

PPT Working Paper No. 7



**Practical strategies for pro-poor tourism:
a case study of the St. Lucia Heritage
Tourism Programme**

Yves Renard

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Preface

This case study was written as a contribution to a project on 'pro-poor tourism strategies.' The pro-poor tourism project is collaborative research involving the Overseas Development Institute (ODI), the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), the Centre for Responsible Tourism at the University of Greenwich (CRT), together with in-country case study collaborators. It is funded by the Economic and Social Research Unit (ESCOR) of the UK Department for International Development (DFID).

The project reviewed the experience of pro-poor tourism strategies based on six commissioned case studies. These studies used a common methodology developed within this project. The case study work was undertaken mainly between September and December 2000. Findings have been synthesised into a research report and a policy briefing, while the 6 case studies are all available as Working Papers. The outputs of the project are:

Pro-poor tourism strategies: Making tourism work for the poor. Pro-poor Tourism Report No 1. (60pp) by Caroline Ashley, Dilys Roe and Harold Goodwin, April 2001.

Pro-poor tourism: Expanding opportunities for the poor. PPT Policy Briefing No 1. (4pp). By Caroline Ashley, Harold Goodwin and Dilys Roe, April 2001.

Pro poor Tourism Working Papers:

- No 1 *Practical strategies for pro-poor tourism, Wilderness Safaris South Africa: Rocktail Bay and Ndumu Lodge.* Clive Poultney and Anna Spenceley
- No 2 *Practical strategies for pro-poor tourism. Case studies of Makuleke and Manyeleti tourism initiatives: South Africa.* Karin Mahony and Jurgens Van Zyl
- No 3 *Practical strategies for pro-poor tourism. Case study of pro-poor tourism and SNV in Humla District, West Nepal.* Naomi M. Saville
- No 4 *Practical strategies for pro-poor tourism: NACOBTA the Namibian case study.* Nepeti Nicanor
- No 5 *UCOTA – The Uganda Community Tourism Association: a comparison with NACOBTA.* Elissa Williams, Alison White and Anna Spenceley
- No 6 *Practical strategies for pro-poor tourism. Tropic Ecological Adventures – Ecuador.* Scott Braman and Fundación Acción Amazonia
- No 7 *Practical strategies for pro-poor tourism: a case study of the St. Lucia Heritage Tourism Programme.* Yves Renard
- No 8 *Pro-poor tourism initiatives in developing countries: analysis of secondary case studies.* Xavier Cattarinich.

All of the reports are available on our website at:

<http://www.propoortourism.org.uk>

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The author

Yves Renard is Executive Director of the Caribbean Natural Resource Institute. He may be contacted at:

CANARI
New Dock Road
P O Box 383
Vieux Fort
St Lucia

Tel: + 758 454 6060
Fax: + 758 454 5188
Email: canari@candw.lc

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Acronyms

CANARI	Caribbean Natural Resources Institute
DFID	UK Department for International Development
EC	European Commission
GOSL	Government of St. Lucia
PMAC	Programme Management Advisory Committee
SLHTP	St. Lucia Heritage Tourism Programme

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

St. Lucia is one of the Windward Islands, in the Lesser Antilles. It is part of the Commonwealth and became independent in 1979. There are approximately 150,000 inhabitants, over an area of 616 sq. km. Population growth rates are high, with birth rates exceeding 2% per year. St. Lucia is a volcanic island, with high rainfall and dense forests in the mountainous areas of the interior. Human settlements and activities are primarily located along the coasts and in the valleys. St. Lucia's history and economy are closely linked to those of a succession of export crops, from coffee to sugar cane to bananas. Banana is the main agricultural crop today, but it is threatened by the loss of preferential access to UK markets as a result of global trade liberalisation policies. The economic and social consequences of these changes in the agricultural sector are responsible for a substantial increase in poverty, which was estimated at 24% in 1995.

Modern tourism in St. Lucia began in the 1960s with the advent of charter tours, primarily from the UK, and with the construction of a number of large hotels. The sector is currently the main source of foreign exchange, and the main contributor to the nation's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). It is estimated that the sector employs over 10,000 people, including the indirect jobs involved in ancillary and support services. While tourism expenditure is high, its impact is limited by important leakages, as a result of insufficient or weak linkages between tourism and other sectors, notably agriculture.

A large portion of accommodation (over 60%) is offered by large all-inclusive hotels, with small properties representing a small but growing percentage of the accommodation sector. Tourism facilities are concentrated on the north-west coast of the island, and to a lesser extent in the Soufriere region in the south-west. There are two airports, including an international airport which accommodates direct flights from Europe and North America. Cruise ship arrivals have increased substantially over the past few years, to a total of 423,000 in 1999. Berthing facilities at Port Castries, the capital, have recently been upgraded to permit the arrival of new large ships.

The Ministry of Tourism is responsible for formulating and implementing public sector tourism development policies and programmes, working in collaboration with relevant public sector agencies. Marketing is the responsibility of the St. Lucia Tourist Board, a statutory company. The St. Lucia Hotel and Tourism Association and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry represent private sector interests.

This case study focuses on the St. Lucia Heritage Tourism Programme (SLHTP), and has been designed to contribute to the Programme's current mid-term evaluation and medium-term programming exercise. The Programme and some of its partners have therefore participated in the conduct of the study, and in the analysis of its results.

1.2 Programme overview

The St. Lucia Heritage Tourism Programme is an initiative of the Government of St. Lucia (GOSL), and is funded jointly by the European Commission (EC) and GOSL. It was initiated in 1998, with a total budget of EC\$ 5,822,860 (US\$ 1.00 = EC\$ 2,67). The original time frame of the Programme was three years, but its current phase is now expected to continue beyond the original deadline of September 2001, until June 2002.

The rationale for the Programme is based on a number of issues and assumptions:

- While tourism is a key economic sector in St. Lucia, as indeed in most Caribbean islands, it has so far failed to generate substantial benefits to the poor, and there are important concerns about the sustainability and equity of current, dominant forms of tourism development.
- Over the past decade, many actors in the field of development have argued that tourism has the potential to bring more equitable and sustainable benefits to people. St. Lucia has seen a number of experiments which have developed and tested approaches aimed at diversifying the tourism sector and increasing its contribution to sustainable development. These experiments have complemented initiatives in agricultural diversification, rural development and small business development. They have however been unable to break the dominant culture and patterns of organisation within the tourism industry, and have thus failed to result in significant positive impacts on people and host communities.
- The Caribbean region, and most notably the Windward Islands, of which St. Lucia is part, is suffering from a number of impacts of globalisation, especially the loss of preferential access for its bananas to European markets. These changes are creating major disruptions in the economies and societies of these islands, and resulting in dramatic increases in poverty, unemployment and social conflicts. Changes in the tourism sector are seen as one of the potential positive responses to these formidable challenges.

The nature of international tourism and its development in St Lucia and other Caribbean countries is extremely complex. Due to the failure of previous isolated efforts to affect change, it was felt that only a concerted programme operating simultaneously with complementary initiatives in policy, capacity building, marketing, product development and public awareness, could have a significant impact.

It is against this background that the SLHTP was initiated. It is placed under the auspices of the Ministry of Tourism, but with a substantial degree of autonomy. A Programme Management and Advisory Committee (PMAC) provides policy direction, while a small team of experienced and talented professionals is responsible for implementation (under the leadership of a Programme Coordinator).

The Programme's Mission, as defined by a group of stakeholders at the beginning of the implementation process, is stated as:

‘...To establish heritage tourism as a viable and sustainable component of St. Lucia's tourism product by facilitating a process of education, capacity building, product development, marketing, credit access and the promotion of environmental and cultural protection for the benefit of host communities and St. Lucians’.

The stated objectives of the Programme are:

- To develop the island's tourism product, thus enriching the visitor experience through the provision of unique, authentic and natural/cultural visitor activities.
- To enhance St. Lucia's image in the market place as a 'green' destination, with a unique blend of attractions, and types of accommodation.
- To diversify and decentralise the tourist product and benefits, resulting in integration of rural communities island-wide into the tourism industry, providing jobs, and a sense of participation in and ownership of the industry.
- To contribute to the sustainable management of the island's natural and cultural resources.

The Programme works simultaneously at the following levels:

Policy and standards The Programme advocates for a supportive policy framework for community involvement in Heritage Tourism development.

Product development The Programme offers a range of facilities and services to facilitate the involvement of new, small entrepreneurs, and to create new components of the national tourism product.

Public awareness and mobilisation This element of the Programme is centred around national campaigns focusing on economic and employment opportunities, and on the link between environmental management and sustainable tourism development.

Capacity building The Programme seeks to build the capacity of individuals and organisations, within government, civil society and the private sector, through training, technical assistance, strategic planning and organisational development processes.

Niche marketing In support of the development of the sub-sector, the Programme collaborates with relevant national and regional partners in order to define and market the Heritage Tourism product.

The main achievements of the Programme to date can be summarised as follows.

Product development and management

- Providing EC\$ 200,000 in soft loans to fifteen initiatives, most of which are aimed at developing or improving privately owned sites and attractions.
- Technical assistance and financial support to the development and operation of three community managed tourism attractions - one turtle watching venture, a community managed mangrove forest, and one seafood night.
- Providing medium size (to a maximum of EC\$ 25,000) and small size grants to a range of projects, including site development and beautification.
- Technical assistance, in the form of feasibility studies, design and advice, to twenty-four projects, including site development, small-scale accommodation and interpretation facilities.
- Facilitating negotiation processes among stakeholders involved in conflicting uses of two beach areas, and resulting in the development of management plans for these areas.

Marketing

- Developing and disseminating a marketing brand for heritage tours, including ten sites and attractions in a first set of products under that brand.
- Facilitating the formation of an association of these tour operators, called HERITAS.
- Establishing the marketing arrangements for these tours, with a sales desk at the local cruise ship harbour, negotiating arrangements with taxi operators, and preparing and disseminating advertising materials (maps, brochures, videos).

Capacity building

- Providing one large grant to one national organisation involved in the management of the natural and cultural heritage, and is currently negotiating two such grants.
- Strengthening local community organisations as partners in the development of Heritage Tourism.

- Supporting the local Arts and Crafts Association, and a range of community groups involved, even peripherally, in the sector.

Awareness and communication

- Producing radio broadcast of announcements on Heritage Tourism and its potential contribution to community development.
- Publishing a number of articles in the local media.
- Publishing and disseminating posters and brochures.
- Supporting and facilitating consultations and participatory planning processes in six communities.

Policy and programming

- Conducting policy studies and provided recommendations for legal reform, notably through the Incentives for the introduction of minimum environmental standards for the operation of sites and attractions Act.
- Developing and recommending new policies for the operations, recruitment, training and registration of tour guides.
- Generating additional financial support from a variety of sources, to enhance some of its initiatives.
- Formulating recommendations.
- Advocating support for the overall development of the sub-sector.

There is no question that this represents a very significant volume of activity in a wide range of domains. This experience thus provides valuable material for analysis.

2. Pro-poor Focus

Although the Programme does not have an exclusive or explicit pro-poor focus, it does aim to achieve more equitable and sustainable tourism development. Its emphasis is on enhancing the impact of tourism on communities, and on improving the relationship between tourism and other facets of rural development.

Contrary to a number of new initiatives aimed at developing more appropriate forms of tourism, this Programme deliberately builds on what already exists, to transform and improve it rather than to oppose and create a new sector. It is in this sense that this experience is particularly interesting and relevant to a study of pro-poor tourism. It is not a case of ‘a pro-poor tourism initiative’; rather it is a case of a comprehensive national tourism initiative that has a strong pro-poor component. It is an attempt to shift an entire sector, as quickly and as effectively as can reasonably be expected, so that it becomes more sustainable, more equitable, and more focused on the needs of poor people. In order to achieve this ambitious goal of transforming the existing tourism sector, the Programme employs a two-pronged strategy:

- facilitating a broader and improved distribution of the benefits of the existing tourism sector (cruise ship passengers and stay-over visitors); and
- creating a new complementary sub-sector, qualified as Heritage Tourism, aimed at a new clientele.

The second facet of this strategy, i.e. the progressive creation of a new sub-sector, is a long-term undertaking, itself based on a number of assumptions:

- There is a product that can be developed, there are natural and cultural assets which can attract visitors and satisfy their needs while meeting international standards.
- Demand for this product already exists, or can be created through the appropriate marketing and promotion mechanisms.
- It is possible to identify this demand, and ensure that it matches the product that is being developed.
- The market segment for this product displays a number of desirable characteristics, including high expenditure, adventure, interest in culture, respectful of cultural differences and less seasonality.

This overall strategy of the Programme is supported by and implemented through a number of strategic approaches:

Creating awareness and fostering pride

The Programme aims to encourage local involvement in the sector by demonstrating the benefits that people could generate, and by illustrating the roles that they can play, primarily through media activities. The Programme also understands that the effective promotion of the country’s natural and cultural heritage in support of tourism requires an appreciation of this heritage by all sectors of the population. Activities with schools, clubs and other bodies are therefore considered important, and receive financial and technical assistance from the Programme.

Developing new activities and products

A central element of the Programme’s strategy is to enhance and diversify the tourism product with activities, attractions and events that create business and employment opportunities. The

Programme therefore pays much attention to the provision of financing and technical assistance towards product development, including tour sites, cultural events and other activities.

Providing credit

In order to facilitate access to credit by small entrepreneurs, the Programme is working closely with a non-traditional financial institution, the National Research and Development Foundation (NRDF), to provide loans in support of small business development.

Using, developing and transferring skills

The Programme aims to enhance employment opportunities and contribute to the development of adequate products by providing a range of training services, including skills development for tour guides, craft producers and employees at Heritage Tourism sites.

Marketing these products to the existing clientele

The Programme promoted and markets the new products it has helped to develop, to the clientele already at the local destination, i.e. the guests staying in the local hotels (mainly on package tours) and the passengers on cruise ships. This is achieved primarily through branding a set of tours and sites, and marketing these products through a new association of small operators.

Packaging a new product and exploring its marketing potential

The strategy also involves packaging these new products, linking them to existing products such as diving or cultural festivals, and developing a new overall Heritage Tourism product which would become attractive to a specific market segment.

Encouraging and supporting environmental management

The Programme is fully aware that the quality and sustainability of the product depend on effective environmental management. It also sees the development of the natural environment as an incentive for conservation and resource management. It therefore incorporates this dimension in all its activities.

Building organisational capacity

The Programme views the development of the capacity of public sector and civil society organisations as both a means and an end. It is therefore working with a wide range of partners, including national natural resource management agencies (forestry, wildlife and fisheries administrations); the Ministry of Tourism, the Tourist Board and the private sector organisations involved in tourism; as well as local organisations.

Encouraging local people to be both producers and consumers of a new product

In the development of a new tourism product based on nature and folk culture, there is always the danger that the people who have traditionally held rights over these resources become alienated and marginalised. Local tourism is an essential component of this strategy, and it aims to build, rather than undermine, the sense of ownership without which the development of tourism would fail.

Transforming the policy process

The Programme also recognises that in order to change the balance of power and to promote genuine popular participation, it needs to help transform the processes and institutions of policy and decision-making. This is why the Programme supports and facilitates a range of local level participatory planning initiatives. It also encourages or advocates consultative and participatory processes for all the activities in which it is involved, and is thus helping change the culture and practice of a number of key agencies.

Transforming the policy content

The Programme is also well aware of the need to change policy itself, and to provide an enabling environment for all that it seeks to achieve. This has been translated into a range of policy initiatives aimed at removing entry barriers, providing incentives, and promoting quality and sustainability.

2.1 Issues and barriers affecting the involvement of poor people in tourism

The process of re-positioning the sector demands greater participation of local people in the tourism industry, and must lead to a more direct, fair and beneficial involvement of poor people. In St. Lucia, as in many other tourism destinations dominated by large operators and mass clientele, there are a number of structural issues that constitute obstacles to this involvement. Considering that the approach of this Programme is based, in a significant way, on the entry of small-scale local entrepreneurs in the industry, there is need to understand and assess these obstacles, especially those that apply to the ‘activities sub-sector’ (tours, entertainment, transportation, food, etc.).

Mass is the norm

Current marketing strategies and pricing structures in the tourism industry favour activities and products which are able to attract large numbers and volumes. Operators prefer large buses, more people on fewer tours, less intermediaries, credit vouchers and advance bookings.

The doors are hard to open

Vertical linkages (primarily between hotels, tour operators and airlines) limit opportunities for entry into the sector. There is very little space for small operators in tours, food, accommodation and entertainment, and the established operators claim a right to control and regulate the activities of visitors. Typically, access to potential clients is tightly controlled, and is effectively limited to a small number of operators. Only large businesses succeed in entering the system. Even when public policies seek to favour local involvement and ownership, as in St. Lucia, they are rendered somewhat ineffective by the practice of nationals ‘fronting’ for foreign investors. Also, there are some fiscal policies and financial mechanisms which reduce the capacity of small operators to enter the sub-sector, while larger operators receive valuable incentives. Where policies are weak, those with power circumvent them when it is in their interest.

The stakes and standards are high

Small-scale initiatives, especially those aiming to attract the established markets of cruise ship passengers and stay-over visitors, must meet a wide range of international standards of quality and safety. The market demands that quality infrastructure (roads, telecommunications, etc.) and services are available. In addition, the marketing of activities and products (arts, craft, food etc.) needs to demonstrate value added. The market for products and activities is not homogenous, and

there is a need to differentiate and adapt to the specific demands of various clienteles. For some, there is a demand for activities which are truly authentic and unique. The involvement of a wider range of operators, especially among the poor, depends, in part, on skills which may not be readily available.

The image is often not right

The current market positioning and image of St. Lucia's tourism product does not favour the development and expansion of activities capable of using the resources of the poor and spreading the benefits from the tourism sector. While the shift in product definition remains highly desirable, it is neither an obvious nor an easy one, particularly when the current market position is so vague and fluctuating.

Success depends on where you are

Tourism amenities and activities are not evenly distributed geographically, and this constitutes a barrier for many. There is a significant distance between the clientele and the product, and the physical conditions of access often reduce the opportunities for the development and marketing of activities. In some instances, however, this distance can become an asset.

Success depends on who you are

Important decisions are not usually made by poor people nor by those who seek to develop pro-poor policies and programmes. Most of the critical decisions that affect the sector are made outside of the country or by a few powerful local interests. Except in rare occasions, processes of public policy formulation are not participatory.

Success depends on what you have

The ability to enter the sector and to create employment and income-generating opportunities is naturally based on the availability of financial or physical assets. As elsewhere, poor people are constrained by the absence of assets, and by the difficulty to access and use common property resources.

Success depends on what you know

One important lesson of this experience is that it has confirmed, unsurprisingly, that people who live in a society where tourism is a major activity and the only sector of growth, are anxious to benefit more from that sector. They are therefore interested in participating directly in the industry, but their efforts are hampered by a lack of understanding of how the industry functions. Indeed, it can be argued that the dominant operators in the sector, especially those involved in activities in which there could be opportunities for broader involvement (water sports, tours, food, etc.), are deliberately erecting or maintaining these information barriers. In the absence of a profound understanding of the manner in which this complex sector operates, the current *status quo* is unlikely to change.

2.2 Opportunities

These constraints are however matched by a number of opportunities, which represent some of the Programme's fundamental assumptions:

- tourism-related activities can, if properly designed and implemented, create significant opportunities for economic benefits to the resident population;
- tourism-related activities can, if properly designed and implemented, result in a substantial improvement in social infrastructure and benefits, for the resident population as well as guests;
- tourism-related activities can provide direct social, educational and cultural benefits to local users and domestic visitors.

2.3 Specific actions to involve poor people in tourism

While the focus of this initiative is not exclusively on poor people, there are specific actions that have been or are being taken to involve and benefit them. The table below presents these actions, in relation to the issues and barriers that they seek to address.

Table 1 Actions to involve poor people in tourism

Issues and barriers	Actions taken by the Programme
Seasonality of employment	Reduction of seasonality through market diversification
Low level of activity (e.g. guides)	Creation and promotion of tours Training of tour guides Policy on tour guiding
Uneven geographic distribution of benefits	Promotion of tours and other activities in remote areas. Development of strategic development plans at the community level
Displacement and loss of access to resources, conflicts in resource utilisation	Negotiation and conflict management processes
No access to markets	Marketing initiatives
Inadequate quality standards	Capacity building in the arts and crafts sector. Development of standards and training of operators in the application of these standards
No financial or physical assets	Design and promotion of activities using publicly owned assets, e.g. turtle watches Design and promotion of village based activities, e.g. seafood night

3. Results and Impacts

In order to inform this study, four Programme interventions were selected and studied in greater detail, in order to distil their experience and draw lessons. The impacts of each experience were reviewed against the indicators of achievement established at the outset of the Programme.

In its literature, the Programme has defined Heritage Tourism as one that:

Social impact

- Involves participatory planning at all levels
- Provides opportunities for local training and education
- Supports community institutions
- Encourages social cohesion
- Builds community pride and self-esteem
- Creates opportunities and reduces migration
- Adds value to local culture and tradition
- Creates infrastructure

Environmental impact

- Uses natural capital sustainably
- Uses a wide range of resources
- Minimises environmental impacts
- Ensures protection through local involvement
- Encourages non-consumptive uses

Economic impact

- Creates infrastructure
- Creates jobs and new income opportunities
- Does not disrupt existing sustainable activities
- Creates linkages among sectors
- Is economically viable
- Provides markets for products and services
- Contributes to balanced development

Product enhancement, policy impact

- Ensures high quality visitor experience
- Builds new linkages with traditional tourism
- Authenticates the St. Lucian experience
- Builds linkages nationally and regionally
- Diversifies the product and provides new marketing options

3.1 Case studies

3.1.1 Participatory planning in Laborie village

The village of Laborie is located on St. Lucia's southwest coast. In 1999, following the completion of a community beautification project, a group of residents decided to embark on a participatory planning exercise to develop a collective vision and design strategic programmes, involving all

sectors of the community in the process. The Programme provided support for and technical assistance to this process, which has resulted in the preparation of a comprehensive strategic development plan for the community, and in the design of new and participatory institutional arrangements for implementation.

The process has allowed for the participatory definition of a local vision for tourism development, which recognises the area's cultural assets, and defines the type of tourism that local residents wish to encourage. On that basis, a detailed programme of work has been drawn up and has recently been initiated. It involves the conduct of an inventory of local natural and cultural assets, the provision of support to small scale locally-owned enterprises, the design and development of cultural events and attractions, the promotion of alternative, small-scale facilities, and a continued process of local awareness, training and capacity building.

Table 2 Impact of participatory planning initiative in Lamborie village

Impacts of case	Lessons learned
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social impact This process has brought together a wide range of stakeholders at the local and national levels. It has enhanced communication among them, and has allowed for a participatory assessment of social issues. It has resulted in the identification of an institutional arrangement which is likely to lead to on-going participation in local development processes. • Environmental impact Too early to assess. • Economic impact Too early to assess. • Product development, policy impact The process has resulted in the identification of a local tourism product. It has also begun to influence national processes, especially as it relates to the participation of communities in planning and policy formulation, and to the design of local government institutions. 	<p>Genuine participatory processes for planning and policy formulation cannot look exclusively at tourism as a sector. They need to incorporate all dimensions of development. There cannot be a vision for tourism development; there can only be a vision for development, within which tourism finds its place.</p>

3.1.2 : Creation of HERITAS and branding of Heritage Tours

In response to the need to market the various products it had been involved in, the Programme developed a marketing brand, 'Heritage Tours, Explore St. Lucia', and has authorised the use of this brand by ten sites or tours around the country. The Programme has developed brochures and other advertising and marketing instruments, and has helped form an association that brings together the operators of these sites and tours. This association, called HERITAS, was intended to assume responsibility, during an initial launching period, for the marketing of the products, with a focus on cruise ship passengers at Port Castries, the capital city.

It quickly became clear, however, that this new association would not have the capacity to organise marketing. The Programme therefore assumed this responsibility itself, staffed a booth at the harbour, negotiated an agreement with taxi operators, and began to sell the tours. While this operation has not yet been profitable, it is now established and registering significant volumes. The

Programme is currently considering the option of selling the franchise to these tours to one of the established tour operators on the island, and negotiations are already under way to that effect.

Local site and tour operators have benefited unevenly from the arrangements so far. Some have seen a significant increase in the use of their facilities, while others claim that the marketing has not helped them at all. Factors contributing to the difference include product quality, the extent of complementary marketing done for the individual operator, and the distance of the sites from the cruise ship harbour.

Table 3 Impact of Heritas branding

Impacts of case	Lessons learned
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social impact The initiative has created an association of local operators, but it is still weak. • Environmental impact In most of the sites, economic benefits have been an incentive for environmental management. The sites have also helped to raise environmental awareness among nationals, especially those who have visited the sites and have therefore seen a direct link between environmental quality and income generation. • Economic impact While all impacts cannot be attributed to this initiative, it is clear that the Programme is primarily responsible for the economic impacts generated by these sites and tours: approximately fifty jobs, outlets for local produce. • Product development, policy impact This initiative has had a major impact on the overall product, and on the acceptance of the concept of Heritage Tourism among all the principal stakeholders. The brand has helped sell ten tours for a total value of EC\$ 480,000 over the first year; but, perhaps more importantly, it has sold the concept to a whole society. 	<p>The rationale and purpose for creating new organisations must be clear; they must respond to expressed and felt needs.</p> <p>There is need for a more comprehensive and effective marketing strategy, which blends collective undertakings (the brand) with site or event specific efforts.</p>

3.1.3 Village tourism in Anse la Raye

Anse la Raye is one of St. Lucia's poorest villages. Many villagers migrate to Castries, or other countries because of a lack of economic opportunities. This 'brain drain' has further impeded the economic development of the community. Although there were two privately owned tourism sites already in existence, it is only since the St. Lucia Heritage Tourism Programme took an interest in Anse la Raye that there has been an emphasis on developing the area as a Heritage Tourism village. Through collaboration with the Village Council and other organisations, SLHTP was able to mobilise individuals and groups to the idea of Heritage Tourism. Presently, there are several sites and activities in Anse la Raye: two waterfalls, a museum and sugar mill, two viewing sites at both entrances of the village, and a weekly seafood night.

The most successful of these activities to date is the seafood night. Participation in this activity has enabled the community to use one of its most abundant resources - the sea - and to create a revenue generating activity while maintaining a cultural flavour. Every Friday evening St. Lucians and visitors alike can enjoy a range of seafood on the village beach front while being entertained by local artists. The event supports about forty vendors, most of whom are women. There are approximately an additional fifteen vendors who benefit directly from this venture, not to mention the bars and nightclubs in the area. The Anse la Raye seafood night has now become the most popular activity of its kind on the island.

Table 4 Impact of Anse la Raye initiative

Impacts of case	Lessons learned
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <p>• Social impact</p> <p>Although there are a few privately run sites, the experience in Anse la Raye involved participatory planning at both community and governmental level. It has developed a greater sense of pride and ownership among community members and has generally allowed for an increase in social services for villagers. The feeling of desolation and neglect is gradually being replaced by one of hope and enthusiasm. There has however also been a reported increase in criminality, car theft, etc.</p> <p>• Environmental impact</p> <p>Heritage Tourism in Anse la Raye is based on its natural resources: waterfalls, sea and scenery. However, measures to ensure the sustainable use of these resources have yet to be established.</p> <p>• Economic impact</p> <p>The development of Heritage Tourism in Anse la Raye, particularly the seafood activity, has created a much need alternative economic opportunity for many villagers. Through linkages with other sectors (e.g. fishing), it has allowed this economic gain to spread throughout the community.</p> <p>• Product development, policy impact</p> <p>The organisers are presently looking for alternative ways to prepare fish as well as enhance the booths. There are also presently negotiations to bring in the tour guide operators with their busloads of clients into Anse la Raye. There are plans to develop one of the waterfalls.</p> 	<p>This experience shows how participatory planning and community ownership can encourage community pride and generate support for the product.</p> <p>An activity which can draw on various sectors will be more viable in the long run.</p> <p>Activities that do not require a large capital investment can yield significant benefits.</p> <p>A large crowd can destroy the authenticity of an area. It would therefore become just an economically generating activity and not a cultural and genuine St. Lucian experience.</p>

3.1.4 Fond Latisab Heritage Tourism site

In 1998, two small entrepreneurs took the initiative of establishing the Fond Latisab Heritage Tourism site, located on a small family farm in a rural community in the north of the island. The community is undergoing a number of economic and social changes. It has been affected by the declining banana industry, and the proximity of urban and tourism centres offers new employment opportunities and generates new demands on local resources. The site's main attraction is the presentation and interpretation, in a two-hour tour, of three traditional activities, namely sawing

lumber accompanied by drumming and chanting, catching crayfish in the river, and processing cassava to produce flour. The quality of this site lies in the authenticity of the experience it offers, and in the personality of the individuals who guide this heritage tour.

The site currently employs five people, plus its owner and promoter. Its clientele is composed primarily of cruise ship passengers taking a half-day tour from the Castries harbour. The balance of the clientele is composed of nationals and local residents. The facility occasionally purchases agricultural produce (cassava for processing, and fruits for juices) from other farmers, but its policy is to become self-sufficient in this respect. Some of the tours also use a local restaurant for meals. In order to develop the facility, the owner has taken a loan through the National Research and Development Foundation. Loan repayments are being made according to schedule.

Table 5 Impact of Fond Latisab initiative

Impacts of case	Lessons learned
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="177 730 379 763">• Social impact The site is a private initiative, with no community involvement in design. Its cultural content is a source of pride for the local community, and a national resource for the interpretation of some aspects of the cultural heritage. Its role as a tourism attraction may encourage public investment in local infrastructure, especially roads. <li data-bbox="177 1025 496 1059">• Environmental impact It provides an incentive for natural resource management, particularly the river where crayfish are caught. <li data-bbox="177 1187 427 1220">• Economic impact It has created five jobs, all based on local and traditional knowledge and skills. It may, in time, create additional jobs, either directly through an increase in visitor traffic, or indirectly through vending, etc. <li data-bbox="177 1413 667 1447">• Product development, policy impact It provides an authentic and different experience. But it is not enough to attract new visitors to the island, i.e. it will remain limited to the existing clientele (hotels and cruise ships). 	<p data-bbox="906 770 1409 835">Cultural products are important in raising local awareness and self-esteem.</p> <p data-bbox="906 846 1409 974">Existing social institutions, in this instance the family, are important unit of production, and provide the basis for viable new initiatives.</p> <p data-bbox="906 1227 1409 1328">Quality requires small scale. This suggests that there is an opportunity to develop many more sites in the country.</p> <p data-bbox="906 1451 1409 1682">Established, large scale tour operators can represent an obstacle to the promotion and marketing of small-scale products; but they can also become suitable marketing agents when they are satisfied that the product meets their requirements and standards.</p>

3.2. Review and summary of impacts

On the basis of the analysis of these four cases, and following a more general review of Programme implementation, it is possible to summarise the impacts of the Programme as represented in the following table.

Box 1 Summary of case study impacts

Social impacts

- Strengthened capacity among national and local organisations (national resource management agencies, community organisations, national non-governmental organisations)
- Improved capacity of selected natural resource management and development agencies to become involved in the tourism sector
- Improved linkages (a) among public and private sector agencies involved in tourism, (b) between tourism agencies and other development actors, and (c) within communities and among civil society organisations
- Improved skills in a number of areas, including tour guiding, site design and management, marketing and arts and craft production

Environmental impacts

- Increased environmental awareness at the national and local levels
- Improved understanding of relationship between environmental management and sustainable economic development

Economic impacts

- Increased employment and income generation opportunities
- Improved geographic distribution of employment and income generation opportunities
- Increased flow of resources towards local level development initiatives

Product development, policy impact

- Diversified tourism product
- Increased understanding of the potential contribution of Heritage Tourism to national development
- Increased understanding of the shortcomings of current dominant forms of tourism development
- Improved and more participatory policy processes in the tourism sector.

3.2.1 Summary of progress and anticipated impacts

Beyond this impact assessment, the main achievement of the first two years of the Programme is that they have demonstrated to most stakeholders that there is a need and an opportunity to transform the tourism product. Further this transformation could result in the creation of a tourism industry that is more beneficial to the majority of the people of St. Lucia. It has generated a new perception of tourism, in a country where this sector is currently the main contributor to economic growth, and the principal earner of foreign exchange. It has given meaning to a concept which people have previously not had the opportunity to comprehend.

The Programme has also demonstrated, through its various experiments, that this change is actually possible, that the concept could be made real. During the process, it has tested many of the approaches, methods, institutional arrangements and practical tools which are needed to realise this transformation. It has shown, by creating a demand for cultural and natural products, that these assets need to be managed, preserved and enhanced, and that the country's natural and cultural assets could contribute more directly to economic development. It has illustrated the link between social institutions and organisations on the one hand, and the capacity to stimulate economic development on the other.

In many respects, the Programme has, so far, been an advocacy programme. Except in very selected instances, it has not yet realised the changes that are necessary to involve people, especially the poor, in the sector, and to make the distribution of benefits more equitable. But it has begun to create some of the essential conditions required to make those changes possible. The challenge today is for the Programme to capitalise on the significant investment and remarkable advances it has made so far, and to take a number of new initiatives. These are also necessary if the programme wishes to achieve its initial objectives. As an advocacy initiative, it has also laid the foundation for more permanent and profound changes. This foundation rests on five pillars, five elements that the Programme can now capitalise on:

- *Defining an emerging 'sub-sector'*

The Programme has defined a concept, Heritage Tourism, with a distinct identity and specific features.

- *Building capacity*

Much of the Programme's efforts have been directed towards building or strengthening the capacity of national and local organisations, in government, the public sector and civil society, to play a meaningful and effective role in the transformed tourism sector

- *Making cracks in the fortress*

Thanks to many of its strategic interventions (e.g. competing for clients on the cruise ship wharf, publicising positive impacts at the community level, supporting local and national strategic planning processes, raising the profile of local operators, or working with a range of institutional partners), the Programme has created openings and opportunities in a sector that is renowned for its resistance and lack of sensitivity to local needs and demands.

- *Creating awareness and demand*

Not only has the Programme given life to an idea, but it has generated support and demand for it. 'Heritage Tourism', even if understood in very different ways by the various stakeholders, is now a popular concept, a good idea, something to go for and benefit from.

- *Changing the policy context*

In addition to this, the Programme has begun to transform public policy, both in terms of the processes (participatory planning at the local level, and increased collaboration and co-ordination among agencies at the national level) and the content (new policy on tour guide).

Relevance of this achievement to poverty reduction

While it remains clear that the Programme does not have an exclusive and explicit pro-poor focus, it has the potential to impact significantly on poverty in the country. This potential resides primarily at the following levels:

- *Job creation*

The Programme's new product creates opportunities for job creation in a variety of areas, including site management, cultural production, transportation, guiding, food, vending and entertainment. Most, if not all, of these opportunities are open to poor people. In addition, it is assumed that the development of this sub-sector will result in the expansion of the overall tourism industry, thus increasing employment opportunities in the more conventional areas, such as hotels and transportation.

- *Preserving and enhancing occupational strategies*

One of the main strategies employed by people in the Caribbean is to diversify and engage in multiple occupations to maintain and enhance resilience. The job opportunities that Heritage Tourism offers are often consistent with this pattern, adding one activity to the range of occupations and activities which people pursue.

- *Utilising and enhancing the skills that poor people possess*

One of the distinctive features of the Heritage Tourism sub-sector is that it is able to use traditional skills, in cooking, farming, fishing, artistic expression, craft production or communication, skills that poor people typically possess. It also often nurtures and enhances them, as it consciously utilises them as an element of the product.

- *Reducing vulnerability to poverty*

In St. Lucia and many other countries of the Caribbean, the main challenge is not only to reduce poverty, but it also vulnerability, particularly in the face of the changes brought by processes of globalisation which has generally marginalised small island economies. Tourism activities and enterprises which are integrated in rural production systems have the potential to reduce that vulnerability and help prevent some of the catastrophic social and economic consequences of the decline of traditional export crops, such as bananas in St. Lucia.

- *Giving value to popular culture*

In all its interventions, the Programme respects and enhances local culture. It confers a positive value to many elements of that culture, thus contributing to building cultural pride and self esteem. The wood Sawyer at Fond Latisab, like many other operators in the sub-sector, is now able to share his traditional knowledge; it is that knowledge which has become the product, the source of income and employment in his community.

- *Diversifying the demand for products and services*

The growth of the sub-sector is therefore likely to result, as shown by the various experiments already undertaken by the Programme, in an increase in the demand for products and services which poor people are able to provide, from farm produce to seafood, from folk music to rainforest walks.

- *Distributing the benefits geographically*

In St. Lucia, as in most tourism destinations, tourism activity is concentrated in a small number of areas. The experience of this Programme has shown that it is possible to ensure a better distribution of benefits. This is not only because Heritage Tourism products are often located in more remote areas, but also because overall the new products are conducive to wider distribution through e.g. smaller hotels, alternative accommodation, reduced reliance on large infrastructure.

- *Building capacity*

Because of the involvement of a wider range stakeholders (e.g. community groups, non-governmental organisations, co-operatives), the changes brought about by the Programme will result in the strengthening of capacity at all levels. This is particularly true at the community level, where Heritage Tourism has become the motivation and the driving force for management and development initiatives, some of which require an array of skills and management systems.

Requirements for realising the potential

After two years of significant progress, the challenge faced by this Programme is to build on its achievements in order to realise its ultimate objective of transforming, even in a small way, the entire tourism industry. Based on the experience to date, it appears that this potential can only be

realised through simultaneous and integrated interventions on a number of fronts:

- *Sharing the vision and developing the policy framework*

While the leadership of the Programme has a clear vision, it is not necessary shared by other actors. There is no policy framework to guide the development of the tourism product and to integrate it into the national social and economic fabric, and there is insufficient political support for the vision and approaches advocated by the Programme. The Programme however has the opportunity, and perhaps also the duty, to become more pro-active in the field of public policy, and to continue the bottom-up process of translating local lessons into policies and programmes at the macro level. In many respects, popular demand and support already exist for this shift on three fronts: from a) informal activity to explicit formulation of public policies for the tourism sector, b) towards pro-poor, people-oriented, sustainable tourism development; and c) towards full integration of the vision into the discourse and programmes of the country's political directorate. The Programme therefore provides a unique opportunity for a participatory approach towards consensus building in policy formulation;

- *Clarifying the conceptual and ideological basis*

In order to succeed, the Programme needs to clarify a number of concepts, and to make a number of fundamental choices. So far, the ambiguity which surrounds the concept of Heritage Tourism has helped mobilise a wide range of stakeholders behind the Programme's work. However, as the implementation process continues, there will be winners and losers. Without an explicit pro-poor emphasis, the Programme will benefit those who already have access to financial capital at the expense of the poor. The Programme therefore needs to define and adopt a more explicit focus on equity and on the reduction of poverty and vulnerability to poverty. It needs to translate these into clear criteria that can guide the selection of initiatives that it supports or encourages. It also needs to articulate the link between Heritage Tourism and local private sector development, reconciling its vision of small-scale enterprise with the requirements for international competitiveness.

- *Developing a quality product that meets international standards and has the potential to (a) attract existing clientele and enhance the impact on poor people, and (b) transform the overall tourism product and attract new clientele to the destination*

This requires a comprehensive approach to product development, inspired and guided by recent experience, but capable of encompassing more components of the tourism product. While it has placed emphasis so far on natural assets, the Programme now needs to pay more attention to cultural products and experiences, including the provision of spaces for performances, and to a broader range of visitor activities. This effort will require, *inter alia*, continued attention to the quality of all products, to the maintenance of acceptable standards, and to effective and efficient product management at every level.

- *Enhancing and securing access to common property assets*

Most of the Programme's product developments to date have focused on privately-owned assets. Over the past few years, this Programme and other national agencies have made attempts, to develop collaboratively-managed tourism sites and attractions, but these have not been extremely successful. Yet, it is clear that the only opportunity offered to many poor people to benefit from tourism is through the communal use of publicly-owned assets such as trails, waterfalls, public parks and historic sites. Procedures involved in developing such arrangements are however complex, far more so than those involved in dealing with private property. At this time, the Programme cannot escape the need for a targeted effort to formulate an appropriate policy framework which provides for collaborative management arrangements, and for vesting some of the rights, notably the rights of use and exclusion, to community organisations and groups.

- *Developing and implementing a comprehensive marketing framework*

The success of all these initiatives also depends on a strategic and integrated approach to marketing. There is a need for the Programme to build stronger links with the key actors in marketing, and to help develop an overall framework. This framework should identify and target each market segment, create a demand for its new products, and ensure that there is a match between product and marketing targets. It should also ensure that all key actors, beginning with the St. Lucia Tourist Board, have a clearly defined function, and have the capacity to implement it. At the same time, it should explore the possibility of involving established tour operators in a pro-poor approach to tourism.

- *Understanding what works and what does not work*

The Programme also has the opportunity to learn from its experience to date. While it has been in existence for only two years, it has already accumulated an impressive volume of experience, which it needs to analyse to guide future action. There are several issues and questions which need greater investigation, such as what is the real social and economic impact of Heritage Tourism sites on host communities? What is the desirable scale of development at the local and national levels?

- *Integrating instruments of economic analysis*

The Programme has suffered from paying insufficient attention to economic issues. While the Programme has placed Heritage Tourism on the national development agenda, it has not yet defined what this means in terms of poverty reduction, employment, revenue and livelihoods. The Programme thus needs to integrate economic analysis into the design and management of all its initiatives, and this will be a condition of its ability to deliver a pro-poor tourism agenda.

- *Developing specific policy measures and instruments*

In addition to the focus on learning, the Programme also needs to continue its work on the formulation and introduction of specific policy instruments. Some of the most important and urgent measures include those that facilitate entry of small operators in the activities sub-sector; legal and institutional arrangements for collaborative management of publicly-owned assets; enhancement of linkages between tourism and other economic sectors; and identification, adoption and enforcement of standards.

- *Building capacity*

At the same time, the Programme needs to continue and intensify its efforts at capacity building, especially those targeted at local organisations and community groups. To date, one of the main obstacles to successful programme implementation has been the weakness of local and community-based organisations. This process will require continued support for training, strategic planning, organisational development and fundraising. It is a process which is likely to take more time than that provided in the initial agreement between the EC and the Government of St. Lucia.

- *Education and advocacy*

The progress of pro-poor tourism is affected by the lack of knowledge of how the industry works, and by the varied perceptions and expectations among various sectors of society. There is a need to reconcile these perceptions with the realities of what tourism can do for people, and what people can do to transform tourism.

4. Lessons Learned

There are several lessons which can be extracted from this experience.

In countries and regions where tourism is well-developed, it appears desirable and possible to transform the existing sector, in order to integrate a poverty focus. While the experience of this Programme is still very new, its achievements are probably sufficient to suggest that it is possible to shift an entire industry towards a more positive impact on poverty and sustainability, and that even a slight shift is likely to result in significant changes.

Initiatives aimed at transforming an existing sector must encompass a broad range of strategic interventions. One of the strengths of this Programme is that it has worked simultaneously on many fronts. Yet one of its weaknesses is that it has left some of these fronts unattended for some or all of the time. Any effort aimed at transforming a sector must be concerned with both policy and action, it must build capacity at all levels, it must confront external forces and deal with internal processes, it must advocate, educate and communicate, it must establish and forge partnerships with a multitude of actors in government, civil society and the private sector.

National-level initiatives towards pro-poor tourism need to be guided by a clear vision and clear objectives. This example shows that tourism cannot be a panacea for the structural weaknesses inherent in small island economies affected by globalisation. However it can help these economies cope with externally-induced changes. In order to be effective, initiatives such as this must have a good sense of where they want to go, and a good understanding of the economic and social context in which they are implemented. This must also be translated into measurable goals and objectives dealing with poverty reduction, employment creation, environmental sustainability, social cohesion and cultural integrity.

Change in tourism requires a good knowledge of the industry in all its forms and dimensions. Although tourism is extremely important in national economies and in its impact on the lives of so many people, tourism is not well-known, studied or understood by the majority of the population. Institutions concerned with pro-poor tourism must therefore support and engage in research activities which can demonstrate how the industry really works, and provide the data and analysis required for management.

The success of national-level initiatives depends, to a large extent, on the leadership provided by the national government. While many interventions and actions can be undertaken by organisations, the communities and private sector, this Programme shows that they cannot be fully effective without a strong commitment and involvement of government. There is a particularly important role for government in policy formulation, as well as in the establishing institutional structures which allow a pro-poor agenda to be integrated into the vision and work of all relevant organisations.

Without appropriate systems, constraints of implementation may reduce the pro-poor focus of development programmes. While this Programme may not have an explicit pro-poor focus, an examination of its early documents reveals that this initiative is rooted in a concern for poverty. It appears, however, that this essence has been somewhat diluted during implementation. In the absence of an explicit pro-poor focus, and of mechanisms (performance indicators, periodic reviews) specifically designed to retain this focus, concerns for efficient implementation often take precedent. With all the constraints of a donor-funded and performance-driven project, it is simply easier to work with a business-minded entrepreneur, however small, than to work with and for poor, marginalised and powerless communities.

Prior knowledge of the tourism industry is essential. The SLHTP has made good use of staff and resource people that know about the mechanics of the industry, including the way it is structured, who the main actors are, the market opportunities that are available. This has saved time that would otherwise have been spent on familiarisation of the industry. It has also enabled the Programme to design effective interventions (such as Heritage Tours); and provide a degree of credibility with the industry.

Interventions in pro-poor tourism must benefit from specific skills, from a good knowledge of the sector among those who lead and implement the intervention.

In the design and implementation of interventions, participatory processes can mobilise support. In this instance, the key stakeholders were identified at an early stage, and they were involved in developing the vision and mission for the Programme. This and subsequent consultations helped to mobilise a broad base of support behind the Programme and provided momentum which helped the pace of implementation in the initial phase.

Start where people are. This Programme recognised early on that levels of awareness among its target population were poor. By providing basic information to potential beneficiaries, the Programme is clarifying what can and cannot be achieved within the constraints of available resources. Change processes must start from the reality of experiences, perceptions and expectations, in order to be able to transform them.

Strengthen what is there. The Programme has chosen to work through local organisations and structures wherever possible. In some cases, interventions have not been as effective as they might have been because of the lack of local capacity. However, investments in those organisations are beginning to yield returns and augur well for the sustainability of programme impacts. A pro-poor tourism initiative will always benefit from the involvement of the existing network of organisations in the society which it seeks to serve.

Policy context is as important as policy content. The Programme has not focussed on the development of specific policies for Heritage Tourism. However, through demonstration and other forms of advocacy it has succeeded in creating the conditions for new thinking in St. Lucia on the future of the industry. By making processes of policy formulation more participatory and transparent, pro-poor initiatives can create suitable conditions for policy reform.

Pro-poor tourism requires an interdisciplinary approach. The SLHTP has drawn from discourse on both tourism and development. This is reflected in the partners that it works through, its staff, and its advisory committee. Pro-poor tourism initiatives must recognise this reality, and bring in the expertise and experience that is relevant to the various fields and disciplines.

Pro-poor tourism requires indicators. Part of the reason that the SLHTP cannot be seen as a pro-poor tourism initiative is that the experience of poverty in St. Lucia has not been defined. There are no indicators that help to identify what the local equivalent of the US\$1.00/ day benchmark is, let alone differences between the fairly poor and the poorest. Pro-poor initiatives need to develop indicators and to apply them.

Pro-poor tourism requires broad evaluation. In developing a different kind of product the SLHTP is creating opportunities for the equitable participation of poor people in tourism. But there are doubts whether pro-poor tourism is a cost effective form of economic development. Pro-poor tourism initiatives must also be concerned with the non-financial impacts of tourism, and the extent to which poor people value these, since these may outweigh the financial benefits.

Pro-poor tourism depends on social capital. In this case, the capacity of the Programme has not been matched by that of its implementing partners, at a local or a national level. This has implications for sustaining the impacts of the Programme's interventions. The initiative has also been affected by the weaknesses of the local government structure. Opportunities however exist when existing forms of social capital, such as the family and the informal community institutions, are used as the basis for development. Pro-poor tourism initiatives must be based on a good understanding of the social capital of the host society, and must be able to identify the elements of that capital which have significant potential in the development of policies, actions or programmes.

'Community-based' does not necessarily equal 'pro-poor'. Working through community-based organisations and enhancing community participation do not guarantee that poor people will benefit from an intervention such as this. The institutions that feature in the lives of poor people must become involved in these interventions. The pro-poor focus must be explicit.

Pro-poor tourism requires tourism. St Lucia has an established tourism industry and associated infrastructure. The industry does not have a pro-poor orientation, but its history has created the conditions for the development of the SLHTP, which is probably the most effective advocate for the principles that underpin the concept in the eastern Caribbean. There are conditions within a tourism industry that can lead to the development, or at least the acceptance, of pro-poor-tourism initiatives.

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