SUSTAINABLE RESORT CONSTRUCTION: A TOOL FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT? THE CASES OF ROSALIE BAY RESORT, DOMINICA AND MT. PLAISIR ESTATE, TRINIDAD

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PRELIMINARIES

Candidate's Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is being submitted to the Degree of Master of Science to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other University.

……

(Signature of Candidate)

…….. day of …….., ……

(day) *(month)* *(year)*

Abstract

Tourism has been identified by “developing world” governments and multilateral lending agencies as an important driver for economic development. Current research is focused on improving tourism operations’ (pro-poor) economic linkages with the local community. The aim of this study is to evaluate the extent to which the *construction phase* of sustainable resort development can contribute to these strategies, in rural coastal areas.

This qualitative study is conducted by means of a comprehensive literature review and multi-case study evaluation. The *construction phase* of Rosalie Bay Resort, Dominica, and Mt. Plaisir Estate Hotel, Trinidad, are evaluated according to a ‘value chain’ analysis of economic linkages, leakages, and their accompanying socio-economic impacts. The findings demonstrated that the construction process makes a valuable contribution to tourism-led economic development, through the provision of temporary and sustained employment opportunities; alternative livelihoods; increased earning capacity; diversified income sources; improved employability; and heightened self-esteem.

Acknowledgements

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Without the financial assistance of the Oppenheimer Memorial Trust and the School of Architecture and Planning this study would not have been possible. My deepest thanks thus go to Clare Digby, and Professor Randall Bird for their support.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

Where possible, acronyms are written in full at the beginning of each section in which they are found.

CARICOM	Caribbean Community and Common Market
CCDP	CARICOM Capacity Development Programme
CDB	Caribbean Development Bank
CEPEP	Community Environmental Protection and Enhancement Programme
CNRI	Caribbean Natural Resources Institute
EIIP	Employment Intensive Investment Programme
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
GSTC	Global Sustainable Tourism Criteria
HDI	Human Development Index
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFC	International Finance Corporation
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LAC	Limits of Acceptable Change
MDGs	2015 United Nations Millennium Development Goals
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity Income
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development

WIFA	Windward Island Farmers' Association
WTO	World Trade Organisation
WTO	The World Tourism Organisation
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

Preface

This dissertation is divided into three parts:

Part One sets the stage for the research in a series of two chapters. Chapter 1 will provide the background, identification, and justification for the research problem, while Chapter 2 will discuss the research methods selected for the ensuing study, and the associated delimitations and limitations.

Part Two will present the conceptual foundation for the research argument. The literature survey will be presented in Chapter 3, while Chapter 4 will weave the conclusions of this theoretical argument together to form the analytical framework for the subsequent case study evaluation.

Part Three delves into the case study and evaluation components of the research. The selection of the case studies will be explained and defended in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 will introduce the location of the case studies with country profiles for Dominica and Trinidad. The context of tourism and economic development in these islands is then explored in more detail to create a contextual background for the evaluation. The case study projects are described in Chapter 7, while Chapter 8 presents the multi-case study evaluation, according to the thematic divisions of the analytical framework. Chapter 9 will be the summation of the study, encompassing both the research conclusions and recommendations.

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this section is to demonstrate through a literature review that there is a perceived knowledge gap in current tourism planning studies. The highlighting of this knowledge gap will be the introduction to the selected research topic which will then be defined, outlined, and delimited, in the further introductory sections.

1.1. Background

The 1960s witnessed the transformation of tourism from a private sector service, and leisure-based industry, to a programme for Third World economic development. The basis for this metamorphosis can be traced through three convergent channels: firstly, as a result of the rise in international tourist numbers and consequently tourism revenue receipts; secondly, the emergence of post-colonial developing countries; and thirdly, the development agenda of the bilateral and multi-lateral lending agencies (Nash, 1996: 127; Marfurt, 1997: 172; Dowling and Fennell, 2003: 2).

As stated above the primary reason for tourism coming into focus as a development strategy was as a result of the rapid growth of the industry during this period. The World Tourism Organisation (WTO) estimates that international tourism numbers increased markedly from 25.3 million tourism arrivals in 1950 to 69.3 million tourism arrivals in 1960, an average annual growth of 10.6% (2008: Annex-3). This exponential rise in tourist numbers can be attributed to a number of key factors:

- Airfare prices dropped with the launch of modern commercial airplanes, while the number of airline routes and destinations increased so as to encompass access to nearly all the countries in the world;[1]

[1] In the 1970s, flight prices dropped even further with the launch of the first wide-bodied, high speed airplanes (Honey, 1999: 8).

- The post-World War Two rapid and dispersed nature of economic development caused a growth in business travel;
- A burgeoning middle class with increased disposable income evolved;[2]
- Improved education levels produced a heightened awareness of the world and a desire to travel;
- Lastly, an increase in leisure time (with the rise of paid vacations as social policy) both encouraged and made travel economically viable[3] (Honey, 1999: 8; Weaver, 1998: 4; Inskeep, 1991: 8; Harrison, 1992: 2).

This growth in tourism numbers caused tourism's contribution to international foreign exchange to increase dramatically from an estimated US$2.1 billion in 1950 to US$6.9 billion in 1960; (WTO, 2008: Annex- 10). The heightened economic value of the industry thereby brought it into focus as a potential development tool.

Concurrently, this period of post-colonisation saw an increase in emerging countries seeking economic development programmes to raise their gross national income (GNI), increase employment levels and attract foreign investment (for infrastructure development) (Todaro and Smith, 2009: 14; Rist, 2008: 79). The majority of these Third World countries did not possess an export industry to boost foreign exchange earnings; neither did many have lucrative natural resources to exploit such as minerals, gas or oil (France, 1997: 8; Oppermann and Chon, 1997: 1). However, what many of these countries did have was the environmental resources for

[2] The increase in disposable income was a result of expanded economic development combined with an increase in two family incomes in America, and later in emerging countries like China and India (Inskeep, 1991: 23)

[3] In 1936 the International Labour Organisation (ILO) passed a convention on one week's paid leave per year, by 1970 this was expanded to 3 weeks paid leave for all workers (Honey, 1999: 8)

tourism, which Nash (1996: 19) describes as a sunny climate, turquoise seas, palm trees and sandy white beaches.

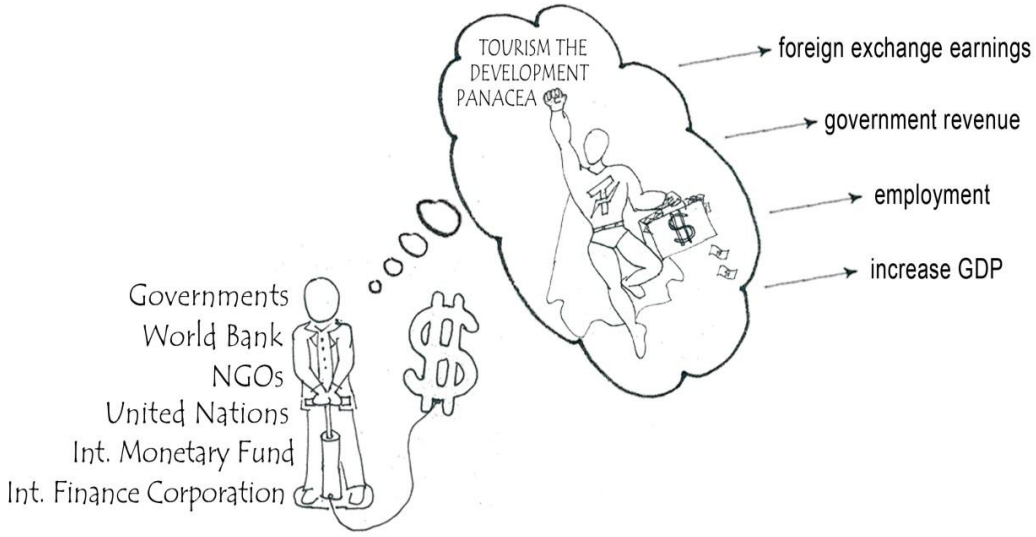

Figure 1.1. 1960s vision of tourism as a strategy of Third World development
Source: Illustration by Daniella Sachs

Although tourism's ability to generate high levels of foreign exchange was important for these countries it was not the only reason tourism was highlighted as an essential component of Third World economic development. More importantly, as Inskeep (1991: 15) explains, tourism helped to pay for and justify the development of much needed basic infrastructure in these countries (which included airports, roads, and ports). These infrastructure and development projects were funded to a large extent by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), two of the most powerful development institutions that emerged during this period (Mowforth and Munt, 1998: 104; Honey, 1999: 14).

The type of tourism that was promoted by these bilateral and multilateral development agencies during this period was "mass tourism." Mowforth and Munt (1998: 290- 294) attribute this to the banks' neo-liberal economic system in which tourism was considered as a "cash crop" equivalent to coffee or sugar. The funding of expensive infrastructure required a return on investment and thus these developing countries were pressurised into increasing foreign exchange export earnings by boosting production, in

this case, via fostering greater tourism numbers. On the other hand, it can be argued that the development of large-scale mass tourism complexes was simply in keeping with the banks' mega-project investment typology during this period (Bond, 2001: 232).

It could also be said that this push for mass tourism was a result of the dominant classic theories of economic development in the 1960s. According to Todaro and Smith (2009: 110), development during this period 'became synonymous with rapid, aggregate economic growth'. Rostow's linear-stages-of-growth model further links the notion of development with Fordist[4] notions of mass production, in the description of the fifth and final stage of economic growth as 'the age of high mass-consumption' (Rist, 2008: 95; Todaro and Smith, 2009: 111). Mass tourism can correspondingly be seen as an inevitable product of these Fordist-based economic development theories.

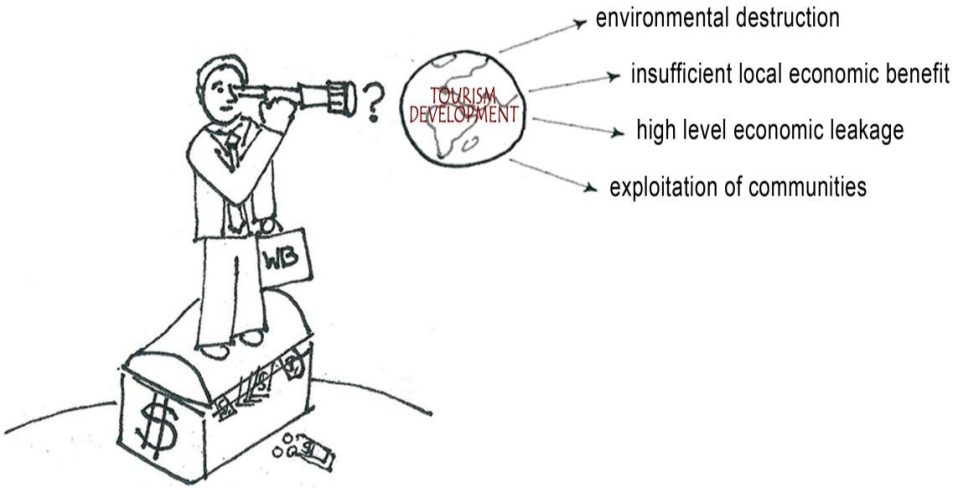

Figure 1.2. 1970s realisation of the side-effects of mass tourism development
Source: Illustration by Daniella Sachs

The appropriateness and effectiveness of these macro-structured development programmes (based as they were, on rapid economic growth) was, however, called into question during the 1970s. Coetzee,

[4] Graaff and Venter (2001: 103) define *Fordism* as '[t]he combination of mass production and mass consumption which dominated the American economy between 1945 and 1974.'

Graaff, Hendricks and Wood (2001: 1) explain that: *'[d]riven by macro-agencies like governments and the World Bank, development initiatives had too frequently failed to engage people on the ground. They had been marked by stunning condescension, violence to both people and the environment, and ultimately by failure.'*

Mass tourism development did not escape this criticism even though it was initially anticipated to have greater positive impacts than traditional development initiatives (Nash, 1996: 20). By the 1970s, large-scale rapid tourism development was proving to not only cause the environmental destruction of pristine natural environments, but also the social and cultural degradation and exploitation of surrounding communities. The table below illustrates this point.

Table 1.1. The impacts of mass tourism development
Source: Adapted from Shaw and Williams, 2002: 45, 46, combined with further examples drawn from Coccossis and Nijkamp, 1995: 4, 5; Nash, 1996: 20, 21, 26; Marfurt, 1997: 173; France, 1997: 8; Honey, 1999: 9; and Harisson, 1992b: 19-22

THE IMPACTS OF MASS TOURISM DEVELOPMENT		
CATEGORY	**ANTICIPATED POSITIVE IMPACTS**	**ACTUAL NEGATIVE IMPACTS**
ENVIRONMENT	Greater protection of environment through conservation areas such as wildlife parks, protected areas and marine conservation areas.	Destruction of natural environment through ill-planned tourist resorts and waste programmes. Large scale degradation caused by tourists overloading the carrying capacity[5] of the natural resources.
	Improves landscapes and architectural standards.	Destroys natural landscapes and leads to non-integrated and badly designed tourism complexes.
	Promotes environmental awareness and concern.	Travel causes visual, air, water, environment and noise pollution.

[5] The carrying capacity or "limits of acceptable change" (LAC) refers to the maximum number of people (and therefore scale of development) an area can withstand without causing unacceptable environmental, social or cultural impacts (Bennet, 2000: 28; Ashton, 2002: 49).

Table 1.1. Continued…
Source: Adapted from Shaw and Williams, 2002: 45, 46, combined with further examples drawn from Coccossis and Nijkamp, 1995: 4, 5; Nash, 1996: 20, 21, 26; Marfurt, 1997: 173; France, 1997: 8; Honey, 1999: 9; and Harisson, 1992b: 19-22

THE IMPACTS OF MASS TOURISM DEVELOPMENT		
CATEGORY	**ANTICIPATED POSITIVE IMPACTS**	**ACTUAL NEGATIVE IMPACTS**
ECONOMIC	Supports industries that supply essential products that meet tourist demand (e.g. agriculture, fishing, art and crafts) creating higher levels of employment. Provides stimulus for the creation of new manufacturing industries to service the sector.	Decline of traditional use of areas for farming/fishing as the areas are now used exclusively for tourists (e.g. tourist/hotel beaches, marine protected areas, wildlife parks and protected areas). Majority of produce is imported to suit popular western tastes. Employment drops as imported foods flood the local market. Local industries suffer being unable to compete.
	Funds new infrastructure such as roads, water, power and sewerage.	Existing infrastructure is over-utilised by tourism developments.
	Earns much needed foreign exchange.	Leakage[6] of foreign exchange to intermediaries, foreign-owned firms, expatriate labour, and high levels of imported of goods/produce.
	Brings economic benefit to the area.	Economic and socio-economic benefits are limited and of a transitory nature.
	Employment intensive nature and multiplier effects[7] create many new jobs.	Jobs are limited to low-skilled, low-wage service-level, often seasonal, employment (e.g. maids, waiters, drivers etc.) Key positions and higher wage jobs are held by in-migrants or expatriates with the necessary managerial and front-of-house skills.

[6] The term 'leakage' is used to refer to the large percentage of money that is transferred from rural areas back to major cities at the local and sub-regional scales. And repatriated, at the international level, from the developing world to the countries from which the tourists originate.

[7] Inskeep (1991: 386) defines the multiplier effect as the total effect, both direct and secondary, that an external source of income has on an economy. The term can also be used to refer to employment and other variables, e.g., the income multiplier.

Table 1.1. Continued…
Source: Adapted from Shaw and Williams, 2002: 45, 46, combined with further examples drawn from Coccossis and Nijkamp, 1995: 4, 5; Nash, 1996: 20, 21, 26; Marfurt, 1997: 173; France, 1997: 8; Honey, 1999: 9; and Harisson, 1992b: 19-22

THE IMPACTS OF MASS TOURISM DEVELOPMENT[8]		
CATEGORY	**ANTICIPATED POSITIVE IMPACTS**	**ACTUAL NEGATIVE IMPACTS**
SOCIAL-CULTURAL	Modernisation of society, and families via new gender and inter-generational relationships.	Polarisation of social structures; disintegration of family structures; and increases in income inequalities.
	Intercultural exchange reduces prejudices among tourists.	Increased potential for social pathology including prostitution, stealing, begging and drugs.
	Positive "demonstration effects" of the development of indigenous culture through the production of arts, crafts and cultural displays.	Commercialisation of indigenous culture and acculturation due to cultural contact with Westerners, leads to dilution and eventually disappearance of indigenous culture.
	Protection, conservation, renovation and transformation of historical sites, buildings of local heritage and monuments.	Destruction of local heritage through degradation of monuments and buildings.

This critique of mass tourism was crystallised in the Manila Declaration on World Tourism in 1980 that stated that '*tourism does more harm than good to people and to societies in the Third World*' (quoted in Honey, 1999: 9). Jafari's (1989, 1990) "platforms" are often quoted to explain the two diverging schools of tourism theory that emerged as a result of this critique (cited in Nash, 1996: 20; Weaver, 2000: 218, 219; Sofield, 2003: 7; et. al.). The proponents of mass tourism development were labelled the "advocacy platform," and they maintained that the value earned through foreign exchange and investment would, in the end, outweigh the socio-cultural and environmental costs of tourism development.

[8] Source indicated on page 6 under main Table 1.1 heading.

On the other hand, those who criticised and opposed the negative impacts of the internationally-financed mass tourism projects were labelled the "cautionary platform." Their reaction '...range[d] from outright rejection to an abiding mistrust' (Jafari, 1990 cited in Nash, 1996: 21) of the imperialistic, top-down, expert-led and controlled nature of mass tourism development (France, 1997: 10).

The emergence of these two schools of thought can be further clarified if seen in light of the rival developing theories of the period. The "advocacy platform" can be considered to be an extension of the capitalist-based modernisation theory of economic growth being synonymous with development. Within this paradigm the added benefits of increasing industrial production and commodity output are seen to offset the social costs and the environmental damage resulting from this growth (Booth, 1998: 3).

The rise of the neo-colonial dependence model (in the 1970s) challenged this western-centric capitalist notion of development. Marxist-influenced dependency theorists argued that a development paradigm based on internationally financed, export-led growth, locked these countries into a continued cycle of neo-colonial economic exploitation (Wood, 2001: 70; Todaro and Smith, 2009: 122). Jafari's "cautionary platform" corresponds to these arguments against the inequality of imperialistic development programmes.

It can be seen from the above analysis that neither the "advocacy platform," nor the "cautionary platform" provided workable solutions to improve tourism development planning. As a result, a third reactionary theory emerged, which Jafari (1990) labelled the "adaptancy platform" (cited in Weaver, 2000: 219). These theorists argued that the destructive environmental, social, and cultural impacts of the tourism-led development programmes, of the 1960s and 1970s, were not an inherent trait of the

industry. These impacts were instead attributed to the exploitative nature and large-scale of mass tourism development. Consequently, what this discourse was advocating was the establishment of an alternative typology of tourism development (France,1997: 15).

The great amount of attention paid to this discourse is evident in the host of different neologisms and definitions that have emerged and been prefixed with such words as: *sustainable, eco, pro poor, nature, green, alternative, ethical, community, cultural, wildlife etc...* (Nash, 1996: 22; Weaver, 1998: 1; Frey and George, 2008: 108; Simpson, 2008: 239). The popular descriptive expression, *responsible tourism,* will be used within this study as the umbrella term to embrace and denote the multitude of 'new' forms of tourism that have been advocated, as the table below illustrates.

Table 1.2: Overlap of alternative tourism neologism definitions with "responsible tourism"

TABLE OF RESPONSIBLE TOURISM DEFINITIONS		
Responsible Tourism	**Prefix**	**Characteristics[9]**
a 'supposedly more caring, aware form of tourism' (Wheeler, 1997: 62), characterised by small numbers of individual travellers in contrast to the 'multitudinous tourists' of mass tourism development (France 1997, 15)	**Alternative**	approach of appropriate tourism development which embraces strategies considered preferable to mass tourism (Dowling, Fennell 2003: 2)
seeks to improve working conditions and access to the industry for the host community through the establishment of meaningful economic linkages between the tourism industry and these communities; enhancing the wellbeing of these communities and building local pride and confidence (Fennell and Dowling 2003a, xiii; Spenceley 2008: 6)	**Cultural/ Heritage**	tourism that respects the natural, cultural or heritage of a people and place (Frey and George, 2008: 109)
	Community	a type of tourism run by and for the local community (France, 1997: 16); based on principles of empowerment, local capacity building, active participation, shared benefits and positive relationships between stakeholders and communities (Ndlovu and Rogerson, 2004: 436- 438).

[9] A multitude of definitions exist for each of these terms. I have therefore chosen to use the heading 'characteristics' rather than 'definition' for the aim of this chapter is not to argue for the validity of one definition over another, but rather to present the general characteristics of each form in order to show how it fits under the umbrella term of 'responsible tourism'.

Table 1.2: Continued…

TABLE OF RESPONSIBLE TOURISM DEFINITIONS		
Responsible Tourism	**Prefix**	**Characteristics**
aims to minimise the environmental, social, cultural and economic costs of tourism development; while concurrently maximising an equitable and just distribution of socio-economic benefits and natural resource management for host communities (France 1997, 15; Frey and George, 2008: 109; Spenceley 2008: 6)	**Pro-poor**	is not a specific product or sector of tourism, but rather a strategy to '…unlock opportunities for the poor – whether for economic gain, other livelihood benefits, or participation in decision-making' (Ashley, Roe and Goodwin, 2001: 2)
embodies all forms of tourism, and types of tourism activities in both wildlife and urban environments (City of Cape Town's Tourism Department, 2007)	**Adventure**	combines the experience of nature with physical challenge and a degree of risk taking, e.g. deep-sea diving, bicycling, kayaking/rafting, rock/ice climbing (France, 1997: 16; Honey, 1999: 5)
	Nature	involves the study/experience/observation of flora/fauna/landscapes (France, 1997: 16). It usually involves moderate and safe forms of exercise such as hiking, biking, sailing, and camping (Honey, 1999: 5) but does not necessarily include conservation or community features (Spenceley, 2008: 14)
	Wildlife	travel with the aim to observe animals, birds, and fish in their native habitats (Honey, 1999: 5) can be either consumptive or non-consumptive (Spenceley, 2008: 15)
an ethical approach to tourism development management, and the protection of natural resources and heritage, which respects the rights of the host communities, and seeks to involve them in development plans (Fennell and Dowling 2003a, xiii; Spenceley 2008: 6)	**Ethical**	recognises that tourists and hosts/tourist providers must take some form of responsibility for their behaviour and attitudes, and that each stakeholder in the process should have equity in the tourism decision making process (Frey, George, 2008: 109)
the promotion and protection of natural diversity through conservation programmes; and social and cultural diversity through the creation of meaningful connections between tourists and hosts for enhanced understanding and respect of local culture, social and environmental issues (Frey and George, 2008: 109; Spenceley 2008: 6)	**Eco**	'tourism that consists in travelling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objective of studying, admiring, and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural manifestations (both past and present) found in these areas' (Boo, 1990 as quoted in Weaver, 1998: 15)

Table 1.2: Continued…

TABLE OF RESPONSIBLE TOURISM DEFINITIONS		
Responsible Tourism	**Prefix**	**Characteristics**[10]
contributes to the goals of sustainable development and addresses issues of global warming, social inequality and diminishing natural resources (Frey and George, 2008: 107)	**Sustainable**	'tourism which is in a form which can maintain its [economic, environmental and socio-cultural] viability in an area for an indefinite period of time' (Butler, 1993 quoted in Fennell, 2002: 27)

Figure 1.3. 1980s focus on more *responsible* forms of *tourism*
Source: Illustration by Daniella Sachs

Even though *responsible tourism* is frequently defined as being in contrast to mainstream or conventional mass tourism, it cannot be exclusively defined as a reactionary force. As Mowforth and Munt (1998: 5) note, a relationship can be traced between these 'new' forms of tourism and the concurrent emergence of 'new' types of political movements (socio-environmental), as well as 'new' types of consumers (post-Fordist[11]). The

[10] A multitude of definitions exist for each of these terms. I have therefore chosen to use the heading 'characteristics' rather than 'definition' for the aim of this chapter is not to argue for the validity of one definition over another, but rather to present the general characteristics of each form in order to show how it fits under the umbrella term of 'responsible tourism'.

[11] Post-Fordism (in the context of consumer behaviours) can be described as a move away from the rigid assembly-line mass produced consumer product, towards the niche, specialised consumer article (Bezuidenhout, 2001: 386; Mowforth and Munt, 1998: 27, 56).

rise of environmental awareness, instigated by the vocal socio-environmental movements of the period, created both a growing dissatisfaction with the polluted conditions of mass tourism developments and an intensified demand for holidays in unspoiled natural environments (Mowforth and Munt, 1998: 5).

The result of this environmentally focused market-trend was the recognition of the environment as a critical asset to the success of the tourism industry[12]. Furthermore, these changing market trends reflect the evolution of the middle-class tourist, from a Fordist-based consumer (of the mass-produced, package-holiday) to a post-Fordist consumer (seeking new, alternative experiences in unique, unspoiled locations) (Inskeep, 1991: 13; Mowforth and Munt, 1998: 5).

Finally, a significant relationship can be traced between the emerging rhetoric of *responsible tourism* and the concurrent shift towards sustainable development theories. The catalyst for these theories is often traced back to the 1987 Brundtland report 'Our Common Future,' published by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), which describes sustainable development as *"'... development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs"* (cited in Dowling and Fennell, 2003: 6).

It is often claimed that the Brundtland report marked a paradigm shift in the development debate, with the introduction of an ethics-based idea of intergenerational equity as a constraint to economic development (Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Sofield, 2003; Swanepoel and De Beer, 2006; et. al.). Munslow (2001: 497), however, argues that 'sustainable development' is not a new theoretical paradigm. As Nash (1996: 126)

[12] The protection and conservation of which became one of the cornerstones of *responsible tourism* (Coccossis and Nijkamp, 1995: 5, 6; Nash, 1996: 123; Honey, 1999: 19).

indicates, *'the concept of sustainable development provides a kind of catch-all or umbrella term for many of the inherited concerns that have stirred alternative developmentalists, including environmentalists, in their opposition to mainstream development.'*

This opposition can be seen to be centred on concerns of economic welfare and environmental economics. As Munslow (2001: 498, 499) explains, existing development strategies - based on economic growth - were being criticised for not leading to a reduction in poverty, nor improvement in the physical quality of life[13] of the poor in the developing world. Simultaneously, the substantial depletion and pollution of environmental resources (in the name of economic growth) was seen to be drastically affecting the viability of these communities (Swanepoel and De Beer, 2006: 14).

As a result of these concerns three canons of sustainable development have been identified as the core of all sustainability agendas and policies[14], namely:

a. Environmental or ecological sustainability which focuses on managing, maintaining and conserving natural resources, biological diversity and environmental health for future generations;

b. Economic sustainability concentrates on the long-term viability of development projects to generate prosperity at different levels of society, thereby reducing poverty, unemployment and inequality;

c. Social sustainability is concerned both with improving 'quality of life' and strengthening the role of local communities in development projects. This is in order to create culturally applicable

[13] The Physical Quality of Life Index measures not only economic capabilities but also aspects of 'well-being' such as literacy, infant mortality, health, and life expectancy (Daly and Cobb, 1994: 63)

[14] Such as the Rio Declaration on Environmental Development and Agenda 21, which were published by the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in 1992 as the follow up to the Brundtland Report (France, 1997: 12).

developments that respect and empower people's lives (Sofield, 2003: 60; Swanepoel and De Beer, 2006: 14; Weymouth and Gall, 2007: 8).

These three principles are embodied in the overarching objective of *responsible tourism,* namely: to minimise the negative environmental, social, cultural, and economic impacts of tourism development while, concurrently, seeking to maximise an equitable and just distribution of socio-economic and natural resource benefits (France, 1997: 15; Frey and George, 2008: 109; Spenceley, 2008: 6). *Responsible tourism* can therefore be considered to be a policy, or extension, of sustainable development planning[15].

1.1.1. Conclusion

In conclusion, this close intertwining of tourism and development literature can be seen to result from the 1960s transformation of tourism, from a leisure industry to an instrument for Third World economic development. Consequently, the move from mass tourism to *responsible tourism* can be understood in terms of the shift from classical theories of economic growth, to current popular theories of sustainable development. A study focused on tourism, within the context of economic development, thus follows on from this established research tradition.

1.2. Knowledge Gap Identification

The link between tourism studies and development trends is further illustrated by the identification of tourism, by the United Nations and its

[15] In 1995, following the example of Agenda 21, the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), in conjunction with the World Tourism Organisation (WTO), and the Costa Rica based Earth Council (who had overseen the compilation of Agenda 21) published an Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry, entitled 'Towards Environmentally Sustainable Development' (Honey, 1999: 20). This sustainability-based agenda was further endorsed by the adoption of the 'Charter for Sustainable Tourism' by the World Conference on Sustainable Tourism, held later that year (Mowforth and Munt, 1998: 299).

affiliated World Tourism Organisation, as a key sector to contribute to the achievement of the 2015 United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (WTO, 2005). The aim of establishing these goals was to construct a common framework of sustainability indicators that countries, world-wide, could use to address the key issues of inequality, poverty and the environmental destruction in current development programmes (Frey and George, 2008: 108). The following list outlines the MDGs as adopted by the United Nations in the year 2000 (UN, 2000):

MDG 1 – Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger;

MDG 2 – Achieve universal primary education;

MDG 3 – Promote gender equality and empower women;

MDG 4 – Reduce child mortality

MDG 5 – Improve maternal health

MNG 6 – Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases

MDG 7 – Ensure environmental sustainability;

MDG 8 – Develop a global partnership for development.

Tourism has been highlighted as an important development programme to contribute to these goals, because it has evolved over the past decades into one of the world's largest industries. The World Travel and Tourism Council (2011f: 3) estimates that in 2011 the sector accounted for 9% of global Gross Domestic Product (GDP). This makes the industry larger than the automotive industry (at 8.5%), but less than the banking sector (which contributed 11%) (WTTC, 2011f: 3). The tourism sector is moreover the biggest employer (providing 10% of jobs globally) and the principal foreign exchange earner for 46 out of 49 developing countries (Honey, 1999: 9; Honey and Kranz, 2007: 16; Spenceley, 2008: 6; Markovic, Satta, Skaricic, and Trumbic, 2009: 18).

However, The World Wildlife Fund (WWF) lambasts the assumption that since the industry is an economic powerhouse; it will automatically contribute to sustainable development. The WWF contends that '… despite its development potential, tourism rarely lives up to its sustainability expectations' (2007: cover page). Notwithstanding the move away from mass tourism towards *responsible tourism*, development projects are still critiqued by the WWF for causing 'excessive and inequitable resource use, habitat destruction and fragmentation, along with social and cultural homogenisation and commercialisation as well as economic exclusion' (2007: cover page).

Consequently, current literature has focused on how *responsible tourism* can mitigate against these adverse impacts and achieve the MDGs. Various arguments, theories and programmes have been advocated within the field and they can be subdivided into a number of key sustainably-focused thematic areas of study, as follows:

a. stakeholder partnerships

These studies have focused on analysing the success and failures of various stakeholder partnerships in accruing economic benefits for local communities, both in terms of tourism facilities, as well as in terms of wildlife areas. Current research and practice is preoccupied with the issues of developing effective mechanisms for stakeholder involvement. In South Africa this research focuses on community based natural resource management (Jamal, Stein and Harper, 2005; Fennell and Dowling, 2003; Massyn, 2008; Child, 2009; Goodwin and Santilli, 2009; et. al.).

b. supply and value chains

These analyses have looked at the extent to which (pro-poor) economic benefits to the community can be created and maximised through the creation of linkages (to community businesses) in the supply and value chains of provision and consumption, as produced by the operation of the tourism industry. This concept is central to this study and will be explored

in more detail in a subsequent chapter (Ashley and Haysom, 2008; Ashley and Mitchell, 2008; Frey and George, 2008; Schwartz and Font, 2009; et. al.).

c. entrepreneurship

These studies have examined the extent to which the tourism industry creates opportunities for community-based, small, medium and micro enterprise (SMME) initiatives. The studies have looked at best-practice examples, interrogated the success of corporate social responsibility programmes, explored the multitude of challenges facing the viability of these SMMEs, as well as interrogated mechanisms of implementation and management (Beeton, 2006; Spenceley, 2008; Nelson, 2008; Relly, 2008; Rylance, 2008; Simpson, 2008; Bennett, 2010; et. al.).

d. environmental programmes

These studies have mainly concentrated on how to create revenue for conservation (and communities) from tourism, through different types of 'user fees' such as entrance or walking fees, concessions for land rental, accommodation, hunting, sale and royalties from photographs and postcards, taxation on international flights and accommodation (bed taxes), as well as through donations (Honey, 1999; Buckley, 2003; Mihalic, 2003; Suich, Child and Spencely, 2009; Jenkins and Wearing, 2003; et. al.).

a) environmental management

The second environmentally based research trend has focused on investigating environmental planning, monitoring and management programmes. This trend has resulted in the publishing of a multitude of sustainable and eco resort guidelines and 'green' certification programmes (Sweeting, Bruner and Rosenfeld, 1999; Honey and Rome, 2000; Synergy, 2000; Buckley, 2002; Mehta, Báez and O'Loughlin, 2002; International Finance Corporation, 2004, Medina, 2005; Stronza, 2006; et. al.). The certification programmes (such as, Greenflag International, Green

Globe, the Blue Flag Programme, and most recently the Partnership for Global Sustainable Tourism Criteria) focus on the full breadth of the tourism industry, from the operation of large hotel chains to small lodges, tourist operators and even destinations and beaches.

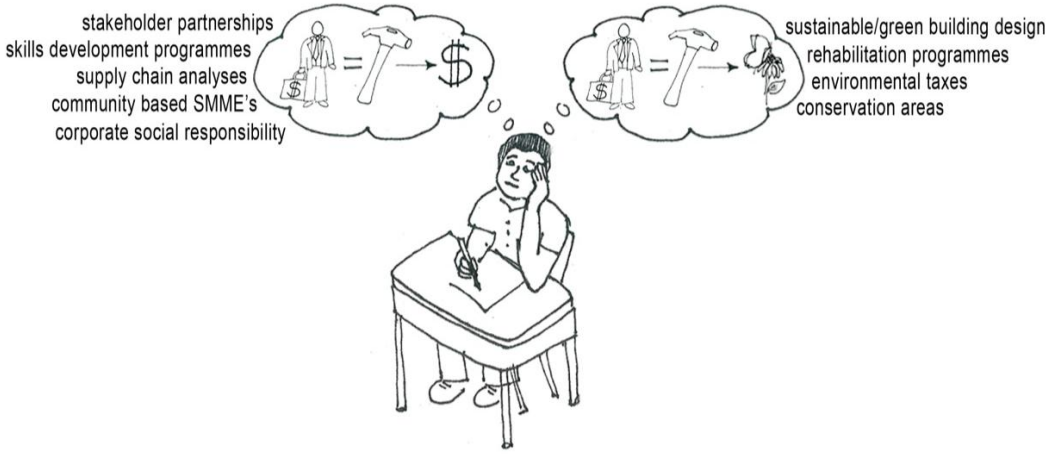

Figure 1.4. The current focus of tourism research
Source: Illustration by Daniella Sachs

If one were to draw a resort development timeline and superimpose these research themes onto it (as the figure below indicates), one would see that this research has focused specifically on the following key development phases, as defined by the International Finance Corporation (2004: 31):

1. *Pre-development phase*: includes all the steps needed in order to put the project on the ground, such as the initial assessment and creation of the project proposal; applications for development approval; community engagement processes and funding and financing applications (IFC, 2004: 31).
2. *Operations phase*: incorporates the day-to-day running of the lodge and associated conservation or community development programmes, as well as the monitoring and evaluation processes they entail, such as tracking energy efficiency, waste output, or local community benefit (IFC, 2004: 31).

This timeline serves to illustrate that there is a gap within the current research focus as the intermediate phase, between the *pre-development*

and the *operational phases* of development, has not been addressed. The International Finance Corporation (2004: 31) defines this period as the *construction phase*, which is described as the physical design and development of the lodge and surrounding area/s.

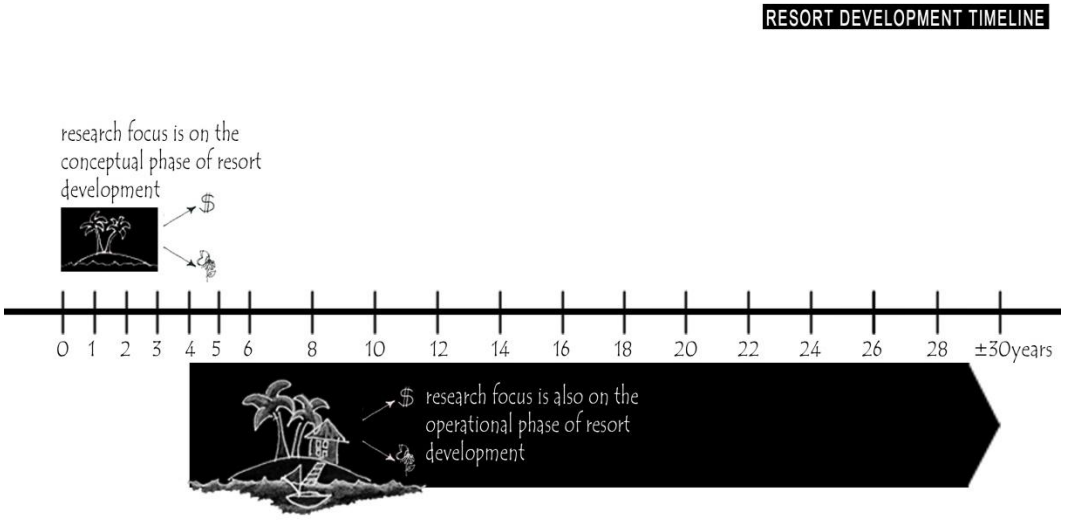

Figure 1.5. Current research and the resort development timeline.
Source: Illustration by Daniella Sachs

Although the environmental impact of tourism development planning has been addressed in sustainable resort guidelines, insufficient research has been done on how this intermediate *construction phase* contributes to tourism as a sustainably-focused tool of economic development.

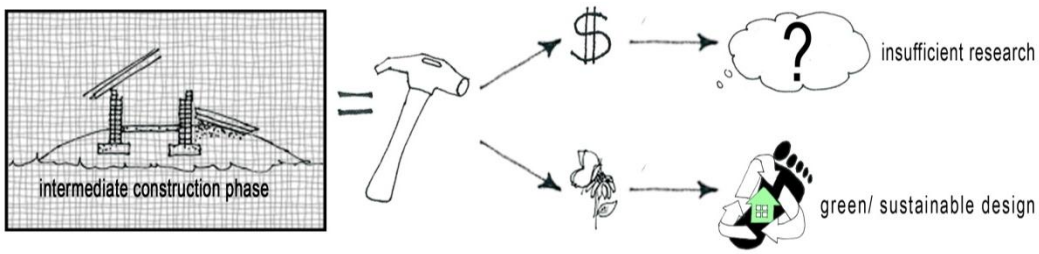

Figure 1.6. Identification of the knowledge gap in current research.
Source: Illustration by Daniella Sachs

1.3. Significance of the Study

The purpose of this research is to address this identified theoretical knowledge gap by means of an evaluation of the contribution of the

construction phase of sustainable resort development, to economic development, in rural areas. Turner (2001: 372) explains that rural areas 'are typically starved of formal employment opportunities' and thus the labour intensive nature of tourism plays a critical role in rural economies (Inskeep, 1991: 386). Inskeep (ibid.) further argues for the importance of including the *construction phase* of development in these economic calculations. This claim is based on the speculation that the building of tourism facilities and related infrastructures creates a large number of jobs, albeit temporarily.

Although Inskeep (1991: 386) has highlighted the significance of this area of study, Marfurt (1997: 174) disputes this claim. Marfurt (ibid.) argues that local artisans and businessmen generally do not benefit much during the *construction phase* of development, with far more employment thus generated by the operation of the resort. He bases this claim on the presumption that most developing countries have predominantly low levels of technical skill, limited handicraft production, and small building industries. Marfurt (ibid.) posits that as a result locals are unable to deliver to the high quality standards demanded by the international hotel industry.

Various informal discussions with tourism investors and developers in South Africa, over the period of this research, have corroborated and expanded on Marfurt's (1997) viewpoint. The general opinion is that the local economic impact of the construction process is negligible for the following key reasons (personal communications with tourism investors and developers, 13, 17, 18 August. 2010; 6 September. 2010; 2, 27 October. 2010; 23 February. 2011 et. al.):

- Skilled labour has to be imported, since local labour (in rural areas) can only be hired to do unskilled work;
- Local labour cannot build to the level of detail required for a high quality international resort;

- It is not possible to incorporate skills development training into the construction of a resort due to time and budget constraints;
- Construction materials and interior design goods will have to be imported as local supplies will not be to a high enough quality;
- Short construction periods makes the economic development impacts insignificant in comparison to the longer time period of the *operations phase* of resort development[16].

Both the arguments for, and against the significance of this study, are unsupported claims that have not been conclusively substantiated by research. Thus, the significance of this study is not only to address the perceived knowledge gap, but also to explore, corroborate or refute these hypotheses.

1.4. The Setting of the Study

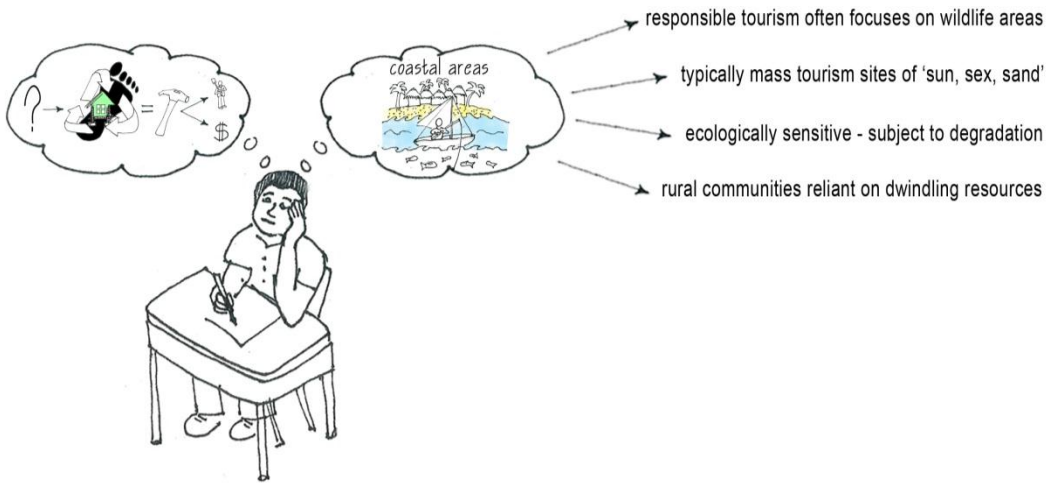

Figure 1.7. Setting of the study in rural coastal areas.
Source: Illustration by Daniella Sachs

I have elected to situate this study in rural coastal areas as these areas are traditionally defined by mass tourism development. It was noted in the

[16] Honey and Kranz (2007: 82) explain that the typical 'life cycle' of a resort is 25 years, although in South Africa it is typically planned as a 30 year 'life-cycle' (personal communications with luxury tourism and conservation developers, 2 October. 2010; 23 February. 2011).

previous section, that the tourism draw card that many emerging post-colonial countries held was their pristine, sun-drenched and palm-lined coastal areas (Nash, 1996: 19). These existing resources were often situated in peripheral and rural areas, unsuitable to other forms of economic revenue generation (Weaver, 1998: 45, 46). It was further emphasised that the mass tourism complex was the dominant development typology, fostered by the various development agencies and their funding of infrastructure development in these areas (Marfurt, 1997: 173).

Even though *responsible tourism* has usurped the role of mass tourism as a tool of economic development, the push for 'sun, sea, sand, and sex[17]' mass tourism resorts and complexes has not decreased. Over the past four decades the package beach holiday has become so popular that, as Marfurt (1997: 172) claims, booking a holiday to 'some idyllic, sunny, exotic, seaside vacation spot has become almost as common-place as shopping in a discount store.' Although there is a lack of reliable data on coastal tourism, it is generally considered to be one of the fastest growing forms of tourism in recent decades. For example, UNWTO statistics show that twelve of the fifteen world's top destination countries in the year 2000 were countries with coastlines (cited in Markovic et. al., 2009: 11).

Honey and Kranz (2007: 32) point out that as a result of the mass tourism development trend in coastal areas, 'environmentally sensitive and locally beneficial ecotourism products are relatively undeveloped in the coastal market'. Research conducted by the International Finance Corporation (2004: 9) on ecolodge developments corroborates this claim. The in-depth study found that sustainable resort development is generally concentrated inland, around public and private protected areas, or other areas of high biodiversity. Of the total 5,459 lodges mapped in sixty countries, 84% were

[17] The package beach holiday has commonly been advertised with a sexy bikini-clad woman drinking a colourful cocktail while tanning on a palm-lined white beach. This type of holiday has therefore become 'synonymous with the "four S's," of sun, sea, sand, and sex' (Honey, 1999: 9).

found to be located in these biodiversity hotspot areas. Of those ecolodges that completed the in-depth surveys, 60% were found to be located within or on the periphery of an established protected area and a further 39% located within a private reserve.
What is evident from this research is that the large majority of studies on sustainable resorts and ecolodges are correspondingly situated in these inland, wildlife areas. The aim of situating this study in the mass tourism dominated coastal areas is in order to address this perceived empirical knowledge gap.

1.5. Research Questions

Emanating from the preceding section one can identify the main research problem, as well as the subsidiary research questions that this study will address as follows:

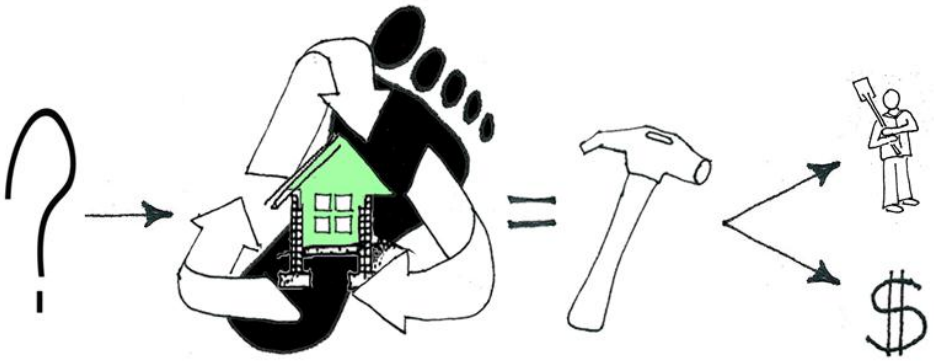

Figure 1.8. Research question
Source: Illustration by Daniella Sachs

Main research problem: To evaluate the extent and significance of the contribution of the *construction phase* of sustainable resort development to tourism-led economic development, in rural coastal areas.
In order to answer this question, which is placed within an identified knowledge gap, evidence will need to be gained from primary sources. The fundamental basis of this research is to therefore use fieldwork case studies to gather the primary data, evidence and testimonials necessary for an exploration of the multiple economic impacts the construction phase

has created for the local communities (in terms of material procurement, employment generation, and skills development).

In order to show the significance of these impacts they will be presented both within the economic context of the project, the economic context of the communities, as well as within the lifecycle of the resort (in order to be able to judge their significance when compared to the impacts of the *operations phase*).

This primary supporting evidence however is insufficient on its own to build a strong or convincing enough argument, for it is based on a number of general unstated assumptions that need to be questioned, namely:

- Whether rural, coastal areas are in need of economic development strategies;
- Whether tourism is an appropriate and important development tool; and
- Whether the construction process has the ability to generate socio-economic impacts.

An interrogation of these premises will therefore form the subsidiary research questions of the study. These questions will be explored via a series of key secondary sources, which will in turn create the conceptual framework for the ensuing discussion. The conclusions drawn from this second literature survey will be stitched together to create the framework within which the primary case study evidence will be evaluated. The methods employed in conducting this evaluation will be further expanded upon in the subsequent chapter.

2. METHODS

2.1. Research Methods

This study applies a multi-layered, qualitative research methodology to a series of primary and secondary sources. As discussed previously, the literature review will make use of the secondary sources to weave together the conceptual foundation of the proposed research. This theoretical argument will then be used to construct the analytical framework against which the primary sources (the case studies) will be evaluated. This evaluation in turn will test the rationality of the constructed theory, and will substantiate the significance of the study. The two overlapping qualitative research methods that will be employed to achieve this are case study and evaluation research.

Case study research has been selected as the appropriate research method for this study in order '…to cover [the] contextual or complex multivariate conditions' associated with the research question (Yin, 2003: xi). Case study research is defined by Yin (1991) as an '*empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used*' (cited in Sarantakos, 205: 211).

The primary purpose of this case study research is not to describe the *construction phase* of development, but rather to explore the complex cause-effect relationships between sustainable resort construction and economic development. Thus, the specific research design method used can be described as an explanatory, rather than a descriptive, multi-case study (Yin, 2003: 5; Hancock and Algozzine, 2006: 33).

The first step of this case study research design is the selection of appropriate case studies. A purposive sampling procedure was employed

in keeping with the qualitative research methodology (Sarantakos, 205: 213). The selection criteria used to assess the suitability of a sample have been governed by the research questions and issues explored in the preceding sub-chapters. It follows that for a resort to be considered a suitable case study, it would have to fulfil the following criteria (which will be expanded upon in more detail in Chapter 5.1):

a) It must be situated in a coastal rural area;

b) It must be a sustainable resort;[18]

c) It would need to have been recently constructed or renovated;[19]

d) It should be of a high star-rating.[20]

Rosalie Bay Resort, Dominica, and Mt. Plaisir Estate, Trinidad, were selected as appropriate case studies. These projects will be introduced in more detail in Chapter 5.2, while a detailed examination of how these projects fulfil the selection criteria will be presented in Chapter 7.

Hancock and Algozzine (2006: 16) emphasise that case study research uses multiple and varied sources of information to uncover the complexity of the phenomenon under study. The sources used in this research include multiple and varied interviews, and documents where available. The key informants interviewed comprise those directly involved in the construction process (in order to assess the impact on the individual), as well as community members (in order to assess the broader impact on the community as a whole). Identifying details and personal information has

[18] The criteria used are the *Global Sustainable Tourism Criteria* published by The Partnership for Global Sustainable Tourism (2009) (refer to Chapter 5.1 and Appendix C for more detail).

[19] This criterion is governed by practicality. If the construction had taken place more than a year or two previously it would potentially be more difficult to access those involved in the construction process, as well as to be able to evaluate the impacts of the construction phase on the local communities.

[20] The reasoning behind this prerequisite is in order to be able to address the criticism of developers who claim that local labour cannot build the standard of quality required for a 5-star resort.

been withheld in order to respect the respondents' confidentiality. Those interviewed include:

- resort owners;
- construction supervisors;
- construction workers;
- maintenance workers;
- village elders;
- members of local political organisations;
- members of community based organisations; and
- politicians.

The data were gathered using a combination of structured questionnaires (in order to collect empirical data) and semi-structured open-ended interviews (in order to collect qualitative value-based evidence). The reason these two methods were employed is because economic development is not only a positivist phenomenon that can be judged with empirical evidence, but also a value-laden normative phenomenon. As Thomas (2000: 11) explains, the concept of the poor, and thus economic development, is tied not only to income but to cultural and social value systems.

The advantage of using open-ended interviews is that they allow the interviewer the flexibility to engage, build upon, explore and deepen selected responses (Seidman, 2006: 98; Simons, 2009: 21). The in-depth narrative format of the interview furthermore encourages the interviewee to 'reconstruct his/her experience within the topic under study,' (Seidman, 2006: 98) thereby revealing associations and data that the interviewer would not otherwise have been aware of.

The collected data have been analysed and interpreted following an evaluation research methodology. Yin (2003: xi) describes evaluation research as an extension of explanatory case study research. Clarke and Dawson (1999: 4, 5) corroborate this notion in their description of evaluation research as an in-depth examination of the underlying logic and causal linkages (between activities and outcomes) of a policy, programme, intervention or service, from a number of different perspectives.

Within the methodology of evaluation research, I have chosen to use a formative, theory-driven perspective rather than a programme-based theory. The main objective of a programme-based evaluation is to provide a performance assessment of a programme, whilst a theory-driven perspective examines not only the value, effectiveness and impact of a project but also the theoretical design of the programme and the effectiveness and impacts of the steps and interrelationships that it is composed of (Clarke and Dawson, 1999: 31, 32).

This theory-driven method of evaluation fits the intentions of this research, because the objective of the case study is not solely to test the success of the project programme in contributing to economic development. As stated in Chapter 1.3, the aim of the evaluation is also to corroborate or refute the hypotheses made by Inskeep (1991), Marfurt (1997), and various tourism developers and investors (pers. comm., 13, 17, 18 August. 2010; et al) in regards to the extent of what this impact is expected to be. Moreover, this framework of evaluation will be used to test the theoretical argument constructed in the literature review in Chapter 3.

The evaluation of the collected data has therefore not been a summative[21] outcomes-based analysis, but rather a formative[22], theory-driven

[21] A summative evaluation is used to determine the overall effectiveness of a policy or programme, based on a quantitative analysis of the programme or policy's outcome (Clarke and Dawson, 1999: 8).

exploration. The framework for this evaluation is constructed, as discussed above, from both the theoretical underpinnings of the research, as well as the underlying hypotheses. These arguments have been subdivided (in the analytical framework section in Chapter 4) into themes and conceptually clustered into a matrix. The collected data have been analysed according to this matrix, in order to uncover the causal networks between the multivariate elements of the case studies (Sarantakos, 2005: 324). The key findings will be subdivided into sections in keeping with the theory-building structure of case study composition (Yin, 2009: 176), and the sequence of these sections will follow the theoretical logic of the conceptual and analytical frameworks.

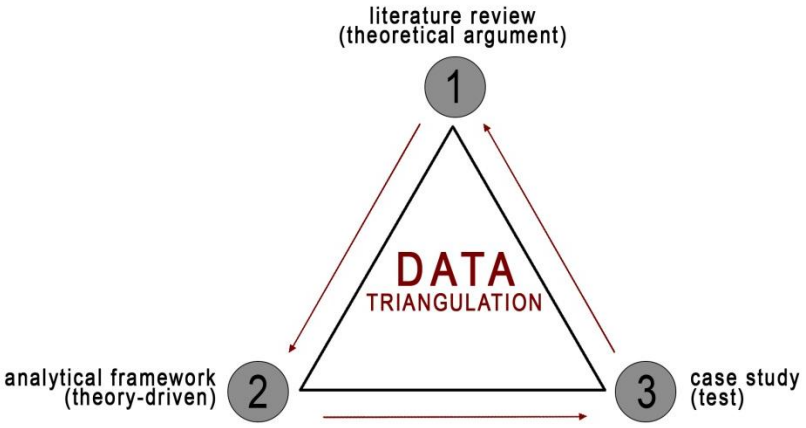

Figure 2.1. Theory-driven case study evaluation data triangulation
Source: Illustration by Daniella Sachs

Ethics clearance was obtained from the Human Research Ethics Committee (non-medical) (Protocol number H1 10214) to conduct this case study research. In keeping with the ethical requirements of confidentiality and anonymity the identity of the individual and community respondents will be withheld. The only respondents that will be named are the resort owners (as this information is public knowledge), as well as key politicians, where applicable.

[22] Formative evaluation research is more process orientated and qualitative in nature. The focus of a formative evaluation is to develop an understanding of how the various elements and mechanisms of the programme, and their interactions, create desired or unwanted effects (Clarke and Dawson, 1999: 8, 9)

2.2. Research Delimitations

A series of study delimitations have been constructed in order to ensure that the research has been achievable within the academic time-limit. These parameters have been created by restricting which features of the construction and economic development processes will and will not be studied.

In terms of the *construction phase* of development, only the direct material and labour procurement processes will be analysed. While the complete construction project will be looked at on a general level, only the key building components of the recently constructed accommodation unit will be examined on this more detailed level. These components have been defined as the foundations, floors, walls, doors, windows, roof structure, roof finish and interiors. In terms of the interiors only the main furniture pieces will be analysed and not the trimmings (artwork, linen, vases, etc).

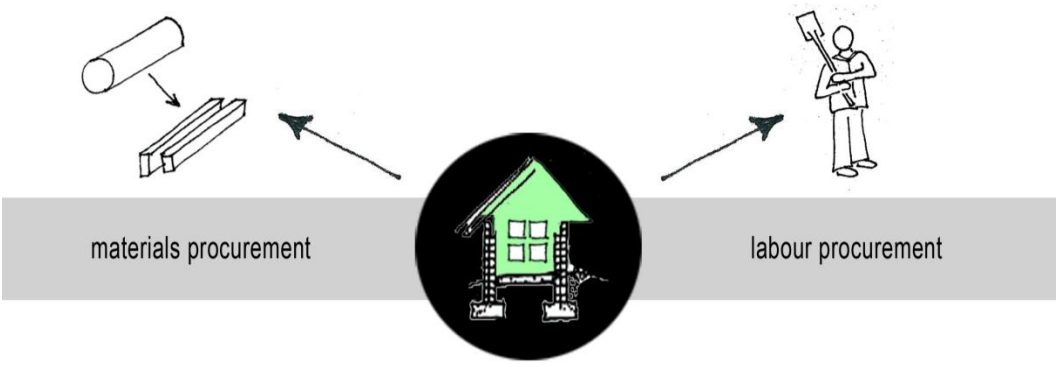

Figure 2.2. The evaluation focus on labour and material procurement
Source: Illustration by Daniella Sachs

Although the origin of the construction materials is a key concern (in order to be able to assess the economic linkages and leakages within the system), it is beyond the scope of this study to assess the origin of all the supplies used in producing a material. It is also beyond the scope of this research to scrutinise the indirect and trickle-down effects of the construction project, which would include how many people were employed by suppliers of materials etc.

A further clarification must be noted, which is that the ability of the construction process to contribute to economic development is also a function of how the building is designed and detailed. For example, the architect's decision to select a high-tech wall material that is environmentally sustainable and energy efficient, will impact on the potential economic benefit of the project as this material may not be manufactured locally and thus will need to be imported. However, if the architect had specified a low-technology, locally-sourced material, then the community would have had the opportunity to benefit from setting up an initiative to supply the material. From this simple example one can see that in the context of this research, a study of the *construction phase* of development must include a study of the how the design and detailing of the resort enables or inhibits local procurement processes.

This study of material and labour procurement processes is an insufficient measurement of economic development. Even though this supply chain study will reveal to what extent money flowed into the community, a measurement of economic growth does not necessarily indicate economic development. Given that the term 'growth' suggests a temporary, stop-gap solution, the term 'development,' on the other hand, implies a process of transformation and therefore sustained improvement in a situation (Malizia and Feser, 1999: 243). An essential part of this study is therefore to analyse the extent to which the construction process creates alternative livelihoods through the provision of skills development training, and sustained employment opportunities.

It is possible that if one is looking at the term 'economic development' then one also needs to look at the direct, as well as indirect, economic multiplier effects of the salaries earned. This would require a detailed analysis of how (and on what) the money is spent and how this contributes to improving the quality of life in the community. An analysis of this nature

and depth would not be possible within the framework and time-constraints of this dissertation. It is possible that this is an area of value that would need to be expanded upon in a further research document.

2.3. Research Limitations

An evaluative case study methodology has been identified as the most appropriate approach in the context of this research. It is, however, important to note the associated limitations of such a methodology. These limitations are described by Sarantakos (2005: 215) as follows:

- No assurance of objectivity, or data validity and reliability;
- Entails personal impressions and biases;
- Constrained by limited field access;
- Does not allow generalisation.

The aim of this section is to explain how each of these limitations has been dealt with in the context of this study.

Firstly, it has been acknowledged within social science research that true objectivity cannot be achieved, as personal values and judgements affect the portrayal of research findings (Simons, 2009: 81). Bailey (1994: 26) describes this inevitable subjectivity as '…the mental window through which the researcher views the world.' My 'mental window' has been constructed by an education in architecture and the subsequent understanding of the construction process as an extension of the design process. The case study data interpretation, conclusions and recommendations are influenced by this perception.

Yin (2009: 42) furthermore explains that validity is not tied to objectivity, but rather to case study protocol. One of the recommended methods of constructing validity and reliability in the research is to use multiple

sources of evidence. The case study data have been collected using a variety of interviews and documents. This primary evidence has moreover been analysed using the secondary sources of the conceptual framework. This triangulation of data assists in ensuring the validity of the research findings.

The amount of formal documentation available was, however, limited for both cases. Access was not granted to any financial statements, quantity surveys or construction documents, and thus there was a reliance on collecting the empirical data via structured interviews and questionnaires. I have attempted to construct data reliability by using multiple levels of sources (the owners, the main builder/supervisor on site, and the construction workers).

Secondly, a reliance on interviews as a method of collecting data has its own limitations. As Bailey (1994: 176) notes, '…the social nature of the interview has the potential for all sorts of bias, inconsistencies, and inaccuracies.' Bailey (1994: 177) describes the four main causes as: deliberate lying, unconscious mistakes, accidental errors and memory failures. A number of techniques have been utilised to try mitigate against possible biases and inaccuracies. Firstly, questions were carefully worded so as not to lead or steer the respondent into giving a certain answer. Secondly, the selection of semi-structured and open-ended interviews assisted in decreasing the possibility of the respondent misinterpreting the question; feeling pressure to answer a question they may not know the answer to; or feeling pressurised into trying to make up an answer to please the interviewer. Finally, the employment of multiple interviews using respondents with a variety of relationships to the project further created a basis on which to judge inconsistencies and inaccuracies.

Despite these precautions, my profile as a white, single, young female in the Caribbean resulted in the emergence of gender and racial related

research obstacles. The main problem encountered was racial-related sexism, and sexualisation, which Sarantakos (2005: 24) explains as the reduction of a woman to a sex object. The catcalls of 'whitey, whitey… come here whitey… I'll marry you whitey…' is one such example.

This sexualisation is not uncommon in the Caribbean region which is dominated by a rampant and widespread sex tourism industry (Kempadoo,1999; Ryan and Hall, 2001). Bailey (1994: 180) positively notes, however, that numerous social studies have shown that gender and racial related issues do not always have a large or significant effect on the quality of the data received, unless the research questions are themselves gender or race related.

Thirdly, the limited time available in the field was found to be a major constraint in conducting this research. The cost implications of conducting case study research in the Caribbean translated into having only three months in which to initiate, set-up and complete the research. This restricted the number of case studies, and the amount of data that could be collected.

Fourthly, the limited scale of case study research is often critiqued for providing context dependent, non-transferable knowledge. Although case study research findings are case-specific, the 'tradition of social research acknowledges the possibility of generalising from the particular.' This is possible when the depth of analysis uncovers elements that may be considered as being of 'universal significance' (MacDonald and Walker (1975) cited in Simons, 2009: 20). Simons (2009: 164-167) explains, that these valuable elements are the over-arching concepts, or situational insights uncovered by a case study, that can be applied to similar situations.

In conclusion, this section has demonstrated that the use of an evaluative case study methodology has created both opportunities and limitations. It has been acknowledged that whilst the research is both subjective and value-laden, the data collection and analysis protocols have been designed to ensure that the research is valid, reliable, and as accurate as possible. This will ensure that the insight and understanding gained of the phenomena under study can be transferred to construction projects in other locations, and situations.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

The aim of this chapter is to establish the theoretical argument for how the *construction phase* of sustainable resort development could contribute to tourism-led economic development in rural coastal areas. This evaluation will be achieved through a literature survey, and will be thematically subdivided according to the identified subsidiary research questions, namely:

- Whether rural, coastal areas are in need of economic development strategies;
- Whether tourism is an appropriate and important development tool;
- Whether the construction process has the ability to generate socio-economic benefits.

3.1. Economic Development in Rural Coastal Areas

The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) asserts that rural coastal communities are progressively being defined by increasing poverty levels (cited in Markovic, et. al., 2009: 49). The UNEP blames this increase on the accelerating intertwined decline of the natural habitat and its resources, which include beaches, mangroves, wetlands, corals and sea grasses. These communities often rely economically on these coastal

and marine habitats for their resources. Their loss, therefore increases economic vulnerabilities and creates limited options for future development (Markovic, et. al., 2009: 49).

It is predicted, that climate change will exert an additional multi-faceted influence on rising poverty levels. The location of these communities makes them vulnerable on a primary level to the physical impacts of rising sea levels, coastal erosion and the increasing threat of cyclones, hurricanes and tsunamis. These communities are further put at risk at a secondary level, by the key policies and recommendations, that are currently being implemented, to mitigate against the further degradation of marine resources by climate change. Key policies (such as minimising the human pressure on coral reef systems) are expected to cause substantially greater social and economic stress on coastal communities whose livelihoods generally depend on coastal and marine resources (Sweeting, Bruner and Rosenfeld, 1999; Sperling, 2003; Marshall et. al., 2010).

The vulnerability of rural coastal communities to these external impacts is furthermore heightened by their susceptibility to "poverty traps" (Marshall et. al, 2010). Marshall et. al. (ibid.) elucidates that '*[p]eople living and working in resource dependent communities often have limited experience in other occupations. As a result, they often lack transferable skills and consequently become 'locked' into their occupation.*' In rural, coastal communities, these occupations are generally marine resource based, and to a lesser extent agriculture based.

Thus what becomes apparent is the need of economic development programmes in these areas, not only to provide a diversity of livelihood options for these communities but also to help grow 'adaptive capacity' within the communities. Levine, Ludi, and Jones (2011: vii) highlight the importance of 'adaptive capacity' in the context of climate change as *'the*

ability of individuals and communities to anticipate, deal with and respond to change – both changing climate and development pressures – while maintaining (or improving) their wellbeing'.

It is questionable however whether tourism as a tool of economic development is the applicable model for these areas. Even though rural coastal areas have proved to be an important resource for tourism in many emerging economies, mass tourism has not necessarily led to economic development for the local communities (as illustrated in Chapter 1.1). In fact one can contend, based on the above discussion of the vulnerability of coastal communities, that in many respects mass tourism development has worsened the conditions for these communities, as discussed below.

Weaver (1998: 62) supports this claim by highlighting that tourism's most severe and destructive environmental impacts have been on the coastal environments invaded by mass tourism. The fragile ecosystems of estuaries, mangroves, sea-grasses, beaches and reefs have been decimated and community access to traditional fishing grounds often denied. Diego Masera, the UNEP director for Latin America and the Caribbean, emphasises that the pollution and coastal exploitation, resulting from tourism and related developments, either threatens or has already destroyed 90% of the coral reefs and related marine resources in the Caribbean (Honey and Kranz, 2007: 17). It can therefore be argued that mass tourism development in coastal areas frequently increases the vulnerability of rural communities to poverty by reducing both access to and possibility of marine-resource based livelihoods.

It has been claimed (in Chapter 1.1) that these negative impacts are attributed to mass tourism and not to the current forms of *responsible tourism* (France,1997: 15). *Responsible tourism* development*,* in contrast, is presented as both an economic driver and a sustainable alternative

livelihood strategy for these communities (Rogerson and Visser, 2004: 8). The following section will describe how and why this claim has been made.

3.2. Tourism and Economic Development

Tourism has been identified, by both developing world governments and bilateral and multilateral development agencies, as an attractive alternative economic driver to increase foreign exchange earnings, generate higher employment levels and contribute to national development (Nash, 1996: 127; Marfurt, 1997: 172; Dowling and Fennell, 2003: 2). The aim of this chapter is to explore the effectiveness and flaws of this argument in order to provide an explanation of how tourism can seek to increase its value as a sustainable, economic driver in rural areas.

3.2.1. The Argument for Tourism

Tourism is often promoted as an important tool of economic development due to its designation as one of the fasted growing, most stable, economic sectors in the world. The United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO, 2011) estimates that International Tourism Arrivals have expanded at a constant rate (despite severe interim economic downturns) of 6.2% annually, from 25 million in 1950 to 940 million in 2010. It is further forecast to reach 1,6 billion by 2020.

The corresponding economic impacts of this industry can be divided into three levels: direct, indirect and induced (Inskeep, 1991; Lea, 1997: 168; WTTC, 2011a). The primary (direct) economic contribution is generated by tourist-related industries (such as hotels, travel agents, airlines, transport, restaurants and leisure industries) and is predicted to total US$1,850.0

billion (2.8% of total global Gross Domestic Product, GDP) for 2011[23]. This amount however, accounts for less than a third (30.9%) of the total contribution of the industry, which is estimated at US$5,991.9 billion (9.1% of GDP) for 2011 (WTTC, 2011a).

Thus, it is the secondary indirect and tertiary induced levels of financial linkages that contribute to the sector's global economic ranking surpassing that of oil exports, food products and vehicle manufacture (UNWTO, 2011). The indirect contributions, which account for 50.6% of the total contribution to GDP, include the industry's investment spending, governments' collective spending and the impact of purchases from suppliers. The induced contribution on the other hand, which accounts for the remaining 18.5%, comprises the effect of consumer spending by the industry's direct and indirect employees (WTTC, 2011a).

Popular tourism income multipliers estimate that in developing countries 1 unit of economic activity in the tourism industry generates 0.6-1.2[24] units of activity in other supply sectors such as fisheries, agriculture, forestry, and manufacturing (Inskeep, 1991: 15, 387; Ashley and Haysom, 2008: 130). As a result of this valuable ability to trigger economic growth at these multiple levels, and within a variety of interlinking industries, the World Travel and Tourism Council (2011a) has declared that tourism has the ability to be one of the key drivers of global economic recovery.

The economic importance of tourism is further portrayed by its ranking as one of the top five exports for 83% of all countries, and the number one source of foreign exchange for 40% of countries (UNWTO cited in Taylor, 2007: 3). The popularity of the tourism industry as a foreign exchange

[23] The methodology used by the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), and its research partner Oxford Economics, is based on the UN Statistics Division-approved 2008 Tourism Satellite Account: Recommended Methodological Framework (WTTC, 2011: 1).

[24] The ratio is calculated based on the level of development of the country's supply sectors and their linkage to the tourism industry (Inskeep, 1991: 387).

earner can be understood if one considers that normally foreign exchange is earned through the export of market-dependent products of the manufacturing and agriculture industries as well as minerals, coal, oil, etc. With tourism the balance is shifted as the consumer has to come to the product (which consists of existing natural capital such as tropical white sandy beaches) to consume it, thus the sector has the ability to generate foreign exchange with the arrival of international tourists (Spenceley, 2008: 10).

France (1997: 8) notes that the willingness of Third World governments to use the tourism industry as their major source of foreign exchange earnings also stems from the vulnerability of their post-colonial economies. Inskeep (1991: 12) further observes that this vulnerability is exacerbated by the unreliability of commodity prices and import barriers for manufactured goods. In contrast, tourism has proven (with the annual exponential increase in international tourism arrivals since the 1950s) to be a more stable and resilient market for these economies to rely on.

The further attractiveness of tourism as an economic development driver is its employment generation capacity as a service and leisure-based industry. The preceding discussion surrounding economic flows illustrates that the industry is essentially composed of three strata of impacts: direct, indirect and induced. A discussion of the employment capacity of the industry will therefore follow this pattern (Inskeep, 1991: 386; Harrison, 1992: 14; Lea, 1997: 169; Ashley and Haysom, 2008: 130; WTTC, 2011a).

It should come as no surprise that the statistical data follow similar trends to that of the economic flows. Thus, although global tourism *directly*[25] generates an estimated 99,048,000 jobs (3.4% of total global employment)

[25] Direct employment is generally defined as waged employment in tourism-related enterprises such as hotels, airlines, transportation, restaurants, retail shops, craft sellers and tour operators (Inskeep, 1991: 386; Harrison, 1992: 14; Lea, 1997: 169; Ashley and Haysom, 2008: 130; WTTC, 2011a).

this is merely a third of the total employment created by the industry. The WTTC (2011a) puts the total direct, indirect[26] and induced[27] employment for 2011 at approximately 258,592,000 jobs which accounts for 8.8% of the global total.

When these economic and employment statistics are combined one can understand why tourism has been identified as an essential component of Third World economic development (Nash, 1996: 127; Marfurt, 1997: 172; Dowling and Fennell, 2003: 2). The importance of its role can be attested to by its inclusion into both national and regional development plans of said countries.

3.2.2. The Critique of Tourism

This argument for the economic importance of tourism is however flawed, because it is based on a number of strategic suppositions. This claim assumes that the revenue flows to the tourism destination are assured, when actually this is far from true. Many authors have argued that tourism does not create these assumed automatic economic revenue streams (Inskeep, 1991; Coccossis and Nijkamp, 1995; Nash, 1996; Marfurt, 1997; Oppermann and Chon, 1997; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; et. al.). Instead as Weaver (1998: 51) explains, the actual revenue earned by developing countries is only approximately half of the gross expenditure of inbound tourism.

[26] Indirect employment is created at a secondary level by the demand of these establishments for products or services. According to Ashley and Haysom, (2008: 130) this includes the key sectors of food, beverage, construction, furnishings, manufacturing as well as a range of services such as gardening, floristry and laundry. The employment may be via micro-entrepreneurs or large companies that sell directly to hotels, restaurants, or operators.

[27] Induced employment arises from the spending of tourist wages/income (earned through in/direct employment in the industry) in the local economy such as buying produce in the local shop. Inskeep (1991: 386) indicates that some researchers include in the calculation the multiplier effect of the number of persons supported by the in/direct employees' wages.

A large percentage of the direct foreign exchange expenditure of tourists does not even reach Third World shores. Instead, it is spent in the country of origin on booking transport (run by international transport carriers) and holiday packages (including tours, meals and accommodation) with foreign-based travel agents and foreign-owned tour operators (Honey, 1999: 9; Weaver, 1998: 50). Marfurt (1997: 174) adds a further facet to the argument, by pointing out that even this percentage of revenue at the destination level is not assured. Rather, it is highly variable, depending on an economy's level of development, structure, the nature of tourism and the nature of growth (slow or rapid).

Foreign exchange losses/leakages abound as a result of the use of foreign/international credit cards and travellers' cheques; transfers of interest and profits to foreign investors and hotel owners;[28] travel agency commissions; and expenditures for marketing and promotion overseas. Economic leakages are also caused by the "demonstration effect," which refers to the importation of goods for the establishment and maintenance of the tourism industry (Inskeep, 1991: 385; Harrison, 1992: 17, 18; Marfurt, 1997: 173, 175; Weaver, 1998: 51).

If the revenue from tourism is reduced from a flow to a trickle by economic leakages, then the proposition that tourism will culminate in economic benefit for local communities must also be questioned. The trend of traditional tourism development has proven to financially favour the big multi/supra-nationals, foreigners, local elites or governments, who own the resorts and thus reap the profits. The local communities, on the other hand, commonly receive only marginal economic benefits from direct employment in the industry or indirect employment in sectors that service the industry, such as agricultural produce, craft or tour guiding (Honey, 1999: 9; Ashley and Haysom, 2008: 130).

[28] Foreign investors and hotel owners in addition, often demand investment incentives such as high depreciation rates, duty free on importations, free transfer of profits, partial tax exemptions etc. (Harrison, 1992: 17, 18; Marfurt, 1997: 173, 175).

It has been claimed that these employment sectors generate a significant number of jobs and thus contribute substantially, rather than marginally, to the local communities. The assertion that hotels employ a large number of staff is based on the practice of using a variable ratio of 0.3 – 2.0 jobs/hotel bed (depending on the quality of the establishment) to calculate employment levels (Inskeep, 1991: 386; Lea, 1997: 169). Harrison (1992: 15) argues that this ratio is unreliable and its use flawed for two reasons. Firstly, the amount of jobs provided by a tourism facility has proven to vary over the course of its life-cycle. Secondly, this ratio presumes that a larger hotel (with more beds) would create more jobs. Research has conversely shown that these establishments typically have fewer linkages to the local economy, and thus produce lower direct and induced levels of employment.

There is also a further criticism that direct employment does not often lead to development at the local level, as the positions are generally low-wage, unskilled or semi-skilled (Harrison, 1992: 18; Honey, 1999:9)[29]. World Bank analysts argue that this is a benefit for development programmes as it means that most related skills can be upgraded fairly rapidly through training[30] (Lewis, 2001 cited in Rogerson, 2005a: 94).

Notwithstanding such criticisms, the attraction of tourism as a tool of development remains largely undiminished. As Rogerson and Visser (2004: 3) illustrate: '... there is recognition that in the appropriate policy environment tourism can contribute effectively to economic and social

[29] The limited high-wage management openings are typically filled by imported staff, as modern management principles require specialised knowledge often deficient within local communities (Nash, 1996: 20).

[30] I do question the validity of such an argument in all cases for in the context of the community of Grande Riviere, the owner has found this not to be the case. The community has neither prior exposure to tourism, nor any understanding of the culture of a service-based industry. Thus the training component has proved to be quite a long term and difficult project (personal communication 16 June, 2011). One that from personal experience I do not think has come to full fruition.

development, including poverty alleviation.' Tourism is thus viewed as an essential sector for national reconstruction and development and one that offers, according to the World Bank, 'enormous potential as a catalyst for economic and social development across the whole of the country' (2001, cited in Rogerson and Visser, 2004: 4) Although these comments have been made in the context of post-apartheid South Africa, they mirror the state of affairs in both Dominica and Trinidad, as Chapter 6 will illustrate (Taylor, 2007; Bachan, 2011).

3.2.3. Enhancing Tourism's Economic Development Impact

The most challenging question facing the tourism industry, governments and development agencies is how to effectively increase the impact of tourism initiatives on poverty alleviation and livelihood creation in rural areas (Simpson, 2008: 239).Various pro-poor *responsible tourism* models have been developed and put forward as policy recommendations.

Traditionally, these models have focused on expanding the direct employment benefits to local communities. The recommendations have encouraged preferential hiring of community members and the creation of tourism service-based SMMEs, such as community craft suppliers, guides and activity providers (Ashley and Haysom, 2008: 130). These initiatives have, to date, produced disappointing improvements in overall pro-poor economic accrual (Ashley and Mitchell, 2008: 1).

As a result organisations such as the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV), and the Overseas Development Institute (ODI), are increasingly turning to a "value chain" (VC) approach in order to understand how to expand and improve pro-poor linkages in the tourism industry (Ashley and Mitchell, 2008: 1).

A “value chain” approach is described by Van den Berg, et. al. (undated: 7) as an intuitive concept, which has a narrow and a broad definition. The narrow definition is drawn from the subfield of business and strategic logistics management[31], and refers to the optimisation and strategic management of all the activities that constitute the business system in order to generate competitive business advantage (Ashley and Mitchell, 2008; Wolf, 2008). These activities are those related to the complete product/service life-cycle and therefore include the:

- conception/design of the product;
- raw material acquisition;
- different phases of production (each one adding more value to the product);
- marketing and distribution to consumer;
- performance of after-sale services;
- final disposal (Ashley and Mitchell, 2008; Wolf, 2008).

Each activity adds “value” to the final product, and builds a link in the ‘chain’ between producers and consumers (Van den Berg, et. al., undated: 7). In order to be able to optimise the system, the nature of the relationship between all these activities and the external/global environment needs to be understood, for each has a dynamic effect on the other (Ashley and Mitchell, 2008; Wolf, 2008).

The second, broad definition of the “value chain” approach, takes a more holistic view of this product/service life-cycle. It does not only look at the activities of the single business system, but also considers the complex

[31] Porter’s (1985) framework of competitive advantage is perhaps the best known model of the implementation of value chains in increasing competitive advantage in business management. Although the concept of competitive advantage has varied, wide ranging definitions, it can be summarised- at a general and simplistic level- as providing a customer a product/service at an equivalent/higher value compared to competitors, but at lower production cost (cited in Van den Berg, et. al., undated: 8).

range of activities (and therefore linkages) implemented by all the various actors involved in the different phases of the development of a final product. This includes the actors involved in the pre-production (raw material harvesting and transport), production, marketing, trading, distribution, and disposal of a product. The broad "value chain" therefore includes the full range of backward and forward linkages in the complete product life-cycle (Van den Berg, et. al. undated: 7).

It is this broad, holistic understanding of a "value chain" that has been adopted by development agencies, including the International Labour Organisation (ILO), as one of the techniques of organising local economic development programmes. This approach has provided these agencies with a method of being able to analyse systems such as the agricultural or manufacturing sector in order to understand how to:

- Strengthen the competitiveness and integration of SMME's into national or international markets
- Increase the level of exports;
- Increase the utilisation of locally produced raw materials;
- Generate maximum employment; and to
- Increase the total amount and value of products that the poor sell in a value chain (Van den Berg, et. al. undated; Herr, 2007).

Ashley and Haysom (2008: 129) note that even though a "value chain" analysis has become common practice in other sectors, it is a relatively new focal point of pro-poor tourism studies and interventions. The suitability of its application was only realised when it was discovered that the poor earn as much (and potentially more) income from the indirect employment opportunities in the tourism sector (such as in the supplying of goods and services), than they do via direct employment in the industry (Ashley and Mitchell, 2008: 1).

The delay in this realisation can possibly be attributed to the multi-dimensional and multisectoral nature of the tourism industry. Tourism, as Mathieson and Wall (1982) emphasise, is *'...a system with an originating area (the market or demand element) and a destination area (the attraction or supply side) with a travel component linking the two'* (cited in Dowling and Fennell, 2003a: 1). Tourism at both the originating and destination area is composed of a series of sub-sectors which range from the services employed by a tourist to book a holiday, to the transport required to reach his/her destination. At the destination level it includes the accommodation and excursion/activity providers, as well as a range of supporting services. These services extend from the management, cleaning and service staff to the food, beverage, and curios manufacture, supply and production. The figure below demonstrates this accordingly.

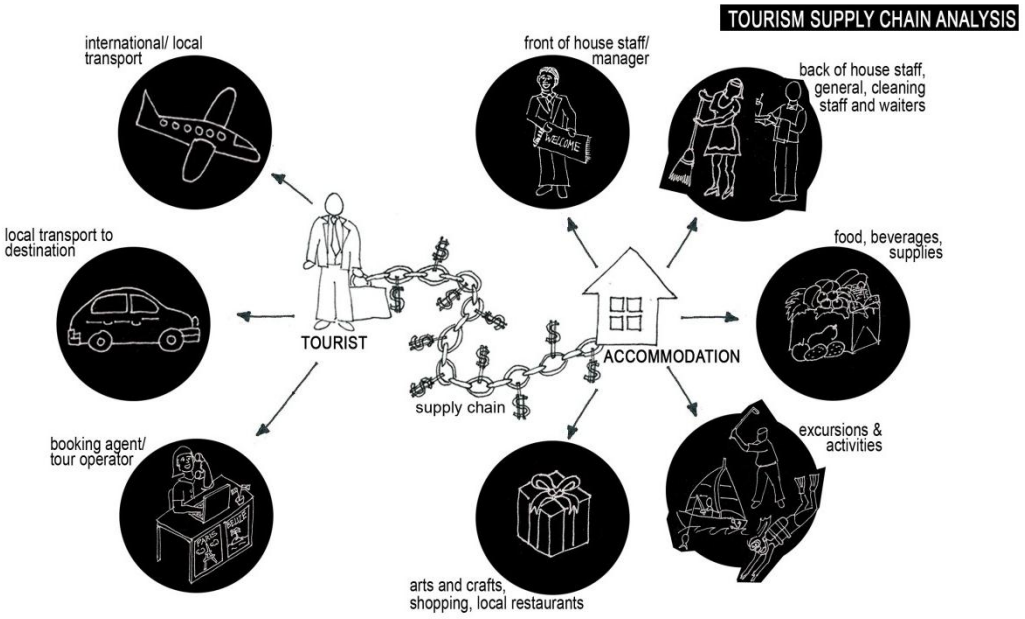

Figure 4.1. The multi-dimensional, multisectoral tourism supply chain
Source: Illustration by Daniella Sachs

A "value chain" analysis and mapping of this tourism system has provided the integral means of understanding and analysing the economic flows within this complex system, as the figure below illustrates. Similarly such

"value chain" analysis and mapping has provided a method of being able to:

- Explore the different points in the chain where the poor operate;
- Estimate current pro-poor income;
- Identify constraints and bottlenecks facing the poor; and therefore
- Identify opportunities for improving pro-poor benefit through local economic development programmes (Ashley and Mitchell, 2008: 4; Schwartz and Font, 2009).

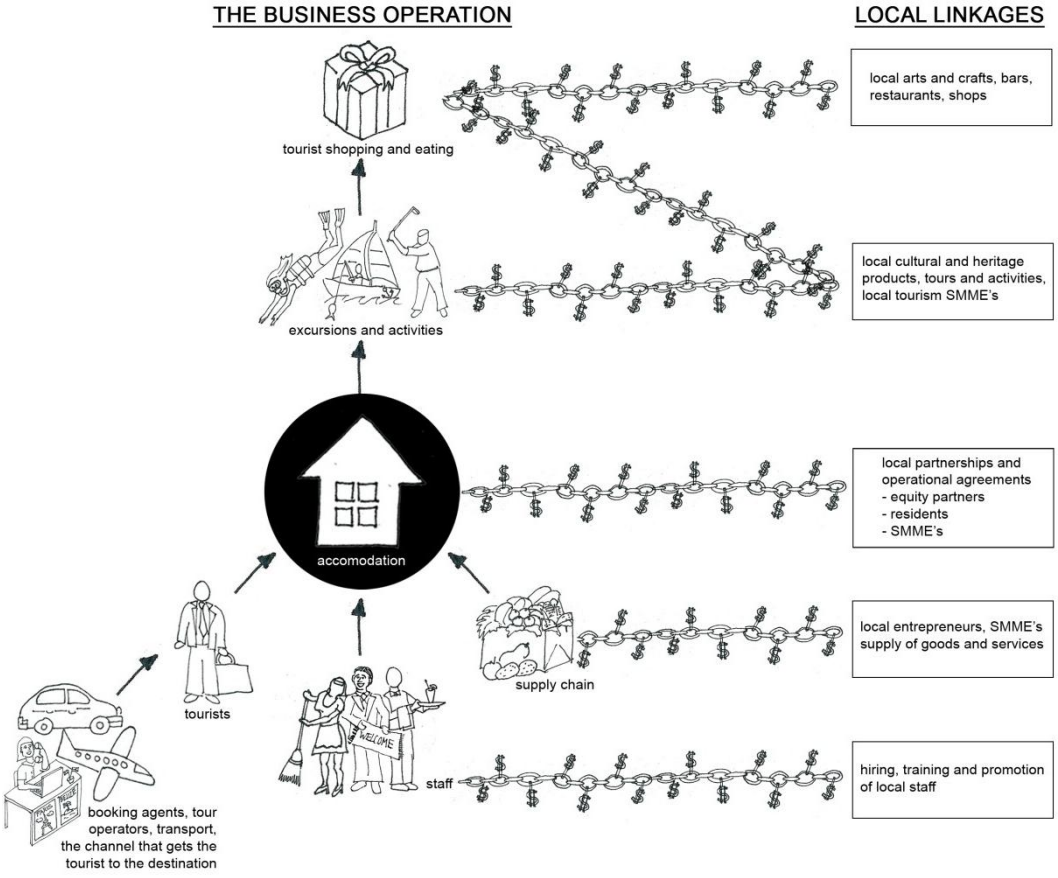

Figure 4.2. A "value chain" mapping of a tourism operation
Source: After Ashley, 2006: 4

What is noticeably absent in both Figure 4.1 and 4.2, however, is the construction phase of tourism development. The exclusion of this phase from the tourism supply and value chain and accompanying pro-poor

investigations, further emphasises the current knowledge gap and highlights the critical need for this study.

3.2.4. Conclusions

Whilst the discussion in this section has shown why tourism is an important economic driver for many Third World countries, it has been conceded that these direct economic benefits do not often trickle down to the surrounding communities. The recognition of the scale of the indirect employment opportunities and economic contributions, generated by the industry, has renewed confidence in its appropriateness as a development tool. The technique of “value chain” mapping and analysis is proving to be an important evaluative framework, for plotting how these indirect benefits can be maximised for poverty alleviation and livelihood creation in rural areas. Nevertheless, this framework has been shown to be imperfect as it has thus far not included the construction phase of tourism development.

3.3. Construction and Economic Development

The *construction phase* has the potential to play a significant part in this discussion of tourism as a strategy of economic development. As Ashley and Haysom (2008: 130) indicate, the construction of tourism facilities and infrastructure fits within the critical pro-poor segment of indirect employment generation and economic contribution. Inskeep (1991: 386) has argued that this phase of development makes a valuable contribution to employment generation, due to its labour intensive nature. The aim of this section is to explore the validity of this unsupported claim and thereby propose the parameters within which the construction process could generate economic development.

3.3.1. Labour-intensive Infrastructure Programmes

The construction sector (like the tourism industry) is often highlighted as a programme of economic development, because it is presumed to be capital- and labour-intensive (McCutcheon, 2008a). According to Ebohon and Rwelamila (2001: 1), the construction sector accounts for more than 60% of gross capital formation in most countries. However, Rogerson (2005b: 103) points out that the development potential of the sector is not only due to its economic scale, but also to the perception of the construction industry as an *'… efficient industry for employment generation for a given capital flow.'* It is this combination that frequently makes the construction sector *'the basis for targeting in national employment and poverty alleviation programs'* in the context of the developing world (Rogerson, 2005b: 103).

The targeted subsector, for employment and poverty alleviation within the broad construction sector, is civil construction, and more specifically, road and infrastructure delivery (McCutcheon, 2008: 1, 2). One of the primary reasons this sector has been selected, according to Dixon-Fyle, Kuiper and Majeres (2004: 11), is because infrastructure construction has strong backward (construction material and labour procurement) and forward (delivery of infrastructure services the local community and industries) economic linkages.

As a result of this assumption that infrastructure construction is a strong engine of growth, developing countries invest more than US$200 billion annually in infrastructure delivery (Dixon-Fyle, et al., 2004: 11). Rogerson (2005b: 104) contends however that it is a false assumption that large scale infrastructure projects will automatically lead to large scale employment generation, and thus economic development. And while the employment potential is enormous, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) emphasises that this potential remains largely untapped (Dixon-Fyle, et al., 2004: 11).

Studies done by the ILO have revealed that it is the conventional 'equipment-based' nature of these projects which reduce both the potential direct and indirect employment benefits of the sector (Rogerson, 2005b: 104). The ILO's oldest technical cooperation programme, the Employment Intensive Investment Programme (EIIP) was therefore established *'…to assist governments to define policies and implement practical approaches to optimise the developmental impact of their infrastructure investments'* (Dixon-Fyle, et al., 2004: 11).

In order to achieve increased employment opportunities within these public infrastructure projects, the EIIP has promoted a policy of replacing capital-intensive construction methods with labour-intensive construction (Dixon-Fyle, et al., 2004). Labour-intensive (or labour-based) construction can be defined as the efficient and optimal substitution of labour in place of equipment or machinery as the predominant resource for the construction of a cost-driven project (Rogerson, 2005b: 104; McCutcheon, 2008: 1). According to EIIP studies labour-intensive construction and the maintenance thereof, has the ability to create between two to five times more employment than capital-intensive approaches (Dixon-Fyle, et al., 2004: 13).

It is further observed that this positive impact is strengthened substantially when the construction is undertaken making the best use not only of local labour resources, but also local material procurement (Dixon-Fyle, et al., 2004: 11). EIIP studies show that the use of a local-resource-based building technology will create three to four times the local economic impact than the correlating machinery-intensive technique. Moreover, the economy will be further stimulated by the multiplier effect of the added employment it creates, and thus added demand in the local economy (Dixon-Fyle, et al., 2004: 21).

Although the EIIP has demonstrated that the construction process can contribute to employment generation (in the right circumstances), these

jobs are generally short-term, predominantly low-skilled and therefore low-wage. It must be questioned to what extent this temporary employment can contribute to economic development, because as Malizia and Feser (1999: 243) indicate: a temporary, stop-gap solution does not create the sustained improvement the term development implies.

Rogerson (2005b: 104) argues that these jobs, albeit temporary, do create a considerable economic impact based on the sheer volume of work created for the poor. The ILO strengthens this claim by explaining that in a rural[32] locality a large number of workers spending wages has the potential to produce a 'demand shock' which stimulates economic activity, private investment and even micro and small enterprise development. What is of further significance is that while the employment generated by a single project may be short-term, the delivery and maintenance of infrastructure is a continuous government programme and thus indirectly a single project creates long-term employment (Dixon-Fyle, et al., 2004: 13).

McCutcheon, (2008: 4) however, takes a different standpoint. He notes that it was only the early phases of these projects (in the 1970s and 1980s) that emphasised the creation of short-term, unskilled, labour opportunities. This emphasis has subsequently shifted to incorporate a strong focus on skills development. This shift has been created by the practical issue and challenges of organising productive labour in large-scale, often widely dispersed projects. Successful implementation of these projects was found to be tied to the skills development training of 'hands-on' self-motivated site supervisors and the division of the work into individual, or group task-based, labour packages.

This development of skills, in short-term public infrastructure programmes, has the ability to increase economic capabilities and employment

[32] The ILO assert that the economies in rural areas of developing counties are predominantly stagnant, as levels of consumption are so low that money does not circulate enough to stimulate economic activity (Dixon-Fyle, et al., 2004: 14).

opportunities, as the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) illustrates. The EPWP was initiated by the South African government in 2004[33]with the ultimate goal of alleviating poverty levels, by generating temporary work opportunities for at least one million unemployed people, between 2004 and 2009 (McCutcheon and Taylor Parkins, 2009: 196). Even though four sectors of the economy were focused upon -- infrastructure, environment, social and economic -- the emphasis (83% of national expenditure) was placed on the infrastructure sector as having the ability to provide a significantly higher rate of employment per unit expenditure.

Despite the temporary and short-term nature of these jobs, the combination of work experience, training (defined a minimum of 2 days training for every 22 days worked) and information (related to local work opportunities, further education and training and SMME development) was seen as essential in increasing the potential of the programme participants to earn future income, thereby promoting long term economic development (McCutcheon and Taylor Parkins, 2009: 197)

The research of McCutcheon and Taylor Parkins (2009: 200) further counters the claim that temporary job creation cannot be meaningful in the context of rural communities who need permanent development solutions. The results of their study demonstrate that these opportunities were considered to have value for the local community. *'The direct and indirect beneficiaries of the EPWP clearly (and desperately) welcomed the short-term job opportunities, and those that had worked on the EPWP were eager to get further work opportunities. They wanted more, much more.'*

[33] It must be noted that this programme has been highly criticised, for although its goals should have resulted in economic development, the faulty implementation of the programme greatly reduced its effectiveness (McCutcheon and Taylor Parkins, 2009: 206-209)

3.3.2. Labour Intensive Building

It has been demonstrated, in the preceding discussion, that the labour-intensive construction of large-scale public works programmes has the ability to contribute to economic development, especially if the project programme capitalises on local resource use. The construction of a single building or even a complex of buildings cannot, however, compare in either scale or project duration to these programmes. How then could it be argued that the general construction sector (outside of infrastructure development) has the ability to have a considerable economic impact?

This is an issue explored in depth by Fitchett (2009), who argues that it is not the small scale of a building project that inhibits local economic benefit. Rather, it is the assumption (which Inskeep (1991) has made) that capital investment in construction automatically generates substantial employment. Conversely, the conventional construction methodology employed in standard building practices actually inhibits substantial employment generation because it is machinery-based rather than labour-intensive.

It can be argued that if a labour-intensive construction methodology is employed, the building industry has the ability to have a greater economic development impact than infrastructure construction, despite its smaller scale. This potential is attributed to the greater opportunities for skills development that building construction produces. Fitchett (2009: 17,18) explains that while only limited skills are required for the repetitive nature of infrastructure projects, buildings (conversely) are *'inherently diverse, especially at the level of artisan, where knowledge and experience in any one trade can be adapted to another with the addition of a modest range of new techniques, thus facilitating job diversification'.*

In addition, buildings have the potential to generate broader ripple effects on the local economy as their construction requires a far more diverse set

of materials and manufactured building components. The extent of local economic linkages is dependent, however, on the design, detailing and specification procedures of a project. For example, a design that results in the specification of industrially manufactured components will result in a large amount of the project cost flowing to the regional or international hubs, where these components are produced. In contrast, a project that details and specifies locally fabricated components and hand-made elements will secure greater economic benefit for the local community. The procurement of these elements facilitates not only further employment initiatives, but also strengthens the capacity of local production (Fitchett, 2009: 70).

Notwithstanding this potential (of construction to contribute to economic development), it is critical to note that the methodology of labour-intensive and local resource-based construction is not always embraced by members of the industry. McCutcheon (2008: 7) explains that *'[t]he structure of the construction industry is highly capital intensive, as is the mind-set of all those engaged in the production process from conception through design and contractual procedures to implementation and later maintenance'*. The basis of the rejection of labour-intensive procedures is thus based on the assertion that projects are conceived within limited budgets and schedules. The introduction of increased numbers of labourers (mostly un-skilled or semi-skilled) is presumed to increase the cost of the project, increase its construction time schedule, create management issues and result in a project of substandard quality (McCutcheon, 2008: 7)

According to McCutcheon (2008: 7), the flaw in this assertion is the common confusion of the term "labour-intensive" with "labour-extensive." "Labour-extensive" or "make work" projects are those whose key objective is to make as many jobs as possible with little concern for the budget, time constraints or quality of the assets that are created (Rogerson, 2005b:

104). In contrast “labour-intensive” construction, is defined by McCutcheon (2008: 1) as *‘…the economically efficient employment of as great a proportion of labour as is technically feasible, ideally throughout the construction process including the production of materials, to produce as high a standard of construction as demanded by the specification and allowed by the funding available.’*

EIIP projects in a wide range of countries have shown that generating more employment per unit of expenditure is not only realistic, but technically and financially cost-competitive when compared to conventional capital-intensive methods in most developing countries. Experiences have further shown that in contrast to expectations, labour-intensive construction is between 10% and 30% less costly than more capital-intensive construction methods (even with the added time implication of conducting training). These techniques, when combined with an emphasis on the use of local resources, have the additional ability to reduce foreign exchange investment requirements by some 50% to 60% (Dixon-Fyle, et al., 2004: 13). This cost-competitiveness, however, is based on the assumption that neither time, nor cost nor quality, are compromised in the equation (McCutcheon, 2008: 1, 2).

Ebohon and Rwelamila (2002: 5) warn that the economic development capacity of the construction industry is crucially dependent on the nature and sophistication of the forward and backward linkages between the sector and the rest of the economy. The backward linkages are defined by the proportion of building materials, components and labour that can be sourced locally, while the end use of the building and its maintenance defines the forward economic linkages. Ebohon and Rwelamila (2002: 5) argue that developing countries are often characterised by weak forward and backward linkages, and thus weakened construction economic development impacts.

3.3.3. Conclusions

The aim of this section was to explore how the *construction phase* could contribute to economic development. The analysis of infrastructure programmes revealed that the employment generation potential of the industry is dependent on the construction techniques employed. The discussion of building construction further illustrated that the accompanying local economic impacts are bound to labour and material procurement practices. Although it was conceded that the employment generated by building construction is limited by its small scale, it was argued that these jobs had the potential to have greater economic development impacts due to the embedded skills development opportunities in the industry. Nevertheless, it was noted in conclusion that the possible level of local economic benefits is subject to the existence of a strong local manufacturing, building and labour supply sector.

4. Analytical Framework

The objective of this chapter, as stated in the research methods section (Chapter 2.1), is to draw together the lessons learned from the preceding literature review to form the analytical framework for the subsequent multi-case study evaluation.

The preceding analysis of the appropriateness of tourism as a tool of development revealed the need for the implementation of pro-poor tourism initiatives and policies. The technique of “value chain” mapping and analysis was recommended as a key industry tool to plan and maximise tourism’s impact on poverty alleviation, and livelihood creation in rural areas.

It was further illustrated that sustainable resort construction has the potential to contribute to these pro-poor tourism initiatives. The

construction of tourism facilities forms part of the crucial indirect economic and employment segments of the industry, which have been highlighted as the critical focus for these projects. Thus, it becomes appropriate to apply a “value chain” mapping and analysis to this construction process in order to evaluate its contribution to tourism as a tool of economic development.

In order to be able to conduct a pro-poor “value chain” analysis of the construction process it would need to be broken down at a broad level into the key construction components of foundations, floors, walls, doors, windows, roof structure, roof finish and interiors (as the figure below demonstrates).

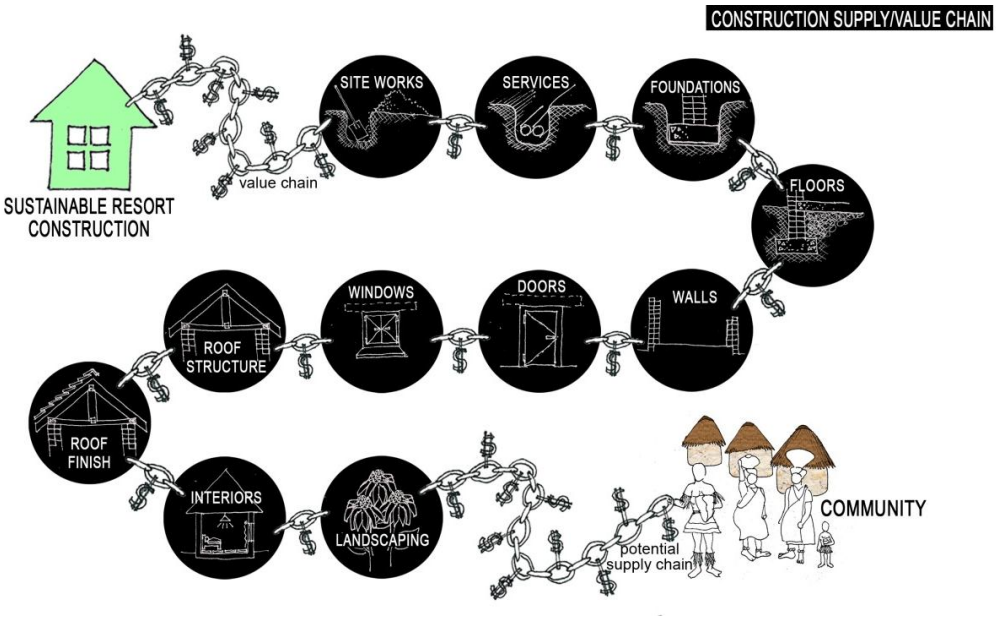

Figure 5.1. The construction “value chain”
Source: Illustration by Daniella Sachs

Each component can further be seen to encompass an interlinking economic process of material and labour procurement, which will need to be analysed in order to be able to identify the socio-economic impacts of the “value chain.” This mapping will assist in the identification of:

- The existing economic linkages;
- The economic leakages;

- Current bottlenecks to local participation; and
- Opportunities for improving the system.

The investigation into the relationship between construction and economic development demonstrated that the key mechanisms to achieving an effective pro-poor construction “value chain” can be identified as:

- The use of locally sourced materials and manufactured components;
- The incorporation of labour-intensive construction techniques; as well as
- The facilitation of training programmes that enhance skills.

It is relevant to note that these identified mechanisms of creating economic development overlaps with the Global Sustainable Tourism Criteria, used in this research to define what a “sustainable resort” is (as set out in Chapter 2.1 and expanded upon in the subsequent Chapter 5.1). Within these criteria the Global Sustainable Tourism Council (2009: 12) delineates ***locally appropriate principles*** *of sustainable construction*, under Criteria A.6.3, as follows:

- *‘Locally appropriate tools and materials that minimize environmental impact;*
- *Locally appropriate technologies that are used in buildings and for construction, including indigenous materials and technologies;*
- *Development of local capacity - education, knowledge and experience - to use the materials, technologies, tools for sustainable construction;*
- *Local involvement of all concerned stakeholders in the process of adoption and implementation of sustainable construction principles’.*

The sustainable resort construction ‘value chain’ framework applied to the case studies, (in the form of a structured questionnaire) therefore analysed each key construction component in terms of:

a) Material Procurement (component)

- construction technique
- materials
- local/regional/imported
- approximate cost

b) Labour Procurement (construction worker)

- origin
- occupation before the construction commenced
- job during the construction process
- occupation after the completion of the construction phase
- salary

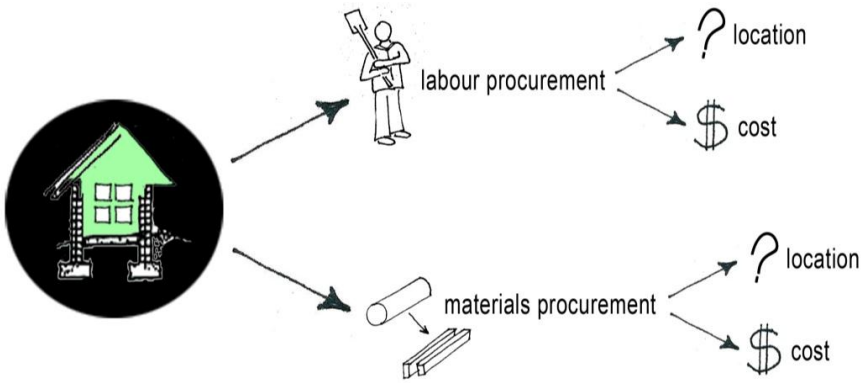

Figure 5.2. The procurement “value chain” framework
Source: Illustration by Daniella Sachs

The aim of defining three levels in the profession of the construction worker is in order to be able to identify whether any skills development took place, both formally and informally. The three levels of material procurement linkages/leakages (local, regional and international) have been identified in order to enable an assessment of how much money is

retained in the close vicinity of the project; how much money flows into other areas of the country; how much flows to countries who are part of the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM); and how much is lost to international importations.

Both Dominica and Trinidad are members of CARICOM, which means that regional importations from other Caribbean states are not considered to be economic leakages as *'there are greater opportunities to migrate for employment when you buy from one another. So essentially buying steel within the CARICOM creates opportunities for yourself for employment. If you buy from Europe or the States you lose those benefits, money going to Trinidad is not lost, it is only when it is international it is a loss'* (staff, personal communication, 27 May. 2011).

This framework provided the quantifiable data necessary to evaluate the extent of the contribution of the construction process to economic development. As stated in methodology section (Chapter 2.1), an evaluation of whether economic development has taken place cannot only be based on quantifiable data, but must also be judged on the personal, subjective perceptions of the individual and the community (collected using semi-structured, open-ended interviews).

A conceptually clustered matrix has been used as the instrument to ensure that this value-laden data has been interpreted reliably and with as little personal bias as possible. This matrix has been constructed using the unsubstantiated predictions/hypotheses, presented in Chapter 1.3, of the extent to which the construction phase contributes to tourism-led economic development. The conceptual themes of the matrix have therefore been identified as follows:

a) Rural communities have limited livelihood options available (argument made by Turner (2001) in Chapter 1.3);

b) Construction generates employment (argument made by Inskeep (2001) in Chapter 1.3);

c) Construction is labour intensive (argument made by Inskeep (2001) in Chapter 1.3);

d) Local artisans/businessmen don't benefit (argument made by Marfurt (1997) in Chapter 1.3);

e) Local labour is unable to deliver to the high quality standards of the international tourism industry (argument made by Marfurt (1997) in Chapter 1.3);

f) Developing countries generally have low technical skills, limited handicraft production and small building industries (argument made by Marfurt (1997) in Chapter 1.3);

g) Use of local resources will be limited (argument made by developers (2010) in Chapter 1.3);

h) Construction materials and interior design materials have to be imported (argument made by tourism developers (2010) in Chapter 1.3);

i) The impact of the construction phase is insignificant when compared to the operation of the resort (argument made by Marfurt (1997) and tourism developers (2010) in Chapter 1.3);

j) Employment is temporary and therefore does not create meaningful economic impacts (argument made by tourism developers (2010) in Chapter 1.3);

k) Skills development training cannot take place due to time and budget constraints (argument made by tourism developers (2010) in Chapter 1.3).

The collected data were first clustered thematically under these main argument headings: commonalities and differences were identified within the data sets, and they were subsequently ordered according to both

cross-cutting sub-themes and independent variables. The key findings from this evaluation of the data will be presented in the subsequent chapter, following these thematic subdivisions.

5. CASE STUDY BACKGROUND

5.1. Selection Criteria

The aim of this introductory case study section is to elaborate on the case study selection criteria and resulting case study selection. Chapter 2.1 outlined the study's evaluative case study research methodology and defined the criteria for selecting a suitable case study as follows:

a) It must be situated in a coastal rural area;

b) It must be a sustainable resort;[34]

c) It would need to have been recently constructed or renovated;[35]

d) It should be of a high star-rating;[36]

There is a multitude of guidelines which outline criteria for what makes a building 'green,' 'eco,' 'environmental' or 'sustainable'. In order to construct an international standard for sustainable tourism a coalition of 27 organizations formed the Partnership for Global Sustainable Tourism Criteria in 2007. The establishment of a common set of criteria was *'part of the response of the tourism community to the global challenges of the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals. Poverty alleviation and*

[34] The criteria used are the *Global Sustainable Tourism Criteria* published by The Partnership for Global Sustainable Tourism (2009) (refer to Appendix C for more detail).

[35] This criterion is governed by practicality. If the construction had taken place more than a year or two previously it would potentially be more difficult to access those involved in the construction process, as well as to be able to evaluate the impacts of the construction phase on the local communities.

[36] The reasoning behind this prerequisite is in order to be able to address the criticism of developers who claim that local labour cannot build the standard of quality required for a 5-star resort.

environmental sustainability – including climate change – are the main cross-cutting issues that are addressed through the criteria' (GSTC, 2008).

The 37 criteria are divided into four main themes, namely: (1) effective sustainability planning; (2) maximizing community socio-economic benefits; (3) enhancing cultural heritage; and (4) reducing negative environmental impacts. These criteria form a general worldwide baseline of sustainability and are accompanied by indicators which are recommendations of how compliance can be measured. These criteria and indicators are recommendations, rather than rules, because they will need to be specifically adapted to regional differences and industry sectors (GSTC, 2009).

According to the Global Sustainable Tourism Criteria (GSTC, 2009: 80), sustainable resort design *'… reduces energy and water consumption, uses environmentally innocuous materials, and is in harmony (aesthetic, environmental, and cultural) with the surroundings'.* The specific criteria and indicators relating to sustainable resort design and construction are outlined in Criteria A.6 as follows (GSTC, 2009: 9-13):

Table 3.1. The Global Sustainable Tourism Criteria for the design and construction of Buildings and Infrastructure
Source: (GSTC, 2009: 9-13)

Global Sustainable Tourism Criteria **Criteria A.6. Design and Construction of Buildings and Infrastructure**	
Criteria A.6.1. ***Comply with local zoning and protected or heritage area requirements***	
Rationale	**Potential Indicators**
Local zoning defines how activities can be carried out in a community reflecting the community's social, economic, and environmental needs, balanced with long-term sustainability. Alteration of protected and designated heritage sites is regulated through local zoning and legal requirements (local, national, and international conventions). Tourism operations must consider these zoning and area requirements to optimize community development plans, while minimizing impact.	- Land use is in compliance with local zoning and protected or heritage area laws and regulations (yes/no)
Criteria A.6.2. ***Respect the natural or cultural heritage surroundings in siting, design, impact assessment, and land rights and acquisition***	
Rationale	**Potential Indicators**
Enhancing the aesthetic, cultural, historic, and natural assets of a destination and ensuring that built structures and operations do not negatively impact adjoining lands and people is an important factor. In particular, the land used for buildings and operations should be acquired respecting traditional rights and legislation.	- Design and construction reduce heating, cooling, lighting, and water consumption through passive design appropriate to local conditions, as well as active technology (list of passive and active design features) - Buildings with an emphasis on visual compatibility with the natural environment (explanatory text and illustrations) - Transportation and circulation with an emphasis on minimizing fossil- fuel consumption (list of features and methods) - Utility systems with an emphasis on: energy-efficient heating, cooling and lighting; water conservation; waste-water treatment; and solid waste management - The reduction of on-site and off-site development impacts on air, water, and sound quality

Table 3.1. Continued…

Criteria A.6.3. *Use locally appropriate principles of sustainable construction*	
Rationale	**Potential Indicators**
Local, environmentally and economically sound design and development techniques should be integrated into the design and construction phase of the tourism operation, for minimizing natural resource impacts as well as consideration of the socio-cultural and economic benefits. This includes: - Locally appropriate tools and materials that minimize environmental impact; - Locally appropriate technologies that are used in buildings and for construction, including indigenous materials and technologies; - Development of local capacity - education, knowledge and experience - to use the materials, technologies, tools for sustainable construction; and - Local involvement of all concerned stakeholders in the process of adoption and implementation of sustainable construction principles.	- Construction plan follows sustainable site design and plan (see Criterion A.6.2) - Construction plan documents elements to meet all GSTC criteria, with specific emphasis on risk areas of impact associated with construction: - Minimize areas of vegetation disturbance, earth grading, and water channel alternation. (Yes/no) (D.3.5) - Reducing wastes and emissions (D.2) - Incorporate local materials and crafts into structures, native plants into landscaping, and local customs into programs and operations. (yes/no) (B.3, D.1.1 and D.3.3) - Safe and clean workplace provided (B.8)
Comments: Local architectural styles often reflect many years of adaptation to local climatic and geographic conditions, while using locally available materials. As long as the materials are sustainably produced, this permits buildings and infrastructure to blend into the surroundings in an aesthetically pleasing manner, while reinforcing local culture and reducing the environmental and economic impacts of importing building materials.	
Global Sustainable Tourism Criteria Criteria A.6. Design and Construction of Buildings and Infrastructure	
Criteria A.6.4. *Provide access for persons with special needs*	
Rationale	**Potential Indicators**
Disabled or special needs individuals make up an estimated 10 percent of the population and travellers with special needs face particular challenges. Consideration of these needs in design, building architecture, transportation, itinerary alternatives, and interpretative materials eliminates discrimination as well as opens up business opportunities.	- Facilities and services (including materials) are accessible to persons with special needs (yes/no) - Level of accessibility is clearly communicated to the customer (yes/no)

These common global criteria (and their indicators) have been adopted as the broad framework for assessing whether a resort can be defined as sustainable (in terms of its design and construction). The following section will present the selected case studies in view of this guideline.

5.2. Case Study Selection

The limitations set by these criteria have had numerous implications. It has firstly proved difficult to find suitable case studies which fulfil all the criteria, in the context of southern Africa[37]. The majority of sustainable resorts are situated in wildlife areas and not in coastal areas. This finding substantiates the study conducted by the International Finance Corporation (2004) and the supposition that sustainable resorts are relatively undeveloped in coastal rural areas.

In order to validate my findings I sent a series of emails to all the authors of Anne Spenceley's (2008) seminal book, *Responsible Tourism: Critical issues for conservation and development*, which had focused on the southern African region. None of the tourism and conservation specialists who responded to my inquiry could think of an appropriate case study in southern Africa (pers. comm., 15, 17, 23 August; 6 October. 2010 et. al.)

One of the authors (a landscape architect) did however respond to say that he had 'the perfect case study' for me (in that it would meet all my stringent criteria) in the Commonwealth of Dominica, a Small Island Developing State (SIDS) in the West Indies (Mehta, H., pers. comm., 14 August, 2010). The Oppenheimer Memorial Trust, together with the Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment agreed to sponsor my research expenses to conduct this case study fieldwork.

On my arrival in Dominica I found that the case study was indeed an 'authentic ecolodge,' yet it was not in fact the 'perfect case study'. I had been made aware that the project had been on hold for a number of months as the contractor who was hired from Trinidad had 'run away' with US$ 1 million. I had raised my concerns with the architect about whether

[37] Although Mozambique has many wonderful examples of sustainable resorts such as Guludo Beach Lodge and Mnemba Island Lodge, they did not fulfil the criterion of being recently constructed.

the workers had been paid before I embarked on this fieldwork research. The architect had assured me that the contractor had defaulted on paying the suppliers but had paid all the workers their full salaries. I found out on my arrival in Dominica, that not only had the workers not been paid their full salaries, but that there was also a great deal of animosity between the workers and the owner as a result. I consequently did not feel that it was morally or ethically appropriate to conduct the research in this context.

I therefore, found another more suitable case study in Dominica called Rosalie Bay Resort. Midway through my fieldwork in the Caribbean I presented my initial findings of Rosalie Bay Resort in a paper delivered at an international conference held in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, entitled *'The Sustainable Development Of Coastal Communities: Challenges and Solutions.'*

One of the key findings that emerged from the initial evaluation of Rosalie Bay was that there were extremely high levels of importation of building materials and interior components. In the context of the project these high levels of importation could be attributed to Dominica being a Small Island Developing State (SIDS), therefore lacking the infrastructure of a manufacturing sector. The question was therefore raised whether these economic leakages would be as severe in a country with a strong building supply and manufacturing sector. In order to address this question a second case study called Mt. Plaisir Estate, was sourced in Trinidad, as the island is the second largest manufacturing centre of the Caribbean, after Puerto Rico.

The case study findings, although situated in rural coastal regions of islands in the Caribbean, will not be completely foreign to the South African context, due to a number of reasons. Firstly, both Dominica and Trinidad are emerging tourism destinations like South Africa. Secondly, the insights gained from these case studies will be linked to a conceptual

foundation and generalised theoretical argument. Thus, it will be possible to draw lessons from these examples that will be applicable in the context of tourism both in southern Africa, and worldwide.

6. CASE STUDY CONTEXT

The purpose of this introductory case study chapter is threefold. Firstly, it will present a summarised country profile of the islands of Dominica and Trinidad, in which the case studies are situated. Building upon this contextual foundation, the relationship between tourism and development in these countries will be explored. This analysis will form the background against which the significance of the case study findings can be both understood, and examined. Finally, the case studies will be described according to the proposed case study selection criteria, set out in Chapters 2.1 and 5.1.

6.1. Country Profiles

6.1.1. The Commonwealth of Dominica

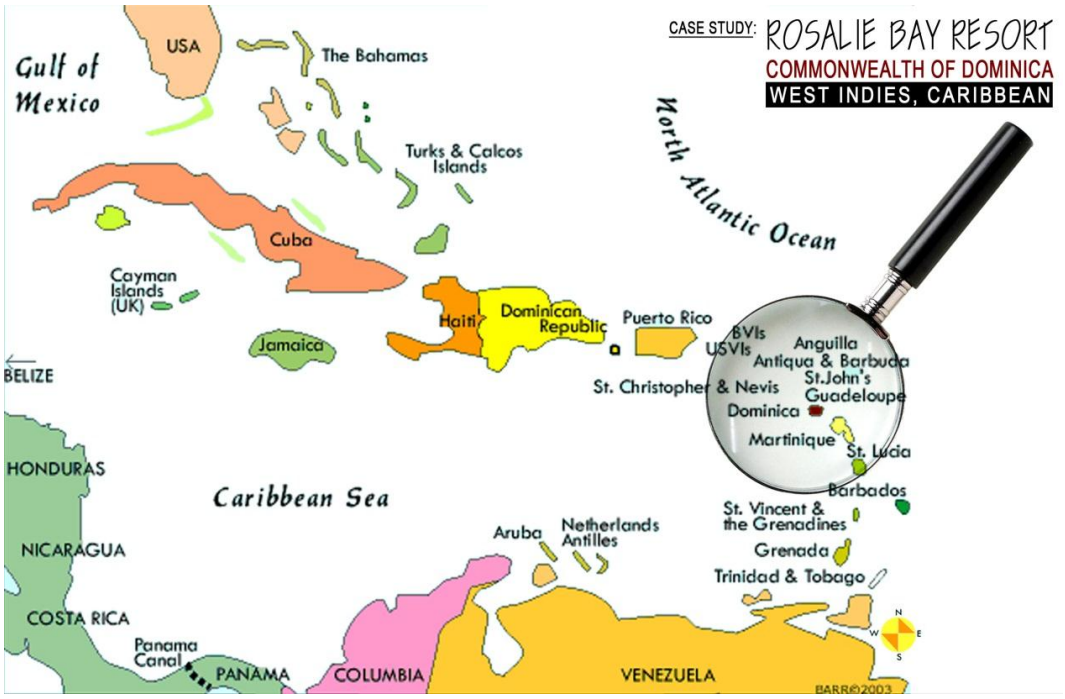

Figure 6.1. The Commonwealth of Dominica, West Indies
Source: After Barr, 2003

6.1.1.1. Historical Background

The first settlers in Dominica are believed to be the Ortoiroid who travelled from the Orinoco delta, in common day Venezuela, up into the islands of the Lesser Antilles from 5,000 BCE (Honychurch, 1995: 15). These early settlers were conquered by different waves of Arawakan-speaking people (who also originated in South America) from 400BCE. The last wave of the Kalinago or Carib Indians who conquered the island were in turn colonised by Christopher Columbus, who “discovered” Dominica, and claimed it for the Spanish throne in 1493 (Honychurch, 1995: 15-32).

European presence on the island was limited (by the warlike Kalinago) until the 1600s, when both France and Britain started to establish slave-run plantations on the island. Many battles were fought between the two nations to wrest control of the island until 1805, when it eventually became a British colony. In 1967, Dominica achieved Associated Statehood, which afforded it total self-governance. Full independence was later granted in 1978, and the island was renamed the Commonwealth of Dominica (Crask, 2007: 5, 6).

6.1.1.2. Geography

Key Facts:

- Area: 750 sq km (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2011a)
- Coastline: 148km (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2011a)
- Capital: Roseau

Description: The Commonwealth of Dominica is a small island located in the West Indies between the French Overseas Departments of Guadeloupe and Martinique. Dominica is the northernmost Windward Island in the Lesser Antilles, in the Eastern Caribbean. The western side of the island faces the calm Caribbean Sea, while the eastern coastline meets the rough and often dangerous waters of the Atlantic Ocean.

Figure 6.2. Commonwealth of Dominica Map
Source: After Ministry of Tourism and Legal Affairs, undated: 3

Figure 6.3. Scotts Head, Trafalgar Falls and Shangrila Hot Springs in Wotten Waven.
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

Dominica is a mountainous island comprised of lush, rainforest blanketed, volcanic peaks (nine of them active volcanoes), deep valleys, plunging river gorges and cliff faces dropping dramatically into the deep blue sea.

The volcanically formed landscape is home to black sand beaches, fumaroles, bubbling sulphur deposits, hot water springs, and the second largest boiling lake in the world.

Dominica has a tropical wet climate with heavy rainfall year-round in the mountainous interior. The locals will tell you that as a result Dominica has 365 rivers trickling and flowing down from these mountains, one for each day of the year. This rainfall feeds the primary and secondary rainforests which cover 60% of the land area of the island, giving Dominica its name as 'the nature island' of the Caribbean (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2011a).

Figure 6.4. Wavine Cirique; Morne Trois Pitons; Rosalie Bay Beach
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

6.1.1.3. Society

Key Facts:

- Total population: 67,700 (UNDP, 2011b)
- Population per square kilometre: 89 (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2011a)
- Urban: 67.4% of total (UNDP, 2011a: 163)
- Life expectancy at birth: 77.5 years (UNDP, 2011a: 128)
- Mean years of schooling: 7.7 years (UNDP, 2011a: 128)

- Human Development Index (HDI) value 2011[38]: 0.724, high human development, rank 81/187 (UNDP, 2011a: 128)
- Multidimensional Poverty Index: no data
- Poverty rate[39]: ±28.8%, (Kairi, 2010: xxi)
- Indigence rate[40]: ±3.1% (Kairi, 2010: xxi)
- Vulnerability rate[41]: ±11.5% (Kairi, 2010: xxi)

Description: The majority of Dominica's population live on the coastline and are descendants of the west-African plantation slaves brought to the island by the French and British colonists. Small remnants of the indigenous Kalinago tribe still exist (the last in the Caribbean) and live in the Carib Territory in the north-east of the island. Dominica's population has declined from approximately 70,000 in 2005, to an estimated 67,700 in 2011. This declining growth rate is attributed to high levels of emigration, especially among the career driven younger generation, to the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and to more prosperous Caribbean islands (Crask, 2007: 11, 12; Commonwealth Secretariat, 2011a).

The Caribbean Development Bank (CDB) estimates that around 50% of households in Dominica have a minimum of one close family member

[38] The UNDP Human Development Index (HDI) value provides a broad measure of 'quality of life,' based on levels of health (measured by life expectancy), education (measured by adult literacy and enrolment at the primary, secondary and tertiary level) and standard of living (measured by purchasing power parity, PPP, income) (UNDP 2011a: 168).

[39] Although there is no UNDP Multidimensional Poverty Index data for Dominica, the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB) conducted a Country Poverty Assessment of the country in 2003 and 2010. According to the CBD a person is considered to be poor if the adult household per capita consumption falls below the poverty line (Kairi, 2010: xviii). Three quarters of poor households live in rural areas where it is estimated that one in every two households is poor (CDB, 2004: iv)

[40] The indigence rate, also called the 'absolute poverty rate' are those who fall below the poverty line, and cannot afford the basic nutritional requirements of the 'food poverty line' (CBD, 2010: 41)

[41] The vulnerability rate refers to those individuals who are below the vulnerability line but above the poverty line (CDB, 2010: xviii)

living overseas (2004: ii, iii). The CBD blames the high immigration rate on the collapse of Dominica's banana industry, which was its prime agricultural sector, combined with the lack of significant growth in other sectors (2004: ii, iii).

Figure 6.5. A view down the main road of Rosaeu; Roseau market; a man making cassava bread; fishermen in Soufriere
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

6.1.1.4. Economy

Key Facts:

- Currency: Eastern Caribbean Dollar (XCD/EC$). US$1 = EC$2.7 (fixed conversion rate)
- GDP per capita[42]: $8,883 (UNDP, 2011a: 163)
- GDP by sector (2009): 18% Agriculture, 21% Industry and 61% services (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2011a)
- Gross National Income per capita (GNI)[43]: US$7,889 (UNDP, 2011a: 128)
- Foreign direct investment net inflows[44]: 13.3% of GDP (UNDP, 2011a: 163)

[42] The UNDP measures GDP per capita in purchasing power parity international dollar terms, divided by midyear population (2011a: 165).

[43] The UNDP defines GNI per capita as the *'[a]ggregate income of an economy generated by its production and its ownership of factors of production, less the incomes paid for the use of factors of production owned by the rest of the world, converted to international dollars using purchasing power parity (PPP) rates, divided by midyear population'* (2011a: 130).

- Net official development assistance received[45]: 10.1% of GDP (UNDP, 2011a: 163)
- Remittance inflows[46]: 6.1% of GDP (UNDP, 2011a: 163)
- Public expenditure on education: 6.4% of GDP (UNDP, 2011a: 163)
- Public expenditure on health: 6.4% of GDP (UNDP, 2011a: 163)
- National unemployment rate: 14% (2009) of total population, and 25.9% (2009) among the poor (Kairi, 2010: xx)

Economic Overview: The economy of Dominica is dominated by agriculture, though some diversification towards tourism has taken place in recent years. Banana production and exports, the main agricultural and economic activity on the island, has been in a steady decline since the early 1990s (European Commission, 2005: 4). This deterioration in economic performance was caused by the loss of preferential trade agreements (in 1993) with the formation of the Single European Market, and in 1997 with the World Trade Organisation (WTO) ruling on trade liberalisation. The small, labour-intensive Dominican banana industry could not compete economically with the cheaper, mass produced bananas from Latin America, and the industry collapsed (Addy, 1999; WIFA, 2010).

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44 Foreign direct investment net inflows are the *'[s]um of equity capital, reinvestment of earnings, other long-term capital and short-term capital, expressed as a percentage of gross domestic product' (UNDP, 2011a: 165).*

45 Net official development assistance received refers to *'[d]isbursements of loans made on concessional terms (net of repayments of principal) and grants by official agencies to promote economic development and welfare in countries and territories in part I of the Development Assistance Committee list of aid recipients, expressed as a percentage of the recipient country's gross national income'* (UNDP, 2011a: 165).

46 Remittance inflows are the *'[e]arnings and material resources transferred by international migrants or refugees to recipients in their country of origin or countries in which the migrant formerly resided, expressed as a percentage of the receiving country's GDP'* (UNDP, 2011a: 165).

The breakdown of the banana industry had devastating impacts on the economy of Dominica. Banana exports had comprised 83% of agriculture exports, and 36% of employment creation in Dominica in 1997, before the WTO ruling was imposed (Addy, 1999; WIFA, 2010). As a result of this ruling, agriculture as a proportion of GDP decreased from 25% in 1996 to 17% in 2001. The number of producers dropped from 6,600 in 1990 to 1,200 in 2004, causing severe unemployment problems (CDB, 2004: iii).

Dominica has attempted to expand and diversify the economy as a result of the collapse of its key foreign exchange earner and employment generator. Economic diversification programmes have included infrastructure development, tourism, hydropower, manufacturing (such as soap, bay oil, and processed fruits for export) and new crop production (including coffee, aloe vera, patchouli, root vegetables and tropical fruit) (European Commission, 2005; CDB, 2010; CNRI, 2010; Commonwealth Secretariat, 2011a). However, despite these attempts Dominica's economy is still described by the CDB as being 'highly vulnerable to exogenous shocks, particularly those relating to climate conditions and international economic development' (Kairi, 2010: 19).

Dominica is not only vulnerable to natural disasters (owing to its position in the Atlantic/Caribbean hurricane belt, and its nine active volcanoes), but also to the impacts of climate change. Rising sea levels, increased flash flooding, submerging of the littoral and severe coastal erosion threaten the existence of predominantly coastal human settlements in Dominica (Kairi, 2010: 19). The economy's susceptibility to these natural disasters is underscored by its rank as 12th on the list of 111 countries on the composite vulnerability index of the Commonwealth Secretariat and World Bank.' (Kairi, 2010: 19).

Figure 6.6. Urban decay in Roseau; Atlantis hotel development near Portsmouth; plantain, dasheen and other assorted root vegetables for sale at Roseau market
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

6.1.2. The Republic of Trinidad and Tobago

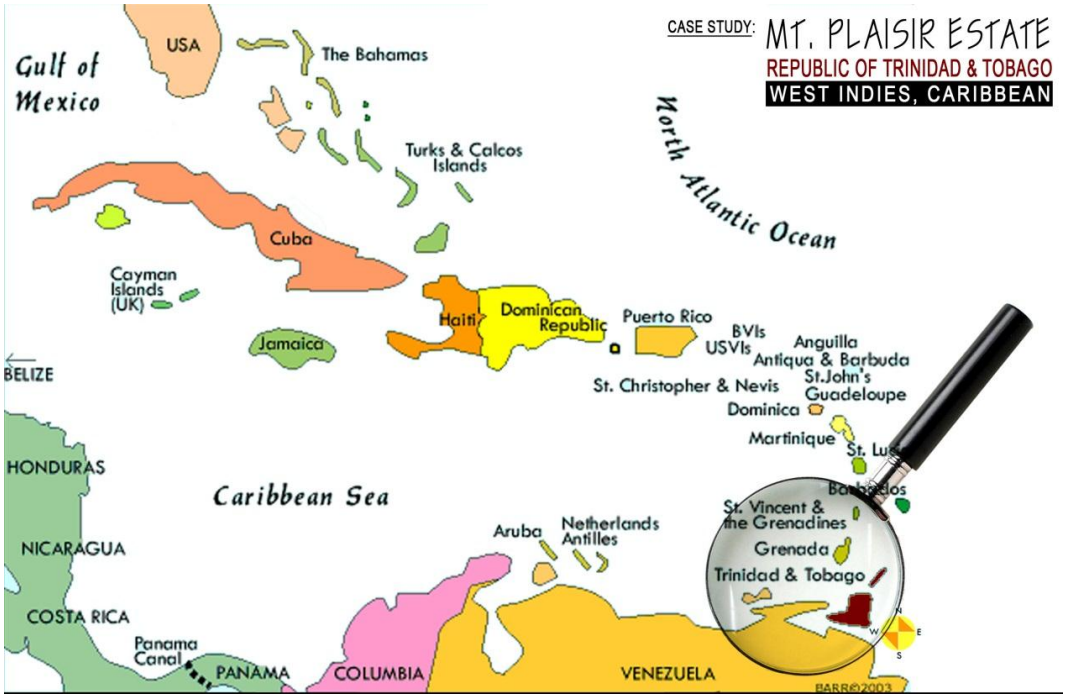


Figure 6.7. The Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, West Indies
Source: After Barr, 2003

6.1.2.1. Historical Background

The early history of Trinidad mirrors that of Dominica as the island was the first stopping point of the tribes moving north from South America. Christopher Columbus, however, only discovered Trinidad in 1498, five years after his “discovery” of Dominica. Unlike Dominica, the Spanish did eventually colonise Trinidad because it was a useful stepping stone to

South America and the search for El Dorado, the mystical city of gold. The Spanish colonists, however, not only had to contend with raids by the local Arawak Indians but also by the British, French and Dutch who tried to seize control of the island (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2011b; Ewbank, 2011).

The British finally succeeded in capturing Trinidad in 1797 and the island became an important sugarcane producer for the Crown. The abolition of slavery in 1837 marked the transformation of the colony. The sugarcane fields were in need of large amounts of labour. Without slaves to work the fields, Britain was forced to authorise an indenture system for immigrants from India, China and Madeira. This mass migration of labourers has heavily influenced the East Indian culture and demographic of the island and made it quite unique within the Caribbean. In 1889, Trinidad and Tobago were amalgamated as a single British colony. These islands gained full independence within the British Commonwealth, as the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago in 1962 (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2011b; Ewbank, 2011).

6.1.2.2. Geography

Key Facts:

- Area: Trinidad 4,828 sq km; Tobago 300 sq km (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2011b)
- Coastline: 362km (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2011b)
- Capital: Port of Spain

Description: Trinidad is the southernmost island in the Lesser Antilles of the West Indies, located 11.2km off the northeast tip of Venezuela, with Tobago sitting just above its north-east corner. Trinidad is bounded by the Caribbean Sea on the north coast, the Atlantic on the southern and

eastern coasts, and the Gulf of Paria on its western coast. The islands once formed part of the mainland of South America and thus the flora, fauna and geology echoes that of Venezuela.

Figure 6.8. Trinidad Map
Source: After Ezilon, 2009

The terrain of Trinidad is composed of three forested mountain ranges (the Northern, the Central and the Southern Ranges), flat central plains, and mangrove swamps along the east and west coasts. Although Trinidad does have sandy white beaches along its northern coastline, it is most famous for its Pitch Lake in the south-west, which is the world's largest reservoir of asphalt (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2011b; Ewbank, 2011).


Figure 6.9. The northwest coastline; Pitch Lake; Maracas Beach
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

Trinidad is closer to the equator belt than the other Caribbean islands and therefore has a year-round tropical climate, with minimal temperature variations. Although Trinidad and Tobago do not have seasons, the islands do have a dry(er) season (from January to May), and a wet(ter) season (from June to November). As a result of these climatic conditions, tropical evergreen forests cover 44% of Trinidad, and 60% of Tobago. The islands are also home to the largest variety of birds and butterflies, as well as the largest nesting population of leatherback turtles (along the north-eastern coastline) in the Caribbean (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2011b; Ewbank, 2011).

6.1.2.3. Society

Key Facts:

- Total Population: 1,3 million (UNDP, 2011a: 163)
- Population per square kilometre: ±246.2 (CCDP, 2009: 4)
- Urban: 14.2% of total (UNDP, 2011a: 163)
- Dependency ratio: 38.3% (UNDP, 2011a: 163)
- Life expectancy at birth: 70.1 years (UNDP, 2011a: 128)
- Mean years of schooling: 9.2 years (UNDP, 2011a: 128)
- Human Development Index (HDI) value 2011: 0.76, high human development, rank 62/187 (UNDP, 2011: 128)
- Multidimensional Poverty Index[47]: 0.020 (UNDP, 2011a: 143)
- Population in multidimensional poverty: 5.6% (74,000 people) (UNDP, 2011a: 143)
- Intensity of deprivation: 35.1% (UNDP, 2011a: 143)

[47] The MPI measures serious deficits in health, education and living standards, looking at both the number of deprived people and the intensity of their deprivations (vulnerability to the effects of environmental degradation) (UNDP 2011a: 5).

Description: Trinidad is one of the most ethnically and culturally diverse islands in the Caribbean. According to the 2000 Census, 40% of the population are of mixed East Indian descent (from the indentured labourers); 37.5% are of African descent (from the west-African plantation slaves); and 20.5%, are of mixed heritage. The remaining 2% of the population are of Syrian/Lebanese, European and Chinese descent (CCDP, 2009: 3). Approximately half of this population lives in the more urbanised and industrialised east-west corridor, which stretches from Diego Martin in the west to Arima in the east (Ewbank, 2011: 17).

Figure 6.10. A famous steel-pan band; Chinese and Indian influenced sweets; Indian Roti, one of the most popular foods
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

6.1.2.4. Economy

Key Facts:

- Currency: Trinidad and Tobago Dollar (TT$). US$1 = TT$6.35
- GDP per capita: US$25,572 (UNDP, 2011a: 163)
- GDP by sector (2010): 1% Agriculture, 59% Industry and 41% services (Breigel, 2011: 2)
- Gross National Income per capita (GNI): US$23,439 (UNDP, 2011a: 128)
- Foreign direct investment net inflows: 3.3% of GDP (UNDP, 2011a: 163)
- Net official development assistance received: 0% of GDP (UNDP, 2011a: 163)

- Remittance inflows: 0.5% of GDP (UNDP, 2011a: 163)
- Public expenditure on education: 5.7% of GDP (UNDP, 2011a: 163)
- Public expenditure on health: 5.7% of GDP (UNDP, 2011a: 163)

Economic Overview: Trinidad has rich resources of oil and natural gas, and therefore has one of the most developed economies, with the highest per capita income in the Caribbean[48]. The energy sector accounts for 40% of the country's GDP, 90% of its exports, and 50% of government revenue. However, given the unpredictability of oil and gas prices, and the finite nature of these resources, the Government has designed a plan to diversify the economy by strengthening the agriculture, manufacturing and tourism sectors.

Manufacturing is the second largest sector of Trinidad's economy, and the island is also the second largest manufacturing centre of the Caribbean, after Puerto Rico. The country produces iron, steel, petrochemicals, cement, ammonia and other nitrogenous fertilisers, urea and methanol. Trinidad also manufactures building components and motor vehicles, and produces a variety of consumer durables from television sets and gas cookers to clothing (CCDP, 2009; Commonwealth Secretariat, 2011b; Ministry of Planning and the Economy, 2011; UNDP, 2011c: 2).

Figure 6.11. Downtown Port of Spain; the new Performance Centre; view over Port of Spain and the multiple building cranes
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

[48] Tobago, on the other hand has a much weaker economy. Lacking natural resources, other than its beautiful beaches, the economy is driven by tourism and public service employment (UNDP, 2011c: 2).

6.2. Tourism and Economic Development Context

The aim of this section is to present an overview of the relationship between tourism and economic development in Dominica and Trinidad. The intention of this analysis is to place the case studies contextually within the theoretical argument of the literature review. As such, the economic contribution and importance of tourism in these countries will be highlighted and compared to both the Caribbean region, and the world. This overview will create the backdrop against which the significance of the case study findings can be evaluated.

6.2.1. Tourism and Development in the Caribbean

The Caribbean has had a long standing relationship of economic dependency on the tourism industry, which Harrison (2007: 919) claims, dates back to before the Second World War, in islands such as Cuba and Jamaica. This region was one of the first in the world to recognise the importance of tourism as a driver of foreign exchange and investment earnings, and to incorporate the sector in national development plans. By the late 1960s and early 1970s tourism was defined in the Caribbean, not as a leisure industry, but as a 'passport to development' and 'engine of modernisation' (Sofield, 2003: 6; Rogerson and Visser, 2004: 2).

The development of the tourism industry transformed the structure of the Caribbean economy, from one that was largely based on small-scale agriculture production, to one driven by private sector, international tourism investment. Although, the absolute size of the tourism industry in the Caribbean is ranked 12th (out of 12 world regions) by the World Travel and Tourism Council (2011b: 3). Its relative contribution to the national economy is ranked 1st (out of 12 world regions), thereby attesting to the region's economic reliance on tourism (WTTC, 2011b: 3). The table below will illustrate the economic impacts of the travel and tourism industry in the

Caribbean in more detail, and will compare these statistics to the global statistics outlined in Chapter 3.2.

Table 6.1. Comparison of the economic impacts of tourism in the Caribbean to the world total in 2011
Source: WTTC, 2011a: 3; WTTC, 2011b: 3

Comparison of Travel and Tourism's Contribution in 2011			
Travel & Tourism	**World**	**Caribbean**	**% of World Total**
Direct Contribution to GDP	US$1,850.0 bn, 2.8% of GDP	US$15,8 bn, 4.6% of GDP	0.85%
Total Contribution to GDP	US$5,991.9 bn, 9.1% of GDP	US$46,6 bn, 14.2% of GDP	7.78%
Direct Contribution to Employment	99,048 mn jobs, 3.4% of total employment	687,000 jobs, 4% of total employment	0.69%
Total Contribution to Employment	258,592 mn jobs, 8.8% of total employment	2,167 mn jobs, 12.6% of total employment	0.84%
Investment Contribution to Capital Investment	US$652.4 bn, 4.5% of total capital investment	US$5.7 bn, 11.6% of total capital investment	0.87%
Visitor Exports Contribution to Exports	US$1,162.7 bn, 5.8% of total exports	US$26,2 bn, 16.7% of total exports	2.25%

Despite the central importance of tourism to the Caribbean region, the industry is only in its infancy in Dominica and Trinidad[49]. The late emergence of tourism on these islands can be attributed to their lack of palm-tree lined, sandy white beaches, and their resultant inability to attract

[49] Traditionally, Trinidad has been the manufacturing and industrial heart of the Republic, while Tobago, with its beautiful stretches of palm-tree lined, sandy white beaches, has been the nucleus of mass tourism development. Trinidad's tourism sector is thus described by the World Travel and Tourism Council as being 'as yet largely unexplored,' while its sister island Tobago is described as 'one of the most tourism-intensive economies in the world' (WTTC, 2005: 4). While tourism's total contribution to the combined GDP of Trinidad and Tobago was only approximately 10.6% in 2009. Tourism contributed 36.9% to Tobago's economic activity; provided employment for 47.6% of the island's population; and supplied 98.4% of direct exports for the island (Ministry of Tourism, 2010: 12)

the ‘sun, sea, sand’ mass tourism developments, that typify the rest of the Caribbean. Tourism has slowly started to flourish on these islands with the growth of the niche nature, eco, and wildlife tourism sectors (WTTC, 2005: 13; CNRI, 2010: 6; Nathan Associates, 2010: 19).

6.2.2. Economic Diversification in Dominica and Trinidad

It is only in the late 1990s, after the collapse of the banana industry severely curtailed Dominica’s foreign exchange earnings, that tourism emerged as a strategy of economic development (European Commission, 2002: 5). The reason that the tourism sector was highlighted as the focus of economic diversification plans, rather than large-scale alternative agriculture projects, is because the narrow coastal belt and mountainous terrain inhibits competitive agriculture production (Ministry of Tourism and National Development Corporation, 2005: 1, 2; CNRI, 2010: 5). This dramatic, lush, forested natural landscape however, is the perfect product to make Dominica a world-class sustainable tourism destination for the modern, adventurous, eco- and nature-loving tourist (Taylor, 2007: 7).

Tourism was furthermore identified, as a valuable and effective strategy for economic development, because of its spin-off effects on other sectors of the economy. As the Dominica Tourism 2010 Policy explains, '*[t]ourism offers a comparative advantage given the limited opportunities available in other economic sectors… Tourism and other economic sectors are inextricably related …Thus the motivation for investing in tourism extends beyond direct benefits in a stronger tourism sector. A vibrant tourism industry can make a major contribution to investment in Dominica by other sectors* [such as infrastructure, manufacturing, production, and agriculture] *and can improve the environment for commerce generally*' (Ministry of Tourism and National Development, 2005: 1, 2).

Trinidad, like Dominica, has only recently targeted tourism in its national development policies as a priority sector for creating sustainable employment generation, economic growth, and local economic development (WTTC, 2005: 4; Ministry of Tourism, 2010: 1; Ministry of Planning and the Economy, 2011)[50]. Despite its diverse culture, lively annual Carnival Mas, and prime location as a stepping stone into South America, tourism in Trinidad is largely undeveloped. The reason, according to the World Travel and Tourism Council (2005: 13), is because government policies have historically sought to limit tourism activity in Trinidad. With the revenues from the oil boom of the 1970s, and the added discovery of natural gas, the Government of Trinidad had no need to promote tourism as a foreign exchange earner.

However, these energy resources are finite. Thus, in a move towards securing sustainable future economic growth, the Government of Trinidad (like Dominica), has turned to tourism as a critical strategy of economic diversification and robust intersectoral development (Ministry of Tourism, 2010: 23; Ministry of Planning and the Economy, 2011: 9, 20). As the National Tourism Policy of Trinidad and Tobago states, *'[g]iven the potential of the tourism sector to create employment, alleviate poverty, earn foreign exchange and stimulate the creation of inter-industry linkages, particularly with the agriculture, construction, manufacturing, sports and other service industries, the Government is committed to the development of a responsible, sustainable and competitive tourism industry as a means of social and economic transformation of Trinidad and Tobago and the edification of its people'* (Ministry of Tourism, 2010: 21).

[50] Trinidad and Dominica are unique within the economic climate of the Caribbean. Where these emerging destinations are trying to diversify into tourism, the majority of the islands whose primary economic reliance has been on tourism for decades (like Tobago) are attempting to diversify into agriculture and industrial production (Ministry of Planning and the Economy, 2011: 64).

6.2.3. The Economic Impact of Tourism Development

The Caribbean, as stated previously, is one of the most tourism-dependent regions in the world (WTTC, 2011e: 2). For the popular islands such as Antigua, Barbados and The Bahamas, it is estimated that tourism's total contribution to GDP in 2011 is 74.2%, 47%, and 47.4% respectively (WTTC, 2011e: 16). When tourism's total contribution to GDP in Dominica of 24.8%, and 7.4% for Trinidad and Tobago (illustrated in the table below), is compared to these figures it would seem as if tourism is not actually of great economic significance in these islands (WTTC, 2011e: 16).

In spite of this apparent evidence tourism is defined by the World Bank as a critical component of Dominica's economy (Nathan Associates, 2010: 17). The Honourable Mr Douglas, Minister of Tourism, explains that the importance of tourism to the economy is its foreign exchange generation, which has not only replaced, but exceeded that of the collapsed banana industry (pers, comm., 20 July. 2011). At its height in 1988 revenue earnings from the banana industry totalled an estimated US$40,370 million, while the total contribution of the fledgling tourism industry in 2011 totalled approximately US$100 million, as demonstrated in the table below (pers. comm., 20 July. 2011; WTTC, 2011c: 3).

The total contribution of the tourism industry to GDP (at 7.4%) in Trinidad and Tobago appears at first to be insignificant, both within the Caribbean region and when compared with the energy sector -- which accounts for about 40% of GDP, with exploration and production generating a further 23% of GDP (Briegel, 2011: 2). Nonetheless, the contribution of tourism to Trinidad is far from minor as the energy sector only provides 5% of total employment, while tourism's total employment contribution is almost double, at 9.7% (as shown in the table below) (Briegel, 2011: 2; WTTC, 2011d: 3).

Table 6.2. Comparison of the economic impacts of tourism in Dominica, Trinidad, and the Caribbean to the world total in 2011
Source: WTTC, 2011c: 3; WTTC, 2011d: 3; WTTC, 2011a: 3; WTTC, 2011b: 3

Comparison of Travel and Tourism's Economic Contribution in 2011				
Travel & Tourism	**Dominica**	**Trinidad & Tobago**	**Caribbean**	**World**
Direct Contribution to GDP	US$0.03bn, 7.5% of GDP	US$1.07bn, 3.8% of GDP	US$15,8 bn, 4.6% of GDP	US$1,850.0 bn, 2.8% of GDP
Total Contribution to GDP	US$0.10bn, 24.8% of GDP	US$2.11bn, 7.4% of GDP	US$46,6 bn, 14.2% of GDP	US$5,991.9 bn, 9.1% of GDP
Direct Contribution to Employment	2,600 jobs, 6.9% of total employment	32,000 jobs, 5.2% of total employment	687,000 jobs, 4% of total employment	99,048,000 jobs, 3.4% of total employment
Total Contribution to Employment	8,700 jobs, 22.9% of total employment	59,600 jobs, 9.7% of total employment	2,167,000 jobs, 12.6% of total employment	258,592,000 jobs, 8.8% of total employment
Investment Contribution to Capital Investment	US$0.02bn, 12.7% of total capital investment	US$0.18bn, 10.5% of total capital investment	US$5.7 bn, 11.6% of total capital investment	US$652.4 bn, 4.5% of total capital investment
Visitor Exports Contribution to Exports	US$0.07bn, 42.1% of total exports	US$0.70bn, 4.1% of total exports	US$26,2 bn, 16.7% of total exports	US$1,162.7 bn, 5.8% of total exports

It is evident from this discussion, that tourism plays a significant role in both the economies of Dominica and Trinidad. The sector has been highlighted as critical to economic development policies in both these countries, due to its capacity to generate both foreign exchange and employment. Moreover, tourism has been identified as being an important engine of economic growth because of its strong intersectoral linkages with other industries (such as manufacturing, agriculture and services). Finally, as a result, both countries identify tourism as a key strategy of providing employment opportunities and economic benefit for local communities, especially those in rural areas (Ministry of Tourism, Industry and Private Sector Relations, 2006: 73; Ministry of Tourism, 2010: 1).

7. Case Study Descriptions

The descriptions of the islands of Dominica and Trinidad have set the scene to introduce the two case studies in more detail. Rosalie Bay in Dominica, and Mt. Plaisir in Trinidad, will be portrayed in the subsequent section according to the themes of the case study criteria set out in Chapters 2.1 and 5.1.

7.1. Introduction to Rosalie Bay Resort

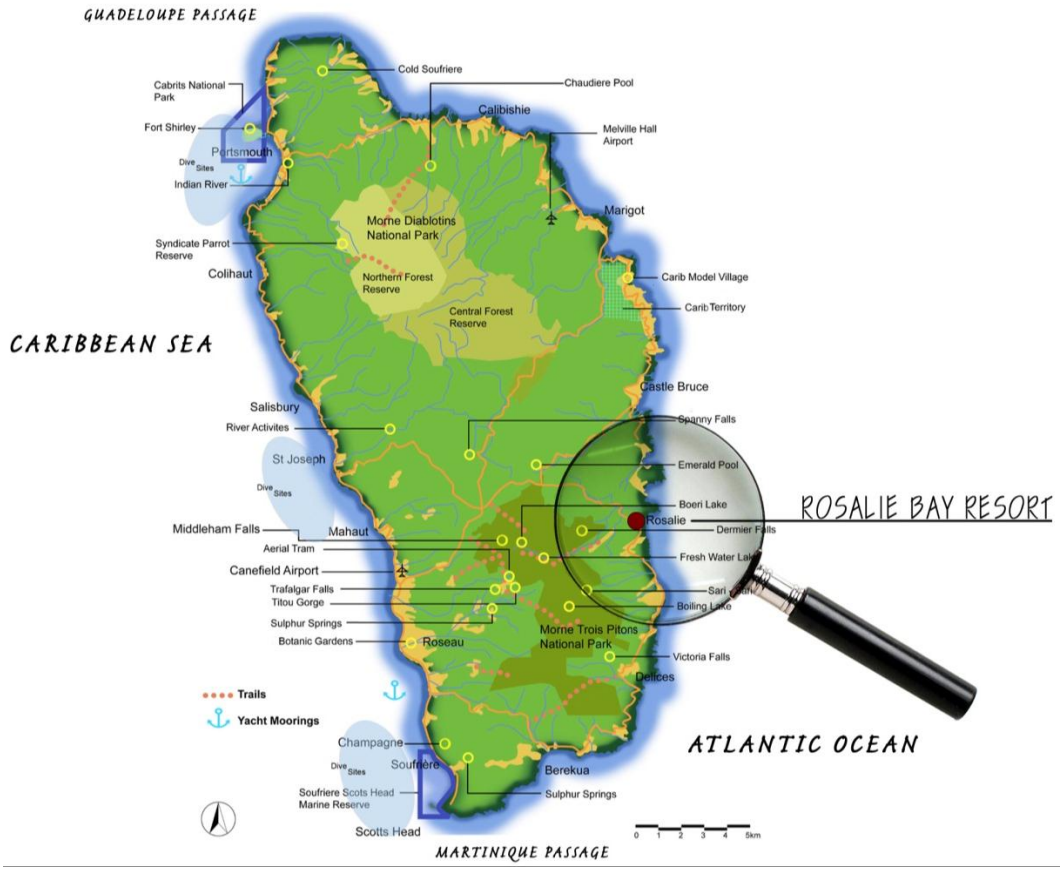


Figure 7.1. Location of Rosalie Bay Resort, Dominica
Source: after Ministry of Tourism and Legal Affairs, undated: 3

Rosalie Bay Resort, in Dominica, is defined as an ‘eco-luxury and wellness retreat’. Rosalie Bay is situated on the southeast coast of Dominica, a 45 minute scenic drive from Roseau, and a 60 minute drive from Melville Hall Airport. The twenty-two acre resort sits in the foothills of Morne Trois Pitons, an UNESCO World Heritage Site, and is described as a ‘tranquil

sanctuary amid the wilds of the Nature Island in the Caribbean. With the Rosalie River to one side and black sand beaches to the other, the hotel's location is unparalleled' (Rosalie Bay, 2011).

Figure 7.2. Clockwise from top left: aerial image of Rosalie Bay Resort; double story cottages; the restaurant seen through the forest; the beach; the restaurant; the ocean-view cottages; and the garden-view cottages
Source: Aerial photograph by Rosalie Bay, 2011, all other photographs by Daniella Sachs

The resort features twenty-eight spacious rooms in nine Caribbean-style cottages set amid lush, verdant gardens. The resort contains a picturesque reception cottage and gift centre, a saltwater pool lined with onyx and surrounded with river rock. There is also a five-star organic-inspired restaurant, a thatched Caribbean-style pool bar, and a 250-sq meter air-conditioned meeting and event space. The wellness facilities include an oceanfront spa, a fitness centre, a secluded black sand beach and many different outdoor meditation spots. Subsequently a gazebo adjacent to the Rosalie River has been constructed for outdoor yoga classes, weddings, events and dining (refer to Appendix B for complete Rosalie Bay factsheet).

7.1.1. Rural Coastal Area Description

Rosalie Bay Resort is situated between Rosalie River and Rosalie Bay, on a portion of the former Rosalie Estate,[51] in the rural St David's Parish. The St David's Parish was defined by the Caribbean Development Bank in 2009 as the third poorest region of Dominica (Kairi, 2010: 62). The high levels of poverty in the area have been attributed to the collapse of the banana industry which had been the main source of income for the rural communities in the east of the island.

Figure 7.3. Built fabric of the surrounding communities of Grand Fond, Riviere Cirique and Petite Soufriere
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

7.1.2. Sustainable Resort Features

The objective of the project fits within the overall theme of this research as 'Rosalie Bay believes that it has a responsibility to use its resources to improve the local environment and well-being of the local residents' (Rosalie Bay, 2011). According to the owner, the aim of developing the project was threefold (pers. comm., 25, 27 April. 2011):

- Protect the environment: by safeguarding the land and the turtle nesting area,[52] that was discovered on it, from mass tourism development;

[51] The land was first a lime and then a coconut plantation, and was later used as a banana packing site (owner, pers. comm. 25 April 2011).

[52] The turtle nesting beach was only discovered after the land was purchased, and this discovery heavily influenced the design of the resort, to ensure that the buildings and landscape lighting would not disturb the nesting site (owner and partner, pers. comm. 25, 27 April. 2011). As part of this process a turtle conservation programme called Rosalie Turtle Initiative (ROSTI) was begun in

- Create a world-class nature resort[53]: by building in an environmentally sustainable manner using as much local materials as possible, and conserving as many trees as possible on the site;
- Empower local residents by boosting their livelihoods: by providing jobs and skills development training to economically uplift the local population from the surrounding villages of Petit Soufriere, Grand Fond, Riviere Ciriques, and La Plaine, who have been economically impacted by the loss of employment and income caused by the collapse of the banana industry in the area[54].

Rosalie Bay Resort can moreover be said to fulfil the following Global Sustainable Resort Criteria:

A.6.1. *Comply with local zoning and protected or heritage area requirements*

An environmental impact assessment report was conducted, and the resort design was approved by the national planning authority (owner, pers. comm., 12 April. 2011; planner, pers. comm., 4 May. 2011).

A.6.2. *Respect the natural or cultural heritage surroundings in siting, design, impact assessment, and land rights and acquisition*

The design intention was to build the resort in a 'contemporary Caribbean cottage style,' and 'laid out like a Caribbean village' in order to blend into

coordination with Wider Caribbean Sea Turtle Conservation Network (WIDECAST) (Sammy, Eckert and Harris, 2008).

[53] The owner clarifies that even though the idea behind the resort was to be as eco-friendly as possible they did not want to call the resort an "ecolodge" or "eco-resort." The reason for this decision was that before the building process commenced they went on a tour of the Caribbean to look at ecolodges and turtle projects. They were most disappointed as they did not see one resort that they felt was truly 'eco' and therefore chose initially to call the resort a "nature resort" (pers. comm. 25 April 2011).

[54] The Caribbean Development Bank, identified the decline in the banana industry as one of the main causes of poverty in their 2008/2009 Country Poverty Assessment of Dominica (Kairi, 2010: pxv, xvi).

the natural and cultural environment. There were two main environmental concerns which governed the placing of the buildings on the site. The first was to ensure that the buildings were set back from the forest lining the beach so that the forest would remain undisturbed. The second concern was to ensure that no lighting spilled onto the beach that could disrupt the turtle nesting and hatching areas. The accommodation facilities and landscape lighting was therefore set back from the beach, and only the spa (which is not open at night) is built close to the beach (owner, pers. comm., 12, 25 April. 2011).

Figure 7.4. The view from the beach towards the Rosalie Bay Resort (and vice versa) illustrating the set back of the buildings from the forest and the beach to help protect the leatherback turtles
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

In addition, the only trees that were cut down on the site were some of the old, tall coconut trees (that would have posed a health hazard due to falling coconuts) and some of the white cedar trees which were thinned out to encourage growth. The coconut trees in the vicinity of the organic vegetable garden were cleared to ensure that there was adequate sunlight for good growth. For every tree that was extracted at least one tree was planted on the site, so that in the end it is estimated that more trees were planted than were removed (owner, pers. comm., 25 April. 2011).

The project also includes the use of replenishable energy resources such as a 225 kW wind turbine and solar water heaters. The turbine, which is the first in Dominica, and the largest in the Leeward Islands of the Caribbean, provides enough electricity (when the wind is blowing) to

power the entire resort. Any excess electricity is sold to Domlec (the official electricity provider) at a reduced rate, and flows immediately back onto the grid. The resort further employs a UV treatment system for the natural spring water which flows by a gravity-fed system from a spring, higher in the mountains to the resort. All waste water and sewerage is treated in an eco-friendly wetland sewerage system, before flowing back as clean, clear water into the river (owner, pers. comm., 25 April. 2011).

Figure 7.5. The Rosalie Bay wind-turbine towering above the forest; and the wetland sewerage system
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

A.6.3. *Use locally appropriate principles of sustainable construction*

As has been stated above, the aim of the project was to use as much local material as possible, which included sand, aggregate, stone, concrete blocks and to a lesser extent wood (sustainable logging laws control the amount of wood that can be provided without damaging the integrity of the forests). The buildings are built out of reinforced concrete block, with a stucco finish, which are not traditionally considered green building materials. However, in the long term it was considered to be the most durable and thus sustainable solution for the buildings are subject to constant sea-spray corrosion, seasonal hurricanes and frequent seismic activity. In order to ensure the buildings could withstand both hurricanes and seismic activity the structural engineering was designed according to the more stringent U.S. Florida Building Codes (owner and partner, pers. comm., 12, 25, 27 April. 2011).

Figure 7.6. Rosalie Bay Caribbean-style cottages built out of reinforced concrete block with a stucco finish
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

A secondary aim of the project was to use the building process to provide employment and skills development training for the communities in the surrounding villages of Petit Soufriere, Grand Fond, Riviere Ciriques, and La Plaine (owner and partner, pers. comm., 12, 25 April. 2011). The owner relates that the inclusion of the local communities during the two year planning process, the eight year construction process and the current operation of the resort has been an integral part of the development.

On the whole the project was built with community support, although the relocation of the traditional beach access route (from along the fronting river of the site, to the backing river of the site) is a bone of contention for some community members (community organisation member, pers. comm., 11, May. 2011; village councillor, pers. comm., 20, May. 2011). Nevertheless, the provision of jobs, skills development programmes, as well as the community outreach programmes of both the construction and operation phases provide an important link to these poverty-stricken communities (village councillor, pers. comm., 20, May. 2011; community organisation member (credit union), pers. comm., 25, May. 2011; staff, pers. comm., 27 May. 2011).

The site could be described in some respects as a ‘brownfield’ site as the natural ecology has been affected by decades of plantation farming. The landscaping design has therefore become an integral strategy to

rehabilitate the natural habitat for fauna, through the use of tropical local flora collected from around the island. The landscape design also re-used and recycled some of the construction waste: left-over waste lumber from the buildings was recycled and turned into lounge chairs by the carpenters. The wood from trees removed on site, as well as the stones dug up during the excavation process, were all used in the creation of landscaping beds as well as to build landscape furniture (owner, pers. comm., 25 April. 2011; skilled construction worker, pers. comm., 27 April. 2011).

Figure 7.7. Landscaping details at Rosalie Bay show the reuse of stones, cut trees, and left-over wood
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

A.6.4. *Provide access for persons with special needs*

All the main facilities on the site are wheelchair accessible (the restaurant has a wheelchair ramp). In addition six ground floor accommodation units (in the buildings named Helliconia and Fuigre) have ramps to allow for wheelchair access.

7.1.3. Construction Timeline

The owner purchased the land in 2000 and initiated the design and construction process in 2001. The construction process spanned eight years, and the resort was finally completed in November 2010. Rosalie Bay had only been fully operational for a couple of months when this research was conducted.

7.1.4. Quality standard

Rosalie Bay has been described as being ‘eco luxury’ and ‘high-end eco’ (Rosalie Bay, 2011; local architect, pers. comm., 6 May. 2011). The resort was not initially planned to be as such, however the previous Minister of Tourism convinced the owners to upgrade the facility to a 4-star resort. His argument was that it would increase the competitiveness of the resort, firstly, due to the lack of high-quality accommodation in Dominica. And secondly, because it would attract the growing number of tourists who want to enjoy nature tourism without giving up their luxury and comfort (owner and partner, pers. comm., 12 April. 2011).

The Honourable Mr Douglas, the Minister of Tourism in Dominica, describes Rosalie Bay as *‘a beautiful example of the type and quality of ecotourism that Dominica wants to promote, it exemplifies luxury being 4-star, uses renewable energy, even the pool is black so that it is heated by the sun. The design and layout, how it is spread out over the site shows respect for the environment; they even push turtle watching and conservation, which is very important’* (pers. comm., 20 July. 2011).

7.2. Introduction to Mt. Plaisir Estate

Mt. Plaisir Estate Hotel is situated in the quiet village of Grande Riviere on the northeast coast of Trinidad, 88 kilometres from the Piarco International Airport, and 116 kilometres from Port of Spain. Situated on the beachfront of Grande Riviere Beach, Mt. Plaisir lies nestled in the foothills of Mount Ju, and the dense rainforest of Trinidad’s Northern Mountain Range. The hotel is described as ‘the only beach wilderness resort in Trinidad,’ and ‘a small oasis surrounded by a lush and untouched Nature’ (Mt. Plaisir, 2011).

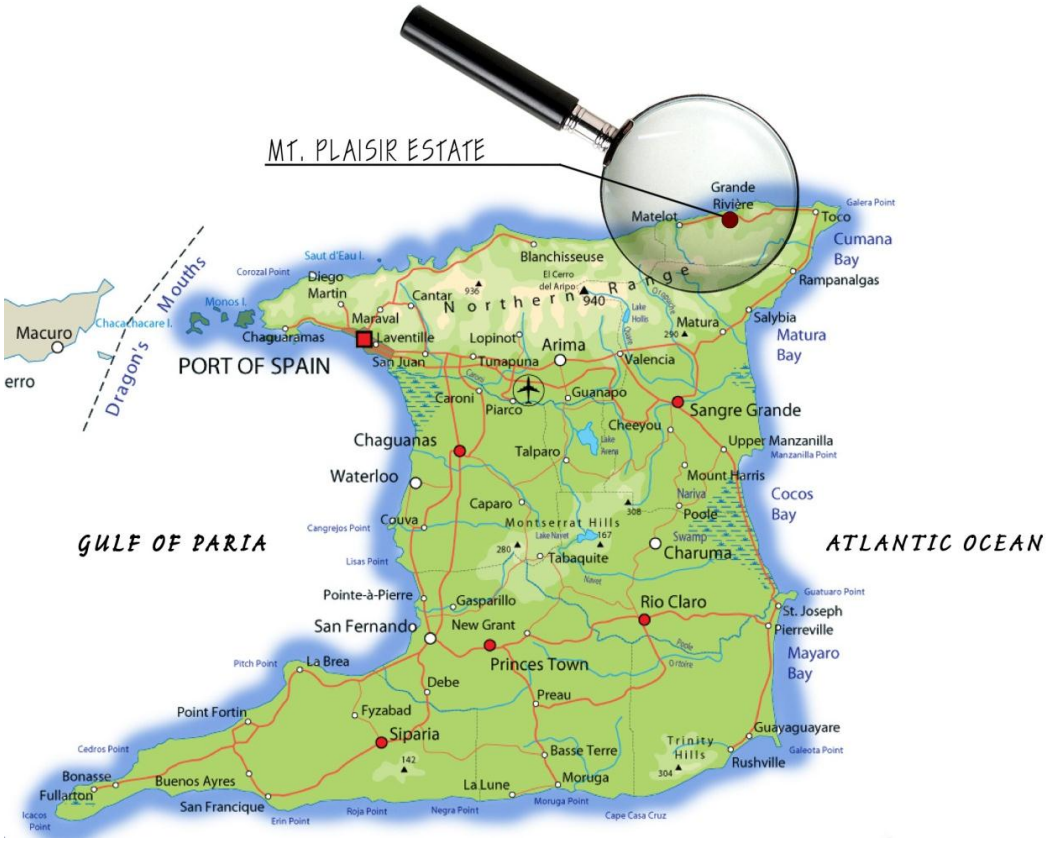


Figure 7.8. Location of Mt. Plaisir Estate Hotel in Grande Riviere, Trinidad
Source: After Ezilon, 2009

The hotel is a renovated cocoa plantation estate house and horse stables, which have been converted into a fourteen room hotel, complete with a beachfront reception area, gallery, eclectic restaurant, almond tree-covered verandas, beach bar and conference facility. The older rooms can accommodate from four to six people, while the new upstairs rooms can accommodate from two to three people. The guests are encouraged to arrange the furniture to suit their comfort as the aim of the resort is to *'relax the mind and pamper the soul… that is our intention. Imagine being stranded in Paradise. We don't cater to volume tourism and will attend to you individually. Our amenities are based on your desires… Welcome to Mt. Plaisir State of Mind'* (Mt. Plaisir, 2011).

Figure 7.9. Clockwise from top left: the old renovated Mt. Plaisir estate house; the old stables with the new addition above; a leatherback hatchling; tourists watching the hatchlings, the siting of the hotel directly on the beach; the covered verandas; the beach bar and the unassuming entrance to the resort
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

7.2.1. Rural Coastal Area Description

Grande Riviere is one of the more remote and poor rural villages in the northeast of Trinidad. It is separated from the rest of the island by the Northern Range, and is the second last village on a potholed and rutted road from Toco in the west (CCDP, 2009; Richards, 2007: 2). The village sits within the county of St. Andrew/St. David which is said to have the highest incidence of poverty in Trinidad and Tobago (Bachan, 2011: 6).

Figure 7.10. Built fabric of Grande Riviere
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

7.2.2. Sustainable Resort Features

Mt. Plaisir fits within the overall theme of this research as the objective of the project, according to the owner, was to protect the natural environment and uplift the local community (pers. comm., 16 June. 2011). Mt. Plaisir is therefore described as a *'…remote retreat for the eco-tourist .... Mt. Plaisir represents sustainable development and ecotourism at its best where guests can enjoy the live nesting of giant leatherback turtles, bird watching and hiking through the dense rainforest. Moreover, this hotel has played a significant role in empowering and training the people of Grand Riviere thus transforming this poor and rural village into a self-sustaining community'* (Bynoe, 2009).

Mt. Plaisir spent two years listed as an "affiliated hotel" with the Green Globe Certification Programme, although a formal assessment and evaluation of the property was never done (Richards, 2007: 5). Mt. Plaisir can moreover, be said to fulfil the following Global Sustainable Resort Criteria:

A.6.1. *Comply with local zoning and protected or heritage area requirements*

Mt. Plaisir Estate was bought by the current owner in partnership with a local businessman, because of foreign land ownership restrictions (community organisation member, pers. comm., 12 June. 2011). The property was originally the estate house and horse stables of the Grande Riviere Cocoa Estate. Diligence has been applied to retain and complement the architectural heritage of the original buildings in the subsequent series of renovations and additions that have happened over the years (Richards, 2008: 3).

Figure 7.11. Mt. Plaisir's character has been retained in the multitude of renovations
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

A.6.2. *Respect the natural or cultural heritage surroundings in siting, design, impact assessment, and land rights and acquisition*

The hotel sits adjacent to the Grande Riviere Beach which is one of the largest nesting sites for Atlantic leatherbacks in the Caribbean. It is estimated that on average 20,000 tourists come to see the turtles annually (community organisation members pers. comm., 12, 13 June. 2011). Certain design considerations have been taken into account as a result of the ecological sensitivity of having a hotel so close to this nesting ground. There has firstly been an attempt to reduce the impact of the lighting on the beach at night, during the leatherback turtle nesting season (from March to August)[55] (owner, pers. comm., 16 June. 2011). Secondly, the scale of the resort has been kept to 'smaller is better,' in order to minimise further impacts on the nesting site (Richards, 2008: 8).

Figure 7.12. A balanced relationship between Mt. Plaisir, the beach and the leatherback turtles is critical for environmental sustainability
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

[55] It is however questionable whether the lighting has been reduced enough, as leatherback hatchlings that hatch close the resort often head towards the hotel lighting instead of towards the sea (personal observation, 2011).

During the hurricane season the ground floor of the hotel often gets flooded by rising tides. It is predicted that these tides will worsen with the impacts of climate change. The owner is therefore planning to build a curvilinear 'breakwater' in front of the hotel, which will be planted so that it blends into the natural environment. This wall will further serve to stop any leatherback turtle hatchlings from mistakenly heading into the hotel instead of towards the sea) (owner, pers. comm., 16 June. 2011).

The original concept was for the resort to be as natural and 'eco' as possible, and consequently no machine-made materials such as glass was used (owner, pers. comm., 16 June. 2011). These rooms were all naturally ventilated by the sea breeze passing through shuttered windows and decorative airbricks. However, with the growing demand for more modern amenities, glass windows and air-conditioning are being installed (Richards 2008: 11).

Figure 7.13. The buildings express the original hand-built design concept of Mt Plaisir the glass louvers however, are a recent addition, the windows used to have wooden shutters
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

A.6.3. *Use locally appropriate principles of sustainable construction*

The Italian owner considered the building process to be an important mechanism to enable the formation of a relationship of trust with the local community (pers. comm., 16 June. 2011). The community have traditionally been described as being quite insular and wary of strangers, and even more so of foreigners (Harrison, 2007). The exclusive hiring of local labour and the use of traditional building techniques has garnered

him the support and acceptance of the community for this project, which was the first tourism facility in the area (community organisation member, pers. comm., 12 June. 2011; owner, pers. comm., 16 June. 2011; construction worker, pers. comm., 17 June. 2011).

The majority of the renovations have been done using local resources, local labour and traditional knowledge, for example, adobe plastering; using beach sand to form concrete; and sourcing local wood 'cut in the new moon.' The local belief is that wood harvested at this specific time will be stronger and more termite resistant. The newest renovation however, has used imported sustainably sourced greenheart and purpleheart wood from Guyana (owner, pers. comm., 16 June. 2011).

Figure 7.14. Traditional building techniques used at Mt. Plaisir include a decoratively coloured concrete floor, adobe plastering, and the use of wood cut in the "new moon" Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

Construction waste during the various renovations has been limited, as the materials are dismantled and reused. The owner explains that, *'the old roof that came down we used the wood. Some of the wood was sold, some of the wood was given as a gift to my employees, and some was used in my farm to build animal barns… so that's the beauty of it, of doing it of using material that can be reutilised somehow … I always sell my old material to people in the area, so many houses in this village are being renovated with material that came down from the roof for example'* (pers. comm., 16 June. 2011).

A.6.4. *Provide access for persons with special needs*

Eight of the fourteen rooms are located on the ground floor, as are all of the amenities including the reception area, bar, restaurant and conference room. The resort can thus be described as being wheelchair accessible.

7.2.3. Construction Timeline

The owner purchased the old estate house in 1993, which was being used as a boarding house at the time. The original house and stables has undergone twelve renovations and additions over the past eighteen years, with more renovations planned for the future. In 2008 the owner, with a team from the local community, constructed a second story (out of greenheart wood from Guyana) on top of the original stable building (owner, pers. comm., 16 June. 2011; construction worker, pers. comm., 17 June. 2011). It is this renovation that was evaluated in detail in the context of the lifecycle of the resort which has been operational since 1994.

7.2.4. Quality standard

There is no official quality rating system for tourism establishments in Trinidad and Tobago. However, I would like to contend that Mt. Plaisir could be rated as a 4-star resort based on the cost per person per night (pp/night) with breakfast, when compared to the 5-star Hyatt Regency, Port of Spain, Le Grande Almandier (the hotel across the road), and Acajou (another resort in Grande Riviere). Mt. Plaisir charges ±US$197/pp/night for the newly renovated rooms; the Hyatt Regency charges ±US$229/pp/night; and Le Grande Almandier, which could be considered about 3-star, charges ±US$109/pp/night. Acajou, which Harrison (2007: 927) describes as a ‘relatively up-market establishment’ charges approximately the same as Mt. Plaisir. And Harrison (2007: 928) further corroborates my assumption by noting that these establishments cater for the wealthier international or regional tourist.

8. CASE STUDY EVALUATION

The two case studies of Rosalie Bay and Mt. Plaisir have been introduced in Chapter 6, with a description of the resorts and their respective islands. The aim of analysing the status of tourism-led economic development on these islands was in order to be able to place the following case study evaluation in context. This case study evaluation has been conducted (and thematically subdivided), according to the analytical framework introduced in Chapter 2, and further delineated in Chapter 4. Please note that the identities of the interviewees have been withheld where necessary for confidentiality reasons.

8.1. Rural communities and limited livelihoods

The objective of the multi-case research study is to evaluate whether the construction phase of sustainable resort development does make a critical contribution to tourism as a tool of economic development, in rural coastal areas or not. Turner (2001: 372) has argued that rural communities have limited livelihood options, and 'are typically starved of formal employment opportunities.'

The communities around Rosalie Bay (Dominica), as well as the community of Grande Riviere (Trinidad) have been described as rural areas in economic decline. Rosalie Bay was formally the banana preparation and packing centre for the surrounding villages of Grand Fond, Riviere Ciriques, Morne Jaune and La Plaine;[56] all of which derived their chief source of income from banana farming. With the decline, and eventual collapse, of the banana industry in the late 1990s, many people in these villages lost their primary source of income (owner and partner,

[56] The collapse of the banana industry did not have as great an effect on Petite Soufriere, as the main source of income in this village is from bay oil production (community organisation member, pers. comm., 23 May. 2011). The community of Petite Soufriere has however been affected both by a decline in the bay oil market and by diseased bay trees (Kairi, 2010: vi).

pers. comm., 27 April. 2011; young construction worker, pers. comm., 30a April. 2011; community organisation members, pers. comm. 10, 24 May. 2011).

The 'irreversible decline' of Grande Riviere (Trinidad) has also been linked to a high dependency on 'mono-crop' earnings, in this case a cocoa industry which began to fail in the early 1970's (owing to tree blight and falling cocoa prices) (Harrison, 2007: 923; Richards, 2008: 6; village elder, pers. comm., 15 June. 2011).

Figure 8.1. From left to right: the old banana boxing plant at Rosalie in a state of complete decay; the old cocoa drying house behind Mt. Plaisir
Source: Photographs (left and centre) by Beverly Deikel, photograph (right) by Daniella Sachs

The collapse of these major employment generating mono-crop industries in these rural communities subsequently created an increased reliance on fishing and subsistence farming for survival (Harrison, 2007: 924; Trewenack, 2010, 14; construction worker, pers. comm., 12 June. 2011). As one village elder in Grande Riviere explains: *'[w]hen cocoa production dropped*[57] *and the cocoa plantation wasn't providing jobs you could live off, well people had a garden then to farm, and others also fished'* (pers. comm., 15a June. 2011). In Dominica, this reliance on farming is seen to be one of the positive benefits of living in the rural areas, because *'although it's not a rich community food is not a major problem. If you live in the country you have your own plot for farming, and you can get fish*

[57] Despite the fact that cocoa prices have improved dramatically, cocoa production in Grande Riviere has not. There remain a significant number of cocoa trees but they are not harvested, as the amount of money earned from selling the beans as an individual is not considered to be worth the 'the huge amount of effort' entailed (villager, pers. comm., 11 June. 2011).

from the river. It's only when you live in the city that you have to have a job there you need money' (owner's partner, pers. comm., 12 April. 2011).

The limited employment opportunities in these communities further produced high levels of rural-urban migration in the search for alternative livelihoods. In the villages surrounding Rosalie Bay people '*moved to town* [Roseau] *to work in Astephans, or other stores, or in security,' 'or as maids…., some diversified and some few stayed in agriculture'* (village councillor, pers. comm., 24 May. 2011; , construction worker/staff, pers. comm., 30 April. 2011). The rate of migration was so severe that it affected the local Credit Unions, '*to give you an example just for La Plaine four or five different households left with an average of five people per family… there were a lot of empty houses, people just boarded them up and left'* (community organisation member (credit union), pers. comm., 25 May. 2011).

The reason for the acute levels of migration, according to a local village councillor, was that the government had failed to replace the banana industry with alternative sectors of production and employment generation (pers. comm., 20 May. 2011). According to the 2008/2009 Country Poverty Assessment for Dominica, the lack of livelihood and employment opportunities in these rural areas has resulted in the 'entrapment of many young people in poverty' (Kairi, 2010, xvii).

Notwithstanding that several public works programmes[58] have been implemented in Grande Riviere to reduce unemployment levels, local community members describe a severe lack of employment opportunities (skilled construction worker, pers. comm., 8 June. 2011; villager, pers.

[58] These programmes include permanent, semi-permanent and temporary employment opportunities in the Sangre Grande Regional Corporation; the Water and Sewerage Authority; the Community Environmental Protection and Enhancement Programme (CEPEP); and the National Reforestation and Watershed Rehabilitation Programme. These jobs are predominantly for un-skilled workers to, for example, maintain roads, clean drains, cut grass and plant etc. (Trewenack, 2010; Bachan, 2011).

comm., 11 June. 2011; villager/construction worker, pers. comm., 12 June. 2011). With the result *'that a lot of people left the village as there was no constant work'* (villager/construction worker, pers. comm., 12 June. 2011). A village elder further clarified that villagers migrated *'both in search of jobs and in search of the opportunity to acquire skills. The problem is as you acquire skills you can't work in Grande Riviere as there is a lack of avenues of employment for those skills, so you have to migrate to use them'* (pers. comm., 8 June, 2011). This problem was identified by a construction worker as being worse for the *youth 'especially 19 and 20 year olds who finish school and leave as there are no jobs in the village. Even if they go to study, Grande Riviere is slow, they can't stay here'* (pers. comm., 11 June, 2011).

8.2. Construction generates employment

This recognition of the need for employment opportunities in these rural areas was described, by the owners of both Rosalie Bay and Mt. Plaisir, as one of the key driving forces for the development of their projects (pers. comm., 25 April; 16 June. 2011). The owner of Rosalie Bay describes how seeing the youth *'sitting on the side of the road with nothing to do, and no means of employment'* impacted on the planning of the construction process. The choice was made not to hire a construction company to build Rosalie, owing to the fact that they would bring their own workers with them. Instead, the owner's partner (an experienced carpenter) took over the project as the main contractor, in order to enable the hiring and training of these unemployed youth under his guidance (owner and partner, pers. comm., 25, 26 April. 2011).

The positive result of planning the construction in this way was that it enabled the employment of an average of seventy-five people from the surrounding villages. Although at the peak of the eight year building process, there were over 104 people working on the site (owner and

partner, pers. comm., 25 April, 2011; staff, pers. comm., 29 April. 2011). Among these workers were many young men from Grand Fond (the closest village to Rosalie), who describe coming to Rosalie straight after finishing high school to *'find a living'* as '*they had no prospects'*, *'only to sit on the side of the street'* (pers. comm., 19, 30a, 30b April; 10 May. 2011). There were so many jobs available it seemed to one village councillor, that '*if anyone really wanted employment, they could find it at Rosalie'* (pers. comm., 20 May. 2011).

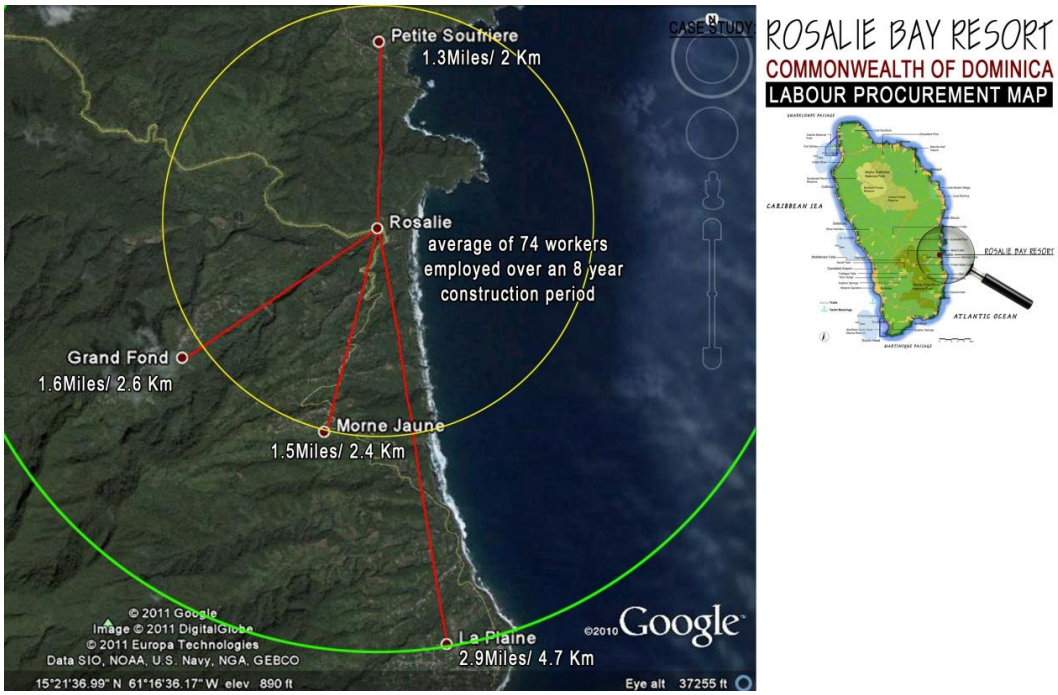


Figure 8.2. Labour procurement map for Rosalie Bay Resort
Source: adapted from Google Earth, 2010

In fact, one observer states that the timing of the construction of Rosalie Bay turned out to be *'a blessing in disguise, a veritable goldmine for the community'*. Not only did it provide employment for *'people with no skills who learnt to use tools and to develop character'* (staff, pers. comm., 27 May. 2011). But the construction of Rosalie, moreover, commenced at the same time as local farmers were abandoning their banana farms (young construction workers, pers. comm., 30a April; 19 May. 2011). A former village councillor describes the situation as follows: *'The decline of the*

banana industry in the 1990s left the community in fear and concern, and with the question of what are we going to do now? Nothing had been identified to replace the industry [by the government] so there was a work crisis in the small population. Opportunities were not readily available so Rosalie Bay came at the right time' (pers. comm., 20 May. 2011).

It is within this context, that one can understand why the employment provided by the construction of Rosalie Bay is described by construction workers, community members, village councillors, and the credit unions, as having a great impact on the surrounding communities of Grand Fond, Morne Jaune, Riviere Ciriques, and La Plaine (pers. comm., 12, 22, 24, 25 May. 2011)

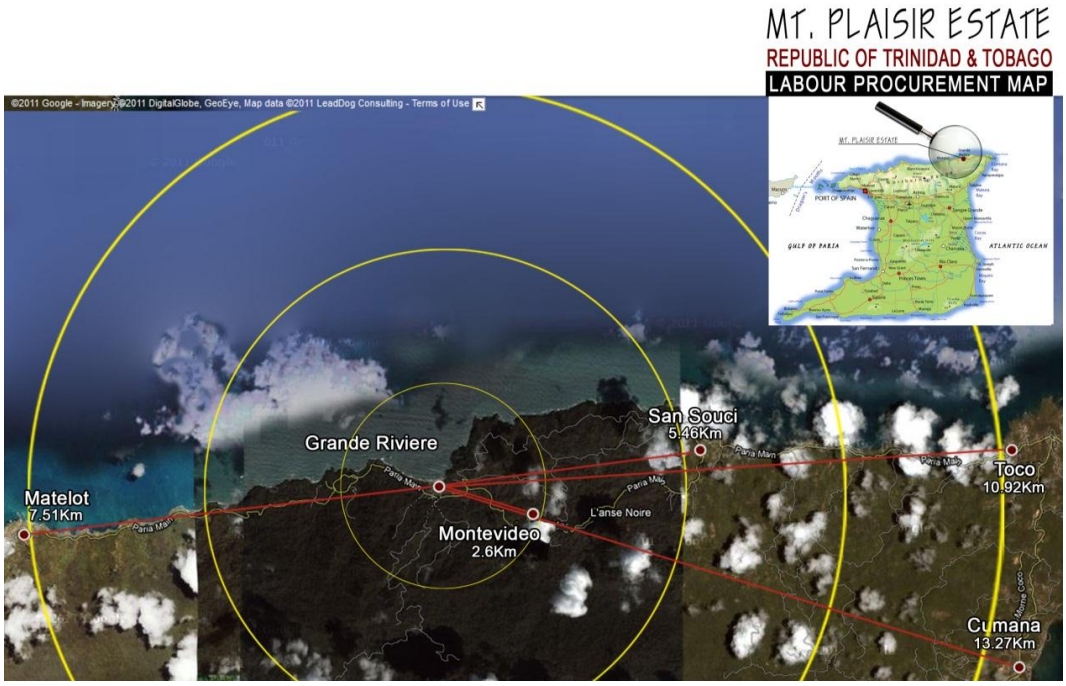


Figure 8.3. Labour procurement map for Mt Plaisir Estate Hotel
Source: adapted from Google Earth, 2010

While the scale of Mt. Plaisir is not nearly as large as Rosalie Bay, its construction process (phased over the last eighteen years) has likewise been described as providing valuable employment opportunities for both Grande Riviere, as well as the neighbouring villages of Matelot and San Souci (villager, pers. comm., 11 June. 2011; community organisation member, pers. comm., 12 June. 2011; construction worker, pers. comm.,

17, June. 2011). As one of the villagers explains: *'when Piero* [the owner] *came he redesigned the place and employed almost everyone who wanted employment'* (pers. comm., 12, June. 2011). It was considered '*easy*' to get a job '*if you were from the village and the owner knew you, as then he might take on more workers than he needed to get the job done faster'* (community organisation member, pers. comm., 11b June. 2011).

The value of the employment generated by the construction process is that it requires a diverse set of skills, which enables the employment of a broad range of workers: skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled. This characteristic facilitated Rosalie Bay's ability to hire (and train) a large proportion of farmers and high school students, without previous construction experience (young construction worker, pers. comm., 30a April; 19, May. 2011; village councillor, pers. comm., 24 May. 2011).

Only an estimated 35% of the workers at Rosalie are described as having previous construction experience, '*but even those learnt new skills as Oscar [the owner's partner] showed them how he wanted things done'* (young construction worker pers. comm. 30a April. 2011). One of the Grande Riviere community organisation members further explains that the nature of construction work is that for every skilled contractor hired, additional work will be created because *'skilled workers generally call two or three guys with them to help'* (pers. comm., 11b May. 2011).

Even though both Rosalie Bay and Mt. Plaisir demonstrate that the construction process generates employment, it has further been observed that the employment created is male-dominated. In the case of Rosalie Bay, only five women were employed during the construction process, out of a total of 104 employees. Four of these women worked on the landscaping team, while one of them cooked for the workers (construction worker/staff, pers. comm., 30c April. 2011). Although no women were involved in the construction phases of Mt. Plaisir, the women staff

members were sometimes involved in small maintenance jobs like sanding or painting (staff, pers. comm., 11 June. 2011; skilled construction worker, pers. comm., 15 June. 2011). While it is evident from this gender split that there are clearly gender issues associated with the construction phase of development, these issues have not been the focus of this study. This is an important topic that will need to be addressed in further research on this subject matter.

8.3. Construction is labour intensive

The previous chapter illustrated, that the impact of construction on employment is a function of whether the construction methods were capital or labour intensive. Both Rosalie Bay and Mt. Plaisir can be described as utilising labour-intensive construction methods. These methods moreover, did not only include using a limited amount of machinery on-site, but also entailed the specification of locally fabricated components and hand-made elements. As Fitchett (2009) emphasises, the use of these locally produced items (rather than their industrially manufactured counterparts) ensures greater local economic benefit and employment creation.

The predominant use of hand-built construction techniques at Rosalie Bay can be perceived as a consequence of the rural location of the resort; the design detailing of the resort; as well as a result of the owner's partner/main contractor's more than fifty-five years of carpentry expertise. The owner recounts that for the first couple of years on site there was no electricity and no water, and thus everything had to be built using hand labour. Even the initial foundations were dug by hand (pers. comm. 25 April. 2011).

Figure 8.4. Early construction images from 2002 showing the hand digging and pouring of foundations at Rosalie Bay
Source: Photographs by Beverly Deikel

In the later stages of the construction process machinery was used, but predominantly only where hand-labour could not be used effectively. For example: an excavator was hired to cut the very deep foundations (which were then squared out by hand), and to help cut the road to the house and the wind turbine, (which would have taken too long to do by hand). A concrete truck was hired to pour some of the slabs which were too big to be poured by hand. And finally, a bobcat was also used, but its main task was to carry water from the river, and to assist in the pouring of concrete (various construction workers, pers. comm. 25, 30a April; 11, 12, 19 May. 2011).

The extensive use of stonework detailing in the ocean-front cottages and the restaurant, as well as surrounding the pool, the plant beds and pathways, were all done by hand. A team of four people was hired to break down the big boulders to make the stones for the foundations. Four specialised masons were hired to dress the stone to clad the walls. A landscaping team was also hired to collect stones around the site and from the beach, to use in the pathways and landscaping details (owner and partner, pers. comm. 25, 27 April. 2011; various construction workers, pers. comm., 30a, 30b April; 12 May. 2011).

Figure 8.5. Images showing the extensive use of stonework round the pool, in path detailing, and for the foundation walls of the ocean-view cottages in Rosalie Bay
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

The main contractor's background in carpentry was manifested in the timber detailing, inasmuch as he took it upon himself to train a group of the young men to hand-build the roof trusses on site, as well as to design and carve the timber railings, banisters, and roof fretwork (decorative timber edging). All the timber doors, cupboards, bars, and some furniture pieces were also fabricated on site. The remaining furniture pieces were crafted by furniture makers in Petite Soufriere and Roseau (owner and partner, pers. comm. 25, 27 April. 2011; various construction workers, pers. comm., 30a, 30c April; 12 May. 2011).

The furniture for all prior renovations and additions at Mt. Plaisir was hand-carved by a local carpenter in Grande Riviere. The owner's initial design concept was to have everything hand-built and to use no machine-made materials, not even glass (the windows are all shuttered). And although in the new addition he was forced to install glass (for the air-conditioning units), the windows and sliding glass doors are all manufactured locally in Cumana (15 miles from Grande Riviere) (owner, pers. comm., 16 June. 2011).

Figure 8.6. Mt. Plaisir sliding glass doors and windows manufactured in Cumana; the use of decorative elements ties the new section into the old section which has a hand-built character
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

What has made the construction process of Mt. Plaisir labour-intensive is not the specification of these hand-built components, but rather more critically, the design decision to use traditional building knowledge and construction techniques. For example, the early renovations utilised a traditional thatch roof over the reception; traditional adobe plastering embedded with stones for the restaurant walls; concrete made with beach sand (rather than purchased construction sand) was used for the flooring; finished with a painted decorative glazed cement, etc. (village elder, pers. comm., 15 June. 2011; owner, pers. comm., 16 June. 2011)

Figure 8.7. Images showing the hand-built furniture and traditional building techniques employed at Mt. Plaisir
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

8.4. Local artisans/businessmen do benefit

The use of these decorative techniques, combined with the specification of hand-crafted elements in both Rosalie Bay and Mt. Plaisir, indicate that Marfurt's (1997) claim that local artisans and businessmen do not benefit from the construction of resorts can be refuted. The use of traditional building techniques furthermore indicates not only the use of local artisans, but the integral part they played in the process. '*Each decision that was made was discussed with them first in order to be able to use their local knowledge.'* And as a result local businessmen in Grande Riviere also benefitted as the wood for all the initial renovations *'was cut following their belief to be cut in what they call a "black moon," in new moon light because apparently it makes it much stronger to termite attacks. So everything was really done with the traditional and local resources'* (owner, pers. comm., 16 June. 2011).

The use of local artisans has also significantly created an investment in the development of a local furniture and carpentry workshop. The owner narrates the story as follows: '*I got so many people who came here who want to buy his furniture after they came here the first time. So we were really going to open up a little company call it like that and do furniture. But then he… went back to Tobago. So then all this machinery remained there unutilised. And there is a gentleman in Cumana about 15 miles from here that has a workshop and he needed all these machines. So what I did I gave all my machinery to him and he could pay me back in work that he was going to do for me. So he didn't pay me for the machines but he has to supply me with doors and windows and furniture and all that…. I would like to help him even more. He is very very busy. He does good work'* (pers. comm., 16 June. 2011).

8.5. Local labour is able to produce to international standards

This story illustrates not only that local artisans have been used, but moreover that their hand-made products are considered to be desirable by international tourists. There is also international demand, according to the owner, for the decorative glazed cement floor finish, '*what was very significant I think is that many people that saw this floor they ask me if it's possible to do one for them because they love it. Even the construction manager of a big hotel in Miami, he wants me to go up there and make a floor like this for them. So it's almost like I invented a new kind of construction and the beauty of this is that it never wears down, in fact it gets more and more shiny the more you walk on it. And this was done the first year we came and I worked minute after minute with everybody to do this'* (pers. comm., 16 June. 2011).

Marfurt (1997) argued that local labour is unable to deliver to the high quality standards of the international tourism industry. What these narratives demonstrate is that not only **<u>can</u>** local labour create something admired by international tourists and tourism operators, but that the imperfect, rough edged, traditionally built element[59] can be an object of desire. These traditional building techniques, with their imperfections, '*informed the design and character of the place'* (village elder, pers. comm., 15 June. 2011). Consequently, the owner claims that '*when you look in to Tripadvisor[60] at present we are considered number two in Trinidad. There are many big properties, places that have huge budgets but people prefer to come here, because they say this place is true- it's not artificial,'* it is authentically Caribbean (pers. comm., 16 June. 2011).

[59] For example, the furniture created by the local craftsman was made out of locally cut wood, which has a rough, grooved, and imperfect finish.

[60] Tripadvisor is a popular internet site (www.tripadvisor.com) which features reviews and advice on all the various elements of booking a holiday including hotels, resorts, flights, etc. Mt. Plaisir at the time of this interview (16, June. 2011) was ranked second to the newly opened five-star Hyatt Regency in Port of Spain, Trinidad.

Marfurt's (1997) argument has also been found to be flawed in the context of Rosalie Bay. This four-star, high-priced resort has been built not only using local labour, but moreover predominantly unskilled labour. International tourists staying at the resort were overheard to exclaim to the owner that the resort was: '*paradise within paradise'*, '*from another world*,' *'I think my plane crashed on the way here and I'm in heaven*' (personal observation, 25, 27 June. 2011, Rosalie Bay Resort).

While the argument is valid that local labour and construction techniques can contribute to creating an authentic resort character that tourists may admire, it has further important ramifications for the community. The use of local labour in the construction process helps to create a connection between the establishment and the community, as the owner of Mt. Plaisir illuminates: '*My whole philosophy is based on the fact of being local and I think that I have been rewarded by the fact that really people does not interfere with me, meaning that I feel protected and I feel like a part of this group of people in this village. The guy across the road used to be my business partner and we always used to have contrasts of how to run the show. And I would say look I want to do this like this, open, this is an open resort, there is no security there is nobody and the people feel more safe here than anywhere else. So I say that is our reward. Ok, we spend more money for construction, we don't get the same quality of work, but that is not really what matters I used to tell him'* (pers. comm., 16 June. 2011).

Community members have agreed that the preferential hiring of locals gained the owner acceptance as an outsider and a foreigner in the rural isolated village, because '*okay look at it this way if he had hired a contractor from outside to come to do the work, I mean first to begin it would have cost him much more, because the contractor he coming from outside will want a certain amount of money. Plus you know he will bring his crew you understand, and none of the money will really be spent in the community. I mean they will come, they will take it, and they will go back,*

you know leave. And him organizing and taking the people from the community, it's good for him because people are saying "okay well you give me something and I can give back something to you"" (construction worker, pers. comm., 17 June. 2011).

8.6. Limitations of local industry

Marfurt's (1997) added assumption that developing countries generally have low technical skills and limited handicraft production, can also be called into question, as these case study data have proven thus far. However, Marfurt's (1997) claim that developing countries are typified by small building industries is valid in the case of Dominica. The only locally produced building materials and components available on the island are concrete blocks, sand, aggregate, stones and to a limited extent wood (sustainable logging laws control the amount of wood that can be provided without damaging the integrity of the forests)[61] (owner and partner, pers. comm., 25 April. 2011; quantity surveyor pers. comm., 3 May. 2011; local architects, pers. comm. 26 April; 3, 6 May. 2011).

8.7. Limitations of local resource use

The initial intention of the owner of Rosalie Bay was to exclusively use local resources in their procurement strategy. However, this limited supply of local materials and components resulted in a high amount of economic leakages through regional and international importations, as the tables below indicate (pers. comm., 25 April. 2011). The tables further illustrate that the use of locally sourced labour has played a significant role in adding to the limited local economic linkages of the material procurement "value chain".

[61] Although a PVC door and window manufacturing company has opened on the island, its establishment was subsequent to the main construction period of Rosalie Bay.

Table 8.1: Material procurement list for an ocean-view cottage at Rosalie Bay, Dominica
Source: Owner and partner, pers. comm. 25, 27 April. 2011; skilled construction worker, pers. comm., 12, 27 May. 2011

ROSALIE BAY OCEAN-VIEW COTTAGE MATERIAL PROCUREMENT			
Component	**Material**	**Local/imported**	**± Cost** (1US$ = 2.7EC$)
Foundations & floor	concrete	International import (USA)	EC$22,000/ US$8,148
Walls	Stone and concrete block	Locally manufactured from cement regionally imported from Trinidad	EC$30,000/ US$11,111
Windows	uPvc	Regional import from Antigua	EC$10,000/ US$3,704
Doors	Wood (front, interior)	Local wood, made on-site	EC$2,100/ US$778
	uPvc (back/seafront)	Regional import from Antigua	EC$850/ US$315
Roof	Corrugated iron on timber framing	International import (USA)	EC$50,000/ US$18,519
Interior	Wooden furniture	Local wood, made on-site and in Roseau	EC$4,775/ US$1,769
	Sanitary fittings and glass blocks	International import (USA)	EC$8,840/ US$3,274
	Appliances	International import (USA)	EC$4,150/ US$1,537
	Lights	International import (USA)	EC$4,752/ US$1,760
Electricals		Bought in Dominica imported from Puerto Rico & USA	EC$10,000/ US$3,704
Plumbing		Bought in Dominica imported from Trinidad, USA, China	EC$7,000/ US$2,593
Air-conditioning		International import (USA)	EC$15,000/ US$5,556
Total Ocean-View Cottage Approximate Material Costs			**EC$169,467/ US$62,766**

Table 8.2: Economic linkages and leakages of the material procurement for an ocean-view cottage at Rosalie Bay, Dominica
Source: Owner and partner, pers. comm. 25, 27 April. 2011; skilled construction worker, pers. comm., 12, 27 May. 2011

ROSALIE BAY OCEAN-VIEW COTTAGE ECONOMIC LINKAGES AND LEAKAGES		
Resource Procurement	**Estimated Total Cost** (1US$ = 2.7EC$)	**Economic Linkage/Leakage (% value)**
Total international imports	EC$104,742/ US$38,793	61.8% (leakage)
Total regional (CARICOM) imports	EC$10,850/ US$4,019	6.4% (partial leakage)
Total locally sourced imported material	EC$17,000/ US$6,296	1% (partial linkage)
Total locally sourced	EC$36,875/ US$13,657	21.8% (linkage)
Approximate Total Expenditure	**EC$169,467/ US$62,766**	**100%**

Figure 8.8. The Rosalie Bay ocean-view cottages, which are the subject of the "value chain" analysis
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

Table 8.3: Labour procurement mapping for the core crew working on an ocean-view cottage at Rosalie Bay, Dominica
Source: Owner and partner, pers. comm., 25, 27 April; skilled construction worker, pers. comm., 12, 27 May. 2011

ROSALIE BAY OCEAN-VIEW COTTAGE (CORE CREW) LABOUR PROCUREMENT					
No.	**Origin**	**Profession**			
		pre-construction	**during construction**		**post-construction**
1	Petit Soufriere	high school student	helper		works in a security firm in Roseau
2	Grand Fond	high school student	helper	carpenter/ mason	carpenter in Grand Fond and sub-contracted carpenter at Rosalie (new apartment)
3	Grand Fond	high school student	helper	carpenter/ mason	maintenance crew at Rosalie
4	Grand Fond	high school student	helper	carpenter/ mason	maintenance crew at Rosalie
5	Rosalie	Farmer/ security	helper	carpenter/ mason/ supervisor	working as mason/ carpenter at Rosalie (new apartment)
6	Grand Fond	carpenter/ mason	carpenter/ mason		working as mason/ carpenter at Rosalie (new apartment)
7	Petit Soufriere	carpenter/ mason	carpenter/mason		carpenter/mason
8	Petit Soufriere	carpenter/ mason	carpenter/mason		carpenter/mason
9	Grand Fond	mason with basic carpentry skills	mason/ carpenter	supervisor	supervisor for construction (new apartment) and runs maintenance
10	Grand Fond	mason	mason	mason	mason
11	Grand Fond	mason	mason		working on construction of new apartment at Rosalie
12	Petit Soufriere	mason	mason		mason
13	Petit Soufriere	carpenter	carpenter		carpenter
14	Petit Soufriere	carpenter	carpenter		carpenter
15	Petit Soufriere	carpenter	carpenter		carpenter
16	Petit Soufriere	steel worker	steel worker		working in Tortola on resort construction

Figure 8.9. Construction of the Rosalie Bay ocean-view cottages, which are the subject of the “value chain” analysis
Source: Photographs by Beverly Deikel

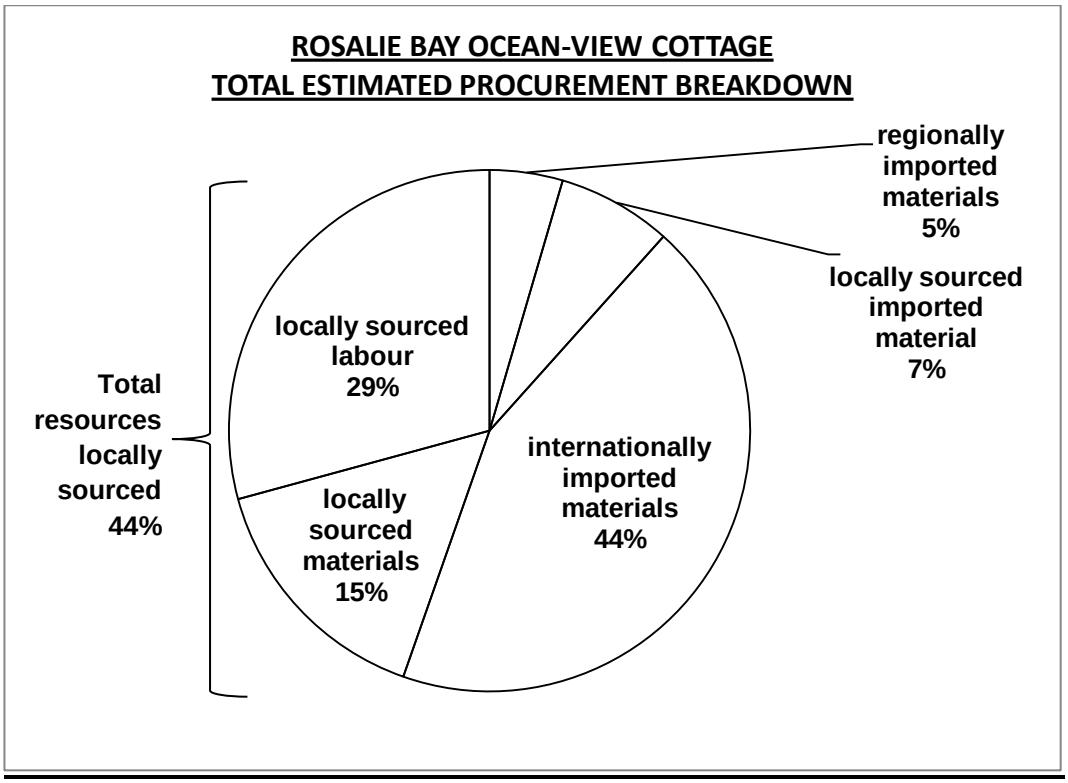


Figure 8.10: Total estimated linkages and leakages procurement breakdown for an ocean-view cottage at Rosalie Bay
Source: Owner and partner, pers. comm. 25, 27 April. 2011; skilled construction worker, pers. comm.,12, 27 May. 2011

It was explained in the case study background section that one of the reasons for choosing a second case study in Trinidad, was in order to interrogate whether the high amount of “value chain” leakages were a consequence of the limited backward economic linkages (limited building supply industry in Dominica). The “value chain” analysis of Mt. Plaisir

illustrates, however, that high levels of importation exist even in a country with a strong manufacturing and building supply industry.

While the initial renovations of Mt. Plaisir were built exclusively using local materials and local wood, the new, second story extension was built using greenheart regionally imported from Guyana. The ‘value chain’ analysis of Mt. Plaisir therefore also underscores the importance of labour procurement in creating local economic linkages, as the tables below illustrate.

Figure 8.11. The new second story extension of Mt. Plaisir, which is the subject of the “value chain” analysis
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

Table 8.4: Material procurement list for the new second story extension at Mt. Plaisir, Trinidad
Source: Construction worker, pers. comm., 17 June. 2011; owner, pers. comm. 20 June. 2011

MT. PLAISIR NEW SECOND STORY EXTENSION MATERIAL PROCUREMENT				
Component		**Material**	**Local/imported**	**± Cost** (1US$ = 6.35TT$)
Foundations (concrete pad)		Gravel, cement, steel, sand	Local - Matura	TT$15,000/ US$2,362
Columns (3 sets)	**plain**	Greenheart wood	Regional import - Guyana	TT$21,000/ US$3,307
	carved	Greenheart wood	Regional import - Guyana	TT$18,000/ US$2,834
Stairs	**frame**	Greenheart wood	Regional import - Guyana	TT$4,000/ US$630
	steps	Fiddle wood	Local wood - Grande Riviere	TT$8,000/ US$1,260
Floor - interior		Greenheart wood	Regional import - Guyana	TT$17,000/ US$2,677
Floor- exterior		Fiddle wood	Local wood - Grande Riviere	TT$10,000/ US$1,575
Walls - exterior		Greenheart wood	Regional import - Guyana	TT$22,000/ US$3,464
Walls - interior		Gypsum with fiberglass insulation	International import (USA)	TT$15,000/ US$2,362
Balustrade	**back**	Greenheart wood	Regional import - Guyana	TT$12,000/ US$1,890
	front	Stainless Steel Cable	International import (USA)	TT$3,000/ US$472
		Greenheart wood	Regional import - Guyana	TT$4,000/ US$630
Windows		PVC and glass	Locally manufactured - Chaguanas	TT$29,800/ US$4,693
Doors		Cedar	Locally manufactured - Cumano	TT$82,500/ US$12,992
Roof	**structure**	Greenheart wood	Regional import - Guyana	TT$25,500/ US$4,016
	finish exterior	Galvanized sheeting	Locally manufactured - Arima	TT$21,500/ US$3,386
	finish interior	Plywood panelling	International import (Brazil)	TT$14,600/ US$2,299

Table 8.4: Continued…

MT. PLAISIR NEW SECOND STORY EXTENSION MATERIAL PROCUREMENT			
Component	**Material**	**Local/imported**	**± Cost** (1US$ = 6.35TT$)
Interior	Wooden furniture	International import (India)	TT$37,500/ US$5,905
		International import (Thailand)	TT$59,000/ US$9,921
		Locally manufactured - Diego Martin	TT$13,500/ US$2,126
	Sanitary fittings	International import (USA)	TT$16,750/ US$2,638
	Bathroom accessories	Regional import - Guyana (Greenheart)	TT$12,500/ US$1,968
		Locally manufactured	TT$2500/ US$394
	Tiling	International import (Spain, Italy)	TT$25,000/ US$3,937
	Lights	International import (USA)	TT$22,500/ US$3,543
Electricals		International import (USA)	TT$42,500/ US$6,693
Plumbing		Locally manufactured – bought in Mayaro	TT$28,000/ US$4,409
Air-conditioning		International import (Japan)	TT$37,500/ US$5,905
Total Second Story Extension Approximate Material Costs			**TT$647,850/ US$102,023**

Table 8.5: Economic linkages and leakages of the material procurement for the new second story extension at Mt. Plaisir, Trinidad
Source: Construction worker, pers. comm., 17 June. 2011; owner, pers. comm. 20 June. 2011

MT. PLAISIR NEW SECOND STORY EXTENSION ECONOMIC LINKAGES AND LEAKAGES		
Resource Procurement	**Estimated Total Cost** (1US$ = 6.35TT$)	**Economic Linkage/Leakage (% value)**
Total international imports	TT$301,350/ US$ 47,457	46.5% (leakage)
Total regional (CARICOM) imports	TT$136,000/ US$21,417	30% (partial leakage)
Total locally sourced	TT$210,800/ US$33,197	32.5% (linkage)
Approximate Total Expenditure	**TT$647,850/ US$102,023**	**100%**

Table 8.6: Labour procurement mapping for the core crew working on the new second story extension at Mt. Plaisir, Trinidad
Source: Construction worker, pers. comm., 17 June. 2011; owner, pers. comm. 20 June. 2011

MT. PLAISIR NEW SECOND STORY EXTENSION (CORE CREW) LABOUR PROCUREMENT					
No.	**Origin**	**Profession**			**Worked at Mt. Plaisir previously**
		Pre-construction	**During construction**	**Post-construction**	
1	Grande Riviere	Mason	Builder	Unemployed due to loss of arm (Piero has offered him a job when he is ready)	yes
2	Grande Riviere	General worker	General construction	Maintenance and construction at Mt. Plaisir	yes
3	San Souci	Special mason	Builder	Moved to Port of Spain, apparently studying	yes
4	San Souci	Mason	Builder	Builder – still working for Piero on the farm and doing odd construction jobs at Mt. Plaisir	yes
5	San Souci	Driver	General construction	Driver	yes
6	San Souci	Unemployed	Assistant	Died in a road accident	no
7	Grande Riviere	Unemployed	Assistant	Unemployed	no
8	Grande Riviere	At school	Assistant	Builder – still working for Piero on the farm	no
9	Grande Riviere	Plumber	Plumber	Plumber	no
10	San Souci	General worker	Assistant	Unemployed	no

Figure 8.12. Construction of the new second story extension of Mt. Plaisir, which is the subject of the “value chain” analysis
Source: Photographs by Piero Guerrini

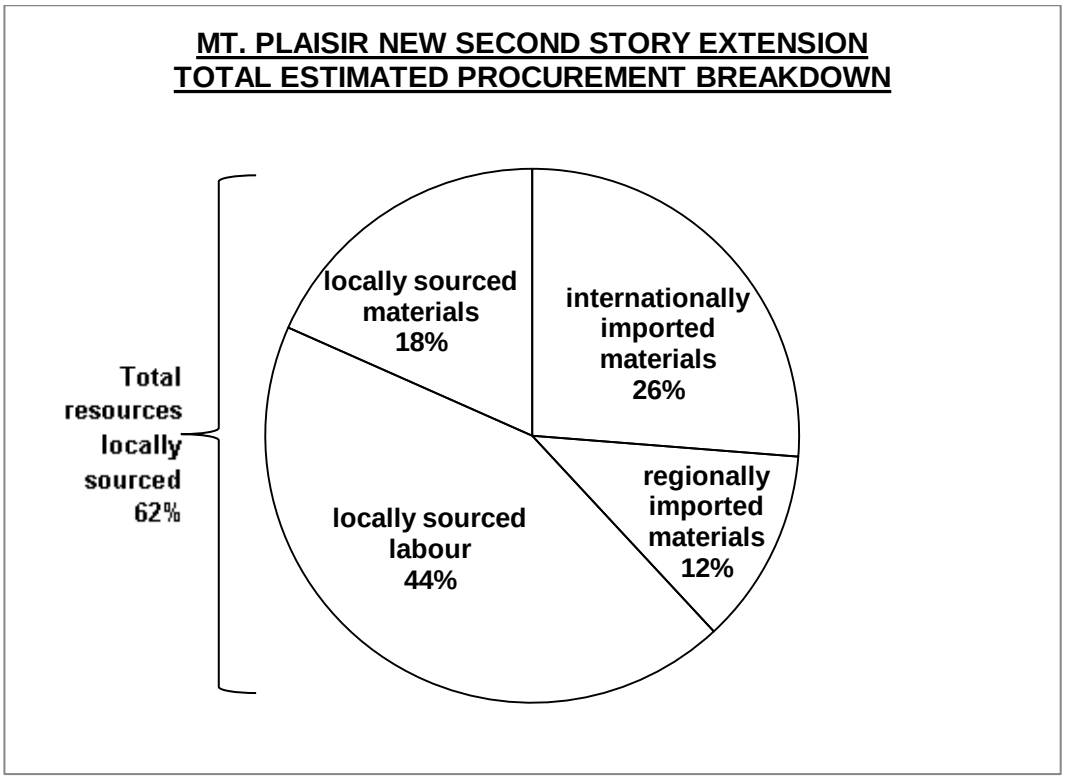


Figure 8.13. Total estimated linkages and leakages procurement breakdown on the new second story extension at Mt. Plaisir, Trinidad
Source: Construction worker, pers. comm., 17 June. 2011; owner, pers. comm. 20 June. 2011

8.8. Requirements of importation

The reasons cited for the use of imported wood and furniture in the new second story extension of Mt. Plaisir, were durability, quality, and cost effectiveness. The owner describes how when he built the conference room and bar that *'it was very difficult having things not lining up, with this wood not being straight. So I learned my lesson and over there decided to do it with the imported greenheart besides for the fact it was much more durable and resistant.'* This durability is assigned to its natural strength and termite resistance

The imperfect quality of the local wood was also cited as a key motivation, '*most important I think is the fact that the quality of the cut that you get from the Guyanese wood is by far much better than the cut that you get from the local wood here, You see the people that cut local wood here, they use those hand-held power saw with a cage, we call it gable. So basically you cut, you slice the wood in the forest, the wood is not dried properly the machine is not supersized and the cut is not so smooth.'* The local wood moreover, only comes in certain sizes, which means that *'even if the local wood costs less, you have much more waste and they don't give the same durability so it becomes uneconomical'* (owner, pers. comm., 16 June. 2011).

The design detailing of the new extension further influenced the wood selection, since the span of the beam required was 20 feet (6m), and the owner claims that '*people here don't cut wood longer than 12 or 14 feet… so there was no real choice. No one will cut here locally with that length because since they cut green trees, or trees that are not fully dried, if you cut such a long piece of wood it would take a curve, it will bend dramatically'* (pers. comm., 16 June. 2011).

Structural design considerations can further be seen to have influenced the material procurement process of Rosalie Bay. However, in the case of

Rosalie Bay the implications of designing according to the U.S. Florida building codes for hurricane and seismic activity resulted in the use of local materials by default. Initially the owner had wanted to build wooden cabins, which would have required the use of imported wood because of the limited local supply available. The structural requirements of the building codes resulted in the design being changed, which enabled the use of locally manufactured concrete blocks (owner, pers. comm., 25 April. 2011).

Durability, quality and cost effectiveness were also cited as key reasons for importing goods that could have been sourced locally. For example, an attempt was made by the owner to source local light fittings, but the prices supplied by local craftsmen, including those in the Carib Territory, were too high to be affordable in a project of this scale. A local light made of bamboo or woven reed was priced at more than double that of a more durable imported fitting. It was further claimed, by the owner, that certain elements such as: treated pine, linen, lamps, crockery, cutlery, taps, ironmongery, toilets, basins, granite, bathroom accessories, light fittings and corrugated steel, could not be sourced from within the CARICOM region to the standard of quality desired (pers. comm., 12, 25, 27 April. 2011).

A local quantity surveyor has explained that the high levels of importation can also be attributed to the government's tourism investment incentives. *'The investment incentive of duty free on importing materials for development means that importing materials is not so expensive, and sometimes imported materials will be cheaper and of a higher quality than local materials'* (pers. comm., 3 May. 2011). The tourism development agencies of both Dominica and Trinidad award exemptions from custom duties on building materials, furniture and fittings, operation vehicles, machinery and equipment for the construction of tourism facilities (Invest Dominica Authority, undated; Ministry of Tourism, undated).

8.9. Significance of construction vs. operation benefits

It can be ascertained that the economic development impact of the construction process is severely curtailed by this extensive use of imported materials. Although the “value chain” analysis has demonstrated the importance of locally sourced labour in enhancing local economic impacts, it has been argued by Marfurt (1997) and some tourism investors and developers that the employment created is negligible when compared to that of the operation of the resort (personal communications, 13, 17, 18 August. 2010; 6 September. 2010; 2, 27 October. 2010; 23 February. 2011 et. al.).

Rosalie Bay community members dispute this argument. They assert that the construction phase has had a much greater impact than the operations phase as it employed significantly more people from the surrounding villages (young construction worker, pers. comm., 19 May. 2011; village councillors. comm., 22 May. 2011; community organisation members (credit union), pers. comm., 23, 25 May. 2011) While it has been recognised that the impact of the operations phase will increase with time (it had only been in operation for 6 months at the time of this research, versus the eight year *construction phase*). This will not necessarily create employment for the local communities because ‘*the operations phase doesn’t only employ people from the area but also from other areas. So it is not only locals’* (village councillor, pers. comm., 22 May. 2011).

It has been suggested by the local Credit Union, that on a long term basis the operation of Rosalie Bay may have a greater economic impact due to the permanent basis of employment (pers. comm., 25 May. 2011). The study of Mt. Plaisir demonstrates however, that employment in the operation of a resort is not always permanent or reliable, due to the highly seasonal nature of the tourism industry (village elder, pers. comm., 8 June. 2011; Community organisation members, pers. comm., 11a, 11b, 12 June. 2011; construction workers, pers. comm., 12, 17 June. 2011 et. al.). As

such '*the managers, waitresses, kitchen staff and housekeepers only have work during the busy season,'* which is during the six month leatherback turtle nesting season (construction worker, pers. comm., 17 June. 2011). '*During the low season even the permanent hotel staff have to look elsewhere for work'* (staff, pers. comm. 11 June. 2011).

A villager describes the difficulty of the situation as follows: *'If there are no guests then he don't hire people to work, it is an up and down thing…So after it* [the turtle season] *ends you have to find yourself doing something else which is tough'* (pers. comm., 11 June. 2011). Bachan (2011: 17) further elucidates that '[o]utside of Turtle season employment drops to around 31% and residents are forced to find alternate income sources'.

Even though the operation of Mt. Plaisir provides for the employment of approximately twenty people, this is only temporary employment for six months of the year, on average (community organisation member, pers. comm. 11c June. 2011). In juxtaposition, the impact of the construction process is considerable, as it entails an on-going, continuous process of maintenance, refurbishments, renovations and additions (construction workers, pers. comm., 12, 15, 17 June. 2011; owner, pers. comm. 16 June. 2011). There is *'always something that needs building or fixing. With the constant use of the people coming and going, and coming and going, there is always something that goes wrong, something that needs fixing, building over and things like that'* (construction worker, pers. comm., 17 June. 2011). The corrosive coastal environment has moreover been attributed with heightening the amount of maintenance required as *'the problem with the sea spray is it rots the wood'* (village elder, pers. comm., 15 June. 2011).

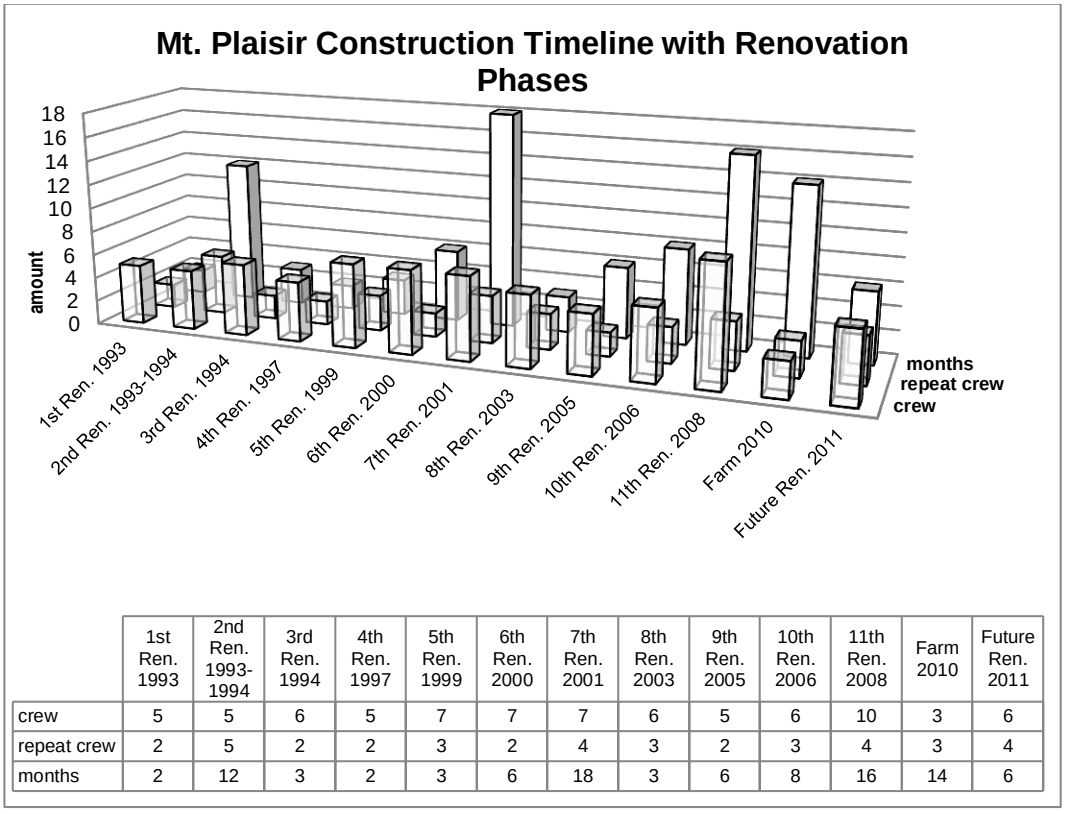
For the construction workers the slow tourist season is of benefit, as it gives them the time to: '*address the problems we encounter during the season… I mean, there might be probably rotten board or galvanized or*

something to be changed… We need to paint you know and things like that, brighten up the building, change all the lights you need to change and things like that. So the place closes down, that's what is being done' (construction worker, pers. comm., 17 June. 2011).

All alterations and additions are also planned to take place during this period, so as not to disturb the guests. The owner describes how '*towards the end of July its starts to become very slow here. We do upgrading and maintenance, redecoration. There is always work going on, every year we do something else. Even this year there will be quite a lot of work to do. I want to renovate this room upstairs, I want to make a nice gallery here, changing all those ugly pavers, I want to finish the fence, I want to refinish the garden, and I want to finish the rooms… and build a wall that will be curved specially to send back the water and will also be used as a planter to put plants all along, that is one of the big projects I have for the off season'* (pers. comm., 16 June. 2011).

Significantly, one of the alternative sources of income identified for the operations staff during the slow season is provided by this maintenance process (community organisation members, pers. comm., 11a, 11b, 11c, 12, owner, pers. comm., 16 June. 2011). One of the operations staff explains that *'the tourism low season is from October to about February, during this time the staff get one month vacation and then work maybe five days every fortnight, sometimes, only if there are tourists.'* They are paid to do maintenance until work picks up again like painting, varnishing and fixing, however even though *'the maintenance work provides jobs it's not every year. Last year there was no maintenance work so we had to stay home. Some of the staff were out of work for four or five months and some resigned because of this, they needed a steady income*' (pers. comm., 11 June. 2011).

Thus, while the seasonal nature of tourism in Grande Riviere creates economic difficulties for the staff, the continuous maintenance, refurbishment and renovation that ensues in this period creates a constant means of employment for those in the construction industry. The various phases of construction have provided approximately ninety-nine months of construction work (excluding the year-round maintenance work), and seventy-eight jobs (excluding temporary helpers or external contractors) over the eighteen year life-cycle of the hotel, as the figure below illustrates.



	1st Ren. 1993	2nd Ren. 1993-1994	3rd Ren. 1994	4th Ren. 1997	5th Ren. 1999	6th Ren. 2000	7th Ren. 2001	8th Ren. 2003	9th Ren. 2005	10th Ren. 2006	11th Ren. 2008	Farm 2010	Future Ren. 2011
crew	5	5	6	5	7	7	7	6	5	6	10	3	6
repeat crew	2	5	2	2	3	2	4	3	2	3	4	3	4
months	2	12	3	2	3	6	18	3	6	8	16	14	6

Fig. 8.14: Mt. Plaisir employment and construction timeline
Source: Owner, pers. comm., 16 June. 2011; construction worker, pers. comm., 17 June. 2011

What can further be extrapolated from the above figure diagram is the understanding that construction often happens in phases. Mt. Plaisir was '*started small as a rough build business',* established on a tight budget (community organisation member, pers. comm., 12 June. 2011). The resort has expanded incrementally over the years as, *'financially you don't*

build everything in one shot, you build bit by bit… you need to accumulate capital each time before you can extend' (construction worker, pers. comm., 17 June. 2011).The hotel has also expanded as popular demand and need have arisen, as the owner further elaborates, *'I built six more rooms to see if I could satisfy the demand. Even now I would have to build possibly ten rooms extra. In the busy time … all the weekends those rooms would be booked'* (pers. comm., 16 June. 2011).

This expectation of popular demand resulted in the expansion of Rosalie Bay even before the completion of the first phase of the project. '*We started with wanting to build twelve units and ended up with twenty-eight… The original intention was to build the first phase of the project, expanding only once the need arose, but the Minister of Tourism…he convinced us to build the second phase of development before opening'* (owner and partner, pers. comm., 12 April. 2011). The construction process has further continued subsequent to the opening of the resort with the construction of an apartment next to the main house, and a yoga/event gazebo. The construction of a house for the chef, a presidential suite, and additional units are also planned for the future (owner and partner, pers. comm., 12 April. 2011; skilled construction worker, 27 May. 2011).

It is clearly evident from these case studies that the construction process is an on-going phenomenon. As a consequence, the economic impact of the phase is not the insignificant, short-lived, once-off and temporary event suggested by some tourism investors and developers (personal communications, 13, 17, 18 August. 2010; 6 September. 2010; 2, 27 October. 2010; 23 February. 2011) Construction and its economic impact does not end once the resort opens for business but continues (albeit at a lesser scale) over the lifespan of a resort in the constant maintenance, refurbishments, renovations, and expansions.

In addition, the development of Mt. Plaisir has been attributed with catalysing the establishment of further hotels-- *'they bought the land from Piero to build their hotels, Piero gave them the idea that, yes this can work here, a hotel could work in Grande Riviere'* (construction worker, pers. comm., 17 June, 2011). The argument is thus made by a variety of community members, that the construction of Mt. Plaisir contributed to further economic development in the locale, as it resulted in the creation of additional construction work with the building of McEachies Haven in 1999, Grande Almandier in 2000 (with a second phase in 2010), and Acajour in 2004 (villagers pers. comm., 11, 15 June. 2011; community organisation members, 12, 13 June, 2011; construction workers, pers. comm. 12, 17 June. 2011).

Figure 8.15. Grande Almandier Hotel and second phase condo development; Acajour construction of a new reception and office area
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

8.10. The nature of construction employment

The case study of Rosalie Bay furthermore demonstrates that the employment generated by the *construction phase* is not necessarily temporary, but carries over into the *operations phase* of development. Approximately 57% of the construction workers on the project have been retained full-time, as either maintenance staff, landscaping staff, or have been trained to do other jobs such as bartending, cooking, waitressing, and housekeeping. These construction workers comprise 50% of the total operations staff (owner and partner, pers. comm., 25, 27 April. 2011; staff, pers. comm., 29 April. 2011).

Conversely, in the context of Mt. Plaisir the employment generated by the continuous construction process can be defined as temporary, as '*most of the time you have different people working, as those that worked before may have other jobs, so whoever is available at the time will work'* (construction worker, pers. comm., 17 June. 2011). It has therefore been argued, by some community members, that the construction process has not had a meaningful impact, but this critique is applied not only to the construction of Mt. Plaisir but to the construction industry in general, which '*does not provide a steady flow of work all the time,'* (village elder, pers. comm., 8 June. 2011) and *'is not really basic employment that can sustain anyone… like you know [give] a decent life'* (skilled construction worker, pers. comm., 8 June. 2011). Because *'as a builder you must be used to having jobs that are temporary and short term, you must be used to always looking for your next job'* (villager, pers. comm., 11 June. 2011).

At the same time the economic environment of Grande Riviere is recognised as being '*slow, business here can be real slow you know... But now and then you know something might come in and then you have an opportunity maybe to live comfortable for two months, three months'* (skilled construction worker, pers. comm., 8 June. 2011). Because there is '*no constant employment, living in Grande Riviere you can't have one job only'* (villager, pers. comm., 11 June. 2011). *'In the village you need multiple skills. You need skills to make money.'* (skilled construction worker, pers. comm., 8 June. 2011).

Within this context the temporary employment provided by Mt. Plaisir contributes significantly to the supplementary income that many people rely on. As one construction worker explains further, '*both fishing and construction are a main source of income, as sometimes there is no work, and sometimes no fish, so they choose to do maintenance to supplement their income' (pers. comm., 12 June. 2011).*

Being able to access temporary, short-term employment moreover proved critical to one community member who found himself in debt. He arranged with the owner to work as a helper, carrying things and passing things, until he had enough money to pay off his debt and then he left (community organisation member, pers. comm., 11c June. 2011). Another community organisation member recalls that when he was fourteen or fifteen years old, he and five friends would do minor work at Mt. Plaisir during the school holidays such as sanding and painting. He used to earn TT$75 for six hours and he saved the money and used it during the year as pocket money (pers. comm., 11a June. 2011). Other '*kids were employed in the holiday time to pick up plastic, so in this way Piero* [the owner] *even helped the kids so that they had pocket money to buy shoes'* (construction worker pers. comm., 12 June. 2011).

What can be concluded from these descriptions is that even temporary employment has the ability to impact on people's lives, *'because they need the extra money in their pocket, even if it's only for a time'* (community organisation member, pers. comm., 11b June. 2011). *'It wasn't a big amount [of jobs], but it means ok half a loaf of bread is better than none at all you know… without the construction there would be some of the people who doesn't have a permanent job, I mean they would be without a job. What the construction did was create jobs for them, which in other words was good for the community. Because if you living in Grande Riviere, and if you earn money in Grande Riviere, then you can spend money in Grande Riviere, so it was good basically for the people who worked and also for the community'* (construction worker, pers. comm., 17 June. 2011).

A similar observation has been made in the communities surrounding Rosalie Bay. They describe the employment created by the construction process as having a decisive impact on uplifting the community as, '*a lot of people were unemployed and now could support their families, and a lot of*

ladies who were unemployed and dependent on their husbands or boyfriends became independent' (community organisation member (credit union), pers. comm., 30 April. 2011). In addition, '*people were struggling economically so when they got employed here they could afford to send their children to school, their living conditions became more stable'* (young construction worker, pers. comm., 19 May. 2011).

According to the South East Credit Union, *'the income earned from the construction process helped to boost the savings of people and helped them to meet their financial commitments and support their families that they used to meet working in the banana industry'.* More importantly, '*the jobs it provided gave people the ability to request loans. If you can prove you have a regular income for a secure period of time you can request a bigger loan. Not major loans for major assets, but loans to buy small appliances, to pay for healthcare for travelling, for education'* (pers. comm., 25 May. 2011).

It is significant that the perception of what constitutes a positive and substantial impact is dependent on the specific economic environment, and accompanying development context. Correspondingly, the definition of what constitutes 'temporary employment' can also be variable in the eyes of the community, as the following coinciding explanations indicate: *'it's difficult to get jobs in Dominica, so people realized this was a good opportunity, and a good project, because they knew it would be a long-term job to have a sure salary for two years. No one realized the scale would be so big or that it would take eight years'* (skilled construction worker, pers. comm., 27 May. 2011). '*At the time it was the only project so everyone wanted to come work here, a lot of people wanted jobs… because the work was long-term, people didn't know it would take eight years* (construction worker/staff, pers. comm., 30 April. 2011).

Undoubtedly, from the community perspective, the provision of employment at Rosalie can be seen to have had a valuable and considerable economic impact. It has been noted, however, that an economic increase is not the only indicator of economic development, but that this term is moreover tied to notions of quality of life, and human dignity. According to one village councillor, the *construction phase* of Rosalie Bay has *'done more than just provide gainful employment, it has lifted the confidence of the young and given them new skills,'* and *'lifted their self-esteem'* (village councillor, pers. comm., 20 May. 2011). It is further described as improving their social prospects, for 'i*f you are employed you are more likely to get a girlfriend and build social relationships, so the jobs at Rosalie empowers the young men'* (community organisation member (credit union) pers. comm. 25 May. 2011).

The construction process is claimed to have also improved the quality of life in the villages, inasmuch as after the collapse of the banana industry *'resources were scarce… and people were angry,'* the *'employment and income* [created by Rosalie's building] *made people more tolerant, more pleasant, more giving'* (community organisation member (credit union) pers. comm., 25 May. 2011).

Construction resources have also been used to improve the physical environment of the villages. On Merchant Holidays, for example, *'when the community has a day of service, when they come together to do activities for the benefit of the community such as roads, drainage construction and fixing, to reduce hazards and mosquitoes and increase accessibility. For this they received assistance from Rosalie Bay in the form of concrete mixers and learnt how to use them'* (village councillor, pers. comm., 20 May. 2011). In addition, '*any excess materials, they* [those employed in the construction process] *could take to build rooms for themselves. Also they*

could borrow things like plywood for the construction of their own projects' (skilled construction worker, pers. comm., 27 May. 2011).

8.11. The importance of skills development training

From these findings, it can be argued that Rosalie Bay did not contribute only to economic growth in the surrounding communities, but also to economic development. This argument is further strengthened when the skills development component of the project is explored in more detail. This *'opportunity to engage in learning construction and building skills ensured ability gain, and that the employment was sustained'* (village councillor, pers. comm., 20 May. 2011).

There is an abundance of stories that illustrate this development of skills, and the subsequent creation of alternative livelihoods for previously unskilled workers. The following narrative by one of the young construction workers is one such example. '*Before working at Rosalie Bay I was at school in Castle Bruce, but there was only farming for me there because my family are farmers... So I came here with three friends and we spoke to Mr Oscar and told him we were interested in learning a trade and he taught us carpentry… We started at the foundations and worked until the roofs… I left September last year when the construction was basically finished, and went to work with a partner in a workshop in Grand Fond, building roofs for people and cupboards … I came back here last week when Mr Oscar sent for me to do the carpentry for the apartment, to be in charge of the railings, wardrobes, roofs and cupboards and so on'* (pers. comm., 30b April. 2011).

As a result of this development of skills, the earning capacity of these young men has increased dramatically. Initially they started earning

EC$40-55/day[62] as helpers and unskilled labourers. As skills were acquired this salary increased to EC$80-90/day. As more experience or management skills were acquired the salary increased further to EC$100/day. Subsequently, with the completion of Rosalie and the extensive experience gained, these young men who had *'little prospects of earning a living'* have developed the capacity to earn EC$150-200/day as skilled craftsmen and masons (owner and partner, pers. comm. 25 April. 2011; construction workers, pers. comm., 12, 19, 27 May. 2011).

The range of different skills developed furthermore demonstrates Fitchett's (2009) observation that the nature of building entails a variety of skills which facilitates job diversification. One of the young construction workers recounts how in addition to the carpentry training he received under the main contractor, he also learnt: stucco and concrete floor-staining, tiling, glass block masonry, plumbing installation, window and door installation, painting, stonework and electrical conduiting, among other skills (pers. comm., 30a April. 2011).

Having multiple skills in different fields improves a person's employability, because, as the owner's partner, the main contractor states, *'if you are a specialist only in one thing you can be dismissed as soon as your one small job is finished. But if you are versatile you will be kept on at the same salary which is an important thing for men working. If you are versatile you will usually be employed'* (pers. comm., 12 April. 2011). In addition this versatility means that these previously unskilled workers are now able to access a multitude of employment opportunities.

According to the main contractor, the construction process played such a significant role in providing employment opportunities for people that he lost many of the young men he trained: *'once they were good they left and*

[62] This salary is well above the EC$28/day that unskilled labourers earn on the many road infrastructure construction projects in Dominica (owner and partner, pers. comm., 25 April. 2011).

I had to start again, so I was always training new people. The men you train you mustn't expect to have them in the future, some people come to learn skills so they can get better jobs. Now they are trained, they are able to migrate to other islands, which pay more' (pers. comm. 25 April 2011). One of the construction workers explains that many workers leave Dominica in search of higher wages and *'Dominicans are employed to work in construction on other islands as they like the way Dominicans work, they not lazy, they work fast and good'* (pers. comm., 10 May. 2011).

One of the village councillors explains, that this migration initiated by the skills development training should not be seen as a negative impact, but rather as a positive economic development impact. *'People were able to move out of Rosalie to more attractive job offers'* because of the attainment of skills, and this is an indication that the construction of Rosalie created sustained, and not temporary, employment opportunities (pers. comm., 20 May. 2011).

Even though, the importance of skills development training in the creation of sustained livelihoods in rural communities cannot be disputed, some tourism developers claim that it cannot take place in the context of resort development due to the severely limited time and budget constraints of these projects (personal communications, 13, 17, 18 August. 2010; 6 September. 2010; 2, 27 October. 2010; 23 February. 2011). The main contractor of Rosalie Bay disputes this claim. He explains that training unskilled workers is of advantage to the project budget as the unskilled workers are paid a lower wage during the training process, '*it is a situation of mutual gain as you pay lower wages for the work, and they get paid to learn skills'* (pers. comm., 25 April. 2011).

Whether the skills development training directly impacted on the construction time schedule of either project is difficult to assess. In Rosalie Bay the extended eight year time period is attributed to delays and

shortages of construction materials, combined with numerous management issues and design changes (owner and partner, pers. comm., 12 April. 2011; construction workers, pers. comm., 12, 19, 27 May. 2011).

The owner of Mt. Plaisir, blames the extension of the planned construction schedule on '*people mak[ing] their own time because they have no mentality to work.'* The owner further elucidates, that this lack of motivation and work ethic is a result of the government's unemployment and public works programmes. '*Where basically you can do nothing and you get a salary… And it's bad you know it's very bad because they grow up with the wrong concept of work. So most likely the government is doing this as a way to help them but I guess that on the long run they really do exactly the opposite'* (pers. comm. 16 June. 2011).

What is significant is that the owners of both Rosalie Bay and Mt. Plaisir do not attribute the skills development programmes with increasing the length of the construction programme. The main contractor of Rosalie Bay explains that this is because the skills were *'learnt on the job*,*'* during the course of the building process. *'They were given tests to ensure they were capable of building on their own before being entrusted with continuing',* and once they passed the test their salaries were raised. These 'tests' were also designed to build the confidence of these young construction workers. For example, in order to assess whether they had gained the necessary skills to produce the fretwork on their own, they were told to '*create a design on paper and put it into wood. I told them to choose their favourite designs and we used them for the different cottages'* (pers. comm. 25 April 2011). This process served not only to give the workers a sense of responsibility for the future work, but was also beneficial in that it empowered them the workers by entitling them to make design decisions.

What is further demonstrated by Mt. Plaisir, is that skills development in the construction industry in rural areas is often learned by a natural process of apprenticeship. The following key quotations clearly illustrate this point:

- *'[He] was the finishing man, he showed the rest of the them how to work with the wood and taught them how to do things'* (construction worker, pers. comm., 12 June, 2011).
- *'[He] was the main builder who then gave other people work when he got a job, people learned from him, they all learned under him, learnt while building'* (construction worker, pers. comm., 12 June, 2011).
- *'I taught my son in two or three days the old technique of how to put stone in a wall'* (village elder, pers. comm., 15 June, 2011).
- *'I like to impart the little I know onto others… passing on of skills and the training is a result of the engendered spirit in the community, the old guys all learnt as apprentices and like to carry on the tradition of training others… especially the young'* (village elder, pers. comm., 15 June, 2011).
- *'I was a single parent and had to pay rent and that's how I started in construction work… I learned it from a friend who when he was out of work did plumbing and electrical work. There was no trade school you could go to learn how to be a plumber… I also learnt how to do tiling ... I learned all these skills through hustling to pay rent'* (skilled construction worker, pers. comm., 15b June, 2011).
- *'My late father was a carpenter/mason and me and my brothers we learned the trade from him... it's the tradition in the village to learn the skills of your father'* (community organisation member, pers. comm., 11c June, 2011).
- *'Renovations and construction honed a lot of people's skills. The carpenters used to only do house renovations and they now have increased skills to work'* (community organisation member, pers. comm., 12 June, 2011).

- *'Peiro likes to give people an opportunity and he helps people out and offers them a job even if they don't know, he will train them and give them work'* (construction worker, pers. comm., 12 June, 2011).

What can be deduced from these narratives is that a large proportion of the expertise of the more skilled workers had also been 'learned-on-the-job,' while working under more skilled craftsmen, and not in planned or organised skills development programmes. Thus, within the context of a rural area, one can conclude that skills development does not necessarily require a long, time consuming and thus expensive, lead-in period. Rather, the programme is dependent on having someone with the relevant expertise on the team capable of teaching others.

The "value chain" analysis of the labour procurement process indicated, that labour or expertise sourced from elsewhere would be considered to be an economic leakage in the system. A skills development analysis reveals however, that this importation of expertise can also strengthen economic linkages, when it is used to enhance local skills. As the owner of Mt. Plaisir illustrates, *'they learnt through me but also I always tend to bring people with specific expertise to show them. Like plumbing, like tiling… I have either been trying to have experts coming to give us a little introduction or to do certain things, or at certain times I will let them come work with us for a few weeks… So I always give to the local people the opportunity to learn more than they know'* (pers. comm., 16 June. 2011).

It follows from this discussion that while the use of local and traditional building materials and techniques create strong economic linkages, they also inhibit this process of skills development to some extent. Thus, although the specification of imported stucco and floor staining at Rosalie Bay created an economic leakage, at the same time it also provided the opportunity for local labourers to learn a new construction technique. As one young construction worker explains, *'when the guy from Minnesota*

came and taught for one month six people learned under him.... we learnt troweltex [stucco work]*…Then we learnt how to do floor staining… After two weeks of training we were left on our own, and we did eight buildings on our own'* (pers. comm., 30a April. 2011). This development of skills created further employment opportunities for these workers, since '*no one knew stucco and floor staining on the island, so it was given to us as a trade we can sell'* (pers. comm., 30a April. 2011).

This analysis has confirmed the important role played by skills training in creating sustained alternative livelihoods; increased earning capacity; diversified income sources; improved employability; and self-confidence. This process of economic development has the further potential to create ripple effects beyond the *construction phase* of development, with the transmission of this knowledge gained to others. One of the young construction workers, who learnt carpentry at Rosalie, has related how there are five new high school students on the maintenance team, who he is *'training in carpentry because you have to pass on your skills, is my opinion'* (pers. comm., 19 May, 2011).

One of the other young construction workers is teaching builders in the community how to construct the key-joint he was taught. *'I am showing others because I was amazed when I saw the joint demonstrated for the first time, how strong it is... People they don't know how to do it anymore because it is an old way of doing things. All the people who learnt it are using it because it is such a quality joint'* (pers. comm., 30b April, 2011).

Figure 8.16. Carpentry training at Rosalie Bay
Source: Photographs by Daniella Sachs

9. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1. "Value chain" bottlenecks and challenges

One of the major obstacles to effective economic development in Grande Riviere is identified by the owner of Mt. Plaisir as *'the dependency syndrome here in the island,' caused by* the government's many unemployment programmes. The owner explains his argument as follows:

'*To keep people in the system to give money to the people to make sure that the people go and vote for them* [the government]*. They invent this programme to relieve unemployment. They started in 1962 and nobody expected that in 2011 this programme would be even amplified, even doubled up. There are three or four different programmes now and they are basically the same. People go to work at seven in the morning or seven-thirty, and at nine, nine-thirty in the morning, meaning after two hours, they are already finished the work, and they get paid a full day… There are at present about four different programmes all of them present in the village that allow people to live like that. So I as a private entrepreneur or a private business have to fight against this system. So even if you pay people much higher than the minimum wage, people lack the mentality of work. So you have to constantly motivate them, deal with them and explain to them. It's become quite stressing you know, because if you don't do that then you don't get things done to be very honest'* (pers. comm., 16 June. 2011)*.*

One of the community organisation members however disputes that the government programmes are responsible for the lack of work ethic in the village. He attributes it rather to *'the ruralness* [which] *is a curse and a blessing. The blessing is that the community is insulated from criminal activity, the cost to live is very low, there's no vagrants and no homeless people. Even people who are unemployed have money and three meals a day, and gamble on the street corner. But this easy approach to living is*

also a curse as people are not challenged to go beyond the first step. In urban areas you need basic academic qualifications to get somewhere; here you can just go pick fruit from a tree' (pers. comm., 17 June. 2011).

The community organisation member moreover explains that one of major bottlenecks in providing economic development for the young men in the village is that they are not interested. *'Many of the young men here they have a laid back approach to life, you go to the hills to plant weed because you get a lot of money from it for minimal effort. And even though the government comes to burn it, you do it anyway, because you hope to make some money from some of it*[63]*. Because they can make so much money with so little effort they believe benefit drops from the sky… because one pound of weed can earn them TT$10,000 so they are more willing than some to sit on the corner to drink and hope the police don't destroy their weed'* (pers. comm., 17 June. 2011).

In Rosalie, one of the greatest obstacles to using construction as a tool of economic development has been identified as skills loss through migration. One of the construction workers blames this loss on Dominica's low wages in the building industry (as compared to the other Caribbean islands). He describes how he had previously worked in Anguilla where he earned US$80/day. He then moved to Tortola, in the British Virgin Islands, because the salary was higher at US$100/day. Subsequently he went to Antigua, where he earned even more, US$150/day. The project in Antigua came to an end as the world economic crisis hit, and due to the resulting slow in the construction industry, he was forced to return to Dominica. His

[63] The growing demand for marijuana has increased the cultivation of fields hidden in the forest of the northern mountain range behind the village (Trewenack, 2010: 32). A police officer involved in the burning of the Grande Riviere marijuana fields in 2010, clarifies that the attraction for the young men is that '[p]lanting and selling marijuana is big business and based on its size, one field could easily yield a crop worth hundreds of thousands of dollars,' (cited in Llano, 2010). The added attraction is that these fields are hidden deep in the forest, beneath the forest canopy, which makes it difficult for police to find and destroy (Llano, 2010; Trewenack, 2010: 32).

salary at Rosalie Bay was the equivalent of US$30/day (EC$80/day), which is a fifth, of his previous salary (pers. comm., 10 May. 2011).

However, even though this migration has been identified as a bottleneck to local development initiatives, it has also been identified as an opportunity, since '*a vast majority of the workers employed have families to support, so the first thing they do is send money back'* [64] (owner's partner/main contractor, pers. comm., 25 April. 2011).

The second major obstacle to creating effective economic linkages has been identified as the limited amount of local materials available, and the lack of a manufacturing industry in Dominica. However, as both case studies demonstrate, it is also the design and detailing of the resort which influences the extent to which available local materials are used. It has furthermore been suggested that the current tourism policy of providing fiscal incentives for investors, such as duty free importation of construction materials and interior design components, facilitates their specification.

There is recognition from the Discover Dominica (Tourism) Authority that the construction of tourism facilities has the ability to provide an economic boost for an area. Nevertheless, it is felt that implementing a pro-poor construction policy (that would specify what percentage of the project would need to comprise of local labour and materials) would inhibit potential investors. '*The plan of the Discover Dominica Authority is to remain a willing partner to enable investors to come… Investors have a certain quality standard… it is difficult to say come invest but I'll tell you how to spend your money. You have to be competitive to enable investment.'* It is further argued that implementing controls to ensure the use of local materials would limit creativity, and thus the variety of tourism products the destination can offer on a competitive basis, for example:

[64] This observation is corroborated by the Caribbean Development Bank who explains that the large amount of Dominicans living abroad plays a major role in sustaining family members in Dominica through remittances, food and other essentials, and investment in real estate (Kairi, 2010: 15).

'*What would happen to someone who wants to use 'a European touch in Dominica' as their marketing strategy at a competitive level?'* (Piper, C., pers. comm., 19 July. 2011).

9.2. Opportunities for 'value chain' improvement

Within this environment of high levels of economic leakage (through importation), it is the labour procurement and training processes, which enable the greatest opportunity for enhancing local economic linkages. If skills development programmes are used effectively; imported expertise, materials and construction techniques can all be used to enhance local knowledge and capabilities, thus forming economic linkages out of economic leakages.

This creation and improvement of construction skills in a community, in turn facilitates a broad range of alternative livelihood options in the locality, in the region, and even overseas (with remittances bringing money back into the community). The diversity of skills learned in the construction process, moreover, reduces the vulnerability of these communities to external shocks (such as the collapse of the banana industry). The 'Rural Poverty Report' of 2011 highlights that diversified income sources are an integral part of poor rural households' strategies 'to reduce and manage risks of failure in any single income' (IFAD, 2011: 53).

Construction-based skills are furthermore a valuable source of sustained income generation due to the sheer scale of the industry. A local architect in Dominica elucidates that '*construction is a big industry in Dominica with a high value to the economy,'* and it thus has the potential to generate a large and varied amount of employment possibilities (pers. comm., 6 May. 2011).

Furthermore, as Mt. Plaisir has illustrated, the construction of a single resort has the potential to catalyse further construction activity in an area. Since, not only is construction a continuous process in the lifecycle of a resort, but also in the development of a successful tourism destination, which is composed of a cluster of tourism facilities and services (all undergoing maintenance, refurbishments, renovations and additions at different times).

The criteria of sustainable resort development, set out by the Global Sustainable Tourism Council, present an opportunity to improve and enhance the economic linkages within this system. These guidelines (outlined in Chapter 5.1) suggest the incorporation of local materials and crafts as one of the indicators of measuring compliance with Criteria A.6.3: *locally appropriate principles of sustainable construction*. (GSTC, 2009: 12). The expansion of this criterion to include socio-economic indicators (local labour and skills development) could help ensure that pro-poor benefit becomes an element of sustainable tourism construction and not just operation.

The Discover Dominica Authority questions the ability of guidelines like the Global Sustainable Tourism Criteria to implement effective change. The argument is made that while a government policy would inhibit investment, the completely voluntary nature of these guidelines does not impose any real restrictions on development. Instead, the suggestion is made that the fiscal incentives that have been critiqued for fostering importation, could be adapted and used instead to incentivise the use of local labour and materials (Piper, C., pers. comm., 19 July. 2011).

In summary, this research has shown that it is in governments' best interest to include the pro-poor optimisation of the construction process in national responsible and sustainable tourism strategies. The "value chain" evaluation of the two case studies has verified this conclusion, as the

construction phase of sustainable resort development has the potential to make a significant contribution to tourism–led (multisectoral) economic development in rural, coastal areas.

9.3. Conclusions

A literature survey of the relationship between tourism and development revealed the existence of a perceived theoretical and empirical knowledge gap surrounding the *construction phase* of *responsible tourism* development in rural coastal areas. In response to this finding, the main research question was outlined as: whether the *construction phase* of sustainable resort development could make a critical contribution to tourism-led economic development in these areas.

Rural coastal regions were identified as being vulnerable to “poverty traps” and thus in need of economic development strategies. Although the appropriateness of tourism-led development in these areas was initially questioned, further analysis revealed that the indirect employment and economic segments of the industry had the potential to foster pro-poor tourism initiatives. The technique of conducting a “value chain” analysis was furthermore highlighted as the key strategy to implement these initiatives.

The construction process was pinpointed as a valuable “indirect” industry to contribute to the development of these pro-poor “value chains” in rural areas, because of its employment generation capacity. The three conditions of successful programme implementation were identified as:

- The use of locally sourced materials and manufactured components;
- The incorporation of labour-intensive construction techniques;
- The facilitation of training programmes that enhance skills development.

Following on from this, a qualitative “value chain” case study evaluation was conducted of the *construction phase* of development of Rosalie Bay Resort, in Rosalie Bay, Dominica, and Mt. Plaisir Estate Hotel in Grande Riviere, Trinidad. The villages surrounding these resorts were found to be suffering from economic decline, triggered by the collapse of the local mono-agricultural industry. The existence of severely limited employment opportunities was furthermore identified as the main livelihood problem facing these communities.

As a result, community members viewed the employment generated by the construction of these resorts as playing a critical role in economic development and community upliftment. The diverse skill sets required in the building process enabled the employment of not only skilled, but also semi-skilled, and unskilled people in the community who had no previous construction knowledge.

The labour-intensive nature of the construction processes facilitated both the creation of substantial local employment possibilities, as well as heightened opportunities for local artisans and businessmen to gain economic benefit. The effective labour-intensive techniques employed by the resorts favoured hand-made over industrially manufactured components; included a limited amount of machinery on-site; the specification of locally fabricated components; hand-crafted building elements including furniture; the use of traditional building knowledge and construction techniques; and laborious hand-made design detailing.

The fact that these imperfect, rough-edged, traditionally built elements were admired by international hoteliers and tourists, proves that the use of local labour can be of benefit in the creation of an ‘authentic’ product, and unique resort character. It was further demonstrated that the use of local labour helps engender a spirit of mutual cooperation, trust and support

with the local community and this is crucial to the success of a resort in a remote rural area.

Even though this preferential procurement of local labour formed strong economic linkages, they were weakened by the large amount of economic leakages created by the material procurement processes. The considerable amount of imported materials and components found in both projects, indicate that the degree of economic leakage is not soley dependent on the availability of local materials, and a strong local manufacturing sector. Durability, quality, and cost effectiveness, were moreover cited as key reasons for importing goods that could have been sourced locally. The extent of these leakages has also been shown to be decisively fused to the design process, as it is the design intentions and personal taste of the owner that either creates the opportunities for economic linkages (via the use of local materials, components and building techniques), or inhibits these opportunities (through a design based on imported materials and components).

The hypothesis that these economic linkages are short-lived (generally 2-4 years) had been put forward by Marfurt (1997) and various tourism developers and investors (pers. comm., 13, 17, 18 August. 2010 et. al.). Thus, the impact of the *construction phase* was considered to be insignificant when compared to the impact of the *operations phase* which extends over a decisively longer time period (20-30 years). The case study evidence disproved this claim by demonstrating that the construction of a resort is often done in phases of expansion over the life-cycle of the resort. Furthermore, it was found that the construction process, and its associated economic impacts, do not end once the resort opens for business, but actually continues into the *operations phase* of development with the constant requirement for maintenance, refurbishments, and renovations.

The additional hypothesis made by various tourism developers and investors (pers. comm., 13, 17, 18 August. 2010 et. al.) that temporary construction employment could not lead to upliftment or meaningful change was also disputed by the research findings. Not only was it shown that the employment generated by the *construction phase* was not necessarily temporary (but continued into the operation of the resort), but also that the provision of temporary employment, within a weakened rural economy, contributes significantly to supplementary income earnings. In addition the notion of what defines “temporary employment” was shown to be variable within the communities, who consider the traditional two year construction phase as providing long term, sustained employment

The case studies, moreover, demonstrate that when skills development training is an integral part of the construction process, the impact of even temporary, short-term employment has the potential to create sustained alternative livelihoods; increased earning capacity; diversified income sources; improved employability; and improved self-esteem. On-the-job training programmes were also found to be of advantage in creating economic linkages out of economic leakages, by using the procurement of imported expertise, materials and construction techniques to enhance local knowledge and capabilities.

Consequently and in conclusion it was thus found that the construction phase of sustainable resort development has the potential to make a significant contribution to economic development in rural coastal areas, thereby strengthening the role of tourism in development strategies. It is hoped that this research will influence tourism developers, government agencies, and *responsible tourism* organisations, to focus on minimising economic leakages while maximising economic linkages and skills development training in future sustainable resort developments, to ensure that these economic development impacts are amplified.

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11. APPENDICES

11.1. **Appendix A:** Global Sustainable Tourism Criteria

The 37 Global Sustainable Tourism Criteria are defined as follows (GSTC, 2009):

A. Demonstrate effective sustainable management.

A.1. The company has implemented a long-term sustainability management system that is suitable to its reality and scale, and that considers environmental, sociocultural, quality, health, and safety issues.

A.2. The company is in compliance with all relevant international or local legislation and regulations (including, among others, health, safety, labour, and environmental aspects).

A.3. All personnel receive periodic training regarding their role in the management of environmental, sociocultural, health, and safety practices.

A.4. Customer satisfaction is measured and corrective action taken where appropriate.

A.5. Promotional materials are accurate and complete and do not promise more than can be delivered by the business.

A.6. Design and construction of buildings and infrastructure:

A.6.1. comply with local zoning and protected or heritage area requirements;

A.6.2. respect the natural or cultural heritage surroundings in siting, design, impact assessment, and land rights and acquisition;

A.6.3 use locally appropriate principles of sustainable construction;

A.6.4 provide access for persons with special needs.

A.7. Information about and interpretation of the natural surroundings, local culture, and cultural heritage is provided to customers, as well as explaining appropriate behaviour while visiting natural areas, living cultures, and cultural heritage sites.

B. Maximize social and economic benefits to the local community and minimize negative impacts.

B.1. The company actively supports initiatives for social and infrastructure community development including, among others, education, health, and sanitation.

B.2. Local residents are employed, including in management positions. Training is offered as necessary.

B.3. Local and fair-trade services and goods are purchased by the business, where available.

B.4. The company offers the means for local small entrepreneurs to develop and sell sustainable products that are based on the area's nature, history, and culture (including food and drink, crafts, performance arts, agricultural products, etc.).

B.5. A code of conduct for activities in indigenous and local communities has been developed, with the consent of and in collaboration with the community.

B.6. The company has implemented a policy against commercial exploitation, particularly of children and adolescents, including sexual exploitation.

B.7. The company is equitable in hiring women and local minorities, including in management positions, while restraining child labor.

B.8. The international or national legal protection of employees is respected, and employees are paid a living wage.

B.9. The activities of the company do not jeopardize the provision of basic services, such as water, energy, or sanitation, to neighbouring communities.

C. Maximize benefits to cultural heritage and minimize negative impacts.

C.1. The company follows established guidelines or a code of behaviour for visits to culturally or historically sensitive sites, in order to minimize visitor impact and maximize enjoyment.

C.2. Historical and archaeological artefacts are not sold, traded, or displayed, except as permitted by law.

C.3. The business contributes to the protection of local historical, archaeological, culturally, and spiritually important properties and sites, and does not impede access to them by local residents.

C.4 The business uses elements of local art, architecture, or cultural heritage in its operations, design, decoration, food, or shops; while respecting the intellectual property rights of local communities.

D. Maximize benefits to the environment and minimize negative impacts.

D.1. Conserving resources

D.1.1. Purchasing policy favours environmentally friendly products for building materials, capital goods, food, and consumables.

D.1.2. The purchase of disposable and consumable goods is measured, and the business actively seeks ways to reduce their use.

D.1.3. Energy consumption should be measured, sources indicated, and measures to decrease overall consumption should be adopted, while encouraging the use of renewable energy.

D.1.4. Water consumption should be measured, sources indicated, and measures to decrease overall consumption should be adopted.

D.2. Reducing pollution

D.2.1. Greenhouse gas emissions from all sources controlled by the business are measured, and procedures are implemented to reduce and offset them as a way to achieve climate neutrality.

D.2.2. Wastewater, including gray water, is treated effectively and reused where possible.

D.2.3. A solid waste management plan is implemented, with quantitative goals to minimize waste that is not reused or recycled.

D.2.4. The use of harmful substances, including pesticides, paints, swimming pool disinfectants, and cleaning materials, is minimized; substituted, when available, by innocuous products; and all chemical use is properly managed.

D.2.5. The business implements practices to reduce pollution from noise, light, runoff, erosion, ozone-depleting compounds, and air and soil contaminants.

D.3. Conserving biodiversity, ecosystems, and landscapes

D.3.1. Wildlife species are only harvested from the wild, consumed, displayed, sold, or internationally traded, as part of a regulated activity that ensures that their utilization is sustainable.

D.3.2. No captive wildlife is held, except for properly regulated activities, and living specimens of protected wildlife species are only kept by those authorized and suitably equipped to house and care for them.

D.3.3. The business uses native species for landscaping and restoration, and takes measures to avoid the introduction of invasive alien species.

D.3.4. The business contributes to the support of biodiversity conservation, including supporting natural protected areas and areas of high biodiversity value.

D.3.5. Interactions with wildlife must not produce adverse effects on the viability of populations in the wild; and any disturbance of natural ecosystems is minimized, rehabilitated, and there is a compensatory contribution to conservation management.

11.2. **Appendix B:** Rosalie Bay Fact Sheet (Rosalie Bay, 2011)

Rosalie Bay
Dominica

Overview

Opened in November 2010, Rosalie Bay is an eco-luxury and wellness resort located on the southeast coast of the Nature Island of Dominica just 45 minutes from the capital city of Roseau.

This hand-built sanctuary seamlessly blends into its 22-acre surroundings on a location that is unparalleled. Rosalie Bay is nestled in the foothills of the UNESCO World Heritage Site of the Morne Trois Pitons where the Rosalie River rushes out to meet the Atlantic Ocean. Here, three endangered sea turtles come ashore each year to nest on Rosalie Bay's protected black sand beach.

For owner Bev and her partner Oscar, Rosalie Bay Resort was a labor of love that was nine years in the making. The result was the island's first luxury resort that shares the beauty of the nature isle with visitors, empowers the local residents and protects the environment.

Rosalie Bay features 28 spacious accommodations, organic cuisine, nature-inspired spa, personalized wellness program and luxurious amenities. Stunning natural beauty and elegant, modern touches work in perfect harmony to create a vacation that is *simply magical.*

Accommodations

Tucked within Heliconia, Noni and Frangipani trees and bushes are nine cottages housing 28 rooms and suites. Attention to detail is seen throughout each air-conditioned accommodation – from hand-carved four-poster beds, armoires and writing desks to colorful original local artwork and luxurious bathrooms with granite countertops and vessel sinks.

Accommodations offer views of the Atlantic Ocean, Rosalie River and vibrant gardens and include:

- ***6 Gardenview Superior Rooms*** – Each includes a queen-size bed, writing desk, bathroom with tiled walk-in rain shower and front porch with sitting area.
- ***10 Junior Suites with Ocean and Garden Views*** – Each spacious Junior Suite features either one king- or two queen beds, writing desk, seating area and expansive bathroom with tiled walk-in rain shower and oversized tub.
- ***9 Oceanfront Suites*** – Closest to the Atlantic Ocean, these spacious suites feature oceanfront porches, king-size bed, sitting area with daybed for additional guests, writing desk and expansive bathroom with tiled walk-in rain shower and oversized tub.
- ***1 Premier Oceanfront Suite*** – The largest Oceanfront Suite and located closest to the ocean, the Premier features a large sitting area, hand-carved wet bar, king-size bed, expansive bathroom with tiled walk-in rain shower and separate room with a jetted tub.
- ***2 Riverside Suites*** – Along the Rosalie River, these expansive suites feature vaulted ceilings, living room with sofa, spacious bathroom with double sinks, tiled walk-in rain shower and oversized tub, and bedroom with king-size bed, sitting area and writing desk. A back porch with swing sits at the water's edge and front porch offers views of the pool.

In-room amenities include flat-screen TV, iPod docking station, robes and slippers, beach towels, welcome bottles of water and fruit basket, fresh flower arrangement refreshed daily, mini refrigerator, coffee maker, safe, natural spa toiletries, daily housekeeping and nightly turndown service.

Daily rates include a healthful Continental breakfast featuring fresh-squeezed fruit and vegetable juices, organic fruit, oatmeal, whole wheat toast with homemade marmalade, power drinks, smoothies and herbal teas.

Cuisine

Fresh herbs, fruits and vegetables grown in Rosalie Bay's organic garden as well as local ingredients highlight the culinary experience at Rosalie Bay Resort.

Zamaan Restaurant is an intimate, open-air restaurant with indoor and outdoor dining. Open for breakfast, lunch and dinner, Zamaan offers a menu filled with healthful cuisine and Dominican favorites. Vegan, vegetarian and gluten-free menu options are also available. The thatched-roof Oscar's Pool Bar is open for lunch, afternoon snacks and happy hour daily.

Rosalie Bay Resort also offers Organic Cooking Light Classes to help guests continue to eat healthy at home. Led by the resort chef, the hour-long class and tasting is offered on a private and group basis.

Wellness & Spa

Wellness takes center stage at Rosalie Bay Resort. The holistic approach includes nutrition, fitness, relaxation and nature.

Outdoor meditation spots, including natural stone benches, a labyrinth and koi pond, can be found throughout the property. Activities include complimentary daily yoga and Pilates classes, private yoga and Pilates classes, guided nature hikes, guided meditation, personal training and lifestyle coaching by an on-site wellness coordinator.

The oceanfront Kalinago Spa offers natural healing with ingredients grown at the resort and found locally, such as volcanic mud, river stones, local hand-pressed herbal oils, organic scrubs and marine algae. The menu of customized treatments includes massages, hydrotherapy, body wraps, body scrubs, facials, manicures and pedicures.

Environment

Rosalie Bay Resort is a pioneer for its sustainable efforts on Dominica. Energy is generated from solar panels and a 225 kW wind turbine, which is the first wind turbine on Dominica and the largest in the Leeward Islands of the Caribbean.

From LED lights to chairs made from recycled materials to sustainably-produced cotton towels and UV-filtered natural spring water, every detail at the eco resort puts the environment first.

The owners Bev and Oscar also pioneered the first sea turtle protection efforts on Dominica. Every year between March and October three species of endangered sea turtle – the Leatherback, Green and Hawksbill – nest and hatch on Rosalie Bay's black sand beach. Guests can take part in education programs, night guard duty to protect nesting sea turtles and later in the season, watch hatchlings make their way out to sea.

In addition to being sustainable, Rosalie Bay Resort is proud of its efforts to help the local economy. The resort was built by hand by locals and continues to be a major source of employment for the local village.

Amenities & Services

- Saltwater pool lined with onyx and surrounded by a river rock patio
- Oceanfront Kalinago Spa
- Expansive fitness center with free weights, cardio and weight machines
- Guided hike along the resort's nature trail
- Kayaks for use in the Rosalie River
- Labyrinth, Koi pond and outdoor meditation spots
- Daily Yoga and Pilates classes
- Personal training, lifestyle coaching and nutrition counseling*
- Organic Cooking Light classes*

- Massage lessons*
- Zamaan Restaurant
- Oscar's Pool Bar
- Secluded black sand beach**
- Air-conditioned meeting and event space
- Gift shop featuring handmade works from local artists and artisans
- Gazebo above the Rosalie River for weddings, events and dining
- Room service*
- Refreshing "Rosalie" welcome drink
- Complimentary Wi-Fi
- Concierge services to arrange guided hikes and tours
- Airport transfers*
- Sea turtle watching and education activities (March – October)*
- Laundry and dry cleaning services*
- Babysitting services*

**Charges may apply. **Please note that due to strong surf and undertow, and for the safety of all guests, swimming is not permitted on the beach at Rosalie Bay Resort.*

Getting to Dominica

Dominica (pronounced "Domineek-ah") is the "Nature Isle of the Caribbean." The youngest island in the Lesser Antilles, Dominica is located between Guadeloupe and Martinique.

The island is rich in natural beauty and was the first country to be Green Globe Benchmarked. It is also one of the "World's Best Ethical Destinations" according to Ethical Traveler.

Ferry service is available from neighboring islands of Guadeloupe, Martinique and St. Lucia. Air service is available into Melville Hall Airport (DOM) from the Caribbean islands of Antigua, Barbados, Guadeloupe, Saint Maarten, Puerto Rico and St. Lucia. Many major airlines within the US, Canada and UK offer direct flights into these destinations.

Passports are required to visit Dominica.

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An eco-luxury and wellness retreat
Rosalie, Dominica

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