turtle Beach, Mount Irvin;
For 5 years: Arnos Vale, Golden Thistle, Tropicist, Cocorico Inn, Sunset Inn, Coral Reef Guesthouse;

Not qualified: Crown Reef, Tabc;
application of Kariwak Village in process.

3) The fund was initiated by the HDC with 205,000 EC (IDC Report, 1958);

1 million TT provided between 1964-68 (First FYDP, 1963:235);

1.3 million TT outstanding in 1967 (Third FYDP, 1969:262);

No information on exact use available.

All the other credits and funds available are open to various types of businesses.

- (3) The Small Business Lending Programme is open to all businesses, but its credit limit of 250,000 TT "...has been taken over by inflation..." (Mr. George Lock Yee, IDC Toronto) and is now too low to be of any substantial use to even small tourist accommodations. However, it has tried to promote investment in Tobago by offering soft loans (Borrell, 1980). Instead of an annual interest of 7.5%, reduced rates of 3% for businesses on that island are offered (IDC, Brochure).¹⁾
- (4) Similarly, the Capital Grant Programme to Tobago (established in 1979) is designed to aid the regional development of the smaller sister island. It allows a "write-off" of 50% of the fixed capital cost of the project, up to a maximum of 250,000 TT, if certain factors like contribution to employment, use of local raw materials, positive linkages, etc, are met (IDC Brochure; Interview with Mr. G. Look Yee, IDC, Toronto).²⁾
- (5) The Development Finance Company is a private company with the goal to induce development. The majority shareholder is the government, with 10 to 20% being private investors. Various members are on boards of hotels.³⁾

1) One guesthouse was funded through this programme (Mr. Look Yee).

2) By the end of 1981, three guesthouses had qualified for this assistance.

3) e.g. Crown Reef Hotel.

This list reveals that there is sufficient consciousness and support for small enterprises in general. So far, the IDC, which administers all these provisions, has failed together with other governmental bodies, to recognize the special requirements and concerns of small-scale tourist businesses. Hopefully, this trend will reverse, as the new National Physical Development Plan gains wider recognition. For the first time it breaks away from its usual attitude of self-praise, that it is up to the private sector to utilize the incentives, provided so generously by the public sector (Second FYDP, 1963:235). Rather it begins by criticizing public sector tourism incentive policies, which are now recognized as being geared towards large-scale enterprises without supporting the actual national development goals (Nat. Physical Dev. Plan, 1978, II:157). This point has already been substantiated in the discussion of the IDC and by the more generous provisions for large hotels in the Hotels Development Act.

5.3.5 Restrictions

Common to all these pieces of legislation is a strong social component. Economic activities, which in other major tourist areas have led to severe distortions in the natural and social environment and which have an immediate effect on the host population are partly de-emphasized. Moreover, certain activities create a negative feedback on the tourism product over time, and thus emerge as a constraint for any future development.

Policies which reinforce the government's inclination are:

- (1) The Alien's Landholding Act (1970), which restrains land speculation. It impedes further land acquisition by non-nationals, who require special permission, and instead are given long term leases, if their activities promise to aid the economic development of the country (Third FYDP, 1969:265). In regard to tourism this measure prevents further "second home" development induced by foreigners.
- (2) Free access for the entire population to all beaches and hotels protects the country from undesirable consequences of heavy concentration of hotels along the beaches and the eventual emergence of "tourist colonies" (Third FYDP, 1969:264).¹⁾
- (3) The banning of casinos, because experience has shown that they can lead "...to the influx of organized crime syndicates" (Third FYDP, 1969:264).

Thus, the president of the Tourist Board may correctly claim success in the government's attempt

...to protect the rights of the citizens of Trinidad and Tobago, and to forestall the emergence of social evils which in too many countries have accompanied too rapid expansion of the tourist industry.

(Borrell, 1980)

5.4 Summary

A comparison of the tourism policy in Trinidad and Tobago with other countries shows that the commonly con-

1) Pigeon Point, one of the most beautiful beaches, is excepted. It is privately owned and an entrance fee is charged.

blished over the past 25 years. Thus, any shortcomings in pursuing a successful tourism policy must be blamed on the malfunctioning of these institutions. Of the six points which were identified in the introduction as the public sector's tasks with respect to tourism development, "promotion" has been fulfilled satisfactorily, and a serious attempt has been made to "optimize the use of resources" in the National Physical Development Plan of 1978. All other issues have received scant recognition or lip service. Particularly, the roles of providing "leadership" and the "strengthening of weak elements of the industry" leave much to be desired. Many of these shortcomings have been identified by the public sector, but attempts to eliminate them have failed.

Smaller accommodations constitute the major component of these "weaker elements". The task in the remaining two chapters will be to further emphasize their disadvantageous economic position and to suggest certain improvements. To say that tourism is only one among various economic sectors that suffer from a lack of "consistent economic policy planning" (Interamerican Development Bank, 1981:367) in Trinidad and Tobago can only be of slight comfort.

CHAPTER 6

IMPACT OF TOURISM

6.1 Introduction

In order to complete the discussion of tourism in Tobago, an analysis of the tourism impact is necessary. In terms of the framework provided in Chapter 1, impact can be described as the sum of the effect exerted by the tourism product (Level 2 and 3 on the product side) upon the local community (Level 1).

Basically, one can distinguish between an economic and social impact, the analysis of which will be accomplished in the first two sections of this chapter. Economically, the areas of concern are the degree of foreign dependency, the creation of employment and linkages to the domestic economic system. From the social point of view, thought must be given to form and intensity of contact between visitors and hosts, which represent two groups with completely different attitudes and perspectives, a fact which gives opportunity for a variety of conflicts.

After completion of the analysis, the advantages and deficiencies of small scale accommodations in Tobago will be summarized, in order to provide the basis for the final chapter, which will outline a complete strategy of implementation of small accommodations.

6.2 Economic Impact

Economically, tourism is thought to be a major foreign exchange earner and can furthermore be regarded as a means to diversify the national economy, reduce regional inequalities, establish linkages to other domestic industries and create employment (Economic and Social Council, 1980:4). Additionally, its potential to promote a better image of a

country abroad must be stressed (Cleverdon: 1979:28).

Information on tourism within the national economy of Trinidad and Tobago is scarce because such statistics are not provided as a separate entity. For the purpose of comparing the economic performance of the various types and categories of accommodations, indicators (e.g ownership and employment) were collected from individual establishments or groups of accommodations. These indicators, together with comments obtained from the interviews, provide the basis for assessing tourism's role on a macro-economic scale.

6.2.1 Tourism and the Economy of Trinidad and Tobago

Two sets of data (GNP and trade balance) exemplify the minor role tourism plays in the context of the national economy of Trinidad and Tobago. Tourism's contribution to the GNP was 3.9% in 1976 (Cleverdon, 1979:55).¹⁾ Similarly, tourism revenue, as percent of the export of goods was only 3.7% in the same year (Cleverdon, 1979:51). In the trade balance, the total revenues from travel tripled between 1972 and 1978 (Chapter 4 revealed, that the increase was due mainly to an increase of business and private holiday visitors), although exports of the country remained at the same level:

1) Gross tourism revenue per capital as % of GNP per capital.

Table 6.1

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO
Balance of Payments Travel Account

	Travel				
	Credit		Debit		Balance
	Mill TT	%1)	Mill TT	%1)	
1972	64.6	8.2	52.1	4.6	+12.5
1973	79.8	7.3	46.4	3.9	+33.4
1974	112.0	4.6	53.0	2.6	+59.0
1975	163.0	5.1	72.4	2.8	+90.6
1976	184.8	4.8	90.6	2.7	+94.2
1977	218.8	4.9	124.1	3.0	+94.7
1978	218.9	4.6	185.9	4.0	+33.0

1) Credit (Debit) in % of Credit (Debit) of
Goods, Services and Unrequired Transfers
Source: Annual Statistical Digest:(1978:205,206)

This list of travel credits and debits reveals an interesting phenomenon, namely that after the sudden improvement of the national economy, foreign travel by nationals started to increase substantially with a time lag of four to five years. This fact can serve as one example for the "behavioural trap" many ldc's are "caught in". When portions of the population move into higher income brackets, demands occur, which can hardly be satisfied domestically, as the taste and behaviour originate from abroad and place additional pressure on the trade balance of such a country. The "law of diminishing returns" (Cleverdon, 1979:32) must not be attributed to the "demonstration effect" exerted by tourists alone, but seems to be generally related to the progress in industrial development. An ldc should be conscious of the development of its tourism potential, in order to keep its

travel balance positive by attracting foreigners as well as motivating nationals to spend their holidays at home. In this way, Tobago has the potential to contribute to the nation's economy, as the above-described circumstances can serve as important arguments for further development of tourism on this island.

An economic analysis for Tobago, preferably with a breakdown of the various categories of accommodation, can be achieved through empirical surveys of either the accounts of individual hotels or the expenditure of guests. The first approach was attempted by Allahar (1974) without much success in covering the entire island. The problem with the second method is that guests either do not consider the prepaid portion of their holiday as expenditure at the destination, or when they do, they lack knowledge of the actual amount of accommodation cost.

This problem leads back to the "logical integration dominants" of Hills and Lundgren's model (Chapter 1). Trinidad and Tobago is the only Eastern Caribbean country owning an airline that serves the major market areas, which brings part of the corporate business profits of level 3 to this country. Nevertheless, a certain portion of travel expenses never reaches the national economy due to the use of credit cards and "transfer pricing" (Cleverdon, 1979:30), a common practice of foreign owned hotels.

6.2.2 Ownership and Management

Ownership and Management are crude but hardly misleading indicators for the degree of foreign dependency of the accommodation sector. This dependency in turn determines the centre of basic decision making as well as that

of profit accumulation. The high degree of private national ownership in the tourism industry of Tobago constitutes a rather unique event in the Caribbean context. It is the result of the government's policy to repatriate foreign-owned industries, which was facilitated after 1973, when increasing revenue from exports created a new "entrepreneurial middle class", who now sought every investment opportunity. The interest of foreign owners in selling their hotels rose at the same time, after the tax holiday periods had terminated. Thus the obstacle of "inadequate financial resources" (Lowenthal, 1972:242) for the economic development of Trinidad and Tobago has been eliminated. Nevertheless, the continuation of foreign presence in top managerial positions suggests the persistence of a lack of human resources. According to a recent study this lack is of a temporary nature:

The management know-how necessary to operate a hotel is not as dynamic as the technology associated with manufacturing industries.
(UN, Economic and Social Council, 1980:6)

As beneficial as these changes are and will be for the national economy, they only underline Tobago's weak position, which even prevents locals from participating in the present trend of constructing small hotels and large upgraded guesthouses (see Ownership, Chapter 3.2.2).¹⁾

Thus, in the next section, the role of accommodations in satisfying the Tobagonian's demand for employment will be assessed.

1) The region lacks financial power as well as basic knowledge for the construction and maintenance of category II accommodations.

6.2.3 Creation of Employment

The creation of employment has frequently been described as one of the most positive aspects of tourism development (Third FIDP, 1969:257; National Physical Development Plan, 1978, II:156). These prospects can be a motivation for a country or region in which the unemployment rate is constantly high¹⁾. Despite the mediocre tourism development Tobago has experienced, "tourism is the largest single sector of employment in private industry in Tobago" (Sigurdsson and Cole, 1974).

The number of employees in the various types and categories of the accommodation sectors are as follows:

-
- 1) Trinidad and Tobago: 12% for 1978 and 1979
(10% male, 18% female)

These figures were quite stable on a national level, but fluctuated considerable in Tobago: Total 11-19%
male 6-15%
female 19-27%

(Central Statistical Office, Labour Force, 1980:1,2,3).

Table 6.2

EMPLOYEES IN THE VARIOUS TYPES AND CATEGORIES
OF ACCOMMODATIONS

Category	No. of ¹⁾ establ	No. of ²⁾ employees	No. of rooms	Employees/ room
I	4 (3)	473	333	1.42
II	9 (8)	113	157	0.72
a	4 (4)	83	87	0.95
b	5 (4)	30	70	0.43
III	22 (11)	60	173 ³⁾	0.35
Condo	5 (3)	118	175	0.67

1) In (): number of establishments that released information

2) inclusive managers;
the number represents the approximate total for each category, that is to say that for establishments that did not release their number of employees, the average value for this category was substituted according to the number of rooms.

3) exclusive additional rooms

Source: Questionnaires and Interviews of 1980, conducted by the author

An objective assessment of this distribution skewed in favour of resort hotels (similar to that of rooms) is only possible by means of the employment/room ratio, listed in the last column of the table.

This ratio immediately reveals that one room in a resort hotel creates 1.5 jobs,¹⁾ while the ratio is only

1) The same figure is quoted in the Third FYDP (1969:257), obviously derived from large hotels only and was then falsely applied to the prospective employment to be created by adding more rooms in guesthouses.

0.72 for category II and drops to 0,25 for small guest-houses. Again, the widest fluctuations are observed within category II between the subcategories of small hotels and large guesthouses.

The major reason for the varying ratios is the wide range of services offered in the luxury hotels in contrast to other accommodations. Furthermore, resorts require a large administrative structure because of their complexity, and every resort hotel is unionized.¹⁾ This creates a rather rigid hierarchical structure of employment, which hinders the exchange of staff between various departments according to demand.

The ratio of employees in the various departments of resort hotels is as follows:

Table 6.3

SECTORAL EMPLOYMENT IN RESORT HOTELS

	1980	1974
Housekeeping	17	26
Laundry	9	26
Food and Beverages	49	46
Garden and Maintenance	9	28
Administration	16	25
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Sources: for 1980 = Author's investigation
for 1974 = Allahar, 1974: 20

1) Each hotel forms a separate union, which explains the difference in staffing policies pursued by various establishments.

Most striking is the labour intensity of the food and beverage sector, which absorbs almost half of all the employees. Allahar (1974:20) arrived at similar results, which indicates that the employment structure of large hotels is stable over time. The access to accounting data enabled him to compare the labour intensity between those two departments which derive direct profits. Sales per employee in the accommodation and food and beverage departments compare as follows:

room sales/room dept. employee	17,349 US\$
food and beverage sales/food and beverage employees	10,207 US\$

This further emphasizes the labour intensity of the food and beverage sector. It also explains why various managers would not mind giving up the operation of restaurants, as more profits can be accrued from the accommodation sector. This also puts the lower labour intensity of self-catering accommodations (condominiums and cottages) into perspective.

For smaller accommodations (below the size of 20 rooms), this precise definition of tasks assigned to individual employees does not exist. Instead, employees are considered as completely interchangeable according to demand. Also, the lower employment ratio in smaller hotels and guesthouses is simply due to the smaller number of services offered, though they vary considerably; the employment ratio varies accordingly.

The employment structure in accommodations of category IIa (small hotels) is similar to resort hotels. Because of their size (usually more than 20 rooms), they have salaried management and employees are assigned specific work tasks. In contrast, large guesthouses (cate-

gory IIb) are usually owned and managed by the same person, who is concerned with using his labour force more efficiently. A precise definition of tasks assigned to individual employees does not exist. Instead, they are considered as completely interchangeable according to demand¹⁾. This different structure is, along with the smaller number of services offered, another factor contributing to the lower employment ratio of these accommodations. Employment created by small guesthouses is extremely low. Approximately half of these establishments do not employ outside persons but are family businesses, operated by a couple. Furthermore, some owners have another source of income, which they often were not willing to specify (probably due to its informal nature). Thus for all these categories of accommodations, the employment ratio calculated in 1980^{*} is similar to the finding of Allahar (1974) although he differentiated between the various categories strictly by size.

For reasons of confidentiality, the employment created by condominiums is listed in aggregated form only. Similar to hotels, their employment ratio varies according to the quality of the accommodation, and remains at a generally lower level. In no case does it exceed one employee per room. Even lower is the employment created by cottages. They are designed so that guests can do most of the daily chores themselves if they so desire, while "maid and cook" service is available upon request and for extra charge. Thus the employment created by this least labour-intensive form of accommodation is approximately

1) One owner interviewed praised his establishment for having eight employees, who are completely interchangeable for room service and cooking.

0.5 employees/cottage or 0.2 employees/room.

Seasonal employment is obviously much less important than one would anticipate given the seasonal fluctuations of arrivals. Surprisingly, few establishments will admit to the "lay-off" of staff during the off-season.¹⁾ The usual policy of most establishments in all categories is for employees to work shorter periods of time during intervals of low demand. But again, these were not identified as part-time employees by the management. The benefits of this practice are mutual, as employees have a permanent job all year round (short working hours during part of the year are generally not perceived as a hardship). Hotels benefit because they do not need to worry about losing employees to their competitors, or by emigration from the island in search for permanent employment. Doxey (1972:34) verified a similar staffing policy for Barbados.

The origin of employees varies according to the level of skill required. It has been mentioned already that most managers are from Trinidad. About half of the sub-managerial positions (i.e. department heads) are filled by Trinidadians, many of whom obtained their training from the Trinidad and Tobago Hotel School. The remaining staff are almost exclusively Tobagonians who were trained on the job.

Thus, Cole's (1974) conclusion is no surprise,

1) Only one establishment of category I and one of category II. In these two establishments the number of lay-offs during the off-season accounted for approximately 25-30 % of all employees.

although more than a "few" jobs are created:

It would appear therefore that tourism does not effectively favour the local Tobagonian, except in providing a few jobs at the lower levels in the hotel industry, in the taxi business, and the boat tours business.

6.2.4 Investment and Employment

In course of the author's fieldwork, no information was collected regarding the financial situation of individual establishments. However, Allahar (1974) provided data on the invested capital in the three categories on an aggregated basis. This allows for further comparison in respect to employment per room (E/R), investment per room (I/R), and investment per employee (I/E).

Table 6.4

EMPLOYMENT AND INVESTMENT IN THE THREE CATEGORIES OF ACCOMMODATION

Category	E/R	I/R ¹⁾	I/E ¹⁾
I	1.3	57,950	44,444
II	.9	20,150	17,466
III	.5	6,175	18,882

1) \$ TT

Source: Allahar, 1974:8

It becomes immediately apparent that while E/R increases arithmetically or less with the quality of accommodations, the capital requirements for construction of these establishments increases geometrically. The exorbitant costs of international hotels explain the frequent occurrence of foreign ownership throughout the Caribbean. Although the national economy of Trinidad and Tobago has recently become able to expend the necessary amount of capital domestically, it must be questioned whether it is to the advantage of the national economy to spend three times the amount of money for resort accommodations, in comparison to small hotels or large guesthouses. At the same time, resort hotels create between one-third and one-half more employment, which automatically explains why I/E is so much higher for these resort hotels, and is actually comparable to other manufacturing industries, particularly if the usually higher cost of infrastructure is added (Bryden, 1973:73). Category III guesthouses, on the other hand, require least capital expenditure. Therefore they constitute the indigenous element of the tourism product; they are less labour intensive, and the capital requirements per employee are similar to larger guesthouses. The same conclusion in regard to labour intensity and capital requirements was reached by Cleverdon (1979:41).

6.2.5 Competition for Resources

Depending on the country, competition for resources can occur over different issues and vary in degree. Those of particular concern to tourism in Tobago are the competition for land and for labour.

Although all Caribbean countries are labour-surplus economies, tourism has often been perceived as a sector that attracts employees away from other economic activities, particularly agriculture (Bryden, 1973:35). Neither for Trinidad nor for Tobago has such a study been conducted with a focus on tourism. Nevertheless, this issue has been discussed for the oil industry, the most important modern sector in the country. O'Brien (1974) concludes that (1) the adverse relationship can only be an indirect one in a labour-surplus economy, (2) that the agricultural sector lacks skilled and educated employees because only few school graduates return to the farms, and (3) he sees the problem of the agricultural sector as a reflection of the low values and status it is associated with ("high status" is attributed to white collar jobs and city life; confirmed by Cole's (1974) survey of school leavers in Tobago).

Thus, the problem of labour shortage in the agricultural sector, particularly for domestic food production, is not specifically related to tourism (which inevitably must be the conclusion of studies conducted on other Caribbean islands, where tourism is the only or major modern sector), but must be seen from the perspective of traditional versus modern employment opportunities. In Tobago, tourism is the second biggest sector of employment after the government. Agricultural production is declining, but as the above arguments suggest, this is not because too many employees are being attracted by the tourism sector per se. Rather, tourism must be seen as the only "modern" wage-earning activity accessible to a large number of native people whose desire for such employment must be considered as an inevitable determinant. Otherwise, even more Tobagonians would be forced to long-

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term migration or emigration to Trinidad or abroad in search for employment.

Some competition for land is observed by Arulan (1974). She indicates that most land transfer in Tobago occurred in the three southern parishes, where the major tourism development took place.¹ She likely observed the period of the sixties, when most large-scale tourism development was planned and undertaken. This coincided with hurricane devastations which reinforced the sale of land by smallholders.

Foreign land tenure for recreation and retirement is impeded by the Aliens' Landholding Act. However, an issue of increasing importance will be the acquisition of land by Trinidadians for the construction of second homes, a phenomenon which is not entirely confined to the coastal areas, but affects parts of the foothills (the major peasant area). The higher standard of these villas compared to Tobagonian residences will raise some concern as a social issue, because in this case the wealthy individual is not some anonymous (usually white) foreigner, but a fellow countryman.

6.2.6 Linkages and Leakages

Given the lack of a multiplier analysis of the tourist receipts in Trinidad as well as in Tobago, linkages and leakages will only be discussed using indicators. Linkages can be defined as any connections that tourism receipts establish to other sectors of the national or regional economy. They consist of inputs, which are

¹ 72.5% of total land transfer; no period of observation quoted.

provided by the local economy to the tourism sector, and that part of wages, which is spent by sector employees for the purchase of local goods and services. Leakages, by contrast, represent that component of tourist expenditure that either immediately or eventually (after several rounds of spending) leaves the surveyed economy. To a large extent, these two parameters depend on the size of the regional or domestic economy¹⁾ (supported by Archer, 1974). The smallness of most Eastern Caribbean countries does not allow for a high degree of domestic satisfaction of demand. The peripheral location of Tobago vis-a-vis Trinidad, which reflects upon the latter's dominating role in the supply of domestically manufactured goods, as well as of all imports immediately suggests rather weak regional linkages. Two sectors frequently quoted as being especially critical and possessing high potential for strengthening the tourism linkages, are agriculture and construction.

Despite the fact that, due to the historic conditions, most islands in the Eastern Caribbean, had "... little or no organized production of food crops" (Sammy, 1974), Tobago was until recently not only highly autonomous in food production, but also marketed some surplus to Trinidad. In connection with the recently experienced economic development of the nation, agricultural production declined, so that not only Trinidad but Tobago as

1) For the nation as a whole, no recent figures could be found, but in 1967 "...60% of the consumption goods supplied to the tourism sector were imported" (Third FYDP, 1969:258). Beside imports, other factors of leakages are "...remitted profits and income accruing to employees who are non-nationals" (Bryden, 1973:28)

well is now a net food importer.¹⁾

An insufficient domestic production automatically implies that most of the food supply to the tourist industry must be covered by imports, which causes substantial leakage of foreign exchange earnings. Calculations for the amount of leakage are not available, but Brown (1974) found in Jamaica that about 34% of the total tourist expenditure is related to food and beverages, and that the import content of the total food consumption of this island varied between 63.8% in 1971 and 79.3% in 1969. Doxey (1972;111,114) found a similar import content, varying between 61% and 69%, in a survey of various Barbadian hotels. There is no reason to suspect a marked difference for Trinidad and Tobago.

In the unlikely event that restaurants and hotels would increase the domestic input component of their food demand, prices of these scarce products would increase immediately, much to the disadvantage of locals. However, such an occurrence is unlikely, because at present local products do not match hotel requirements. Hotels demand a consistent and high-quality supply of processed and packaged foodstuff at the same or lower price than imports.

Brown (1974) does not quote any absolute figures, but concludes after surveying all food import components of Jamaica, "...that most items in the food import structure of the tourist industry are competitive imports".²⁾

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- 1) In absolute terms Trinidad and Tobago's food deficit increased between 1968 and 1971 from 12.3 million TT to 38.4 million TT (Farrell and Nurse, 1976).
 - 2) "...competitive imports are products which at a given point in time are being produced within the economy and thus could be substituted" (Brown, 1974).

Two aspects that will determine future food consumption habits of locals and tourists are indicated:

- (1) In the same way as rising incomes change the travel habits of Third World residents (6.2.1), it can be argued

...that the pattern of [food] demand changes away from the more traditional domestic crops as incomes in the rest of the economy rise (Bryden, 1974).

This implies that the present gap in the food consumption pattern of locals and tourists will narrow over time. This fact should encourage agricultural planners especially to establish agro-based industries, particularly in a country like Trinidad and Tobago with a fairly large internal market and resource base.

- (2) The food consumption habits of tourists are not very well researched. Opinions vary between the tourists requiring familiar dishes (Doxey, 1972:93) and the neutral observation that

There is no evidence to suggest that such tourists are innovative in their food consumption habits, although it is an open question whether they would be more so if hotels provided greater opportunities in this direction (Bryden, 1974).

The answer to this question obviously depends on the attitudes of the various socio-economic groups of

clientele, who segregate themselves according to the various categories and types of accommodation. This fact explains the different modes of foodstuff acquisition by these businesses.

The construction of accommodations occurs in cycles, which is typical to the sector in general. This may put considerable strain on manpower (short lived labour demand during the boom period may lead to structural unemployment, (Cleverdon, 1979:43) and financial requirements of small island economies.

For two reasons Tobago is in a more advantageous position. Firstly, all hotel development on the island is of a comparatively small scale, and secondly, a large, well developed domestic construction sector based in Trinidad is available.

A different set of problems exists because of the construction boom initiated by increasing hydrocarbon revenues, namely, a chronic shortage of domestic as well as imported materials. This shortage is felt even more severely in Tobago due to its location "at the end of the line", and especially small establishments without contractors as opposed to large, well-planned projects. It is the small entrepreneur, together with the private residential builder, who is supplied last with these scarce products.

6.3 Social Impact

Social and cultural strains caused by tourism cover a wide range of issues and are sometimes closely related to economic problems. Examples quoted by Bryden (1973:1) are

...the distortion of indigenous cultural expressions, the conversion of small farmers into wage labourers due to the high land prices which tourism creates and associated alienation of land, perpetuation of racial inequities and the erosion of dignity.

Chapter 5 stressed the relatively high level of awareness, the government of Trinidad and Tobago showed in that respect. As has been pointed out in the discussion of the economic impact (Section 6.2), tourism also cannot be attributed as the main cause for all social problems a developing country or region encounters. They must, to a large extent be credited to the industrialization process in general. However, it is true that many of these problems grow more severe under the impact of tourism development, because the tourism product can only be consumed "at the place of production", implying direct contact between the producer (=host) and the consumer (=guest, visitor).

More research in that matter needs to be done. Ten years ago, a pilot study on the social impact of tourism in Tobago (Abdulah, Cole and Sigurdsson, 1974), surveyed the three major groups of actors involved; the tourists, the workers in the tourist industry, and school children representing the opinion of the Tobagonian population. Since then, no further studies have materialized.

The commonly used method of observing crime and divorce rates cannot be applied in Tobago, partly because a lack of data and partly, because crime against tourists is not an issue.

Before the social interactions between the hosts and guests are examined in detail, the model below specifies the frequently observed lack of understanding and the communicational barrier between these two groups due to the connection between their divergent outlook on life, in general, and

on the leisure/recreation syndrome.

6.3.1 The Work/Leisure Attitude in the Course of Industrial Development

The different perspectives can be made explicit through Wall's work/leisure concept in conjunction with Bell's stages of industrial development (see Fig. 6.1). Wall's model focuses on individuals, for whom he observed on a "...general philosophical level... a continuum of perspectives..." between the poles of the "...protestant work ethic..." and "...work as - necessary evil..." (1974:4). According to Bell (1973), the primary agent of social change in our present world is industrialism. The leisure/recreation syndrome can be considered as one of its outcomes. As the new model attempts to monitor changes in the prevailing attitudes of societies towards leisure and recreation, it is appropriate to add a historical perspective by categorizing societies into pre-industrial, industrial, and post-industrial stages.¹⁾

Present societies rarely reflect any one of the stages exactly. Most ldc's are best characterized as early-industrial, whilst the developed countries of North America and Europe would be better classified as later-industrial. These two transitory stages have been ac-

1) The "pre-industrial society is dependent on raw labor power and the extraction of primary resources from nature" (Bell, 1973:X); the "Industrial society is organized around the axis of production and machinery for the fabrication of goods;" (Bell, 1973:X); "The post-industrial society consists of a service economy mainly" (Bell 1973:14). Bell does not mention that recreation and tourism are two increasingly important sectors of the service industry.

Fig. 6.1

WORK/LEISURE ATTITUDE IN THE COURSE OF
"Industrial Development"

Stage of Industrial. Development Use of dis- posable time		PRE - INDUSTRIAL	Early ind.	INDUSTRIAL	Later ind.	POST - INDUSTRIAL
WORK		Necessary to support living		Protestant ! Work ethic • status = success		Necessary evil to accumulate resources for
L E I S U R E	Inactive (leisure)	!				low status
	Active Recreation	Only random (elitist behaviour)		only to perform work better again		Skills = ! high • status

W. Haider, 1982

! Emphasized use of time
Shifting line of emphasis
▶▶▶ Traditional
◀◀◀ present option

counted for in the above model and the gradual process of change it is supposed to observe. No attempt has been made to describe the much more complex work/leisure attitude of these stages, which contrast greatly between various countries.

The model suggests that people of the pre-industrial stage place a greater emphasis on inactive leisure (in German: MuBe). (The exception can be seen in the ruling class, who have the means to afford more active recreation). In contrast, during industrialization, the emphasis shifts to "work"; and if trends in post-war Europe and North America are interpreted correctly, during the late-industrial stage, one should see more and more attention being paid to an actively used leisure time.¹⁾ At the moment it cannot be ascertained whether this "trend to recreation" is only a temporary phenomenon of the late-industrial stage, possibly occurring because people are doubtful of future conditions and often therefore flee into a "...leisure/travel/recreation spending panic..." (van Doren, 1981). Whether we are experiencing the emergence of a truly new life-style in which "Travel is considered a right, not just a privilege." (van Doren, 1981), as has been assumed in the model, remains to be seen.

The subsequent arrival at the various stages describes the "traditional" evolution of the work/leisure attitude. Recent examples from various ldc's suggest that the successive traversing of the stages as described in the model does not currently occur. Instead industrial and post-industrial work/leisure attitudes develop con-

1) Compare van Doren (1981), who reached the same conclusion in his historical perspective covering the US only.

comitant to the simultaneous growth of the secondary and tertiary sector.

This model has a multiple relevance for the thesis:

- (1) The changing attitudes and expectations of tourists, who originate mainly from late-industrial societies, will have an important impact on the tourist product and must be taken into consideration in any future tourism planning.
- (2) The recently emerging domestic tourism sector of Trinidad and Tobago provides an excellent example for the immediate emergence of a post-industrial work/leisure attitude.
- (3) International tourism to ldc's results in contact between members of a late-industrial society and people of an early industrial society. Domestic tourism within ldc's, which originates from the major urban centers has a similar appearance. Both initiate important changes in the lesser developed area (Maurer, 1979:12) and the model provides a useful tool for discussion of such changes.

6.3.2 Hosts and Guests

For any analysis, the host population must be distinguished into those who have formal contact with tourists, i.e. employees of the tourist industry, and those experiencing only informal contact. To this latter form of contact virtually the entire host population is exposed. As will be shown, the nature of contact and attitude towards tourists and tourism vary significantly between these two groups.

Of the Tobagonians having formal contact with tourists, only the employees of the accommodation sector have been surveyed in regard to job satisfaction and the contact with tourists (Cole and Sigurdson, 1974). One of the most striking results is the marked difference in job satisfaction for employees in large hotels (53%) as opposed to guesthouses (6%). Reasons given are the higher income available in large tourist enterprises, the better promotional possibilities, the higher status of the job, job security as well as the more formalized working atmosphere.

Thus 10 years ago the personal opinion of employees stood in direct contrast to the many suggestions of social science research, that small indigenously owned accommodations have a more positive impact (i.e. on the dignity of people). There is no reason to suspect a significant change of the employee's attitude, which simply reflects the desire for modernization, and which is obvious in many early-industrial countries. With tourist industry employees, certain "adaption problems" can also be observed, which they themselves are not aware of, because they remain on a subconscious level. One hotel manager described this dilemma hotel employees face:

Tobagonians are friendly people and like to welcome foreigners to their island. But when they have to work in the anonymity of a dining room in front of a hundred or more people, they "set up" a mask to protect themselves.

This mask of looking "cool" is then often perceived as unfriendliness by the guests, who rank good service (including smiling personnel) as a top priority for a positive holiday experience (Abdulah, 1974).

Informal contacts between guests and Tobagonians occur in many forms, ranging from seeing tourists to having a longer conversation. Cole (1974) chose to survey school children as representatives of the general opinion Tobagonians have concerning tourism and tourists. She found that many students had difficulties with the concept of domestic tourism, because they generally did not regard their fellow countrymen from Trinidad as tourists. Below, the summary data are listed for how often they "see" and how frequently and intensively they have contact with tourists:

Table 6.5

CONTACT BETWEEN VISITORS AND TOBAGONIANS

	Awareness	Direct contact
Frequently	66%	10%
Sometimes	19	29
Occasionally	14	33
Never	1	28
	100%	100%

Source: Cole, 1974

Table 6.6

Nature of Contact

Giving general directions	57%
Asked about way of life	3%
Other (e.g.name, photo)	<u>40%</u>
	100%

Source: Cole, 1974

These two tables show that the awareness of tourists is very high, but the volume of contact is low and remains very superficial. This is further emphasized by the fact that 57% see tourists "mostly driving around in taxis". It only can be supposed that contact of Tobagonian adults with tourists is to a certain degree more intensive, because of the level of conversation.¹⁾

Furthermore, Tobagonian youths do not regard the jobs the tourist industry offers as very desirable. If they could be free to choose, only 6% would like to work in the hotel industry (compared to 66% who would choose public sector employment).²⁾

This low figure is only partly due to an anti-tourist attitude, but must be explained by the perception of hotel jobs as being menial, dirty and degrading.

Two tables in Appendix 9 show the attitude of school children towards tourists and tourism respectively (the tables speak very much for themselves and do not require much more detailed interpretation). It is no surprise that the attitude towards West Indian black tourists were generally more favourable than towards foreign white.

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- 1) It was the author's experience that "Lowlanders" are generally very receptive to longer conversations with tourists that can lead beyond the usual topics of weather and way of life.
 - 2) Most discouraging is the knowledge that only 40% would like to stay on the island at all.

In the evaluation of the tourist phenomenon, the prevailing opinion regarding the economic prospects reflected the realistic view that no alternative existed to provide work and income other than the tourism sector. However, non-economic rewards were viewed rather ambivalently, particularly regarding questions 6 and 7 in Appendix 9.2.

Cole (1974) could not verify her hypothesis that the socio-economic background of students determined their perception of and attitude towards tourists and tourism. The only significant difference observed was related to residential location of the students. Students from St. Patrick (the parish encompasses most of the Lowlands, excluding Scarborough) had a consistently more favourable outlook towards the two phenomena than respondents from other parishes, whose answers depicted a high degree of inconsistency.

Cole (1974) concluded that tourism in Tobago is an "enclave industry" which

...is institutionalized in such a way that the average tourist does not have much opportunity for interaction with the local population beyond their purely service roles.

Spatial separation and integration of accommodation will be discussed in the following section.

One form of contact which has not received much attention from the side of social research, can be observed between those Tobagonians who sell a wide range of products (Corals, Carvings, Bananas, Coconuts) on a very informal basis to the tourists along the beach. Comparing the attitude and actions of these Tobagonians to the practices usual in many other destinations, the former must be credited with the way in which they maneuver the

tourist into buying their wares (author's experience).

The most aggravating form of social contact, which is quoted most frequently by groups opposed to tourism, is the beach boy phenomenon. In Tobago it is mainly confined to the Crown Point area (3% the hotel workers identified "moral corruption" as a problem; Cole and Sigurdson, 1974).

6.3.3 Spatial Segregation or Integration of Accommodations

There is no need to discuss this dualistic concept to its very extreme, because the decision for integrated development was made when the government emphasized that it is the people of Trinidad and Tobago who invite foreigners to share their way of life and the beauty of the islands (Borrell, 1979:7), and legislated that all tourist facilities must be accessible to the public¹⁾.

However, a high level of autarky is visible in resort hotels (Chapter 3.1), which attempt to provide as much familiarity as possible to their guests, and in so doing, produce an environment that is new and unfamiliar for Tobagonians. Thus, Cole's (1974) finding, that only 27% of the respondents saw tourists on the beach and only 11% in hotels, proves the effectiveness of these invisible social barriers.

Unfortunately, no more recent survey regarding contact between Tobagonians and visitors is available, which would take into account eventual changes due to the recent emergence of guesthouses and small hotels.

1) The exception to the rule of all beaches being public is Pigeon Point, probably the most beautiful beach, located next to Buccoo Reef, which is owned privately and an entry fee is charged.

Although these are mainly geared towards domestic tourism white foreigners constitute a minority clientele, who voluntarily chooses this more indigenous form of accommodation, not only for its more reasonable price, but for the different atmosphere and the informal contacts it provides with local people (informal interviews with clientele).

If small accommodation development is to be further emphasized, the question is, how dispersed should their locations be. While a high degree of decentralization will spread the economic benefits and employment opportunities more evenly over the region, their profitability may be jeopardized by rapidly increasing costs for infra- and superstructure. In social terms, a more dispersed location implies that tourist ghettos are less likely to emerge and contact between host and guests is more likely to occur. This more frequent contact still does not allow any conclusion on its quality, which depends on the right attitude of both sides. One key factor for improved understanding between hosts and guests is to improve knowledge about the other's motivations. The role accommodations can play in that respect is shown by one cottage owner, who displayed a "House Information Booklet" in all his rooms, which gives his guests, constituting of Trinidadians as well as foreign whites, first instructions

for contact with local people.¹⁾

6.3.4 Impact of Domestic Tourism

Economically, for an island like Tobago, where tourism is the only major resource, the growing demand for additional small scale accommodations created by domestic tourism provides an additional source of income, which at the same time eases the seasonality problem for large accommodations, and much of the support industries. At the same time, the existence of a domestic resort area contributes to a more positive national travel account, as the growing demand for leisure travel which accrues in the course of industrial development can be satisfied at home. It also is one mode of redistributing national income.

Socially, domestic tourism can act as an integrating force strengthening national sentiment by contributing to mutual understanding between the Trinidadians and Tobagonians. However, the different background of people may generate additional cultural, social and moral stresses and

- 1) The House Information Booklet points out the sights in the neighbourhood, how they can be visited and which precaution for further preservation should be taken, and gives "Hints towards Local People":

The people here are friendly and easy going, but a few will always try to get something for nothing. Do not allow your friendliness to cause you embarrassment. People here are quite willing to sit on your porch and talk, but they do not take polite hints that you are tired and want to go to bed or have a meal or whatever. To get rid of anyone overstaying their welcome, one must say quite firmly "Good bye". No one will feel hurt by this and you will lose no friends.

(The Turpin's, Charlotteville)

Finally it is emphasized that local people should be asked in a polite manner for their agreement if photographs are to be taken.

can lead to misunderstanding and distrust.

The increasing number of Trinidadian visitors creates a number of these problems. In the course of the interviews, a number of managers indicated that they preferred foreign tourists in their accommodations to Trinidadian guests, explaining their attitude not only by the lower profits Trinidadians bring (because they must offer them more favourable rates), but because their fellow countrymen are generally more careless and dirty in their rooms, steal more appliances, are noisier, and act "superior". Particularly the latter point is relevant for the relationship between Tobagonian and Trinidadian tourists in general. Thus, tourism allows new tensions to emerge between the more traditional way of life and

...the modern way of life and behaviour of the emerging urban national bourgeoisie, which constitutes the large majority of leisureoriented domestic tourism... (Maurer, 1980:47).

instead of having a

...positive nation building effect by allowing domestic tourists ... to discover the richness and the diversity of their own culture. (Maurer, 1980:45)

This "new" Trinidadian attitude of showing a feeling of cultural superiority provides an excellent example for the dynamics described in the previous model (Section 6.3.1). In the course of rapid industrialization, late industrial leisure-recreation behaviour is accepted immediately and imposed with full force on the peripheral area of the nation, without the actors having learned to

appreciate tradition and cultural diversity.

Another aspect is the close proximity between the two islands measured in travel time, leading to the development of urban hinterland features (i.e. "cottage country") in the peripheral region. This new form of land use certainly has much lower financial returns for the regional economy, puts considerable strain on the infrastructure and, if the development becomes too intensive, it stands in direct contrast to conventional tourism development. Whilst the improved accessibility of Tobago furthermore allows Trinidadians to bring along their own cars, the improvement of Tobago's road network cannot keep up with such increasing numbers. The cheaper and less controllable boat link between the two islands also attracts criminal elements to Tobago. These last two points give rise to a certain feeling of animosity from the side of the general Tobagonian public, who have started to complain and now perceive Trinidadians more and more as another alien element visiting their island. Their view contained a clear message:

We are aware of the financial benefits we derive from being one nation with Trinidad, we also are glad to welcome our fellow countrymen and foreigners alike to our beautiful island, because they no longer have got this environment, but we are not going to let them destroy our way of life.

(Informal interview)

6.3.5 Demonstration Effect

The demonstration effect is a concept used mainly to

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2.8

3.2

3.6

4.0

2.5

2.2

2.0

1.8

4

describe the economic aspect of tourist spending. It is thought of as

any systematic force which tends both to diminish domestic savings and to increase imports of consumer goods...

(Varley, 1978:98)

The same idea can be applied to social issues identified above, when local people copy the behaviour demonstrated by tourists. As has been explained already, not all the blame for this changing behavioural pattern of the locals can be attributed to tourism, particularly in respect to the changing lifestyle and consumption patterns; mass media like television, travel of Tobagonians abroad, and letter contact with and occasional visits by emigrants contribute towards this "demonstration" of the industrial lifestyle. No detailed data are available to measure the intensity of the economic or social demonstration effect in Tobago.

In the following, the argument shall be made that over the past decade, Tobagonians developed a certain resistance to the temptations of the "modern way of life". While the period of initial industrialization has been attributed with a strong desire among the majority of the population of a developing country for modernization regardless of cost, "life in Tobago moves slower", and indeed, due to the long existing openness of the society, a number of people have achieved a certain level of awareness, that modernization alone cannot be the ultimate goal (informal interviews). Given the experience of Trinidad right next door, this growing insight helps Tobagonians to overcome the otherwise inevitable inferiority complex and makes them more happy and content with their way of life.

Rather they would appreciate "selective" development, emphasizing physical and social infrastructure.

It is too early to assess the impact of returning emigrants from North America. A number of them invested their savings into small accommodations and they want to use their wider horizon, by participating in the planning process and by educating the general Tobagonian public in that regard.

6.4 An Assessment of Small Accommodations

The designated purpose of this study was to analyse and evaluate the differences between large scale, foreign dominated luxury resort hotels, and the various forms of more indigenous accommodations. The advantages and disadvantages of small hotels and guesthouses in Tobago are summarized below.

Small accommodations in Tobago have the following socio-economic advantages:

- (1) in terms of capital requirement they are more labour intensive than luxury hotels;
- (2) they have a greater affinity to the regional as well as the national economy;
- (3) they allow for a higher degree of local participation;
- (4) they constitute an indigenous product, and can be considered as "appropriate technology" (Britton, 1977);
- (5) they allow for an expansion in accordance with the growth of demand and the "readiness" of the population;
- (6) they attract a clientele that does not introduce a set of negative social effects to the same degree as visitors to resort hotels do;
- (7) they maximize the visitor's holiday experience (Britton, 1977);

- (8) they attract two distinct clienteles, arriving at complementary times.

Drawbacks and weaknesses of small-scale development are:

- (1) the job satisfaction of employees is comparatively low in small hotels and particularly in guesthouses;
- (2) a low employment productivity (this has not been verified for Tobago, but Seon, 1975:21, has observed it for the entire Caribbean in comparison with other holiday resort areas);
- (3) a lack of managerial skill can be observed in many establishments, and is reflected in poorly trained staff;
- (4) many establishments cannot afford professional services for all aspects of their operations (e.g. planning, maintenance, marketing);
- (5) their market, which is a small segment of the whole, is difficult to identify;
- (6) their marketability suffers from a lack of standardization (Seon, 1975:58).

The same evaluation applies to condominiums, which exist on a large and medium scale as well as cottages, with the addition, that these are generally less labour intensive. For this reason, further condominium development cannot be recommended, despite the growing international demand for self-catering accommodation, while moderate development of some locally owned cottages should constitute an additional attraction, complementing the product of upgraded guesthouses, which will be proposed below.

The conclusion to be derived from this summary is, that from a regional and national point of view, the overall economic and social impact of smaller accommodations is more

beneficial than that of resort hotels. Therefore these smaller accommodations are the most desirable form of accommodation, if an expansion of the tourism industry is planned.

However, a further decision must be made between accommodations of category II (small hotels and large upgraded guesthouses) and category III (guesthouses). The latter constitutes the most indigenous element of the entire accommodation sector as it is highly integrated into the regional economy, while the former, particularly the larger establishments, can be perceived as an indigenous national tourism product.

Category III can be stereotyped as an organically grown product, as local entrepreneurs react to the growing demand from Trinidad, for a basic form of accommodation. Category II, on the other hand, partly consists of upgraded guesthouses (providing some additional services), partly of small hotels (20 - 30 rooms), some of which are a form of investment for Trinidadians, rather than a means of livelihood for Tobagonians. Due to their differing organizational structure and the wider range of services offered, this category attracts a significant number of foreigners. Thus the principal question arises, why these establishments should be interested in a foreign clientele, if they are viable through domestic tourism. First, Chapter 4 revealed that the two groups of clientele are complementary in terms of seasonal arrivals, a fact that contributes to higher occupancy rates and increasing profitability. Second, the argument that foreign white tourists are socially more disruptive than Trinidadians is not supported.

The reason for the almost negligible international clientele in small guesthouses is that the only international tourists interested in this basic form of accommodation are explorers and wanderers (Cohen, 1974). These people

do not visit Trinidad and Tobago in significant numbers for a variety of reasons: the government as well as the public do not regard them as desirable clients through fear of negative social impact; at the same time, wanderers and explorers are more attracted to other, cheaper places, where a greater variety of experiences may be available.

In contrast, most beach holiday tourists demand some basic amenities, for example showers, which, once available, automatically qualify such an establishment for category II. These upgraded guesthouses must be regarded as the form of accommodation not only optimizing the impact of tourists upon the host community but also possessing a sound internal economic basis.

But the simple provision of these amenities is not sufficient to attract a significant number of international tourists, because the direct contact between producers and consumers is largely interrupted by the travel intermediaries (level 3 in the model provided in Chapter 1). These intermediaries are interested in accruing profits on a large scale and demand an immediately finished product, which would not evolve under present conditions.

Therefore, small accommodations in general, and upgraded guesthouses in particular can only be introduced to the international market if they are planned carefully. One strategy will be outlined in the following chapter.

6.5 Summary

Chapter 6 revealed that the assessment of tourism impact is a complex and ambivalent issue, because no commonly accepted guidelines have been established. Economically, tourism is an important foreign exchange earner, but due to the meagrely developed linkages to other sectors of the

national economy, the net benefits accrued do not match the expectations. It is particularly in this respect, that indigenous small accommodations compare favourably to luxury resort hotels.

An objective assessment of the social impact is more difficult. As for most other Caribbean islands, tourism in Tobago is a critical issue, because memory of the recent colonial period makes local people sensitive to newly emerging pressures from outside. However, the evidence collected in this chapter suggests that particularly in respect to tourism development in Tobago, small indigenous accommodations are more likely to be socially less disruptive than large hotels.

As beaches, climate and friendly people are the only significant resources of this island, there can be little doubt that further development in Tobago will occur in the tourist sector. The upgraded guesthouse has been praised as the most valuable form of development. However it requires a careful strategy of development for successful implementation. This strategy will be outlined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7 A STRATEGY FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UPGRADED GUESTHOUSES

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 6.4 identified upgraded guesthouses as the form of accommodation with the most beneficial overall impact for Tobago. Furthermore it was recognized that in the complex system of modern international tourism, this accommodation can be competitive, if all the additional features of beach holiday tourism demand are available in its immediate surrounding.

Thus, the upgraded guesthouses should offer most of the following features and amenities:

- (1) close proximity to the beach;
- (2) showers, preferable with warm water during part of the day;
- (3) comfortable rooms;
- (4) porch or balcony for the common use of guests.

Ideally, these establishments should be dispersed enough to avoid the emergence of a new form of tourist ghetto, but suitably concentrated to allow the economic provision of infra- and superstructure.

7.2 Tasks for the Private Sector

7.2.1 Ownership and Construction

The upgraded guesthouse is a small enterprise, owned and operated privately, preferably by the same local person(s), for which it provides a livelihood, rather than a form of investment. The size of the establishment may vary, depending on individual preferences, labour availa-

bility and size of lot. A size below eight rooms does not seem economically justifiable, while 14 rooms is the legally defined upper limit.

The physical appearance of the building should emphasize Caribbean architecture, by rejecting designs and material which are inappropriate to the island (Britton, 1977). However, the use of indigenous material is unusual in Tobago.

7.2.2 Provision of the Superstructure

Support industries are essential in order to attract international beach holiday tourists. These businesses provide additional employment opportunities for the family members of guesthouses, who are not employed full-time, as well as for other Tobagonians. Services of the superstructure must include:

- (1) Restaurants, which can either be adjacent to guesthouses, or independent.
- (2) Snackbars and coffee shops can be located on the beach, or along the roads. Their viability needs no discussion and they must be regarded as excellent places for first contacts between Tobagonians and tourists.
- (3) Transport facilities, preferably in the form of minibuses provide connections to the airport, the town, beaches and other sights. They particularly offer opportunities for part-time employment.
- (4) Water sport activities should include boat tours, which have been identified as one truly indigenous support industry, and a diving shop with rental equipment and instruction. Motor boat rental cannot be recommended because a large number of them could

interfere with other recreational activities. As mentioned, some support industries are suited ideally for individual entrepreneurs. In order to overcome high investment cost for sophisticated equipment (e.g. diving and minibuses), cooperative arrangements should be encouraged for others.

7.3 Tasks for the Public Sector

The most recent development plan (National Physical Development Plan, 1978:II, 157) contains a "Strategy for Tourism Development", which strongly recommends to change the "existing package of incentives" (accused of being geared towards the international model of tourism) to a form, more beneficial for smaller facilities, which are suited for the domestic market. This would still allow

...for the perpetuation of that element of foreign tourism which can adapt to the model of tourism which is socially and economically desirable. (National Physical Development Plan, 1978:II,157)

The role of the public sector should concentrate on the provision of infrastructure, such as roads, electricity and water, and on the incentives to and guidance of private activity.

7.3.1 Incentives and Guidance

Incentives shall be available for the further development of all types of accommodations, including guesthouses, in order "...to produce the appropriate forms of development in the desired geographical areas.", which are not further specified. Furthermore the plan suggests:

...with adequate public sector encouragement rural communities can participate in development of the tourism sector through the creation of cooperatives and additive housing programmes (which would also raise the quality of rural built development and level of household facilities.
(National Physical Development Plan, 1978:II,157).

No more detailed information of actual public sector intentions is available.

Rumors that a least one other 100 rooms hotel will be constructed (possible site is Rockly Bay, south of Black Rock), alternate with those that one beach (Milford Bay) will be confined for guesthouse development (only written source for this proposal: World Bank, 1974).

If further guesthouse development is the true intention of the government, then a more detailed policy of incentives and guidance should contain the following:

- (1) encouragement of people to participate in guesthouse development;
- (2) if one person intends to construct a guesthouse in an inferior location (for example, because of land ownership), incentives for a relocation of the project should be provided;
- (3) the provision of an entire area close to a beach is preferable;
- (4) in the initial stage of planning, professional consulting should be provided in order to produce an "upgraded guesthouse" that is able to attract foreigners alike;
- (5) incentives should consider the formation of cooperative for the provision of superstructure.

7.3.2 Marketing

It is the designated role of the Tourist Board to support all enterprises of the tourism sector alike. Thus, the Board should become more actively involved in aiding guesthouse development by

- (1) supervising and controlling the standards in the individual establishments, in order to make the product saleable;
- (2) distributing a price-list and additional promotional material through overseas offices;
- (3) attempting to attract the interest of travel wholesalers and agents who specialize in small group tours or individual travellers;
- (4) guaranteeing the standard of the product abroad.

A cooperatively organized marketing board is conceivable (i.e. Guesthouse Association), but in the case of Trinidad and Tobago this would imply the duplication of already existing services. During the early 70s this approach was practiced in Jamaica and Barbados (Seon, 1975:65-68), but no updated information on their performance or existence could be acquired.

One truly national element with considerable power in the international tourism industry is the national air carrier of Trinidad and Tobago (BWIA). Unfortunately, this airline, which is heavily subsidized from public sources, has no interest in less profitable national concerns. BWIA offers packaged tours to the resort hotels and some category II establishments in Tobago; other activities in the accommodation sector are directed abroad (i.e. participation in an hotel project in Antigua).

Section 4.3. showed, that besides beaches and climate,

the secondary attractions Tobago has to offer are friendly people and quietness. This latter aspect is already used promotionally by the Tourist Board in various advertisement campaigns. The Tourist Board should be further encouraged to emphasize these secondary resources, particularly in combination with the promotion of small accommodations, which would further distinguish Tobago's image from that of the average Caribbean. This product is of interest to a minor market segment of international tourism only, but nevertheless it exists. The demand for small accommodations (at least small hotels) has been verified recently for the entire Caribbean (Travel and Tourism Consultants, 1982: Vol.2, IV-75). This study described clients of small hotels as particularly interested in solace, one of Tobago's major assets. Furthermore, it also disproves the frequently made argument, that small hotel visitors are of less spending power. In contrast, clients of small hotels are described as caring less about the cost of their holiday (:IV-75).

7.4 Summary

Due to the complex system of international tourism, the above outlined complex strategy seems the only feasible way to introduce guesthouses successfully into the international tourism market. Emphasis must be put on simultaneous introduction of all elements of the system, because the failure of one may discredit the entire plan. Opposition from established firms of the international tourism business community may only be passive, but can also take forms of blackmailing against the government or various economic sectors closely affiliated with tourism.

However, such a threat should be only of minor concern

to the government of Trinidad and Tobago, as this country does not rely heavily on conventional international tourism. It is in that context, that Trinidad and Tobago could accomplish some pioneer work, relevant for many other developing countries.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The central theme of this thesis was the comparative analysis of accommodations, in order to identify advantages and weaknesses of small establishments. The first chapter provided a theoretical explanation of the tourist phenomenon and a rationale for a study of accommodations in Tobago. Furthermore, a conceptual model, based on Hills and Lundgren's ideas was presented as the framework within which the study was conducted. This framework determined to a large degree the further division of the various chapters.

After a brief description of Tobago's tourism resources in Chapter 2, an analysis of the entire tourism sector was conducted in Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6. Chapter 3 contained a structural analysis of accommodation, which was based on a mailed questionnaire, and interviews and material collected during fieldwork. Three categories of hotels and guesthouses have been distinguished. Chapter 4 surveyed the visitors to Trinidad and Tobago in general, and to the various establishments, while Chapter 6 discussed the impact exerted by tourism on Tobago, and the implications that the various categories of accommodation have in economic and social terms. The political and institutional framework within which the tourism sector operates has been presented in Chapter 5. Chapter 7 contained a strategy for the implementation of upgraded guesthouses, in order to make them feasible for the international market.

Resort hotels (Category I) have been characterized as being foreign dominated. In the context of Trinidad and Tobago, this does not necessarily imply foreign ownership, but a generally high level of dependence on foreign ideas and skills for the construction and management, as well as supplies. Furthermore, resort hotel clientele mainly comprises international beach holiday tourists, who visit

the Caribbean during the winter months, usually by chartered tour. The entire mode of operation of such hotels is closely affiliated with the system of international tourism as described in Chapter 1.

Category II was identified as encompassing a variety of small hotels and upgraded guesthouses, varying considerably in size. It has been established that small hotels constitute a recently emerged form of Trinidadian investment, while upgraded guesthouses are Tobagonian owned. However, the similar services offered justified classification in one category. The majority of their clientele are Trinidadian, although during the winter months they receive a fair share of international tourists. While some of them are chartered, tour contractors, others rely on individual travellers or travel agent bookings. Their capital requirements are much lower particularly in terms of investment/employee, and their mode of operation has stronger links with other domestic economic sectors.

It has been shown, that all guesthouses of category III are Tobagonian owned. Together with small cottages they constitute the indigenous form of accommodations, and must be given credit for their close links to the local economy. Their clientele is mainly Trinidadian, but foreigners staying in these basic establishments are tourists with a strong interest in encountering a different way of life and meeting people, thus contributing less to the "demonstration effect" and overall negative social impact.

The conclusion of this analysis is that although small guesthouses of category III represent the only indigenous form of accommodation, the most desirable is the upgraded guesthouse, of which few examples exist. Its major asset is its potential to attract both domestic and international clientele. It can be foreseen that more category

III guesthouses will be refurbished over time, but it must be doubted whether the mere existence of the accommodation will suffice to attract international visitors. Beach holiday tourists demand certain amenities along with the accommodation as well and only the supply of a complete product will enable a destination - in this case Tobago - to penetrate the system of international tourism. There is no reason to suppose that international tourism will divert from "bulk movement of travellers" and its integrated corporated structure. Emphasis must be laid on offering a complete product, which is the responsibility of the public and the private sector of a developing country. A marketing strategy must be developed to penetrate the structure of the international market, which would require full assistance from the government.

Trinidad and Tobago has provided an excellent example for the basic connection between industrial development and the emergence of a domestic demand for recreation. In Trinidad and Tobago this demand appears as domestic tourism. Due to the geographic separation of the two islands, at the moment visitors from the urban centre have no choice but to stay with friends or use commercial accommodation. The development of typical recreational facilities, like second homes, is in progress already, and the emergence of others, like camping, can be foreseen in the future. Intensive development of these land uses can stand in contrast to traditional tourism and careful planning of the two is essential. However, it must be stressed again, that in Tobago, the two presently existing forms of tourism are largely complementary, because they demand similar accommodation, infra- and superstructure, and volumes of the two clientele peak at different times. In Tobago, all types and categories of accommodation profit from this.

situation, which initially encouraged the recent development of small guesthouses.

As development, inevitably connected to industrialization, in one form or another, is the ultimate goal of all ldc's, a similar pattern of increasing domestic recreational demand can be predicted parallel to their progress in development. In other Caribbean islands, a similar, dual based tourism industry may be expected, but domestic clientele will be replaced by West Indians from other islands.

The connection between domestic and international tourism is more complex for other ldc's, where centre and hinterland are geographically connected and where the recreational and/or tourist potential of the periphery may be very different. But even so, the development of certain areas for domestic tourism should be considered as an integrated part of the development strategy of those countries, in order to avoid the loss of foreign exchange by the travel of nationals abroad, and as means of redistributing national income. This development of domestic tourist resources can be made more feasible, if a specific country can identify a market segment of international tourism interested in that product. Once that segment is identified, then a marketing strategy must be developed. In regard to this last step, the major obstacles for such a country can be considered as very similar to those identified for Tobago.

APPENDIX 1

ACCOMMODATION SURVEY OF TOBAGO
Sample of the Questionnaire

(Original on 14" paper)

Carleton University
Ottawa, Canada K1S 5B6

August 22, 1980

Dear owner/manager,

as a graduate student at Carleton University in Ottawa, I am writing my thesis on "Tourism Prospects in Tobago". Since this study shall be a survey of the various forms of accommodation on your island, the answer of every - however big or small - establishment is essential for a correct picture of the present stage of the touristic development. Therefore please use the self-addressed return envelope for mailing the completed questionnaire back to Canada. An "International Reply Coupon", which is good for the purchase of one stamp at your post office is enclosed as well.

Some questions might sound inappropriate to your particular establishment. This is due to the different kinds and sizes of accommodation this questionnaire is constructed for. Please try to answer all questions as accurately as possible. In case you want to add another category or answer to a certain question so that it is more suitable to your establishment, feel free to do so.

A NOTE ON CONFIDENTIALITY

I guarantee you confidential treatment of your answers. No information concerning a particular establishment will be published or released to a third person.

You will notice a code number on your questionnaire. This code number will only be used to facilitate the follow-up techniques and to prevent you from receiving bothersome reminder letters.

If you have any questions, please write to Wolfgang Haider, Department of Geography, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada K1S 5B6.

I appreciate your time and cooperation and look forward to receiving your completed questionnaire.

Thank you for your help,

yours sincerely,

Wolfgang Haider

Carleton University
Ottawa, Canada K1S 5B6

August 20, 1980

Dear Sir or Madam,

I would be grateful if you could assist Mr. Wolfgang Haider who is a graduate student in the Department of Geography at this University. He is conducting research into the nature of tourism in the Caribbean with particular focus on Tobago. You can help Mr. Haider with his research by filling out the questionnaire that he has compiled.

This Department fully supports Mr. Haider's project and endorses his request for your assistance in the collection of data. We give the assurance that your privacy will be respected. Your responses will be released only in aggregated form along with the responses of others, thus your place of business will not be pin-pointed. The purpose of doing this is so that you can feel free to give a full response to the questionnaire.

Thank you for any assistance that you can give to Mr. Haider.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. David B. Knight
Associate Professor
and Chairman

ACCOMMODATION SURVEY
of TOBAGO

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Conducted by: Wolfgang Haider, Department of Geography,
CARLETON UNIVERSITY, Ottawa, CANADA K1S 5B6

No. _____

I. CHARACTERISTIC OF GUESTS

Instruction: please list number of guests
in provided space below

- 1) What was the total number of guest arrivals in your establishment during 1979? _____
- 2) What was the total number of bednights (arrivals x. length of stay in nights) your establishment provided during 1979? _____
- 3) How many of your guests were registering as
single travellers	_____
couples	_____
families (at least one parent accompanied by one child)	_____
others (please specify).	_____
- 4) How many of your guests came by a package tour? _____
- 5) How many of your guests came by another form of pre-arranged travel? (please specify) _____
- 6) How many of your guests in 1979 were citizens of
Trinidad and Tobago	_____
other Caribbean	_____
Latin America (including Venezuela)	_____
USA	_____
Canada	_____
UK	_____
other Europe	_____
other	_____

II. ESTABLISHMENT CHARACTERISTICS AND HISTORY

- 7) Form of acquisition
o did the present owner build the accommodation	☐
o did the present owner buy the accommodation	☐
o other (please specify)	☐
- 8) In which year did the present owner acquire ownership? _____
- 9) In case of change in ownership, please indicate the year in which the establishment was originally opened. _____

please turn over

10) Form of ownership:

single person ☐
 group of persons ☐
 corporate ownership (please specify) ☐

11) Origin of owner (choose more than one if necessary)

Tobago ☐
 Trinidad ☐
 foreign (please specify) ☐

12) Form of management:

o management is performed by owner ☐
 o management is performed by family member of owner
 (family member = first or second grade relationship,
 regardless of living in same household or not) ☐
 o management is performed by salaried personnel ☐
 o management is performed by management firm ☐

13) Origin of manager (only to be answered if no relationship to owner exists:

Tobago ☐
 Trinidad ☐
 foreign (please specify) ☐

14) Size of establishment:

How many rooms does your establishment provide for renting? _____

How many persons can your establishment accommodate at one time? _____

15) To be answered by guesthouses only:

How many of the rooms you rented out during the peak-season of 1979 are occupied by family-members during the rest of the year? _____

16) Is your accommodation closed during the off-season? Yes ☐
No ☐

If yes, please indicate the time(s), your establishment has been closed during 1979.

from _____ to _____
 from _____ to _____

17) Location:

Does your establishment have direct access to the beach? Yes ☐
No ☐

If no, please give the approximate distance in feet or miles _____

III. INFRASTRUCTURE OF ESTABLISHMENT18) Which facilities does your accommodation have?
(please indicate the number of rooms for each type below)

toilet and bath in room _____
 toilet and hot shower in room _____
 toilet and cold water in room _____

please continue on next page

ACCOMMODATION SURVEY of TOBAGO

page 3

18) continued :

hot and cold water in room; toilet common
cold water only in room; toilet common
common toilet and bath/shower with hot and cold water
common toilet and bath/shower with cold water only.
airconditioning

19) Which other facilities does your establishment provide ?
(restaurant, bar, dining room, swimming pool, etc.)
Please list in space below and indicate whether the
the facility is open to the public or for use by
guests of the accommodation only.

20) During the time you have owned the establishment, did you
make any alterations to the physical infrastructure
of the building (e.g. add additional rooms, pipe water
into single rooms, add dining room etc.)
Please list below:

21) Which meals are available in your accommodation ?
(if choice is possible, please indicate by choosing
more than one)

AP American Plan (all meals).
MAP Modified American Plan (Breakfast and Dinner).
CP Continental Plan (Breakfast only).
EP European Plan (NO meals)

IV. STRUCTURE OF EMPLOYMENT

22) How many employees (not including family members) have
worked for your establishment during 1979 ?

	fulltime	parttime
all year		
seasonally		

parttime=
20 hours/week
or less

The establishment has no employees at all.

23) List in the table on reverse side of this questionnaire:

- o the type of work the employees are performing
- o the number of permanently and seasonally employed
for each type of work

please turn over

23) continued:

Type of work	number employed	
	all year	seasonally

The following questions 24) and 25) are only to be answered if the owner of the establishment acts as manager, or the management is performed by a family member of the owner.

24) How many family members are working in the establishment ?

	fulltime	parttime
all year		
seasonally		

25) How many household members are employed outside your establishment ?

	fulltime	parttime
all year		
seasonally		

26) What are your personal opinions on the touristic development of Tobago at the present and for the future ?
Please feel free to write any comments on this page or on additional paper !

APPENDIX 2

Functional Mechanism of Tourist Movement

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

EXPLANATORY NOTE

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

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

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

(Hills and Lundgren, 1977)

APPENDIX 3

HISTORIC TOBAGO

St. Andrew's Church, rebuilt after hurricane "Flora" in 1964.
Tombstone, the baffling Plymouth tombstone of 1783 to the memory of Betty Steven.

Fort. James, settled permanently by the British in 1763, but captured by the French and then finally won in 1802 by Britain.

Fort. Milford, built 1777, target of attacks by the French and by the American privateer "Oliver Cromwell".

Couronian Monument, erected in 1978 to commemorate the landing in 1654 of a party from the Baltic.

Studley Park Estate, Site of the British Capital in Tobago.

Dutch Fort Site of several forts established by Dutch settlers between 1654 and 1677.

Scarborough Court House, fine Georgian structure completed in 1825. Site of Tobago House of Assembly.

James Park, site of negotiation after munity and originally called Place des Armes.

Bird of Paradise Island, once a cotton plantation of the 1760's, since 1925 Bird Sanctuary under Government control.

Jan de Moor Bay, near the village of Charlotteville, site of several Dutch settlements.

Fort. George, largest fact on island, in Scarborough.

Scarborough Lighthouse.

Botanic Garden.

Source: Tourist Board, Chart in Central Office.

APPENDIX 4
LIST OF ACCOMMODATIONS IN TOBAGO

Name of accommodation	No of rooms a)			Distance to beach in m
	Early 1960	1971	1980	
Category I				
Arnos Vale Hotel	20	34	35	0
Crown Reef Hotel	X	X	122	0
Mount Irvin Bay Hotel	X	80	118	50
Turtle Beach Hotel	X	52	58	0
Crown Point on the Bay	53	86	82	0
No. of rooms in Cat.I	73	252	415	0
Category II				
Bacolet Inn	25	21	X	
Castle Cove	11	20	X	
Jan De Moor	X	13	X	
Robinson Crusoe	21	16	X	
Bird of Paradise Inn	16	16	14	200
Old Haven	X	7	7b)	100
Blue Waters Inn	X	11	11	0
Cocorico Inn	X	X	20	150
Tropikist Beach Hotel	X	X	28	800
Coral Reef Guesthouse	X	10	14	4000
Della Mira Guesthouse	11	14	14	500
Golden Thistle Gh	X	X	14	1000
Sunset Inn	X	10	28	0
Apartment Hotels and Condominiums (only 1980)				
Blue Haven	40	40	14b)	0
Sandy Point Beach Club	X	X	48	800
Store Bay Holiday Resort	X	X	10	800
Treasure Isle Condotel (before:TABC)	X	21	26	500
No. of rooms in Cat.II	124	182	248	680m average distance to beach

- a) Includes regular rooms and additional rooms or suites for Category I and II only.
 b) Closed at time of Survey.
 c) Considered as Category IIa in price analysis.
 d) Condonminium.

Sources: for 1960: West Indian and Caribbean Handbook 1965;
 for 1971: West Indian and Caribbean Handbook 1972;
 for 1980: Tourist Board Brochures; author's investigation.

APPENDIX 4

	No. of rooms			Distance to beach in m
	Early 1960s	1971	1980 e)	
Category III				
B'S Guesthouse			16	3,000
Buccoo Reef GH		8	9 2	50
Chance GH			8 3	s
Dillon's GH		7	7 3	100
Glenco GH			7 3	s
Gold Post			4 3	s
Hope's GH	11	11	10 1	s
Jacob's GH		8	10 2	s
Mill's GH		5	9 3	s
Miller's GH	9	13	12 2	50
Mt. Marie GH			8 3	1,500
Palm's View			6	1,500
Plaza GH			11	3,000
Public Service GH			12 4	s
Sea View GH			6	300
Shirl and Chap's GH			5	3,000
Spring Garden Inn			8 4	s
Sun Star Haven			14 2	s
				1,400m average distance to beach
Mrs. Braithlattes's			5f	
Bristol			5f	
Cooper			5f	
Hayley's			5f	
Mac Ville			5f	
Rooms in Cat. III			187 35	
Total No of rooms in Tobago			850	

e) No. of additional rooms
s... Guesthouse located in
Scarborough off Bacolet Street.
f... Estimate

Appendix 5: TOURIST FACILITIES IN TOBAGO

APPENDIX 6.1

VISITORS TO TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO
1951 - 1979

	Total No Of Visitors	Business Visitors	Holiday Visitors		
			Total	Hotel	Private
1951	17,719	1,941	15,778		
1952	17,917	2,261	15,656		
1953	21,010	2,026	18,984		
1954					
1955					
1956	28,318	4,684	23,634		
1957	33,945	4,784	29,161		
1958	43,145	6,109	37,036		
1959	49,447	7,362	42,085		
1960	48,296	8,079	40,218		
1961	45,482	7,467	38,020		
1962	47,512	7,750	39,762		
1963					
1964					
1965	57,920	10,990	46,930		
1966	66,190	11,000	55,190		
1967	77,790	13,800	63,990		
1968	91,660	14,310	77,350		
1969	96,710	14,490	76,020		
1970	88,530	15,000	71,700	32,810	38,890
1971	112,540	20,470	88,040	36,000	52,040
1972	115,290				
1973	127,150	19,120	104,700	35,160	69,540
1974	129,110	22,960	103,360	35,180	68,180
1975	132,610	22,140	107,360	32,030	75,330
1976	156,680	26,780	125,130	38,170	86,960
1977	169,010	28,350	136,250	40,320	95,930
1978	176,820	28,520	142,670	43,190	99,480
1979	190,060	34,900	150,110	36,780	113,330

Source: for 1951 - 1953: Tourist Board, Report for 1953;
for 1956 - 1957: Tourist Board, Report for 1958;
for 1958 - 1962: Central Statistical Office,
International Travel Report for
1961 and 1962;
for 1965 - 1968: EIU, International Tourism
Quarterly, No. 1/1977, p.29;
for 1969 - 1979: Central Statistical Office,
International Travel Reports for
individual years.

APPENDIX 6.2

ORIGIN OF HOLYDAY VISITORS

	US	Can	UK	Eu	Car	Ven	Other	Total
1951								
1952								
1953	3,838	680	1,188	612	5,275	5,806	1,595	18,984
1954								
1955								
1956	4,621	817	1,798	-	9,140	4,731	2,527	23,634
1957								
1958	9,257	749	1,214	247	13,752	9,925	1,892	37,036
1959	11,508	1,469	1,478	250	15,401	10,314		
1960	12,475	1,442	1,867	435	12,086	9,891		
1961	12,704	1,408	2,131	498	13,620	5,374	2,295	38,020
1962	14,038	1,432	2,235	386	14,293	4,883	2,495	39,762
no data available for 1963 to 1969								
1970	27,460	6,630	5,260	3,020	16,060	6,770	6,500	71,700
1971	31,680	9,740	6,290	3,820	21,910	7,130	7,470	88,040
1972								
1973	37,860	13,420	9,280	4,530	25,060	6,750	7,900	104,700
1974	37,580	13,790	10,160	4,390	24,240	6,020	7,180	103,360
1975	36,370	16,370	13,410	5,070	23,390	5,260	7,490	107,360
1976	40,890	18,730	14,480	6,950	26,570	7,860	9,550	125,130
1977	44,800	20,990	13,510	8,190	27,670	10,830	10,260	136,250
1978	48,230	21,690	13,660	8,860	28,420	11,120	10,590	142,670
1979	47,680	22,460	14,520	8,820	37,030	10,010	9,490	150,110

Sources: for 1951 - 1953: Tourist Board, Report for 1953;
for 1956 - 1957: Tourist Board, Report for 1958;
for 1958 - 1962: Central Statistical Office,
International Travel Report for
1961 and 1962;
for 1965 - 1968: EIU, International Tourism
Quarterly, No. 1/1977 p.29;
for 1969 - 1979: Central Statistical Office,
International Travel Reports for
individual years.

APPENDIX 7

FUNCTIONS OF THE TOURIST BOARD

(Section 12 of the Tourist Board Ordinance 1957)

- (a) To develop all aspects of the tourist industry of Trinidad and to Tobago and to promote its efficiency;
- (b) to adopt all such measures as they may deem fit to advertise and publicise Trinidad and Tobago as a tourist resort throughout the year;
- (c) to promote and secure such increased shipping and airline facilities as will tend to increase tourist traffic to Trinidad and Tobago;
- (d) to secure the most favourable arrangements for the entry of tourists into Trinidad and Tobago;
- (e) to encourage by such measures as they may deem fit the development of such amenities in Trinidad and Tobago as may be calculated to enhance the attractiveness of Trinidad and Tobago to tourists with special reference to entertainment, conservation of local flora and fauna, deep sea fishing and handicrafts;
- (f) to undertake such research, experiments and operations as may appear to them to be necessary for the improvement of the tourist industry and control or eliminate any undesirable factors that may affect it;
- (g) to make all such enquires and to collect all such information as they may think necessary for the purpose of carrying out their duties and functions under this section;
- (h) generally to take all such lawful measures as they may consider likely to assist them in carrying out most effectually the purposes of this Ordinance.

Source: (Belle, 1979:4)

APPENDIX 8

GOALS OF TOURISM POLICY, 1978

In the context of the national perspective plan, the main goals for the tourism sector must be:

(1) Improvement in the Quality of Life

It is important to standards of physical and mental health and thus to community development that, with the increasing urbanization and industrialization of our society, adequate recreational opportunities be created for the positive use of leisure time.

(2) The Generation of Employment

Whereas in the primary and secondary sectors the principal emphasis may be upon such goals as national self-sufficiency and sustained growth, in the tertiary sector employment generation is critical, and policies must emphasize growth in activities (such as tourism) with employment multiplier effects. The capability for foreign exchange earnings is an added bonus.

(3) Reduction of Geographic Inequity

Apart from increased leisure time economic growth implies rising affluence and growing mobility. As a result there is an increase in demand for recreation in areas remote from urban-industrial areas. As the growth of this demand is unlikely to be a transient phase it is a potential lever for economic improvement in rural areas. The development of the tourism sector can thus play the regional welfare role of integrating peripheral areas into the urban-centred national growth process.

Source: National Physical Development Plan, 1978; II, 156.

A P P E N D I X 9
THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF TOURISM

9.1 Attitudes of Tobago Youths towards Tourists

	Foreign White Tourists			West Indian Black Tourists		
	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know
1. Tourists are to "hoggish".	21%	75%	4%*	33%	63%	5%
2. Tourists are just lovable people.	60%	34%	6%	60%	34%	6%
3. Tourists feel they are superior to local Tobagonians.	50%	44%	6%	44%	49%	7%
4. Tourists are "racial"1)	42%	51%	7%	33%	59%	7%
5. Tourists only want Tobagonians to serve them.	39%	56%	5%	33%	60%	6%
6. Tourists are very friendly and pleasant to Tobagonians.	69%	26%	5%	65%	29%	6%
7. Tourists do not like mixing with Tobagonians.	47%	49%	4%	32%	63%	5%
8. Tourists are cheap and don't like to spend money.	24%	71%	5%	48%	47%	5%
9. Tourists help to teach us about the outside world.	68%	27%	4%	61%	34%	5%
10. Tourists are only friendly when they wish to get something from you.	44%	53%	3%	36%	58%	6%

1) When used to refer to West Indian tourists, "racial" can be taken to mean a feeling "territorial" superiority over Tobagonians.

Source: Cole, 1974.

APPENDIX 9
THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF TOURISM

9.2 Attitudes of Tobago Youths towards Tourism

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know
ECONOMIC REWARDS OF TOURISM			
(1) Tourism helps Tobago because it brings money into the island.	85%	12%	2%
(2) Tourism helps to provide employment for many Tobagonians...	85%	12%	2%
(3) Tourism does not help Tobago because it makes the cost of living rise... ..	78%	19%	3%
(4) Tourism only benefits the hotel owners... ..	35%	60%	5%
	43%	52%	5%
NON-ECONOMIC REWARDS			
(5) Tourism spoils the beauty of the island... ..	21%	74%	5%
(6) Tourism allows foreigners to enjoy the best of the island while Tobagonians get only second best.	59%	35%	6%
(7) Tourism turns Tobagonians into a bunch of servants and slaves.	44%	50%	6%
(8) Tourism benefits Tobagonians because in improving conditions for the tourist the local population experiences a rise in standard of living... ..	63%	31%	6%
(9) Tourism helps to brighten up the island... ..	72%	23%	5%
(10) Tourism encourages Tobagonians to be idle and beg for money... ..	20%	76%	4%

Source: Cole, 1974

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