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THE IMPACT OF DECISION MAKING ON TOURISM
AND THE ENVIRONMENT IN ST.KITTS

BY
WILLIAM RODNEY GERDSEN

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
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IN
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UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND

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ABSTRACT

The wider Caribbean region is at a critical juncture in its development as a tourism dependent regional economy. After more than twenty years of outstanding growth in tourist arrivals and foreign currency earning, the prospects for continued growth depends on maintaining the pristine environment on which tourism has come to rely. However, with more tourists comes increased pressure on the finite natural resources. It is ironic that the tourism industry has become one of the biggest causes of environmental decay and stands to be one of its first victims.

In planning to develop an island economy based on tourism, it is critical to solicit the opinions and concerns of the citizens and all interested parties in order to obtain a complete picture. It is also important to foster support and trust in the government and its actions. Without that dialogue, confusion and resentment on all sides results, and the effectiveness of environmental policies and educational efforts is greatly hampered.

The purpose of this research is to attempt to demonstrate that the Caribbean island of St. Kitts exhibits a closed environmental policy, decision-making process where concerns of its citizens and other interested parties are not considered by the government. To support this theory, the perceptions, opinions, attitudes, and beliefs of the local citizens were solicited concerning several issues: the state of the environment, the development of the tourism industry, and the relationship between the government leaders and the citizens. This information was then analyzed and integrated into suggestions for insuring the peaceful cohabitation between the environment and the

tourism industry and improving communication among all sections of the island population.

It is hypothesized that perceptions of the physical, social, and economic impacts of tourism on the island vary among sectors of the population. It is believed that there is a perception from specific user groups that they have been excluded from the environmental policy decision-making process, and that the government operates in the self-interest of the political and economic elite. Lastly, because of the self-serving policies, environmental policies and controls have not been effectively implemented.

Major recommendations which arise from the research include increasing public awareness and environmental education programs. It is also recommended that there be a focus on inviting particular groups into the planning and discussion stage of a project, thereby empowering members of the community to take some responsibility in managing their surroundings. More attention needs to be placed on maintaining environmental integrity and mitigating the deleterious effects of the tourism industry, essentially learning how to achieve sustainable development. Finally, efforts need to be made to involve the young people of the community in all aspects of these recommendations.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Tourism is a global industry, earning millions of dollars each year. It is no wonder, therefore, that many communities embrace this activity as a potentially significant portion of their local economy. This is especially true of the small, isolated island societies in the Eastern Caribbean region that have few exportable commodities due to limited resources and poor agricultural lands. However, that is not to say these islands do not have something of value to foreign visitors. On the contrary, the favorable climate, the sandy beaches, and the scenic attractions and cultural attributes are important factors that draw millions of visitors to the Caribbean each year.

In order to attract and capitalize on these masses, the island governments have openly solicited outside investors to develop portions of their island to accommodate the tourist population, hopefully resulting in more jobs, increased foreign exchange, and a better standard of living for the island inhabitants. Yet, these benefits do not come without costs. On many islands, the nearshore coral reefs have been severely damaged by run-off from construction, fish stocks have declined due to tourists' food demands, and the traditional lifestyle of the islanders has drastically changed (Allen, 1992). Clearly, not all that glitters is gold.

The island of St. Kitts is no exception. For years, they relied on the lucrative sugar industry to support their economy and keep them competitive in the global market. Historically, tourism never played a major role in their economy, never producing the same dollar revenues as sugar production. But, as world sugar prices fluctuated and eventually fell, the government of St. Kitts was forced to diversify its economy, which included pursuing an intensive tourist development plan to replace the declining sugar

industry. Other activities taken towards economic diversification include construction, light manufacturing, and local agriculture (McElroy and deAlbuquerque, 1988).

To create a balance between development and environmental health, the Government Of St. Kitts and Nevis (GOSKN) sponsored “eco-friendly” policies and regulations that were eventually passed into legislation. This system of checks and balances, designed to monitor resource use activities, has not been enforced by the political leaders on St. Kitts. This failure can be explained, in part, by the closed decision-making process, where the concerns of the stakeholders are not taken into consideration by the political leaders. The ability to influence management decisions is primarily held by the political elite, who are in turn supported by various interest groups, such as businesses and trade organizations, that have a direct interest in an increased number of tourists (Hall, 1994). These groups perceive little or no negative impacts on the environmental, social, or cultural aspects of their society and view the natural environment as a collection of expendable resources.

Meanwhile, the stakeholders - those who have an intimate knowledge of the environment and its resources - have virtually no voice in the process; most are unorganized and underrepresented, and are perceived as part of the problem more than part of the solution (Gamman, 1994). This under-represented group represents important knowledge and experiences that should be taken into account in the environmental decision-making process if long-term sustainable development projects have any chance of succeeding.

In an attempt to garner a larger market share of the tourism industry, St. Kitts may be sacrificing the cultural and environmental integrity of their tropical island. Kittitians are indeed fortunate to have an island and a culture that has not felt the impact of western culture as significantly as other Caribbean islands. The environment and culture on many other islands has already been marred beyond hope, but on St. Kitts, there is still a chance to save both.

In many regions around the world, the indigenous people have no connection with the political rulers of their country, and therefore their voices are not heard. It is the hope that this study will illustrate what is already recognized in much of the Caribbean: that such a problem does indeed exist, and that if it is not changed in the near future, the environment, the people, and the culture of these islands will be further damaged by this lack of communication and cooperation (Bromley and Cernea, 1989).

Hypotheses

Hypotheses One - Perceptions of the physical, social, and economic impacts of tourism on the island vary among interest groups on St. Kitts.

Hypotheses Two - It is the perception of specific resource user groups that they have been excluded from the environmental policy decision-making process.

Hypotheses Three - It is the perception of interest groups in the community of St. Kitts that the government operates in the self-interest of the political and economic elite.

Hypotheses Four – There are regional differences in perceptions of the physical, social, and economic impacts of tourism on the island of St. Kitts.

Survey Area and Sample Populations

The island of St. Kitts is politically divided into nine (9) parishes, each different from the others in terms of population size, physical area, and certain demographic characteristics. The research design included three parishes located in different regions of the island, all immediately adjacent to the coast: St. George's, which includes the capital, is located on the southern end of the island; St. John, which includes Dieppe Bay, is located on the northeast coast; and St. Ann, which includes Sandy Point, a small fishing town, is located on the west coast (Figure 1).

Figure 1: St. Kitts and Parishes

The three groups of the population that were surveyed and interviewed were the government officials, the economic interest groups, and the stakeholders. The government officials are those individuals duly elected or in an appointed position within the government, such as ministers, directors, and officers. They are individuals who are involved in resource management and have the greatest influence in the decision-making process. For purposes of easy identification within data tables or in the text of the thesis, this group will be hereafter referred to as Government Officials or GOs.

Economic interest groups are individuals who are involved with some kind of business venture, many of which may serve the tourism sector. This population will represent the private sector and includes those persons employed by these businesses in the area. This group will hereafter be referred to as Economic Interest Groups or EIGs.

The third group are local resource users represented by fishermen and farmers, as well as any individual who relies on the resources of the environment in some way for daily survival. This population will be representative of the opinions of the working class of the community and will hereafter be referred to as StakeHolders or SHs.

In order to collect the data required from these groups, three different questionnaires were developed soliciting information on socio-economic variables as well as tourism and environmental issues on St. Kitts. Independent or socio-economic variables included age, sex, occupation, and years lived on St. Kitts. Other questions focused on the feelings, opinions, and attitudes of the respondents regarding tourism and its impact on the quality of the environment. In addition, the survey asked questions regarding the amount of public involvement in environmental politics and the degree to which the government embraces this concept. Questions regarding environmental regulations and their effectiveness on St. Kitts were also investigated. Many of the questions were open-ended to allow the respondent to go into greater depth beyond a simple "yes" or "no" response.

The primary method of data collection used in this study involved distributing questionnaires and conducting key informant interviews on the island. Research has shown that more accurate information can be collected from interviews if the respondents are questioned in their own environment, in their own language, and on their own terms (Gamman, 1994). Therefore, the decision was made to conduct personal interviews on St. Kitts and in selected regions. Two, separate data-gathering trips were taken: the first was for fifteen days in 1996, and the second was for seven days in 1997. A local counterpart was employed to assist with the execution of the surveys as some respondents were believed to be distrustful of outsiders or foreigners.

The specific method of selecting respondents differed according to which population group was targeted. For example, it was not feasible to obtain a truly stratified random sample of the government officials since that group was so small in

number and hard to reach. In that case, individuals from all areas of government were contacted for the survey, resulting in ten (10) individuals being interviewed from different levels of the hierarchy. Members included department directors, assistant directors, deputy ministers, and constables. There were no objections to the survey or questions asked.

Contact with members of the economic interest group yielded a larger number of surveys. In St. George's parish and in the capital, Basseterre, there is a heavy concentration of businesses and local shops usually operated by the owners themselves. After obtaining a map of the local area, shops and businesses were located and subsequently every third business establishment was selected for the survey. If the owner was not immediately available to answer questions, the business was contacted later in the day or week. This portion of the population resulted in fifty-eight (58) interviews. There were no objections to the survey or questions asked.

Obtaining a random sample of stakeholders in the community presented different challenges. Strategic locations with high pedestrian traffic were targeted for personal interviews and every third passerby was approached for information. Specific user groups, such as fishermen and farmers, were sought out at their work areas where every third individual was asked to be interviewed. Again, this was done with the assistance of a local guide to provide some reassurance to the respondent and avoid any misinterpretation of the questions and responses. This group resulted in ninety-four (94) responses with no objections to the survey or questions.

The survey obtained data from a total of 162 residents of St. Kitts from a population of approximately 37,000. The following tables record this data and within each table, census information from 1991 is also given to see how accurately the samples reflect the actual island population. The 162 surveys are broken down into the three broad survey categories as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Survey Categories

Interest Groups	(n)	% of surveyed population	Actual % of island population (Census, 1991)
GOs	10	6.2	1.1
EIGs	58	35.8	43.2
SH	94	58.0	55.7
Total	162	100.0	100.0

When the stakeholder group is broken down to the various parishes of the island, the distribution follows more closely the general population density of the geographic areas (Table 2).

Table 2: Stakeholder Sample by Geographic Area

Region	(n)	% of surveyed population	Actual % of island population (Census, 1991)
St. George	42	44.7	42.4
St. Ann	28	29.8	9.5
St. John	24	25.5	9.7
Totals	94	100.0	

Gender results are shown in Table 3, illustrating a vast majority of those surveyed in all three categories were male. This lack of female representation in all three groups follows gender trends typical to small Caribbean islands where males are traditionally those individuals in power (Harris and Moran, 1987).

Table 3: Gender Results (%)

Sex/Category	GOs	EIGs	SHs	Actual % of island population (Census, 1991)
Males	80	84.5	80.9	64.3
Females	20	15.5	19.1	35.7

Figure 4 shows that ages of those surveyed ranged from 19 to 73 with the highest percentage falling in the 26-45 age bracket (59.26%). This pattern is quite similar among the three population groups in the survey population.

Table 4: Age Distribution Across Survey Categories

Age Group	GOs	EIGs	SHs	% of Sample	Actual % of island population (Census, 1991)
15-25	0	2	5	4.3	16.2
26-35	2	12	19	20.4	18.9
36-45	4	18	41	38.9	32.4
46-55	3	19	18	24.7	24.3
56-65	1	6	8	9.3	5.4
66-75	0	1	3	2.5	2.7
Mean Age	42.3	43.6	42.2		

Looking at the place of birth of the entire sample population, by far the vast majority of respondents were born on St. Kitts/Nevis with Antigua being the next most common (Table 5). Table 6 shows the mean number of years the surveyed individuals have lived on St. Kitts, as well as the percentage of each population category that has lived on the island all their lives. The marked difference in the number of GOs and SHs who are life-long residents of St. Kitts may be explained by the theory that government officials tend to travel more and live abroad for educational and employment opportunities, while local fishermen and farmers generally have fewer such opportunities and therefore tend to remain on island (personal interview).

From these results, it can be assumed that there is a sufficiently large enough long-term residential population that is intimately familiar with the history and environmental conditions of the island for research purposes.

Table 5: Place of Birth

Country	# Born in Country	% of Sample
St. Kitts/Nevis	128	79.01
USVI	8	4.94
BVI	6	3.70
Antigua	12	7.40
Guyana	5	3.09
Barbados	2	1.23
Dominican Republic	1	0.62

Table 6: Years Lived on St. Kitts

Survey Categories	Mean	% of those surveyed who have lived on St. Kitts all their lives
GOs	31.3	10
EIGs	39.8	31.4
SHs	41.8	67.2

The mean years of education of those surveyed decreases as you move from government officials to EIGs to stakeholders. The results indicate that as the number of years of education increases, so does the average yearly income (Table 7).

Table 7: Education/Income Levels

Survey Categories	Years of Education (Mean)	Average Annual Income *('000s EC \$)
GOs	16	30-49
EIGs	10.4	25-30
SHs	8.2	<10

* 1 dollar US=2.68 dollars EC

When asked what was the worst thing to have happened to the island in the last ten years, natural disasters ranked first for 60% of the officials and 42.6% of the stakeholders (Table 8). These disasters were primarily hurricanes, most notably Hugo in

1989 and several smaller ones in recent years. While 19% of the EIGs agreed, a clear majority thought drug-related events were the worst. This could be explained, in part, by the fact that most successful business leaders own shops in the city of Basseterre, where drug activities are heavily concentrated.

Interestingly, tourism-related problems were not cited as the most serious problem by a large percentage of GOs or EIGs. Both responses may not be surprising since the officials' jobs entail endorsing this burgeoning industry and they, along with the EIGs, only benefit from an increase in tourism.

However, 32.9% of the stakeholders felt that tourism-related events constituted the worst thing to have happened in the last ten years of St. Kitts history. Clearly, this is a significant difference of opinion from either the officials or the EIGs and could be explained by the following: as the tourism industry expands, more land is used for hotels and more fishing grounds are either used for watersports or become degraded from runoff, all to the chagrin of the stakeholders.

Table 8: Worst thing that has happened to island in last 10 years? (%)

Survey Categories	Tourism Related	Natural Disasters	Political Actions	Drug Related
GOs	10	60	10	20
EIGs	17.2	19.0	13.8	50.0
SHs	32.9	42.6	8.5	16.0

From the collected data and available census information, we see that a wide range of individuals participated in the survey process from different regions of the island, providing a sufficiently representative sample population.

Data Analysis

In analyzing the results of the surveys (Appendix 1), percentages were used to observe trends and patterns in the population and within particular user groups. These percentages were subjected to a binomial test for significant differences, resulting in a Z-score. There was also a test for correlation used to measure the degree of association observed between variables and to determine if the association is greater than one would expect by chance. In this case, the test is used to determine the degree of correlation between particular independent and dependent variables, and if that correlation is statistically significant. Generally, independent variables describe the surveyed population's social characteristics, including age, sex, and yearly income. Other variables included the number of years lived on St. Kitts as well as the years of education respondents have achieved. Dependent variables were developed to solicit personal opinions regarding information pertaining to the hypotheses formed.

CHAPTER TWO

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AND DECISION MAKING

Introduction

Public participation, the idea that individuals interested in becoming involved will have an opportunity to air their views and opinions, can be defined as “the act of sharing in the formulation of policies and proposals; the public is no longer simply asked to judge a finished or near-finished product” (Sewall, 1977). To achieve this, those individuals who are in the influential positions of power must share information, facts, arguments, studies, plans, etc. with the public. Under ideal conditions, the public will have the chance to be involved in the planning process before decisions are made (Haider & Johnston, 1992).

Unfortunately, reality may differ sharply from theory. Everyone involved - locals, NGOs, government officials, the business community - have their own unique perceptions of the issues, formed by past experiences and present values, needs, and cultures. Therefore, interested parties may enter the process with pre-conceived opinions, biases, animosity or distrust, feelings which could hamper any sort of collaborative efforts (Cernea, 1983).

While interest in public participation and environmental planning has grown in recent years, this field has been examined extensively over the past 30 years. The literature suggests the following general consensus regarding the underlying motivations and benefits behind a person's desire to participate in the planning process.

First, people have increasingly come to realize their capacities to manipulate their own lives and environment, and to question the authority and intentions of those in power (Stringer, 1974). Second, in being constantly affected by change, they are turning their attention from reacting to past mistakes to being proactive and preventing future ones.

Third, each individual has their own personal view of the world and will make decisions based on their perceptions (Stringer, 1974).

In support of these concepts, Borton and Warner's (1971) examination of the Susquehanna River demonstrated that citizens are likely to develop greater feelings of environmental control and stewardship through their involvement in water resources issues. Dovey (1982) points out that "active involvement" was a crucial element in the improvement of environmental quality of Australia's marine resources. While unrelated to marine issues, Holahan's (1978) study affirmed this idea of environmental control in a hospital ward, where both patients and staff displayed a dramatic increase in "personalizing" behaviors after being solicited for ideas on how to improve the ward environment.

This idea of the public participating in the management of environmental resources has also been described as collaborative management, where all individuals that hold a stake in those resources participate in management discussions. This idea was illustrated best in the collaborative management of the coral reefs in the Philippines (White, et al., 1994).

The Environmental Debate

More recently, research in the field of public participation has developed two interrelated themes - 1. participation will allow individuals to become more personally identified with the decision-making process and become more supportive of its outcomes, leading to a greater feeling of environmental control; and 2. the environment will, in fact, be better adapted to human needs if its ultimate users become directly involved in creating it (Iacofano, 1990). It is this involvement that is so crucial on a small island system like St. Kitts since it is a finite land mass and collection of resources.

Government decision-making in the Caribbean usually occurs in a centralized manner, which rarely includes consultation with and participation of the resource users and other concerned members of the community. This has resulted in a failure to

incorporate popular knowledge, skills, and energies in management systems; in the marginalization of traditional users; and in the loss of local rights and benefits (White et al, 1994). This closed system, illustrated by Figure 3, is one of the primary reasons behind the predicament many developing nations find themselves.

Existing Conditions That Maintain a Closed System

- need of donor agencies to maintain an uninterrupted flow of development funds
- desire of national political leaders to stay in power
- perceived necessity to attract foreign investment
- donors' preference for centralized control of development process

Figure 3: Closed Approach to Decision-Making
(Gamman, 1994)

According to Gamman, this closed process often reflects the priorities within donor agencies (i.e. USAID, World Bank) and borrowing countries that promote development without seriously considering the potential environmental impact. This process can be considered “closed” because it excludes key stakeholders and ignores important factors that should be considered, such as the culture of the borrowing nation and the political behavior of donor agencies. The top decision-makers in both groups (borrowing countries and donor groups) are motivated to promote development that negatively impacts the environment for their own reasons. The borrowing nation has a perceived necessity to attract foreign investment, thereby increasing their revenue from the tourism industry, while its government officials want to stay in power, and need large, highly visible projects to curry the favor of the voters come election time. Meanwhile, the donor agencies possess the need to maintain the flow of development funds to stay solvent and therefore prefer to have more control over the process, centralizing it by keeping the group of decision-makers small. The result is a closed, dysfunctional system of resource management that allows the top officials on both sides to virtually ignore environmental concerns and instead promote development unhindered.

An important element in this closed system is the mutually reinforcing behavior of these key decision-makers. The political leaders of a country know the donor agency is under pressure by their sponsoring government to keep projects moving and complete them as quickly as possible. The donor agency officials know the politicians in the borrowing countries control the political process, and that their highest priority is to attract foreign investment by promoting these big development projects. Both groups realize that if environmental concerns are considered top priority, most projects will probably be delayed, a serious problem for both parties. Therefore, decisions are made by high-ranking officials on both sides to downplay or totally ignore the negative environmental impacts.

McElroy, et. al. (1986) identified several environmental issues small Caribbean islands must confront in the next decade in order to achieve a sustainable island livelihood. Widespread deforestation, marine resource degradation, chronic emigration, and cultural disintegration weigh heavy on the minds of scientists and locals alike, but McElroy feels that ultimate success depends upon the routine participation of the major resource users--farmers, fishermen, taxi drivers, charter boat operators, etc--in environmental policy decision making. He has also suggested the fostering of general public awareness of the close connection between the quality of the fragile, insular environment and the effects of daily activities, both of tourists and locals. It is this widespread public participation and awareness that he argues are prerequisites for establishing the necessary social and political environment for nourishing ecologically-friendly, development strategies capable of sustaining island livelihoods.

The simple presence of environmental regulations, policies, and decrees does not necessarily guarantee their successful implementation and enforcement nor does it always produce the desired results. For example, it has been shown that legally adopted marine protected areas (MPAs), designed to achieve coral reef protection and management among other things, have not achieved the expected results. While some are being successfully managed with the input of the resource users themselves, most are considered only "paper parks" - they exist in legislation but have no proper management nor enforcement (White et al, 1994). In Indonesia, only 13 of the 79 designated marine reserves had some type of field management and none were effectively managed (White, 1983). Similarly, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, and the Caribbean have all exhibited signs of this problem as well (White, 1988; van't Hof, 1988). For these endeavors to work properly, the support of the entire community is necessary - locals, politicians, NGOs, business leaders - and a commitment to improving environmental quality must be agreed upon by all.

These successful programs do exist. The Saba Marine Park sponsors routine meetings between dive boat operators, local fisherman, and any interested parties, allowing all sides to voice grievances and ask questions. The Bonaire Marine Park does much the same, including encouraging local fisherman to visit the dive boats and observe their operations (van't Hof, 1994).

Local Participation in Tourism

Widespread tourism development has been viewed as the savior for small island economies to replace the lack of exportable commodities (Patullo, 1995). The intended goal of these efforts is to attract foreign investment, create jobs, and generate significant income from foreign visitors (Kay, 1995). To do this, new hotels are built, stimulating the construction industry; new restaurants are built, stimulating a growth in local agriculture and providing jobs; and tourists will buy souvenirs, supporting the growth of local craft industries. It is clear that the potential for tourism to have an enormous economic affect upon a community, either as the mainstay policy or as a means to promote economic diversification, is significant (Kay, 1995).

However, these specific benefits may never materialize for a community which is betting on this industry to sustain them. The monetary profits realized by the hotels rarely enters the local economy; most hotels are owned by large, multi-national companies with principle ownership residing in another country. In the Caribbean, as much as 80 cents of every dollar spent in the region returns to the United States (Barry, et al. 1984). Many tourists purchase package tours in their home countries with the tour companies paying a fraction of the package price to the destination itself. Finally, increasing the number of tourists to an area in massive numbers requires an expanded need for imported goods, draining the small country of foreign currency (Burr, 1995).

This situation is not unique to the Caribbean. Recent reports estimate that 70 percent of money spent by foreign tourists on a beach holiday in Kenya returns to developed countries, mainly because the travel industry is dominated by expatriate

countries. In Zimbabwe, more than two-thirds of the money spent by foreigners in that country's famed game reserves is exported out in the form of remittances to foreign investors (Koch, 1995).

In Antigua-Barbuda, tourism has replaced sugar production as the lead economic sector and has grown rapidly thanks to a dedicated policy of investment and development, especially in air and sea port infrastructure. With the tremendous growth of the industry, concerns about the impacts were inevitable. Scarce land, particularly in the coastal zone, has been lost to construction and developments while beach access has been drastically reduced, thereby making it more difficult for fishermen to survive in their traditional industry (Patullo, 1995).

In St. Lucia, tourism has emerged as the leading growth sector of the economy. The country's scenic and recreational assets, its favorable location in the region, and two airports providing service to North America, Europe, and the Caribbean, all have contributed to the successful development of the industry since the 1960's. It is an island with two contrasting styles of tourism. One focuses on the selective, affluent, long-staying population who prefers an area with low density. Alternately, it also possesses a relatively high number of large hotels and tour charters, better suited to the mass market. With their success has come a heavy reliance on quality imported goods and increasing damage to the marine environment have resulted (Patullo, 1995).

These examples illustrate that while certain benefits may materialize, adverse conditions may result. Tourism may indeed raise employment rates and salaries, but inflation and prices of goods increase concurrently due to the influx of foreign currency and import items (Conlin and Baum, 1995). Inadequate training prevents workers from progressing beyond menial jobs in the hotels and restaurants and career advancement is virtually nonexistent. With more and more development, land and natural resources become a hot commodity. The poor local population cannot compete with the large foreign corporations and their money, and therefore no longer have access to what had

been common property for hundreds of years. In the end, instead of benefiting from tourism's presence, the poor residents have become economically and socially marginalized (Pi-Sunyer, 1984).

CHAPTER THREE

THE ISLAND OF ST. KITTS

Physical Setting

The Eastern Caribbean island of St. Christopher (St. Kitts) is but one of an extended archipelagic clustering of oceanic islands in the region known collectively as the Lesser Antilles. The entire island sits atop an undersea ridge nearly 16 kilometers wide and 80 km long that supports the neighboring islands of Nevis to the southeast and St. Eustatius to the northwest. The island spans approximately 23 miles in length and is roughly oval in shape with a narrow peninsula of land extending from the southeast corner.

St. Kitts has a land area of 68 square miles marked by a distinctive, spacious, and diverse landscape composed of fertile slopes, deep, isolated valleys, and a rugged backbone of mountains created centuries earlier by three volcanoes, the tallest of which rises to St. Kitts' highest point at 3792 feet (1156 m). The climate is typically tropical with the year-round temperature averaging 81 degrees Fahrenheit (27 degrees Celsius) and is heavily influenced by steady northeast trade winds that provide cooling breezes and keep the humidity low. St. Kitts receives an annual rainfall average of 64 inches (Caribbean Conservation Association, 1991).

The coastal and marine resources of St. Kitts are uniquely diverse. There are 25 miles of beaches of various compositions: coralline and shell sand beaches appear on both the northern and southern portions of the southeast peninsula; a mix of terrigenous and marine sand occurs in the north and northwest coastal areas; and finally, there are black sand beaches of volcanic origin scattered along the island's coastline. Relatively healthy coral reefs and seagrass beds occur at various locations around the island. Seagrass communities are dominated by turtle grass and manatee grass, and the coral

reefs - while still exceptional - are smaller with less species diversity than typical reefs found in the Eastern Caribbean (Caribbean Conservation Association, 1991).

The two most commercially valuable species of marine organisms, the spiny lobster (Panulirus argus) and the queen conch (Strombus gigas), are more abundant in the South East Peninsula region than in any other region of the island. However, the stocks have been on the decline in recent years due to increased fishing efforts, increased marine pollution due to sewage and agricultural run-off, and increased sedimentation due to overdevelopment and beach erosion (Caribbean Conservation Association, 1991).

Economic Setting

In his 1990 Budget Address, the Prime Minister of St. Kitts/Nevis announced that the tourism industry had replaced sugar production as the chief revenue earner for the dual island nation. This factor, combined with the successful creation of numerous service-oriented jobs, convinced the government to embrace tourism development wholeheartedly and take steps to attract foreign investors to their islands (Caribbean Conservation Association, 1991).

However, long before the sun and sea became profitable, the island's economy was based on the production of sugar. Introduced on the neighboring island of Nevis in the 1640's, sugar cultivation didn't see widespread acceptance on St. Kitts until the French ceded control of the island to the English in 1713. Uncontested English control of the island allowed rapid expansion of the sugar production industry, displacing virtually all other forms of agriculture and resulting in what St. Kitts has witnessed for more than 200 years: a sugar monoculture (Caribbean Conservation Association, 1991).

The instrumental force behind the monumental success of the sugar crop was the plantation slavery system. Laborers imported from Africa were bought and sold to clear the forests and till the fields, often in extremely hot and humid conditions while the owners languished at their plantation homes. Between 1715 and 1735, the population of

St. Kitts more than quadrupled from 5000 to 21,000 primarily due to the massive imported labor. By the mid-1700's, St. Kitts had one of the highest population densities in the Caribbean at 367 people per square mile (Caribbean Conservation Association, 1991).

Sugar plantations remained quite successful and lucrative throughout the eighteenth and much of the nineteenth century. The first disturbance in the profitable industry occurred in 1838 when slaves were granted their freedom and were able to question the landowner without fear of serious repercussions. Unhappy with the conditions or unable to obtain land as free men, many former slaves chose to emigrate to islands such as St. Martin or Antigua, in search of "greener pastures". Those who stayed behind found some work on the same sugar plantations they were formerly indentured to, but found that with fluctuating world sugar prices, the landowners had to downsize their workforce or pay them next to nothing (Towle, 1985).

Regardless of the conditions, some did stay on and continue to work the fields and plantations, as did future generations. The private sugar plantation system survived for another 150 years until 1975 when the central government nationalized the remaining plantations, thereby transferring control over all of their operations to the power of the State. Sugar production is now run by the St. Kitts Sugar Manufacturing Corporation (SSMC), a government-owned and run facility.

Sugar production peaked in the 1950's to a level of 50,000 long tons per annum and has been declining from year to year up to 1990 when the all-time low harvest of 15,000 long tons per annum was recorded (this record low was due, in part, to the severe damage to the island by Hurricane Hugo and chronic labor shortages). Other crops were grown in the plantation system (Sea Island cotton, vegetables, coconuts), but none that approached the tonnage of sugar or had such an impact on the shaping of a culture (Towle, 1985).

Political History

Christopher Columbus stumbled upon the islands of St. Kitts/Nevis during his voyage of 1493 and claimed the area in his sponsoring country's name. Originally called "Nuestra Senora de las Nieves" or "Our Lady of the Snows" for the cloud cover that almost perpetually covers Nevis Peak, St. Kitts/Nevis didn't feel the brunt of European influence for years as Spain preferred to colonize the larger islands in the Eastern Caribbean. However, the islands could remain untouched for only so long. In 1624, two groups - one French, one English - split possession of St. Kitts and established settlements that provided both countries homebases from which they expanded into the surrounding islands of Antigua, Montserrat, and Martinique. For this, St. Kitts became known as the "Mother Colony" of the Eastern Caribbean (Caribbean Conservation Association, 1991).

Due in part to St. Kitts topography and abundant rainfall, the lands were extremely fertile. Word spread quickly of the island's fertility and soon the idea of sharing such an agriculturally-rich island no longer appealed to either country. Thus, from 1666 to 1706, both sides engaged in colonial warfare, regularly seizing each other's territory and the valuable crops of sugar. Finally, in 1713, the French ceded control of the island to the English.

With the island under complete control of the English, St. Kitts and Nevis were combined with other nearby islands to form a single governmental unit known as the Leeward Islands. This administration consisted of a Governor-General appointed by the English Crown to oversee affairs, while each island made their own laws under the stewardship of an appointed Lieutenant Governor and Council, and a democratically elected Assembly. This government arrangement remained effectively unchanged until 1871, when St. Kitts and Nevis were reorganized into Presidencies, each with its own Administrator and Legislative Council. Later, in 1882, St. Kitts, Nevis, and Anguilla were combined to form a single Presidency.

The next major step towards autonomy occurred in 1967 when St. Kitts/Nevis/Anguilla became an Associated State within the British Commonwealth, giving them full internal self-government and the ability to form and democratically elect a Senate and House of Representatives. Anguilla was unhappy with this new arrangement and, for this and other reasons, seceded from the new State but remained tied to England as a Dependent Territory. St. Kitts/Nevis, however, continued association with England until 1980, when the ruling political party was usurped by the People's Action Movement (PAM) and the new government arranged for the two islands to become an independent, self-ruled nation. PAM ruled for sixteen years until, when in the 1995 elections, the Labor Party Movement regained control of the island government.

The current government hierarchy is as follows: Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II is the formal head of state of the Federation of St. Kitts & Nevis. She is also the symbolic head of the Commonwealth comprised of St. Kitts & Nevis and fifty-three other former British colonies. Her personal representative is the Governor-General, appointed by Her Majesty on the recommendation of the Prime Minister and performs the functions of the Monarch in her absence including assent for all bills and authorization of all government appointments.

The Prime Minister is the leader of the political party that won the largest number of seats in the National Assembly in the last general election, held once every four years. He is the senior minister in the government and is ultimately responsible for all government policies and programs. The current Prime Minister is the Honorable Dr. Denzil Douglas.

The St. Kitts & Nevis Cabinet is comprised of the Prime Minister and his cabinet ministers, who are appointed by the Governor-General on the advice of the Prime Minister. They control the departments of government and implement, administer and enforce the laws made by Parliament. Cabinet members must stand together on government policy -- a minister who is not willing to do so must resign.

Currently, the following individuals are in the following ministerial positions:

Sam Condor - Minister of Trade and Industry

Earl Asim Martin - Minister of Health and Women's Affairs

G.A. Dwyer Astaphan - Minister of Tourism, Culture, and the Environment

Rupert Herbert - Minister of Education, Labour, and Social Security

Cedric Liburd - Minister of Communications, Works, and Public Utilities

Timothy Harris - Minister of Agriculture, Lands, and Housing

Delano Bart - Attorney General

The Parliament of St. Kitts and Nevis is comprised of the Speaker, elected members of the Government and Opposition parties (11), appointed Senators (3) and the Attorney-General when not an elected member. Parliament, also called the National Assembly, is the sole institution through which laws of the Federation of St. Kitts & Nevis are passed, taxes imposed, and public expenditure authorized.

Tourism

As the sugar industry started to falter, the government began looking for alternative sources of income, and with their tropical setting and expansive beaches, tourism seemed to be the obvious answer. During the 1970s, tourism on St. Kitts was centered around small plantation homes converted into guest houses. These small, locally-owned establishments constituted 63% of the rooms on the island (Charles and Marshall, 1990). In 1972, the government took its first steps in an unprecedented expansion of their tourism industry by establishing the Frigate Bay Development Corporation, a corporate body owned and controlled solely by the government of St. Kitts/Nevis charged with charting the future course of tourism development on the islands. The 850-acre Frigate Bay project was slated to single-handedly increase the accommodation capacity of the island by 2000 rooms, setting aside 285 acres for condominiums and hotels, 220 acres for residential land, 180 acres for a golf course, 30

acres for services, and 135 acres for “green areas” (Towle, et al., 1985). Clearly, a radical transformation was taking place in the predominant style of tourism on St. Kitts: a move from small locally- owned and operated guest houses to large, internationally- owned, high rise hotels. By the time Frigate Bay was finished in 1979 and operating at full capacity, visitor arrivals to the island were increasing at a steady pace (Figure 2)

Figure 2: Total Visitor Arrivals (1978-1997)
Source: Tourism Department, 1999

There appear to be two decreases in visitor arrivals during the seventeen-year tourism record. The first was in 1989 and 1990 just after Hurricane Hugo, which devastated many of the Leeward Islands in the Caribbean to such an extent that recovery efforts (construction, electrical service, water, etc.) severely limited the appeal of the island to tourists. The second dip in arrivals occurred in 1995, again due to a hurricane that interrupted transportation service to the island, forced hotels to shut down for repairs, and marred much of the environment to the chagrin of tour operators. However, time has shown that St. Kitts has been able to bounce back and regain the number of tourist arrivals they might have lost due to each natural disaster. Aid has come from a variety of

sources, including the St. Kitts government itself, insurance companies, and international as well as regional relief agencies (interview with Finance Minister, 1998).

In 1985, the government of St. Kitts/Nevis produced a Five-Year National Development Plan for their island nation that heavily emphasized the expansion of the tourism sector (Gamman, 1994). This plan focused on invigorating their economy by making increases in the tourism sector, thereby increasing foreign exchange earnings, creating jobs, and providing a much-needed boost to local manufacturing and agriculture. Specific objectives included adding 800 new hotel rooms, doubling the number of tourists from 50,000 to 104,000 annually, and increasing tourism revenue from \$20 million to \$50 million (Caribbean Conservation Association, 1991).

Environmental Regulations

Environmental regulations and management policies are not new to St. Kitts. One of the first of its kind in the Eastern Caribbean, the Forestry Ordinance was passed in 1904, establishing a board to control and manage the use of forests in the state. Twenty years later, this legislation was enhanced to include regulations to control burning in forests and charcoal production. This regulation, sponsored by the sugar industry and plantation owners, was in response to the recognized need to protect their fragile watershed resources and maintain environmental quality to ensure a productive sugar crop (interview with Trade Minister, 1998).

Regardless of their motivations, it appeared the population of St. Kitts had the right idea: to sustainably manage the resources of their island, allowing them to earn a living without overexploiting and depleting the very resources they depended upon. However, despite these and other sectoral attempts at environmental legislation, there was no comprehensive environmental protection until the mid to late-1940's. One plausible explanation could be the British involvement in two World Wars and an obvious re-alignment of priorities; environmental management on one of their colonies

thousands of miles away seemed insignificant when compared to a war on the home front.

As world affairs returned to a relative state of calm in the late 1940's, foreign attention and resources were returned to this island nation and the management of its natural resources. Several new pieces of legislation were enacted: a Public Park Regulation Ordinance in 1944, a Cotton Act in 1947, a Turtle Protection Ordinance in 1948, and the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1949 (Caribbean Conservation Association, 1991). Each of these laws dealt with issues deemed critical by the government in power.

The 1950's and 1960's saw an increased interest in public health and land management issues, therefore more environmental legislative initiatives were sponsored such as the Watercourses and Waterworks Act in 1956, a Beach Control Ordinance in 1961, the Land Development Control Act in 1966, and the Public Health Act in 1969. These pieces of legislation were the first attempts to manage development activities in general, and to manage those activities that specifically affected land resources and water quality. Unfortunately, some of these were also the first examples of legislative initiatives that lacked clear, coherent, and realistic regulations, and thus their effectiveness was severely limited (Gamman, 1994).

It was not until the 1980's that environmental policy concerns moved to the top of the government's list of priorities. Upon independence in 1983, St. Kitts began to develop a relationship with international non-government organizations (NGOs) to advise, plan, and implement legislation and policies to protect the island's natural resources. With little experience in these matters, the St. Kitts government sought help dealing with issues such as coastal erosion, sustainable development, and fisheries management (Gamman, 1994).

The most significant piece of legislation in the island's history was passed during this decade. The National Conservation and Environmental Protection Act (NCEPA) was

passed in 1987 as a result of the negotiations between the government of St. Kitts and USAID for the construction of an access road into the Southeast Peninsula region of the island. This remarkable legislative initiative had the potential to be one of the strongest in the Caribbean with broad definitions, rules, and penalties addressing the natural environment and the potential impacts of human activities.

The charge of the NCEPA reads as follows:

To provide for the better management and development of the natural and historic resources of Saint Christopher and Nevis for purposes of conservation; the establishment of national parks, historic and archaeological sites and other protected areas of natural or cultural importance. (NCEPA, 1987)

Major elements of the act included objectives such as “preserving the biological diversity of wild flora and fauna species that may be endemic, threatened, or are of special concern” and “the establishment of a Conservation Commission to advise the Prime Minister as to the selection of protected areas and the conservation of the natural beauty, topographic features, historic buildings, sites, and other monuments of St. Christopher and Nevis”.

While the NCEPA was supposed to be one of the most comprehensive pieces of environmental legislation in recent times for St. Kitts, significant problems surfaced rather quickly. The government delayed issuing public notice of the NCEPA until 1989 (two years after it was passed) to relieve fears of South East Peninsula landowners that their property values would be negatively impacted (Gamman, 1994). Furthermore, as of March 1999, the government still had not formed the Conservation Commission to oversee and enforce this legislation. The failure to complete this task can be explained one of two ways. First, St. Kitts has been locked in heated discussion with its sister island of Nevis regarding the possible dissolution of the dual island nation. Nevis is

responsible for providing two representatives to the Commission, and has stalled its formation by refusing to cooperate while the secession question remains unanswered (interview with government official, 1998).

Secondly, even before the secession question arose in 1995, the commission still wasn't formed. In his book, *Overcoming Obstacles in Environmental Policymaking*, John Gamman suggests that the government may not have ever had the intention of enforcing the NCEPA and simply was after the money from USAID. A weakened and thus ineffective NCEPA allows the government to avoid sponsoring discussions between themselves, business groups, and stakeholders, and allows large projects to proceed on the Peninsula without political interference.

A similar event took place in the Bridgetown Fishing Harbor of Barbados. This first major fisheries project funded by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) required an environmental impact statement, which was never done, in order to proceed. With a lack of enforcement of the adopted protocol and a total disregard for the opinions or feelings of the locals, the project was pushed through much to the chagrin of a large percentage of the population (Gamman, 1994). Thus, an argument could be made that, in the case of St. Kitts and Barbados, members of the government did not want the local stakeholders involved in the decision-making process, and therefore made decisions behind closed doors that furthered their own interests.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS-THE ENVIRONMENT

Introduction

Chapters Four, Five, and Six present the results and analysis of data collected on site during the spring of 1997. The discussion will focus on three concepts: the environment, tourism, and politics. It should be noted, however, that when examining these topics, they should be viewed in association with each other due to the cause and effect relationship existing among them. By discussing all three and illustrating how each ties into the other, a full understanding of the opinions, attitudes, and concerns of the island inhabitants regarding tourism and the environment will be reached.

Environmental Perceptions

When asked their opinions and attitudes about the environment, the respondents had a variety of responses. As expected, the surveys revealed that the people of St. Kitts are indeed concerned about the environment. In particular, responses included the decreasing fish stocks, loss of natural habitats, and poor environmental quality. However, when asked if they were involved with environmental protection, a clear majority of both the EIGs and the stakeholders answered no (Table 9).

Table 9: Environmental Concern and Involvement

Groups	Environmental Concern		(n)	Environmental Involvement		(n)
	% yes	% no		% yes	% no	
GOs	100.0	0	13	80.0	20.0	13
EIGs	96.5	3.5	58	25.9	74.1	58
SHs	95.7	4.3	94	25.9	69.1	94

This low amount of involvement points to a lack of commitment to a healthy environment on the part of these groups. Yes, they are concerned, but no, they will not get involved. The officials who felt they were involved were individuals whose job it was to deal with such matters. In addition, their official status requires them to project a positive image of themselves and their government, thus their true feelings and opinions may have been skewed.

There is another possible interpretation of the lack of involvement, although unsubstantiated by the data. Certain individuals may have a vested interest in not protecting the environment. Without mechanisms or resources to effectively protect the environment, new developments may be pursued with these individuals profiting from the increased tourist presence.

When those claiming to be involved with environmental issues were asked how or in what capacity they were involved, the most common response was "to attend public hearings or meetings" (Table 10).

Table 10: Type of Environmental Involvement (%)

Responses	GOs	EIGs	SHs	Island Totals
Membership	0	13.3	20.7	15.4
Committee	100	20.7	11.7	26.2
Attend Meetings	50	15.5	64.9	59.5
Write letters	0	13.3	37.9	25.0
Circulate Materials	0	0	27.6	15.4
Radio Talk Show	0	26.7	41.7	42.3

Respondents felt that these events were the easiest way to remain in touch with what was happening on their island, and voice their opinion if they so chose. One local fisherman stated “we come together, have some drinks, and listen to people complain about their lives. There is less fish and too many fishermen”. Many added that there were certain individuals in their communities who were always present at these meetings and were quite vocal regarding their concerns, but the vast majority of those attending usually said nothing, oftentimes for fear of reprisal. This reprisal has been manifested in the form of physical threats or intimidation, and while widespread “mafia-style, strong-arm” crimes are not prevalent on St. Kitts (interview with Police Chief, 1998), one man told of his boat being sunk one night after he publicly criticized plans to develop the Southeast Peninsula of the island (personal interview, 1998).

Another problem the locals face is that many do not know how to voice their concerns. This was the case in Curacao, where locals questioned the impact of dive boats on particular coastal areas, but few understood the governmental process that would allow them to be heard (Patullo, 1996).

Another common means of staying involved was the weekly radio show that allowed people to call in and voice their opinions, raise concerns, and discuss issues relevant to them. The popularity of this method could be explained by its ability to keep the caller’s identity anonymous, an impossibility at a town meeting.

The results indicate that a fourth of this sample population serves on a committee or board regarding the environment, but only 11.7% of the stakeholders and 20.7% of the EIGs have done so. This suggests that there are individuals who do make time to deal with these issues. When those who said they were not involved with environmental protection were asked why not, some common responses given by the officials were “I don’t have the time” and “It’s not my job” (Table 11).

Table 11: Reasons for Environmental Apathy (%)

Responses	GOs N=10	EIGs N=58	SHs N=94	Survey Totals N=162
I trust the govt to do that for me	0.0	46.5	12.3	25.6
I'm not affected by a changing environment	0.0	9.3	7.7	8.2
I don't care	0.0	11.5	9.2	10.0
I don't have the time	50.0	23.3	18.5	20.0
It's not my job	50.0	4.7	0.0	2.7
Even if I say something, the govt does nothing	0.0	4.7	52.3	32.7

The stakeholders' responses indicate that a large percentage (52.3%) felt that even if they got involved with environmental protection and made constructive suggestions, the government wouldn't do anything in response. Many locals believe that the government officials are too far removed from their constituents to fully grasp just how hard it is to rely on the environment on a daily basis to carve out a living on the island.

It appears that some of these stakeholders feel they don't have the time to get involved, and that 23.3% of the EIGs and 50% of the officials feel the same. These figures suggest that a significant portion of the population appear to assign "low priority" to the environment and are unable to spare some of their time to address these matters.

These results are consistent with other small islands and the Caribbean region as a whole. For example, communities in Jamaica and Barbados exhibit a cultural predisposition against involvement and participation primarily due to a perception of powerlessness, a sense of self-doubt, and the acceptance of dependency (Mills, 1966). This condition has developed over hundreds of years, dating back to the days of slavery under the control of the English and French. The slave master used every

means at his disposal to force the maximum possible effort from the slave, amid hot and humid conditions. Consequently, many people now have a negative attitude regarding the environment and are distrustful of those in power, in addition to having an aversion to manual labor (Gamman, 1994). Therefore, environmental stewardship and cooperation are not integral parts of the culture, and it could be argued that similar events have resulted in the apathetic and bitter feelings exhibited by the surveyed Kittitians.

The respondents were asked to name the three most important environmental regulations of which they were aware (Table 12). All of the officials surveyed were able to list at least two regulations, while 70% were able to name three (3), if not more. These results were expected since the officials are most often involved in the implementation or interpretation of government policies.

Table 12: Awareness of Environmental Regulations (%)

Number of Regulations Named	Government Officials	Economic Interest Groups	Stakeholders
+3	70	6.9	5.3
2	30	15.5	17.0
1	0	36.2	30.9
0	0	41.4	46.8

A different understanding exists among the other survey categories. Nearly half of the EIGs cannot name a single regulation. This result was expected as business leaders, generally, do not need to understand laws and regulations regarding the environment since they usually do not directly work with it. However, it does help to illustrate the low level of environmental awareness of business groups and a minimal desire to become involved.

The results from the stakeholders are quite similar. An even higher percentage of those surveyed could not name a single regulation. If awareness of regulations translates directly into following these regulations, then the data indicates the measures designed to protect the environment are not being followed. This is a serious problem since these are

individuals who, by definition, are in contact with the environment on a daily basis, and should be aware of what rules or guidelines are in effect.

The environmental regulations that were mentioned during the interviews are listed in Table 13. The National Conservation and Environment Protection Act (NCEPA) was the best known regulation by the officials, not surprising since this was the most highly publicized bit of legislation in recent times. *The Democrat*, one of three Kittitian newspapers, has run numerous stories about this legislation: "NCEPA to save the environment" (Sept. 1989); "The NCEPA: too good to be true?" (April, 1990). However, it was not mentioned by as large a percentage of EIGs or stakeholders. This can be explained by the fact that many EIGs have limited interaction with the environment in their businesses. Most felt if a law doesn't affect them, they shouldn't be concerned with it. The Litter Abatement regulation ranked highest for this population, probably because it is most strictly enforced in the city where these businesses are located.

Table 13: Knowledge of Environmental Regulations
(number of times regulation was mentioned)

Environmental Regulations	Government Officials	Economic Interest Groups	Stakeholders
NCEPA	10	10	20
Fisheries Act	7	12	29
SPLDCA	3	5	6
Public Parks Regulation	6	9	11
Litter Abatement	5	17	10

NCEPA = National Conservation and Environment Protection Act
SPLDCA = Southeast Peninsula Land Development and Conservation Act

Again, the stakeholders' responses can be explained by the same reasons mentioned in association with Table 12. These are individuals who interact with the environment on a daily basis (fishermen, farmers, etc), and should be aware of one of the

most important regulations designed to protect the environment. The Fisheries Act was most often mentioned by the stakeholders, which illustrates that this population is, at least, somewhat environmentally aware. In response to the question “Do you follow the environmental regulations now in place?”, a majority of each population category claimed they in fact did (Table 14). All of the officials stated they follow the regulations and there was a significant difference ($z=5.66$) in the number of EIGs that made the same claim. With only 55.3% of the stakeholders answering yes, there was no statistically significant difference in that data set ($z=.927$).

Table 14: Adherence to Environmental Regulations (%)

Survey Categories	yes	no
GOs	100	0
EIGs	87.9	12.1
SHs	55.3	44.7
Totals	69.8	30.2

The question was raised as to why the respondents said they didn’t follow the regulations (Table 15). A large percentage of the EIGs and stakeholders are unclear as to what the environmental guidelines are. If you don’t know what they are, they obviously cannot follow them. Similarly, it appears that 28.6% of the EIGs and 26.2% of the stakeholders don’t follow the regulations because they feel no one else does. Their attitude is that if no one else makes an effort, why should they? This goes to illustrate an indifferent attitude on the part of the public to get involved.

Table 15: Reasons for Ignoring Regulations (%)

Survey Categories	Too Strict	Unnecessary	Not Observed	Unclear
GOs	0	0	0	0
EIGs	0	28.6	28.6	42.8
SHs	21.4	23.8	26.2	28.6

The EIGs were also specifically asked if they would be willing to sacrifice some of their profits in exchange for better or more environmental protection. Nearly two-thirds of the survey category were unwilling to do so, and some in fact felt that tourists should be the ones to pay to protect the environment. Many of the EIGs believe that the environment will always exist in its current near pristine condition, and that tourists will always come for that reason. It appears that many see no connection between the health of the environment and the amount of tourists on their island. A basic understanding of resource economics is needed to comprehend that if the environment is damaged beyond the point of recovery, the tourists won't come to the island, and business revenues will sharply decrease.

Conclusion

From the survey results presented thus far, it is clear that the environment on St. Kitts is held in high regard by the people - at least until actual effort and personal involvement is required. Many Kittitians are eager to inject their opinion into a discussion like that often conducted by the local radio station, but when their anonymity is removed and they are the focus of attention, such as in a town meeting, many feel intimidated and their enthusiasm to speak out sharply decreases. This inherent distrust of the government supports the hypothesis that individuals in the community believe that the government officials and politicians operate solely in their own self-interest and are unaware of what the locals must endure on a day-to-day basis. It could be argued that this distrust is caused by the locals' lack of awareness and education, which is illustrated by the meager ability to name - or adhere to - the most important environmental regulations on the island. If that is the case, more should be done to inform the public and ultimately develop greater feelings of environmental control and stewardship. This effort to increase public participation and "active involvement" may prove to help open the lines of communication and ultimately improving environmental quality and keeping the lines open among all concerned.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS - TOURISM

Introduction

An important step in achieving an expanded economy increasingly based on tourism, the government of St. Kitts has focused on the development of the Southeast Peninsula. Since the Frigate Bay project, small hotels (>100 rooms) and resort developments have continued to sporadically crop up around the island, but none approach the magnitude of this most recent attempt by the government to expand their tourism base. The Southeast Peninsula is a 4,000 acre portion of St. Kitts that is an area unique among the Lesser Antilles with a variety of habitats and marine and terrestrial resources (Figure 4). Within or around a six square-mile portion of the peninsula can be found salt ponds, mangroves, numerous coral reefs, wetlands, beaches, ten bays, and a diverse range of habitats including grasslands, forested hill-sides, and valleys.

Figure 4: Southeast Peninsula

Closely tied to the Five-Year Plan was a study authored by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) which stated, "the maximum value of the [SE]

peninsula lies in its ability to broaden the island of St. Kitts as a tourist destination” (Gamman, 1994). Therefore, in 1988, USAID funded a project to provide the infrastructure to develop the peninsula, hopefully attracting foreign investors and convincing them to build hotels, condominiums, marinas, golf courses, and any other recreational development. The project consisted of building a 6.4-mile-long road into the peninsula and providing basic public services such as water, electricity, and communication for the soon-to-be-developed tourism resorts. The USAID provided primary financial assistance in the form of a grant for \$1.14 million and a loan of \$11.4 million, while St. Kitts contributed \$4.1 million for a grand project total of \$16.64 million. The road was completed in 1990 and now provides easy access to all sections of the peninsular region (Caribbean Conservation Association, 1991).

As part of the intensive tourism development plan, the government has created policies designed to grant tax exemption to hotels with more than 200 rooms (Gamman, 1994). Thus, we see a distinct economic incentive for a developer to build large resorts and avoid investing in the smaller, locally-owned and operated guest houses. This, in fact, puts the small-scale investor at a disadvantage in an already competitive market. In addition to offering tax exemption to these investors, the government may be willing to negotiate with these groups, waiving the environmental regulations in exchange for their business.

Furthermore, it has been shown that a multitude of these massive resorts on an insular ecosystem results in severe environmental degradation. The widespread deforestation to make room for hotels on St. Martaan has caused increased runoff in the near shore waters, polluting them and rendering them useless to local fishermen (CCA, 1992). Puerto Rico’s Phosphorescent Bay located near La Paraguera has steadily declined in its brilliance as tourism and construction of homes and hotels has increased in the area (Fleming, 1989). Upon examination of these studies, the argument for environmental protection through controlled land development, from an economic

standpoint, is overwhelming since environmental destruction threatens the very base upon which tourism depends.

To date, there are only a few scattered homes and a beach bar located in the region; there has not been a single major hotel built as part of the Southeast Peninsula project, much to the government's chagrin. At first, this failed development plan may seem initially beneficial to the environment. However, this lack of investor interest may simply aggravate the pro-development government and cause them to relax the strict environmental regulations for the sake of attracting foreign investment.

Tourism Perceptions

In proving the hypothesis that perceptions of the physical, social, and economic impacts of tourism on the island vary among interest groups on St. Kitts, the islanders were surveyed as to their feelings and concerns. Understanding these factors is crucial to understanding the full impact of tourism on the island.

Respondents were asked to give their opinions on the magnitude of the impact of tourism, its positive and negative impacts as well as future trends of the industry. Two questions were designed and asked to solicit people's connection to tourism: "Are you directly involved with tourism?" and "Are you directly affected by tourism?" (Table 16).

Table 16: Pervasiveness of Tourism (%)

Survey Category	Involved with Tourism		Affected by Tourism	
	yes	no	yes	no
GOs	80.0	20.0	100.0	0
EIGs	72.3	27.7	86.2	13.8
SHs	30.1	69.9	75.5	24.5
Mean	48.1	51.9	80.9	19.1

All of the groups felt they were in some form or another involved with tourism. Examining the mean scores, there is no statistically significant difference between the results obtained asking the question "Are you involved with tourism" ($z=.47$). However, when asking the question "Are you affected by tourism", there were significant

differences ($z=7.8$). It is clear that none of the three groups, as a whole, feel they are unaffected by tourism. Figures show that 86.2% of the EIGs agreed they were affected, probably due to the fact that many of these individuals operate businesses catering to tourists.

In regards to the stakeholders, we see significant differences between the responses to these two questions. While only 30.1% of these individuals are involved with tourism, 75.7% felt they were affected by it in some way, positive or negative ($z=3.85$). Ways they were effected included loss of family values, increased income, and decreased reliance on traditional means of survival. Further impacts of the tourism industry are discussed in the next question.

These results illustrate the wide-reaching grasp of tourism and is not uncommon for many of the Caribbean islands. In the U.S. Virgin Islands, research has shown more than 90% of the inhabitants feel they are affected by tourism. More than 85% of Antiguans feel similarly. As one proceeds further south down the chain of Caribbean islands, that figure drops, but the impact still exists (CCA, 1996). Clearly, tourism is a pervasive and influential industry in the Caribbean.

To determine the main reason tourists come to St. Kitts based on peoples perception, a Leikert Scale ranking process was used with selected attractions ranked on a scale of 1 to 6, where 1 is deemed most important and 6 is considered least important. The results are presented in Table 17.

Table 17: Primary Tourist Attractions
(Average Rank 1=high....6=low)

Survey Categories	Culture	Beach/ Sun	Marine Wildlife	Land Wildlife	Archi- tecture	Food/ Nightlife
GOs	1.3	2.4	4.3	5.5	4.3	3.1
EIGs	3.6	1.4	4.2	5.8	6.2	4.0
SHs	3.3	1.6	4.0	5.0	5.3	2.7
Average	2.7	1.8	4.2	5.4	5.3	3.3

According to the data, the beach and sun ranks highest overall among the respondents, followed by the culture. These results can be explained by looking at the promotional materials distributed by the Tourism Ministry on St. Kitts, as well as most other Caribbean islands. Most depict crystal blue waters, white sand beaches, and tanned men and women in skimpy bathing suits. Kyle Metcalf, a representative from Wolcott and Smith, the advertising company who designs the bulk of St. Kitts' materials, admits that to entice tourists from around the world to visit, sexy and exotic images are used to sell the product, which in this case is the island (phone interview, 1998). Rarely does one see advertised an old historic castle or the unique local artwork. The locals have recognized this approach to advertising, and have therefore bought into this philosophy, eager to embrace foreigners who vacation on the island to bask in the sun.

This discussion has spurred a theory on the decline of the family structure on St. Kitts. One hypothesis on the cause of the decline is that by promoting the beach and sun and neglecting to promote the culture and spirit of the island, the government has showed the people of St. Kitts what it considers to be the island's most precious resource. Through its intense sun/fun advertising campaign, the government has inadvertently devalued the culture and traditional ways of life. The public, perceptive to tourism trends, has simply responded to the advertising campaign by giving the tourists what they want and turning their back on family, culture, and tradition. Since there is no data to support this theory, further research needs to be done.

In other island communities, it has been shown that over time, tourism tends to have a negative impact on the region in some way. For example, in St. Maarten, nearshore water quality has decreased over the years due to increased run-off from developments. In the U.S. Virgin Islands, coral reefs have been severely damaged from cruise ship activity and indigenous flora wiped out from excessive demand by tourists (Island Resources Foundation, 1996).

Thus, the population of St. Kitts was asked if they thought tourism has had a bad effect on their island (Table 18).

Table 18: Has the increase in tourism had a bad effect on St. Kitts? (%)

Survey Categories	Yes	No
GOs	70	30
EIGs	63.6	36.4
SHs	87.1	12.9

The figures show that a majority of individuals from each survey group feels that it indeed has had some kind of bad impact. The figures show that there is no statistically significant difference in the responses by the Government Officials ($z=.133$). There are, however, significant differences among the Economic Interest Groups ($z=1.97$) and among the Stakeholders ($z=7.19$). It was presumed that the GOs and EIGs would have steadfastly denied any deleterious impacts of tourism on the island, since that industry is what keeps them in office and successful. However, many of these individuals agreed with the statement, but described how the impacts are so downplayed, stating the benefits far outweigh the costs. In addition, based on earlier data, it appears the EIGs were not willing to take an active role in changing those events.

Each respondent was asked to identify as many aspects of their life that have been negatively impacted by tourism in some way (Table 19).

Table 19: Aspects of Life Negatively Impacted By Tourism ***

Categories	Government Officials	Economic Interest Groups	Stakeholders	Totals
Family	7	18	40	65
Fish Stocks	1	2	52	55
Culture	7	12	28	47
Land Wildlife	1	7	33	41
Coral	3	3	31	37
Water Quality	3	4	24	31
Forest	0	3	22	25
Economy	0	0	11	11

***number of times aspects were mentioned

The officials and EIGs identified Kittitian culture and family as the aspects of life impacted the worst by tourism. A possible explanation could be that these individuals want to portray their island as a harmonious community with strong family values. The more content and appealing an island's population appears to be, the more it entices tourists to visit their shores. The more divorce and separations there are, the worse the quality of life is perceived as being, and the island as a whole may not be considered as attractive.

The stakeholders, however, have a different view. Fish stocks were identified as the worst impacted, followed by the family and then the land wildlife. These results are consistent with subsistence farmers and fishermen, who have daily contact with these resources.

Island-wide totals indicate that the family was identified as that aspect of island life that has been impacted the most by tourism. This perception is a common result of an increased tourism industry in a small community. In northern Thailand, Dearden (1991) described the growth in popularity of trekking that has resulted in negative impacts to the indigenous hill tribes, primarily through rapid cultural change.

Abandoning traditional subsistence pursuits, conflicts ensue over resource use, work, economic exchange, and cultural identity (Zurick, 1992). On St. Kitts, there are different perceptions among user groups as to the affect of tourism, but the aspect identified by the majority of those surveyed was the family.

Continuing along this line of questioning, the respondents were asked to identify the most serious problem caused by tourism (Table 20).

Table 20: Problems Caused by Tourism
(number of times problem was mentioned)

Problem	Government Officials	Economic Interest Groups	Stakeholders	Island-Wide Totals
Drugs	4	22	25	51
Crime	2	12	12	26
Poor Envir. Quality	0	0	22	22
Less fish	0	0	13	13
Decline in Family structure	0	7	5	12
Loss of cultural traditions	1	1	9	11
"Anyone" can come to St.Kitts	1	5	3	9
No problems	0	6	2	8
Poor Work Ethic	2	5	0	7
Greater rift b/w rich and poor	0	0	3	3

The drug problem was identified as the number one problem in the eyes of the surveyed Kittitians, from the officials to the local stakeholders. Locals routinely prowled the beaches, asking if they can supply a taste of the local "flavor" – marijuana; this researcher alone was approached six times during his two research visits. The tropical, year-round climate provides favorable conditions for growing marijuana and the importation of other drugs (cocaine, heroin, etc) is not difficult with the many small, unpatrolled bays and their remote setting (interview with Police Chief, 1998). One local drug dealer claimed to make U.S. \$1000 per week supplying various narcotics to tourists,

a sum much greater than any other job on the island would pay, even as prime minister. The demand for drugs exists, therefore providing a market for enterprising locals.

Hand-in-hand with drugs comes crime, perceived as the next biggest problem caused by tourism. Criminals generally do not frequent poor, local areas in search of their next prey. With tourists comes a lot of money, and usually they are easy targets for criminals. This may explain why some Kittitians (most stakeholders and some business leaders) do not embrace tourism as others have: they feel it brings bad elements into their communities and although the locals may not be the targets of these crimes, they certainly feel the aftermath when an increased police presence disturbs their environment.

When asked their feelings about how they hope tourism will proceed, the differences between the survey categories are clear (Table 21).

Table 21: Preferred Tourism Trends (%)

Survey Categories	More	Same	Less	Don't care
GOs	60	30	10	0
EIGs	75.9	19.0	5.1	0
SHs	15.9	12.8	68.1	3.2

Some 75.9% of the EIGs sampled hoped for more tourists, which is a significant difference from the 19% that wanted the same amount ($z = 4.6$) and the 5.1% that wanted less ($z = 6.7$). One business leader explained, “when a cruise ship comes to the island, I sell five times as much things. It is good for business”. Sixty percent of the officials prefer to have more tourists. One government official explained “if I can increase tourism and create more jobs for my people, I will have better job security. Everyone wants to make more money.”

It should be noted that the one official who hoped for fewer tourists has lived on the island his whole life and is a staunch supporter of the environment. He felt that St. Kitts is not ready for a great influx of tourists, not without a solid, comprehensive plan to

maintain that balance between economic success and environmental health. Few, if any, individuals, either in government or the business community had specific opinions.

Among the stakeholders, however, a significant difference favored less tourism on their island over more tourism ($z = 6.5$), primarily for the reasons previously explained, namely the crime and the drugs that are attracted to that type of environment, but also in the hopes of returning to a simpler, less hectic lifestyle.

It was expected that the younger respondents would hope for more tourism on the island while the older generation would be just the opposite. With the coming of technology and cable TV exposing Kittitians to the world beyond the island, younger citizens wanted more opportunities to work in the tourism industry and obtain the various material goods they see on TV. The older population, having lived without certain luxuries, prefer to be content and sit back on their quiet little island. The researcher found this theory to be supported by the data, presented in Table 22.

Table 22: Tourism Preferences Related to Age

Age Group	More	Same	Less	% of Age group that wants more tourism
15-25	7	0	0	100
26-35	27	3	3	81.8
36-45	40	11	12	63.5
46-55	16	8	16	40.0
56-65	1	4	10	6.7
66-75	0	0	4	0.0

In the next series of questions, the respondents were asked to respond to particular statements by either strongly agreeing, agreeing, disagreeing, strongly disagreeing, or having no opinion with them. Each response was assigned a number (strongly agree=1, agree=2, no opinion=3, disagree=4, strongly disagree=5), and then scored according to a percentage of respondents. The results clearly show the responses from all three survey categories.

The first statement was “St. Kitts benefits from tourism”, the results from which are presented in Figure 5. All of the officials either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, as was to be expected.

The explanation for these results is the same as that used regarding the environment questions: these are individuals whose job it is to promote and expand this industry on St. Kitts, thus there is no reason to expect them to claim the island has not benefited from tourism. The EIGs' results were nearly identical and can be explained for similar reasons since tourism is their livelihood.

The stakeholders, however, were not as agreeable. It is true that 63% of this population either agreed or strongly agreed, but we also see a significant portion either disagreeing or strongly disagreeing (30%) ($z = 3.2$). Many of these were older men who expressed a clear desire for St. Kitts to return to the slower pace of a time before tourists began arriving. Some of the problems they felt tourism had caused will be discussed later. Clearly, this illustrates that significant differences do exist in perceptions and opinions between these population groups.

The correlation tests indicate there were statistically significant relationships between the previous statement and certain independent variables. For example, older respondents feel St. Kitts has not benefited from tourism as much as younger respondents

do ($r_s = .19$). This may be due to the increased number of economic opportunities for young people developed by the tourism industry. The older respondents may in fact perceive these opportunities but favor the nostalgia of the “old St. Kitts”, an island without the negative aspects they see today such as drugs, unemployment, and poverty. They may also be basing their responses on how much tourism is directly benefiting their lives, which in most cases is very little.

Similar results were found in a case that looked at Samana Bay in the Dominican Republic. Research showed that increased job opportunities in the tourism industry within Samana Bay directly benefited the younger respondents, and older respondents did not perceive those benefits either because the new industry did not affect them or they did not live in an area where tourism was prominent (McCann, 1994).

Respondents were then presented with the statement that “Tourism benefits the local people”. The reasoning behind asking this question was to determine if the respondents felt there was a distinction between who actually benefited from tourism and who the government claimed benefited. The results are presented in Figure 6.

Figure 6

The results indicate that approximately the same percentage of officials felt the same way regarding this statement as they did for the previous statement (60%). Again, it would not be politically wise if these government officials admitted that tourism did not necessarily benefit the local population.

When examining the EIGs, most only agreed with the statement, while a surprising 20% disagreed with it. There was a statistically significant drop in the percentage of those who strongly agreed with the statement “St. Kitts benefits from tourism” (67%) to the statement “The locals benefit from tourism” (29%) ($z = 3.7$). The stakeholders were fairly evenly split with half either only agreeing or strongly agreeing and half disagreeing or strongly disagreeing. Comparing figures 5 and 6, it appears that both the EIGs and the stakeholders feel that tourism does benefit the island of St. Kitts, but that tourism does not necessarily benefit the local population. The surveyed members of the government, however, feel the contrary: that tourism benefits the island as a whole and benefits the local population.

Respondents were then given the statement “Tourism has caused some social problems”. The officials’ response was as to be expected: 60% disagreed while half only agreed (Figure 7). Similar results were reached with the EIGs. Again, negative aspects of their island and the effect of tourism are either denied or severely downplayed.

Figure 7

It appears, however, that the stakeholders feel significantly different from the officials and business groups. A majority of the stakeholders agreed with the statement (64%), blaming tourism for some social problems they feel exist. Exactly what these problems are will be covered shortly. However, when examining if the respondents agreed with the statement, the statistics indicate significant differences do exist between stakeholders and the government officials ($z = 3.9$) and between stakeholders and economic interest groups ($z = 5.5$).

In trying to determine the perceived damage tourism has done to the island, the next logical statement is "Tourism has caused some environmental problems" (Figure 8).

Figure 8

Results for the officials appear nearly identical to the previous statement, with a few exceptions. Only half (50%) of this group disagreed with the statement, 30% did agree, but 20% of the government did strongly agree that tourism has caused some environmental problems. It is important to note that these individuals made it a point to remind the researcher of the promise of anonymity; they were clearly fearful of losing their jobs if their true feelings were discovered.

It is not surprising that a majority of the EIGs (55.2%) disagreed with the statement that tourism has caused some environmental problems for the reasons

previously mentioned. Their livelihoods depend on a constant tourist presence, and if they acknowledge that the environment is being harmed by the tourism industry, they acknowledge they are to blame.

We see a sharp difference in the attitudes of the stakeholders, however, with nearly 60% agreeing that tourism has caused some environmental problems. Again, this is not surprising due to their daily interaction with the natural resources and the government's massive tourism projects currently underway.

The test for correlation indicates there is a statistically significant relationship between the statement "Tourism has caused some environmental problems" and the age of the respondents. Younger respondents appear to believe that the environment is not being harmed as much as the older respondents do ($r_s = .31$ at the .05 level). It is possible that the young people on the island have not yet seen the long-term trends in the decay of the environment that influence the perceptions of the older citizens.

When the statement "Tourists should help pay to protect the environment" (Figure 9) was broached with the respondents, the results were varied.

Figure 9

Both the officials and the EIGs were fairly in agreement that tourists should not have to pay to help protect the environment (60% and 62.1%, respectively), but there

were a few individuals that felt otherwise. It appears 20% of the officials and 22.7% of the EIGs agreed with the statement, claiming that tourists are the ones who are destroying the environment, therefore they should help pay.

This sentiment is echoed by more than 40% of the stakeholders, and much for the same reasons. These individuals feel they were content and the environment healthy before St. Kitts became a popular tourist destination. Thus, they feel they should not be the ones to carry the burden of trying to protect the environment when they are not to blame for its deteriorating condition.

As mentioned in Chapter Three, tourism replaced sugar production as the island's primary source of revenue in 1990. The attitudes of the population regarding this change from an agrarian economy to one based on tourism needs to be examined to provide a complete picture. For reasons given earlier, it is clear that both the officials and the EIGs either agree or strongly agree with the statement in Figure 10. This industry is infinitely more prosperous than sugar production, for the local population as well as themselves, and it provides the politicians the chance to associate with international corporations and delegates from foreign countries, and be praised for bringing much-needed jobs to Kittitians.

Figure 10

The reasoning behind the EIGs' responses is explained this way: before driving a taxi or operating a souvenir stand or running boat tours, many of these individuals worked in the fields as sugar cane cutters. The researcher heard numerous stories of the long hours, terrible conditions and low wages. Cane cutters can receive the paltry sum of U.S. \$75 a week (Barry, T. et al, 1984). One young man described how he started in the fields at age 8, carrying bundles of cane through the fields to be loaded onto trucks. As he grew up, he switched to cutting the cane, a better paying job but one that was infinitely more difficult and dangerous. Now, as a bartender in one of the tourist hotels, he makes ten times that amount in four hours. In addition, a relaxed atmosphere, air conditioning, and generous tips at the bar are more appealing than sunstroke, blisters, and exhaustion in the fields.

The stakeholders, however, felt differently. Less than 20% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement. Most disagreed with it, instead claiming that working in a hotel makes one "soft". In fact, many stakeholders had little respect for those individuals who left the fields or fishing villages in favor of tourism. This suggests that many would rather see their island return to a more simple life, one without an economy based on the fleeting promise of tourism.

One of the ways many countries in the Caribbean hope to infuse new life into their economies is by expanding their role in the cruise ship industry (Testers, 1990). Numerous islands in the region are popular ports of call for such cruise veterans as Carnival, Royal Caribbean, and Holland America, often seeing as many as a dozen ships a day. From the island's vantage point, this is a lucrative business, as island governments receive up to several hundred thousand dollars in dock fees and bunkering costs, as well as the income from tourists who come ashore, both of which are strong incentives.

In 1978, yacht and cruise ship arrivals were recorded at 9,421 (St. Kitts Department of Tourism, 1999). However, concerted efforts such as improved roads and

other infrastructure changes made over the years, such as the new Port Zante, were rewarded in 1998, when arrivals peaked at 126, 825 (Figure 11).

Figure 11: Yacht and Cruise Ship Passengers

In an attempt to increase those figures, the government has recently finished constructing a massive new cruise port facility on the bay near downtown Basseterre. Port Zante symbolizes the government's attempt to command a larger share of cruise ship activity in the region by providing a modern, luxurious, tourist-friendly port of call. Plagued by natural disasters and political skirmishes, the facility was finally finished in November of 1997. With such a large number of foreign visitors (almost four times the population of St. Kitts), it is important to understand the local perceptions of the impact of this industry on the island.

The statement that "cruise ships are good for local retailers" received similar responses (Figure 12). It appears that only 15.9% of the stakeholders either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement. In fact, those individuals were the only ones out of the entire survey sample to feel that way. At least 70% of the officials and the EIGs

agreed with the statement, while the remaining respondents in those categories strongly agreed. It is hard to deny these numbers - at least from an economic standpoint - when an average cruise ship pulls into a port of call, discharging an army of passengers, many of which are eager to buy whatever local items they can before the ship sails again.

Figure 12

The next two statements - “Cruise ships have no effect on the environment” (Figure 13) and “There should be more cruise ship activity on St. Kitts” (Figure 14) - offer some interesting points when compared together.

Figure 13

Figure 14

It seems 80% of the officials either disagree or strongly disagree with the first statement, yet 50% of those individuals agree there should be more cruise ship activity on the island. The results for the EIGs are similar. It appears 51.7% of this group disagree with the first statement, yet 75.9% agree - either strongly or otherwise - that there should be more activity on the island. Needless to say, the contradictory nature of these responses is clear. These two groups recognize the deleterious impact cruise ships are having on the environment, such as poor water quality and decreased fishing space, but yet they still encourage and promote this industry.

The stakeholders, however, perceive a connection between cruise ships and environmental health. It seems 80.2% of this group either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement "Cruise ships have no effect on the environment". Again, these are individuals who are in a position to judge best. One fisherman explained "when the ships come in and drop anchor, they break the coral and chase the fish away". It could be argued that these reports are from individuals without extensive schooling in environmental damage and resource assessment. However, the ability to learn directly from one's environment instead of from a book should not be devalued; instead, this

experiential learning is often quite reflective of the actual condition of the environment as reported through more scientific means, such as transect surveys and water quality data.

The surveys also indicate that 66% of this group does not want more cruise ship activity on the island, primarily because of the damage they perceive occurring to the environment. Besides the actual damage, it appears to be a problem of convenience for many; the ships occupy physical space and prevent the fishermen from fishing “wherever we want”. This attitude that fishermen have special rights has long been a problem on St. Kitts, especially around Basseterre. One government official claims the locals lack the initiative to come together and form a fishermen’s cooperative, to fight for more rights and perhaps establish an area for their exclusive use, an effort that has succeeded in Belize and St. Lucia, but not on St. Kitts.

When asked if increasing cruise ship activity would be good at all, the stakeholders were unable or unwilling to list any benefits, not even an increased potential market for their catch. This was surprising, as one might expect the fishermen would sell their catch to the cruise lines - essentially guaranteed business every week. However, when asked why they don’t do more business with cruise ship personnel, one man explained “those ships don’t want to deal with us, the local fisherman. They only want to do business with the large fishing boats, and the government.” In rebuttal, one government official claimed that wasn’t true, that “those fishermen are bitter and choose not to get involved” with the cruise ships or government efforts to help them help themselves. Furthermore, this individual asserts that every attempt is made to involve the locals in decisions that affect them directly, and that there is no reason not to trust the government. Clearly, there is a strong difference of opinion between these individuals.

The researcher expected a positive correlation between the “age” variable and the statement “There should be more cruise ship activity”. The researcher presumed the young people would want the industry to grow and proliferate, creating more jobs and

making their lives better, while the older respondents dislike the increased traffic, noise, and pollution. This presumption was supported by the data ($r_s = .4$).

Conclusion

From the survey results regarding tourism presented thus far, it is clear that there are drastic differences in perceptions among the island inhabitants. It appears that while only a portion of the island inhabitants are involved with tourism, a significant portion feel they are affected by it, illustrating the far reaching grasp of this industry. The surveyed population feels that the island, in general, does benefit from tourism, but the EIGs and stakeholders do not feel that it necessarily benefits the local people, a condition that begs asking the question “who actually benefits?”.

There was little disagreement that the sun and the beaches are the primary reason tourists come to the island - not much of a surprise. Most of the respondents felt the increase in tourism has had a bad effect on St. Kitts, but disagreed as to what aspects of island life had been negatively impacted. The government officials claimed the culture was disappearing, the EIGs felt family structure was disintegrating, and the stakeholders believed the fish stocks were severely damaged. When asked to name the single most serious problem caused by tourism, the increase in drug trafficking was unanimously agreed upon.

There was a distinct difference of opinion when Kittitians were asked how they wanted tourism trends to proceed: the officials and the EIGs both wanted more tourism for their own reasons. Interviews uncovered the fact that the officials believe that the better their island does financially, the longer they will stay in office. EIGs believe that the more tourism exists on the island, the more business they will do and the more money they will make. The stakeholders, however, clearly wanted less, primarily to prevent their island from becoming an unsafe and unhealthy community environment.

Finally, the cruise ship industry on St. Kitts plays an important role in illustrating the problems inherent within the government. The government officials and EIGs recognize that the industry has a deleterious impact on the environment, yet they encourage more cruise ship activity. Meanwhile, the community individuals are against more activity since they are the ones who are being directly impacted. There appears to be enough evidence to support the hypothesis that differences do exist in perceptions of the physical, social, and economic impacts of tourism among the three segments of St. Kitts society.

CHAPTER SIX

POLITICAL PERCEPTIONS

Introduction

Politics are taken very seriously on St. Kitts. The climate is quite similar to other democracies: alleged scandals, grand plans for economic recovery, and promises reneged upon. However, the local people play a very active role in political issues. Divided fairly evenly down the middle as to their political affiliation, the population wages fierce debates and squabbles over which party - PAM or Labor - has done more for the country.

The Labor Party Movement has been around for many years and was in power until 1980, when the People's Action Movement (PAM) wrestled control of the government from Labor in the general election (CCA, 1991). From 1980 to 1995, PAM looked after the best interests of St. Kitts, and, at least initially, it was thought they were doing a good job: they expanded the tourism base, increased revenue, and created jobs across the island (Bowden, 1997). However, after many years they began to adopt the qualities and characteristics of the Labor Movement that they despised most; namely corruption, deceit, and self-indulgence. In 1995, the balance of power shifted and Labor regained control of the government (Bowden, 1997).

Like most island communities in the Caribbean, St. Kitts' small size allows everyone to know everyone else's business, their personal beliefs, and political affiliation. To that end, there have been numerous claims in various sections of the government that individuals are being released or fired from their positions because of these political ties. Claims of this nature exist in the PAM-backed newspaper - *The*

Democrat - while arguments refuting those claims appear in the *Labor Spokesmen*, published by the party of the same name.

The political parties' environmental awareness or attitudes is not as important as which party will make life better on the island by bringing more money to the people and increasing jobs in the tourism sector. Once again, it seems many people are unaware of the intricacies of resource economics, therefore regulations and laws with an environmental slant are not paid much attention to by the people or the government. This suits the government quite well since it could be argued they do not want the public involved in the decision-making process, thereby allowing them to approve developments that harm the environment .

Political Perceptions

Survey respondents were asked a series of questions about politics and their views of the government's actions when dealing with the environment.

The question "Do you think the government wants your opinion on environmental protection for St. Kitts?" was posed to the EIGs and stakeholders. Responses are shown in Table 23.

Table 23: Does the government want your opinion? (%)

Survey Categories	Yes	No	No opinion
EIGs	67.2	29.3	3.5
SHs	19.1	70.2	10.7
Island-Wide Totals	37.5	54.6	7.9

It appears that a majority of the EIGs felt that the government does want them involved, but there is a statistically significant fewer number of stakeholders that agree with the statement ($z = 4.9$). The reasoning behind these figures may be the fact that a government official who wholeheartedly endorses tourism is trying to increase revenues for the EIGs. Thus, these officials usually receive the full backing of this group.

Meanwhile, the stakeholders perceive the politicians as self-serving individuals who have little concept of what an average fishermen or farmer goes through on a day-to-day basis. Therefore, many stakeholders do not trust nor respect them. The outcome of this adversarial relationship is that government officials simply prefer not to solicit opinions and advice from the stakeholders to avoid any problems, heated discussions, or delays in the decision-making process.

This negative attitude does not only exist in the minds of the stakeholders. The feelings are, in fact, reciprocated by the officials. When the question “Do you feel the government solicits the opinions [regarding environmental matters] of the general public?” was posed to the government leaders, clearly some 80% answered yes, but nearly every individual had some further comments to offer. “Most locals are uneducated, and cannot understand what we are trying to do” or “they do not want to get involved” and “they have a bad attitude” were some common answers.

These statements offer some insight into the political climate and feelings of this group towards the stakeholders and general public. Several respondents felt they do try to involve the local population in their decisions. These fishermen want to see immediate results from their suggestions, while the government prefers to conduct studies and consider all options before initiating anything. Other officials felt the stakeholders’ distrust of the government was undeserved and that it is the main barrier preventing a cooperative joint venture.

There were no statistically significant correlations between the question “Do you feel the government solicits the opinions [regarding environmental matters] of the general public?” and the variables Age, Sex, Years of Residency, Years of Education, and Income. However, there did appear to be statistically significant relationships between this question and the variable Survey Category (GOs, EIGs, SH). The explanation for the correlation ($r_s = .28$ at .05 level) with the Survey Category has been previously explained: the stakeholders do not trust nor respect the government officials because they do not

exist in their world of subsistence living, and the government officials feel many locals are too uneducated to understand the “big picture” when it pertains to managing a country.

The researcher was expecting a strong positive correlation between age and the statement that the government wants locals involved in the decision-making process. Data has shown so far that the younger citizens are content with a booming tourism industry. One would expect that when a person is happy with their life and the government appears to be responsible, there should be no criticism. However, while a correlation does exist ($r_s = .04$ at .05 level), the data does not support that theory and there is no statistically significant relationship.

To further determine what kind of trust and respect exists between the officials, EIGs, and stakeholders, the respondents were asked about the government’s concern for their quality of life. It appears that 82.8% of the EIGs feel the government is concerned about their quality of life, but only 20.2% of the stakeholders feel the same. When the officials were asked that question, the expected results surfaced: they all claimed they were very concerned with the quality of life of all Kittitians. These results illustrate the animosity of the stakeholders towards the current government.

There did not appear to be any statistically significant correlations among the variables except between the statement and Yearly Income ($r_s = .18$). The results show a negative correlation between these two variables. Those individuals with more wealth (as measured by their annual income) perceive a greater degree of concern by the government for the people of St. Kitts. This trusting relationship may be due to the fact that those who are comparably better off have a more secure lifestyle and feel less affected by any changes the government may make regarding the environment.

To figure out why these EIGs and stakeholders feel negatively about the government and doubt their concern for their way of life, the question of “Why not?” was

asked to those who responded negatively to the question “Do you feel the government solicits the opinions [regarding environmental matters] of the general public?”.

The results in Table 24 clearly show that nearly half do not trust the government, while another third feel the politicians are “only out to make themselves rich”. It is this widespread belief that the government operates in their own self-interest and that of the business community, that undermines any actual attempts at negotiation and collaborative efforts.

Table 24: Reasons for Government’s Apathy (%)

Responses	EIGs N=17	Stakeholders N=66
I don’t trust them	11.8	45.4
They only want to make themselves rich	64.7	36.4
They don’t understand what we go through	11.7	10.6
I just have a “feeling”	11.8	7.6

The EIGs’ feelings are not all that dissimilar. Of the 17% of the business community that feel the government is not concerned about the stakeholders, it seems 60% of this group feel that the politicians operate in their own self-interest, but another 10% don’t trust them. It is this significant lack of trust in the government by the stakeholders and perceived lack of effort on the part of the government to involve interested parties that may be the cause of the current dilemma on the island: miscommunication between the local population and the government concerning the environment or any other matters of concern.

This problem of public support and participation is not, by any means, unique to St. Kitts. The government of Anguilla faces a similar dilemma: the fishermen are suspicious of the government’s desire to establish a marine protected area and don’t have

a clear understanding of the value or purpose of such an area. Meanwhile, the minister in charge of designating protected areas prefers to avoid sponsoring such legislation because he knows how difficult the local fishermen are to work with. It seems there are few attempts to approach, educate, or involve the user groups in a collaborative effort, which translates into the locals' distrust of the government and the government's refusal to negotiate. (van't Hoft, 1994).

When the respondents were asked if the government made decisions regarding the environment with the public interest in mind, the results are presented in Table 25. The officials' responses were unexpected. From their previous survey responses, one might expect them to say - "Yes, of course we do. We look after the best interest of all our people". However, nearly a third of this group claim that the government does not always operate within that framework, which is not statistically significant result ($z = .133$). These individuals claim that while the government may think they are taking into account the interests of all their constituents, they're actually operating in their own self-interest by catering to these foreign companies who are looking for tourism development sites.

Table 25: Government Decision-Making (%)

Survey Categories	Yes	No	No opinion
GOs	70	30	0
EIGs	68.9	13.8	17.3
SHs	39.4	42.6	18.0

It appears that a large and statistically significant percentage of EIGs feels the government does keep the public interest in mind when making decisions about the environment ($z = 4.4$). The following example should help explain this result. As discussed earlier, the National Conservation and Environment Conservation Act (NCEPA) was designed to safeguard the environment from overzealous developers. However, when the government decided not to follow this legislation as it was laid out

and control development, it was expanding the tourism potential of the island, which in turn benefited the local businesses. Thus, it figures that businesses would have great faith in government's decision-making, especially if it was to their financial benefit.

The results from the stakeholders were unexpected and not statistically significant. Only 42.6% thought the government does not keep the public interest in mind when making decisions about the environment, leaving 39.4% of the population trusting their leaders ($z = .22$). While 39.4% support is certainly no endorsement, many were quick to add that although the government does try to operate in the best interest of the public, mitigating factors (political scandals, natural disasters, etc) sometimes prevent any well-meaning attempts from coming to fruition.

These survey results are not the only indication of a problem. There were other issues as well that surfaced regarding the NCEPA that fostered distrust in the government and lead one to question the government's desire to involve all interested parties. Although the general purpose and aspirations of the policy were well defined, the regulations outlined were inadequate and the method unclear as to how the legislation was to be enforced. The Conservation Commission was still not appointed and active by mid 1998, seven years after the construction of the access road had finished, an activity the Commission should have been monitoring from the start.

In addition, the money from USAID to build the road has already been delivered, the road is finished, and USAID has moved on to the next island and the next project, all without the institutional framework for an effectively functioning, cooperative government body. It appears that the government has chosen not to enforce the environmental policies outlined in the NCEPA and instead have embraced a pro-development attitude despite the presence of accepted legislation.

Finally, the respondents were asked the question “Does the government balance tourism development and environmental protection?” The answers are presented in Table 26.

Table 26: Government Balances Development Practices? (%)

Survey Categories	yes	no	no opinion
GOs	80	20	0
EIGs	60.3	34.5	5.2
SHs	22.3	64.9	12.8

The majority of the officials felt the government does, in fact, balance tourism development and environmental protection (80%). Again, the 20% that disagreed were staunch environmentalists who did not subscribe to the government’s all-out attempt to expand tourism without considering the environmental impacts. The differences were statistically significant ($z = .046$).

Nearly two-thirds of the EIGs (60.3%) agree with and trust the government’s attempts to expand tourism while maintaining environmental health. This is not surprising. However, 34.5% of this group does not agree with their constituents, making the results statistically significant ($z = 1.89$). It appears that these individuals recognize a problem, but as we have seen in other survey questions, they do not take a stand or get involved and make the government accountable for its environmentally-unfriendly actions.

A statistically significant number of stakeholders appear to believe that the government has not balanced tourism and environmental protection ($z = 4.3$). Again, these are individuals who spend their lives working with the environment and see the progressive damage that tourism developments have on it, their family lives, and their culture.

The results show a strong positive correlation between years of education and this question ($r_s = .20$). Determining if the government has indeed balanced tourism

development and environmental health is not an easy question to answer. There were several individuals who required further explanation of the question before they could give an answer. It appears that those individuals with more educational training were better equipped to answer the question confidently, albeit in a manner that supports the government. However, whether or not the stakeholders have adequate education to understand the complexities of this question, they still have opinions and perceptions that are perfectly valid. They are individuals who work with the environment on a daily basis and who see the damage the government has incurred due to increased tourism.

Conclusion

The relationship between the EIGs and government officials seems to be much stronger and supportive than that with the stakeholders, as was to be expected. The pro-development attitude of the government clearly benefits the EIGs in the short term as tourist revenues increase with each new arrival. The economic situation of the island has been improving in recent years, therefore the EIGs generally do have faith that any decisions made will benefit them.

The results from the surveys and interviews conducted support the hypothesis that there is indeed a perception among resource users that they have been excluded from the environmental policy decision-making process and that the government operates in its own self interest. This perception appears to have led to a severe rift between the local population and the government of St. Kitts. Less than 20% of the stakeholders think the government wants them to be involved with environmental protection, while nearly three-quarters have little faith in their political leaders where environmental matters are concerned. A majority also feel the government isn't really concerned for the welfare of the locals, and operates only in their self interest when making decisions. These results are supported by Gamman's study of many Eastern Caribbean countries, where virtually all decisions that affect natural resources are made directly by political parties with little or no input from the public.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION

The responses from the surveys have been presented and analyzed in the last three chapters, each one devoted to the environment, tourism, and politics. This chapter endeavors to provide further evidence - both anecdotal and statistical - in an attempt to support the hypotheses initially described.

A Few More Observations

Although not originally hypothesized nor foreseen in the beginning of this research, some interesting trends emerged among the three parishes under investigation. The three different sites on the island where interviews were conducted (St. George's parish, St. Ann's parish, and St. John's parish) illustrate particular patterns to the responses regarding feelings and opinions about the environment, tourism and politics on St. Kitts. It is possible that due to the distance from the capital, types of services and hence concentration of visitor activities may have influenced the perception of respondents.

It appears that more than nearly a third of those stakeholders interviewed in St. George's parish were concerned with the environment yet more than 90% were not involved with environmental protection (Table 27), both of which are significant results.

Table 27: Environmental Concern and Involvement
of surveyed individuals in St. George's Parish

Region	Environmental Concern		(n)	Environmental Involvement		(n)
	% yes	% no		% yes	% no	
Saint George's Parish	66.7	33.3	42	9.5	90.5	42

On a small, isolated island like St. Kitts, where everyone is affected by poor environmental quality, it seems important for everyone to be somehow involved. On St. Kitts, one of the key reasons for the stakeholders' apathy is a feeling that the government does not take their concerns or opinions seriously. One young man who fishes for a living explained "they (the government) don't know and don't care how hard it is to fish to get food for my family. I have tried talking to them, but they don't listen. So now I say, why bother?" Those stakeholders that did get involved did so minimally, choosing to occasionally call in to radio shows voicing their anonymous opinions from the safety of their homes.

The feelings of those surveyed about the government are quite clear from the following responses. Of the forty-two (42) stakeholders interviewed in St. George's parish, almost 93% of the respondents in Basseterre felt that the ruling officials do not want the opinion of the locals in environmental protection. Many of those interviewed were quite vehement about their feelings, citing examples where particular politicians refused to address problems they brought up or "acted superior", turning the locals away. One young man, who declined to be identified, signed on to help run spiny lobster population surveys near the Southeast Peninsula with the Environmental Department. He explained "I was waiting to speak to my supervisor and I overheard him talking to another official. He described us (the volunteers) as stupid horses, doing this job only for the money, and not understanding what we were doing. The next day I quit."

Whether these events actually occurred is not the point. The fact is these stories do exist and are passed around throughout the fishing or farming community, influencing an individual's perception of the government and possibly inciting anger and fostering animosity towards this group. Thus, there is widespread distrust of the government.

Proof of this distrust continues. Less than 10% of these stakeholders feel that the government is concerned with their quality of life, citing "I don't trust them" as the number one reason. More than 60% of the stakeholders felt that the government does not

keep the public interest in mind when making environmental decisions. These results indicate that there is little trust or even respect for the government on the part of the stakeholders in St. George's parish.

One possible explanation could be their geographic location on the island. Since Basseterre is the capital and is one of the foci of tourism efforts, any activities such as the new cruise ship facility are perceived as disrupting the local fishermen's daily lives. As dredging for the port continues, water clarity and quality drops, which forces locals to travel farther to sustain themselves in this traditional industry. They are the ones most directly and immediately impacted, thus it could be expected that they would be the ones who are most angry with the government.

Similar results were seen in the Bridgetown Harbor project in Barbados. A new deep-water harbor was slated to be dredged around the capitol. There was initial opposition by the local fishermen, but due to the high estimated revenue from cruise ships, the project continued. As time went on, fewer and fewer fishermen used the area for their catch, favoring unspoiled waters up the coast (CCA, 1994).

As one proceeds from Basseterre into St. Ann's parish and the country, feelings and attitudes change. Sandy Point, a small fishing and farming village on the west coast, located 11 miles from the capital, exhibited a more positive overall feeling about the government and its tourism practices. While distrustful sentiments were still present, an increase in the desire on the behalf of the locals to become involved have resulted in the government making similar attempts to involve them.

The results indicate that more than 90% of the surveyed stakeholders in St. Ann's parish are concerned with the environment and that more than two-thirds do consider themselves to be involved with protecting the environment (Table 28). The results of the question of environmental concern are statistically significant ($z = 4.4$), but the results of environmental involvement are not ($z = 1.7$).

Table 28: Environmental Concern and Involvement of surveyed individuals in St. Ann's Parish

Region	Environmental Concern		(n)	Environmental Involvement		(n)
	% yes	% no		% yes	% no	
Saint Ann's Parish	92.8	7.2	28	67.9	32.1	28

These results mean more people in St. Ann's parish are involved with resource management than their peers in St. George's. While some of these individuals in St. Ann's primarily felt they did not have much time to go to meetings and voice their opinions, more stakeholders chose to get involved by writing letters, attending meetings, and voicing their concerns. A few even trusted the government to protect the environment for them, an attitude virtually nonexistent in Basseterre.

The reason people in this parish were more positive about the government and its handling of the environment could be explained by their distance from the capital and the relatively few tourist attractions they offer. By not being a top tourist destination on the island, they have not been as affected by the government's pro-development policies.

When asked if they felt the government wants their opinion in environmental protection, only 35% of the respondents in St. Ann's parish felt they did not, a difference in feelings from those exhibited in St. George. The majority seem to trust their leaders and their decisions. However, more than 60% felt the government was not concerned about their quality of life, a confusing result for which the researcher cannot give an explanation. The main reason given for their responses was "They [government officials]

only want to make themselves rich". Therefore, while some negative feelings towards the government do exist, it appears a certain level of trust and respect has been reached, at least from the viewpoint of the stakeholders in this parish.

The opinions expressed by respondents in St. Ann's make sense when recent events in the area are examined. Since 1994, the Fisheries Department of St. Kitts has been examining the possibility of establishing a Marine Protected Area (MPA) in the waters immediately adjacent to the main town of Sandy Point. There was concern over a large area of coral called Paradise Reef or The Bar, as it is known to locals (interview with Environment Director, 1998). The reef, several acres in size and located approximately 300 yards from shore, begins at 40 feet and gradually drops off to 120 feet, providing an excellent dive for both beginning and advanced divers.

With an increased tourist presence and live-aboard dive boats from St. Kitts and neighboring islands, local fishermen were very suspicious of the dive boats and were afraid that their fish trap floats would be cut off by the propellers. They were also concerned with damage to the reefs by divers and anchoring (interview with Environment Director, 1998)

This conflict was effectively solved by bringing together the local fishermen and the dive boat operators in a series of discussion groups led by the Fisheries Officer. Representatives from the Sandy Point fishing community were invited onboard the dive boats to observe their operations. This gradually restored trust and evolved into an arrangement that allowed both user groups equal access to the area, yet protected it from being overused and depleted (interview with Environment Director, 1998).

As successful as it sounds, there is still much to do. To date, there have been only two open public meetings to allow locals to voice their opinions about the MPA in their small, normally-quiet parish. One concern voiced by several actively-involved stakeholders is that with the formal establishment of a marine park, more and more tourists would be drawn to the island and more tourists from the Southeast Peninsula and

Frigate Bay areas would arrive for day trips, an outcome many find distasteful. The arrangements made so far with the present dive boats seems to have drawn enough tourists for the taste of many locals.

To better incorporate the opinions and concerns of the locals in this matter, an Advisory Committee was formed consisting of all interested user groups: fishermen, NGOs, government officials, business groups, etc. The role of this group was to work with the Minister of Fisheries to map out a plan acceptable to all involved. Thus far, the marine park seems to be successful. These efforts illustrate the beginnings of what will hopefully spread across the island, namely a self-starting initiative on the part of the locals to care for their community, their environment, and their culture. When the public makes an attempt to work with government and government reciprocates, there is a chance that a successful compromise can be reached, a goal that is still a long way off for St. Kitts.

A successful cooperative effort to sustainably manage marine resources is a concept difficult to achieve as research has shown. Coral reef management in Phuket, Thailand, has met with significant difficulties in forming a cooperative effort: long-boat fishermen refuse to give up traditional fishing grounds, hotels and tourist developments balk at decreasing sewage outfalls, and international NGOs play advocate for sustainable development and proper resource management (White, et al, 1994).

Proceeding further from Basseterre, the parish of St. John is located on the northeast coast and contains Dieppe Bay, a small agricultural and fishing village. This region is geographically the most remote from the bustling capital and from the focus of tourism. Therefore, it is most reminiscent of how St. Kitts was 30 years ago: few tourist attractions (housing, food, or beaches) and a slower and simpler lifestyle. Due to their relative isolation, feelings and opinions regarding the government were mixed or simply didn't exist. Overall, the following results indicate that there appears to be some

distrustful sentiments floating about, but the citizens are more positive than their constituents in Basseterre.

The results indicate that there are statistically significant differences among the questions of environmental concern and environmental involvement ($z = .001$) ($z = .011$). Three-quarters of the stakeholders feel they are involved with environmental protection, citing going to public meetings and calling into the radio talk shows as their primary method (Table 29)

Table 29: Environmental Concern and Involvement of surveyed individuals in St. John's Parish

Region	Environmental Concern		(n)	Environmental Involvement		(n)
	% yes	% no		% yes	% no	
Saint John's Parish	91.7	8.3	24	75.0	25.0	24

The other quarter claimed they simply didn't care or were not affected by a changing environment. This apathy could be explained by the fact that most respondents in this region had less than a ninth grade education level (St. Kitts Census Department, 1991), which may directly affect a Kittitian's environmental awareness.

When asked if they felt the government wanted their opinion in environmental protection, more than 70% of the stakeholders in St. John's parish answered no, results similar to those recorded in Basseterre. The majority also feel the government is not concerned about their quality of life, but were unable to give a concrete reason for their belief. Similarly, many residents had no opinion when asked if decisions were made regarding the environment with the public interest in mind. These respondents live in an area not considered to be desirable by tourists or by the government, and thus have little interest in policy changes or other legislative acts (Gamman, 1994). Many also felt changes in the environment or in environmental policy would not affect them, therefore why get involved.

When compared to St. George, this parish could be considered more supportive and trusting of the government and its actions, but are still far from the interactive and collaborative attitude of the residents of St. Ann parish. This current lack of interest by many of the respondents in Dieppe Bay provides an excellent opportunity for everyone involved. These are individuals who have not yet formed the negative attitudes so prevalent across the island. Only by proceeding cautiously will the government be able to work closely with these residents and prevent what happened in Basseterre, namely that the locals feel ostracized and bitter, and are unwilling to support government actions because they feel left out of the decision-making process.

There are strong differences in the feelings and attitudes between the residents of St George, St. Ann, and St. John parishes. The sampled stakeholders in Basseterre are quite distrustful of the government and its actions, largely because the development that has occurred thus far has impacted them most directly. The stakeholders in St. Ann's parish have not yet felt the grip of tourism yet, and thus have not had the chance to experience first-hand the problems plaguing the government system. Those individuals in St. George's parish have recognized that only by working together and communicating in an open-dialogue setting can all sides feel empowered and satisfied with the outcome.

Maintaining a Balance?

There was one point, in particular, brought up by several respondents - officials, EIGs and stakeholders alike - when asked if the government balances tourism development and environmental protection. The Ministry of Tourism, Culture and the Environment is the office primarily responsible for promoting tourism development as well as maintaining environmental integrity and preserving cultural heritage. However, it could be argued that tourism and environmental/cultural matters exist at opposite extremes, often in conflict with one another. In many cases, when a community invests heavily in tourism, the environment and the local culture suffer. Cancun is a prime

example, where the beaches are lined with hotels, yet the offshore fish and coral populations have declined in recent years due to the human presence (Testers, 1990).

Many respondents on St. Kitts were curious how an office can play the role of guardian for three distinct elements without favoring one or another. In the case of St. Kitts, it seems evident from the data collected and presented thus far that there is a clear difference of opinion in regards to that delicate balance the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and the Environment is supposed to maintain (Table 26).

Table 26: Government Balances Development Practices? (%)

Survey Categories	yes	no	no opinion
GOs	80	20	0
EIGs	60.3	34.5	5.2
SHs	22.3	64.9	12.8

Other small islands recognize this problem and have arranged to avoid it by assigning these duties to different agencies. The U.S. Virgin Islands, for example, has a Director of Environment completely separate from the individual who deals with cultural matters or tourism development. In addition, none of those Directors are subservient to any one of the other two to avoid possible conflicts. They are thus able to focus on these different themes without inherently compromising the others (de Albuquerque, K., 1995).

Getting Involved Too Late

In the opinion of several of those surveyed, a major problem with the way the tourist development process currently operates is that the groups or committees - those who are most qualified to decide whether or not the environment can sustain a particular resort - get involved too late in the process (Gamman, 1994). For example, when a large hotel chain has an interest in building on an island, they approach the top-ranking government officials first and convince them of how beneficial it would be. The officials then present the idea to the people in a typically flamboyant way, promising new jobs and

increased revenue. It should be noted that the project is “presented” to the people in its final form, and not “offered” to them, giving them the chance to agree or disagree. Regardless, when the committees who are charged with keeping the checks and balances - making sure the environment is not significantly harmed - do finally get involved, the project already has a great amount of momentum and is nearly impossible to stop or even modify (Gamman, 1994).

For example, the Southeast Peninsula Land Development Board (SEPLDB) was designed to be the advisory body to the government regarding development in that region: no project goes through without their approval and satisfaction that the environment will not be significantly harmed. Their primary regulatory weapon is the National Conservation and Environment Protection Act (NCEPA), a law required by USAID as part of the loan agreement for the access road built in 1990. However, despite this significant environmental reform, there is the perception that it has not been adequately supported or enforced by the government because of the tremendous political and economic pressure to approve projects in the area (Gamman, 1994). Economic pressures include a waiting list of a dozen projects slated for the region, including the construction of an 18-hole golf course and a 75-boat marina built within the largest salt pond on the island (SEPLDB Project List, 1996). Political pressures include the threat of being voted out of office if there is not the perception of development and economic growth.

Port Zante: Boom or Bust

The new cruise ship facility recently built on the waterfront in Basseterre has been a contentious point over the last few years. By examining some of the events and troubles surrounding this project, it should help illustrate the problems this island encounters when dealing with a closed decision-making process.

It has been shown that St. Kitts has done well in the cruise ship industry over the years, but despite their success, the government felt there was room for expansion in the hopes of drawing a larger share of that market. The island has a deep water port used for docking of cruise ships, and a convenient area for taxis to wait for fares into the main part of town, but the port has had its problems (CCA, 1991). It also served as a cargo and freight port as well as a petroleum storage facility with four large Texaco containers staring down on the passenger gate (CCA, 1991). It is not the first thing tourist want to see when they disembark from a cruise ship and step foot on a tropical Caribbean island. Furthermore, tourists must take a taxi ride into town in order to take advantage of the duty free shops and cafes, a trip that takes them by ramshackle huts, unfinished construction, and a deteriorating sea wall that is on the verge of collapse. These are not ideal conditions for cruise passengers. If cruise lines feel a port of call doesn't provide the necessary infrastructure to properly accommodate their guests, they will simply remove the island from their itinerary (Heath and Hall, 1992)

To that end, the government took steps to upgrade their facilities and attract a larger number of cruise ships to their port. In March 1994, the island signed a \$16.25 million loan agreement with the Bank of Nova Scotia to finance the construction of a cruise ship facility and the reclamation of 26 acres of land in the Basseterre roadstead. The creation of this newly expanded facility "is aimed at providing the infrastructure to support and promote the continuation of the considerable expansion in cruise ship and yacht visits employed by the Federation" (Dept. of Tourism Report, 1996). It was a massive project, employing hundreds of local labor and was a constant source of entertainment for the locals as they watched the construction process.

Several points should be mentioned regarding the project that shed light on the government and its intentions. To begin, Port Zante was designed and lobbied for by the previous government in power – the People's Action Movement (PAM). Opinions about PAM's success in government depends on who you talk to. One man's perception was

that “we were better off under PAM. They gave us more tourism and more jobs, and helped some small businesses get started with loans”. Others claimed PAM proceeded in a reckless and careless manner when development was concerned. “They did not care what impact there was on the beaches or my family by allowing that hotel to be built there”. While it is easy to see that tourism prospered under the PAM regime (see Figure 2 – Total Visitor Arrivals), it is not as easy to decide if they proceeded recklessly in their tourism developments. While solid, documentable proof to substantiate that side may not exist, events and anecdotes collected may provide some insight.

As regulations require, an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) was required before the loan was signed and money delivered for the project. However, as is common practice in the Caribbean, the EIA is often completed by an internal committee of the government instead of by an outside non-governmental organization (Gamman, 1994). Even if the committee takes their charge seriously and does a thorough job, there is no guarantee nor requirement that the government adhere to the results; it is not a regulatory mandate, only an advisory one.

In this case, the EIA was completed in 1992 by just such an internal group, without a single public meeting or forum that allowed interested parties to have any input. Overseeing the port project was a Board of Trustees consisting of high-ranking members of the St. Kitts government as well as outside contractors with a direct stake in the building contract itself. The EIA was completed quickly and practically disregarded, the loan was signed based on a report of minor environmental damage and full public support, and the money was pushed through (interview with former Environment Director, 1997).

The marina opened in November 1997 and offers berths for 58 boats up to 70 feet in length and can accommodate two cruise ships. The area includes shops and restaurants and the general manager expects a 120-room hotel to be built adjacent to the marina by the middle of the year 2000 (Port Zante Business Plan, 1995). Reactions to this facility

range from joy and elation from local shop owners who welcome the new business to contempt and pity from fishermen and environmentalists. Perhaps if the public was consulted or invited to offer opinions regarding the marina, there would be more support for the project than there is today, not just among the locals, but also with some business groups and even a few members of the government.

CHAPTER EIGHT

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Recommendations

Information collected through surveys and interviews and analyzed in Chapters Four, Five, and Six, and the discussions presented in Chapter Seven are used as the basis for the following recommendations. There may, in fact, be recommendations that are of such grand nature that they may seem unattainable in our lifetime. Others may seem to be small and easier to achieve in a shorter time period. Whatever the case, there must be support from the people, assistance from the business groups, and respect from the government. All of these suggestions are directed toward not only these groups, but also toward the international development agencies, and any parties concerned about the quality of life and the environment of St. Kitts.

1. Focus on inviting particular groups into the planning and discussion stage of a project.

In addition to increasing educational efforts to effectively integrate public participation into the decision-making process, the system should be streamlined by targeting particular interest groups on various issues. By doing this, the decision-makers will have a better understanding of the interest groups, their viewpoints, and their concerns, thereby painting a more complete picture. Going one step further, several representatives from each interest group should be involved so that group interests rather than personal interests are presented, an approach that worked well on St. Lucia in the designation of marine protected areas (van't Hoff, 1994). The mediating parties in that case recognized that since certain user groups were not comfortable in a meeting room,

field trips on a boat to the potential area were arranged with those individuals to help define and re-define park boundaries acceptable to all involved.

In the case of St. Kitts, interest groups whose involvement should be actively solicited are such groups as the St. Christopher Heritage Society, a non-government organization (NGO) whose primary concern is the preservation of historic Basseterre, but also includes other historic sites across the island. One of their concerns is that now that historic Basseterre is no longer directly on the bay, it has become the secondary attraction to Port Zante now that the marina is finally operational. These concerns of theirs should be taken into consideration by the government as a show of good faith and desire to examine all perspectives.

2. Increasing the amount of attention the development agencies place on environmental concerns and encouraging the borrowing countries to plan for long-term sustainability instead of short term dollars.

The previous chapter discussed the matter of individuals getting involved too late in the development process to make any changes to a proposal. The example of the development of Port Zante should have been an adequate illustration of this condition, where there was not a single public forum or meeting to openly discuss the feelings and perceptions of the local population (interview with Jacqueline Cramer, head of St. Kitts Preservation Society, 1995). While the government can be blamed because they made no effort to involve the locals, there exists a greater influence: international development agencies, such as the World Bank.

The standard project cycle of a development agency like the World Bank is rather inflexible and rigid. The steps in the process are predetermined and new initiatives like greater public participation are difficult to accommodate. Even if they were incorporated, it is nearly impossible to make such reforms in a short time span, especially if the new

regulations represent a significant shift in how things are done in that community. These public institutions need to be reworked, personnel hired and trained, and funds provided to pay for them, but it is nearly impossible to complete all these tasks within the temporal and financial constraints of the standard project cycle. The blame for this situation cannot be placed on just one group; instead, the development banks and the borrowing countries need to modify their attitudes, as the following solution suggests.

As grand and complex as it sounds, the solution is to change both existing systems by opening up the decision-making process and making it more accessible to all interested parties. Institutions such as the World Bank need to start paying more attention to their environmental department and its recommendations while borrowing countries should try to resist the lure of easy money without concern for the future. As it exists on St. Kitts today, the process does not encourage this. To make this work, there are several steps: first, those citizens who are indifferent or uninterested in effecting change need to be educated. That is a daunting task, considering this group constitutes a large majority of the population. Next, faith in the government needs to be re-established; a sense of trust and respect for each other on the part of the locals and the government officials. Finally, these stakeholders should be encouraged to participate in a collaborative dialogue with the government and business leaders in order for environmental policies to be effectively created and implemented.

3. Increased public education and tourism awareness.

Another recommendation would be to increase the public education and tourism awareness efforts on the government's behalf. By sponsoring educational programs and seminars that address environmental, cultural, and social concerns, the government will be encouraging public participation, and a more thorough examination of a project's potential impact will be achieved, evidence of which lies on different Caribbean islands.

While most island governments are unlikely to allocate sufficient financial and human resources to plan, develop, and institute these education programs, someone must utilize some innovative and multi-faceted fundraising strategies to obtain the necessary aid. Strategies such as user fees have been extremely successful in the Saba Marine Park, which is entirely self-sufficient based on that income combined with donations and souvenir sales. The Bonaire Marine Park has been able to cover their core funding based on user fees alone that are figured into each tourist's dive package (van't Hof, 1994). In addition, grants from national, regional, or international donor agencies are available, provided they are properly administered and looked after. Corporate sponsorships and trust funds are other angles to be examined, both strategies successfully used by St. Lucia in the establishment of their four marine parks. Money can be raised for education programs as easily with these ventures as it can be for marine parks.

On a positive note, it does appear that the government of St. Kitts is beginning to show vestiges of that desire to educate and involve the local people. The "Tourism Awareness Week", while it was designed to showcase the tremendous economic benefits of tourism, did encourage education of the local people (interview with Tourism Minister, 1995), a process that will hopefully continue as the importance of the environment is realized. Events such as a bartender contest and beauty pageants were the most popular among the people, but there were seminars that focused on addressing issues such as tourism services or tips to improve island hospitality. The radio and television stations sponsored panel discussions on the impact of tourism, seminars presented theories and advice on the future of tourism, and local schools encouraged students to organize and adopt a space on the island and care for it, similar to programs in the United States. Despite the underlying distrust between the people and the officials, these are signs that the government is starting to see the locals not only as passive beneficiaries or obstacles to development, but as active collaborators in making effective decisions regarding the environment. However, still more needs to be done.

Conclusion

Many believe St. Kitts has reached a crossroads in their island development. It lays on the verge of becoming either another entrant in the Caribbean tourism mass market or a small-scale but sustainable destination specializing in individual service and attention. If the people and the government embrace massive tourism developments without concern for the feelings and attitudes of the local population or the health of the environment, the result will be a profitable – but short - period of time, followed possibly by a severe decline in island environmental quality and a consequential decrease in tourists (see St. Maarten). If they choose to involve all user groups in the decision-making process and proceed with caution, the final outcome could be a system capable of maintaining a sustainable and profitable level of tourist dollars (see Saba Marine Park and Bonaire Marine Park).

The results of particular survey questions designed to determine feelings about the environment reveal that individuals do care about their environment, but may not be willing to volunteer their time and energy in its conservation and protection. While perceptions differ, a significant reason for this reluctance to get involved is the stakeholders' distrust of the government.

The perceived impact of tourism on the environment and the preferred future of this industry differ decidedly among the three survey groups. Government officials and business groups clearly want tourism on the island to increase, ultimately benefiting their lives. Meanwhile, some local stakeholders perceive their fish catches decreasing, their lands being taken for hotels and resorts, and their traditional lifestyle diminishing.

The results also indicate that an adversarial relationship has been set up with the stakeholders distrustful of the government, and the government reluctant to solicit local opinions because of the lack of formal education. On the government's side are the business groups, individuals who have a vested interest in an increased number of tourists but may or may not realize the fragile ecological balance they are so dependent on. Too

few tourists results in businesses being hurt, but too many results in the environment being hurt, deteriorating until it is no longer desirable in the eyes of vacationers. Both sides have valid concerns, but there appears to be very little dialogue between these two groups. This concept of greater public participation is critical as people need to be empowered and involved, working together toward tourism development goals set within the realistic context of sustainability. That means the resources of today must be managed in such a way as to ensure their survival tomorrow. This requires more attention to attitudes, values, preparedness, and motivation for cooperative action between all interested parties on equal terms and with shared responsibilities.

The solution calls for a multi-pronged approach. First, there should be an increase in the public's awareness of the state of the environment, in general, and of particular environmental regulations. This requires dedication on the part of the government to fund outreach and education programs; no small feat when resources are so limited. Second, the mindset of the government needs to change when development practices are addressed. St. Kitts, and many other islands in the Caribbean, need to start looking toward long-term sustainability instead of short-term profits. Slow down the development process even if it means the project moves at a slower pace. Thirdly, interest groups that have long been excluded should be invited to become integral parts of the process, standing on equal footing with pro-development supporters and the large, international development agencies.

No one can look into a crystal ball and predict the outcome of this debate. Even if the recommendations are followed and an open line of communication is maintained, there is no guarantee the lives and conditions of the natural resources will definitely improve. However, this dynamic interaction provides opportunities for individuals inside and outside the community to play a role in guiding and shaping an island system, and can contribute to an increase in the general quality of life. Without this cooperative effort, Kittitians will never know success.

Resource Users

1. Age _____ 2. Sex _____ 3. Occupation? _____ 4. Place of birth? _____
5. Years of education _____ 6. I have lived on St. Kitts for _____ years.
7. Income per year? (EC \$)
_____ 0-4,999	_____ 5,000-9,999	_____ 10,000-14,999
_____ 15,000-19,999	_____ 20,000-24,999	_____ 25,000-29,999
_____ 30,000-49,000	_____ greater than 50,000	

Tourism

1-strongly agree.....2-agree.....3-disagree.....4-strongly disagree.....5-no opinion

- 8.....St. Kitts benefits from tourism.....
- 9.....Tourism benefits the local people.....
- 10.....Tourism has caused some social problems on St. Kitts.....
- 11.....Tourism has caused some environmental problems on St. Kitts.....
- 12.....Tourism has caused an increase in traffic.....
- 13.....Tourists should pay to help protect our environment.....
- 14.....I am glad tourism has replaced sugar production as the mainstay of the economy.....
- 15.....Cruise ships are good for local retailers.....
- 16.....Cruise ships have no effect on the environment.....
- 17.....There should be more cruise ship activity on the island.....

18. Are you directly involved with tourism?.....(Yes / No)
If yes, how? _____
19. Are you directly affected by tourism?.....(Yes / No)
If yes, explain _____
20. Why do you think tourists come to St. Kitts? (please rank 1-7)
- _____ culture
 - _____ beaches/sun
 - _____ marine wildlife
 - _____ land wildlife
 - _____ architecture
 - _____ food/nightlife
 - _____ other _____
21. Has the increase in tourism had a bad effect on St. Kitts?.....(Yes / No)
22. If yes, on what aspects?
- _____ water quality
 - _____ culture
 - _____ coral reefs
 - _____ fish stocks (lobster, conch, etc)
 - _____ family structure
 - _____ economy
 - _____ land wildlife
 - _____ forest
 - _____ other _____
23. What do you think is the most serious problem caused by tourist developments? _____
24. Would you rather have: _____ more tourists _____ less tourists _____ same amount _____ you don't care?

Environment

25. Are you concerned about the quality of the environment on St. Kitts?.....(Yes / No)
explain _____
26. Are you currently involved with environmental protection on St. Kitts?.....(Yes / No)
if no, why not _____
27. If yes, how?
_____member of conservation organization _____I attend public hearings and meetings
_____I serve on a committee or board _____I write letters to our government
other _____
28. Do you want to become involved in environmental protection for St. Kitts?.....(Yes / No)
29. Do you feel the govt wants your opinion in environmental protection for St. Kitts?.....(Yes / No)
30. Do you feel the govt is concerned about your quality of life?.....(Yes / No)
If no, why? _____
31. Are decisions made regarding the environment with the public interest in mind?.....(Yes / No)
32. Does the government balance tourism development and environmental protection?.....(Yes / No)
33. Name the three most important environmental regulations you are aware of.
1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
34. Do you feel these current environmental regulations are effective?.....(Yes / No)
If not, why? _____
35. In general, do you follow the environmental regulations that are now in place?.....(Yes / No)
36. If no, why not?
_____regulations are too strict _____no one else follows them, why should I?
_____regulations are unnecessary _____other _____
37. What is the worst thing that has happened to the island in the last 10 years?
_____tourism related _____political actions
_____natural disaster (storms, flood, etc) _____drug related
_____other _____
38. Over the last 10 years, has your quality of life:
_____increased _____decreased _____stayed the same?

Economic Interest Groups

1. Age _____ 2. Sex _____ 3. Occupation? _____ 4. Place of birth? _____
5. Years of education _____ 6. I have lived on St. Kitts for _____ years.
7. Income per year? (EC \$\$)
_____ 0-4,999	_____ 5,000-9,999	_____ 10,000-14,999
_____ 15,000-19,999	_____ 20,000-24,999	_____ 25,000-29,999
_____ 30,000-49,000	_____ greater than 50,000	

Tourism

1-strongly agree.....2-agree.....3-disagree.....4-strongly disagree.....5-no opinion

- 8.....St. Kitts benefits from tourism.....
- 9.....Tourism benefits the local people.....
- 10.....Tourism has caused some social problems on St. Kitts.....
- 11.....Tourism has caused some environmental problems on St. Kitts.....
- 12.....Tourism has caused an increase in traffic.....
- 13.....Tourists should pay to help protect our environment.....
- 14.....I am glad tourism has replaced sugar production as the mainstay of the economy.....
- 15.....Cruise ships are good for local retailers.....
- 16.....Cruise ships have no effect on the environment.....
- 17.....There should be more cruise ship activity on the island.....

18. Are you directly involved with tourism?.....(Yes / No)
If yes, how? _____

19. Are you directly affected by tourism?.....(Yes / No)
If yes, explain _____

20. Why do you think tourists come to St. Kitts? (please rank 1-7)

_____ culture
_____ beaches/sun
_____ marine wildlife
_____ land wildlife
_____ architecture
_____ food/nightlife
_____ other _____

21. Has the increase in tourism had a bad effect on St. Kitts?.....(Yes / No)

22. If yes, on what aspects?

_____ water quality
_____ culture
_____ coral reefs
_____ fish stocks (lobster, conch, etc)
_____ family structure
_____ economy
_____ land wildlife
_____ forest
_____ other _____

23. What do you think is the most serious problem caused by tourist developments? _____

24. Would you rather have: _____ more tourists _____ less tourists _____ same amount _____ you don't care?

Environment

25. Are you concerned about the quality of the environment on St. Kitts?.....(Yes / No)
-if no, why not _____
26. Are you currently involved with environmental protection on St. Kitts?.....(Yes / No)
-if no, why not _____
27. If yes, how?
_____member of conservation organization
_____I serve on a committee or board
other _____
_____I attend public hearings and meetings
_____I write letters to our government
28. Do you want to become involved in environmental protection for St. Kitts?.....(Yes / No)
29. Do you feel the govt wants your opinion in environmental protection for St. Kitts?.....(Yes / No)
30. Do you feel the govt is concerned about your quality of life?.....(Yes / No)
31. Are decisions made regarding the environment with the public interest in mind?.....(Yes / No)
32. Does the government balance tourism development with environmental protection?.....(Yes / No)
33. Name the three most important environmental regulations you are aware of.
1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
34. Do you feel these current environmental regulations are effective?.....(Yes / No)
If not, why? _____
35. Do you follow the environmental regulations that are now in place?.....(Yes / No)
36. If no, why not?
_____regulations are too strict
_____regulations are unnecessary
_____no one else follows them, why should I?
_____other _____
37. Would you sacrifice some of your profits in exchange for environmental protection?.....(Yes / No)
38. What is the worst thing that has happened to the island in the last 10 years?
_____tourism related
_____natural disaster (storms, flood, etc)
_____political actions
_____drug related
_____other _____
39. Over the last 10 years, has your quality of life:
_____increased _____decreased _____stayed the same?

Political Leaders

1. Age _____ 2. Sex _____ 3. Occupation? _____ 4. Place of birth? _____
5. Years of education _____ 6. I have lived on St. Kitts for _____ years.
7. Income per year? (EC \$)\$
_____ 0-4,999 _____ 5,000-9,999 _____ 10,000-14,999
_____ 15,000-19,999 _____ 20,000-24,999 _____ 25,000-29,999
_____ 30,000-49,000 _____ greater than 50,000

Tourism

1-strongly agree.....2-agree.....3-does not matter.....4-disagree.....5-strongly disagree

- 8..... St. Kitts benefits from tourism.....
9..... Tourism benefits the local people.....
10..... Tourism has caused some social problems on St. Kitts.....
11..... Tourism has caused some environmental problems on St. Kitts.....
12..... Tourism has caused an increase in traffic.....
13..... Tourists should pay to help protect our environment.....
14..... I am glad tourism has replaced sugar production as the mainstay of the economy.....
15..... Cruise ships are good for local retailers.....
16..... Cruise ships have no effect on the environment.....
17..... There should be more cruise ship activity on the island.....

18. Why do you think tourists come to St. Kitts? (please rank 1-7)

_____ culture
_____ beaches/sun
_____ marine wildlife
_____ land wildlife
_____ architecture
_____ food/nightlife
_____ other

19. Has the increase in tourism had a bad effect on St. Kitts?.....(Yes / No)

20. If yes, on what aspects?

_____ water quality
_____ culture
_____ coral reefs
_____ fish stocks (lobster, conch, etc)
_____ family structure
_____ economy
_____ land wildlife
_____ forest
_____ other

21. What do you think is the most serious problem caused by tourist developments? _____

22. Would you rather have:

_____ more tourists _____ less tourists _____ same amount _____ you don't care?

Environment

23. Are you concerned about the quality of the environment on St. Kitts?.....(Yes / No)
-if no, why not _____
24. Are you concerned with the quality of life of the resource users (farmers, fishermen, etc) who rely on the environment to survive?.....(Yes / No)
25. Do you feel you solicit the opinions of the resource users?.....(Yes / No)
if no, explain _____
26. Name the three most important environmental regulations you are aware of.
1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
27. Do you feel these current environmental regulations are effective?.....(Yes / No)
If not, why? _____
28. Do you follow the environmental regulations that are now in place?.....(Yes / No)
29. If no, why not?
_____regulations are too strict
_____regulations are unnecessary
_____no one else follows them, why should I?
_____other _____
30. Does the government balance tourism development and environmental protection?.....(Yes / No)
31. What is the worst thing that has happened to the island in the last 10 years?
_____tourism related
_____natural disaster (storms, flood, etc)
_____political actions
_____drug related
_____other _____
32. Over the last 10 years, has your quality of life:
_____increased _____decreased _____stayed the same?

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