

**HERITAGE TOURISM THE WAY OUT FOR RURAL POOR?
A CASE STUDY OF THE TOURISM-POVERTY NEXUS
IN ANSE LA RAYE, ST. LUCIA**

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES.....	v
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vi
ABSTRACT.....	vii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED.....	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	x
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.....	1
1.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES.....	4
1.3 STRUCTURE OF THESIS.....	4
CHAPTER 2 A LITERARY REVIEW OF POVERTY REDUCTION AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENT.....	6
2.1 INTRODUCTION.....	6
2.2 A SNAPSHOT OF WORLD TOURISM.....	6
2.3 THE CONCEPTUAL COMPLEXITIES OF POVERTY.....	8
2.3.1 Defining Poverty.....	8
2.3.2 Conceptual Approaches and Measures.....	9
2.4 APPROACHES TO POVERTY REDUCTION.....	11
2.4.1 The Economic Growth and Basic Needs Approaches (1950s –1970s)....	11
2.4.2 The Capability Approach.....	13
2.4.3 Other Approaches.....	15
2.5 THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS.....	17
2.6 TOURISM AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION.....	19
2.6.1 The Development of Mass Tourism	19
2.6.2 Sustainable Tourism Development.....	22

2.6.3	Community-Based Tourism.....	24
2.6.4	Pro-poor Tourism.....	25
2.7	CONCLUSION.....	29
CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND CONTEXT OF CASE STUDY SITE.....		
		32
3.1	INTRODUCTION.....	32
3.2	RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY.....	32
3.2.1	Selection of Case Study Site.....	33
3.2.2	Methodology.....	33
3.3	RESEARCH LIMITATIONS.....	34
3.4	THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT.....	35
3.5	THE ECONOMY.....	37
3.5.1	Rise and Fall of the Banana Industry.....	38
3.6	TOURISM.....	41
3.6.1	Historical Background.....	41
3.6.2	Achievements of the Tourism Sector.....	42
3.6.3	Challenges.....	43
3.7	THE POVERTY PROFILE.....	44
3.7.1	The State of Play.....	44
3.7.2	Poverty-Reduction Interventions.....	46
3.8	HERITAGE TOURISM – EVIDENCE OF A TOURISM-POVERTY NEXUS.....	48
3.8.1	The St. Lucia Heritage Tourism Programme (SLHTP).....	48
3.8.2	Heritage Sites and Attractions.....	50
3.8.3	HERITAS and Heritagetours.....	52
3.8.4	Other Rural-based Heritage Tourism Initiatives.....	53

3.9	THE CASE STUDY SITE: ANSE LA RAYE.....	54
3.9.1	Poverty in Anse La Raye.....	55
3.10	HERITAGE TOURISM IN ANSE LA RAYE.....	55
3.10.1	Anse La Raye Seafood Friday.....	56
3.11	CONCLUSION.....	57
	CHAPTER 4 REPORT AND DISCUSSION ON FINDINGS.....	58
4.1	INTRODUCTION.....	58
4.2	RESULTS FROM CASE STUDY.....	58
4.2.1	Employment and Income Generation.....	58
4.2.2	Linkages and Local Sourcing of Inputs.....	59
4.2.3	Small Enterprise Development.....	61
4.2.4	Infrastructure Development.....	62
4.2.5	Leakages.....	62
4.2.6	Villagers Perceptions.....	63
4.3	HAS ST. LUCIA EMBRACED THE PRO-POOR APPROACH?.....	64
4.4	CONCLUSION.....	66
	CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION.....	67
5.1	INTRODUCTION.....	67
5.2	TOURISM-POVERTY NEXUS: REFLECTING ON THE RHETORIC.....	67
5.3	HERITAGE TOURISM AS A PRO-POOR APPROACH: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES.....	68
5.4	RECOMMENDATIONS.....	72
5.5	FINAL COMMENTS.....	75
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	76

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1	Principles of Sustainable Livelihoods.....	15
Table 2.2	Millennium Development Goals.....	18
Table 2.3	Pro-poor Tourism Principles.....	27
Table 3.1	Statistical Overview of St. Lucia’s Economy.....	37
Table 3.2	Heritage Sites and Attractions.....	51

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1	International Tourism Arrivals by Region.....	7
Figure 2.2	Moderate and Extreme Poverty Areas of the World.....	17
Figure 3.1	Geographic Map of St. Lucia.....	36
Figure 3.2	Poverty Head Count by District.....	46

ABSTRACT

Tourism has emerged as one of the most dynamic sectors in many countries; as one outcome, it has generated widespread hope that this particular industry can bring prosperity to numerous developing nations. Conversely, there is substantial suspicion of its capacity to bring equitable benefits to the poor. A recent proposition is to strengthen the tourism-poverty nexus by placing tourism at the heart of poverty reduction strategies. This thesis explores the application of this new and relatively untested approach. It does so by conducting a case study of the impact of heritage tourism, a community-based and poverty-focused tourism initiative, implemented in Anse La Raye, the most impoverished rural community in the Caribbean island of St. Lucia.

Obviously a single case study cannot justify sweeping generalizations, but it can perhaps serve at least to raise a number of useful policy questions that might also have some broader application. The findings reveal that poverty-focused tourism development initiatives can positively impact the lives of the rural poor, under certain circumstances. Some observable effects included the creation of useful community infrastructure, linkages of direct and indirect employment benefits and consequent income generation. Notwithstanding these successes, this limited research piece suggests that, despite their nearly exclusive and commendable focus on the livelihood of the poor, pro-poor approaches to tourism also have limitations [for example, seasonal and part-time employment, and leakages] and certainly cannot be regarded as a panacea for reducing poverty in any poverty stricken region. Nonetheless, it is believed that St. Lucia, at least, can learn from the experiences of Anse La Raye as it further refines its tourism development policies in quest of further development targets.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

ACP	Africa, Caribbean and Pacific Countries
Belfund	James Belgrave Micro Enterprise Development Fund Inc
BNTF	Basic Needs Trust Fund
CTO	Caribbean Tourism Organization
EC	European Community
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GOSL	Government of Saint Lucia
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HACCP	Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Point
HERITAS	Heritage Tourism Association of St. Lucia
HPI	Human Poverty Index
ICRT	International Centre for Responsible Tourism
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NSDC	National Skills Development Center
OECD	Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
PPT	Pro-poor Tourism
PRF	Poverty Reduction Fund
SIDS	Small Island Developing States
SSDF	St. Lucia Social Development Fund
SLTB	St. Lucia Tourist Board
SLHTP	St. Lucia Heritage Tourism Programme

ST-EP	Sustainable Tourism for Eliminating Poverty
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNWTO	World Tourism Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Tourism has emerged as one of the fastest growing industries worldwide and for this reason it has garnered widespread recognition as an industry capable of delivering economic growth and development to the developing world. However, the latest debate surrounds the tourism-poverty nexus and how best to facilitate the fair distribution of tourism benefits to the poor and vulnerable populations. As a result, this thesis presents a case study of how St. Lucia, a small middle income country that has grown increasingly reliant on tourism, has attempted to use its advancements in the tourism industry to address an increase in rural poverty levels triggered by declining banana exports – its most lucrative sector ever.

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Tourism has experienced continued growth for the past six decades (UNWTO, 2009). Tourism has also been lauded for its ability to bring improvements to the lives of the people of the developing world (de Kadt, 1979). Hence, in recent years, many developing countries, particularly Small Island Developing States (SIDS), have turned to tourism to help correct their economic woes. Tourism's promise of increase foreign investment, generation of foreign exchange and job creation (Sharpley and Telfer, 2002) has not always been realized, especially in relation to the recently specified millennium development goal of poverty reduction.

Early discussions on the benefits to be derived from tourism development had been generally premised on the concept of macroeconomic growth and the expectation of it having a ‘trickle-down’ effect on all sectors of the society. Conversely, Ashley et al. (2000) asserts that tourism development has not succeeded as a tool for delivering on poverty reduction because poverty alleviation has been largely absent from the tourism development agenda. Consequently, a new approach to tourism development termed ‘pro-poor tourism’ has been proposed as an alternative mechanism for reducing poverty. Pro-poor tourism is defined as “tourism that generates net benefits to the poor” and it calls for poverty reduction to be placed at the center of tourism development (Ashley et al., 2001, p.2). This latest approach has helped move poverty further up the tourism development agenda. As a result, it has become increasingly necessary to analyse the tourism-poverty nexus.

The Caribbean island of St. Lucia is one developing country which has pursued tourism as a mechanism for delivering economic prosperity. Like most SIDS, this country traditionally depended on the export of one or two primary commodities for its economic development. However, the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) saw the dismantling of international trade barriers, and this changed the conditions under which St. Lucia traded bananas, its most viable export crop, on the international market. In fact, the ensuing erosion of preferential market access for St. Lucia’s bananas in the European market began a decline in banana production and foreign exchange earnings (Klak et al, 2011).

This dilemma has forced St. Lucia to fast track its initial efforts at economic diversification. Consequently, tourism development has emerged as the strategic choice,

primarily because tourism is viewed as one of the industries in which the county has some comparative advantage. Today, tourism has supplanted bananas as chief foreign exchange earner and employer. It generates thousands of jobs, millions in tax receipts, thereby representing a source of tremendous economic growth potential (Ministry of Tourism, 2003).

Despite the progress, there have been expressions of concern over the overall distribution of benefits derived from the tourist sector. This is particularly worrying when juxtaposed against the growth of poverty in rural districts like Anse La Raye (Kairi Consultant's Limited, 2006). It is against this background that St. Lucia recently established 'heritage tourism' as a component of its tourism product. Sylvester Clauzel, the first Programme Co-ordinator of a national programme set up exclusively to implement heritage tourism, defines heritage tourism as "*travel to and enjoyment of places of natural and cultural interest that reflect the heritage of a destination*". Heritage tourism is inter alia expected to integrate the rural communities into the tourism industry, increase tourism's contribution to host communities and ultimately improve the livelihood of rural poor (Renard, 2001).

The practicability of the tourism development as an instrument for poverty reduction is critical to the future development of some SIDS. In this context, the author believes that it is important to not only assess the viability of tourism as vehicle for economic growth but more importantly as a mechanism for rural poverty reduction. Hence in this thesis I explore the tourism-poverty nexus by conducting a case study of heritage tourism in St. Lucia.

1.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

It is my hope that through a pro-poor assessment of the socio-economic impacts of heritage tourism, which was implemented in St. Lucia a little more than a decade ago, informed conclusions and policy influencing decisions can be drawn from answering the following:

Can heritage tourism increase the socio-economic gains of tourism and enhance the well-being of rural poor?

In answering this question, the researcher:

1. Scrutinizes the tourism-poverty nexus within the St. Lucian context to determine whether the country's tourism development strategy embraces a pro-poor approach.
2. Assesses the potential of heritage tourism as a strategy for rural poverty reduction by analyzing the effects of heritage tourism interventions in the village of Anse La Raye.

1.3 STRUCTURE OF THESIS

This research piece is organized into five chapters. This chapter presents the rationale for conducting the research. Chapter 2, which immediately follows this introductory chapter, sets the context for examining the tourism-poverty nexus by reviewing the literature on poverty and tourism development. It underscores the fact that poverty is relative by showing how the conceptual views on poverty differ, and how the many complexities associated with the scourge has caused an evolution in the approaches to poverty reduction. It also considers the progression of tourism development as an instrument, and

discusses how pro-poor tourism, in particular, has been presented as a strategy for reducing poverty.

The third chapter provides a more focused discussion on the subject-matter. It lays out the approach and methodology of the research, before exploring the tourism-poverty nexus in the context of St. Lucia. Chapter 4 presents the findings of a pro-poor assessment of heritage tourism interventions in the impoverished village of Anse La Raye – the case study site. The fifth and final chapter proposes policy recommendations for potentially strengthening the tourism-poverty nexus and improving the livelihood of St. Lucia's rural poor.

CHAPTER 2
A LITERARY REVIEW OF POVERTY REDUCTION AND TOURISM
DEVELOPMENT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

There is a wide range of perspectives on the relationship between tourism and poverty, particularly with respect to tourism's ability to improve the human condition.

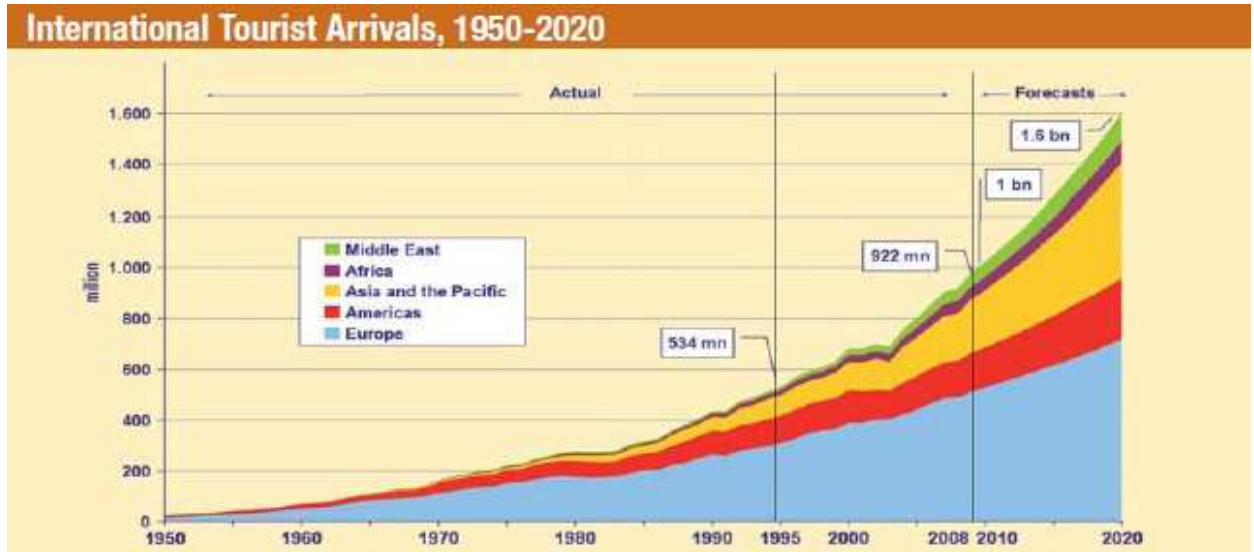
This chapter begins with a brief account of world tourism. Thereafter it provides an overview of poverty and its conceptual complexities. The next section examines how poverty has fared on the wider development agenda. The final section traces the debate on tourism development and its evolution as an instrument for poverty reduction and alleviation.

2.2 A SNAPSHOT OF WORLD TOURISM

Tourism, as broadly defined by the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), is “the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes (UNWTO, 1993).” This organization also describes tourism as one of the fastest growing economic sectors of the world. As illustrated in Figure 2.1, tourism has shown continued growth over the last six decades. The number of international arrivals shows an upsurge from a mere 25 million in 1950 to 992 million in 2008, and is projected to reach 1.6 billion by 2020 (UNWTO, 2009). According to the World Tourism and Travel Council

(2010) an estimated 235 million people work either directly in travel and tourism or in related sectors of the economy, accounting for more than 8% of global employment, or 1 in 12.5 jobs. Additionally, its contribution to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is expected to rise from 9.2% in 2010 to 9.6% by 2020.

Figure 2.1: International Tourism Arrivals by Region



Source: UNWTO. (2009). Tourism Insights 2009 Edition. Madrid, Spain

Figure 2.1 also illustrates that Europe and the Americas were the main tourist destinations over the first two decades. However, tourists are increasingly selecting destinations in other regions of the world. Recent economic indicators show that the share of international arrivals to the developing world has been on the rise, moving from 31% in 1990 to 45% in 2008. At 10.5%, the Middle East enjoyed the highest average growth rate in international arrivals over the period 2000-2008, followed by Africa, Asia and the Pacific, Europe and the Americas at 6.7, 6.6%, 2.8 and 1.7% respectively (UNWTO, 2009).

2.3 THE CONCEPTUAL COMPLEXITIES OF POVERTY

Poverty is a complex phenomenon in that there is no clear distinction between conceptually defining and measuring it. Hence, understanding and addressing poverty has long been a major human preoccupation. Despite recent primacy accorded to poverty reduction by the international community as a goal of development policy, consensus on the definition of poverty remains elusive. The many interpretations and bewildering ambiguity with which the term 'poverty' is used underscore its conceptual complexities. As the key concepts behind poverty continue to evolve, so do the definitions and the many ways of measuring it. Hence, poverty spans different spheres of concerns and is inclusive of almost all factors and processes.

2.3.1 Defining Poverty

Poverty, "in its daily use, implies a comparison between the conditions of a person, family or group, and the perception of the one who speaks or writes, about what is necessary to sustain life" (Boltvinik, 1999, p.2). However, Rowntree (1901), a pioneer of empirical research on poverty, conceptualized poverty as earnings less than the amount necessary to maintain physical efficiency. Since then, several dimensions have emerged which have only served to complicate the understanding of poverty as a concept. In its 1990 World Development Report, the World Bank defined poverty as "the inability to attain a minimum standard of living" in terms of basic consumption needs or income required for satisfying them (World Bank, 1990, p.26). Nobel Prize Winner and academic champion of the poor, Amartya Sen, distinguishes poverty from this limited approach of being a condition of "lowness of income" to a condition he sees as "capability

inadequacy” (Sen, 1999, p.90). Inspired by Sen’s view the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) defined poverty as “the denial of choices and opportunities for living a tolerable life” (UNDP, 1997, p.2). The UNDP places this definition into context by focusing on deprivation in three essential elements: longevity, knowledge and decent standard of living. Several other definitions have been proposed; however, they are increasingly complex and multidimensional. For example, in an attempt to reposition poverty alleviation as the single greatest mission guiding its policies and programs in the new millennium, the World Bank describes poverty as “pronounced deprivation in well-being” with deprivation being determined by testimonies of the poor themselves (World Bank, 2000, p.15). Albeit from different angles, these variations in the definitions of poverty are an indication of its multidimensional nature and the relevance of both market and non-market factors in understanding and combating poverty.

2.3.2 Conceptual Approaches and Measures

The foregoing definitions reflect the sophisticated conceptual refinement of the concept of poverty. Irrespective of how poverty is defined or which definition is preferred and/or adopted, one thing is irrefutable, and that is that the concept of poverty is shaped by one’s perception. Moreover, the conceptual and the definitional dimensions of poverty are intertwined and find application in the measurements used to analyze poverty.

The first and most common is the income dimension. The income or consumption measure is long standing, and arguably the most important tool used in evaluating global poverty. Under this measure, poverty is identified as a shortfall from some monetary threshold. More specifically, a poverty line is estimated and drawn at a particular

monetary value which is used to classify people as poor or non-poor depending on whether they fall above or below this line. Implicit is the assumption that individuals or households with the same income – income being the enabling factor - have similar standards of living. At the international level, the dollar a day poverty line - adjusted for purchasing power parity - introduced in the World Bank's 1990 World Development Report is perhaps the most commonly used measure. However, the suitability of this income poverty line has been called into question in terms of the arbitrariness of the \$ 1 per day criterion and also for the plausibility of the purchasing power parity conversions across and over time (Reddy and Pogge, 2005). Edward (2006) believes that poverty lines “oversimplify and reduce the complexity of global poverty to a mono-dimensional monetary measure.” Sen (1984, p.325) also cast doubt over the adequacy of this money-metric methodology by asking the question: “Should poverty be estimated with a cut-off line that reflects a level below which people are - in some sense - ‘absolutely impoverished’, or a level that reflects standards of living ‘common to that country’ in particular?”

In response to his question, Sen (1985) called for the inclusion of non-income indicators - such as literacy, life expectancy and infant mortality - claiming that income deficiency is only one of the many important dimensions of poverty. This gave rise to what is commonly known as the capability approach, an approach which frames poverty in terms of human capacity. Sen's multidimensional view on poverty led to the construction of the UNDP's Human Poverty Index (HPI). The HPI is a composite index which attempts to take into account overall quality of life by incorporating three basic social dimensions of

deprivation: a short life, lack of basic education, and lack of access to public and private resources.

Lack of consensus on what is the appropriate measure of poverty, coupled with the shift towards multidimensional indicators has caused the emergence of several approaches to poverty reduction. These approaches carry themes ranging from sustainability, to participation and social inclusion.

2.4 APPROACHES TO POVERTY REDUCTION

2.4.1 The Economic Growth and Basic Needs Approaches (1950s – 1970s)

Between the 1950s and 1960s the issue of poverty was submerged in the wider development agenda. There was the general notion that economic growth was a necessary condition for development, and that development would lead to rising income and ultimately to reductions in poverty levels – the trickle down approach. This period was also characterized by Keynesian economic principles – principles which advocate a considerable role for national governments and the public sector in the formulation and implementation of growth-enhancing strategies. Furthermore, most developing countries had only recently made the transition from colonialism to independence. Consequently, few of these countries had the necessary infrastructure and industrial power to sustain economic development. The World Bank, therefore, played a dominant role in advancing the economic growth approach by providing developing countries with the financial assistance required to bolster investment and build their economies. This saw the emergence of many infrastructural and industrial projects, which meant that natural

resources which once provided a decent subsistence livelihood for a substantial proportion of the population were transformed into industrial raw materials.

There was also the realization that the increase in income generated by such state-led initiatives were mainly concentrated in the industrial sectors and did not help the circumstances of those people engaged in the poorer sectors of society. This raised concerns as to whether achieving economic growth was the best avenue to reducing poverty levels. Seers (1969) was one such sceptic, asserting that national income was an inadequate yardstick of development, and that targeting growth with the hope that poverty would fall is likely to be less effective than targeting poverty directly. There was a feeling of uncertainty regarding the efficiency of the trickle down approach because it appeared that the gains from economic growth trickled down to the poor in a declining and inequitable manner, not to mention often taking a very long time.

By the 1970s there was a change in focus. This change enabled poverty to gain ascendancy on the development agenda. Robert McNamara, then president of the World Bank, in a speech made in Nairobi in 1973, called on his Board of Directors to consider the inclusion of basic social needs such as education and health in its policy decisions. He felt that the Bank should concentrate on improving social welfare and human capital development as a poverty reduction strategy, as opposed to upholding the promotion of investments in physical capital under the mantra of economic growth. McNamara's optimistic pronouncement gave birth to the broad policy prescription 'redistribution with growth'. Hence, though short-lived, the World Bank's lending encouraged national governments to redesign their policies to incorporate new redistributive mechanisms that focus less on economies and more on people.

2.4.2 The Capability Approach

As the 1980s dawned, many countries were beginning to feel the chills of an economic meltdown emanating from the combination of oil price shocks and the breakdown of the Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates during the latter half of the previous decade. The industrialized countries growth levels slumped. Their economic downturn was transmitted to the developing world with greater severity. Developing countries, many of whom had borrowed heavily against expectations of high commodity prices, had by then become heavily indebted to the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), and other financial institutions. By 1982 the effects of the economic recession forced Mexico to suspend interest payments on its debt. Several countries, particularly Latin American countries, could no longer deal with their debt burdens so they also adopted Mexico's strategy. Hence, with many countries faltering on their financial commitments, the world's economy fell victim to a debt crisis. Consequently, the World Bank became preoccupied with recovering its monies rather than pursuing its poverty alleviation agenda.

The situation saw the World Bank and its Washington-based financial counterparts formulate a series of market-dominated economic policies that became well known as the Washington Consensus (Williamson, 1990). Moreover, the financial assistance from these institutions was conditioned to a programme of structural adjustments which was in effect a policy prescription encompassing the process of liberalization, financial deregulation and privatization. Individual researchers found these programmes to have mixed effects on economic growth (Easterly, 2005). However, it is the cases of deepened poverty that are most disturbing.

The economic condition in the 1980s was so severe that the World Bank, in its 1990 World Development Report, declared it the 'lost decade'. Although the situation caused poverty to fall way down the development agenda, academia ensured that it remained on the radar. Amartya Sen continued the fight against poverty by building on previous theoretical work on entitlements and also broadening the narrow vision of human well-being advanced by McNamara. He pioneered what is now commonly known as the capability approach to poverty. Sen (1985) asserts that income is only valuable insofar as it has the ability to increase the capabilities of individuals thereby permitting their functioning in society. In this context, anyone who fails to achieve certain basic capabilities, where basic capabilities are "the ability to satisfy certain crucially important functionings up to a certain minimally adequate level," would be deemed to be in a state of poverty (Sen, 1993, p.41).

Sen's argument was very compelling and inspired many to rethink their approaches to poverty. In 1987, in a document entitled *Structural Adjustment with a Human Face*, the United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF) expressed its displeasure with the World Bank's structural adjustment programmes for their negative impact on health and education. The UNDP reacted with the construction of the HPI – an index that would pay particular attention to human capacity and well-being. The capability perspective also helped renew the World Bank's interest in poverty, as evident in the Bank's decision to dedicate a special section of its 1990 Development Report to poverty.

2.4.3 Other Approaches

The approaches discussed hereunder are more multi-dimensional and embrace the themes of inclusion and participation. The United Nation’s Bruntland Report of 1987 drew the attention of the international community to the dire need to consider integrating the economic, social and ecological issues facing mankind in a cohesive, policy-relevant structure that would ensure sustainability. From this, there emerged the concept of ‘sustainable livelihoods’ as yet another strategy to reducing poverty. The main distinguishing feature of this approach from the aforementioned approaches is that it allows for a more holistic approach in identifying and analysing the issues facing the poor before making any interventions. A summary of the core principles underpinning the sustainable livelihood approach is presented in Table 2.1 below.

Table 2.1	Principles of Sustainable Livelihoods
Poverty-focused development activity should be:	
People-centred: there must be a focus on what matters to people, an understanding of the differences between groups of people, and support must be given in a way that is congruent with people’s current livelihood strategies, social environment and ability to adapt.	
Responsive and participatory: the poor must be key actors in identifying and addressing livelihood priorities.	
Multi-level: at the micro-level, activity must inform the development of policy and create an effective enabling environment, whereas macro-level structures and processes must support people in building upon their own strengths.	
Conducted in partnership: with both public and private sector	
Sustainable: A balance must be found between the economic, institutional, social and environmental dimensions of sustainability	
Dynamic: respond flexibly to changes in people’s situation and develop longer-term commitments	

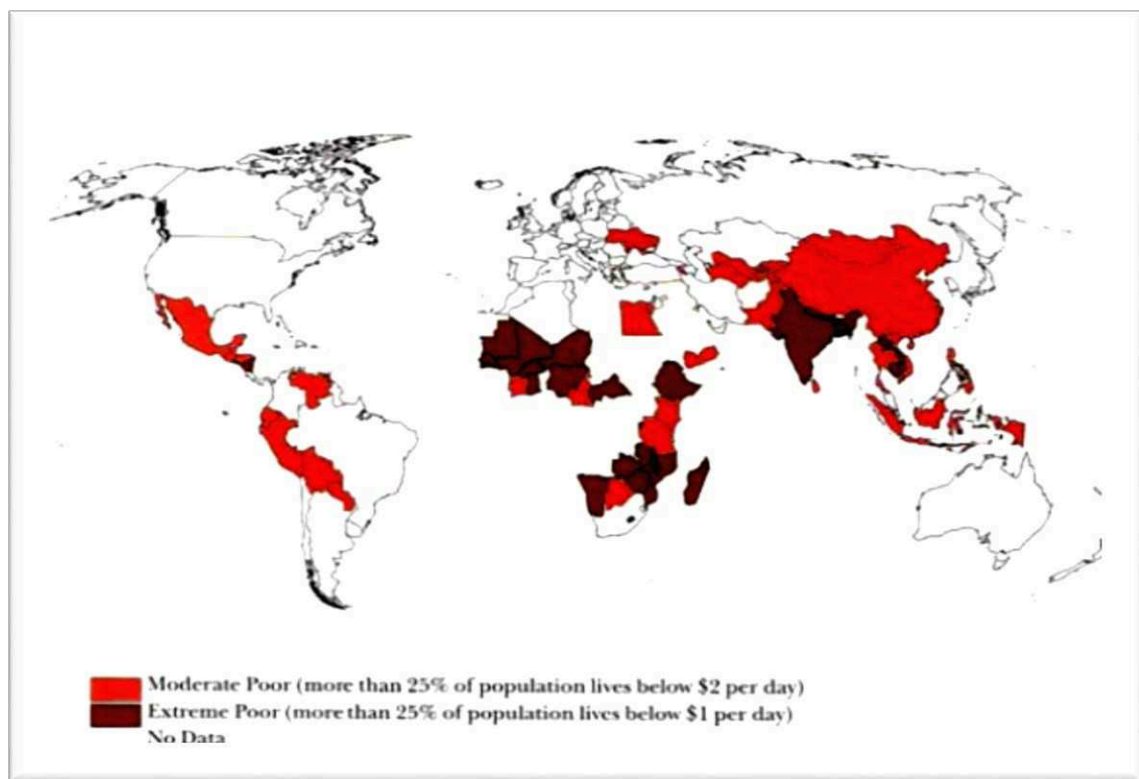
Source: Adopted from Ashley and Carney. (1999). *'Sustainable livelihoods: Lessons from early experience'*. London DFID.

Discussions held at the World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1995 called for greater attention to be paid to social deprivation within the sphere of social development. The foregoing paved the way for the formalization of what has become the ‘participatory approach’ to poverty reduction. This approach proposes an interactive process where poverty and deprivation is conceptualized by the local people being assisted as well as by those providing the assistance. In fact it was felt that the poor have a better knowledge of their situation and needs, and therefore should have some input in any initiatives geared at improving their state of deprivation. Under the participatory approach, participatory poverty assessments (PPA) are conducted. According to Booth et al. (1998, p.52) these PPAs are multidimensional in that they “attempt to understand poverty with the social, cultural, economic and political environment of a locality”. However, opponents of this approach have raised concerns as to whether those individuals who participate in the assessment are truly representative of the community. For example, Laderchi et al (2003, p.262) believes “people’s own assessment of their own condition can overlook their objective condition and can be biased as a result of limited information and social conditioning. Nonetheless, PPAs remain popular to the extent that they have been scaled up and even institutionalized by the World Bank as Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP). Nevertheless, neoliberal policies remain the primary thrust of the World Bank and therefore there is little substantive input or little latitude for debate by national stakeholders, particularly by those that are mostly affected – the poor.

Regardless of the plethora of approaches to attacking poverty discussed above, the 20th century ended disappointingly for those who were genuinely committed to improving the

condition of the poor and vulnerable. Most developing and transition economies, especially Sub-Sahara Africa, have not fully recovered from the recessionary periods and structural adjustments. Hence, many of these economies remained fragile with widespread poverty. Figure 2.2 below gives an indication of the spread of poverty and where poverty is concentrated.

Figure 2.2: Moderate and Extreme Poverty Areas of the World



Source: World Bank. (1990). World Development Report 1990: Poverty

2.5 THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

The Millennium Summit of September 2000 herald a renewed global commitment to tackling poverty and addressing the many developmental issues that had surfaced during the conferences and summits of the 1990s. There the UNDP along with other United

Nations (UN) specialized agencies, the World Bank, IMF, and the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) convinced 189 world leaders to ratify a series of time-bound targets called the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), in the hope of, among other things, reducing poverty and hunger. The broad goals are presented in Table 2.2. The MDGs offered some uniqueness to the fight against poverty in that they have channelled the efforts of development thinkers and practitioners into a single framework.

During the period 1990 – 2005 the number of people living on less than a \$1.25 a day decreased from 1.8 million to 1.4 million. However, the global economic crisis which emerged in mid-2008 is threatening to undo the progress made. Projections made by the UN in 2009 estimate that some 55 million to 90 million more people will be living in extreme poverty than anticipated before the crisis (UN, 2009). Referencing those goals, Ban Ki-Moon, Secretary General of the UN asserts “we have made important progress in this effort, and have many successes on which to build but we have been moving too slowly to meet our goals” (UN, 2009, p.3). Nonetheless, efforts to eradicate poverty are continuing and new strategies are being pursued.

Table 2.2	Millennium Development Goals
1.	Eradicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger
2.	Achieve Universal Primary Education
3.	Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women
4.	Reduce Child Mortality
5.	Improve Maternal Health
6.	Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Other Diseases
7.	Ensure Environmental Sustainability
8.	Development a Global Partnership for Development

Source: United Nations. (2009). The Millennium Development Goals 2009 Report

2.6 TOURISM AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION

2.6.1 The Development of Mass Tourism

Tourism's potential as a development tool for low-income or developing countries was not given much attention until the 1970s which, incidentally, was a period where advances in transport technology made long distance travel cheaper and more accessible. Growing concerns over the poor economic performance of some of its debtor countries, coupled with the realization of tourism's ability to generate foreign exchange, spurred the World Bank to establish a Tourism Project Department in 1969. This department was given a clear mandate to promote and finance tourism development. The UN also demonstrated its support for tourism as the new growth sector by formally establishing the UNWTO as one of its specialized agencies in 1975. These interventions facilitated the movement of the tourism-development debate up the public policy agenda of both developed and developing countries.

Early tourism was a large-scale form of leisure predominantly characterized by: (1) standardized, rigidly packaged and inflexible holidays (Poon, 1993). Mass tourism, as it is referred to, was seen as a form of modernization which would help transfer capital, technology, expertise and values from the developed to the developing world (Harrison, 1992). It was felt that tourism would assist in the diversification of those vulnerable economies that remain heavily reliant on primary or extractive industries. With that in mind, the World Bank encouraged developing countries to develop their infrastructure so as to entice potential investors to invest in their local economies in order to meet the expectations of the international traveller. In fact, many large scale infrastructure projects

such as airports, roads, and water and power facilities were realized with loans from the institution.

By 1979, the World Bank withdrew its support for tourism development by closing its tourism department. This decision was motivated by a number of developments. First, as stated earlier, under McNamara's Presidency the Bank had new policy objectives which shifted its priorities towards the poor. Hence, the pursuit of tourism development was seen as inconsistent with this objective because the Bank's funding mainly encouraged large scale infrastructure projects geared at satisfying wealthy travellers from developed countries. Secondly, the fuel crisis of that period drew tremendous scepticism over the viability of tourism as an agent of development. Finally, there was a proliferation of literature on the negative impacts of tourism (Jenkins, 1982; Croall, 1995; and Brohman 1996). The Bank's decision had a ripple effect which saw other international agencies withhold their support for tourism development, thereby causing tourism to fall off the economic development agenda. Consequently, the fate of the tourist industry has been left in the hands of the private sector.

The subsequent rise of neoliberalism and the dominance of its export-oriented growth ideals in the development strategies of the 1980s gave new hope to the tourism-development relationship. Neoliberal ideologies were built on the principle of comparative advantage and the developing countries were made to believe that they possessed a comparative advantage in tourism, in the form of warm weather during winter season, authentic culture, art, music, attractive beaches and other natural landscape, and wildlife. Overwhelmed by the prospect of tourism's ability to stimulate growth, many developing countries continued their pursuit of tourism, even in the

absence of the World Bank's tourism loans. Governments created attractive investment packages to lure international tourism developers and operators to invest in hotels and other tourism-related industries. These packages included fiscal incentives such as income tax holidays and tax exemptions for imported capital investments.

This mass form of tourism development was met with opposition by both scholars and development practitioners who are of the general view that the industry largely ignores the interest of the local people and the resource base of host destinations. Torres (2002) argues that the inherent characteristics of mass tourism – rigidity, spatial concentration, large numbers of undifferentiated consumers, collective consumption, and demand for western amenities - make it a poor development tool for the developing world. Others (Britton, 1982; Nash 1989, Brohman 1996) claim that the proposed economic benefits of international tourism will not be realized because of foreign ownership domination, and the excessive leakages in financial gains. In effect, a substantial proportion of foreign exchange earnings are either retained by the tourist-generating countries through their airlines and travel agencies or repatriated by hotel owners, managers, and tour operators in the form of profits, remittances and royalties. Mass tourism facilities have been mainly all-inclusive international hotel chains since private investors have preferred investing in enclave resorts in spatially centralized areas of the country. Jenkins (1982) admonishes the creation of those types of resorts for widening spatial inequalities. The promise of jobs, higher income and greater inter-sectoral linkages was seen as more of a fallacy to the extent that the resorts mainly catered to the taste of international tourists who maintained a high demand for their western foods, services and entertainment.

Other opponents of mass tourism (Mathieson and Wall, 1982; and Croall, 1995) also singled out the industry for damage to the natural environment. They assert that the construction of physical infrastructure and the influx of tourists are linked with deforestation and land degradation, depletion and pollution of water resources, and ecological disruptions. Neto (2003) claims that uncontrolled movements of large amounts of tourist vehicles through national parks in Africa and boat tours in the Caribbean Sea disrupt the natural habitat and alter feeding patterns and behaviours. Tourism is also thought to generate considerable wastes which developing countries lack the capacity to adequately treat, thereby resulting in the contamination of water supplies and damage of delicate ecological systems like coral reefs and mangroves. In addition to environmental destruction, tourism has also been blamed for having a negative impact on the socio-cultural fabric of host countries. Croall (1995) contends that tourism has an adverse effect on traditional ways of life and on the distinctiveness of local cultures. Brohman (1996) cites comments made by native Hawaiians towards the behaviour of international tourists which reflect strong feelings of resentment for mass tourism on the basis that it is culturally insensitive and degrading to their indigenous culture and values. Tourists rouse new desires among local youth to come out of their traditional lives and adopt western consumption patterns. Mass tourism operations have also been charged with driving up land prices as well as causing urban sprawl.

2.6.2 Sustainable Tourism Development

An increased focus on those aforementioned deleterious effects of mass tourism has forced a more cautionary approach to tourism as a vehicle for development. That

approach is called sustainable tourism and is also often described as sustainable tourism development.

The paradigm shift to sustainable tourism came in the early 1990s, right after the inclusion of the notion of sustainable development into the wider development lexicon. As a concept, sustainable tourism development challenged conventional mass tourism for its sole focus on economic growth by advancing a more holistic and integrated approach encompassing the three central pillars of sustainable development: the environment, society and the economy. It was expected to minimize negative environmental and cultural impacts of mass tourism, as well as maximize the socio-economic benefits in host destinations. However, in effect, reconciling the many problems and concerns associated with mass tourism, and reducing the tension between the various stakeholders have proven difficult.

Actually both the academic research (Komilis, 1994; Liu, 2003) and the practical application (Ashley and Roe, 1998; Telfer and Sharpley, 2008) of the sustainability principles into the realm of tourism have come under much scrutiny. According to Liu, (2003, p.463) “sustainable tourism literature has overwhelmingly focused on the preservation and conservation of natural resources.” This argument is further supported by Ritchie and Crouch (2003) who assert that the social dimension of tourism has been largely ignored in comparison to its environmental dimension. Telfer and Sharpley (2008) opine that development practitioners and proponents of sustainable tourism are preoccupied with the preservation and viability of the resource base upon which tourism depends. Consequently, instead of considering tourism within the wider development context the focus has been on sustaining tourism itself.

These arguments suggest that incorporating the broad sustainability concept in all types of tourism activities and all segments of the tourist industry is likely to create a development-tourism dilemma.

2.6.3 *Community-Based Tourism*

Butcher (1997, p.31), strongly expressed his displeasure with the tried macro approaches to tourism development discussed above, by asserting that “the denigration of human progress embodied in the sustainability paradigm is likely to hold back humanity from facing up to and solving problems of poverty and underdevelopment.” Community-based tourism has been presented as one of many micro-level alternatives to conventional tourism development.

Community-based tourism can be regarded as an application of a more participatory approach to development in that the community is seen as the vital component of the tourism product. Community-based tourism was born out of concerns over: (1) alienation among the local population of host communities; and (2) loss of cultural identity and social controls to outsiders. It is conceptualized as a process of joint-decision making among key stakeholders and is aimed at resolving planning problems and management issues related to tourism development within a particular locale. Hence, community-based tourism is being promoted on the premise that local communities must be active participants and direct beneficiaries of tourism development initiatives. Advocates of this approach including Brohman (1996) suggest that by making community involvement the focal point, developing countries will rid themselves of many of the key problems associated with tourism development.

This form of tourism is not without its critics. Blackstock (2005, p. 40&45) opines that the “current conceptualization of CBT [community-based tourism] is naive and unrealistic” insofar as communities being presented as “homogenous blocks, devoid of internal power struggles and competing values.” He further asserts that community-based tourism poses as a socially just tourism strategy but its pre-determined objective is the long term survival of a profitable tourism industry instead of the empowerment of the community locals.

Furthermore, popular participation in administration is manipulative in nature. Hence, despite attempts to bring locals into the decision making process, concerns and suggestions of the selfish rich and educated elite – owners of lands and financial resources - often receive precedence over the collective interest of the poor. In addition to its inability to adequately address structural inequalities in the local decision making process, community-based tourism overlooks the fact that external pressures from speculative developers also constrain local participation. Tosun (2001) broadly offers support to such observations by citing the following as limitations in the operationalization of community based participatory approaches to tourism in developing countries: centralization of government-administered tourism developments; lack of coordination among stakeholders; attitudes of professionals; and the relatively high cost of community participation.

2.6.4 Pro-poor Tourism

Despite community-based tourism’s obvious sensitivity to livelihoods, the UK Department for International Development (DFID) felt that there was a need for more than just a community focus. Hence, DFID commissioned a report in 1998 to examine

how outbound tourism could contribute to poverty alleviation in destination countries and communities. The report confirmed that tourism should be driven by poverty objectives and recommended that tourism would be more beneficial if it focused specifically on the poor. Hence, in 1999, DFID coined the term ‘pro-poor tourism’ which it defined as “tourism that generates net benefits for the poor” (Ashley et al., 2001, p.2), including economic benefits, socio-cultural and environmental benefits. Since then, the Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership - a collaborative research initiative between the International Centre for Responsible Tourism (ICRT), the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), and the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) - has shown its support for pro-poor tourism, by aggressively exploring and promoting tourism’s potential as a poverty alleviation and reduction tool.

Pro-poor tourism is founded on its engagement with mass tourism, except that its emphasis is on “unlocking opportunities for the poor within tourism, rather than expanding the overall size of the sector” (Ashley et al., 2001, p.2). Its main underlying principle is therefore, to ensure that the benefits accruing to the poor people in the tourist destination areas are greater than the costs. Ashley et al. (2001, p.2) provides further clarity by stating that “as long as poor people reap net benefits, tourism can be classified as ‘pro-poor’ (even if richer people benefit more than the poor).” According to Ashley et al. (2000) such an approach is also more sensitive to the poor in that it considers the full range of impacts on the livelihoods of the poor, unlike for example community-based tourism which concentrates on the cultural base on which tourism depends. Proponents of the pro-poor approach have gone a step further by suggesting that a tourism initiative should only be considered pro-poor if it is designed and evaluated according to its direct

contribution to poverty elimination. Fundamentally, pro-poor tourism comprises of a set of principles instead of a distinct form of tourism. Chok et al. (2007) captures the key principles of this latest, exciting and relatively untested approach to poverty reduction in Table 2.3 presented below.

Table 2.3	Pro-poor Tourism Principles
Participation.	Poor people must participate in tourism decisions if their livelihood priorities are to be reflected in the way tourism is developed.
A Holistic Livelihood Approach	Recognition of the range of livelihood concerns of the poor (economic, social, and environmental; short-term and long-term). A narrow focus on cash or jobs is inadequate.
Balanced Approach	Diversity of actions needed, from micro to macro level. Linkages are crucial with wider tourism systems. Complementary products and sectors (for example, transport and marketing) need to support pro-poor initiatives.
Wide Application	Pro-poor principles apply to any tourism segment, though strategies may vary between them (for example between mass tourism and wildlife tourism).
Distribution	Promoting pro-poor tourism requires some analysis of the distribution of both benefits and costs – and how to influence it.
Flexibility	Blue-print approaches are unlikely to maximise benefits to the poor. The pace or scale of development may need to be adapted; appropriate strategies and positive impacts will take time to develop; situations are widely divergent.
Commercial Realism	Pro-poor tourism strategies have to work within the constraints of commercial viability
Cross-disciplinary Learning	As much is untested, learning from experience is essential. Pro-poor also needs to draw on lessons from poverty analysis, environmental management, good governance and small enterprise development.

Source: Adapted from Chok et al. (2007). *Tourism as a Tool for Poverty Alleviation: A Critical Analysis of Pro-Poor Tourism and Implications for Sustainability. Current Issues in Tourism*, 10, (2&3), 144-161.

Several reasons have been advanced as to why pro-poor tourism can be an effective tool for alleviating poverty. First tourism is believed to offer an advantage in poverty

elimination as opposed to other economic sectors because in its case the customers come to the product, thereby creating opportunities to form linkages and make additional sales to both tourists and tourism enterprises. Second, as evident in the preceding discussion, tourism can be built on the natural resources in remote or marginal areas, and also on the cultural heritage of local communities. In this context, the poor are able to capitalize on tourist visits and supplement their own livelihood by offering tour guiding services and also selling their local crafts, foods, music and dance (Goodwin, 2008). Furthermore, tourism is a diverse and largely labour-intensive industry and therefore increases the scope for participation both in the formal and informal sector and by extension is likely to employ a large proportion of women and unskilled workers (Roe and Urquhart, 2004).

Despite it being a relatively new approach to a lingering problem, pro-poor tourism has also been met with much criticism. Some critics, (Sofield et al., 2004) claim that the term is derogatory and that the approach is no more than a repackaging of existing initiatives in order to ensure that they fit within the prevailing development paradigm. Others (Hall, 2007; and Scheyvens, 2007) are of the view that it embraces capitalism and neoliberal ideologies, and offers little variation insofar as having the ability to address the longstanding issue of inequitable distribution of wealth and resources. There are also claims that pro-poor tourism initiatives exacerbate the poverty situation by undercutting sustainable livelihoods (Mowforth and Munt, 2008). Scheyvens (2007, p.243) further undermines the significance of the pro-poor approach advocated by the Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership, by asserting that there are “various approaches to PPT [pro-poor-tourism] that have been adopted by a range of agencies who do not share the same vision of poverty reduction through tourism.” Schilcher (2007) believes that in reality pro-poor

tourism strategies are restricted to interventions that are in sync with the growth mentality. Chok et al (2007) argue that in addition to there being ideological differences in approaches to pro-poor tourism, in practice pro-poor tourism has failed to confront many of the anti-poor practices associated with mass tourism such as exploitative working conditions – long working hours, no maternity leave, no union membership, low wages and no upward mobility. There is also a claim that it fails “to take sufficient account of commercial viability and access to markets” (Harrison; 2008, p.863).

Notwithstanding the many criticisms directed at pro-poor tourism, Harrison (2008) credits it for aggressively pushing the poverty agenda in tourism discourse. Recognition must also be given to the founders of pro-poor tourism for their role in influencing the creation of the UNWTO’s Sustainable Tourism for Eliminating Poverty (ST-EP) Programme. The ST-EP initiative was specially designed to examine how best tourism could be used as a poverty reduction strategy that is consistent with the MDGs. The Programme’s framework for achieving its objective includes: research and dissemination of information through publication; building capacity through training and seminars, and implementation of best practices by effecting ST-EP projects in developing countries.

2.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown that poverty is a complex phenomenon, and addressing poverty is a human preoccupation. Views on poverty have evolved and often bring about changes to development thinking. Poverty is far more than a lack of income; it is multidimensional and has intricate relationships with issues such as hunger, disease, illiteracy, infant

mortality and social exclusion to name a few¹. The approaches to poverty reduction are now plentiful, and the terminology used to describe poverty - income poverty, consumption poverty, human underdevelopment, ill-being, lack of need, relative deprivation, social exclusion, lack of capability and functioning, unsustainable livelihoods - is a just reflection of the complexities and challenges in combating what is one of, if not the biggest, problem facing the developing world. Although there is no consensus on its definition or a set strategy to eradicating poverty, it is encouraging that poverty has been able to make it to the top of the development agenda of the international community. The MDGs, though ambitious, provide some direction and at the least have created greater awareness of the severity of global poverty.

A review of the tourism literature has shown that tourism has transformed in terms of scale and scope. In addition to being regarded as one of the largest and fastest growing sectors, tourism is being touted as a useful development and poverty reduction tool. Tourism has taken several forms ranging from holistic approaches such as sustainable tourism to niche approaches like community-based tourism, all of which have been influenced by the development rhetoric of the day. Evidence from the development literature also reveals that tourism development has evolved from an approach which focuses on economic growth benefits – measured by international tourist arrivals, international tourist receipts, and foreign investment – to an approach which calls for equitable redistribution with particular focus on improving the livelihood of the poor.

¹ At the same time, all of these indicia tend to be inversely correlated with income per capita. In the same way, while income per capita is not the only factor, it is likely that improvements in income per capita will help in achieving Millennium Development Goals and better working conditions for the poor, other things remaining equal. A country's distribution of income also can have significant ties to the magnitude and severity of poverty.

Pro-poor tourism presents itself as the most recent and real option in fulfilling the objectives of a livelihoods-based approach.

In summary, the chapter reveals the elevation of tourism in the development field and its growing importance as a poverty reduction strategy. The literature review has informed that any research of the tourism-poverty nexus must critically analyze and discern whether tourism development addresses existing levels of inequality and/or reduces poverty within a specific locality.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND CONTEXT OF CASE STUDY SITE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins by outlining the research approach and methodology employed by the researcher. In so doing, it provides readers with the scope and other technical characteristics of the research. Thereafter, the chapter visits the separate issues of poverty and tourism within the context of St. Lucia. It does that by providing useful background information on the island with a special mention of the country's banana industry. With this it seeks to provide context by highlighting the importance of bananas to the country's economic development and the social implication of the subsequent demise of that once dynamic sector. The chapter then explores the tourism-poverty nexus in St. Lucia by studying the implementation of heritage tourism with particular attention given to how it was operationalized in the village of Anse La Raye - the case study site.

3.2 RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

This research piece employs a pro-poor approach in determining the effectiveness of heritage tourism on rural communities. The researcher's intent is that of policy research, specifically to identify shortcomings, draw from experiences, and provide actionable insights for policymakers.

A diversity of methods can be prescribed for assessing whether tourism development is delivering results in terms of improving the living conditions of the poor. These include:

cost-benefit analysis of projects and programmes; correlation analysis to determine whether or not economic growth and poverty levels are related or follow a similar pattern of movement; regression analysis to investigate the nature of relationship between those two variables; and country-based case studies which allow for the investigation of real life or contextual conditions relative to a specific contemporary phenomenon.

After much reflection on the theoretical debate and further consideration of the factors driving the research, a case study approach was the preferred choice. In effect, such qualitative research is open and interactive (Corbetta, 2003) and therefore allows for the study of the intricacies of the phenomenon as well as for a more subjective reasoning of real life experiences of the poor and most vulnerable persons.

3.2.1 Selection of Case Study Site

The theoretical perspectives and literary rhetoric surrounding tourism development and poverty reduction provoked the researcher to juxtapose the debate in academia to the situation as it exists in his home country – St. Lucia. This stimulated interest coupled with other considerations such as reported significant increases in tourism arrivals (Caribbean Tourism Association, 2011) as well as increases in the incidence of poverty as recorded in the country's 2005/2006 Country Poverty Assessment, provided the basis for the researcher selecting St. Lucia as a suitable location for conducting this research.

3.2.2 Methodology

The case study method employed is two pronged. First, detailed attention was paid to government documents including: reports; legislation and regulation; budgetary addressees; policy statements and plans, which specifically dealt with tourism-related

matters. This documentary review also incorporated relevant work undertaken by other institutions, development practitioners and independent researchers. Relevant documents were either retrieved online or were sourced directly from or with the assistance of those officials/participants who were subsequently interviewed.

Secondly, the researcher conducted a field survey using, primarily, open-ended face to face interviews. This unstructured method was preferred to the more structured methods of surveys as it allowed interviewees to speak freely and provide more in-depth information on their experiences as well as their opinions. Interviews were conducted with senior public officials from the Ministry of Tourism, the St. Lucia Tourist Board (SLTB), the St. Lucia Heritage Tourism Programme (SLHTP), and the Ministry of Social Transformation to name a few. Relevant private stakeholders including: entrepreneurs and employees, fishers, vendors, craftsmen, tour guides, and entertainers were also questioned. The researcher also found it particularly useful to engage in informal discussions with the local poor as it allowed a unique opportunity to probe deeper while observing the physical and human conditions that exists within their locality.

3.3 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

The issue of confidentiality is one that is of particular concern in small societies. Therefore, given the smallness of the island and the case study site, respondents, particularly vendors, may not always be forthright in their responses to a countryman. In this regard, the data collected might be interwoven with other influential factors. There is also the reality or concern that a qualitative case study approach does not always allow for rigorous cross-checking.

Secondly, notwithstanding the researcher's fluency in speaking both English and Kweyol - the native dialect -, the latter is not written by the vast majority of the populace, hence the possibility of misunderstandings and misinterpretations of the raw data exists given the necessity for carrying out interviews in both languages. Because heritage tourism is a recent initiative, research was largely restricted to Anse La Raye, therefore the outcome of this single case study may not be generalizable. Finally, it should be noted that the residents of Anse La Raye have been presented as a homogeneous unit of poor persons which is not necessarily accurate.

3.4 THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

St. Lucia is a small volcanic island of 238 square miles which forms part of the Windward Islands chain, a southern grouping of four islands located in the Eastern Caribbean. The island's volcanic origin is marked in its reputed therapeutic Sulphur Springs which makes it the home of what is said to be the world's only drive-in volcanic crater. Originally inhabited by Amerindians, St. Lucia is nicknamed "Helen of the West" because of almost two centuries of bloody wars fought between the French and British for possession of the island, before the French ceded to the British in 1814². St. Lucia gained internal autonomy in 1967 and full independence as a member of the British Commonwealth in 1979. Flat coastline settlements encircle its mountainous topography and epitomize the plantation-type economy which existed during long periods of colonial rule. Its most prominent mountains are the Pitons, a spectacular conical twin peak located on the southwest coast which is now designated as a World Heritage Site.

² Helen of the West derives from the mythical Greek figure Helen of Troy, whose beauty rallied an entire navy

Figure 3.1 Geographic Map of St. Lucia



Source: Retrieved from: <http://www.saint-lucia.com/images/caribbean-st-lucia-map.jpg>

St. Lucia's 2010 population and housing census estimates the country's household population at 165 595 persons, a 5 percent increase from what existed a decade earlier (Government of Saint Lucia [GOSL], 2011). Influences and nuances hint at its colourful past. For instance, the wars left fortresses and relics behind. The British installed English as the official language and influenced the government, legal and education system. Remnants of the French culture abound, particularly in the popularly spoken native Kwéyòl – a French patois -, the infrastructure, and many French names. In spite of the lengthy period of European occupancy, over 90 percent of its people are of African descent which is a manifestation of the many West Africans who were brought in as slaves on the sugar plantations of European colonial masters. The remaining population is of mixed East Indian and Caucasian descent. The island's diverse history of indigenous Amerindians, British, French and East Indians is evident in the existence of several unique cultures but African traditions are the strongest element of the St. Lucian culture.

3.5 THE ECONOMY

Table 3.1 Statistical Overview of St. Lucia's Economy	
GDP (2010 est.)	US\$1.2 bn
GDP per capita (2010 est.)	US\$6211.60
Unemployment (2010 est.)	20.6%
<i>Structure of Economy % of GDP (2010est.)</i>	
Agriculture	3.2%
Industry	16.6%
Manufacturing	3.9%
Services	80.2%
<i>Average Annual Growth (2000-2010)</i>	
GDP	3.1%
GDP per capita	2.0%
Agriculture	-4.62%
Industry	1.6%
Manufacturing	5.7%
Services	3.6%

Source: Adapted from World Bank. (2012): St. Lucia at a glance

Agriculture dominated the St. Lucian economy for over three centuries. Over this period the island's economic base shifted from the production of mixed crops to sugar cane production and later bananas. Sugarcane was the main export crop from the 18th century up until it gave way to bananas in the mid-20th century. Thereafter the economy was built on a tripod of economic activities namely: banana exports, light manufacturing and tourism. However, banana was king. The banana industry's contribution was immense and marks the country's period of greatest economic growth. The turn of the 21st century,

has seen a more radical shift. The collapse of two legs of the tripod - an abrupt decline in banana exports and shrinking of the export-oriented manufacturing sector - has caused tourism to supplant agriculture. Hence, St. Lucia has now grown into a service-based economy dominated by tourism. Table 3.1 above provides an overview.

St. Lucia is vulnerable to a variety of external shocks including: natural disasters, especially hurricanes; unpredictable international oil prices; changes in international trade regimes; and volatile tourist receipts. The country remains heavily dependent on external funds, and also carries a trade deficit. The combined impact of the aforementioned externalities, coupled with the effects of the 2008 international financial crisis has, in recent times, contributed to a slowdown in economic activity.

3.5.1 Rise and Fall of the Banana Industry

St. Lucia's banana industry developed in the 1950s following the collapse of the sugar industry. Unlike its predecessor, this fruit was well suited to conditions in the Eastern Caribbean in that not only could it be harvested throughout the year but it could also be cultivated on hilly, minimally arable land with relative ease. Consequently small-scale family farm models dominated banana cultivation in St. Lucia. The influence of banana farming soon permeated the entire St. Lucian society and was soon credited as the bedrock of the economy. Bananas offered a more –regular paycheck than sugar or any other export crop and replanting was speedy. In fact the crop had grown to be so lucrative to farmers and such a critical factor in the bare sustenance of the populace that it was often referred to as 'green gold'.

Critical to the success of bananas was its enjoyment of preferential treatment from the United Kingdom (UK). The 1974 signing of the Lomé Convention, a treaty between European Community (EC) members and many of their former colonies in Africa, the Caribbean and Pacific (ACP), guaranteed non-reciprocal preferential access of ACP bananas into the European market. Over time, this treaty, through the provision of duty-free preferences, import licensing, quotas and set prices for bananas supported an industry which otherwise would have probably struggled to be internationally competitive. The profitability of the banana trade was huge and brought about major improvements in the standard of living in St. Lucia.

The deepening of the EU through the creation of a Single European Market and the subsequent call for the dismantling of international trade barriers, ushered in by the WTO, changed the conditions under which ACP exports, particularly bananas, entered the EU. First, the introduction of a new EU banana import regime in July 1993, which granted duty-free quotas to ACP exports, saw the preferential arrangement under the Lomé become increasingly confrontational because it required waivers to the Article I non-discrimination clause of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Thereafter, several legal challenges were lodged by other banana-producing countries, particularly Latin America, which culminated in the WTO's ruling against the legitimacy of certain elements of the regime. As a result, country-specific quotas were eliminated in 1999. Further negotiations and adjustments saw the demise of the Lomé and its replacement by a weaker Cotonou Agreement, as well as a regime shift to a tariff-only system. The implications of these developments were far reaching.

As the level of protection diminished, St. Lucia was subjected to competition with large Latin American countries which have a comparative advantage in banana production by way of their superior production systems, better land resources and cheaper labour. New strategies were employed to ensure that St. Lucia remains competitive in the UK market. New certification schemes, special pack production and the establishment of relations with key supermarket chains are but a few. The industry was also privatized so as to remove what had been traditionally identified as unnecessary obstacles to efficiency – government and political interference (GOSL, 1999).

The re-structuring exercise did not stem the decline in market competitiveness as St. Lucia recorded a drop in banana export earnings from EC\$ 187 million in 1992 to EC\$ 65 million in 2008 (Klak, et al., 2011). It became increasingly inefficient to carry on with the family farmer model of banana cultivation. The adjustments also had an adverse effect on the weakest and poorest of the producers, and resulted in their exclusion from production. In effect, the number of banana farmers fell drastically from an estimated 13,000 in the early 1990s to less than 3000 in 2002 (Ministry of Social Transformation, Culture and Local Government, 2003). The consequences were also dire for banana farm labourers, most of whom were landless, who lost their jobs and found it impossible to secure other sources of income in the formal sector. Overall, the changes had a dramatic economic and social effect on the households of these displaced farmers and labourers as well as on the entire economy.

Table 3.1 bears statistical evidence of changes in the St. Lucian economy. It shows that between the years 2000 and 2010 agriculture experienced negative annual growth whereas a number of other sectors enjoyed positive growth during that same period. This

table also shows an unemployment rate of more than 20 percent and an estimated GDP per capita of US \$ 6200 in 2010. This is a striking pair of numbers. St. Lucia's GDP per capita, though it is considerably lower than OECD standards, is higher than that of many countries. The high rate of unemployment suggests that much could be gained by reducing unemployment. In other words, GDP per capita could be increased and poverty reduced by employing more people.

3.6 TOURISM

3.6.1 Historical Background

St. Lucia's tourism product has from the inception offered good climate, lovely beaches, lush tropical landscape and arresting mountain and sea views. However, despite earlier interest, tourism in St. Lucia only took off with the emergence of jet charter tours from the more developed countries of Western Europe, the United States of America, Canada and Great Britain in the mid-1960s. In an attempt to improve the stock of visitor accommodation, the government encouraged foreign investment in hotels and guest houses by developing attractive incentive regimes with enlarged concessions through the 1996 Tourism Incentives Act and its predecessor the Hotel Aids Ordinance of 1959. Consequently, multinational corporations such as Cunard Lines, Court Lines, and Holiday Inns International, invested and collaborated with international tour operators - Thomson, Skylark, and Paramount - in improving traffic to the island.

Although tourist arrivals have been periodically constrained by negative externalities as in the case of the 1973 oil crisis and the September 11 terrorist attacks in New York City, tourism has grown from a sector with a modest role in the development of the country to

its engine of economic growth. In fact, the demise of bananas has placed tourism at the forefront of St. Lucia's diversification efforts. Government's decision to make tourism the leading economic sector is chronicled in many of its policy documents, such as the 1996 to 1998 and 2000 to 2002 Medium Term Economic strategies. Its commitment to such policy pronouncement is also demonstrated in its budgetary allocations. For example, Government's expenditure on tourism increased from 2.12% of its budget in 2004 to 6% of its budget in 2009 (Caribbean Tourism Organization, 2011).

Having successfully used its incentives regime to increase its accommodation stock, government feared that an imminent oversupply of foreign owned all-inclusive establishments would alienate locals and contribute little to the local economy. As a result, the government made a major policy decision to put tourism on a more sustainable footing through greater benefit sharing and environmental protection. This was manifested in the implementation of heritage tourism which will be discussed towards the end of this chapter.

3.6.2 Achievements of the Tourism Sector

According to the Government of St. Lucia's 2011 Social and Economic Review the entire agriculture sector contributed 3.47 % to GDP while the hotel and restaurants sector alone contributed 10.53% of GDP (GOSL, 2012). What this shows is that tourism now exceeds the traditional producing sectors as both foreign exchange earner and employer.

The accommodation stock has increased from 1245 rooms in 1980 to 5396 in 2009, with hotels of 100 rooms or more enjoying over 70% of the share of total rooms (Caribbean Tourism Organization, 2011). The Caribbean Tourism Organization's (CTO) data on

arrivals over the past three decades shows the air arrivals have increased over five fold. Despite having a late start, cruise arrivals have in recent times met and surpassed land based tourism. For instance, overall visitor arrivals have increased from 713 401 in 2000 to 977 797 in 2010, with the major impetus coming from cruise arrivals, which increased from 443 551 in 2000 to 699 306 in 2009. However, the average expenditure of stay-over arrivals far exceeds that of cruise passengers. For example, stay-over visitors to St. Lucia spend on average US\$944.34 compared to US\$52.24 spent by cruise passengers. In fact, it was found that the average length of stay between the years 2000 and 2004 was 9.3 days (Caribbean Tourism Organization, 2011). Key tourism markets as of 2009 are the United States at 35.4% of market share, followed by the United Kingdom, the Caribbean, and Canada at 25.8%, 21.6% and 10.3% respectively. The hotel and restaurants sector's contribution over the last 15 years has been in excess of 11% with the 2009 percentage at 12.6 (Caribbean Tourism Organization, 2011).

3.6.3 Challenges

The overarching challenge for St. Lucia is to find areas of prioritization in terms of tourism development. In spite of the reported successes of St. Lucia's tourism industry, the development of hotels and other aspects of the tourism product have given rise to several challenges. First, most of the state's investment in tourism infrastructure has been concentrated in the city of Castries and in the economically advanced towns. Consequently, it has encountered difficulty in attracting inward investment away from these key areas, much to the detriment of the other parts of the country. The country is also grappling with the most effective way to deal with external variables such as

unpredictable and unstable oil prices, which continue to adversely impact its tourism industry.

Another obstacle faced by tourism development is social resistance. Hotel development is sometimes met with some degree of hostility, particularly for its displacement effects. Traditional users of beaches and coastal areas such as fishers and beach lovers feel that they are increasingly crowded out of these areas by tourists and investors. A prominent son of the soil, Nobel laureate Derek Walcott has also articulated his displeasure by referring to the Caribbean's tourism philosophy as "slavery with a smile" and mega beach resorts as "new plantations by the sea"(Walcott, 2010). Recent threat to the endangered white-breasted thrasher bird and the sedimentation of the Praslin Beach, both of which are associated with the construction of the Westin Le Paradis Beach, Golf and Marina Resort³ along the eastern coast of the island, have underscored environmental and conservation concerns.

3.7 THE POVERTY PROFILE

3.7.1 The State of Play

Poverty has worsened since the precipitous decline of the banana industry. According to St. Lucia's 2005/2006 Country Poverty Assessment (Kairi Consultant's Limited, 2006, pg.xvi) "poverty, as measured by the headcount, increased from 25.1 percent [of the total population] in 1995 to 28.8 percent in 2005." However, the country also recorded a substantial drop in indigence over the same period, from 7.1 percent to 1.6 percent of the

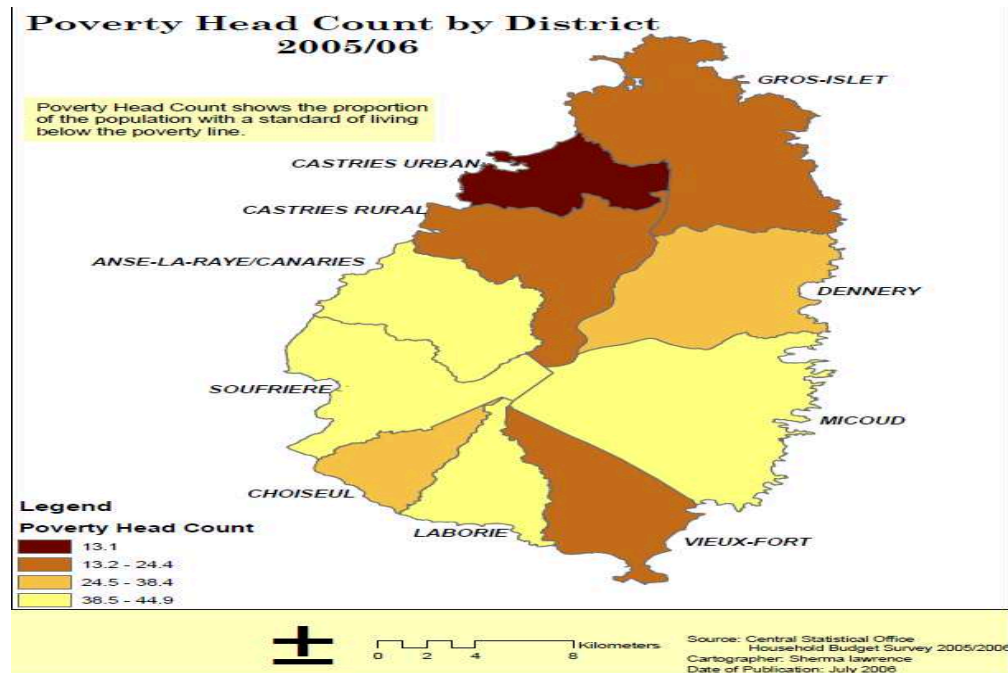
³ This development has come to the halt due to the economic meltdown in the United States.

total population. This suggests that while poverty has increased, the proportion of the population living in extreme poverty has plummeted. Another positive finding is the drop in the overall levels of inequality in the distribution of income (Gini coefficient 0.5 to 0.42) within the St. Lucian society. Nevertheless, a value of 0.42 still indicates a significant degree of inequality. Also, though improvement in the indigent and inequality levels is apparent, it is disturbing that an estimated additional 11.5 percent of the population has been found to be vulnerable to shocks that could push them below the poverty line. This means that a total of 40.3 percent of residents is vulnerable or lack resilience. Moreover, St. Lucia's poverty line is estimated to be EC\$ 13.93 (US\$ 5.22) per day, or approximately EC\$ 5080 (US\$ 1900) per year. Table 3.1 reports that, in contrast, St. Lucia's GDP per capita was approximately US\$ 6200 in 2010 and that the unemployment rate exceeded 20 percent in 2010. We see some indicators that St. Lucia has made progress, but the statistics in this paragraph present a mixed picture; in 2005, almost 29 percent of the population lived at or below the poverty line. Among the most vulnerable to poverty are children, women, and farmers. In fact, some 40 percent of all the poor are under 15 years of age.

The findings of the 2005/2006 Country Poverty Assessment indicate that poverty in St. Lucia is more of a rural phenomenon. According to the assessment, in 2006 rural districts such as Anse La Raye (44.9%), Micoud (43.6%) and Laborie (42.1%) have all registered prevalence rates in excess of 35 percent, with the first two recording the highest rates of indigence at 5.3 percent and 4.1 percent respectively. It is important to note that not only are these two indigent figures substantially higher than the national average (1.6%) but

they are also considerably higher than the figures for the main urban districts of Castries (0.6%) and Gros Islet (0.4%).

Figure: 3.2



Map 1: Poverty Map (Poverty Head Count by District)

Source: Kairi Consultant's Limited. (2006). Saint Lucia Country Poverty Assessment 2005/2006

3.7.2 *Poverty-Reduction Interventions*

Much is being done by the Government of St. Lucia (GOSL) to address the poverty situation. One key initiative is the establishment of the Basic Needs Trust Fund (BNTF). It is the most long standing social programme and its principal objective is to assist low-income communities through the provision of large social infrastructure projects such as construction of access roads, health and education facilities, and water production and distribution. Another intervention is the Poverty Reduction Fund (PRF) which came into

being in 1998 and quickly became the flagship in the attack on poverty. The thrust of the PRF's work is to "reduce poverty in communities by building social capital, improving geographic equity and encouraging initiatives that contribute to environmental sustainability" (Kairi Consultants limited, 2006, p.100). Notwithstanding their meaningful contribution, there was a noticeable lack of coordination between the BNTF and PRF. In addition, the two were found to have limited direct impact on social and economic infrastructure as well as on social development, particularly training and capacity building (Ministry of Social Transformation, Culture and Local Government, 2003). Consequently, these two community-based initiatives were brought under a single administrative framework called the Social Development Fund (SSDF). This entity promotes employability and employment by providing short-term employment, on-the-job training and lifestyle skills training to persons aged 16 – 60. It also shows greater sensitivity to the indigent through its 'Koudemain Ste. Lucie' programme, which provides psychosocial support to such households. Furthermore, the SSDF has also developed education assistance programmes, and housing assistance programmes.

A myriad of other social programmes, projects and initiatives exist under the auspices of various government ministries and non-governmental agencies. They include other labour market programmes such as the National Skills Development Center (NSDC) and the James Belgrave Micro Enterprise Development Fund Inc (Belfund). The latter provides access to credit, technical assistance, enterprise training and other support services to micro-businesses. NSDC's mandate, on the other hand, is to increase youth employability by conducting training programmes, providing work experience and apprenticeship, as well as labour market information, for young persons who do not have the entry

requirements for post-secondary vocational training or tertiary education. Other noteworthy interventions include: the Community Day Care Program and the Roving Day Care Program which target poor and vulnerable infants and young children; the National Community Foundation which was established for the purpose of receiving and distributing funds for the benefit of the poor, needy or disadvantaged; and the Social Assistance Program which provides cash benefits for the needy.

3.8 HERITAGE TOURISM - EVIDENCE OF A TOURISM-POVERTY NEXUS

3.8.1 The St. Lucia Heritage Tourism Programme (SLHTP)

The pursuit of heritage tourism represents St. Lucia's most lucid attempt at marrying tourism policy and poverty alleviation strategies. This policy shift mainly arose out of concerns over: (1) the sustainability of the tourism industry; and (2) the inequitable distribution of the benefits deriving from the development of that industry. The decision was marked by the establishment of the St. Lucia Heritage Tourism Programme (SLHTP) in 1998. The Programme, which was a collaborative initiative of the GOSL and the European Union (main financier), used two complementary approaches to fulfill its mission of:

“[establishing] heritage tourism as a viable and sustainable component of St. Lucia's tourism product by facilitating a process of education, capacity building, product development, marketing, credit access and the promotion of environmental and cultural protection for the benefit of host communities” (Renard, 2001, p.2).

One approach was to facilitate a broader distribution of the benefits of the conventional mass tourism initiatives, and the other entailed the creation of a new complementary sub-sector of community-based nature heritage initiatives. In other words the SLHTP sought to (1) address the challenge of an over concentration of tourism in the Castries - Gros

Islet corridor by decentralizing the country's offerings; and (2) enrich the visitor experience through the provision of a unique historical heritage, and authentic natural and cultural activities.

The SLHTP was implemented under the five broad programme areas listed below, with all components running in tandem.

1. Product Development
2. Policy
3. Institutional Strengthening and Capacity Building
4. Marketing
5. Public Awareness and Community Mobilization

The product development component focused on the creation of the new heritage product by developing a range of facilities and services. A key expectation was that these initiatives would not only improve the product offering but also stimulate new and small enterprise development. The policy component advocated the development of a policy framework that supports greater community involvement in the newly established heritage sector. The objective of the institutional strengthening and capacity building element was to improve both individual and stakeholder institutions through the provision of training opportunities and technical assistance.

The marketing aspect of the SLHTP focused on the external promotion of St. Lucia as a sustainable tourism destination with a distinctly rich heritage tourism product. The final component is centered on national campaigns that advance the heritage sector's potential for generating employment and other economic gains. These campaigns would also seek to sensitize the general populace to the linkages between effective environmental management and realizing sustainable tourism development (Renard, 2001; Clauzel, 2001).

An interview with Mr. Nigel Mitchel, Development Specialist in the Ministry of Tourism, revealed that the SLHTP used the following as its basic criteria in the selection of the communities to benefit:

- Presence and access to sites and attractions
- Infrastructure
- Evidence of entrepreneurship
- Civil society development

3.8.2 Heritage Sites and Attractions

In addition to advancing the need for heritage tourism to be used as an instrument for integrated development, the SLHTP contributed to the development of the island's heritage product by establishing several heritage sites and attractions in selected communities around the island. Table 3.2 below presents a compendium of some of these heritage sites. These sites can generally be categorized as colonial estates, historic gardens, nature trails, or combinations of the three. The Programme guaranteed that the upgraded properties not only satisfy international standards but that the each facility implements and operates a management system that is compatible with the Government's policy on the physical, social and cultural environment.

Table 3.2**Heritage Sites and Attractions****Colonial Estates****Fond Doux Estate (Soufriere)**

Fond Doux Estate is located in the picturesque old French capital, Soufriere. It is an old working cocoa plantation which was once a major battle scene between the French and British. The estate accentuates the French stronghold in this part of the island. Remnants of their infrastructure are quite apparent in an old plantation house which overlooks original cocoa racks, lush green vegetation, and military ruins. Overnight guests can be accommodated in simple bungalows or in one of many 19th century cottages. Guide tours of the facility allow visitors to experience cocoa beans being aged in a rustic house before being foot pressed into giant iron pots.

Fond D'Or Nature Reserve (Dennery)

Located along the coast of the eastern village of Dennery, this heritage site is living testimony of the island's rich history and unspoilt natural beauty. Fond D'Or bears traces of Amerindian settlements and structures dating back to the sugar age. A hike through its estuarine forest allows the visitor a rare opportunity to visit leatherback turtles on a wide white sandy beach.

Balenbouche Estate(Choiseul)

Balenbouche Estate is situated in the community of Choiseul. A community deemed the craft capital of St. Lucia. It is a unique combination of historic sites, organic farms and guest and family homes. This site is rich in Amerindian artifacts and ruins from 18th century plantation water wheel sugar factories. Also found on the estate is an old plantation and guest cottages surrounded by ancient trees, tropical flowers and pasture lands. This tropical vegetation also aligns a trail within walking distance of secluded beach.

Historic Gardens and Parks**Pigeon Island National Park (Gros Islet)**

Pigeon Island National Park can be described as a living museum within a natural setting. Prior to its joining to St. Lucia by the causeway, Pigeon Island was the stronghold of the first European settler. At its summit rests remnants of a naval garrison – Fort Rodney - used by British Admiral Rodney during his battles with the French. A lookout point at the top of Fort Rodney presents a panoramic view of the northwest coastline as well as a clear view of the neighbouring French island of Martinique. Several other ruins including barracks, magazines, and also a signal station used by the US during World War II can be found within the park. A museum and interpretative centre is housed in what used to be the officer's mess.

Mamiku Gardens (Micoud)

This is an old French estate and battle ground located on the east coast of the island. It contains a blend of dense forests, nature trails, and beautiful landscape gardens which provide a beautiful habitat for birds, butterflies and orchids. The natural trail winds through a creole medicinal herb garden and mini banana plantation. The estate also provides a fascinating view of the Atlantic Ocean.

Diamond Falls Botanical Gardens (Soufriere)

Nestled under the Pitons, this unique site can be found on Diamond Estate in Soufriere. It is the home of waterfalls and therapeutic mineral-rich baths originally built by French king, Louis XVI, to refresh and heal his troops during battles. A walk through the botanical gardens showcases the beautiful diversity of St. Lucia's plant life.

Nature Trails**Gros Piton Nature Trail (Choiseul)**

This trail begins in the community of Fond Gens Libre, which translates into "Village of the Free People". As one traverses he can see several brigand sites including tunnels, caves, and look-outs and landing sites. An estimated two hour walk places one at the summit of Gros Piton, the largest of the twin peaks, where they will experience an astounding, panoramic view of Choiseul and the entire southwestern part of the island.

The Desbarras Turtle Watch Project (Barbonneau –Castries)

This is a trail developed to attract tourist to visit and spend time in the secluded rural community of Desbarras. Under this project tourist are encouraged to engage in overnight camps at a secluded beach in order to experience the spectacle of watching the world's endangered leatherback turtle - the largest living turtle - come ashore to lay eggs.

Source: Compiled by Author.

3.8.3 HERITAS and Heritagetours

The uncovering and upgrade of existing heritage sites was complemented by the SLHTP's 'Heritagetours' initiative. As the term suggests the primary objective of this initiative is to encourage visitors to tour the various heritage facilities. However, the implementers of the Programme came to an early realization that knowledge of and access to the various sites and attractions were limited and largely inadequate and therefore found it counterintuitive to upgrade them without making them readily available and accessible. As a result, the SLHTP facilitated the formation of the Heritage Tourism Association of St. Lucia (HERITAS).

HERITAS is the umbrella grouping of heritage sites around the island. This association currently consists of 22 individual and institutional members of similar interest, all of whom are committed to fulfilling the following mission statement:

To provide a heritage tourism product, through collaborative planning, development and marketing of heritage sites and attractions, which offers a unique St. Lucian experience to the visitor, while ensuring greater community involvement, environmental sustainability, and distribution of economic benefits to the wider St. Lucian population.

Ever since its establishment, HERITAS members have benefitted through numerous means including: collateral marketing; access to technical and financial assistance; and group public liability insurance (HERITAS, 2012). The organization is very proactive and has enjoyed some level of success. For example, in an attempt to increase its market share, the organization has forged relationships with other stakeholders in the tourism industry. Noteworthy is a complementary marketing strategy between itself and the cruise sector which enables and encourages cruise ship agents to sell pre-packaged tours to various heritage branded sites.

3.8.4 Other Rural-based Heritage Tourism Initiatives

Table 3.2 bears evidence that several communities around the island have benefited from the development of heritage sites and attractions. However, the heritage tourism interventions are far more diverse in that they target other areas such as: health and wellness through the development of exotic herbs and mud products; agriculture through the creation of agro-tourism linkages; enterprise development by way of capacity building initiatives in the area of food preparation and customer service. The two most noteworthy examples of such initiatives, in terms of investment levels and reach, are interventions based in the rural communities of Anse La Raye and Dennery.

The Dennery-based initiative is the most recent. Though not a direct initiative of the SLHTP, this forms part of the heritage tourism thrust. Ever since the expiration of the SLHTP, the Ministry of Tourism has been charged with the responsibility for further diversifying the tourism product into the villages and rural communities. Hence, the Ministry has pursued the development of new and distinct agro/eco-tourism products. Under this recent initiative existing heritage facilities such as Fond D'or – described in Table 3.2 above - has been improved upon through technical support in safety and infrastructure designs. Value added products like a visitor center, and soft adventure tours have also been developed. Another significant component of Dennery's product offering under this recent initiative is a weekly food festival modeled after the 'Anse La Raye Seafood Friday', discussed below.

3.9 THE CASE STUDY SITE: ANSE LA RAYE

Anse La Raye is a small rural settlement situated on the west coast of the island. Anse La Raye is bordered by Castries to its north, Canaries – the island’s smallest district - to its south, and the Caribbean Sea to its west. This village also lies below sea level, which makes it vulnerable to flooding associated with sea swells from the Caribbean Sea. According to St. Lucia’s 2010 Housing and Population Census, Anse La Raye has a population of roughly 6247 persons which represents 3.8 percent of the islands total population. This statistic reveals that Anse La Raye is not only the second smallest but also the second least populous district of St. Lucia. There are approximately 2162 households at an average of 2.9 persons per household as opposed to the national average of 2.8 persons per households.

Commercial farming of sugarcane, bananas, cocoa and root crops once provided a means of livelihood for residents and persons from neighbouring communities. Nevertheless, Anse La Raye is generally regarded as a fishing community because of the vital and longstanding role which this activity has played in the well-being of each household. Data from the St. Lucia’s Department of Fisheries informs that out of a total of 1393 full-time fishers island-wide, some 64 of these fishers are from Anse La Raye. An additional 48 residents of that community are part-time fishers. Anse La Raye fishers operate 22 registered vessels, 18 of which are pirogues and the balance canoes. The fishers are primarily engaged in net fishing of coastal pelagic species such as jacks, ballyhoo, barracudas and needlefishes (Interview with Rufus George, Deputy Chief Fisheries Officer).

Apart from fishing and to a lesser extent, subsistence farming, there is little economic activity in the village of Anse La Raye. However, it is important to note that there is a current upsurge in tourist activity in this community.

3.9.1 Poverty in Anse La Raye

As stated in Chapter 2, the 2006 County Poverty Assessment found Anse La Raye to be the most impoverished district on the island. In fact, 39.6 percent of households within the Anse La Raye/Canaries district were found to be poor and 26.1 percent vulnerable. Statistics also show that households in this rural district are primarily made up of persons who are either unemployed, engaged in part-time or seasonal employment, or employed in low-skilled, low paying jobs. The men are mostly engaged in subsistence farming and small scale net fishing whereas women are mainly vendors. The Assessment also found households to be reliant on occasional remittances, small pensions and social assistance. Further, the 2010 census reveals a 24.5 percent unemployment rate as opposed to the national average which then stood at 20.6 percent.

3.10 HERITAGE TOURISM IN ANSE LA RAYE

Barring a small waterfall, and the remains of the ‘La Sikwi’ Sugar Mill, both situated on old private estates, there is relatively little by way of natural attractions to lure persons to that community. However, the Government of Saint Lucia’s decision to make Anse La Raye a beneficiary of the heritage tourism programme helped inject some much needed economic activity into the poverty-stricken community.

This intervention came in various forms and included the provision of both technical and financial assistance to small community businesses and private heritage areas. For example the attractiveness of the community waterfall was enhanced through proper

certification and better and safer accessibility. Technical assistance was provided to conduct a feasibility study at the site of the La Sikwi Sugar Mill, as well as for the development of business plans for the property owners. Training was also provided for existing and interested community-based tour guides. The Programme also delivered technical and financial assistance to a longstanding underdeveloped family business, named Plas Kassav (*creole for 'Cassava Place'*). Plas Kassav is engaged in small-scale production and retail sale of basic cassava bread. Nonetheless, the most noteworthy initiative of the SLHTP implemented in the west coast village is the Anse La Raye Seafood Friday.

3.10.1 Anse La Raye Seafood Friday

Launched in year 2000, the Anse La Raye Seafood Friday is an activity conceived with the primary objective of further diversifying the tourism product into the host community. It is an event held every Friday night on the waterfront area of the village of Anse La Raye. On that night, the waterfront street is cordoned off and lined with booths manned by vendors from the community for the primary purpose of selling an assortment of locally prepared fish and other seafood. This activity affords the villagers the opportunity to use the sea, the most abundant resource, to get the most out of the tourist dollar.

This activity is distinct from other conventional tourism activities in that it provides an opportunity for tourists to mingle with locals as they enjoy their sumptuous local cuisine. Visitors are also treated to local culture through live music and indigenous dances. In addition, authentic arts and craft are displayed for sale.

3.11 CONCLUSION

St. Lucia epitomises an economy that has grown increasingly dependent on tourism. Having been sheltered from global competition by way of preferential market access into Europe, this country was able to effectively grow its economy on lucrative banana exports to the United Kingdom. Subsequent large scale changes brought about by the new multilateral trading system eroded St. Lucia's preferential treatment privileges resulting in a precipitous decline in banana exports and economic growth rates. St. Lucia has been trying to address its economic misfortunes by making tourism the cornerstone of its new development strategy.

Although tourism has succeeded in replacing bananas as St. Lucia engine of economic growth, there are grave concerns over reported increases in incidence of poverty, particularly in rural communities like Anse La Raye. A myriad of poverty reduction interventions have been tried. However, it is the attempt to purposefully marry tourism development with poverty reduction through the implementation of the concept of heritage tourism that resonates with the author.

This chapter shows that the heritage tourism initiative is distinctive and more inclusive than other approaches to tourism development in that it pays particular attention to the historical, natural, social and cultural heritage of rural communities. Heritage tourism interventions also targets diverse areas such as health and wellness, agriculture and small enterprise development. The researcher takes keen interest in the initiatives implemented in the village of Anse La Raye and provides a synopsis of such activities as he prepares to carry out, in the next chapter, an assessment of their impact.

CHAPTER 4
REPORT AND DISCUSSION ON FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discloses the findings of the research. It assesses the field evidence and reports on the impact of government's decision to implement heritage tourism in Anse La Raye. The discussion also considers whether the policy thinking bears any substantial evidence of the country gravitating towards or adopting pro-poor tourism as an approach to addressing rural poverty.

4.2 RESULTS FROM CASE STUDY

4.2.1 Employment & Income Generation

This research finds heritage tourism to be largely responsible for the flow of tourism-related activity in host rural communities. Prior to the implementation of heritage tourism there was virtually no tourism activity in the rural districts. For instance, before the introduction of heritage tourism in Anse La Raye, the only tourism-related service in that community came from a few craft vendors setting up souvenir trays alongside the highway bisecting the village with the expectation that taxis and tour buses traversing that route would be thoughtful enough to stop to allow the tourist an opportunity to purchase. Tour vehicles seldom stopped and therefore this roadside vending practice yielded paltry earnings.

The Anse La Raye case study reveals that heritage tourism has been able to generate some level of employment for the local population. According to the survey data compiled from interviews with 32 of the 45 vendors registered with the Anse La Raye Local Management Committee, most of the vendors at the Anse La Raye Sea Food Friday were previously unemployed. Actually, apart from two male vendors who are fisherman and carpenter, and one woman who was previously a souvenir vendor, all of these interviewees were previously unemployed. Furthermore, all of the registered vendors are natives of Anse La Raye and are predominantly female and single parents. Vendors further informed the researcher that they were able to employ either their immediate or extended families. Three of the interviewees seemed happy to reveal that they had taken over their parents' operations. The study also disclosed that vendors employed at the Seafood Friday activity earn a net average income of EC\$ 700/ US\$ 258 per week.

The multiplier effect of this activity appears to be quite substantial as other residents including the owners of small business establishments like refreshment bars and night clubs also confirmed that they are beneficiaries of an increased flow of tourists to the poverty stricken community. Notwithstanding the fact that the study bears evidence of an improvement in the lives of some residents through job creation, the survey also discloses that majority of these direct beneficiaries are not employed on a daily basis.

4.2.2 Linkages and Local Sourcing of Inputs

The findings show strong evidence of the Anse La Raye Seafood Friday creating new linkages. Also significant is the revelation that most of the goods provided to visitors are locally produced and that the services are also rendered by citizens of that community.

The Friday activity has created a strong link with the fishing sector. Resident fishers have found a new, regular and ready market for their catch. Hence, rather than having to compete with fishermen from the other communities they are given priority in supplying the local seafood vendors. However, the vendors admit that the local fishermen are scarcely able to meet their demands. Owing to the inferior fishing techniques, Anse La Raye fishers' catch lack variety. Consequently, vendors have no alternative but to outsource larger pelagic fish (tunas, dolphin fish, wahoo and marlin) and other highly-priced species (lobster, snapper, groupers and queen conch) from either other fishing communities or from the Fish Marketing Cooperation - a statutory body set up by the government to provide a guaranteed market to fishermen year round, and to encourage the proper handling and processing of fish.

Linkages have also been created with the agriculture sector. While seafood is the main product on offer, its preparation necessitates other ingredients like peppers, onions and other vegetables and local root tubers. Most of these vegetables and agricultural products are purchased from farmers residing within the community. Lamentably, as in the case of fish, vendors express concern over the limited supply and inferior quality of some of the local agricultural produce.

Many of these respondents also cite beverage, in particular piton beer - a Saint Lucia brew -, as the second best-selling commodity at the activity. The lone wholesale liquor business in the community reported a substantial increase in sales. Even the retail rum shop owners acknowledge being direct beneficiaries of the increase in the visitor traffic brought about by the Friday event. The activity also had a positive impact on the entertainment and creative arts sector in that locally-based disc jockeys, indigenous

cultural groups, singers and folk dancers are all engaged in the production of the event's entertainment package.

4.2.3 Small Enterprise Development

Despite demonstrating its ability to create linkages, there is little evidence of enterprise development. Nonetheless, two noteworthy business offshoots of the heritage tourism intervention in Anse La Raye are the growth of Plas Kassav, and the expansion of Island Adventures Co Ltd. The owners of Plas Kassav took advantage of the technical and financial assistance that was being offered under the SLHTP by using these resources to develop their business into a viable HACCP (Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Point) certified small business enterprise. The locally-owned enterprise was able to expand and add value to its product offering to include a far greater variety and flavours of cassava products. Plas Kassav was also able to enhance the visitors experience by offering the tourist a unique opportunity to walk through and witness the indigenous methods of cassava production employed in the enterprise's daily operations.

Island Adventures Co Ltd is not a direct product of SLHTP. However, it is an offshoot of the early success of the initiative. Anse La Rayan businessman Julian Adjodha enlightened the researcher as to how the early successes of the heritage tourism intervention motivated him to further invest in his touring business. According to him, Island Adventures was able to improve the flow of visitors to Anse La Raye by investing in special vehicles capable of taking visitors through rugged terrain to sites that were inaccessible by the normal taxi service. These specialized tours brought much needed revenue to the community because the tour operator contracted local drivers and tour guides to take the tourists to the secluded sites.

4.2.4 Infrastructure Development

Despite the increase in the flow of visitors, evidence from the research demonstrates little improvement in the physical infrastructure of the community. The recommissioning of the Anse La Raye Fisheries Complex is perhaps the single biggest infrastructure investment in Anse La Raye that has some bearing on both the tourist product and the local population. Apart from the much needed fish storage facility, the construction of a jetty has arguably added the greatest value to the tourist product. The availability of a jetty provides easier access for small vessels wanting to berth at and visit the community. Consequently, tourists staying at the not too distant Marigot Bay Marina now have the option of visiting Anse La Raye via sea. Another positive in terms of infrastructure is the construction of public toilet facilities. The construction of the facility primarily came as an answer to the many requests from tourists that was continuously amplified by the local seafood vendors and stakeholders.

4.2.5 Leakages

The survey initially revealed very little income or employment leakages as all vendors, shop owners and operators offering their services are residents of the village. However, whereas most of the direct economic benefits remain within the community, leakages seem to take place through indirect channels. For instance, the inability of local fishers to adequately supply the local vendors can be regarded as one such deficiency. In addition, the fact that vendors find themselves having to travel outside the village to purchase deep water pelagic and other inputs suggests that the initiative has failed to take full advantage of the economic opportunities created for locals. This is further accentuated by the fact that some of key high-demand marine species such as lobster which are subjected to

seasonal fishing regulations, have to be periodically imported for preparation and sale at the activity.

4.2.6 Villagers' Perceptions

In order to better understand the impact of the Sea Food Friday activity on the community, respondents were asked to speak freely on the initiative. All perceived the activity to be useful with a positive impact on their livelihood. However, several concerns were raised. Respondents who were vendors from the inception lamented the lack of institutional support and the drop in the quality and reach of the activity. According to one respondent “when we started there were about fifty-five (55) vendors and now there are only roughly thirty-five (35) of us.” This she felt was a direct result of a decline in the marketing support from the Tourist Board and unprofessional conduct on the part of members of the local management committee whose integrity she also questioned. Mention was made of the image of a Rastafarian character being used to sell the activity on an airline brochure which was not representative of what was being offered at the Anse La Raye Seafood Friday.

There was a general feeling that the initial support and effort that was placed in making the activity a success has plummeted. A reported decline in sponsorship from the private sector was also revealed. A vendor informed that key businesses such as the Windward and Leeward Brewery - the solitary brewery in St. Lucia - and the St. Lucia Distillers - a St. Lucian distillery - which were sponsors during the early period have failed to develop any long term commitment to the initiative. In her view, not only did those businesses provide financial support but more critically, they added value to the indigenous character or rather the St. Lucian authenticity of the weekly event.

Similarly, a seafood vendor expressed concern over the activity losing its authenticity by claiming that there are far too many vendors concentrating on the sale of crafts and other souvenirs instead of the seafood. At the same time, another claims that much is being made of the opportunity to sell local craft at the event, but the majority of the tourists visit for the sole purpose of enjoying a local meal in the authentic creole ambiance and do not care to engage in the purchase of arts and crafts.

4.3 HAS ST. LUCIA EMBRACED THE PRO-POOR APPROACH?

One of the central aims of this thesis is to determine whether St. Lucia's tourism development strategy embraces a pro-poor approach. Research reveals that St. Lucia has recorded substantial growth in tourism. In fact, a review of the data shows tourism developed at such a remarkable pace that it has supplanted the longstanding agriculture industry as the country's engine of economic growth. Barring its contribution to this country's gross domestic product, tourism's success story is most visible in the transformation of the north of the island. The success of tourism is also manifested in the substantial increase in hotel rooms and other similar accommodation facilities.

Of grave concern, however, is the disproportionate level of economic development of the urban areas in relation to the rural communities. This thesis bears early evidence of St. Lucia struggling to diversify its tourism product to the rural areas, resulting in minimal distribution of tourism benefits to the poor and underprivileged. Nevertheless, therein rests a subsequent realization of how a shortfall of one policy approach can give rise to an opportunity to exploit new ones, such as the pro-poor tourism approach.

Although conceived as a community based initiative, the SLHTP is undoubtedly one intervention that can be regarded as pro-poor embracing. While this programme does not have poverty reduction as its sole focus, it certainly embodies pro-poor elements. One such element is the fundamental principle of ‘wide application’ summarized by Chok et al. (2007) in Table 2.3. Unlike the initial conventional mass approach which concentrates exclusively on fostering economic growth through increased numbers, the SLHTP has purposely taken into account the plight of the poor by extending its tourism development endeavours to some of the poverty stricken areas of the island. Secondly, by broadening the scope of the tourism policy, more variables come into play thereby forcing policymakers to consider a ‘holistic’ and more ‘balanced approach’, both of these approaches being key principles of pro-poor tourism. Another major element of pro-poor tourism is ‘participation of the poor’, and this research piece clearly finds the existence of a participatory role by Anse La Raye residents in the operationalization of this weekly seafood activity.

The implementation of some of the other principles of the pro-poor approach proves more of a challenge. For instance, the field survey reveals a difficulty in securing wide stakeholder participation which brings the principle of ‘commercial realism’ to the fore. More specifically, the Anse La Raye case study validates such a challenge by finding the private sector’s engagement to be nominal. It found the private sector’s support only came in the form of small generous donations instead of the more ideal long-term partnerships. Nonetheless, the positive impact of the SLHTP initiative on the poor and disadvantaged persons in Anse La Raye bears strong evidence that St. Lucia has seen merit in employing a pro-poor approach to tourism development.

4.4 CONCLUSION

The main objective of this chapter was to reveal the main findings of the research. There is sufficient evidence to show that St. Lucia has recognised that tourism holds the potential to improve the lives of the poor. Although its policy decisions may not be documented under the pro-poor banner, inherent in its heritage tourism policy is an attempt to diversify the tourism industry so as to enable the rural poor to explore the economic potential of the sector in order to improve their living conditions. The Anse La Raye case study has demonstrated that heritage tourism can, though limited, positively impact the livelihood of the poor persons in that community.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this final chapter is to summarize the outcome of this research by weighing the knowledge acquired against the central aims and objectives of the thesis. The summary takes the form of a discussion and concludes with some guiding notes and policy recommendations on how best St. Lucia should use its tourism potential to address its poverty issues.

5.2 TOURISM-POVERTY NEXUS : REFLECTING ON THE RHETORIC

There is no doubt that the potential to exploit the synergy between tourism development and poverty reduction has grown in prominence. The veracity of this statement is most evident in the proliferation of publications and scholarly writings on the concept of pro-poor tourism. Additionally, the emergence of key initiatives such as the UNWTO ST-EP Programme which seeks to harness the developmental power of tourism in the fight against world poverty has given credence to pro-poor tourism as a potential tool for poverty reduction. The notion of pro-poor tourism advocated by the Pro-poor Tourism Partnership focuses on the mainstreaming of both tourism and poverty reduction. For this reason, it has been promoted as having a distinct approach that seeks not only to directly improve the livelihood of the poor but one that also harnesses the potential of the industry as a whole. Despite some positive rhetoric, there are equally strong arguments that other forms of tourism pre-exist pro-poor tourism as a mechanism for reducing poverty.

Nevertheless, based on the literature reviewed, it is the scepticism about the practicality of the concept of pro-poor tourism that seems to dominate.

The practical application of pro-poor tourism poses some challenges. Most noteworthy is the fact that this approach has emerged at a time when neoliberal ideologies and processes are firmly entrenched in development discourse. Consequently, its altruistic intentions are often suppressed by growth-oriented principles. Be that as it may, it is clear that if the aim is to help lift people out of poverty in substantial numbers, then mainstreaming tourism should be the principal objective of any pro-poor tourism intervention. However, the review also casts some doubt on the merits of that debate by suggesting that niche forms of tourism often prevail at the implementation stage.

In the final analysis, there appears to be greater value in targeting poverty through mainstreaming as opposed to through niching, as it only seems logical that any small incremental change in the distribution of benefits in a large tourist flow is likely to have a more significant pro-poor impact than a large change in a niche tourist product.

5.3 HERITAGE TOURISM AS A PRO-POOR APPROACH: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

Here, the discussion summarizes the merits of exploring the tourism-poverty nexus as a potential strategy for poverty reduction. Drawing from the findings of this research, it discusses some of the opportunities and challenges associated with the pursuit of heritage tourism as a possible strategy to reducing poverty levels in rural communities in St. Lucia.

The path taken by St. Lucia prior to and upon the demise of bananas signals some recognition of the development capacity of tourism. Early tourism development efforts have enabled this country to use its natural beauty and desirable warm weather conditions to capitalize on its potential as an attractive tourist destination. The continued growth of the tourism industry has been substantially facilitated by timely investments in various forms of transport infrastructure and tourist accommodation facilities. It is also worth mentioning that the benefits of these advancements have multiplied through aggressive and well executed marketing exploits. In light of the overall improvement of the sector and considering that a holistic approach of mainstreaming tourism and poverty reduction is a key proposition of the advocates of pro-poor tourism, the prospect of any such tourism strategy that purposefully places poverty alleviation at its core is certainly encouraging.

Furthermore, the case study of the Anse La Raye Sea Food Friday has uncovered new opportunities that can be attributed to a pro-poor tourism approach. Key among them is the initiative's ability to create linkages. The most obvious is the direct link that emerged between the tourism and fishing industries. In other words, the weekly activity has provided locals with an additional avenue to trade the community's most abundant natural resource. This opportunity is huge in that it generates direct employment and provides a source of income for those who engage in the sale of prepared fish and other seafood to visitors. The activity also creates a ready market for the poor fishermen from within and outside of the community.

The case study also highlights the creation of other forward linkages through the engagement of other persons from the community such as farmers, musicians, bar and

night club owners, taxi drivers, tour guides, craftsmen, and cultural groups. A case in point is the development of complementary products such as authentic indigenous handicrafts to be sold as souvenirs. Heritage tourism has also shown that it can create opportunities for enterprise development, as demonstrated through the successes of Place Kassav.

Furthermore, this policy shift which facilitated the establishment of the SLHTP has, whether consciously or inadvertently, provoked a greater level of participation from the poor and disadvantaged persons from the rural communities. Since the traditional cultures and targeted heritage sites are prevalent in rural areas it is imperative to engage locals. In this regard, adjustments had to be made to the usual top down approach of tourism development. This has caused tourism interventions to be more participatory and consultative. Such developments can only augur well for the pursuit of tourism as a poverty reduction tool.

Notwithstanding the aforementioned opportunities, St. Lucia's successful implementation of such a strategy still necessitates a willingness to confront and overcome a myriad of challenges. For instance, despite its year-round desirable weather, the country's tourism industry remains seasonal. The prevalence of all-inclusive resorts means any seasonal drop in numbers has a deleterious effect on the flow of tourists to rural communities. Therefore, the sustainability of a pro-poor component is dependent on the island's ability to extend its tourist markets beyond the traditional ones.

Furthermore, heritage tourism initiatives like the Dennery and Anse La Raye seafood activities have increased the demand for marine fish and crustaceans. Meanwhile, though

engaged in commercial fishing, St. Lucia's fishers have not graduated from traditional small-scale, low technology fishing practices. As recent as 2006, fishing generally occurred within 15 miles of the coastline and was of roughly 12-hour duration (CRFM, 2006). This is further underscored by 2012 data from the Department of Fisheries which reveals that canoes and pirogues make up 88 percent of all registered vessels. Hence, failure to improve on the current fishing practices may have an adverse effect on local fish stocks because relying on techniques like net fishing will place added pressure on coastal pelagic fishery. St. Lucia's susceptibility to wind related weather conditions like storms and hurricanes also necessitate an upgrade of fishing vessels to vessels that are better able to withstand the cyclic higher sea swells and stronger winds.

Villagers' responses and perceptions of the Anse La Raye initiative clearly point to a lack of education and an inadequate understanding of what is required for them to enter and grow within the tourism supply chain. Most of the vendors are primary school graduates with very little employment skills and business acumen. As a result, locals have compromised the authenticity of the event by pursuing what they feel are quick income-generating practices. For example, some vendors have chosen to concentrate on the sale of T-shirts and other non-indigenous products. Additionally, the local music and cultural performances which were envisioned as integral to the activity have dwindled over time. In effect, major cultural performances have, in the main, been reduced from a weekly spectacle to monthly performances.

Quite a few concerns were raised by interviewees. Interestingly, these respondents express concern over government's irresponsibility in providing adequate infrastructure such as toilet facilities, public lighting, and vehicular parking and security. Also

disturbing was vendors' reservations on the integrity and management capacity of community residents who served on the local committee. The challenge of preserving the authenticity of the Anse La Raye Seafood Friday, as identified above, largely emphasize the need for the poor to be actively involved in tourism development. In actual fact, the study finds that wide stakeholder participation, acceptance, cooperation and commitment are some of the complexities in pro-poor tourism interventions.

This research piece demonstrates that, despite their nearly exclusive and commendable focus on the livelihood of the poor, pro-poor approaches to tourism have observable limitations and therefore cannot be regarded as a panacea for reducing poverty in any poverty stricken region. However, the many opportunities arising from the single undertaking in Anse La Raye, suggest that if well planned and executed, a pro-poor approach to tourism development can prove a worthy strategy for poverty reduction.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

In light of the foregoing discussion, below are some relevant notes and policy recommendations for harnessing the tourism–poverty nexus in St. Lucia.

- 1. Mainstream tourism into the country's poverty reduction strategy.** Rural poverty in St. Lucia is largely attributable to the decline of the agriculture sector, in particular the waning of the once vital banana industry. Hence, if tourism is to fill the void or rather assist in reversing the adverse effects of the ailing banana sector in these communities, it should be established as one of the main pillars in the country's poverty reduction strategy. Unfortunately, the current poverty

reduction strategy is dominated by social programmes which have not made the kind of impact that policymakers anticipated.

2. **Strengthen the linkages between tourism and agriculture.** One should not discount the importance of St. Lucia's agricultural history as well as the locals' competences in agriculture production. Hence, a concerted effort has to be made to strengthen the linkage between agriculture and tourism as this will significantly reduce any leakages that exist in the absence of such a connection.
3. **Support fishers in improving fishing techniques and production levels.** In light of the obvious potential to be derived from the sale of prepared fish and other marine species to tourists, government needs to move swiftly to convince and support fishers to increase the pace at which they develop their fishing methods. In addition, given the high value and high market demand for species like lobster and shrimps, aquaculture production should be considered as an opportune proposition to satisfying this market demand.
4. **Create a marriage between the tourism diversification efforts and tax incentive regimes.** This recommendation calls for a review of the industry's tax incentive regimes. The recommendation stems from two observations. First, it is clear that the current attempts to encourage private sector investment away from the north to low income communities are moving at an unsatisfactory pace. Secondly, the corporate contribution to social initiatives targeting the poor and disadvantaged remain minimal. For this reason government is urged to find a creative way to move corporate social responsibility beyond its voluntary nature.

In sum, tax incentives should encourage more private sector investment in rural communities.

- 5. Develop and improve indigenous product offerings.** The time has come to change the rural people's traditional mindset of depending almost exclusively on primary industries such as fishing and agriculture for their livelihood. Fortunately, tourists are increasingly searching for authentic indigenous experiences. It is in this context that another recommendation is for St. Lucia to develop its indigenous product offerings. Government should consider further research in order to provide useful insights as to how it can best assist the poor and marginalized to improve upon the potential of indigenous tourism products like handicrafts, pottery and other artefacts and souvenir items. Those persons should also be equipped with the technical and vocational training that would facilitate the progression of such indigenous products and services through the business development stages.
- 6. Encourage public-private partnerships.** Perhaps the rural communities would be better served if investment was not restricted to either the public or private sector. Hence, it is highly recommended that public-private partnership be encouraged. These partnerships should be adapted to specific reform objectives. One noted hindrance to the flow of tourists to the rural community is the restrictive nature of the public transport system. In other words tourists wishing to visit the rural communities are more inclined to use the more reliable and expensive taxi service. In this regard, a public-private initiative targeting the transportation system might very well be a feasible and viable one.

7. Broaden the range of pro-poor tourism interventions. The early success of the Anse La Raye Sea Food Friday bears evidence of the advantages of pro-poor initiatives. However, St. Lucia will only be able to satisfactorily explore the tourist–poverty nexus as a poverty-reduction strategy if it is able to develop the linkage, if not throughout, then at least in the majority of the rural, low-income or poverty stricken areas.

5.5 FINAL COMMENTS

This research has succeeded in examining the potential value of the tourism-poverty nexus. The central conclusion emanating from this piece is that pro-poor tourism possesses the capacity to become a viable tool for reducing poverty in St. Lucia.

Recent tourism related initiatives like the Anse La Raye Seafood Friday implemented as part of the St. Lucia Heritage Tourism Programme have shown that St. Lucia does have a pro-poor focus. However, the evidence also reveals that while the opportunities are plenty, its implementation is complex and poses serious challenges. In order for tourism to fulfil its potential and become a sustainable poverty reducing tool for St. Lucia, a number of issues have to be addressed.

Finally, should St. Lucia continue in its effort to explore the tourism-poverty nexus, it would be useful to draw from the previous experiences and to also give consideration to the recommendations made above.

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