THE EVOLUTION OF A 'PLANTATION' TOURISM LANDSCAPE ON THE CARIBBEAN ISLAND OF ANTIGUA

by

DAVID B. WEAVER*

Regina, Canada

Introduction

The travel industry has expanded rapidly during the past four decades, with the number of international tourists increasing from an estimated 25 million in 1950 to 340 million in 1987 (World Tourism Organization 1987, p. 164). Although most international travel still occurs within the 'developed' world, the proportion of tourists visiting Third World destinations has expanded from 7.3% in 1962 to approximately 20% in 1987 (World Tourism Organization 1987, pp. 164-171). The large-scale diffusion of tourism into the underdeveloped world is resulting in the emergence of a leisure-supply region, or 'pleasure periphery', incorporating large portions of the Caribbean, the Mediterranean basin and the South Pacific (Turner & Ash 1975). This process is significant due to tourism's potential impact upon the economic and social development of the periphery, and from a geographical perspective, for its implicit implications of spatial change. In many parts of the Caribbean, tourism has now replaced agriculture as the dominant economic activity, resulting in modifications to the local landscape which have yet to be modelled by geographers. The large-scale model of source/destination interaction provided by Miossec (1977) represents one of the more articulate attempts to examine the concept of tourism space at any scale of analysis. However, his model considers neither the spatial characteristics of the destinations themselves (i.e. local-scale analysis), the aspect of temporal change, nor the special circumstances of Third World resorts within the pleasure periphery. The rationale for treating the latter destinations distinctly is based upon their status as underdeveloped hinterlands subjected (both historically and contemporarily) to the dynamics of the global core-periphery relationship. S. Britton (1980), while examining this relationship in so far as it has influenced the spatial character of tourism in Fiji, does not subsequently formulate a model of peripheral Third World tourism space. Within the context of dependency theory, this paper will specifically utilize the Caribbean island of Antigua to examine and model the evolution of tourism as an agent of change in a peripheral landscape dominated by the 'plantation system'. Consideration will then be given to the social and economic implications of the model and its relationship to the resort cycle concept hypothesized by Butler (1980). The latter model provides a potentially useful framework for studying the evolution of tourist destinations (see below for more detail), although its applicability to the Third World periphery must be ascertained through the empirical investigation of destinations such as Antigua.

Dependency theory, tourism and the Caribbean

Dependency theorists recognize the contemporary division of global space into dominant 'metropolitan' or 'core' regions and subordinate 'satellites' or 'peripheries' (see for ex-

---

* Department of Geography, Luther College, University of Regina, Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada, S45 0A2

Received March 1988; revised June 1988.

ample Frank 1967, Rodney 1972, Amin 1976, Wallerstein 1979). The emergence of this dichotomy is associated with Europe's imperialist expansion after 1500, which entailed (with some exceptions such as Ethiopia and Thailand) the gradual appropriation and incorporation of Africa, Asia and America into a single global economic system dominated by the European core powers. Subsequently, 'capitalist development simultaneously generated development and underdevelopment, not as separate processes but as related facets of one single process' (Buchanan 1968, p. 83). Few regions were peripheralized as thoroughly as the Caribbean. According to Mintz (1971, p. 23), 'the European experience on the islands was in fact that of creating a world without men soon after original contact. This scourging of the human landscape enabled the Europeans to set the terms of their future colonialism in ways very different from those available to them in the densely occupied areas of the non-western world.' The newly created Caribbean 'tabula rasa' was thereafter 'manned almost entirely with introduced populations, and fitted to European needs with peculiar intensity and pervasiveness' (Mintz 1971, p. 36). On most islands, this entailed the establishment of plantations which supplied the European cores with a variety of agricultural staples. Gradually, the characteristics of the dominant plantation mode of production extended beyond agriculture itself to pervade all aspects of the socio-economic structure. Beckford (1972) describes the resulting formation as a 'plantation system', and notes its tendency to persist in an area even after agriculture itself has declined as a significant activity. Beckford and others (e.g. Mandel 1982) have cited this persistence as a major factor underlying the contemporary underdevelopment of the Caribbean region.

When tourism emerged in the period after 1945 as a promising alternative to agriculture, the new activity was readily accommodated within the existing core-periphery structure of the Caribbean, with its endemic plantation system. Harrigan (1974, p. 20), Hills & Lundgren (1977) and Richards (1982, pp. 31-32) have noted the structural similarities between plantation agriculture and modern mass tourism in the Caribbean, which reflect both the inherent characteristics of the latter sector and its adaptability to the pre-existing social and economic structure. These similarities include the dominant role of expatriate investment capital as well as ownership and management, the seasonal nature of employment, the need for a large component of unskilled local labour, the reliance upon a narrow range of markets, and the responsiveness of each activity to external rather than local needs. Since 1945, certain islands within the Caribbean have been almost completely transformed from producers of agricultural staples to tourist resorts. While this transformation has entailed significant modifications in the cultural landscape, the core-periphery structure and the plantation system have remained essentially intact, resulting in a tourist industry which perpetuates underdevelopment.

Antigua as a case study

Given the objectives outlined above, the Caribbean island of Antigua provides an appropriate case study for analysis. The sugar-based agricultural economy first established in the mid-1600s persisted until the mid-20th century despite chronic difficulties (Starkey 1961, McDonald 1980, Richards 1982). However, by 1980 tourism had completely supplanted export agriculture as the island's dominant economic sector, as generalized in Figure 1 (Weaver 1986). This economic transformation has been accompanied by a large increase in the absolute number of tourist arrivals, attesting to Antigua's status as a rapidly growing destination within the 'pleasure periphery'. Additionally, the economy of Antigua has been described both in the past and present contexts as 'very open' (World Bank 1979, p. 5), resulting in a laissez-faire capitalist environment which has both facilitated the growth of tourism and allowed for a pattern of development essentially undistorted by government interference.

The plantation tourism model presented in this paper derives from an historical analysis of Antigua's tourism industry (see Weaver 1986, esp. pp. 82-166). Three stages in the development of the sector were identified, based upon the relationship between agriculture and tourism (see Fig. 1):

1. Pre-tourism (1632-1949); Agriculture is the dominant component of the economy, and tourism is negligible both in relative and absolute terms.
2. Transition (1950-1969); Agriculture and tourism temporarily co-exist as the two most important economic sectors.
3. Tourism-dominant (1970-present); Tourism stands alone as the dominant economic component of the Antiguan economy.

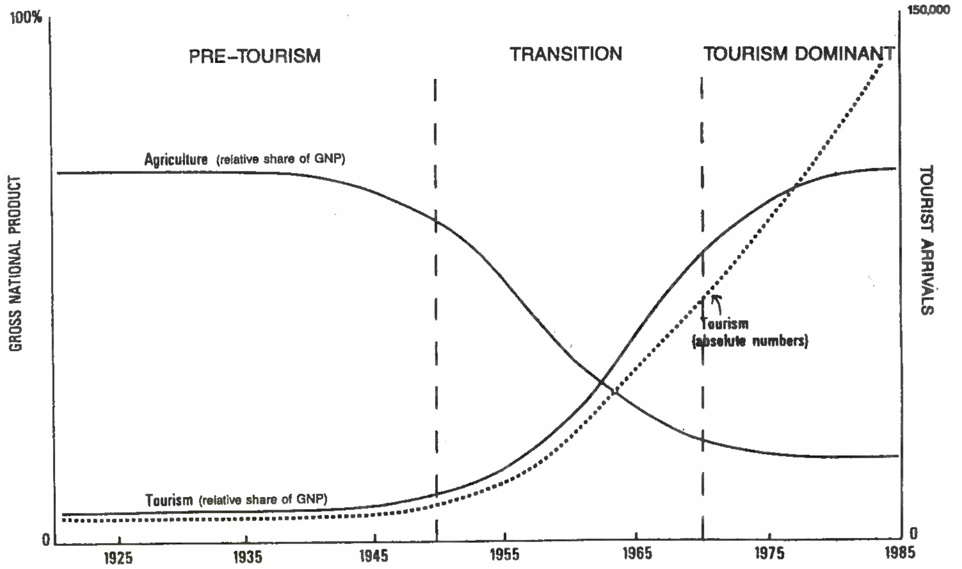

Fig. 1. *Antigua: stages of tourism development.*

It was assumed that each stage would be characterized by a distinct cultural landscape reflecting the changing balance between agriculture and tourism. Consequently, the spatial models depicted in Figure 2 were derived from profiles of the Antiguan tourist industry reconstructed for representative years within each stage (Pre-tourism: c. 1900; Transition: 1963; and Tourism-dominant: 1986). Additional assumptions of the model included a pattern of tourist growth based on the normal logistics curve, an environment completely unencumbered by development restrictions, and a cone-shaped island landscape surrounded by beachfront, interrupted only by a single dominant port town. The land use classification scheme for Figure 2 utilizes four ordinal categories of land use, based upon the degree to which the tourism industry is present in the landscape. 'Primary' land uses are those which exist especially to serve the tourist industry (the most obvious example being a resort hotel), while 'secondary' spaces (such as an airport) are utilized both by tourists and locals. 'Tertiary' spaces are indirectly influenced by tourism, and tourists are not usually present in such areas. This may include former agricultural land which has been abandoned because of speculation, or because of agriculture's overall decline due to competition with tourism. Finally, 'non-tourist' space provides no apparent evidence of direct or indirect tourism influences.

The plantation tourism landscape: pre-tourism stage

The initial entry of tourists into Antigua was made possible by the preliminary activity of colonists, soldiers and other non-tourist groups who established a level of accessibility conducive to non-essential travel (i.e. tourism). Thus, the resort cycle for the plantation island commenced only after the process of peripheralization had first been initiated. The description of Antigua's incipient tourism sector is based upon the individual accounts of early visitors, including Coleridge (1832), Gurney (1840), Baird (1850), Marrat (1876), Ober (1893, 1907), Verrill (1919) and Franck (1920). These early travellers, who may be described as 'explorers' (Cohen 1979) or 'allocentrics' (Plog 1972), were motivated by such considerations as the restoration of health, education, curiosity, and humanitarianism (e.g. monitoring the conditions under which Antigua's black population lived following their emancipation). Having reached Antigua after an arduous voyage along irregular transportation networks (initially by sailing ship and steamship,

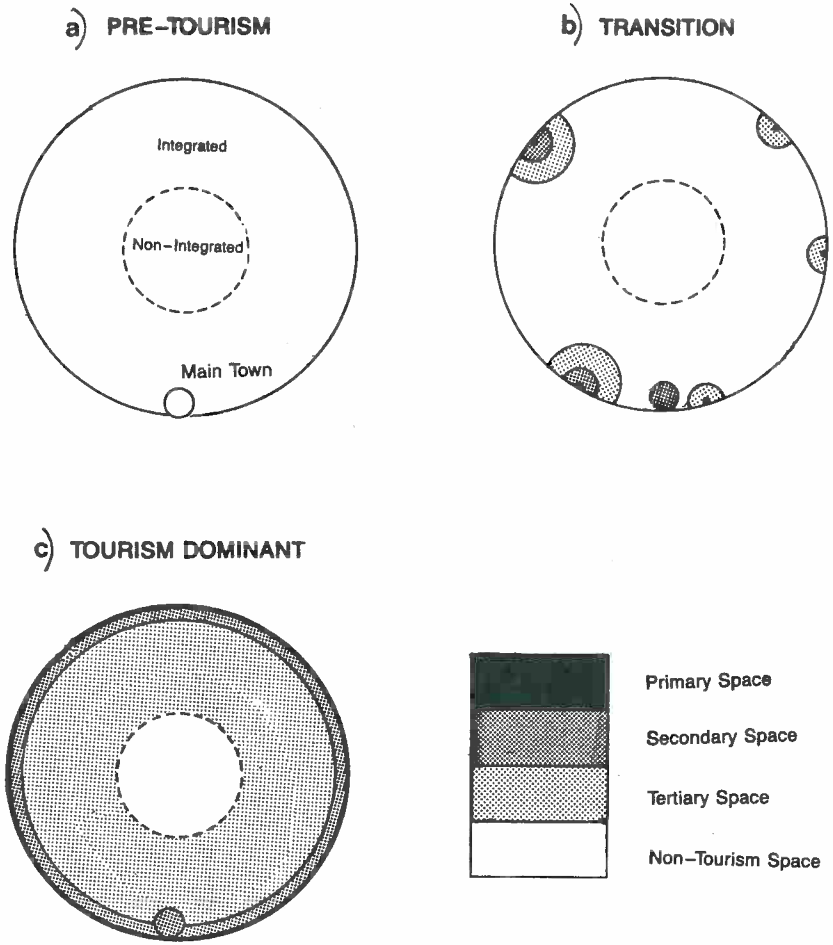
a) PRE-TOURISM
Integrated
Non-Integrated
Main Town
b) TRANSITION
c) TOURISM DOMINANT
Primary Space
Secondary Space
Tertiary Space
Non-Tourism Space

Fig. 2. *The plantation model of tourism; three stages of development.*

later by incipient forms of commercial air transportation), the early travellers were for the most part accommodated within the infrastructure and facilities of the plantation system. They arrived at ports established to serve the plantations (St. John's Harbour) or to protect them (English Harbour), were lodged in the 'great houses' of the local plantation-owning elite, and travelled along a network of roads which linked the plantations with the ports. The label 'pre-tourism' is not intended to imply the complete absence of tourism, but rather suggests its lack of economic significance and its inactive role as an agent of landscape change. Aside from a few small 'inns' in the main port of St. John's, and a single beachfront resort hotel established in 1940 (a plantation 'great house' restored as the Antigua Beach Hotel), few specialized facilities or services catered specifically to the tourist. For this reason, the entire island is classified as non-tourist space during the pre-tourism stage, allowing for a distinction between 'integrated' areas (usually near the coast) which had been incorporated into the plantation economy, and remote 'unintegrated' areas in the interior where large-scale farming was not feasible (see Fig. 2a). The activities of tourists, which mainly entailed sight-seeing, visits to estates and relaxation, were largely confined to the former area.

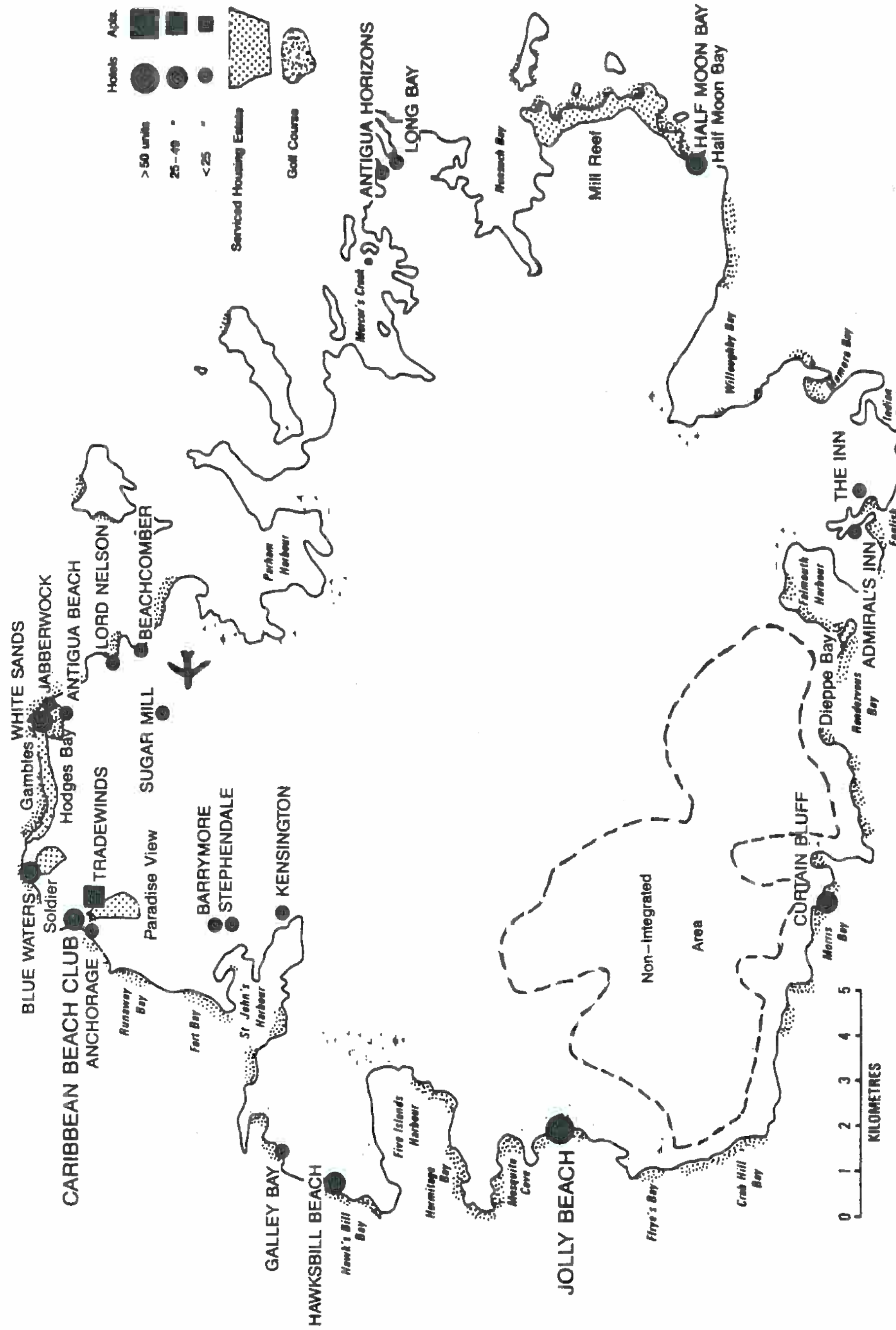
Hotels
Apts.
>50 units
25–49
<25
Serviced Housing Estate
Golf Course
ANTIGUA HORIZONS
LONG BAY
Nonsuch Bay
Mill Reef
HALF MOON BAY
Half Moon Bay
Mercer's Creek
Willoughby Bay
Mamora Bay
Indian Creek
THE INN
English Harbour
ADMIRAL'S INN
Falmouth Harbour
Dieppe Bay
Rendezvous Bay
CURTAIN BLUFF
Morris Bay
Non-Integrated
Area
Parham Harbour
WHITE SANDS
JABBERWOCK
ANTIGUA BEACH
LORD NELSON
BEACHCOMBER
SUGAR MILL
Gambles
Hodges Bay
BLUE WATERS
Soldier
TRADEWINDS
Paradise View
BARRYMORE
STEPHENDALE
KENSINGTON
CARIBBEAN BEACH CLUB
ANCHORAGE
Runaway Bay
Fort Bay
St John's Harbour
GALLEY BAY
HAWKSBILL BEACH
Hawk's Bill Bay
Five Islands Harbour
Hermitage Bay
Mosquito Cove
JOLLY BEACH
Ffrye's Bay
Crab Hill Bay
0
1
2
3
4
5
KILOMETRES

Fig. 3. *Antigua: tourist industry 1963.*

Sources:
Antigua 1:50,000 1973 Directorate of Overseas Surveys
Antigua 1:100,000 1980 D.O.S.

Transition stage

Due to a combination of external and internal factors, tourism emerges after a lengthy pre-tourism stage as a significant component of the peripheral island economy. In the case of Antigua, greater accessibility to the tourist market was provided by the de-activation of the American-built Coolidge airfield as a military facility in 1949, after which regular civilian services were gradually introduced. Concurrent initiatives by the Government and local entrepreneurs to attract visitors included the formation of the Antigua Tourist Board (1949), the passing of the Hotel Aid Ordinance (1951), and the establishment of the exclusive Mill Reef Club (1949) and the Friends of English Harbour (1951), an organization dedicated to the restoration of Nelson's Dockyards. With the establishment of specialized resort facilities to both meet and further stimulate this demand, tourism emerged during this stage as a more active, though initially limited agent of landscape change. The opening of the American-owned White Sands Hotel in 1954 heralded a period of externally initiated resort construction which has continued into the 1980s. By 1963, 22 resort facilities (including hotels and self-catering apartment complexes) offered 527 rooms of accommodation (see Fig. 3), although only the 80-room Jolly Beach Hotel could be considered 'large' (defined here as containing at least 50 rooms).

The siting of most resorts (i.e. 'primary' land use nodes) on the coast reflected the preference of an increasingly mid-centric tourist clientele for the so-called 'three esses'; sea, sand, and sun. Supportive infrastructure in Antigua included the Popeshead Coast road, built for the specific purpose of promoting tourism development along the coast north of St. John's. Certain resorts were surrounded on land by zones of secondary land use (see Fig. 2b), which mainly incorporated estate home developments (such as Paradise View and Soldiers) housing both seasonal residential tourists and local elites. The airport is also included in this category, as its use by the mid-1960s was divided equally between tourists and Antiguans. Tertiary spaces were in turn found in the vicinity of the primary and secondary land uses, attesting in part to the local influence of tourist resorts upon adjacent agricultural lands through speculation and competition for labour and capital, a process which is well documented in many peripheral destinations (see Campbell & Edwards 1965 for Antigua, Pacione 1977 for the Balearic Islands, Porteous 1980 for Easter Island, DeVries 1981 for Montserrat, and Thaman 1982 for the South Pacific islands). Thus, certain local villages may attain tertiary status as their labour forces become increasingly dependent upon employment opportunities provided in the tourist sector. Although revealing no direct presence of tourists or tourist facilities, tertiary spaces are considered integral to the tourism landscape because of tourism's dominant influence upon their character. Beyond these three zones of varying tourism impact, large tracts of non-tourism space attest to the persistence of plantation agriculture as an important activity in the landscape of the transitional stage. In the case of Antigua, sugar production in 1963 amounted to 27,687 tons, an output which compares favorably to the island's historical average (Weaver 1986, p. 255).

The apparent causal relationship in Fig. 1 between the decline of agriculture and the rise of tourism (commencing during the transition stage) requires further comment. The growth of tourism in Antigua and many other destinations did not in itself cause the demise of agriculture. Rather, its decline may be attributed largely to the emergence of tourism as a viable alternative to a chronically unstable agricultural sector, prompting the lateral transfer of investment capital by local and expatriate plantation interests from agriculture to tourism. In this process, coastal plantations were often converted into estate housing developments, while their 'great houses' were frequently renovated and reopened as hotels. Examples from Antigua of this convertability include the Mill Reef Club, built upon an abandoned 1,400-acre plantation, the Antigua Beach Hotel cited above, and the Jolly Beach resort, centrepiece of development on a 492-acre estate purchased by foreign entrepreneurs. In an analysis of the Fijian tourist industry, S. Britton (1980) has pointed out a similar relationship between the spatial characteristics of tourism and the pre-existing 'colonial space-economy', with resorts being established mainly upon plantation lands. The peripheral landscape in such ways responds to the changing demands placed upon it by a core which is itself undergoing fundamental economic and social change (i.e. the transition to a so-called 'post-industrial' stage).

Tourism-dominant stage

The status of agriculture during the tourism-dominant stage is similar to that of tourism during the pre-tourism (or agriculture-dominant) stage. By the mid-1970s, tourism directly and indirectly accounted for 60-70% of Antigua's gross domestic product, while sugar production fell to negligible levels following the closure of the last remaining sugar refinery in 1972. The overall decline of agriculture was clearly revealed by the Government land use survey of 1973, which classified only 6.3% of the island as 'cropland' (Antigua and Barbuda 1982). The continuing high growth rate of visitor arrivals and resort construction indicates that Antigua is currently experiencing the early phases of the tourism-dominant stage. The mature phase described below, representing an extrapolation of present trends in Antigua's tourism sector, culminates in the emergence of a 'tourism landscape' which reflects the direct and indirect impacts of tourism over most of the island. The mature tourism landscape may be conceptualized as a series of Von Thunen rings (see Fig. 2c), with the relationship between land use and tourism diminishing as one travels from the coast to the less attractive interior. The presence of a single dominant port town (i.e. St. John's), accommodating a wide spectrum of activities and groups, constitutes an exception to this pattern. Limitations of scale result in a 'secondary' designation for the port town, although a more detailed analysis would reveal discrete tourist and local land uses, as well as overlapping spaces.

As the number of tourist arrivals continues to increase during the early tourism-dominant stage, newly established resorts gradually coalesce with areas occupied by older resorts to form narrow ribbons of contiguous primary space along the coast. Figure 4 reveals the extent to which tourism-related land uses had occupied the coast of Antigua by 1986, at which time over 2,000 units of accommodation were available to tourists. Furthermore, a growing proportion of these units were contained within large integrated complexes such as the expanded 461-room Jolly Beach Hotel. Additional projects have been proposed for Antigua which, if implemented, will double the supply of accommodation space, and result in the presence of tourism-related land uses along most if not all of the coastline. Shankland Cox (1974) demonstrated that high relative land costs along Antigua's beachfront (US$ 16,000-$ 25,000 in 1972) effectively restricted the possible range of land uses in this zone, limiting development to exclusive residences or multiple-unit resorts. The adjacent belt of relatively less expensive secondary space accommodates lower density land uses shared by tourists and locals (the latter mainly representing the upper-middle and elite classes). Typical land uses in the secondary zone include some estate housing projects, golf courses, major transportation arteries, and the airport. Such uses attempt to locate as close as possible to the sea and to the resorts located there, but cannot afford to compete with the integrated resort complexes for land adjacent to prime beachfront.

The tertiary zone of the interior consists largely of abandoned plantations and smallholdings which are too distant from the coast and readily accessible infrastructure to be developed as estate housing projects or resorts. The resulting landscape is dominated by scrub forest, wasteland and crude pasture, with some areas of subsistence agriculture. Also located in this zone are the settlements of the less privileged local workers (see Fig. 5), many of whom are employed as manual labourers in the resorts and estates of the coast. It was estimated that 7,000 Antiguans were dependent upon tourism-related employment opportunities in 1981 (Antigua and Barbuda 1982), with certain settlements (e.g. Bolans, Freetown, Cedar Grove, English Harbour Town and Falmouth) relying almost entirely upon tourism because of their proximity to large resort complexes. Non-tourism spaces persist only in the unintegrated interior of Antigua, which encompasses a small mountainous area in the southwestern part of the island. However, even these areas may eventually be integrated into the tourism landscape as national parks, attracting the small 'explorer' segment of the market which deliberately seeks to avoid the growing congestion of the coast. The experiences of Dominica and St. John (United States Virgin Islands) attest to the possibility of such a development.

Social and economic implications of the model

The mature tourism landscape, like the landscape of export agriculture preceding it, reflects the imbalances and dualities inherent in the plantation system (e.g. a small elite group of owners vs. a large unskilled labour component, with little in between). However, because the environmental requirements of tourism differ in many key respects from those

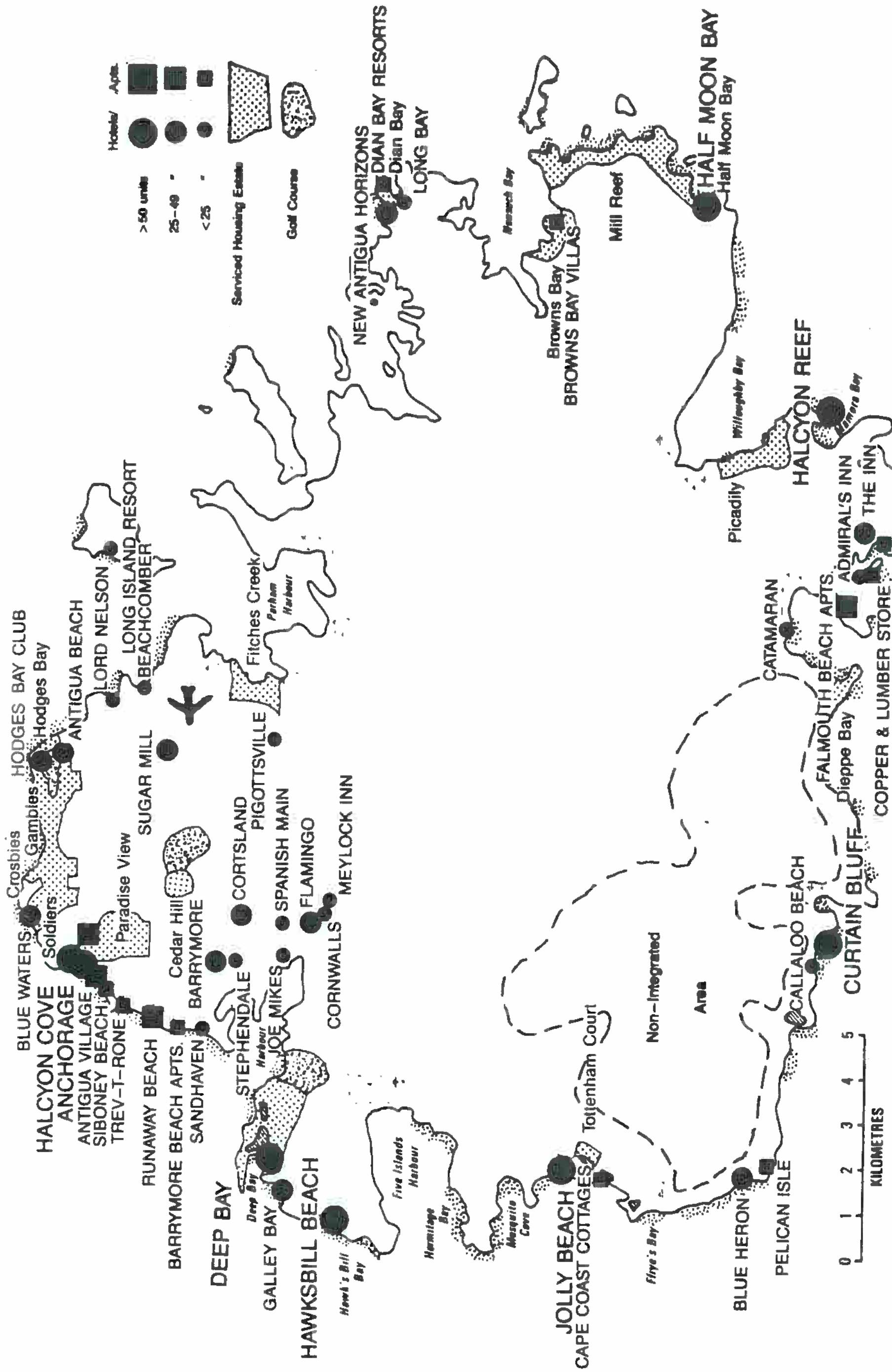
Hotels/ Apts.
>50 units
25–49 "
<25 "
Serviced Housing Estate
Golf Course
HODGES BAY CLUB
Hodges Bay
ANTIGUA BEACH
LORD NELSON
LONG ISLAND RESORT
BEACHCOMBER
Crosbies
Gambles
BLUE WATERS
Soldiers
HALCYON COVE
ANCHORAGE
ANTIGUA VILLAGE
SIBONEY BEACH
TREV-T-RONE
Paradise View
SUGAR MILL
Cedar Hill
BARRYMORE
CORTSLAND
PIGOTTSVILLE
SPANISH MAIN
FLAMINGO
MEYLOCK INN
CORNWALLS
JOE MIKES
STEPHENDALE
RUNAWAY BEACH
BARRYMORE BEACH APTS.
SANDHAVEN
DEEP BAY
Deep Bay
GALLEY BAY
HAWKSBILL BEACH
Hawk's Bill Bay
Five Islands Harbour
Hermitage Bay
Mosquito Cove
JOLLY BEACH
CAPE COAST COTTAGES
Tottenham Court
Ffrye's Bay
BLUE HERON
PELICAN ISLE
Non-Integrated Area
CALLALOO BEACH
CURTAIN BLUFF
CATAMARAN
FALMOUTH BEACH APTS.
Dieppe Bay
COPPER & LUMBER STORE
ADMIRAL'S INN
THE INN
GALLEON BEACH CLUB
English Harbour
HALCYON REEF
Picadilly
Willoughby Bay
Fitches Creek
Parham Harbour
NEW ANTIGUA HORIZONS
DIAN BAY RESORTS
Dian Bay
LONG BAY
Browns Bay
BROWNS BAY VILLAS
Mill Reef
HALF MOON BAY
Half Moon Bay
0 1 2 3 4 5
KILOMETRES

Fig. 4. *Antigua: tourist industry 1986.*

Sources:
Antigua 1:50,000 1973 Directorate of Overseas Surveys
Antigua 1:100,000 1980 D.O.S.

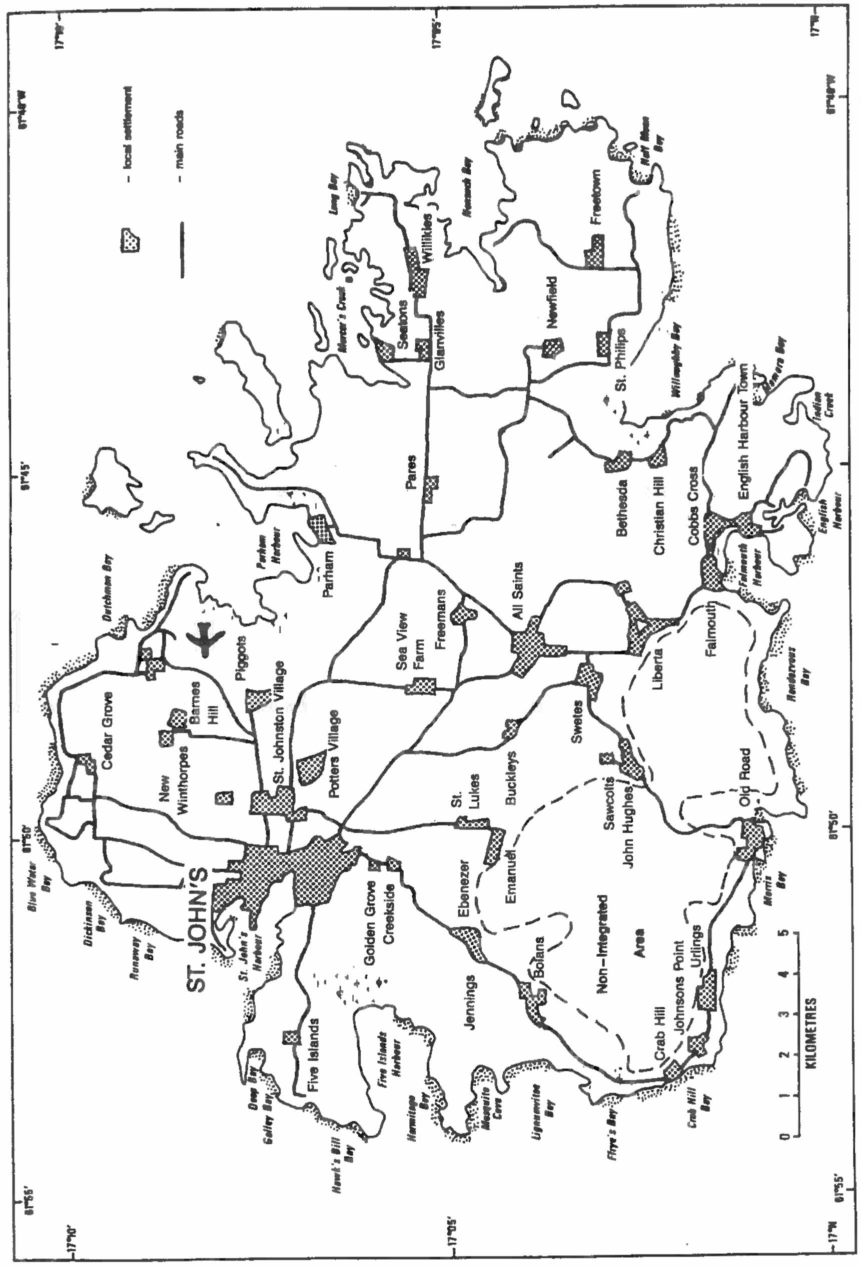
- local settlement
- main roads
17°10'
17°05'
17°00'
61°55'
61°50'
61°45'
61°40'W
17°N
ST. JOHN'S
St. John's Harbour
Dickinson Bay
Runaway Bay
Blue Water Bay
Cedar Grove
New Winthorpes
Barnes Hill
Piggots
St. Johnston Village
Potters Village
Parham
Parham Harbour
Dutchman Bay
Pares
Seatons
Glanvilles
Willikies
Long Bay
Mercer's Creek
Newfield
Freetown
St. Philips
Bethesda
Christian Hill
Cobbs Cross
English Harbour Town
Falmouth
Liberta
All Saints
Freemans
Sea View Farm
Swetes
St. Lukes
Buckleys
Sawcolts
John Hughes
Ebenezer
Emanuel
Golden Grove
Creekside
Bolans
Jennings
Five Islands
Non-Integrated Area
Crab Hill
Johnsons Point
Urlings
Old Road
Morris Bay
Rendezvous Bay
Falmouth Harbour
English Harbour
Indian Creek
Willoughby Bay
Half Moon Bay
Nonsuch Bay
Deep Bay
Galley Bay
Hawk's Bill Bay
Five Islands Harbour
Hermitage Bay
Mosquito Cove
Lignumvitae Bay
Ffrye's Bay
Crab Hill Bay
0 1 2 3 4 5
KILOMETRES

Fig. 5. *Antigua: local settlement pattern.*

Sources:
Antigua 1:50,000 1973 Directorate of Overseas Surveys
Antigua 1:100,000 1980 D.O.S.

of plantation agriculture, a dissimilar pattern of spatial inequality results. Just as the most fertile lands were appropriated for the establishment of plantations in the early colonial era, 'a familiar pattern persists today as foreign-controlled tourist hotels and recreation facilities now seek out and occupy the area's most aesthetically desirable locations' along the coast (Richardson 1976, p. 553). The alienation of extensive coastal areas as a result of foreign real estate speculation has also been noted in other areas of the pleasure periphery, such as Kenya (Jackson 1973) and Seychelles (Wilson 1979). In the resulting spatial dichotomy which characterizes the tourism landscape of Antigua, the primary and secondary zones along the coast together constitute a privileged space occupied and utilized by tourists and local elites. This zone contrasts sharply with the underprivileged space of the interior, which provides a cheap labour reservoir for the coastal resorts, but does not generate any significant economic activity of its own following the demise of plantation agriculture. Despite the employer-employee symbiosis which exists between the two spaces, a strong sense of alienation characterizes the relationship: 'In Antigua there is physical separation between luxury hotels which are landscaped on or around magnificent natural bays and sandy beaches, but which are isolated from village, town or country life. The real Antigua is a sprawl of isolated, badly connected villages...') Hunte 1972, p. 116). The spatial dichotomy is well illustrated by the juxtaposition of Freetown, an impoverished local settlement, with the opulent tourist ghetto of Mill Reef. Exacerbated by the racial difference between host and guest, and the menial character of local tourism employment (with few opportunities for upward movement), such disparities are likely to become even more apparent as tourism continues to expand, increasing the potential for social unrest. Problems with crime, corruption and overburdened infrastructure in Antigua during the 1980s have already been associated with the growth of tourism (Barry, Wood & Preusch 1984, p. 257; Knox 1987a, 1987b), a trend which is evident in other peripheral tourist destinations as well.

The social problems outlined above have been exacerbated by the failure of tourism to promote the economic development and environmental well-being of Antigua. Total tourist expenditures of US$42.5 million in 1981 (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, p. 10) were significantly reduced by a variety of leakages and costs, both direct and indirect. Richards (1983, p. 32) has calculated a first-round foreign exchange leakage ratio of 41% for Antigua, due in large part to the sector's dependency upon imported goods which the local economy is incapable of supplying. Similar leakage ratios have been calculated for Aruba (41%), Bahamas (43%) and St. Lucia (45%) (English 1986). In contrast, many destinations within the developed world have much lower leakage ratios, because their larger and more diverse economies are easily mobilized to service the tourism sector. This results in the circulation of tourist revenues throughout the local economy, producing a high income multiplier effect. Again, the absence of significant linkages between tourism and other sectors in Antigua is instead reflected in a low income multiplier of .71-.81 (Richards 1983, p. 32). Direct costs are incurred by the need for aggressive promotional strategies and the construction of infrastructure, while indirect costs include the provision of economic incentives to hotel developers. For example, the Hotel Aids Act provides for a five-year tax holiday, tax write-offs and customs duties exemptions for new hotels, thereby depriving the Government of potential revenue. Finally, tourism has perpetuated Antigua's dependence upon foreign business interests, who control an estimated 90% of the island's accommodations (Barry, Wood and Preusch 1984, p. 85), as well as the major transportation links and travel agencies. Further leakages therefore result from the repatriation of profits, while very little control over the critical elements of tourism is retained within Antigua itself. Destinations in the developed world are far more independent in this regard, with a high rate of domestic participation in all aspects of the tourist industry. Environmentally, the establishment of resorts in Antigua has been associated with the clearance of mangrove, the discharge of raw sewerage, and the removal of beach sand for construction purposes. To these misuses may be added the stresses of seasonal overuse, particularly in the vicinities of English Harbour and Dickinson Bay. These circumstances endanger the very 'foundation assets' upon which the potential success of the Antiguan tourist industry must be predicated.

The resort cycle model in the 'plantation' context

The resort cycle model proposed by Butler (1980) uses the product cycle curve to provide a framework for examining the evolution of tourist destinations (see Fig. 6). Lundgren (1984) states that 'Butler put into the realistic cyclical context a reality that everyone knew about, and clearly recognized, but had never formulated into an overall theory'. Butler's model has been empirically tested by Meyer-Arendt (1985), whose study of Grand Isle, Louisiana appears to confirm its basic validity. Hovinen (1981), in contrast, found that the model did not adequately describe the evolution of the tourist industry in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Pertinent observations will now be made regarding the relationship between Butler's resort cycle model and the plantation model of tourism presented in this article.

An initial contrast between the two models concerns the period of time over which the cycle occurs. The plantation model of tourism evolution is placed within the specific historical context of Europe's overseas expansion, whereas Butler's model is not confined to any particular period. While Butler identifies no specific beginning to this resort cycle model, it is argued here that the resort cycle begins in plantation-dominated destinations only after the area has been peripheralized. The ensuing pre-tourism stage is comparable to Butler's 'exploration' stage, which is characterized by infrequent and irregular visitation patterns, an absence of specialized tourist facilities and tourism's minimal impact upon the local society and economy (Butler 1980, p. 7). As the resort cycle continues, the transition stage of the plantation model is similar to Butler's 'involvement' stage in that tourist arrivals begin to increase significantly, and tourism emerges in its own right as a significant agent of landscape change. It is also during this time that the first significant initiatives are undertaken by government and business to develop the local tourism potential. However, implicit within the plantation model is the accompanying decline of agriculture. Along with the growth of tourism, this reflects economic and social transition within the core and redefinition of the way in which the core utilizes its small island peripheries.

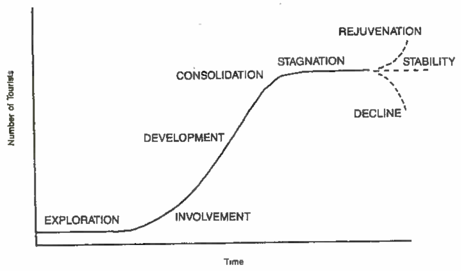

Fig. 6. *Butler's hypothetical evolution of a tourist destination area.*

Source: Butler 1980, p. 7.

The tourism-dominant stage of the plantation model superficially corresponds with Butler's 'development' stage, when 'changes in the physical appearance of the area will be noticeable', and small-scale accommodations will be superseded by 'larger, more elaborate, and more up-to-date facilities provided by external organizations' (Butler 1980, p. 8). However, the assertion that 'local involvement and control of development will decline rapidly' must by questioned, given the inherent nature of the core-periphery relationship with its emphasis upon external control at all stages of the cycle. Thus, 'local control' was never apparent at any point in the cycle unless one refers to the local elites who collaborated closely with, and were often indistinguishable from controlling interest groups in the core.

Tourism becomes established as a major component of the economy during the 'consolidation' stage, although its rate of growth begins to decline. Further, 'some opposition and discontent among permanent residents' becomes evident (Butler 1980, p. 8). Eventually, the 'stagnation' stage sets in as the social, economic and environmental carrying capacities of the destination are reached, and the area loses its attractiveness for a large segment of the tourist market. Since the tourist industry of Antigua continues to show high levels of growth indicative of continued 'development', further comparisons between Butler's resort cycle and the plantation tourism model beyond the 'development' stage are speculative. Tourism may retain its relative dominance over the local economy even while undergoing stagnation or decline, given the characteristic absence of significant alternatives. More dramatic but less probable is the eruption of violent local opposition against tourism, resulting in its rapid decline. A more radical scenario, such as that experienced by Cuba, would entail a 'revolutionary' response which closes out the plantation resort cycle and initiates an entirely new 'Socialist' cycle.

Conclusions

Antigua was selected as a case study because of its conformity to the plantation system and because the rapid growth of its tourist industry has been accompanied by the decline of agriculture. In the plantation model, the resort cycle commences with the peripheralization of the destination, and tourism initially assumes a passive and minor role within the infrastructure of an economy based upon plantation agriculture. A transitional stage follows when tourism emerges as a viable alternative to agriculture, and becomes an active though still limited agent of spatial change. In the mature phase of the tourism-dominant stage, the island landscape is characterized by a series of Von Thunen rings, with the relationship to tourism decreasing with distance from the coast. Despite the major transformations which occur in the cultural landscape during this process, the basic structural relationships between the core and the periphery remain essentially unchanged, and the tourism landscape like its agricultural predecessor reflects profound spatial inequality. This is evident in the juxtaposition of a privileged resort-oriented coast with an underprivileged labour reservoir in the interior. Such a spatial duality reflects the overall failure of tourism to promote the economic, social and environmental development of Antigua. The plantation model of tourism evolution conforms in many ways with Butler's model, though differs significantly in placing the resort cycle within the specific historical context of imperialism, and within the core-periphery relationships which have evolved as a result.

While the core-periphery relationship is emphasized as the basis of an exploitive tourist industry in the plantation system, consideration must also be given to the inherent scale-related problems which contribute to the underdevelopment of many destinations. The very nature of the small island engenders economic dependence, no matter what activities are pursued. It has also been pointed out frequently that tourism represents one of the few economic options currently available to small Third World peripheries. Strategies should therefore be implemented which attempt not to eliminate tourism, but to optimize its benefits by maximizing the use of local resources and local capital. Although a discussion of these strategies lies beyond the scope of the present article, the reader is referred to Dernoi (1981) and Jenkins (1982), who provide outlines of the 'alternative tourism' or appropriate scale option. By encouraging the interaction of locals and tourists on an equal basis (e.g. small local entrepreneurs are encouraged to establish guest homes), and by promoting the dispersion of tourism throughout the destination, such strategies may serve to blur the distinction between coast and interior. Finally, certain comments should be made regarding the applicability of the 'plantation' model of tourism to other destinations. The 'pure' plantation model, as represented by Antigua, attempts to provide a standard from which other destinations may be measured. Pending further empirical investigation, similar destinations such as Fiji, St. Lucia, Seychelles and Grenada may be expected to fit the model closely as their tourism industries continue to grow. However, other destinations may differ considerably because of variations in the presence and impact of the plantation system (e.g. minimal impact in the Cayman Islands), the destination's size and resource base (e.g. Trinidad and Tobago with its petroleum industry), political system (e.g. centrally planned states such as Cuba, or dependencies such as Montserrat), or physical characteristics (e.g. Dominica's rugged terrain and volcanic sand beaches, which present impediments to the establishment of a large-scale resort sector). The present model may therefore represent just one form of tourism within a typology of peripheral tourist destinations. The further empirical investigation of the 'plantation' model and the formulation of such a resort typology are regarded by the author as worthwhile goals to pursue, leading as they do to a greater understanding of Third World tourism space.

References:

Amin, S. (1976), *Unequal Development: An Eassay on the Social Formations of Peripheral Capitalism.* New York: Monthly Review Press.

Antigua (1976), *Antigua Territorial Plan T1: National Planning and Policy Report.* Antigua: United Nations Development Programme, Physical Planning Project.

Antigua and Barbuda (1982), *Information Memorandum.*

Baird, R. (1850), *Impressions and Experiences of the West Indies and North America in 1849.* Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard.

Barry, T., B. Wood & D. Preusch (1984). *The Other Side of Paradise: Foreign Control in the Caribbean.* New York: Grove Press.

Beckford, G. L. (1972), *Persistent Poverty: Underdevelopment in Plantation Economies of the Third World.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Britton, S. G. (1980), The Spatial Organization of Tourism in a Neo-Colonial Economy: A Fiji Case Study. *Pacific Viewpoint* 21, pp. 144-165.

Buchanan, K. (1968), *Out of Asia. Asian Themes 1958-1966.* Sydney: Sydney University Press.

Butler, R. W. (1980), The Concept of a Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution: Implications for Management of Resources. *Canadian Geographer* 24, pp. 5-12.

Campbell, L. G. & D. T. Edwards (1965), *Agriculture in Antigua's Economy: Possibilities and Problems of Adjustment.* Agricultural Series No. 1, University of the West Indies, Institute of Social and Economic Research (Eastern Caribbean).

Cohen, E. (1979), A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences. *Sociology* 13, pp. 179-201.

Coleridge, H. N. (1832), *Six Months in the West Indies.* London: John Murray.

Dernoi, L. A. (1981), Alternative Tourism: Towards a New Style in North-South Relations. *International Journal of Tourism Management* 2, pp. 253-264.

Devries, P. J. (1981), The Effects of Tourism on Marginalized Agrarian Systems: West Indian Perspectives. *Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 2, pp. 77-84.

English, E. P. (1986), *The Great Escape? An Examination of North-South Tourism.* Ottawa: The North-South Institute.

Franck, H. A. (1920), *Roaming Through the West Indies.* New York: Blue Ribbon Books.

Frank, A. G. (1967), *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America.* New York: Monthly Review Press.

Gurney, J. J. (1840), *A Winter in the West Indies, Described in Familiar Letters to Henry Clay, of Kentucky.* London: John Murray.

Harrigan, N. (1974), The Legacy of Caribbean History and Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 2, pp. 13-25.

Hills, T. & J. Lundgren (1977), The Impact of Tourism in the Caribbean: A Methodological Study. *Annals of Tourism Research* 4, pp. 248-267.

Hovinen, G. R. (1981), A Tourist Cycle in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. *Canadian Geographer* 25, pp. 283-286.

Hunte, G. (1972), *The West Indian Islands.* New York: The Viking Press.

Jackson, R. T. (1973), Problems of Tourist Industry Development on the Kenyan Coast. *Geography* 58, pp. 62-65.

Jenkins, C. L. (1982), The Effects of Scale in Tourism Projects in Developing Countries. *Annals of Tourism Research* 9, pp. 229-249.

Knox, P. (1987a), Scandal shakes grip of leader in Antigua. *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), Aug. 31, A1.

Knox, P. (1987b). Antiguan church tries to stamp out island's brothels. *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), Sept. 2, A3.

Lundgren, J. (1984), Geographic Concepts and the Development of Tourism Research in Canada. *GeoJournal* 9, pp. 17-25.

McDonald, V. R. (1980), The Caribbean: Issues of Emergence. In: V. R. McDonald, ed., *The Caribbean Issues of Emergence: Socio-Economic and Political Perspectives.* Washington: University Press of America, pp., 1-22.

Mandel, J. R. (1982), *Patterns of Caribbean Development: An Interpretive Essay on Economic Change.* New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers.

Marrat, J. (1876), *In the Tropics, or Scenes and Incidents of West Indian Life.* London: Wesleyan Conference Office.

Meyer-Arendt, K. J. (1985), The Grand Isle, Louisiana Resort Cycle. *Annals of Tourism Research* 12, pp. 449-465.

Mintz, S. W. (1971), The Caribbean as a Socio-Cultural Area. In: Michael M. Horowitz, ed., *Peoples and Cultures of the Caribbean,* pp. 17-46. Garden City, New York: The Natural History Press.

Miossec, J.-M. (1977), Une Modèle de l'Espace Touristique. *l'Espace Geographique* 1, pp. 41-48.

Ober, F. A. (1893), *In the Wake of Columbus.* Boston: D. Lothrop Company.

Ober, F. A. (1907), *Our West Indian Neighbors.* New York: James Pott and Company.

Pacione, M. (1977), Tourism: Its Effect on a Traditional Landscape in Ibiza and Formentera. *Geography* 62, pp. 43-47.

Plog, S. C. (1972), Why Destination Areas Rise and Fall in Popularity. Unpublished paper presented to the Southern California chapter, The Travel Research Association.

Porteous, J. D. (1980), The Development of Tourism on Easter Island. *Geography* 65, pp. 137-138.

Richards, V. A. (1982), The Antigua and Barbudan Economy: Trends and Prospects. *Antigua and Barbuda Forum* 1, pp. 30-36.

Richards, V. A. (1983), Decolonization in Antigua: Its Impact on Agriculture and Tourism. In: P. Henry & C. Stone, eds., *The Newer Caribbean: Decolonization, Democracy, and Development,* pp. 15-35. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues.

Richardson, B. C. (1976), Presenting the Commonwealth Caribbean with an Extraregional Point of View. *Journal of Geography* 75, pp. 549-555.

Rodney, W. (1972), *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa.* London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications.

Shankland Cox Partnership (1974), *Tourism Supply in the Caribbean Region.* Washington, DC: World Bank Report.

Starkey, O. (1961), *Commercial Geography of the Eastern Caribbean.* Bloomington, IN: Dept. of Geography.

Thaman, R. (1982), The Impact of Tourism on Agriculture in the Pacific Islands. In: F. Rajotte, ed., *The Impact of Tourism Development in the Pacific.* Peterborough, Ont.: Trent University.

Turner, L. & J. Ash, (1975), *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery.* London: Constable and Co.

Verrill, A. H. (1919), *The Book of the West Indies.* New York: E. P. Dutton and Co.

Wallerstein, I. (1979), *The Capitalist World-Economy.* London: Cambridge University Press.

Weaver, D. B. (1986) The Evolution of a Tourism Landscape: Case of Antigua. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Western Ontario, London, Canada.

Wilson, D. (1979), The Early Effects of Tourism in the Seychelles. In: E. De Kadt, ed., *Tourism: Passport to Development?* pp. 205-236. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

World Bank (1979), *Current Economic Position and Prospects of Antigua.* Report No. 2432-CRB, April 16.

World Tourism Organization (1987), *Compendium of Tourism Statistics* 8th ed. Madrid.