

Understanding Local Perceptions of an Economy in Transition:
Tourism in South Caicos, TCI

by
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ABSTRACT

Tourism presents a significant challenge for island economies in the Global South attempting to improve local standards of living. Due to limited resources and often low education levels of island residents, tourism development frequently becomes a tool for foreign investors to profit while local people continue to work low-income jobs. Additionally, development schemes often disregard local culture and degrade environmental resources. South Caicos is one island in the midst of this conundrum: it has four hotels underway and a population anxious for an economic boost. Based on interviews and focus groups with South Caicos islanders, this thesis uses a political ecology lens to examine residents' perceptions of the country's transition from fishing to tourism. Results indicate that current levels of environmental awareness and community involvement are low, and most residents are positively anticipating the changes that tourism development will bring. Still, most islanders wish to preserve the island's peace and serenity through a low-profile, ecotourism plan. Tailored strategies are presented for South Caicos to achieve this development goal through improved environmental education, sustainable tourism development, and community involvement. Results should help illuminate local residents' desired development plans and thus aid the national government in creating sustainable plans for the island's economy and environment.

Key Words: tourism development, resident attitudes, Turks and Caicos Islands, small island economies, Caribbean islands, political ecology

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INTRODUCTION TO SMALL ISLAND ECONOMIES: THE ROLE OF TOURISM & THE ENVIRONMENT

Small island states exist around the globe, all developing under different forms and scales of tourism, ends that often give little concern to potentially negative effects on heritage preservation or environmental sustainability that may occur along the way (Baldacchino, 2006; McLennan et al., 2012; Nelson, 2012; Rátz et al., 2008; Tucker and Boonabaana, 2012; Yang and Wall, 2008). As islands, these areas are characterized by limited resources and strong interconnectivity between economic, political, social, cultural, and environmental spheres, resulting in a large concentration of economic and social activities along coastal areas (Twining-Ward and Butler, 2002). Additionally, the smaller the territory and the resident population, the more likely it is that the island relies heavily on external inputs for sheer survival (Baldacchino, 2006; McElroy, 2006). These constraints have contributed to the limited and often extractive nature of island economies, which then can prompt unemployment, low standards of living, emigration, and terrestrial and marine degradation (McElroy, 2006; Nelson, 2012; Tucker and Boonabaana, 2012; Zanotti and Chernela, 2008). To challenge and reverse this adverse state of affairs, small island nations globally—and particularly in the Caribbean—are pursuing strategies of infrastructure and business development, all at various spatial and temporal scales and initiated with various interests and motivations (McElroy, 2006; Yang and Wall, 2008; Yusuf, 1995).

The geographic nature of many of these islands, including the Turks and Caicos, has made them highly suitable for tourism: they contain the allure of tropical

paradise—with connotations of romance and adventure—and are easily promoted as the holiday aspirations of Western consumers (Twining-Ward and Butler, 2002). Furthermore, tourism has a proven ability to generate foreign exchange, boost tax revenue, diversify exports, and expand limited employment opportunities, thus embodying an attractive option for small island developing states (Erskine and Meyer, 2012; McElroy, 2006; Mitchell, 2012; Twining-Ward and Butler, 2002). Many studies have also documented the capacity of tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation and community betterment, as measured by increased literacy rates, income levels, and life expectancy (Chok et al., 2007; Scheyvens and Momsen, 2008; Spenceley and Meyer, 2012; Zhao and Ritchie, 2007). But while policymakers and foreign investors extol the great potential of tourism, local communities frequently have a different perspective (Nelson, 2012; Yang and Wall, 2008; Zanotti and Chernela, 2008).

Socially and culturally, the influx of tourism often results in a disrespect and even disregarding of indigenous communities (Nelson, 2012; Saarinen and Kask, 2008; Zanotti and Chernela, 2008). New developments can undermine the livelihoods and land rights of local communities to the point of relocating local peoples off of choice lands. These conflicts commonly lead to wider disputes over market access, political enabling, and economic empowerment (Nelson, 2012). Similarly, ethnic heritages and traditions are frequently lost to Western ideas or altered and commoditized to suit tourist demands—either way resulting in a collapse of authentic culture (Rátz et al., 2008, 2008; Saarinen and Kask, 2008; Yang and Wall, 2008).

From an economic standpoint, the benefits of tourism are rarely shared collectively (Erskine and Meyer, 2012; Nelson, 2012; Tucker and Boonabaana, 2012; von der Weppen and Cochrane, 2012; Yang and Wall, 2008; Zanotti and Chernela, 2008). The relative gains of tourism typically reflect already existing inequalities, with elite groups or foreign investors controlling the profits and resource-poor locals seeing little return (Tucker and Boonabaana, 2012). However, changing the regulatory environment and business practices of the industry do have the potential to improve the extent of disbursement and raise community wellbeing (Hummel and van der Duim, 2012; Mitchell, 2012).

A final concern of tourism development lies in its environmental impacts. In the rush to develop and maximize profits, environmental integrity is typically valued little (Law et al., 2012; Twining-Ward and Butler, 2002; Whittlesea and Owen, 2012; Zanotti and Chernela, 2008). Important marine ecosystems—like seagrass beds, mangrove forests, and coral reefs—and rare or endangered species are often overlooked in zonation planning, which can lead to high rates of erosion and destruction of critical habitats (Gajraj, 1981; Twining-Ward and Butler, 2002). The immense influx of tourists and related increase in waste and energy use makes these islands heavily reliant on greenhouse-gas-emitting fossil fuels. The rapid potential growth of the tourism sector—an estimated 161% increase in tourism’s carbon dioxide emissions globally by 2035—gives reason for further concern (Gajraj, 1981; Law et al., 2012; Whittlesea and Owen, 2012).

Studies on small island economies in tourism stress the importance of three measures: improved environmental awareness, sustainable tourism development

plans, and community-level participatory involvement (Gössling and Scott, 2012; Hall, 2006; Okazaki, 2008; Smith, 2008; von der Weppen and Cochrane, 2012; Yusuf, 1995). Islands that exhibit these traits are more likely to have cohesive and healthy natural, social, and economic environments.

Improved environmental awareness is a critical first step for many island nations. Often few higher education opportunities are available and accessible to islanders, and growing up on an island does not necessarily mean that threats and implications in marine ecology are understood. The current state of the island environment stands to degrade significantly in a business-as-usual approach and so knowledgeable community-, government-, and business-level advocates for conservation and management would be of great benefit (Gössling and Scott, 2012; Law et al., 2012; Nelson, 2012; Whittlesea and Owen, 2012).

With current and future development projects, it is imperative that sustainable practices and planning be applied (Twining-Ward and Butler, 2002). While still a growing concept, sustainable tourism development (STD) has come to include indicators such as site protection, stress (tourist numbers per annum), social impact (ratio of tourists to locals), and waste management, and is a crucial tool to ensure the viability of islands for use by future generations of locals and tourists (McLennan et al., 2012; Twining-Ward and Butler, 2002).

Finally, the involvement of local communities in management, planning, and policy will enhance tourism's positive effects and reduce its negative impacts (McLennan et al., 2012; Nelson, 2012; Nepal, 2008; Okazaki, 2008; Zanotti and Chernela, 2008). Assistance for local entrepreneurs and local management will aid in

growth of sustainable small business, the career potential of local citizens, and the dissemination of financial benefits to the community (Hall, 2006; von der Weppen and Cochrane, 2012; Yusuf, 1995). On a broader scale, increasing community participation will support a more efficient and equitable distribution of material resources as well as promote the sharing of knowledge and power between local people and developers (Okazaki, 2008). This involvement will ideally lead to improved local perceptions of tourism and a more successful tourism industry long-term (Okazaki, 2008).

Existing research answers questions regarding how tourism development affects native populations and natural environments, but the studies take a hindsight approach to understanding what would have been optimal. There is a gap in the research concerning societies pre-tourism: what locals believe to be the best course of development for their island *before anything actually happens*. Though few studies have documented community responses pre-tourism, this research is essential so that developments are planned with and endorsed by residents, thus leading to a long-term healthy island economy that supports its environments and its people (McLennan et al., 2012; Nelson, 2012; Nepal, 2008; Twining-Ward and Butler, 2002). This thesis aims to uncover and understand local perceptions of tourism, and in doing so will help the national government create more socially- and environmentally-sound development plans for the island's future.

Approaching the research with the desire to understand the political and social drivers behind the island's transition from fishing to tourism is quintessential of the political ecology field. First used in 1972, the term "political ecology" has

been defined in many ways since then (Robbins, 2007). Political ecology is “the study of interrelationships between political units and their environment”, seeking “to understand the complex relations between nature and society through a careful analysis of... forms of access and control over resources and their implications for environmental health and sustainable livelihoods” (Robbins, 2007, pg.6-7). Using this framework will allow this research not only to uncover how locals view the current state of the island, but also to understand how and why it has developed how it has. Piecing together the intricate relationship between economics, politics, and nature on South Caicos and in the TCI will help future plans appropriately address each player’s needs and motivations and thus benefit all actors involved.

This thesis set out to document local perceptions of South Caicos islanders of their island’s economy in transition from one of fishing to one of primarily tourism. Examining the social and economic implications of this environmental transition with a political ecology lens, this analysis considers how historic, political, and cultural trends are affecting current power relations and resource rights. This analysis allows for a fuller understanding of the roots behind the island’s current development state and where it is likely headed in the future. The following examination presents a brief background of the TCI’s social demographics; a historical overview of TCI’s main economic sectors; an explanation of key actors in the development transition; an overview of local and global scales of analysis; and a final section on the implications of these political and economic pressures.

Historical and Cultural Context to South Caicos

Social Demographics of the Turks & Caicos

South Caicos is one island in the Turks and Caicos Islands, a small country in the southern Caribbean (Fig. 1). Covering some of the least disturbed aquatic ecosystems in the world, the low populations and minimal previous development of this region have left the coral reefs and pacific waters nearly untouched, though this quality is rapidly diminishing as fishing pressures spread to new areas and development surges (Dikou et al., 2009; Tietze et al., 2006). The emergent dynamics regarding the use and conservancy of the environment involves a medley of actors: local islanders, visiting islanders, government administration, and external developers. Most of these positions reflect the importance of this resource to the island's economy and thus lie on the side of exploitation, making development decisions crucial to watch if the long-term environmental, social, and economic health of the island is to be maintained.

Local Turks and Caicos islanders—called ‘Belongers’—number just over 20,000, and are unequally distributed over the six populated islands in TCI. Grand Turk, the capital, and Providenciales, the tourism hub, claim 85.5 percent of the total, with the rural areas of Salt Cay and South, Middle, and North Caicos housing the remaining 14.5 percent. South Caicos itself totals just over 1,000 people (Tietze et al., 2006). In the 2001 census, Belongers accounted for 52% of the total population and non-Belongers, 48% (Mills, 2008).

The non-Belonger population is comprised of Jamaicans, Haitians, Dominicans, and other Caribbean islanders, with lesser representation from other

countries. Scarce natural resources and a struggling economy exacerbate ethnic tensions on the islands, which are not immediately apparent but nonetheless present in a significant way.

The population is young, with just over 53 per cent ranging from 25-54 years old (Figure 2). On South Caicos specifically, there is a gap in the population roughly

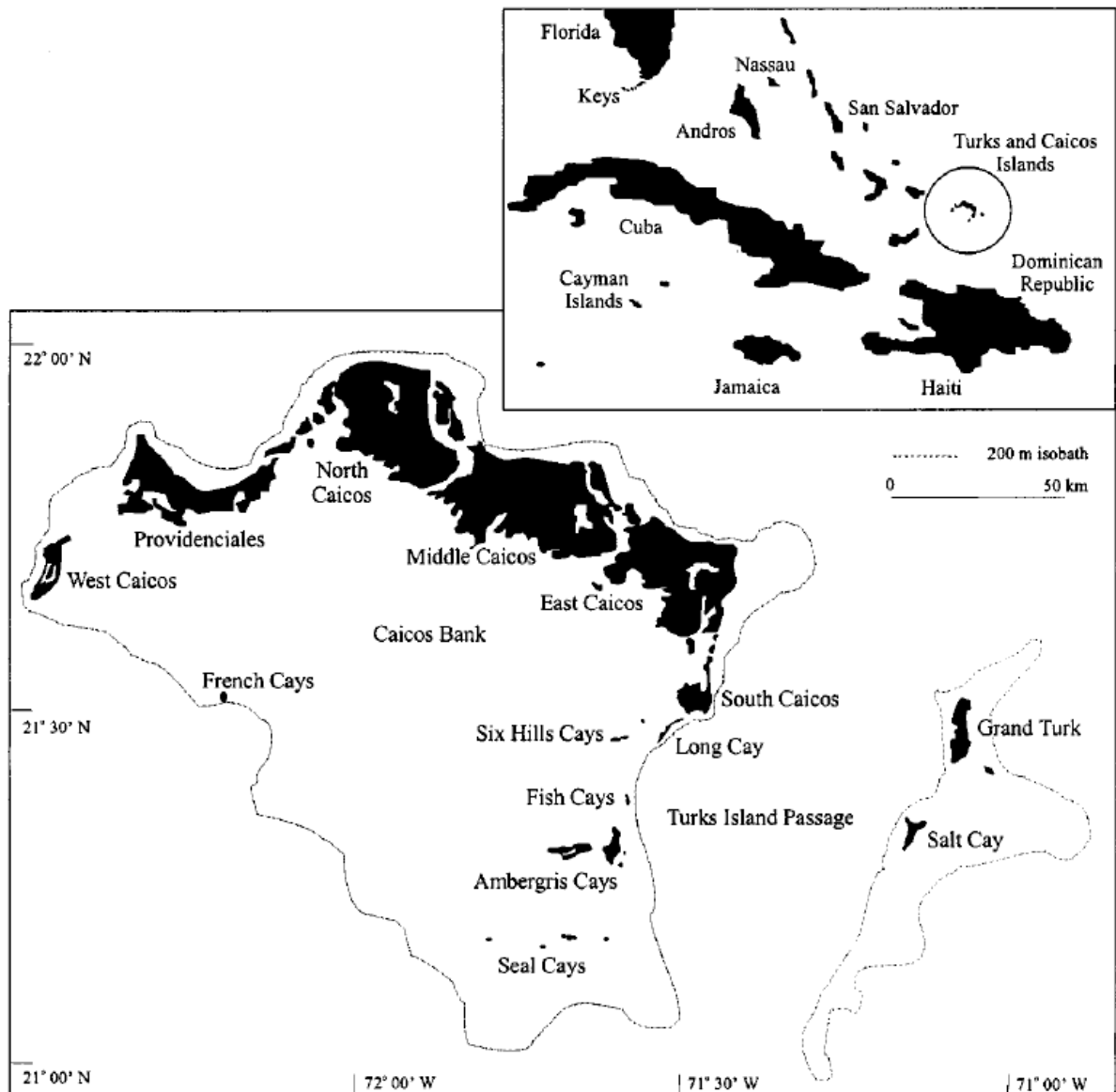


Figure 1. Location of the Turks and Caicos Islands in the Caribbean region and the Caicos Bank. Reprinted from "Fishing Effort Allocation and Fishermen's Decision Making Process in a Multi-Species Small-Scale Fishery: Analysis of the Conch and Lobster Fishery in the Turks and Caicos Islands," by C. Béné and A. Tewfik, 2001, *Human Ecology*, 29, p. 159. Copyright 2001 by Plenum Publishing Corporation. Reprinted with permission.

between ages 20 and 40 known as the “lost generation”. Due to a scarcity of higher education and job opportunities on South, high school graduates and young adults have been leaving the island in growing numbers, finding work on Provo, Grand Turk, or in other Caribbean islands and the United States. Many who leave for school never return, finding job opportunities on other islands after completing college or trade school. Some don’t return because they find life on South dull and boring; many don’t return because there simply aren’t financially viable options to stay. For the country as a whole, the population growth rate is 2.58 per cent and the net migration rate is 12.23 migrant(s)/1,000 population (“Turks and Caicos Islands,” 2014).

0 – 14 years	22.1%
15 – 24 years	14.8%
25 – 54 years	53.5%
55 – 64 years	5.3%
65 years and over	4.1%

Figure 2. TCI age structure.
Source: Turks and Caicos Islands, 2014. CIA World Factbook. URL <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tk.html> (accessed 2.16.15).

While community activities are scarce, religious groups are an integral backbone of the TCI: 71.8 per cent of the country identifies as Protestant, 11.4 per cent identify as Roman Catholic, 1.8 per cent as Jehovah’s Witnesses, and the other 14 per cent as Other (“Turks and Caicos Islands,” 2014).

Economic Sectors of the Turks and Caicos

As with many other Caribbean islands, the economy of Turks and Caicos is based predominately on tourism, fishing, and offshore financial services (Tietze et al., 2006). The island terrain is low lying calcareous limestone, thus pushing residents to import many of their edible products and seek occupation elsewhere (Tietze et al., 2006). The people of South have long depended on extractive industries: first salt, which originated in the seventeenth century and quickly became

an important resource for global export, and then fishing, which has grown to ravage key populations of *Panulirus argus* (Caribbean spiny lobster) and *Strombus gigas* (queen conch) on the Caicos Bank (Kennedy, 2007; Popov, 1990). The currency system has been based on the US dollar since 1974, due to proximity and trading relations with the United States. However, fisheries decline and the associated economic stagnation have turned the community towards tourism development and offshore finance. The US is the leading source of tourists (70%) today; other major sources of government revenue include fees from offshore financial activities and customs receipts (“Turks and Caicos Islands,” 2014).

1. Salt Industry, late 1600s – 1960s

The Turks & Caicos Islands have long been a region of contestation—though not initially of fisheries—and it is the disentangling of this history that reveals much about the island’s foreseen value to and motivation of invested stakeholders, primarily the United Kingdom governing body. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, world powers were engaged in appropriating colonial resources—specifically in the West Indies for sugarcane plantations (Kennedy, 2007). However, many of the “salt islands”—hot and dry regions like Anguilla, Salt Tortuga, Bonaire, Turks, etc. whose geological and meteorological qualities favored salt crystallization—were also taken in conquest and slaves were put to work salt raking; this production remains part of the larger composite history of British colonial slavery in the Atlantic and Caribbean (Kennedy, 2007). Two islands in the Turks & Caicos bank became the dominant players in the Caribbean-Bahamian-North American salt trade in the 1800s and Great Britain quickly asserted complete

control over this valuable, resource-rich area (Kennedy, 2007). In 1766, initial steps in the island's history of trade were taken to make Turks a neutral point in the British West Indies to encourage free and open trade with and between ships from Bermuda, France, Spain, and Britain (Kennedy, 2007). Britain calculated the numerous advantages of such a move, including the end or diminishing of the endemic smuggling of the West Indies, a hindrance for American subjects to manufacture goods that would hurt Great Britain, and a boost to the King's revenues (Kennedy, 2007). Thus the Turks & Caicos Islands began as an opportunity for Britain to enrich its coffers through this "white gold" resource (salt) and strategic global trade—activity that only increased since then (Kennedy, 2007).

2. Fishing Industry, 1960s – current

The subsequent years after the boom of salt harvesting saw the growth and development of fishing as a primary means of subsistence and export, contributing fully 40% to all exports and employing approximately 60% of South Caicos citizens through primary or secondary occupation (Tietze, Haughton, & Siar, 2006). Since the mid-1800s, fish resources— primarily dried conch—have been traded with Haitians for comestible goods like fruit, sugar cane, vegetables, and rum that are not produced in TCI. The 1950s and 60s were characterized by the introduction of snorkeling gear and freezing technology, which led to the development of the modern lobster fishery in TCI. New markets opening in Florida in the 1970s renewed the conch industry. This history of export has only increased in the decades since then: numbers from 2003 indicate a total of US\$9.8 million in exports and re-

exports; these are goods primarily in the food sector—lobster, dried and fresh conch, and finfish (Tietze, Haughton, & Siar, 2006).

3. Financial Services Industry, 1980s – current

While the visible fishing industry rose to prominence, the unseen sector of offshore financial services grew even more rapidly (Hampton & Christensen, 2002). Offering services like international banking, insurance, collective investment schemes, asset management, and mutual funds, TCI—and other islands in the niche of intermediate financial services—operated under the comparative advantages of no or low taxation, legal systems favorable to the incorporation of financial-sector entities, and accommodative regulatory environments (Lane & Milesi-Ferretti, 2010; Hampton & Christensen, 2002). These financial interconnections from TCI to advanced economies are significant in the local economy, notes Lane & Milesi-Ferretti, facilitating a “non-trivial fraction of global capital flows through entities in [TCI] en route to ultimate investment destinations” (2010). Many small island economies (SIEs), including Turks & Caicos, were advised—by experts of local origin and external institutions like the International Monetary Fund—that growth in this new financial services sector would cause a mutualistic growth in pre-existing sectors: wealthy tourists would visit, enjoy the island lifestyle, and decide to establish a residence; bankers and tax accountants would be attracted by the climate and bring knowledge and expertise (Hampton & Christensen, 2002). However, this counsel ignored the “crowding out” effect that the booming financial sector would have on the resource-constrained economies of such limited island nations, and the result was overdependence on financial centers (Hampton & Christensen, 2002).

Since then, major finance institutions have exhibited powerful control over the political economy and policymakers are now challenged to promote economic diversification in order to maintain the long-term viability of the islands (Hampton & Christensen, 2002).

Understanding the role of the TCI's financial activity in international financial flow may explain its continued tie to the United Kingdom—and consequently shed light on UK-directed resource management strategies and development decisions that influence the island's physical environment (Lane & Milesi-Ferretti, 2010). As alluded to, this is an important development to realize in the scope of motivation for resource management and reasons for continued UK involvement in island affairs: the state of TCI's environmental and fisheries resources plays a key role in maintaining the immediate health of the island's inhabitants—human and other biota—*but also* the prosperity of these offshore centers (Hampton & Christensen, 2002). The magnitude of the environmental conflict is thus heightened as it appears virtually all economic activities of the island are tied in some way to the salient condition of TCI's environment, a measure that is increasingly threatened (Hampton & Christensen, 2002).

4. Tourism Industry, 1980s – current

According to a report by Cameron and Gatewood, tourism has appeared on the Turks and Caicos landscape in the last 25 years and has developed differently across the various Islands (2008). Origins of tourism date back to the 1960s when the salt industry collapsed. At that time, small hotels and guest houses were built by a few locals and expatriates on Grand Turk and South Caicos, all aimed at the scuba

market. Concurrently, a group of American investors discovered Providenciales and agreed to build an airport and roads on Provo in exchange for 4,000 acres of prime land. This infrastructure then attracted French interest and the hotel chain Club Méditerranée was built in 1984. Club Med led the transition away from guest houses and small hotels and towards catering to luxury or adventure tourists through large scale tourism. Two more all-inclusive resorts followed before the government stopped permitting them on grounds that they contribute little to the economy. Since the 1990s, condo-style hotels have been the preferred form of development, which help keep the number of visitors down in efforts to protect the ecological fragility of the islands.

The tourism hub, Provo, is by far the most developed island with a twelve-mile strip of high class condos and hotels along Grace Bay beach. The other islands have taken on a different look: in 2006, a cruise ship terminal opened on Grand Turk, spurring development clustered near the port, while North Caicos is beginning to see condo and villa projects because development prospects for the island include a deep-water port and international airport. To date, South Caicos has had limited development—local bed and breakfasts, one mid-sized hotel operational and one being built, and a new development of villas—but Middle Caicos and Salt Cay have had even less. The TCI's rapid investment into tourism prompted the government to allow developers to invite thousands of immigrants from the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Mexico, the Philippines, and China to work in construction (Cameron and Gatewood, 2008). In his assessment of tourism impact in small island economies, McElroy (2006) states that the Turks and Caicos has moved from the intermediate to

the developed category of tourism impact, now occupying the same tourist space as the most mature areas of the Caribbean.

Cameron and Gatewood go on to explain that tourism planning is done by the Tourist Board, a member of the Caribbean Tourism Organization, and the TCI Department of Economic Planning and Statistics (2008). The Tourist Board contracts with outside consultants and stresses plans that protect the natural environment and retain the country's unique culture and history. The tourism report issued from the government department recommends smaller-scale, site-appropriate planning for the other islands – plans that do not imitate the Provo model of large scale condo-hotels. This plan also recommends incorporating the local people into development plans. The government's environmental arm, the Department of Environment and Coastal Resources (DECR), also works to identify the nation's natural and cultural assets and make recommendations for opportunities in eco- and cultural tourism.

According to a report by the TCI's Ministry of Tourism, the Turks and Caicos saw 1,069,497 tourists in 2013, a 10.4 per cent increase over 2012 totals. Further breakdown illustrates that 290,587 visitors were stop-over guests and 778,920 visitors came on a cruise (2013). Turks and Caicos is well among the top cruise destinations in the Caribbean. The country attracts affluent, discriminating traveler through targeted advertisement, a strategy that has resulted in steady growth in visitors over the years (Cameron and Gatewood, 2008). Most visitors come for the sun, sand, and sea, and there is little evidence that visitors desire any other forms of tourism, such as eco-activities or cultural attractions. The Ministry of Tourism's

report shows that 61% of visitors are leisure tourists, 34% are business tourists, and a small percentage are honeymoon and scuba tourists (*2013 Turks and Caicos Islands Tourism Statistics*, 2013). No formal research has been conducted on interest in alternative forms of tourism, though the Tourist Board collects data on arrivals and reasons for visitor trips (Cameron and Gatewood, 2008).

There is extensive evidence for declines in the health of marine ecosystems across the Caribbean and the TCI, much of that due to tourism development (Forster et al., 2011). Habitat degradation, over-exploitation of resources, pollution, and development directly are the principal drivers of the decline in health, though overfishing, hurricanes, reef damage, and climate change are also important influences. The TCI's key ecosystems—coral reef, forest, scrub, salt marsh, and mangroves—have all seen various levels of degradation, and 20 of the country's species are red listed by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) (Cameron and Gatewood, 2008; Forster et al., 2011; Lockhart et al., 2007). In a study by Forster (2011), development was ranked by residents of UK overseas territories to be the threat of most concern in the short-term. The TCI and other Caribbean islands are especially susceptible to environmental threats related to climate change like sea level rise, storm surges, and hurricanes. Further, as a result of their small size, most settlements lie close to the shoreline and economies are heavily dependent on marine ecosystems for either fishing or tourism. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) also expects elevated sea temperatures to affect island ecosystems, causing coral bleaching and increased coral mortality, as well as acid acidification causing reductions in coral reef-building

organisms. These environmental threats are significant, especially when considered against the TCI's lack of financial support, environmental legislation, human capacity, and sustainable environmental programs (Forster et al., 2011).

Resource Actors and Objectives

This threatened natural environment supports the livelihoods and occupational success of diverse actors. Analysis of the actors' different needs and motivations in relation to the environment and its development yields value in uncovering the roots behind the island's development state. Further, understanding current power relations and resource rights sheds light on what a likely future will look like.

The locals on South Caicos are mostly small-scale and rural fishers, government workers, teachers, or owners of small grocery shops. For some, fishing is often the only possible source of income and a necessary food source as well, and thus a heavy dependence on fishing is evident (Mahon & McConney, 2004). More recently, the influx of tourist arrivals has stimulated a parallel increase in immigration from poorer, neighboring countries and other states of people seeking service jobs in the industry—and thus triggering increased pressure on local resources (Rudd, 2003).

A political ecology analysis would be incomplete without giving thought to important social and community groups in the TCI. Some of the central theses of political ecology attempt to explain who has environmental access and why—showing that environmental conflicts are part of larger gendered, classed, and raced struggles, and also how social movements are created and related to environmental

conflict—showing that political and social struggles are linked to basic issues of livelihood and environmental protection (Robbins, 2007). In South Caicos, community groups are a channel for islanders to voice opinions to formal and informal island leadership. They are also a significant outlet for consensus-building and camaraderie within the communities. However, the relative imbalance of power between community groups and official forms of government should be noted. While these groups have significant sway in the community of South Caicos, their voices are generally not heard at the national government or UK level.

Scant information is written about civic and religious groups on South Caicos or in the Turks and Caicos in general. The following overview of community groups is compiled from the researcher's experience living on South Caicos for three months, as well as interview descriptions when available. The primary civic organization on South Caicos is the Soroptimists, a group of professional women (in fields ranging from public health to education) who belong to the South Caicos chapter of the international women's organization by the same name. The group's mission is to promote women's rights and gender equality while serving as role models for other women and girls in their community. The group also plans and participates in a variety of service projects in the community. Religious organizations are ubiquitous and important, with key churches including the Calvary Baptist Church, Mt. Olivet Baptist Church, Anglican Church, and Methodist Church. Both the Soroptimists and the church leaders are widely respected in the community and wield significant decision-making power. In the past three years, a tourism group has been established to discuss and enable future community-oriented

tourism-related plans for South Caicos. This group is less proven but contains a range of interested and involved community members, including a few Soroptimists. The degree of interaction, if at all, between church leaders, the Soroptimists, and the tourism group with either the national government or the UK governing body is unknown.

The government of the TCI and the United Kingdom are also important actors in the country's economic development. As an overseas territory of the United Kingdom, TCI is based on the laws of the UK but has its own unique Constitution; a

governor represents the British crown but does not exercise a great deal of control over local politics and economic policy (Cameron and Gatewood, 2008). In 2006, constitutional reforms created the position of deputy-governor to represent the TCI population, and gave the premier increased power over national issues. The country is edging towards independence, but is not ready to sever formal ties with Great

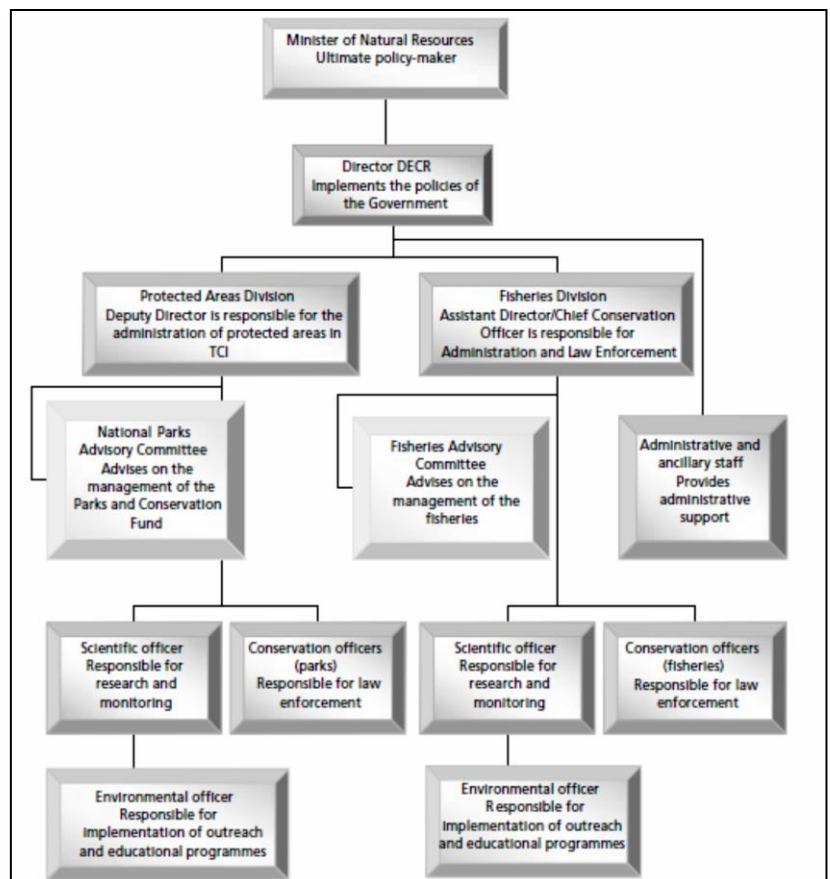


Figure 3. Organization of the Department of Environmental and Coastal Resources. Reprinted from "Socio-economic indicators in integrated coastal zone and community-based fisheries management," by U. Tietze, M. Houghton, and S.V. Siar, 2006, *FAO Fisheries Technical Paper*, No. 491, p. 131. Copyright 2006 by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United States. Reprinted with permission.

Britain – largely due to the fact that these ties represent stability, a factor crucial to investors (Cameron and Gatewood, 2008).

The government of TCI is the central administrator of environmental and management policy for the country. The centralized democracy allows for a Minister of Natural Resources to manage all natural resources of the area—including fisheries and aquatic resources (Tietze, Haughton, & Siar, 2006; “Overseas Territories”). The elected official to this position is the ultimate policy maker, and through consultation with other ministers of the Executive Council, s/he develops policies to manage, conserve, and develop the islands’ natural resources (Tietze, Haughton, & Siar, 2006). A hierarchal system under the Minister has been delineated to set a director in charge of implementing policies (director of the Department of Environmental and Coastal Resources [DECR]) and officers responsible for different areas of the resource (Protected Areas Division, Fisheries Division) (see Figure 3) (Tietze, Haughton, & Siar, 2006). Management strategies include total allowable catch limits (TACs), seasonal closures, gear restrictions (especially of SCUBA), and other restrictions, though compliance has been poor since the 1960s (Rudd, 2003). Furthermore, rampant drug smuggling in the 1980s encouraged a culture of disregard for the TCI authority that has continued still to nurture distrust between officials and local fishers (Rudd, 2003).

The local government also works with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) to more efficiently manage the fishery: specifically, the FAO Fishing and Aquaculture Department’s collection and dissemination of information regarding the status, trends, issues, and outlook of the

world's fisheries—and explicit Caribbean fisheries—is critical in evaluation and policymaking for TCI (Mathiesen, 2012). TCI's DECR also strives to implement international conventions, treaties, etc. that are concerned with protecting the environment and rationally using natural resources, such as Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), and Western Central Atlantic Fishery Commission (WECAFC), among others (*Turks and Caicos*, 2007).

Although TCI may receive international acclaim for its natural resources, it is recognized that the islands may lack the resources necessary to design and implement appropriate policies and thus their national capacity for environmental management is limited. The UK Government has acknowledged this in stating that as small island economies, TCI and its other overseas dependencies may lack one or more resources needed to fully meet international obligations for biodiversity conservation (“United Kingdom Overseas Territories”, 2009). Various factors restrict this ability, including “(i) small and sometimes fragile economies; (ii) small human populations and consequently limited capacity to undertake environmental projects; (iii) limited access to technical expertise; and (iv) remoteness, which adds to the costs of environmental projects (“United Kingdom Overseas Territories”, 2009). So to augment and further develop the environmental legislation laid out by local governing bodies (total allowable catch limits, seasonal closures, etc.), the UK Government has implemented a conservation strategy with the overarching objective “to enable the UK and Overseas Territory Governments to meet their international obligations for conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity [e.g. Convention on

Biological Diversity, Convention on Migratory Species, etc.]” (Rudd, 2003; “United Kingdom Overseas Territories”, 2009).

This strategy allows the UK Government to provide appropriate financial support to address initiatives, facilitate access to other sources of funding, and improve the flow of information and advice both with and between the Overseas Territories (“United Kingdom Overseas Territories”, 2009). This enhanced communication channel—along with consultation from select NGOs—was utilized in the creation of tactical priorities for the UK’s role in conservation, which include: “(i) obtaining data on the location and status of biodiversity interests and human activities affecting biodiversity to inform the preparation of... management plans; (ii) preventing the establishment of invasive alien species, and eradicating or controlling species that have already become established, (iii) developing cross-sectoral approaches to climate change adaptation, (iv) developing tools to value ecosystem services to inform sustainable development policies and practices, and (v) developing ecosystem-based initiatives for the conservation and sustainable use of the marine environment” (“United Kingdom Overseas Territories”, 2009). This framework overlays the UK, NGO, and TCI perspective from which specific environmental legislation is currently being made: efforts, at least nominally, are being made from the governance level to support environmental wellbeing, but local regulatory bodies have the challenging task of translating these goals into results-driven policies to manage the environment (the fishery especially) in ways that will concurrently support local users’ need for financial security and tourism-incited levels of demand.

A final group of actors in the TCI's environmental transition are external developers. Developers rapidly add complexity to management of the country's natural resources because the tourism they promote and enable indirectly increases the demand for fish products as well as environmental damage through waste and recreational disturbances (Rudd, 2003). Yet, the thriving economy is attributable almost solely to this user group and the growth of the tourism industry, which has created investment and employment opportunities for Belongers and neighboring islanders alike (Tietze, Haughton, & Siar, 2006). Because the pristine reefs are so sensitive and these development plans are so certain, changes in TCI's natural resources are imminent (Dikou et al., 2009).

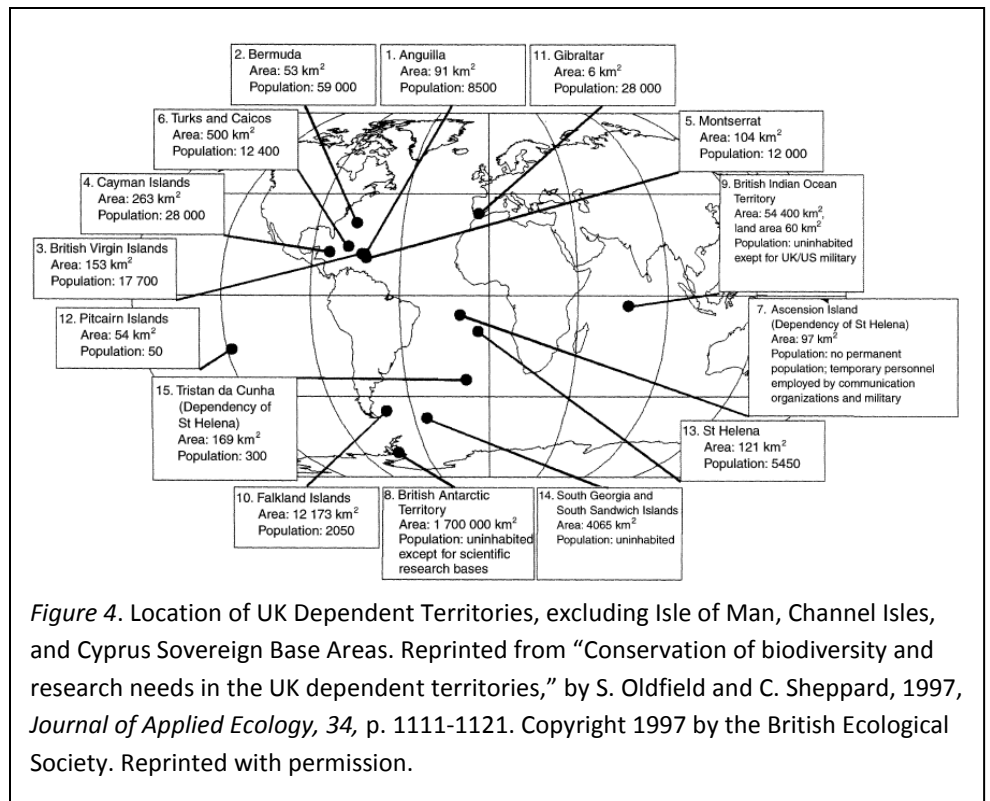
Local and Global Scales of Analysis

This background of TCI's resource history and primary stakeholders allows the contemplation of the environmental transition under numerous scales of analysis. Primarily, it is valuable to examine the resource issue at a local island scale, weighing the economic gains, health of the community, and environmental vitality (for utilitarian and aesthetic value and longevity) that are resultant of the use of the fishery and development plans. This sphere comprises the dynamics between actors including the United Kingdom and local governance, Belongers, civic groups, tourists, and developers.

This domain can be enlarged to include other islands in Caribbean Community (CARICOM) countries, for whom fish are also seen as critical commercial and recreational interests; moreover, management at this level appears rational—despite difficulties stemming from diverse governing bodies—due to the

transboundary nature of fish species and environmental resources (Mahon & McConney, 2004).

Along similar lines, analysis can be drawn about management practices and conservation levels between TCI and other United Kingdom overseas



dependencies or other small island nation economies (SIEs) (Figure 3). These regions, classified either for their [resource driven] ties to the UK (overseas dependencies) or their constrained economic nature (SIEs)—and often both, reveal important conclusions about how distant political and financial powers are affecting local environmental welfare (Oldfield & Sheppard, 1997; Lane & Milesi-Ferretti, 2010).

A final scale of analysis included in this thesis is at the international level. Inspecting international financial, social, and environmental ties to this resource yields value; of specific merit is the role of international organizations which focus on the environmental aspects of management. One player in this, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, & Cultural Organization (UNESCO), has created a World

Heritage List of sites of outstanding universal value that meet either cultural or natural criteria (“UNESCO World Heritage Centre”). The Turks & Caicos has been tentatively submitted to this list in recognition of the global importance of TCI’s marine and coastal habitats—which house several species of threatened plants, reptiles, insects, and birds (“Turks and Caicos Islands”). This valuation—and other international acknowledgement from non-governmental organizations—holds a prominent weight in how the resources are viewed, treated, and preserved. Thus the international fisheries management highlights areas of successful conservation management but further analysis would point out where global organizations lack influence and how policies could be modified to better promote appropriate use.

Implications of Political and Economic Pressures

This framework of the Turks & Caicos fishery contestation illustrates the significant and often direct role of political financial pressures on environmental resources. The United Kingdom’s history with the TCI is rooted in global trade influence and natural resource profits, motivations that have spurred a continued—though nebulous—relationship between the two as the TCI has transitioned to become a player in tourism and offshore finance. In its current state, the TCI receives financial assistance and the perception of stability from its UK connection, but well-meaning resource policy frameworks and development guidance from such a distant institution can be problematic. This is especially so when considering the financial returns secured from decisions that support continued tourism development in comparison with the commonly forgotten or undervalued choices that concern aspects of environmental health. It is ultimately up to the Turks & Caicos to

determine and enforce management strategies appropriate for both local and external users that will secure financial stability for as many users as possible while sustaining environmental vitality.

After a brief presentation of methods, this thesis presents local perceptions about the environment and economy of South Caicos along with underlying socio-political factors that flared up in response to this economic transition. Explanation is given, using a political ecology framework, as to why and how these factors are emerging and influencing current development. Finally, tailored strategies are suggested to help South Caicos achieve the development goals outlined by islanders in this study. Research results should help communicate the desired development plans of South Caicos residents to the national government in order to aid the creation of sustainable plans that benefit both the island's socioeconomic situation and its environment.

METHODS

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with participants in the South Caicos community, including but not limited to Turks & Caicos islanders, Haitians, Dominicans, and Jamaicans. During the fall of 2012 and the spring of 2013, the target population was high school and retirement age demographics. The phase spanning October and November 2013 loosely targeted individuals to fill the gap between the ages of 25 and 65. Forty-five individuals were interviewed in all. Focus groups were deemed to be the most effective way to connect with and understand the younger generation. Five focus groups of two to four students were conducted during the fall of 2012, for a total of fourteen participants. Interviews and focus

groups were conducted by undergraduate researchers at the Center for Marine Resource Studies (CMRS) in Cockburn Harbor, South Caicos, under the direction of marine conservationist and social scientist Dr. Edd Hind. The School for Field Studies (SFS) has a number of research sites around the world, CMRS being one of them. SFS is accredited by Boston University and hosts semester and summer research programs for undergraduates. I was part of a team of four undergraduate researchers who conducted interviews during the fall of 2013; similar groups conducted interviews for the two time periods prior: fall of 2012 and spring of 2013. All of the undergraduate researchers on the project were from universities in the United States, and most were from private universities in the east or southeast of the country. The head researcher on the project, Dr. Edd Hind, was a resident lecturer on environmental policy and socioeconomic values at the CRMS, but was originally from Ireland. He moved to South Caicos in 2012. Still, since all of the researchers were foreigners it was at times difficult to get participants to open up about their opinions. Two to three researchers were present for each interview, which were all conducted in English except for one that was conducted in Creole. Most interviews took place in Cockburn Harbor, at local establishments, houses, or schools, though some were conducted at Cox's Hotel and Sailrock.

A snowball technique was utilized to schedule subsequent interviews where each participant was asked to give recommendations for further subjects that would be good for the study. Historically, this method has been used to identify hidden populations or navigate populations of which the researcher has limited familiarity; the knowledge of local insiders is required to locate people willing to participate in

the study (Biernacki and Waldford, 1981; Scott, 1991). A reputational snowball is a reliable technique for systematically gaining interview participants, and by starting with a number of diverse people, it is possible to grow a large set of branching social networks and thus interview a wide sector of the community (Farquharson, 2005). However, this method can be very time consuming and can lead to dead-end responses (Farquharson, 2005).

The demographics of the study sample are comparable to the composition of the Turks and Caicos. Of the fifty-nine survey and focus group participants, 46 per cent were male and 54 per cent female; 69 per cent were Belongers and 31 per cent non-Belongers. A more detailed breakdown of nationality is shown in Figure 5. The study did not include participants under the age of 15, and consistent with the demographics of South Caicos, there is less representation of islanders in the age range 85 and above. The bulk of respondents were between the ages of 25 and 64 years (66%). A more detailed breakdown of age is shown in Figure 6.

The aim of this study was to uncover participant opinions, attitudes, and advice, so a strategy favoring select leading questions was utilized to better allow participants to control the discussion (Rapley, 2001; Witzel, 2000). Pre-formulated introductory questions focused the conversation around the problems under study, with general explorations probing further for depth and detail, and ad-hoc questions added as needed if certain topics

NATIONALITY	
South Caicos	58%
Grand Turk	8%
North Caicos	2%
Middle Caicos	2%
Haiti	10%
Jamaica	3%
USA	5%
Other	12%

Figure 5. Study composition by nationality. Source: field data (Interviews 2013). N= 59.

0 – 14 years	0%
15 – 24 years	27%
25 – 44 years	34%
45 – 64 years	32%
65 – 84 years	5%
85+ years	2%

Figure 6. Study composition by age range. Source: field data (Interviews 2013). N= 59.

were left out by interviewees (Rapley, 2001). Questions centered on understanding perceptions of the country's transition from fishing to tourism, with key topics including:

- 1) *Opinions on the South Caicos fishing industry*
- 2) *Opinions on South Caicos tourism industry*
- 3) *Opinions on the South Caicos environment*
- 4) *Visions of the future of South Caicos*

A full list of interview questions is included in the appendix, though it should be noted that interviews developed organically around these themes. Interviews were recorded when given approval and transcribed, documented with notes when not. Quantitative discourse analysis was then used to loosely analyze interview content by theme (Hesse-Biber, 2010).

There were several challenges with the interview method. Participants had different levels of education and English fluency, which influenced the depth that they were able to comprehend and talk about various topics. Probing questions related to the environment were often left unanswered by older islanders, particularly by Haitians or other non-Belongers. Strong accents, local slang, ambient noise, and interruptions made transcription challenging, but efforts were made to maintain the participant's intended message. Interviews ranged from 10 to 120 minutes, depending on participant willingness and comprehension, but most fell between 25 and 45 minutes. Efforts were made to include a range of participants of all ages, genders, nationalities, and occupations. This included scheduling focus groups to target the high school and retirement age demographics, and walking around

Cockburn Harbor to talk to “unlisted” residents of the island, typically Haitians or Dominicans that we had no pre-established record of or phone access to. Due to the nature of the snowball technique and the heavy participation of women in community organizing, our sample was largely female. A variety of occupations were represented, including fishermen, teachers, governmental workers, pastors, and unemployed workers.

RESULTS

This study tried to understand how South Caicos islanders view their changing economy as expressed through responses under four general topic areas: (1) opinions on the South Caicos fishing industry, (2) opinions on the South Caicos tourism industry, (3) opinions on the South Caicos environment, and (4) visions of the future of South Caicos. The following section presents an overview of local views in response to these topics and others raised independently by the interviewees.

There were fewer responses about the fishing industry than expected, considering this has been primary mainstay of the South Caicos economy for the past few decades.

Forty-four per cent of interviewees had no comment on the current state of the fishery or its role in the future. Respondents who did comment either stated that there has been a decline in fish, but did not attribute this to human behaviors

(n=8), or stated that there has been a decline due to negative fishing practices (n=25)

Table 1: Responses about the current state of the fishery (N=59)

# of Responses	Response
25	There has been a decline in fish due to negative fishing practices
8	There has been a decline in fish
26	No comment on if the fishery has changed

(see Table 1). Those who attributed the decline to negative fishing practices were more likely to have more years of education or more recent education (e.g. students, teachers, government workers) than those who did not see a correlation between fishing practices and the fishery decline (e.g. store owners).

When interviews transitioned to the tourism industry, a broader array of opinions were expressed. Most residents had definite ideas of what types of tourism they did and did not want to see develop on South Caicos, which reflected the models they are exposed to: mass tourism on Providenciales and other islands in the Bahamas, cruise tourism on Grand Turk, and small scale

Table 2: Responses about the preferred future of tourism (N=59)

# of Responses	Response
17	Do not follow the Provo development model
11	Imitate the Provo development model
5	Promote day trips only
5	Promote an ecotourism model
4	Promote something unique to South Caicos
19	No comment on what type of tourism development is preferred

ecotourism on North and Middle Caicos. Seventeen respondents emphatically expressed that they did not want South Caicos to follow the Provo development model of resort and condo chains while eleven respondents did want to imitate this model. Others envisioned less resource intensive plans such as day trips (n=5), ecotourism (n=5), or something unique to South (n=4). Of those that promoted a less-intensive development scheme, seventy-four per cent had some form of higher education or had lived abroad, suggesting that greater education and/or experience with industry at the Provo scale (e.g. mass tourism) influence what residents prefer for South Caicos. Nineteen participants did not offer a comment on the tourism industry (Table 2).

Discussing the environment and how both fishing and tourism are affecting the environment was challenging due to the often limited education levels of participants. Though thirty-eight participants said that they believe the environment is important to South Caicos, it was unclear how much of the implications of this were understood and how much of this statement was simply repeating what they have heard. Since the School for Field Studies' Center for Marine Resource Studies is housed in Cockburn Harbor, islanders have been exposed to the idea that the environment is an

Table 3: Responses about islander views on the environment (N=59)

# of Responses	Response
38	Believe the South Caicos environment is important
1	Believe the South Caicos environment is of some importance
4	Believe the South Caicos environment is of little importance
2	Have little understanding of the South Caicos environment
3	Have no understanding of the South Caicos environment
11	No comment on the South Caicos environment

important resource. Often participants said that the environment is important but did not or were not able to expand on their opinion. These respondents were from all educational backgrounds. Five others stated that the environment is of little or some importance. It was evident from some responses (content, depth, or topic change) that the participant did not understand what the environment is. Four respondents were classified as having little understanding of the South Caicos environment, and three were classified as having no understanding of the South Caicos environment. Eleven participants did not comment on the environment (Table 3). In response to a subsequent question, twenty-six participants stated that they believe that parts of the island should be protected. The parts of the island ranged from the reefs to Bell Sound to the salinas (salt ponds), and the motivations included both environmental

and cultural preservation. Residents indicated that they wished to preserve these areas for their children and for visitors to see.

A variety of other topics were raised during the interviews and focus groups that will be discussed in more detail in the discussion. Since a semi-structured format

was used, participants had the freedom to offer comments on anything they believed of concern outside of the stated research areas. Table 4 gives an overview of these responses. Seventeen respondents mentioned concerns about the younger generation on

Table 4: Other interview and focus group topics raised (N=59)

# of Responses	Response
17	Have concerns about the younger generation on South Caicos
11	Have concerns about drugs being a social problem for the community
30	See a need for more community activities
11	See tense or strained racial relations as a community problem
14	Believe South Caicos is overlooked in government spending as compared to other islands in the TCI

South Caicos, and many of them discussed this topic at length and with emotion. The primary concerns regarding the younger generation were that high school students have a lack of skills needed for the job market, a lack of motivation to work hard and find work, and an overall laziness. Eleven respondents indicated that they see drugs as a social problem for the community, affecting both family life and student success in school and after graduation. A lack of community activities was brought up by thirty participants and linked to the lack of community unity, the breakdown of family units (due to no multi-generational social activities, as existed in the past), and the desire for youth to leave South. Eleven respondents expressed concern that racial relations, specifically between Belongers and immigrants from Haiti or the Dominican Republic, are tense and/or hostile. Just over half of these respondents

were not Belongers. Participants attributed economic hardship and social isolation to the strained racial relations. A final comment made by fourteen respondents was that South Caicos is overlooked in government spending as compared to other islands in the TCI. This comment was made primarily by high school students and those in the 25-44 age range.

DISCUSSION

The interviews and focus groups with members of the South Caicos community revealed various levels of understanding and opinion on both the economy and environment, as illustrated by the results above. Underlying community dynamics also emerged when respondents brought up the same repeated concerns for the island's future development. These research themes are shown in

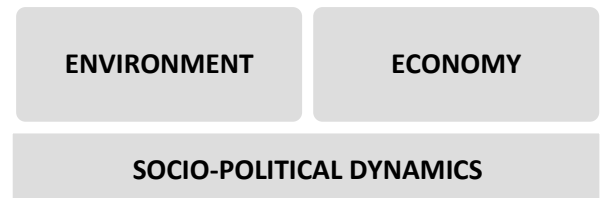


Figure 7. Planned and emergent research themes.

Fig. 7 and will be discussed in the following sections with detail on specific participant responses.

1 *Environmental understanding*

1.1 *Local perceptions*

Knowledge and understanding of the environment on South Caicos are extremely limited, as evidenced by the lack of response in interviews and the general behavior of islanders. Only one participant brought up the subject independently, and the majority of other respondents didn't know to respond when asked their opinion on the environment or their view of its condition. A key issue in this dynamic is the propensity for locals to stay away from the ocean: most have never

seen coral reefs and few go in the ocean on a regular basis. Three explanations arose for this behavior: fear—many respondents had stories of seasickness or not knowing how to swim that kept them grounded; apathy—another portion simply didn't visit beaches very often and even when they did, swimming was not the activity of choice; and resources—others illustrated interest and awe over the marine life they have heard of but lacked time and technical resources (e.g. boats, snorkel, SCUBA equipment). These deterrents hinder the ability of locals to experience—and appreciate—the diverse environment they are a part of and thus reduce their investment in responsible management. Terrestrially, the indifferent approach to littering and waste management also exemplifies the knowledge disconnect between environmental systems and human activities.

1.2 Terrestrial cleanliness as the main environmental indicator

Another trend among community members was the tendency to associate environmental health with cleanliness. For example, in response to a question asking his opinion on the environment, a 28-year-old Haitian man (Interviewee #36) answered:

I can say it's not bad. It's not bad because they, as you can see, people clean every day. Only Saturday and Sunday they don't clean. So even though they don't have beautiful flowers or pretty thing[s] to see, [it's pretty good]....When your environment is clean, it's good. When your environment is not clean, it bring[s] disease.

Interviewee #22, a woman from South Caicos, said:

Keeping it clean is the major thing. Garbage is bad. Road cleaners are doing a good job. They clean different areas on different days.

While this is a beginning in environmental care, it is not enough for people to believe terrestrial cleanliness—merely not littering—is going to result in healthy

ecosystems. This level of environmental knowledge needs to be addressed before population numbers increase with tourism; the community first needs to comprehend and regulate its full environmental impacts before additional impacts are added.

1.3 Environmental integrity as an extrinsic value

A subliminal problem associated with environmental ideals on this island is the fact that they are not intrinsic values: the mindset of locals is that the island needs to be kept clean *for visitors*. For example, in an interview with a male Belonger:

Interviewer: Is the environment...important personally to you?

Interviewee #18: Definitely, definitely. We gotta keep our environment clean and pristine! You know. Because we have people like you guys that come through and you don't want to see dirt.

This may well be a factor perpetuating the extent of environmental degradation because locals don't see the purpose or value in maintaining a healthy environment—free of waste—since there is “no one” yet to appreciate it yet. It is unclear how these attitudes came into being, and if they are rooted in feelings of inferiority: that they alone are not worth cleaning up the island. However, the process of attitude reversal and behavior change needs to start now because (a) the state of the environment is important *now*, and it shouldn't be polluted further, and (b) it will take time for norms to shift and revitalization to occur. Both of these principles need to be stressed to the South Caicos community, along with a holistic explanation of the environment services so critical to island functioning.

2 Tourism development

2.1 Local perceptions

The economic downfall of the country has led to a single-minded focus on development—anything and everything that would provide jobs and boost the capital inflow. People note the hard time:

It's been hard on us, you know... We've been in the dark ages, baby. We've been in days when we didn't have no light. We know what it is to eat out of [a] corned beef can. To cook on a tire rim. We know what it is to come from those days.

(Interviewee #19)

The economy is bad. Everybody there.. as you can see, it is a nice day and we all are just sitting and playing dominoes. And we are having fun, we are not complaining to play dominoes. But if we wanted to play dominoes we would stay in Haiti, man. We come here to WORK. But because there is nothing, we play just to make time go around.

(Interviewee #36)

After voicing the same difficult experiences, others hope for the future:

Well the more larger, the better for the economy (laughs). I lookin' to make more money too!

(Interviewee #23)

I think, if the government come together and put things into place...[South Caicos] can be just like Providenciales and create more opportunities for people here. In Provo they have activities like SCUBA diving, parasailing, all these cool activities. I think if they bring [these to South],...we would have more visitors and, you know, we will enjoy our time here better.

(Interviewee #17)

The feeling expressed above, that the government has overlooked South Caicos in spending relative to the other islands, was shared by many. Twelve per cent of responders organically brought up and emphasized this point in interviews. This reasonable reaction to a very tight financial time was paralleled by some with

caution for the irreversible impacts development may inflict on the environment and community. A local pastor (Interviewee #43) said:

...You can be so desperate for employment opportunities through tourism that you know you just become lax and allow anything to happen, which is bad... Anything that is going to bring about employment [is good] but not to the destruction of the country. Some years ago there was this issue relating to bringing in the cruise ship here, to the north area. And that one time they were thinking about actually using some sort of dynamite or something like that for an entry for cruise ship to come in... But some study was done and I think recommendations were forwarded to the government as to reconsider whatever decisions they had made, and not to tamper with that reef... I think there has to be a feasible study on any particular issue that relates to tourism or relates to the environment, before you embark on it.

A local woman (Interviewee #32) had a different take on the same event as she stressed the wellbeing of the people:

I think [developers] should have a little bit of flexibility. You know, sometimes we want to preserve something [but] we're here suffering... Like when I was in government, we got started on putting the deep water harbor in South Caicos... but because persons... say it's gonna ruin the fishing, and it's gonna be bad for some fish... we lost it. And we would have been making millions of dollars, just to save a couple fish. I know [environmental experts] take it very seriously, but when you think about it, we are suffering.

These interviews epitomize the conflict that sustainable development has in developing nations where subsistence is still a very real concern; still, this is a critical development strategy for an environment as sensitive and diverse as South Caicos. The battle between economics and the environment will continue to plague South Caicos but is one that can be lessened with an increase in environmental education and the growth of economic wellbeing.

2.2 South Caicos values

As a starting point to begin future plans, participants were asked what they value most about the island, and overwhelmingly the answer was its peace. The

serenity and quietness of the island, coupled with a friendly community, are trademark characteristics of South Caicos that locals are wont to let go of. Similarly, many generations of islanders have used certain beaches—particularly East Bay, Bell Sound, Coast Guard, and Jerry Camp—for bush picnics, church fellowship, and family outings and would like to see those areas preserved as well. The salinas and the Boiling Hole are viewed as culturally significant also. It is important that the government and incoming developments listen and appropriately protect these social and cultural markers of South Caicos.

2.3 Community visions

Interview subjects had varying visions of the future of South Caicos. Many simply expected the completion of the island's current developments—East Bay, High Point, and Sail Rock—and a continual increase from there; 18% hoped to achieve Provo-status in the coming years; some anticipated a deep water port; and a good portion wanted enough development to improve living standards but not enough to change the island. Twenty-eight per cent said explicitly that they did not want South Caicos tourism to imitate what Provo has, while another 6% endorsed something unique to South and 8% endorsed some form of ecotourism. The majority realized the uniqueness that South has to offer—its charm, quietness, and character—and the value in maintaining that atmosphere to share with visitors.

Several subjects warned against higher scale development for that reason:

We love to see people come and enjoy themselves on the Big South, man. You know, we don't want it to get all crazy and Hollywood. ... we don't want to take the culture out of it. It's getting too city. We gotta keep it organic. That's what people like. You don't come from the city comin' from America, to come to a place that's similar to America.

(Interviewee #18)

I would never want it to be a mini Las Vegas. Nor Miami, Florida. Because I want it to keep the island life and the island style. Quiet, for people who want to get away from the big city life, come to South Caicos and enjoy themselves, fishing, bonefishing, snorkeling, diving, and so far like that. I want South Caicos to remain South Caicos. Because there is a lot of people out there who want to get away from that big-city life and just come to relax.
(Interviewee #37)

The resultant vision, shared by much of the community, involved South Caicos becoming a day trip destination. Locals extoll the beauty of the island and want to share the coastal culture, yet realize the stress that longer-term visitors (e.g. staying multiple nights) would bring; accordingly, they would rather see increased ferry services allowing visitors from Provo and Grand Turk to experience South Caicos for an afternoon or an evening—thus eliminating the need for more hotels. Tourists would come to dive, snorkel, or parasail on the Caicos Bank, they would walk the Boiling Hole and salinas, they would explore the bush on bike trails, they would visit Highland House on historical tours, and they would frequent local restaurants to try the seafood fare. The development focus is the acclaimed Regatta, where the Queen visited in 1966: locals would like to see some renovation and new life brought to this area so it can aptly highlight the island's culture, history, and environmental beauty. A leader in the community imagines:

We could have... cabanas or ... little houses, tents, or what have you. And you have that set up in such a way, and you have your local people there, preparing local dishes so when visitors come, you know, they will know that 'hey, I can go to this particular and can get conch fritters', 'I can get boiled fish', 'I can get peas and bread'".

(Interviewee #34)

One developer on the island is already in agreement with this plan. His team champions sustainable development and integration with the Cockburn Harbor community:

...Our goal was basically to restore Regatta Village...to renovate those buildings and create a promenade that basically goes from the queen's playground in front of that area, right? So you now have a pedestrian walkway in front of that whole area that would end basically right by School for Field Studies where that old historic ruin is. And the focus then would be to have some restaurants and shops in those old buildings. Our goal is for them to be locally run. For us, we're trying to engage the waterfront, and embrace the waterfront, and embrace the history. So the combination of having a historic tour, fixing up the waterfront, and doing the wall program we did, trying to beautify this area, will then create a reason for people to come downtown and to spend money downtown, and to spend it, again on local businesses.

(Interviewee #42)

The local vision for the future South Caicos appears sustainable, both socially and environmentally, and should be recognized by government and development planning—as modeled by the developer above—so as to facilitate the wellbeing and desired outcome of the community.

3 *Socio-political dynamics*

3.1 *Emergent themes*

Several community dynamics emerged as an undercurrent to the economic and environmental developments growing on South Caicos. Parallel to the tourism development of the island, South Caicos has seen struggles in the fabric of its community as low levels of community involvement, a dissenting younger generation, and tension between local and immigrant populations threaten social stability. It is challenging for the island's residents to represent a unified position on resource rights or development strategies to either the national government or external developers when the local community is divided into so many factions.

3.2 Low community involvement

In studies of successful tourism development in small island economies, it is evident that local communities need to be involved and active in development plans. Their voice is crucial in creating a development plan that will holistically benefit all stakeholders and be accepted by the local community, characteristics that have not been evidenced in progress on South Caicos so far. While some argue that the window for participation has been limited, there are a number of stakeholder groups working towards island betterment that see little involvement from the community in existing opportunities. Low involvement in community functions and organizing has spilled over into a general apathy over the island's future development.

Much of the community is apathetic towards development plans because they have seen High Point and East Bay in progress for so many years, with no actual happenings. One man verbalizes the community feeling towards these hotels:

"I think they'll never get going, they'll never get going, they've been here since 84 and they'll never get going."

(Interviewee #38)

Another man exemplifies the dispirited outlook towards development in his reaction to a question about the deep water port:

I heard about that. I been a little kid and they talk about that. That ain't... that ain't gonna really... That's just feeding people lies. You know when it comes to politics people tell you anything just to get a vote. So can hardly take into what anybody says. Unless they actually end up seeing the action in place.

(Interviewee #21)

Along with an apathetic approach to work, most of the South Caicos community has the attitude that change and improvement is the government's responsibility. This tradition of waiting around for someone else to act has

permeated the local culture and hindered independent actions for advancement.

Several participants commented on this:

That's the problem, a lack of motivation. You see, one of the things that has undermined personal development from people here is the political-cultural behaviors. The political culture has been a hand out culture. Go to your politician if your light bill is due. You don't have [money,] go to your politician. You need school shoes, go to your politician. That culture has prevailed over the years. So people are inclined to ask for a hand out rather than ask for an opportunity.

(Interviewee #44)

People tend to feel the government has a responsibility, and they do, for everything. I believe that people have a responsibility also for quite a bit. Most times people feel that the government must provide garbage collectors, they must provide this and that. And I think sometimes people don't understand their role as members of a community. Because if we just sit back and allow things to deteriorate this wouldn't be a place where you would want to live.

(Interviewee #43)

Islanders fall back on church groups, community organizations, and external developers in the same way, touting the positive actions of such groups but not participating themselves. This passive mindset will only hinder individuals from self-improvement and growth, limiting the ability of the community to progress.

3.3 Concerns about the younger generation

Concern for the younger generation was pervasive among interviews with residents 45 years old and older, and was brought up by 74% of them. Comments centered on a lack of skills and preparation for meaningful future work, a lack of motivation to work hard and/or find work, and an overall laziness observed in attitude and daily interactions. An additional 19% of the total sample introduced concerns about the younger generation's social attachment to drugs and the negative

impact this has had on motivation and achievement in school and work. A local pastor commented:

That is a big concern for me and like I said before, it is because our people are not preparing themselves for the development. They are not upgrading themselves...they think that the fishing industry is [always] going to be there. And see a lot of them are used to being their own bosses, having not to answer to anybody in a 9 to 5 job. So they are not inclined to go towards preparing themselves for jobs like that. And eventually what is going to happen when these hotels open is [that] they are going to have to bring in workers, like it happened in Providenciales, and people are ... complaining, but [they] did not prepare [themselves] properly to capitalize on the jobs! I saw this happen in the Bahamas while I was growing up.

(Interviewee #44)

A local business owner, a self-proclaimed “go-getter”, said something similar:

South Caicos people got to change their attitudes. They got to wake up. The mentality of them is stay on the wall, play dominoes, watch people play... that gotta go... You got to prepare yourself for the storm!

(Interviewee #37)

3.4 Cultural identities and the social hierarchy

Community growth is also blocked by a strong sense of cultural identities and a defined social hierarchy. Turks Islanders are almost uniform in their dislike of Haitians and Dominicans for reasons including dilution of culture, taking away jobs, and not contributing to the island’s wellbeing. TCI natives don’t like people from Haiti and the DR who come to South Caicos to work and then send supplies and money back to their home countries, arguing that these people need to be more invested in South. This behavior seems unreasonable when the financial straits of Haitians and Dominicans are even more strained than those of Turks Islanders (TI islander), and these immigrants are only trying to stay afloat and support their families back home. TI islanders inhabit this role when they temporarily move to Provo or the Bahamas to work, so a little understanding in the opposite direction is

warranted. Some of these arbitrary and prejudiced behaviors are evidenced in the conversation with a Turks Islander below:

Interviewee #28: A lot of those shops around here [are] Haitian shops, and they're not supposed to [be here].

Interviewer: Oh, they're not supposed to own a business?

Interviewee #28: Of course not. But they're the type of people, they do what they want.

A Haitian participant (Interviewee #36) from the opposing perspective shares his view:

They don't understand especially the Haitian people. We are not... we want to cooperate, you know? We want to cooperate but sometimes they don't treat us the way they should. The way they're supposed to treat human beings. That's why you, you always see Haitians one part, TI one part,...Dominican people one part.

The implications of these negative culturally-based views are evident around the community and were discussed in detail by Interviewee #36. Haitians and Dominicans are generally not welcome at certain community gatherings, in certain churches, and in certain stores, which is why the immigrant populations have their own social events, gathering places, churches, and stores. These divisive views and behaviors—especially the TI view that only Belongers should be able to run businesses—impede the ability for the people of South to collectively participate in development plans. A cohesive network of community leaders—from all perspectives—is needed to work with government officials and outside investors to create the future South Caicos would like to see; additionally, full and open participation from the people is the only way that community-based management will be successful.

CONCLUSION

A holistic look at the conflicts that emerged from interviews exposes several potential solutions for the island of South Caicos. Again, these solutions address specific issues found under the three research areas (planned and emergent) and will be presented as such. Figure 8 gives an overview of the proposed plans.

Environmental education	Sustainable tourism development	Community involvement
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Catlin SeaView Survey and other groups• Dive training scholarships• Marine ecology curriculum and field work• Student sponsorships	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Preceded by environmental education• Waste management• South Caicos as a day trip destination• Preservation of culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Entrepreneurial workshops and classes• Microlending• Business mentoring• Community workshops and events

Figure 8. Areas of growth and proposed solutions for development on South Caicos.

1 Environmental education

1.1 Catlin SeaView Survey and other groups

To improve environmental understanding among islanders, a concerted effort needs to be made to allow locals to see and experience marine life, and new technology like the Catlin SeaView Survey can make this happen. The Catlin group is working to create a digital mapping system of the underwater world, focusing on coral reefs as in the TCI. Presentations from and integration with groups like this

will allow landlocked residents of South Caicos to see what lies outside their neighborhoods and consequently, foster appreciation and responsible management.

1.2 Dive training scholarships

Gaining the resources to allow interested locals to dive and learn to be dive instructors would not only increase personal and community-level awareness of the ocean, it would be a first step towards ecotourism readiness. Dive training—part of a growing field of adventure tourism—is now easy and relatively quick to learn, with single day introductory training courses and instructor status within months (Buckley, 2002). Partnerships and/or loan programs with NGOs and dive shops in the States can cover the capital costs for select islanders to become certified instructors and then these individuals can aid in scientific research (with the Department of Environment and Marine Affairs), offer educational lectures to the community, and eventually lead dive-based tourism enterprises (Buckley, 2002; Scheyvens, 2002).

1.3 Marine ecology curriculum and field work

It appears that marine education in local schools is largely absent due to the lack of educated personnel and resources to approach the subject. This gap can be mitigated by the addition of marine ecology curriculum at the high school level, taught in conjunction with faculty and students at the School for Field Studies (SFS). Research shows that investment in education at this level yields the highest return, and with structured courses and alternating days of field work, the education benefits would be manifold (Psacharopoulos, 1994).

1.4 Student sponsorships

The School for Field Studies (SFS) can be involved further by allocating time and funding for student sponsorships. Several interview participants voiced the desire that SFS integrate more tangibly and meaningfully into the community—especially in the education arena. Currently, all students at the Center for Marine Resource Studies are from American universities, due to the science course prerequisites and research program costs. However, during the fall of 2013 plans were being made to accommodate more local students and at least one South Caicos student was enrolled in the upcoming summer program. Islanders would like to see more local students included in SFS marine programs and select, eligible students given funding to further their education universities abroad. Perhaps the awarding of program slots to several high-achieving local students and the funding of one education scholarship would satisfy this need and encourage the furtherance of environmental education.

2 Sustainable tourism development

2.1 Preceded by environmental education

The foundation for sustainable development needs to be a strong basis in environmental understanding at the community level, as discussed in the section prior.

2.2 Waste management

Though terrestrial cleanliness—and status of the environment at large—is viewed in good condition by some of the community, there is a significant amount of litter and debris around the island and poor facilities to manage this waste. Many

subjects attested to the fact that current waste management was deplorable and the behaviors of community members were lazy and unacceptable. A municipal campaign should be initiated that could include, but not limited to: rewarded class clean-up days, repair fairs, consignment fishing gear stores, refurbishment of old gear, plastic bag and plastic straw ban, fines, addition of garbage receptacles across the island, investment in a compactor, and implementation of garbage sorting. Still, as mentioned earlier, the fact that some members of the community do not view waste as a problem is a finding in itself. Whether due to feelings of inferiority or a lack of education about sanitation and environmental health, an education campaign on the health detriments—both human and environmental—of so much garbage could be valuable.

2.3 South Caicos as a day trip destination

Government and development groups should support and enable the community's plans for small-scale development. The Sail Rock development is modelling an admirable effort of this with its assimilation into the community and working with local leaders to determine desired paths of action; additionally, the developers have begun steps of sustainable development in their low-impact development plans, rebuilding of community walls, replanting of mangrove trees, use of local plants, and commitment to little waste. Subsequent developments should parallel these aims and the government's role can be to protect South Caicos against external developers looking to achieve mass tourism. Furthermore, the government can aid in providing funds for locals to begin their own microenterprises and the infrastructure necessary to increase daytime transportation to the island.

2.4 Preservation of culture

To facilitate the long-term social sustainability of developments, cultural preservation should become a mainstay in management plans. Integrating development with Cockburn Harbor town, allowing visiting and native populations to mix, and highlighting the heritage of the TCI are all important facets of this goal. Interviewees commonly mentioned similar aims, again noting Sail Rock as a successful agent in this development: Sail Rock sells a package that is indigenous to South Caicos, based on local flora and fauna, rooted in the community, rather than an elaborate—and commonplace—hotel or condominium scheme that could be found on any Caribbean island (Yang and Wall, 2008). Communications with the TCI Director Cultural Affairs, TCI National Trust, and local community can assist developers in understanding and justly presenting—and preserving—the culture of the Turks and Caicos.

3 *Community involvement*

3.1 Entrepreneurial workshops and classes

As discussed in the previous section on participatory management, individual and community advancement will only occur if locals are involved—and leading—development decisions. While pathways should be opened that allow locals to participate in the decisions that bring external developers to the island, locals also need to be proactively starting their own ventures—for here is where they will see real benefit. It is well known that South Caicos islanders may be lacking in some of the skills necessary to successfully run a microenterprise, but this gap can be filled by NGO or government-sponsored workshops and classes on entrepreneurship.

Training in this field has been suggested as one of the most critical needs of developing countries and programs can substantially increase the success of local endeavors (Echtner, 1995; Yusuf, 1995). Programs vary in length—from 5 days to 3 months, intensity—from seminars to one-on-one focus, and origin—adapted college classes, independent programs, regionally customized programs, but all can share helpful skills and resources in the managerial and/or business capabilities arena (Echtner, 1995).

3.2 Microlending

Microfinance will also aid South Caicos entrepreneurs in starting successful ventures. Several interviewees commented on the fact that many people have ideas for work but lack the resources to put those plans into action—only the well-off have the money to invest in enterprise. The microfinance community in Latin America and the Caribbean, working to combat this problem, is alive and flourishing, with the average loan ranging from \$300 - \$10,000 USD and close to 6 million microfinance borrowers; this fact suggests that the implementation of microloans in South Caicos would be both financially and socially successful (Lashley, 2004; Navajas and Tejerina, 2006; Westley, 2005).

3.3 Business mentoring

Microloans and the facilitation of grassroots enterprises have been attempted for the TCI in the past but with little success, likely due to the lack of business support and related failure to repay loans (Lashley, 2004). However, business mentoring—like the aforementioned entrepreneurial workshops—can assuage this problem by providing access to information, capital, networks, and counseling to

microenterprises after start-up (Hansford et al., 2002; Lalkaka, 2001). While entrepreneurship classes and workshops are geared to prepare individuals for success *before* venture launch, business mentoring is aimed to enhance the success of ventures *after* launch. Often called business incubators, organizations providing these services are internationally recognized as aiding venture growth, and have proven success in emergent countries including China, Brazil, India, Malaysia, Korea, and South Africa (Lalkaka, 2001). The benefits are manifold: for individuals, an enhanced chance of success, improved skills, raised credibility, enriched access to mentors, information, and capital; for governments, help overcoming market failures, promotion of development, generation of jobs, demonstration of political commitment to small business; and for local communities, a creation of self-esteem and an entrepreneurial culture and improved success of ventures that will then stay in the area and augment the economy (Lalkaka, 2001). The TCI government itself or an independent organization funded by the government should offer these mentoring services for potential business owners of South Caicos.

3.4 Participatory management

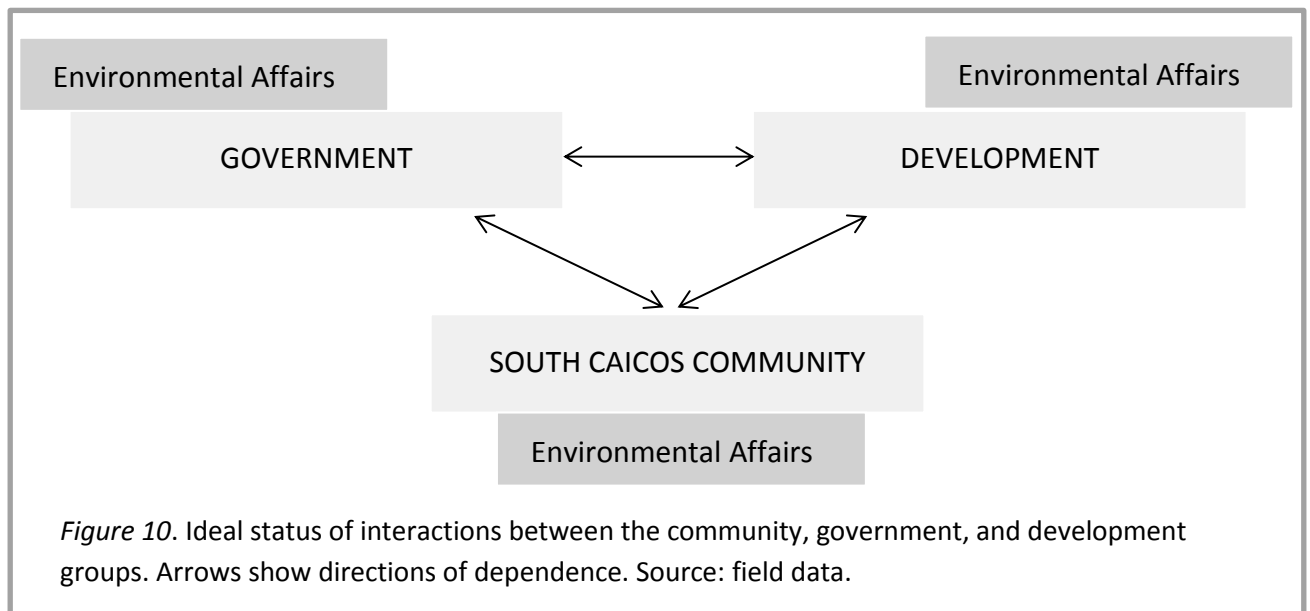
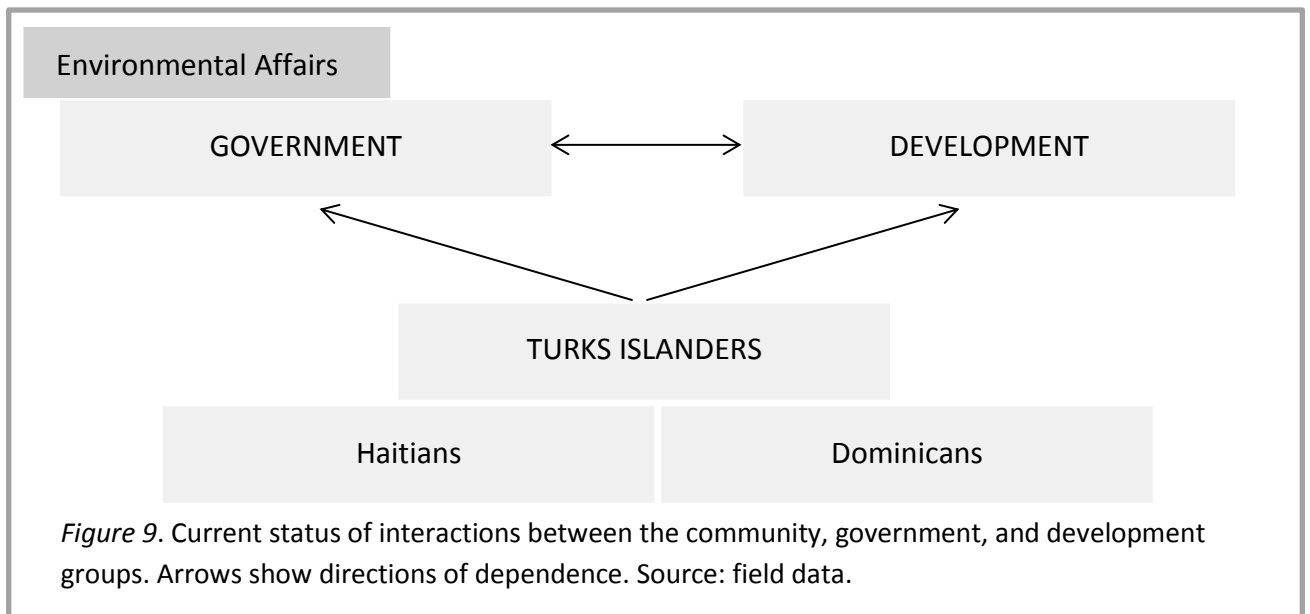
A final tool to improve community participation and management involves breaking down ethnic barriers and encouraging a culture of openness. Islanders need to realize that they all want to better the economy of South Caicos and thus need to work together towards that objective; community dinners and planning workshops should be utilized to bring people together on common ground (Alcala and Russ, 2006). Similar techniques have been used in community based natural resource

management (CBNRM) and the managing of no-take marine reserves with high levels of success, indicating the value of this method (Alcala and Russ, 2006).

4 Stepping back

The status of the island economy of South Caicos is struggling currently, but optimistic. This thesis used a political ecology lens to understand residents' visions of and attitudes towards the impending tourism development and has suggested three areas of growth necessary if development is to be successful: (1) improved environmental education, (2) a plan for sustainable tourism development, and (3) community involvement and increased participatory management in these plans. This thesis also discussed tailored strategies for South Caicos to deal with these areas of concern. The political ecology framework has helped this research to understand how cultural identities, political power relations, and historical resource rights affect the current use of the environment and how they will likely direct the future. The proposed strategies for South Caicos are informed by this historical and cultural context and thus are better able to address each actor's needs and motivations.

A final look at implementing these solutions involves stepping back and examining the community structure: Figure 9 diagrams the current status of community interactions, and thus illustrates the conflicts between management groups. Turks Islanders depend on both the government and developers, as the decisions of these groups influence much of their lives, but government officials and developers—while communicating between themselves—have little interaction with the South Caicos community. Environmental matters are largely relegated to the



government and dealt with in a top-down, supervisory manner. Additionally, the community doesn't act as a cohesive body, but rather it presents fragmented cases from each ethnic group (Fig. 9).

This thesis has illustrated the problems associated with current community functioning and suggested that changes need to be made to improve the overall wellbeing of South Caicos. The implementation of the three-part development plan will go far in building a healthy and resilient community, much like Figure 10.

In this framework, the community, government, and development groups are all dependent and interacting with each other; there are open, multi-directional lines of communication and input; the South Caicos community is unified; and each user group takes responsibility for environmental affairs and is aims for environmental sustainability. This community structure is far better equipped to deal with changing economic and environmental pressures that will come with tourism because it has a strong support system—with backing from both the government and developers—and a community-specific, bottom-up approach to environmental affairs. With the adoption of strategies presented here, South Caicos will position itself for success in the growing tourism industry.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Questions

1. Are you originally from South Caicos? If not, where?
2. How long have you lived on South?
3. What do you do?
4. Do you have children? Tell me about your family – where they live, what they do.
5. What is your opinion on the fishing industry and its future on South?
6. What is your opinion on tourism developments already here and others coming to South?
7. What do you see the island looking like in the future?
8. What job sectors are important now and have been important in the past?
9. What is your opinion on the environment in general or the environment related to tourism?
10. What is your opinion about the treatment of waste on South?
11. What parts or places of the island do you value the most?
12. Are there any parts of the island that you think should be protected [from development]?
13. Is there anything that we didn't ask you that you think we should have?
14. Do you have any recommendations of who else we should talk to?

APPENDIX B

Record of participant demographics

Table 5: Interview Record

		Nationality	Gender	Age	Job
FALL 2012	Interviewee 1	Belonger	M	45-64	Teacher
	Interviewee 2	Belonger	F	65-84	Fish plant worker
	Interviewee 3	Belonger	F	85+	Teacher
	Interviewee 4	Belonger	F	45-64	Teacher, government worker, soroptomist
	Interviewee 5	GrandTurk	F	45-64	Library worker
	Interviewee 6	MiddleCaicos	F	45-64	Library worker
	Interviewee 7	Belonger	F	45-64	Library worker
	Interviewee 8	NorthCaicos	M	45-64	Fish plant worker
	Interviewee 9	Belonger	M	45-64	Fish plant worker
	Interviewee 10	Jamaica	F	45-64	Teacher
	Interviewee 11	Belonger	M	65-84	Fish plant worker
	Interviewee 12	Nigeria	F	45-64	Nurse
	Interviewee 13	Belonger	F	45-64	Library worker
	Interviewee 14	Belonger	F	25-44	Library worker
	Interviewee 15	Haiti	F	45-64	Store owner
	Interviewee 16	Russia	F	25-44	Doctor
SPRING 2013	Interviewee 17	GrandTurk	M	25-44	Unknown
	Interviewee 18	Belonger	M	25-44	Restaurant owner
	Interviewee 19	Bahamas	M	25-44	Bartender
	Interviewee 20	Belonger	M	25-44	Government worker
	Interviewee 21	Belonger	M	25-44	Company owner
	Interviewee 22	Belonger	F	25-44	Restaurant owner
	Interviewee 23	Bahamas	M	25-44	Government worker
	Interviewee 24	Belonger	M	25-44	Government worker
	Interviewee 25	Haiti	M	15-24	Maintenance worker
FALL 2013	Interviewee 26	Haiti	F	25-44	Secondary school teacher
	Interviewee 27	USA	F	25-44	Government worker
	Interviewee 28	Belonger	F	45-64	Store owner, Soroptimist
	Interviewee 29	Belonger	F	25-44	Guidance counselor
	Interviewee 30	Canada	F	45-64	Artist
	Interviewee 31	Belonger	F	25-44	Government worker
	Interviewee 32	Belonger	F	25-44	Store owner
	Interviewee 33	Belonger	F	25-44	Store owner
	Interviewee 34	Belonger	F	45-64	Teacher, soroptomist
	Interviewee 35	Belonger	F	45-64	Fish plant manager
	Interviewee 36	Haiti	M	15-24	Maintenance worker
	Interviewee 37	Belonger	M	25-44	Hotel owner
	Interviewee 38	Belonger	M	45-64	Store owner

Interviewee 39	Haiti	F	45-64	Store owner
Interviewee 40	Belonger	F	65-84	Hotel owner
Interviewee 41	USA	M	45-64	Maintenance worker
Interviewee 42	USA	M	45-64	Company owner
Interviewee 43	Belonger	M	25-44	Pastor, teacher
Interviewee 44	Belonger	M	25-44	Pastor
Interviewee 45	Jamaica	F	25-44	Primary school teacher

Table 6: Focus Group Record

FALL 2012		Nationality	Gender	Age	Job
	Focus group 1a	Caymans	M	15-24	Student
	Focus group 1b	GrandTurk	M	15-24	Student
	Focus group 1c	GrandTurk	F	15-24	Student
	Focus group 1d	Bahamas	F	15-24	Student
	Focus group 2a	Belonger	F	15-24	Student
	Focus group 2b	Belonger	F	15-24	Student
	Focus group 2c	Belonger	M	15-24	Student
	Focus group 3a	Belonger	M	15-24	Student
	Focus group 3b	GrandTurk	M	15-24	Student
	Focus group 3c	Haiti	M	15-24	Student
	Focus group 4a	Belonger	F	15-24	Student
	Focus group 4b	Belonger	M	15-24	Student
	Focus group 5a	Belonger	F	15-24	Student
	Focus group 5b	Belonger	M	15-24	Student

