

Cultural Heritage, Destination Competitiveness and Sustainability Model in LDC's: From Theory to Action

A case of Ghana

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ACRONYMS

CEDECOM: CENTRAL REGION DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION
DFID: DEPARTMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
GMMB: GHANA MUSEUMS AND MONUMENTS BOARD
EU: EUROPEAN UNION
GDP: GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT
GTB: GHANA TOURISM BOARD
HOTCATT: HOSPITALITY AND CATERING
KEEA: KOMENDA-EDINA-EGUAFO-ABREM
LDC: LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES
NGO: NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATION
ICLEI: INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL FOR LOCAL ENVIRONMENTAL INITIATIVES
IIED: INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT
PANAFEST: PAN AFRICAN FESTIVAL THEATRE
PPT: PRO-POOR TOURISM
PRA: PARTICIPATORY RURAL APPRAISAL
RRA: RAPID RURAL APPRAISAL
RSA: RAPID SITUATION ANALYSIS
STEP: SUSTAINABLE TOURISM ELIMINATING POVERTY
UCC: UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
UN: UNITED NATIONS
UNCSD: UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT
UNEP: UNITED NATIONS ENVIRONMENT PROGRAMME
UNESCO: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION
UNLDC: UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON THE LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES
UNCTAD: UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT
USAID: UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
WB: WORLD BANK
WTO: WORLD TOURISM ORGANISATION
WTTC: WORLD TRAVEL AND TOURISM COUNCIL

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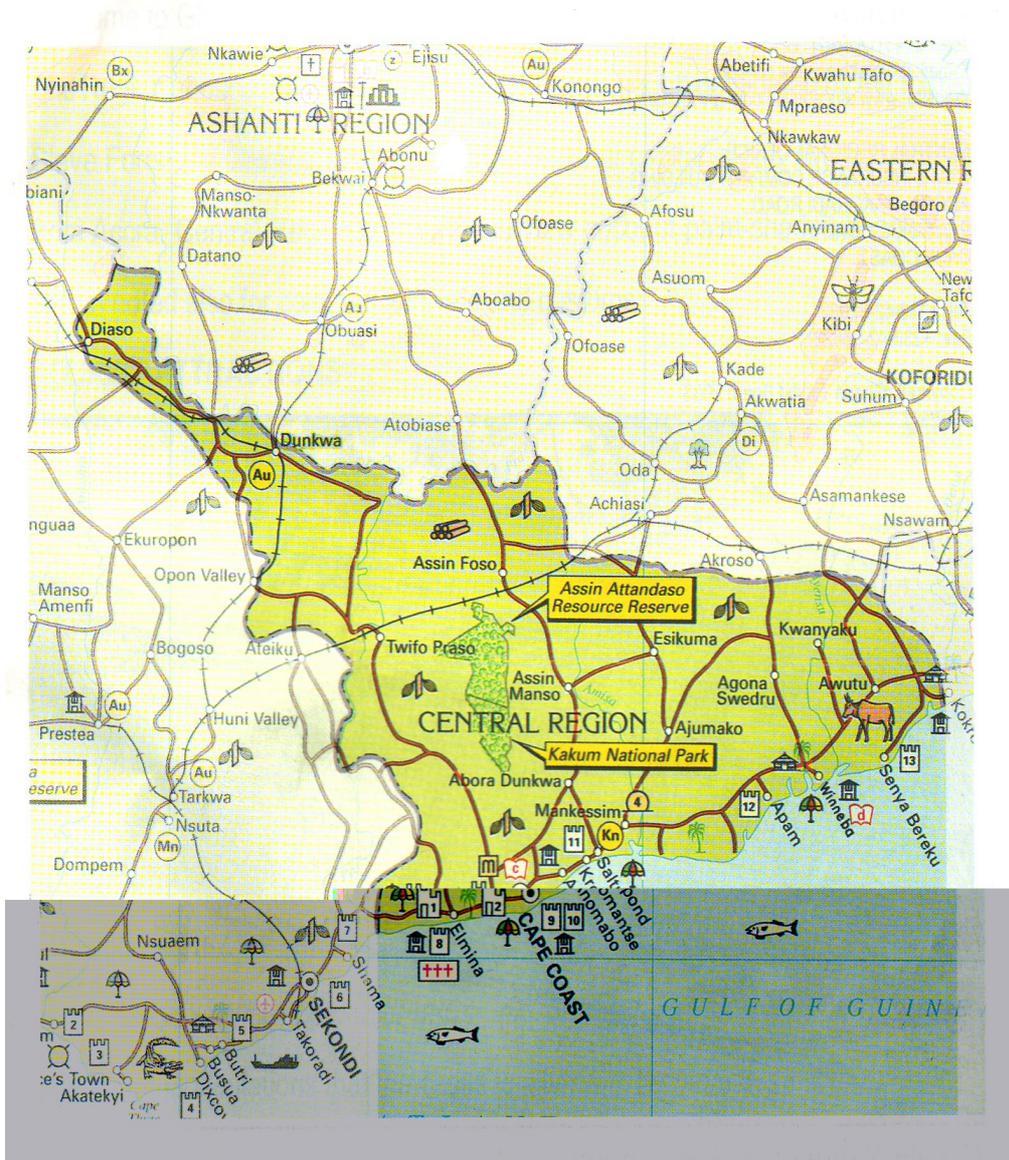
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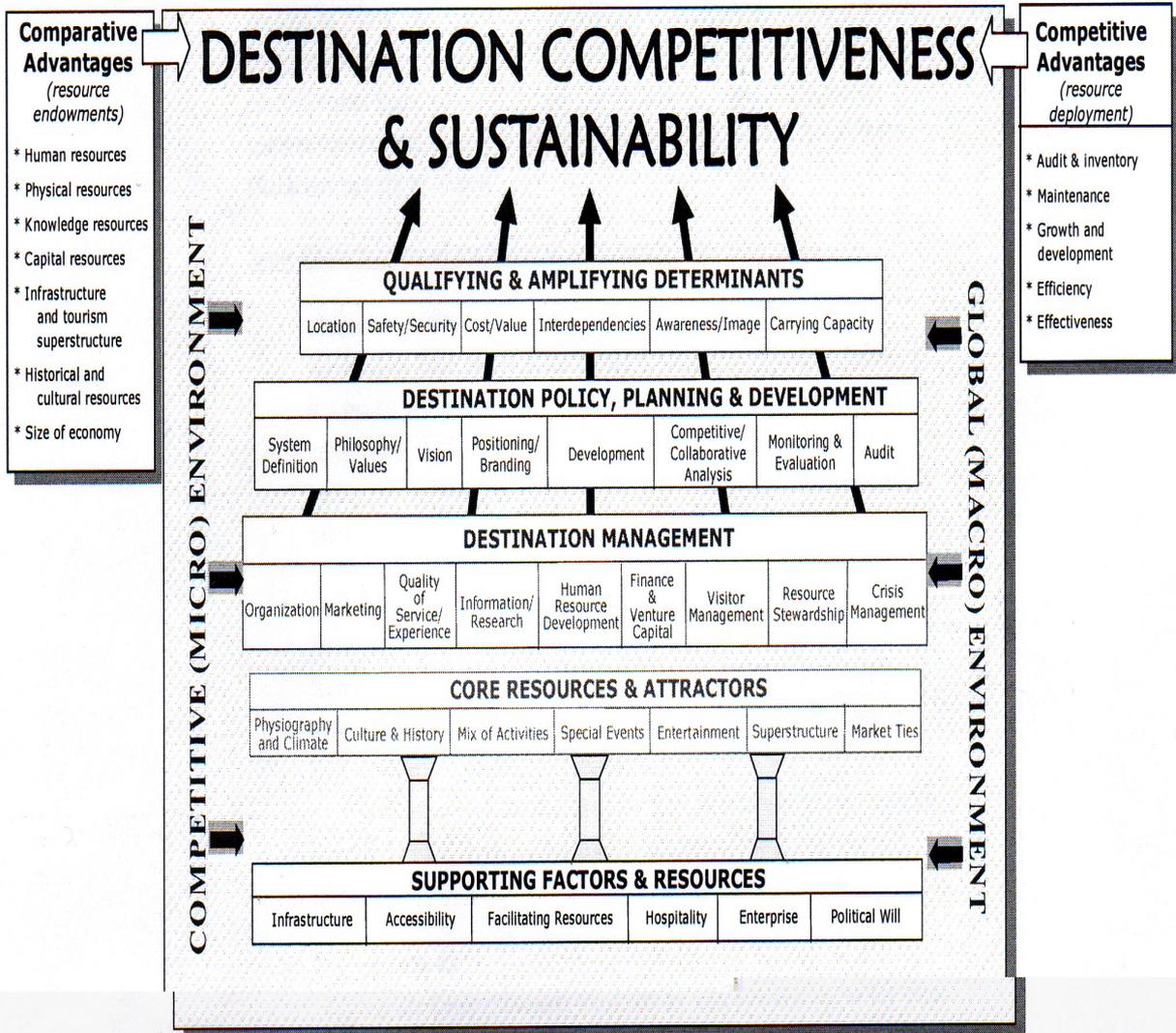
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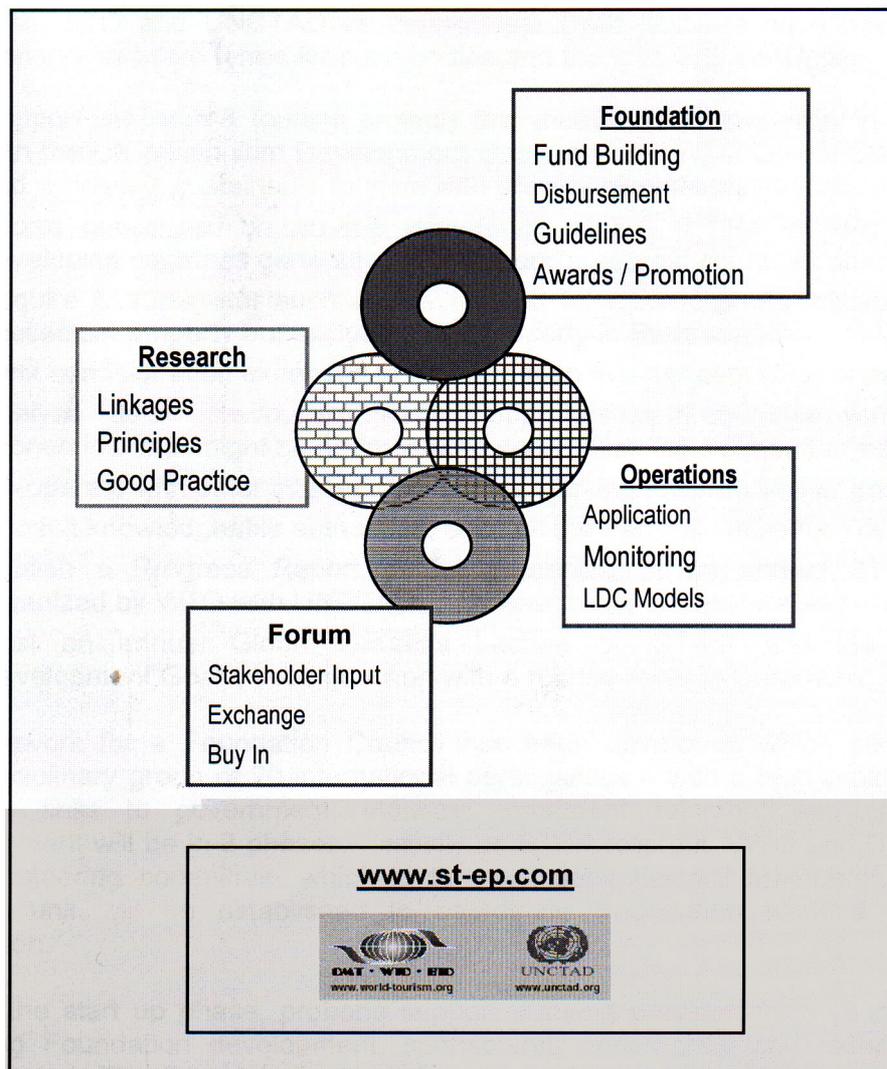
Source: Ghana Tourism Board (2003) (Guide to Central Region)

Figure 2
Ritchie & Crouch Model



Source: Ritchie & Crouch (2003)

Figure 3
STEP Framework



Source: www.world-tourism.org.liberalisation with a human face September 2003 GHIL

Picture 1
Cape Coast Castle



Source: Collection of pictures taken during fieldwork in Cape Coast

Picture 2
Elmina Castle



Source: Collection of pictures taken during fieldwork in Elmina

Picture 3
Fort St Jago



Source: Collection of pictures taken during fieldwork in Elmina

Summary

This report aims at presenting the results of a WTO fieldwork undertaken in the locales of Cape Coast and Elmina (Figure 1), in the sub-Saharan country of Ghana, in West Africa during a period of five months between April –August in 2005.

The overall objective of the research is to test the applicability of Ritchie & Crouch's (2003) 'Destination Competitiveness Model' (Figure 2), which was specifically modified for less developed countries, in the locales of Elmina and Cape Coast in Ghana. The unique characteristic of these areas is based on their cultural heritage; they are hosting three world heritage sites, two castles and a fortress, which are left by colonialism and which functioned as slave dungeons for 400 years during the transatlantic slave trade.

The overall objective will be underpinned by the following specific objectives:

- **Assess the relationship between the local community, national institutions and the slave fortification castles of Cape Coast Castle in Cape Coast (Picture 1), St George castle in Elmina (Picture2) and the fortress of St Jago in Elmina (Picture 3)**
- **Provide practical guidelines on linking pro-poor tourism characteristics with physical elements (assets) of cultural histories with a focus on the role of the local community**

The examination of the objectives will be in the context of a pro-poor tourism framework and it will seek to:

1) Develop a working and transferable model for policy makers in order assist the marginalized and poor communities who are the traditional custodians of heritage to participate in tourism opportunities, thus replacing the potentially consumptive models of tourism (the tourism gaze) with a more equitable position (managing and developing heritage themselves); Thus 'reducing the gap between rich and poor and between developed and developing countries'. More specifically in relation to the WTO Article 2 ('contribute to global...research'), Article 6 ('well coordinated added value..in the creation, dissemination and use of knowledge').

2) Contribute towards the Millennium Development Goals (Appendix 1) via capacity building and knowledge sharing, which in turn will enable empowerment and gender equality. Recognizing thus the WTO Education Council Washington Declaration (October, 2003) resolution 2: 'working together to enhance achievement of the Millennium Goals'.

Finally recommendations and conclusions will be drawn for the development of 'appropriate' tourism in the regions of Elmina and Cape Coast and according to Ritchie (2004) model of *'Appropriate Competitiveness for Impoverished Nations: Defining the Vision and Establishing Strategic Guidelines'* and in the context of a pro-poor framework.

Overview

Tourism in Developing and/or Less Developed Countries

Given its rapid and sustained growth over the past several decades, tourism was not regarded as a vital and integral tool (Sinclair, 1998) or economic diversification and development (DFID, 2003) for developing and/or less developed countries. More recently however, tourism has started to take its place alongside traditional economic activities (Lea, 1995) such as agriculture and fisheries; and it is regarded as part of a solution for their insufficiency in finance and experience (Dieke, 2000), and a great generator of foreign exchange and employment. It represents more than 5% of exports or 2% of GDP (DFID, 1999) in 11 of the 12 poorest countries, in nearly half of the low revenue countries and more or less all the lower-middle revenue countries (Gerrosa, 2003). It represents more than 10% of their total trade and overtakes agriculture as the major contributor to GDP in many. It achieved to develop economically remote areas with little or no other comparative advantage in other industries.

Tourism is also multi-faceted and its economic dimension cannot occur without inputs of social, cultural and environmental nature. Due to its complex and multi-faceted nature more often than not economic benefits bring along socio-cultural and environmental impacts where for example people are dislocated from their land, have limited or restricted access to infrastructural facilities or other services, obliteration of social prototypes, formation of neo-colonial dependency relations, along with others.

Although tourism development results in the provision of facilities and services, however there are instances when these facilities are not accessible to local residents, particularly if tourism development involves the creation of tourism enclaves. In addition tourism has been criticised for exacerbating the problems of societies: the destruction of social prototype, neo-colonialist relationships of exploitation and dependence, inflationary pressure, along with others.

Developing tourism in these countries in an appropriate manner that will bring a long-term sustainable outcome means cooperation between governments and people across the globe. The challenge here will be to find the right mechanisms so that this cooperation proves beneficial for the world's poor (DFID, 1999).

Tourism Policy Implications in Developing and Less Developed Countries for poverty alleviation

Social Planning for tourism

However and despite the fact that international tourism receipts in developing countries grew from a mere 3% to well over a quarter, in the last two decades of the 20th century; the dependence of developing countries the so called 'South' on the industrialized countries of 'the North' grew stronger (WTO, 1998; WTO, 2000 in Cleverdon 2001). As a matter of fact 'the industry has failed local communities who saw little or no benefit from what was going on around them' (Bryden 1973; Smith and Eadington 1992; Scott 1996 in Burns 2004). Critics reveal that tourism encourages foreign dependency, it is vulnerable to issues outside the control of the destination, and that imposes socio-economic and spatial inequalities (Deloitte & Touche, 1999). Host communities more and more are assessing the costs of development that have not succeeded to put their rights and interests on a par with those of their visitors (Mvula, 2001).

Discrimination and inequality are evident in:

- employment practices
- economic leakage (Ashley & Roe, 1998),
- the livelihoods lost (Ashley & Roe, 1998)
- local people's displacements from land and communal areas and water (Wanhill, 1997);
- religious and cultural traditions debased (Wanhill, 1997)
- natural environments degraded (Wanhill, 1997),
- creation of tourist enclaves (Deloitte & Touche, 1999) and
- social pollution (Deloitte & Touche, 1999)

Decision-making is mainly expressed in economic terms with little or close to no consideration of the effects on society as a whole. So far the social, cost-benefits analyses undertaken are translated solely in monetary terms and that has proven to be an 'imperfect tool' since it measures various different effects together and not separately so to portray their size clearly and reduce subjective decision making. However tourism is a super complex sector that has separate ramifications at all levels: economical, social, and environmental. Bearing in mind that in a given society all these levels are interrelated and interconnected, decisions that are taken for one level will automatically influence the others and vice versa. Therefore it is imperative to see tourism not only as an economic activity but as part of a whole and employ a holistic approach in decision making that takes into consideration all societal needs and stakeholders concerned.

Planning and employment at the local level

Francesco Frangialli, the Secretary General of the World Tourism Organisation, underlining the dimensions of tourism in a global scale stated that in 2004, 763 million trips were taken and as a result of that US\$622 millions were spent. However, the bulk of the profits remain in the countries of the tourists' origin in the form of leakage leaving an estimated 30% in the host countries.

Acknowledging this reality, the hardest thing is that still most of the attempts to organize global trade in tourism are designed in a way that will increase the profits of the rich thus widening the gap between rich (developed) and poor (developing) countries. Social responsibility is still in its infancy in the tourism sector (Solomon, 2005).

The local authorities of the poorest nations who theoretically have the legal authority to intervene, lack in strong national private sector, national entrepreneurial class, and public sector managerial capacity, or they have not identified the main issues to be addressed and subsequently they depend in foreign skills and finance for tourism development. But that does not necessarily mean that all key and expert positions have to be filled by expatriates as well. The replacement of expatriates and training of local staff is a policy that has to be intensively pursued (DFID, 1999).

In addition the authority of local authorities is usually diminished when their involvement interferes with the interests of important groups outside the community. There are also cases where all powers are vested in central or provincial governments, and the decrees concerning tourism planning can be easily circumvented in order to benefit both internal local powerful groups and outside elites. At a regional basis competitors must stand together and develop strategies in order to deal with transnational firms.

De Kadt (1979) is very much contemporary when he stated almost three decades ago that in many states the pursuit of profit by private or public enterprises comes in conflict with the search for wider social benefits as well as with environmental protection (Hunter, 1997). Especially where the state chooses to protect and enhance further these benefits, investors will always find a way to protect their interests either by influencing legislation and regulation to their benefits, or by finding a loophole in the law or even by corrupting officials. But of course issues like these usually tend to be overseen since tourism plans and policies do not focus on net returns and income distribution but to gross returns in terms of higher foreign exchange earnings, or greater visitor numbers. This is why usually tourism projects are developed without sectoral plan, and mostly tourism planning has been remedial. This is more obvious in small societies where the lack of experts and planning techniques and approaches to planning are more acute than in larger economies.

Challenges in tourism planning

In the field of development many actors have argued that tourism has the potential to bring more equitable (Renard, 1999), and even net benefits to local people (Goodwin, 1998). It can be a key player for sustainable development, increase employment, and education, maximize foreign exchange earnings, and secure financial resources to conserve natural and cultural heritage and most importantly to bring dignity for the majority of people in poor countries.

The WTO very recently called for 'liberalisation with a human face' where tourism can help reduce poverty with fair and progressive liberalization and with special emphasis to sustainability. Thus contributing to the Millennium Development Goals by increasing foreign exchange, supporting entrepreneurship, stimulating infrastructure investment, and generating skilled employment in tourism (Solomon, 2005).

As regards to that, Burns (2004) argues that there is a polarized and confused debate concerning tourism development in the poorest countries. On the one hand while tourism development might increase tourist arrivals and hotels accommodation on the other hand it might not succeed to be beneficial for the civil society as a whole, particularly the poor and disadvantaged.

Poverty cannot be overcome by growth alone. Special attention is required for the matter of 'distribution of the material benefits of development among the poorest countries and the poorest population groups within individual countries' (de Kadt, 1979:38). In many developing countries so far the voice of the poor majority has hardly been heard in political decision-making mainly because local or national dominant groups purposely keep them in subordinate position. However if one gives more weight to all social implications and impacts and less on the economic considerations then the interests of local communities will be better represented and further promoted if the development is slower, and small scale than massive integrated and concentrated one (de Kadt, 1979).

However, Burns (2004) argues that the 'alternative tourism' solutions so far have given weight to environmental protection (Hunter, 1997) and they have not only failed to generate economic benefits at large, but they are also mostly for the more affluent tourists (Krippendorf, 1987:88) which in effect means less tourism (Wheeller, 1993) and 'thus remain marginal to the pressing economic needs and irrelevant to the social aspirations of people at the grassroots' (Burns, 2004:25).

Up to the present day one can hardly find any case of government that embarked to assess possible effects of alternative types of tourism with the intention to promote (either by using incentives or disincentives i.e. taxation) those which, are promising to bring the greatest net social benefits. More often than not tourism projects are mostly 'developed without being tested within the framework of a sectoral plan' (De Kadt, 1979:40). A fact that creates great concerns regarding the sustainability and equity of current, dominant forms of tourism development (Renard, 2001).

In effect a 'Third Way' approach to planning is essential where 'socially versus economically/politically inspired goals are very important' which 'would spend far more time, and pay much more attention to the pre-planning phase' (Burns, 2004:34) and ensure that no rights for development are given without responsibilities (Burns, 2004). It has to be a process where local people become the tourism planners because these are the ones who have the knowledge and are the rightful custodians of their environment. Of course external interventions have also to be called in the processing of planning but it has to be in a form of invitation and not of the externals imposing themselves in order to support their own interests.

A challenge in the 21st century is for tourism not only to retain its status quo but also to increase it by eliminating as much as possible its diminutive image; where the few privileged ones enjoy themselves at the expense of the many in the developing world. The challenge can be overcome with localization of benefits that will be achieved when issues such as ownership, economic leakage (local and import level), local employment, benefit distribution, social and environmental impacts and dependency are dealt with at the destination level with active local community participation (DFID, 1999)

Harold Goodwin (1998) on the 'Sustainable Tourism and Poverty Elimination' paper stresses the need for forming partnerships that will contribute to creation of tourism experiences that reflect the uniqueness of the destinations; will link the local communities with the tourism activity enhancing thus their role as hosts. There is need to abandon the old fashioned top-down approaches as regards to tourism development and instead adopt a bottom-up approach. It is only then that community participation will be ensured and that would be for the benefit of both the local communities and the visitors.

By the same token pro-poor tourism, which is an approach to tourism development and management aims to unlock opportunities for the poor i.e. economic, other livelihood benefits or engagement in decision –making; whilst at the same time seek to be combined with general development strategies which aim to develop the sector as a whole (Ashley, Roe & Goodwin 2001) but in a fair and sustainable manner.

Ritchie and Crouch (2003) also in the 'Destination Competitiveness Model' (that it has been specifically modified for impoverished nations) stress the need for the development of 'appropriate' tourism, which will take advantage of the destination's natural and built resource base for the benefit of the poor residents. However it will have to be accompanied by a policy that fits the needs of the impoverished nation and does not impose a threat to other developed destinations; since there is always a threat for them to unleash competitive forces that could overpower a newly developing and still fragile tourism economy. This is the kind of 'competitiveness' that he refers as 'appropriate competitiveness.

Sustainable tourism development and donors' initiatives for poverty alleviation in

Developing and/or Less Developed Countries

According to the WTO in the context of the United Nations sustainable development process, the concept of sustainable tourism, refers to tourist activities 'leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems' (UN, 2001). The recognition that sustainable tourism development can go beyond the promotion of broad socio-economic development; and therefore is leading global action in the sector to achieve the goal of alleviating poverty by developing appropriate strategies in cooperation with all major groups and indigenous and local people came at a later stage (UNCSD, 1999).

During the 1990s, policies were mainly focused on environmental issues whilst development considerations were either disregarded or were given minimal attention. It was only at the close of the century that development issues as regards to impacts on the local communities started to be part in policy documents, codes, principles and standards (Gerosa, 2003). In 1996, UNEP published the book 'Tourism and Local Agenda 21' and WTO, WTTC and the Earth Council the 'Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry' in which they emphasise the role of local authorities for a more sustainable tourism not only at the economic but at the social and environmental level (UNEP& ICLEI, 2003).

In 1999, WTO, issued the 'Global Code of Ethics (WTO, 1999) and UNEP's the 'Principles on Implementation of Sustainable Tourism' (UNEP, 1999) successively which included programmes, activities, and standards which intended to maximize the benefits to local communities. The industry followed suit by also developing codes of contact, guidelines, standards and certifications. However, poverty was not still a central issue in the tourism agenda (Roe et. all, 2003). The first link between tourism and poverty was placed at the UNCSD in 1999 and from then onwards the fight against poverty started to be institutionalised.

In 2001, the Canary Islands Declaration on Tourism in LDCs (UNLDC III, 2001a) recognized also tourism development as 'an avenue to increase participation in the global economy, alleviate poverty, and achieve socio-economic development for all the people of these countries'. Tourism was once more recognized as a tool for development, peace and poverty alleviation in LDCs (UNLDC III, 2001b). As a result of this recognition WTO & UNCTAD have signed a collaboration agreement in 2002 in Johannesburg at the World Summit for Sustainable Development. In which they agreed to promote the widespread use of sustainable tourism as a development tool that will assist developing states and LDCs to radically enhance social change, trade participation and poverty alleviation through sustainable tourism.

The central component of this collaboration agreement is the ST-EP (Figure 3) initiative, which seeks new funds, research STEP linkages and creates an operating framework that provides

incentives for businesses to use such programmes[1]. However it was in October 2004 that the WTO in cooperation with the George Washington University organized the first international forum focusing on sustainable tourism development and assistance and in which participated for first time donor agencies, developing countries and civil society[2]. As a result of this forum the new STEP Foundation was created which will finance new research and development projects that link sustainable tourism to the UN Millennium Development Goals[3] (Appendix 1), especially poverty alleviation

Destination Competitiveness and Sustainability model

There are many factors that determine the ability of tourism destinations to remain competitive or even to advance their position in the global tourism environment. However the big challenge is to achieve it in a manner that is sustainable in the course of time.

Ritchie and Crouch (2003) in a common effort to provide some insight information as to these factors that are essential for a destination to be both competitive and sustainable have developed a competitiveness/sustainability model (Figure 2), which address nine major areas.

1. Comparative versus Competitive Advantage

The comparative advantage refers to the resources that naturally make a destination attractive to visitors i.e. culture or existing infrastructure. The competitive advantage refers to the ability of a destination to use these resources effectively over the long term. A destination endowed with a wealth or resources may not be as competitive as a destination lacking in resources but which is utilizing the little it has more effectively. For example a destination with successfully implemented appropriate marketing strategy might be more competitive than one that has not fully acknowledged the role of tourism in its economic and social development, or which deploys its available resources effectively.

Qualifying and Amplifying Determinants

These determinants or *situational conditioners* represent factors whose effect on the competitiveness of a tourist destination is to define its scale, limit, or potential. These qualifiers and amplifiers moderate or magnify destination competitiveness by filtering the influence of the

other three groups of factors.

The Global (Micro) Environment

The tourism system due to its open nature is subject to many influences and pressures that arise outside the system itself. This is what Ritchie and Crouch call global or macro environment. Global forces can alter a destination's attractiveness to tourists, can create new markets, adjust the relative costs of travel to different destinations, disrupt relations between cultures and nations etc. These forces have to be overcome in order for a destination to remain competitive. At the same time these forces provide a destination with opportunities for innovation and market exploitation.

The Competitive (micro) Environment

A destination's competitive (micro) environment is made up of organizations, influences and forces that lie within the Destination's immediate arena of tourism activities and competition. The micro-environment often occupies the attention of managers due to the ramifications for the destination's ability to serve visitors and remain competitive. Apart from the destination itself, the competitive (micro) environment includes other entities that together form the so-called 'travel trade', in addition to the various tourism markets, competing destinations, and a Destination's publics or stakeholders. As components of the tourism system they shape the immediate environment within which a Destination must adapt in order to compete.

2. Core Resources and Attractors

These are the key motivators, the core resources and attractors that are the fundamental reasons that perspective visitors choose one destination over another. They fall into seven categories: physiography and climate, culture and history, market ties, mix of activities, special events, entertainment, and the tourism superstructure.

Supporting Factors and Resources

A destination with a dearth of supporting factors and resources, may find it difficult to develop its tourism industry, at least in the short term until some attention is paid to those things that are lacking. This may not be easy in a region which is poor, undeveloped or under populated.

Destination Policy, Planning and Development

A strategic or policy-driven framework for the planning and development of the destination with particular economic, social and other societal goals can ensure that development is competitive and sustainable and quality driven for the host society. A vision, which is formal statement, can express this aspiration for the next 20 to 50 years from the present.

As Figure 2 shows, other policy, planning and development sub-components include a formal definition of the elements of the tourism system in question, the enunciation of a tourism philosophy for the destination, the positioning and branding in the destination in the marketplace, the ongoing development of the products/experiences to be offered by the destination, and an analysis which indicates the degree to which both competition and collaboration are in the destination's best interest- and how they will be achieved. Finally the policy must be monitored at a macro level by a micro or operational level audit of the destination's resources and programmes.

Destination Management

The destination management component is necessary for the implementation of the policy and planning framework established under destination policy, planning and development, enhance the appeal of the core resources and attractors, strengthen the quality and effectiveness of the supporting factors and resources, and best adapt to the constraints or opportunities presented by the qualifying and amplifying determinants.

There are seven areas for destination management actions which are the following: the nature of the destination management organization, marketing, assuring the quality of the visitor experience and associated services and disseminating information/research, the development of appropriate human resources, the provision of adequate finances and venture capital, the effective management of visitors, and finally, assuring the very critical stewardship of destination resources.

Towards a Model of Appropriate Competitiveness for Impoverished Nations: Defining the Vision and Establishing Strategic Guidelines

The need for the model's modification for impoverished nations is mainly based on the rationale that the practice of 'conventional' tourism is antagonistic to many of the economic and social requirements of (developing) African countries (Brown, 1998). Based on that, the adaptation was made in a 'appropriate' manner, so that tourism will be developed in a way that impoverished nations will take advantage of their natural and built resource base so that it truly benefits their relative poor residents; while at the same time their development will not be a threat for already developed destinations since these destinations have the ability to overpower

developing and still fragile development. In brief, what is required is a form of competitiveness that reflects a wise deployment of the tourism resources with which an impoverished nation/destination has been endowed. Ritchie refers to this form of 'competitiveness' as 'appropriate competitiveness' and to the form of tourism that serves not only the needs and circumstances of the host nation (or destinations) but it is also capable of enabling the nation/destination in question to compete aggressively as 'appropriate tourism'.

The Vision of Appropriate Competitiveness (AC)

The model has been modified with some unique characteristics to allow it to achieve its fundamental goals. These are the following:

- 1) modified approach to competitiveness that allows a destination to compete in the tourism world;
- 2) ensure that local people truly benefit;
- 3) truly sustainable for the long term and not left to stagnate and rot;
- 4) the vision must be shared one other wise it will not be easy to implement;
- 5) build on the labour and management skills that are primarily available in the destination while also providing for education and training. That systematically builds up these skills and talents over time;
- 6) careful judgment as to the degree of the aggressiveness of tourism development;
- 7) development of alliances with competing destinations;
- 8) exploit target markets that are sympathetic towards the plight of the poor worldwide;
- 9) support of international development organisations

Adapting the base Model of Competitiveness to the context of Impoverished Nations/Destinations

The nature of some of the most significant modifications for the case of impoverished nations/destinations are described on the following table:

Table 1: Competitiveness model for impoverished nations

Qualifying & Amplifying Component	Core Resource Component	Supporting Factors & Resources Component	Destination Policy, Planning & Development Component	Destination Management Component
1) Safety & Security (Destination's location accepted & adapted)	1) Culture & History (Attract certain segment of travel market)	1) Infrastructure (Good roads, clean water, functional communication systems, transportation terminals)	1) Policy Structure & Content (philosophy, values of destination)	1) Human Resources (Special attention needed to lack of experienced and trained staff)
2) Carrying Capacity (Research essential on early stages of development)	2) Market Ties (Return to 'roots': emigrants)	2) Enterprise (Can be adapted to other economic sectors, micro, small important)	2) Policy Formulation (Reflect needs of poor)	2) Organisation (Staff & Funding)
3) Cost/Value (Avoid low & very high prices)	3) Superstructure (Unique location)	3) Facilitating Resources (Visa/Immigration policy & effective customs system)		3) Finance & Venture (Alternative means for finance i.e. WTO)
	4) Special Events (Cultural, Social, Religious)			
	5) Entertainment (local probably glow into international)			

As it seen on table 1 certain elements such as safety and security, carrying capacity, reasonable prices, culture and history, market ties, superstructure, special events as well as entertainment of

the destination, are pre-requisites for tourism development. However sustainable tourism development will be achieved if other sectors such as infrastructure, enterprises, and facilitating resources are at place. This will require major policy adaptation, and it will be better accomplished if the structure of the policy is the same as for developed countries whilst the content will be according to the philosophy/values of the destination and the vision to guide the destination's long term development while at the same time serving the needs of the poor.

However, it will be a challenge to adapt the model due to operational demands that must be met since it requires human resources skills, and abilities in order to enhance the visitors' experience.

The Role of Cultural Heritage in a Pro-poor Framework

Poverty

Poverty is regarded as a multidimensional phenomenon consisted of a 'lack' of certain things such as human health; well-being and autonomous social functioning depend, including the ability to meet 'basic needs' such as food, shelter, clothing, education etc. This lack may consist of insufficient income, consumption or assets, entitlements, rights or security (ODI and AIRD, 1999:7-8). Therefore poverty has both material and non-material dimensions.

As of materialistic viewpoint income is considered as the most widely accepted measure of poverty. A consensus among donors has established an international poverty line, which distinguishes the 'poor' as those who live on less than US\$2 per day, while people living on less than US\$1 per day are classified as 'extremely poor' (Hammer, Healy and Naschol, 2000).

From a non-materialistic viewpoint, poverty is a 'lack of voice' or influence within the socio-political arena, denial of the rights to personal dignity, autonomy, and social inclusion, of the right to equality between social groups, and of the right to political freedom and security (ODI and AIRD, 1999:7).

Tourism, poverty and Pro-Poor Growth

'Pro-poor growth' has been recognized as the most vital element in the fight towards sustainable poverty alleviation (e.g. UN 2000; World Bank 2000a; Ravallion, 2001, World Bank 2000b). Broadly defined 'pro-poor growth' is the growth, which makes it possible for the poor to have an active participation and considerable benefit from the economic activity (Kingsbury et al., 2004).

Reducing poverty requires 'pro-poor growth' and tourism has the characteristics to enhance its pro-poor potential, since it is labour intensive it includes women and the informal sector and is based on natural and cultural assets of the poor which makes its development very suitable for poor areas (Ashley et al., 2001). Therefore harnessing tourism for pro poor growth means both employment of these features and reduction of negative impacts on the poor (Deloitte & Touche, 1999). Besides, there is already an open debate about a more sustainable and responsible tourism. Therefore there will be more scope for poverty reduction if this debate aims more obviously on poverty reduction (Goodwin, 1998).

Even though tourism is a commercial sector and is mainly driven by business opportunities and not one that provides social services to the poor (DFID, 1999); tourism development is very

appropriate in these countries because tourism as a sector has several advantages for pro-poor growth in comparison to other sectors (Ashley et al., 2001):

- It is a major factor for local economic activity since the customers come to the product, and therefore it has potentials for linkages with other enterprises thus stimulating sectors such as transport, construction, and food industries (DFID, 1999);
- It is widely producible across countries and across regions within countries, has low entry barriers, and is not import-intensive. Therefore it can be a valuable contributor in poor countries and areas with few or no other competitive exports or seek for new export activities without having to invest much or any other initial requirements;
- It is a labour intensive industry and because of that its growth prospects presents direct opportunities not only for those international concerns already very active in the sector but also for a lot of small and medium sized businesses and micro-enterprises at a very local community level, in rural areas and among social groups experiencing difficulties in the job market, such as young people, women and less skilled workers;
- Tourism can be build on natural resources such as wildlife and scenery and cultural heritage, which are assets that some of the poor have, even if they have no financial resources;
- At a non-economic level, tourism can revitalize local cultures, thus reviving or increasing pride to the local communities (Neto, 2003);

Poverty and Pro-Poor Tourism

Poverty reduction is achieved better when the poor are the focal point in tourism development, when tourism growth brings net benefits to poor people (Deloitte & Touche, 1999). PPT is an approach to tourism development and management and not a niche sector or a specific product. Its strategies are aiming to bring net benefits to the poor by unlocking opportunities either for economic gain and other livelihood benefits or engagement in decision-making and product development rather than expanding the sector (Ashley et al., 2001). Although the strategies can theoretically be applied within any segment of tourism, they have to be integrated with general tourism development that aims to develop the sector as a whole (Deloitte & Touche, 1999). This is both because tourism planning has to be influenced by pro-poor perspectives and also because pro-poor tourism strategies are more successful when the whole tourism destination is also successfully developing (DFID, 1999).

The poor can be ranged from employees, neighbouring communities, land-holders, producers of food, fuel and other suppliers, to operators of micro tourism businesses, craft makers and other users of tourism infrastructure and resources (Ashley et al., 2001).

There is not a 'blueprint' as to the type of companies that can get involved in pro-poor tourism.

For example, it might be a small lodge, an urban hotel, a tour operator, an infrastructure developer etc. The main issue here is for the poor people to receive net benefits out of the tourism activity[4]. Even though PPT overlaps with the 'sustainable tourism' agenda it is different on the grounds that it concerns mostly countries of the South rather than customary destinations in the North (Ashley et al., 2001).

Further, while community based tourism, eco-tourism, fair trade tourism, and pro-poor tourism all aim to increase community participation as a whole, pro-poor tourism includes mechanisms and seeks to unlock opportunities for the participation of poor people at all levels and scales of tourism services (Neto, 2003).

Poverty, PPT and International Agencies

The target of international agencies is to halve the number of people living in poverty by 2015, and tourism can be a source of development and poverty alleviation (Ashley & Roe, 1998). Therefore international donors must ensure that PPT is considered when development alternatives are being investigated, and promote it within the international agenda with other governments and the industry particularly within the overall framework of sustainable tourism.

STEP shares many attributes with the PPT on the sense that both are not a new form of tourism, or product but an approach to tourism development and management aiming to assist the sector in a way that the benefits are mainly directed towards the poor. However, PPT goes one step further and talks about net benefits to the poor. The implementation also of PPT the same as that of the STEP's requires the involvement of several stakeholders such as: governments, civil society, local NGO's and international donor agencies, and of course the poor.

PPT and Cultural Heritage tourism

The interaction between culture and tourism traces its origin to the early days of tourism, and gained additional importance currently since the tourism industry is increasingly viewed not only in light of its economic benefits but also as an industry that has far reaching ramifications for the culture of the host country (Hisashi, Sugaya, & Lange, 1983:7). Indeed cultural tourism is creative and is about the dynamic human environment, human creation, custom, heritage and activity (Derrett, 1996). Ashworth (1994) argues that historic resources are considered to be amongst the most popular tourism attractions.

Cultural heritage tourism which is part of cultural tourism can be defined as the art of participating in another culture (Derrett, 1996) by people from outside the host community motivated wholly or in part by interest in historical, artistic, scientific or lifestyle/heritage

offerings of a community, region, group or institution (Silberg, 1995); an experience, which demonstrate a strong sense of their own identity (Derrett, 1996). This motivation of people to experience 'culture' separates it from other forms of tourism (Yale, 1991; Prentice, 1993, Swarbrooke, 1995; Walle, 1998:165 in Du Cros, 2001).

As Richard (1992) states, cultural heritage tourism is a combination of physical objects (e.g. traditional buildings, artifacts, costumes, and art) and social customs (e.g. religious songs, dances, and festivals). It is concerned with the social and physical structures of the past and the present, and can form partnerships to create the content of tourism, e.g. it can act as a catalyst for further, broader development associated with the built and natural environment, the arts industry, recreation, conventions and events, civic design, community development, health and education (Derrett, 1996).

Heritage is a considerable political socio-cultural and economic force (Henderson, 2000), which can benefit host communities and localities in the sense of economic gain, job creation (Deloitte and Touche, 1999), marketing appeal, education, community interaction, and cultural exchange (Jones, 2000). Therefore Heritage Tourism can be an important player within sustainable development and intercultural dialogue. Ashworth and Larham (1994), argue that the developed countries in Europe have made the most use of heritage tourism and have devoted the greatest effort to understanding it. The same way 'the less developed countries, in the world of traditions, cultures, religions, superstitions and distance from modernity, have the potential to be rediscovered as a source of symbols and new interpretations' (Ashworth, 1993:15).

An integrated approach to cultural heritage permits an economic upgrading of related sites and their touristy enjoyment. The potential of heritage tourism for creating new employment is based on activities related to heritage development and the productive economy (Ashley, 2000). 20% of all World Bank projects involving an impact on a country's cultural heritage are concerned with the development of a tourism economy (Goodland and Webb, 1987).

Increasingly public policy planners use culture as a means for sustainable development. The World Tourism Organisation in its forecast 'Tourism: 2020 Vision', expects cultural tourism to become one of the five key tourism segments, and notes that growth in this area will present an increasing challenge in terms of managing visitor flows to cultural sites. Having also acknowledged the importance of cultural tourism as an engine of socio-economic development WTO is seeking ways to employ cultural tourism in its fight against poverty.

It is common knowledge that many rich intangible (i.e. folklore, customs) cultural resources are found in poor and usually remote communities, which more than often are located close to famous heritage sites. The challenge here will be to combine them and integrate them into a tourism product and use it as a tool to alleviate poverty; perhaps the only tool to fight poverty in such poor and remote communities. Here again the government has to play an important role by identifying

and adopting policies that could not only enhance their share of the cultural tourism market but that also contributes towards poverty eradication. Further it can be a way for governments to reinstate their national identity (Henderson, 2002) following a decline in a nation's sense of cultural identity; whilst gaining access to indigenous knowledge (Wall, 1996). The local authorities as well have a role to play in cultural tourism management by ensuring that the local poor people get a fair out of the tourism activity in their community thus continuing their traditions

UNESCO's Director General F. Mayor expressed it this way:

'The potential benefits of World Heritage extend far beyond the sites which have been listed, since these areas can play a leadership role in setting standards for protected areas as a whole, can bring resources for training which will be of wider application, and can be 'flagships' in terms of raising public awareness of conservative issues'. Indeed World Heritage Sites are vital tourism attraction points and their preservation a pre-requisite since it can increase the inflow of visitors. As a matter of fact the inscription on the World Heritage List can in short duration make a site become a major tourist attraction.

Tourism in Africa

In 2004 overall the performance of Africa in comparison to other regions in the world was below average; nevertheless it managed to attract 2 million more international arrivals than any other previous years. Without doubt Africa has a huge potential for tourism development.

Taking:

- the vast geographical area that it covers, and its geographical positions (between the Americas and especially Europe which is the main generating market for tourists departures) WTO (2003); and
- the diversity and authenticity of its products (Gerosa, 2003) in relation to nature, culture, heritage, history and the element of excitement that Africa as a continent still exerts on people (Kester, 2003);

One can undoubtedly say that Africa has many competitive advantages that can be turned into comparative advantages with the right policies at place. Besides these are assets that the poor own and also tourism is perceived as less vulnerable than any other sector.

Tourism development can reduce vulnerability to shocks of other economic sectors such as agriculture, and mining that are susceptible to trade terms and access to markets (Kester, 2003). Currently there are many types of tourism available in the continent that range from wildlife,

desert, beach tourism, 'roots' tourism, adventure, marine, archaeological, cultural/heritage, ethnic and probably to a smaller scale sex tourism (Dieke, 2000).

Tourism in Africa is one of the main sources of foreign exchange and income generation through direct and indirect employment, contributes to balance of payments and has the ability to influence other sectors such as agriculture, fishing and handicrafts (WTO, 2003). It is estimated that net foreign exchange earnings range from 50% of gross expenditure to as much as 90% in more advanced economies (Gerosa, 2003). However tourism in some African countries is still at an embryonic stage while others have managed to develop tourism more mainly due to private investments and initiatives (Dieke, 2000). It could be argued that this is attributed to little consideration given as to the type of tourism they want to develop, the extent that their goals are realistic and the strategies that have to be at place to realise these objectives.

Tourism in Africa started due to increasing demand and that resulted in those African countries that followed suit to invest primarily in accommodation and giving minor importance to capacity building through skills and expertise. Till the mid eighties bureaucracy and fragmentation made many African governments to review national legislation in order to incorporate measures for new approaches to tourism development. However this past legislation still is a hindrance to tourism development because of the inability of many legislators to part from such structures and practices of the past. From the mid eighties and onwards tourism was developed either as a key or supplementary sector. That was mainly due lessons learned from the past that have proven that tourism is capital intensive; agriculture and other sectors have not developed to the anticipated result; and insufficient development of domestic human resources and entrepreneurship. In addition there is more awareness now of tourism as foreign exchange and tax revenue, employment and investment generator (Brown, 2000). Besides there is a change in the mentality of African governments regarding their view of seeing foreign investors as actors of 'imperialism' and 'neo-colonialism' (Chaudhuri, 1988).

There is also a growing awareness that the planning process and the formulation of appropriate policies for human resource development are vital in the appropriate and sustainable development of tourism and that growth alone cannot put a halt to marginalisation of whole communities. Poverty can only be compacted if pro-poor growth strategies are paired with increase in equality. However there are many constraints that have to be overcome and many challenges that have to be met in many African countries.

The constraints are traced at the levels of insufficiency in developed infrastructure i.e. roads, electricity and power supply, communications; insufficiency in transportation and especially in air transportation both at international, inter-regional and domestic level; shortage in facilities and accommodation; weak, negative or even lack of image due to poverty, disease and wars (Kester, 2003).

The constraints as regards to infrastructure can be mainly solved with provision of funding. It is prime for the donor agencies, the private sector, and the government to realise that infrastructure is major inhibiting factor and that the industry will never be able to benefit people as a whole if the whole economy is not developed along side tourism development. The head of governments should realise that transportation both land and air is a pre-requisite, and that liberalisation of markets and introduction of budget carriers with decreased prices should increase the popularity of the destination. Education at the top level is needed because many governmental officials have not as yet realised the importance of tourism as foreign exchange generator and job creation. The bad image of the destination will only be reduced if the right mechanisms be put at place so that accommodation and other super structural and infrastructural facilities are improved and the poor quality and security image of the destination is improved.

The challenges are traced in the sectors of investment, marketing, operation, human resource training and development of SMEs (Dieke, 2000). Therefore it is essential investments to be carried out in a way that will ensure the long term sustainability of the sector; the importance of marketing to be recognised for the promotion of the destination in a way that will not only eliminate the negative image but it will also put some African countries on the world map for travellers; the importance of training and educating indigenous human resources needs to be stressed for local economic empowerment and participation; and finally the establishment of micro and SMEs and the creation of linkages of these micro and SMEs with already established big enterprises are also of prime importance for the development of the sector as whole. A holistic approach to tourism development will ultimately bring equality, community and gender participation and empowerment leading eventually to poverty eradication

Tourism in Ghana

Poverty in Ghana

According to the World Development Report 2000/1 one fifth of the world's inhabitants live beyond the international poverty line, less than US\$1 a day, about one fourth of them live in sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 2001:3-4). In Ghana the incidence of poverty is usually addressed at two levels: an Upper level and Lower or extreme level. The Upper poverty line in Ghana refers to incomes of up to 102, 56 US\$ a year. The extreme poor are people with incomes below 79, 77 US\$ a year. According to the latest statistics 40% of the Ghanaian population has income below the Upper poverty line, while about 27% of the population has income below the extreme poverty line. Poverty in Ghana is translated in lack of opportunities to access education, employment, improved health care (Ghana Statistical Service, 2000), deprivation in human development,

capacity to influence social process, make public policy choices, participate in resource allocation and decision making (Yankson, 2004) in effect that contributes to the poor feeling powerless and isolated. In the Central Region (the project's study area) five out of ten of the people were classified as poor (lower level) (Ghana Statistical Service, 2000).

Ghana's Destination Life Cycle Experience

With an annual growth rate of 12 percent over the past decade, tourism is Ghana's fastest growing economic sector. Currently, the sector is said to employ more than 500,000 people – 2.5% of the nation's entire population - both directly and indirectly. In 2004, \$800 million was made from international tourism alone, with arrivals totaling an all time high of 650,000. The country is currently targeting 1 million arrivals by the year 2007 and a corresponding \$1 billion in tourism revenues.

Butler's (1980) and Plog's (1973) simple destination life cycle models, though they have been criticised (Haywood, 1986, 1992, Choy, 1992) and modified (Cooper, 1994, Prosser, 1995) over the years, provide useful frameworks for charting Ghana's tourism development over the past fifty years.

As a tourist destination, prior to independence from Britain in 1957, Ghana was at the *exploration* stage, as there were no specific facilities provided exclusively for tourists, apart from some rest houses and chalets provided by the colonial authorities for their administrators and also used by merchants who were trading in the country (Akyeampong, 1996). The few visitors during this period can be likened to Plog's (1973) *allocentrics* and Cohen's (1972) *explorers*. They made individual travel arrangements and followed irregular visitation patterns.

Although the immediate post-independence period was marked by a boom in the provision of tourist-related facilities, the motive for their provision was more administrative and political, rather than tourism-biased. The icon of initial government involvement in tourism was the luxury Ambassador Hotel, constructed by the state in 1956 purposely to house dignitaries attending Ghana's independence ceremony. Other facilities were created in the regions, to cater for government functionaries who travelled out of the capital, Accra. In a similar vein, the 1958 establishment of the first national carrier, Ghana Airways, was perceived more as a source of national pride and a demonstration of sub-Saharan African liberty, than as a tool for tourism promotion. In the private sector, immediate post-independence tourism-related facilities existed in the form of crude locally-owned enterprises such as drinking bars and nightclubs.

It can be said that independence, as an event and an African ideal, nudged Ghana into the *involvement* stage in its tourism development. As visitation increased from Pan-Africanists,

political activists, business tourists, friends and relatives of Ghanaians, and other visitor categories, there was increasing private sector involvement in tourism, but there was also a conspicuous lack of government effort to develop any of Ghana's tourist attractions. One may surmise that the socialist ideology of Ghana's first president, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and his CPP party may have been partly responsible for the seeming apathy towards public sector tourism development at that time.

Following a series of military coups d'état between 1966 and 1969, the first deliberate attempts at comprehensive tourism development in Ghana were witnessed during the 1970s. The 1970's saw "the first major step in the formal development of tourism in Ghana" (Teye, 2000), which was an evaluation of the country's tourism resources, culminating in the publication of a White Paper on Tourism, which identified investment areas for foreign participation, among others. Subsequently, between 1972 and 1978, a number of studies were carried out on various aspects of Ghana's tourism industry:

... there was a general consensus that Ghana had the potential to develop a viable tourism industry. However, there was the need to formulate a more comprehensive national tourism development plan to guide long-term sustainable development. It is important to identify a number of important factors and considerations that led to this decision, particularly because comprehensive national and regional tourism development planning is critical to successful tourism development in individual African countries. First, tourism was a new and technically unfamiliar industry for local planners and developers. Second, local technical expertise in tourism was almost non-existent. Third, domestic capital to support the pre-requisite general and tourism-specific infrastructure was marginal. Finally, the scope for domestic and sub-regional (African) international tourism was limited by the very low disposable incomes in Ghana and the West African sub-region. As a result, it was argued that Ghana's tourism industry would most likely be dependent on foreign markets, mostly Western Europe and North America. (Teye, 2000:3)

Ghana's first 15-year Tourism Development Plan was prepared in 1974, to cover the period from 1975 to 1990. The document planned sought to increase tourist arrivals from 64,000 in 1975 to 357,000 per annum by 1990. However, this plan was not implemented, due to the nature of the political economy at the time (Teye, 2000). Further political instability from 1978 to 1981, coupled with international geo-politics, contributed to dwindling arrival figures.

For Ghana, the real 're-birth' in tourism development came in 1985 with the passage of PNDC Law 116, which identified tourism as one of four key sectors to serve as the pillars for economic development. Subsequently, Ghana's tourism development lunged forward, bordering on the development stage, but not fully into this phase. Notable events in the aftermath of this governmental paradigm shift included the first ever international tourism fair in 1989 (which was meant to promote domestic tourism by showcasing the potential attractions in each

region); the creation of the Ministry of Tourism in 1993, and the development of a new 15-year Integrated Tourism Development Plan for the period 1996-2010, with financial assistance from the UNDP and technical assistance from the World Tourism Organisation. The plan was designed to increase tourist arrivals from 304,860 in 1996, to one million by 2010. Plans were also made to increase tourist receipts from US\$248.8 million in 1996, to US\$1.562 billion by 2010.

Visitor numbers were increasing yearly during this period. According to Plog (1973), it is the *near-allocentric* (and to some extent, the *mid-centric*) psychographic group that is attracted to destinations at this stage of destination development. In 1997, Ghanaians resident abroad constituted the largest visitor category (27% of total arrivals), followed by visitors from Western Europe and North America (a combined 27.5% of total arrivals).

Unfortunately, following a change in government at the end of 2000, Ghana's tourism development appears to have slowed down in terms of creativity, political commitment and support for the private sector. It would appear that tourism has once again been relegated to the political back-burner, though the new NPP government has drafted a five-year strategic plan for the period 2003-2007, with targets slightly modified from the 15-year Integrated Plan: to make Ghana a high-quality and internationally-preferred tourist destination in Africa by the year 2007; to increase visitation to one million tourists by 2007; and to increase tourist revenue to US\$1.5 billion by 2007.

Tourism development in Ghana is and has always been beset with challenges. Key amongst the present-day challenges are: inadequate national budget, lack of trained manpower and training interventions, lack of infrastructural development, structural planning defects, and uncoordinated efforts among the identifiable stakeholders in tourism.

To illustrate Ghana's development in relation to Butler's (1980) Destination Life Cycle Model, the diagram 1 below illustrates the general pattern of Ghana's tourism development over the past five decades.

Diagram 1: Destination Lifecycle Model for Ghana

[pic]

According to Butler (1980), the *development* phase is characterised by a rapid growth in visitor numbers through intense advertising; a change in visitor types to the less adventurous, more populous mid-centrics; a replacement of natural and cultural attractions by fabricated ones; rapid decline of local involvement and local control of development. In this stage, external investment replaces local, and there is a corresponding increase in expatriate management.

While it appears that tourism in Ghana has, in the past, come close to – even bordering on - Butler’s (1980) *development* stage, especially under the leadership of the immediate past government, during the early years of the 15-year Integrated Tourism Development Plan, it would appear that Ghana is not quite there yet, talk less of the *consolidation*, *stagnation*, *rejuvenation* and *decline* stages. If the current level of political commitment is anything to go by, the country might never get there. Nonetheless, this type of tourism “development” may not be what is best for Ghana. Indeed, the writers of the Integrated Tourism Development Plan are desperate for Ghana not to follow in the footsteps of destinations that opened their doors to mass tourists and are now suffering undesirable consequences.

PPT and Cultural Heritage in Ghana

So far the tourism initiatives that have been implemented in Ghana were severely criticised because they did not manage to meet the needs of the poor; they were concentrated mainly on the conservation and preservation of the environment rather than on poverty reduction (Segbefia, 2004) and participation of the poor in the tourism activity. However pro-poor tourism can be developed in Ghana and especially in Cape Coast and Elmina because they have natural and cultural assets that the poor own.

The fortification castles at Elmina, St Jago and Cape Coast, which have been identified as World Heritage Monuments by the world Heritage Foundation under UNESCO, can become a powerful tool for reducing poverty levels of local communities at a root level. Even though some people are of the view that Africa should forget the torments of the past (slavery and colonialism) and instead look to the future, UNESCO’s view is that the ills wrought by slavery and colonization are still apparent, the greatest reason why the world and Africans must be made aware of the scale of the trade and its effects on the African continent’s development.

The research project is not a ‘pro-poor initiative’ as such but it is a Cultural Heritage Tourism Project with a strong pro-poor component that goes well beyond supporting community-based

tourism. It operates at many levels-from micro to macro-and attempts not just to develop a niche product, but to identify the reasons that inhibit tourism development at the locales of Elmina and Cape Coast and assess if the locales have all the prerequisites to become competitive destinations in a sustainable manner.

Methodology

Objectives

The overall objective of the research which is to test the 'Destination Competitiveness Model for Impoverished Nations' in Cape Coast and Elmina, Ghana will be underpinned by the following two objectives

- **Assess the relationship between the local community, national institutions and the 'slave' fortification castles of Elmina and Cape Coast**
- **Provide practical guidelines on linking pro-poor tourism characteristics with physical elements (assets) of cultural histories with a focus on the role of the local community**

Overview of the methodology employed

The gathering of information was based on participatory approaches. It was mainly derived from indigenous knowledge because the researcher felt that this way the problem was better targeted and evaluated, while the outcome is more realistic and it reflects the opinions of the people at the grassroots' level.

In order to accommodate the needs of the project the researcher improvised a hybrid research method that it was named '*Rapid Situation Analysis*'. The method is based on borrowed elements of two other participatory methods the 'Rapid Rural Appraisal' and the 'Participatory Rural Appraisal', as well as the researchers' added elements. Both participatory methods are used by development practitioners to monitor and evaluate projects and programmes in areas such as natural resource management; agriculture; poverty and social programmes; health and food security (Chambers, 1994). They are cost-effective, generate result in short period of time; they provide quality fieldwork; they give priority to indigenous knowledge and opinions of the local people; and in a way it is an answer to the lack of holism and limitations of conventional surveys (Grandstaff et al., 1984).

The borrowed term 'rapid' does not mean that the research was quick and hasty but it rather refers to the fact that it was economical of the researchers' time. The term 'Situation' refers to the specific locales of the Castles and the living conditions that surround the area where the castles are based. Finally the term 'Analysis' refers to the researchers attempt to identify and analyse the problem area, based on the information gathered and provide useful guidelines for a pro-poor exploitation of the Castles and Fortress in question.

Principal Differences with RRA and PRA

The reason for this improvisation was based on the fact that the researcher could not comply with two of the key principles of RRA and PRA, which requires the employment of a multidisciplinary team and a rural setting. Therefore the researcher decided to modify the first principle thus making the project *multi-perspective* in nature and examine it according to the '*Destination Competitiveness and Sustainability*' model that has been developed by Ritchie and Crouch (2003). Taken that the approach of the project is 'Pro-Poor' meaning that its primary objective is to benefit people at the very 'grassroots' level, the employment of the model was considered appropriate since it was especially modified for Impoverished Nations.

The perspectives taken into account were the following: *Qualifying and Amplifying Components; Core Resource Component, Supporting Factors and Resources Component; Destination Policy and Development Component; Destination Management Components.*

The second principle refers to the urban settings of the project's research area (RRA and PRA are applied mainly in rural areas). Therefore the term rural was completely omitted to suit the needs of the particular locales.

Common Characteristics with RRA and PRA

The project shares the following attributes with RRA and PRA: It is *participatory* in nature meaning that the researcher seek the involvement of local people both skilled and unskilled, educated and illiterate, men and women, who are familiar with the area, social structures, traditions, and living conditions aiming to gather data that reflect reality; avoiding 'rural tourism development' biases for example meeting the less poor and more powerful people, men and not women, users of services rather not users, and so on. The researcher put particular emphasis on the participation of illiterate poor local people on the belief that this marginalised group of people are the ones who own the most exceptional and realistic knowledge concerning their living conditions, and possess ideas of how they should be improved.

The nature of the project was also *holistic* since the aim of the researcher was to deal with the

complex, diverse and interdependent relationship between the local community, national institutions and the 'slave' fortification castles, in order to enable her to design practical guidelines for the local community.

The approach was *flexible*, since the researcher did not follow any blueprint and that allowed room for creativity and modification during the research process.

The method was *exploratory* and *interactive* because that enabled the researcher to change hypothesis and any relevant questions during the interview process in the light of new and enlightened information that facilitated better the overall aim of the project.

Bearing in mind that the research is based on qualitative data, *triangulation* was used in order to ensure validity and reliability.

Optimal Ignorance, the importance of 'knowing what's not worth knowing' was prime in the research because the method was used to gather just enough data to formulate the essential practical guidelines that link pro-poor tourism characteristics with physical elements of cultural histories with a focus on the role of the local community.

Appropriate Imprecision was also assumed since it allowed the researcher to accept a certain level of inaccuracy.

Since the direction of the study was mainly depended on local key informants, the researcher '*fed the data*' back to the local community

Methods of data collection

The research was based solely on qualitative methods; since it allowed the researcher to approach the data, to familiarise oneself with all parts participating in the research, and keep record of their actions and conversations (Mintzberg, 1979).

Secondary data such as reports from tourism and non-tourism organisations, academic research papers, annual reports of NGOs and Tourism Companies, government planning and development documents, developers' papers, tour guide-books, destination promotion/marketing materials, and the World Wide Web yielded sufficient knowledge for the researcher to contact the fieldwork.

The following techniques were also used to collect the primary data: Both *direct observation* (including the use of video camera and photographs) and *participant observation* were used in order to elicit as much information as possible from the local community. The researcher (either watching, or asking questions) spent a lot of time in both locales to familiarise herself with the surroundings, the peoples' daily routine and activities, the roles attributed according to gender, the skilled and menial occupations of both men and women, any touristy activity around the castles, types of tourists, shops (touristy, non touristy), the way that the castles are perceived by the local communities. That enabled her to get a clear picture of the standard of living conditions, infrastructure and superstructure and assess the poverty level. The use of video camera and photographs has also enabled the researcher to capture the current state of the castles, and make an infrastructure assessment, as well as record special events i.e. local festivals.

Rapid report writing, in the field has also enabled the researcher to record information and get a feedback for new conversation topics.

Story telling or narratives coming from the local community enabled the researcher to pick on periods in time that the community was content with their life, the reasons that this changed, and their perceptions about how pro-poor tourism development in their area will improve or not their livelihoods.

Consultation with the local University of Cape Coast made it possible for the researcher to familiarise herself better with the area, to be introduced to key informants and get valuable feedback.

The technique of *personal interviewing* (both semi-structured and unstructured) and focus group interviews was also employed in order to reach the objectives.

Sample

Twenty six people (Appendix 2) were interviewed altogether in a one to one basis and twenty-five in a focus group (Appendix 2)).

Interview sample

The one to one interviews were carried out by using a semi-structured questionnaire. The people interviewed were from the local communities as well as those who live in the capital Accra but they operate in the two communities; and two ministers of the state. The people were divided into three categories depended on their experience and/or knowledge in tourism. These were the

following: Tourism experts, Key informants and Academicians

Tourism Experts

As tourism experts the researcher regards those who are currently involved in the tourism activity, in the locales of Cape Coast and Elmina, or/and have knowledge of the tourism industry. Seven people were interviewed altogether. They are consisted of: a tourism consultant who also runs one of the biggest tour operator's companies in Accra; among the places he operates are also the locales in question; a big tour operator based in Accra who also operates in the same locales; three micro tour operators that are based in Elmina (the reason that the researcher has classified them as micro- tour operators, is because they are one man's company); a head administrator of the Tourism Board who is based in Accra and finally the Deputy Minister of Tourism.

Key Informants

As key informants the researcher regards those who either live in the local communities and/or work in governmental positions. Fourteen people were interviewed altogether. These were consisted of: three traditional leader (two traditional chiefs one from Elmina, and one from Cape Coast and one elected chief who represents the fishermen in Elmina, the paramount chief of Cape Coast); the head administrator of the Elmina Castle and representative of Ghana Museum and Monuments Board; a museum educator in the Cape Coast Castle; a library administrator in Cape Coast Castle and writer about the slave trade; the secretary of PANAFEST; an NGO (Aid to Artisans based in Accra); the head of the Heritage and Conservation Trust; the Minister of 'Public Sector Reform' (he descends from Elmina); three Assembly Leaders: the Head of Central Region Development Commission (CEDECOM); the acting head of the Tourism Unit in CEDECOM; the head administrator from the KEEA constituency and head of 'Elmina Cultural Heritage and Management Programme'.

Academicians

As academicians the researcher regards all people who work in the University of Cape Coast in the department of 'Geography and Tourism'. They are five altogether and they are consisted of three professors, one lecturer holder of PhD in Tourism, and finally one who is currently undertaking his doctorate.

Focus Group Sample

The people who were interviewed in a focus group were instructors in the 'Cape Coast

Polytechnic' and local community people from the very grassroots level.

. The reason that it was decided to contact focus group interviews with the local community it was based on the fact that enabled the researcher to verify or cross check and obtain information about sensitive issues that could not otherwise be received by individuals since the responsibility is taken by the group. Such sensitive information was related to governmental policies in connection to the welfare and wellbeing of the community and in connection to tourism. In order to avoid bias three groups were formed which were consisted of young people between 19 and 23, women between 19-58 and men between 35 and 80 years old. This way the researcher had the opinions of both men and women as well as that of youth. The groups were chosen from both locales three from Cape Coast and three from Elmina. Even though the people were chosen at random, they happened to be either illiterate or semi-illiterate and they were consisted of micro-sellers, unemployed or fishermen. The discussions were carried out in the local language 'Fanti' because not all of them spoke fluent English. However the research assistant was translating simultaneously everything into English and the language was not perceived as a barrier.

The reason that the researcher employed the use of unstructured questions was based on the rational that she wanted the people to feel at ease; something that she felt that it would not be feasible if there was a protocol or a formal instrument. That also allowed the researcher to adjust questions according to educational level, age, and gender. Taken the educational level, the local community was exempted from the 'destination competitiveness' model questions because the researcher felt that the questions were too specific and required specialised knowledge to be answered and be of validity for the specific research. The question also referring to the importance of Cultural Heritage in the Tourism Development Agenda was also excluded because it also required specialised knowledge. However all other topics that were covered by the rest of the interviewees were covered by the local community as well.

The polytechnic lecturers were also interviewed as a group because during the researcher's time in Ghana she established a friendly rapport with them and it was commonly decided for them to be interviewed as a group so that the information is more valid since everything was further discussed, compared and contrasted. They have also been interviewed by using unstructured questions because it allowed the researcher not to be limited at specific questions and was also able to direct the conversation at any other relevant topic that rose.

Nevertheless, the researcher has to encourage all parts involved to contribute their thoughts and ideas, and make sure that that the discussion was not dominated by only certain individuals (Creswell, 1998).

Feeding the data back to the community

When the researcher finished collecting her data and came up with the findings, she announced the data to the local communities. The first initial meeting was followed by three more meetings because of the immense interest of the local people. Altogether four meetings were taken place and the data of these meetings have been recorded and have also been used for the purpose of this research. The meetings were held in Fanti (local Ghanaian language) but as in the case of the focus group interviews the language barrier was eliminated by a simultaneous translation into English.

It was consisted of both, those who were interviewed (not all of the interviewees attended) as well as those who wanted to have a stake in the tourism sector. Opinions and ideas were exchanged as to how tourism will benefit most their community; and the problems perceived that slow down or inhibit tourism development in their regions.

Areas of investigation for the local community (illiterate and semi-illiterate)

The researcher used unstructured interviewing with both, literate and illiterate, skilled and unskilled, wealthy and poor representatives of the local community in order to assist her form a thorough idea about their perception of culture, heritage and subsequently the castles; their believes and their associations with them; any sense of honour, or disgrace related to slavery; their ideas about tourism; the extent that the existing exploitation has brought any benefits to them i.e. economic, social, environmental; if not how they think they will benefit better and; the extent that national institutions involve community in decision making as regards to tourism; to access if the local community can acknowledge any responsibility taken by the government, tour operators, donor agencies, and other tourism public institutions as regards to the welfare and wellbeing of the people at the very grassroots level, and environmental conservation.

Areas of investigation for key informants (local community and other stakeholders in the community)

The areas of investigation were around perception of culture/heritage and the castles, employment opportunities for the local population; importance of heritage tourism on their tourism development agenda; length of community participation at all levels (poor and non-poor) in decision making; acknowledgement of importance of community participation in decision making; acknowledgement of responsibility taken by government, tour operators, donor agencies, and public institutions towards the local communities and especially those at the very grassroots' level and environmental conservation.

Implementation of the Destination Competitiveness Model in connection with Cultural Heritage (Fortification Castles) and Ghana (Cape Coast, Elmina)

The following areas were also investigating in connection to the 'Destination Competitiveness

Model':

- Any familiarity with the term 'appropriate' / what does it mean to them?
- Realisation that the two castles and the fortress in Cape Coast's and Elmina are the areas' 'Comparative advantage' and that they can become 'competitive' advantage with the right marketing strategy, and developing a competitiveness that will ensure that the local poor truly benefit from competitive tourism development;
- Any alliances with other competing destinations that are willing to share their tourism market;

1. Qualifying and Amplifying Components

- Concerns and measures taken for tourists' safety;
- Consideration of carrying capacity of the destination and research undertaken for this matter;
- Consideration of cost/value; are prices realistic? Or are they too high or too expensive?

2. Core Resource Component

- Market ties: are African Americans the main market? What about of other nations;
- Superstructure and architecture;
- Special events that compliment the destination;
- Local entertainment;

3. Supporting Factors and Resources

- Infrastructure: Is the infrastructure up to a standard to attract visitors?
- Enterprises: Have any SMEs' developed as a result of the tourism activity? If not what should be done for their development?
- Facilitating Resources: Is the existing visa/immigration policy and the customs system efficient or a hindrance to tourism and development of other sectors of economy?

4. Destination policy, planning and development component

- Policy structure and content: Does tourism policy reflects local values and culture?
- Policy formulation Process: Are the needs and priorities of the poor taken into account?

5. Destination Management Component

- Human Resources Management: What is the extent of tourism and hospitality education and training?
- Organisation: Should be given consideration as to the organisation of the management of the destination? Should any adaptation be made for the destinations to be competing more appropriately? Is any funding for this organisation? Are the majority of high positioned people foreigners or native?
- Finance and ventures: Any funding for human resource training by international development agencies or any other sources?

FINDINGS

In order to achieve the first objective (Appendix 3) the interviewees were divided into two categories: Those who are consisted of the local community at the very 'grassroots level' and are either illiterate or semi-illiterate; and those who are either again local community people but hold important positions in the communities i.e. academicians, minister of Public Sector Reform (he is from Elmina), tour operators who operate in Elmina or Cape Coat, head of the Heritage and Conservation Trust, members of the district assembly, traditional leaders; and those who operate in the local communities i.e. tour operators based in Accra or represent the local community i.e. the deputy minister of tourism, head administrator of Tourism Board based in Accra.

In order to achieve the second objective (Appendix 3) (areas related to the competitiveness model) the interviewees were divided into three categories: tourism experts, academicians and key informants. The reason that this division was decided it was to give an unambiguous view of the ideas and opinions of people with different interests in the tourism industry. Thus trying to establish a clear picture and avoiding any bias that would probably arise out of interviewing only people who are directly involved in the sector. The local community at the very 'grassroots' level were excluded from this set of questions. That was because a pilot interview has proven that they lack the knowledge to answer some of the questions because the questions presume knowledge of political and tourism terms. Besides they do not have a realistic view about current affairs since most of them do not keep themselves updated through the media and do not travel much.

Part of the findings are also regarded the rapid report writing on the field, the observations as well as the series of meetings taken place following the announcement of the data to the local communities. The composition of certain questions entails information that is perceived with the above methods.

The following tables 2, 3 summarise the findings of the research

Table 2 1st objective

	Question 1. Significance of Heritage and Culture for the local community	Question 2. Perception of Castles	Question 3. Expression of pride and/or discontent	Question 4. Perception of tourism and tourism development	Question 5 Length of local community participat in decisio making concerning planning i tourism
Local people (grassroots level)	Culture: Dancing, drumming, elderly gathering Heritage: Drumming, jobs' skills i.e. fishing	1. Use in 20th century i.e. prisons, accommodation 2. Attraction for white people and Diaspora. 3. Symbols of culture and touristy activity	Pride: pole of attraction minor job creation i.e. micro-sellers Discontent: slavery; lack of maintenance	Tourism: 1. visiting relatives, friends and funerals 2. Ticket to visit foreign countries 3. Charity giving Tourism Development: 1. Jobs at micro level	No participat However recognitio importance decision making participat
Local community (leaders and representatives)	Culture: Traditions, customs, food, dressing governance, Heritage: Tangible: forts, castles, intangible i.e. drama, dancing, drumming	Part of Ghanaians but also of colonial masters. Physical evidence of slave trade and interaction with Europeans	Pride: Architecture, milestone for education against slavery, source for job creation and tourism development Discontent: Slavery	Tourism: Realisation of nature and function Tourism Development: Slow and crude Communities excluded No planning and training	Concept ne No grassro representa Slow realizatio sustainabl tourism developmer WTO and ST programme perceived potential solution

As we can see on the table 1 the opinions between people at the very grassroots level and those who occupy leading positions in the communities differ as far as culture, heritage, and tourism development are concerned. However they are both disillusioned as to the benefits they were expecting to derive from tourism (More details on the recommendations section).

|Table 3 2nd objective

**|1.Familiarity with term ‘appropriate’ |2.Marketing Strategy |3.Cooperation/alliances
|4.Qualifying/Amplifying Component**

a) Safety/Security

b) Carrying Capacity

c) Cost/Value **|5.Core Resource Component**

a)Culture/History

b)Market Ties

c)Superstructure

d)Special Events

e)Entertainment |6.Supporting Factors

a)Infrastructure

b)Enterprises

c)Facilitating Resources |7.Destination policy/planning and development

a)Policy structure and content

b)Policy Formulation |8.Destination Management Component

a)Human Resource Management

b)Organisation

c)Finance /Venture | **|Tourism Experts** |Environmentally culturally & financially friendly, |Insufficient |Private level: Senegal, Ivory Coast, Benin, Togo, Egypt Morocco

US, Europe

Governmental level: Togo, Ivory Coast |a) insufficient

b) non taken into account

c) Expensive |a) castles’ advantage

b)Diaspora, Europeans, Ghanaians, Africans

c) insufficient

d)Festivals

e) insufficient |a)insufficient

b)minimal

c)visa/immigration

customs: hindrance |a) no reflection of local values & culture

b) needs & priorities not addressed |a)insufficient

b)insufficient

c)currently non-existent | **|Academicians** |Environmentally financially & Culturally friendly, locals |Insufficient |Private level: Nigeria, Benin, Togo, South Africa, Burkina Faso

Governmental level:

Nigeria, Benin, Togo |a) insufficient

b) not taken into account

c) Expensive |a) castles advantage

b) Ghanaians, Africans, Diaspora, Europeans

c) insufficient

d) festivals,

e) insufficient |a) insufficient

b) minimal

c)visa/immigration

customs: hindrance |a) no reflection of local values & culture

b) needs & priorities not addressed |a) insufficient

b) insufficient

c) non-existed | **Key Informants** | Environmentally financially & Culturally friendly | insufficient | Private level: Senegal, Benin, Togo, Gambia

Governmental level: Egypt, Morocco | insufficient

a) not taken into account

b) Expensive | a) castles advantage

b) Ghanaians, Diaspora, Europeans, Africans, Japanese, Chinese

c) insufficient

d) festivals | a) insufficient

b) minimal

c) visa/immigration customs: hindrance | a) no reflection of local values & culture

b) needs & priorities not addressed | a) insufficient

b) insufficient

c) non-existed | 42

As it is seen in Table 2, the answers of all three categories intermediately clash with one another which, indicates that all the stakeholders concerned are well aware of the existing situation in regards to tourism development and the obstacles that inhibit them from deriving benefits from the tourist activity.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

The process of data analysis was based on the *Grounded Theory* because it is systematic and follows a standard format. However due to the *hybrid method* of gathering the data the researcher had to adjust one of the principles of the Grounded Theory to match her requirements. According to Grounded Theory, typically the researcher contacts 20 to 30 interviews and collects data until saturation; then on the stage of analysis the researcher attempts to saturate the categories until any newly found information acquired does not provide any additional insight into the category. Bearing in mind that one of the basic principles of the '*Rapid System Analysis*' is '*Optimal Ignorance*' which means to gather just enough data to formulate the essential practical guidelines, the above principle of saturation will be ignored.

Therefore, for the analysis of the data all tapes of the interviews were transcribed, field-notes were produced and documents were consulted. Then *content analysis* took place through the process of *coding* which is based on the grounded theory.

Then the researcher used the *Implementation of the Destination Competitiveness Model in connection with Cultural Heritage (Fortification Castles) and Ghana (Cape Coast, Elmina)* in order to provide practical guidelines in a pro-poor framework. As well as the use of the pro-poor theory.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations are based on the interviews; the focus groups discussions; the researcher's observations; the notes taken on the field; the feedback that the researcher received from the local communities when she announced the data; and the secondary data gathered both in the UK and Ghana.

Both objectives are interlinked and interrelated. The assessment of the relationship among the local people their perceptions of the castles and the tourism activity and the national institutions (1st objective) is going to form the basis for providing recommendations for the development of a competitive and sustainable destination (2nd objective).

1st objective

1) Significance of heritage and culture for the local community

Ghanaians are regarded as very cultural people; culture and heritage is very well embedded in them. However, the perception of culture and heritage differs between the people at the very 'grassroots' level and those who hold leading positions in the communities. For those at the 'grassroots' level, culture and heritage is mainly associated with drumming, dancing, and learning the skill of fishing; whereas for the latter, culture is associated with history, politics, economy, traditions, norms, customs, and most importantly development. However it is claimed that local people are relatively reluctant to keep up with development because it is associated with western society and influence and contradicts their traditional way of living.

Respecting the culture and heritage of oneself's nation is a token of gallantry, bravery, generosity and magnanimity. Nevertheless, living in a global environment which is controlled by global market forces and where competition is fierce at a personal, governmental and intergovernmental level, being deficient in keeping pace with the newest trends and developments at a political, economical, societal, and even environmental level is considered to be a disadvantage, because it is halting rather than contributing to the betterment of people's lives. Therefore it is imperative that attitudes towards development should start gradually changing. Development would not necessarily oppose tradition and follow western norms and stereotypes but it could instead be adapted to fit the needs of Ghana's society and way of living.

2) Perception of castles

The perceptions of the castles differ between the people at the grassroots level who do not have an extended knowledge as to their presence in their towns and that of the rest of the community. According to the people at the grassroots level the castles are mostly associated with their use in the 20th century i.e. prisons, accommodation, tourism, and a source of economic activity. Whilst for the rest of the community the castles are a heritage symbol, a reminder of foreign domination and slavery.

It could be argued that the people at the grassroots level are more consciously aware that the castles are a comparative advantage in their communities because of their reference to their present use, whilst the rest of the community seems to be more attached to the past. However, since the latter are those who are in a position to take decisions on behalf of the communities owe to be more progressive should they want the castles to be commercially exploited for the benefit of the whole community.

However for both of them the castles are a strong heritage symbol and indirectly a reminder of how national heritage even though static can be utilised by its descendents to contribute to the evolvement of their culture and lives.

3) Expression of pride or discontent

The feelings are mixed for both categories of interviewees; discontent is referred to slavery and lack of maintenance. Taken that the comment for the castles' maintenance came from the grassroots people, it could be argued again that the castles' presence in the communities is more dominant for them. The sense of pride is also more increased to the grassroots' people and it is mainly derived by the presence of foreign visitors in their towns and the creation of some petty jobs for them from the tourism activity.

The leaders of the communities are proud of the castles because of their distinguished architecture, the fact that they can become an educational milestone (avoid mistakes of the past i.e. slavery) and finally job creation through tourism development. Here again it can be detected that this category of interviewees are more attached to the past.

A nation which does not know its history and its past can not progress in future however allowing the past to dictate the future is not a good tactic. People should learn from their history but would never allow certain unfortunate incidents and mistakes made by their ancestors to hold them back from developing and achieving their ultimate goals in life; either at a personal or national level. Tourism is a sector/industry that represents the future, allowing its development we can consciously contribute to the construction of a better future and especially for the poor ones.

4) Perceptions of tourism and tourism development

The perceptions between the people at the 'grassroots' level and those in leading positions in the communities are different. For the former, tourism is mainly associated with visits for social occasions, foreigners visiting their towns, getting acquainted with foreigners and charity giving. This is attributed to their inadequate knowledge and lack of experience in tourism, the tourism industry and the tourists themselves. The latter of course are well informed about the nature and function of tourism and the benefits they can derive from the tourism activity.

Taken that only a few minor jobs were created, it could be argued that tourism development has not benefited many people at the very 'grassroots' level. Because of that some people are even completely indifferent if tourism develops in their area or not. However there is a slow realisation that their communities can benefit significantly from tourism development and there is a request for creation of tourism related jobs.

It could be argued that tourism has only substantially benefited a few local people who invested in hotels and those tour operators who are operating from Accra. The local community is still to reap their benefits. So tourism in the area is regarded as an activity of the elite and the private sector. This notion has been cultivated by the fact that the government has not done much to promote it and especially to encourage community participation. Tourism needs planning and at the moment tourism development in the area is uncontrollable. The fact also that the government is the sole beneficiary of the castles' royalties since no share is handed back to the local communities increase the indifference of local people who keep polluting the environment and hassling tourists around the castles

The government, traditional leaders, district assembly and the donor agencies have a role to play in that by assigning opinion leaders to educate the locals about the importance of tourism so that they start realising its importance in their community and stop polluting the environment around the castles, the beaches and the lagoon. The order has to come from above because it has been acknowledged that local people are used to obey more to authority figures rather than to any other 'ordinary' person of their community. It is also imperative that a percentage is given back to the local communities for social development at both infrastructural and human level in order to increase people's motivation and pride of their communities.

Local empowerment is needed through capacity building and creation of direct or indirect linkages with the tourism industry. For example local hotels and guest houses can get their daily supplies in food only by the local communities, can use local guides and local cultural groups for performances or just advertise on their premises of other tourist products because it has been identified that tourists lack in knowledge of what is on offer in the areas. Similarly the tour operators can use local guides and make an effort to introduce locals with tourists, and take tourists around the towns so that they spend money on the local communities. It is believed that the rehabilitation of old heritage houses in Elmina will give a motive to the tour operators to encourage tourists to spend time in Elmina.

5) Length of local community participation in decision making concerning tourism planning

Community participation is a new concept in Ghana. So far the planning system was realised from top to down. Nevertheless its importance has been slowly realised. The local population has the indigenous knowledge and knows best its needs so any decision taken that affects their well fare and well being has to be discussed with them.

Community participation ensures sustainability of a project because it involves local people and it is based around the lives of local people. Generally speaking human beings react better when they are directly involved in an activity or an event because it addresses and enhances the feeling of 'belonging' and pride for their community in this matter, they comprehend more the benefits

and adjust and adapt their behaviour accordingly.

However ensuring participation of all local stakeholders should comprise evaluating and monitoring processes in order to establish accountability, ensuring a balance between those at the top and the grassroots as well as a balance between genders.

The traditional leaders and district assemblies and the NGO should organise some workshops in order to build the capacity for participation so it is ensured they all attend at equal terms in future decisions that will affect the local communities.

6) Acknowledgement of responsibility taken by government, tour operators, donor agencies and public institutions towards the local communities and the environment

Government

The government is not considered to be very responsible towards its people because so far tourism has not benefited much people in the area; local people are deprived from the revenue collected from the castles; and the lack of maintenance of the castles. It is perceived that the government develops tourism for the sole reason of increasing its revenues. The government should address its social responsibility towards the local communities by starting involving local people in the tourism activity. That could be done more efficiently through a decentralisation process where the regional tourism board, GMMB or CEDECOM is assigned power to take decisions locally or regionally. More funds should be allocated for that and for that the donor agencies have a role to play.

The ministry of tourism should cooperate with other ministries i.e. industry, trade, finance so that the decisions taken are more influential and are implemented at shorter duration. Some of the money collected from the castle is imperative to be given back to the local communities so that it enhances locals' motivation to improve their communities.

Tour operators

The tour operators are not regarded as socially responsible because they do not encourage tourists to spend time in the locales. Their only sense of social responsibility is expressed unwittingly through acquainting tourists (occasionally) with locals and as a result of that there is some charitable giving in the form of money hand outs or sponsoring the schooling of local children

However tour operators should encourage tourists to spend more time and money in the locales because these are the areas that they always operate. Establishing good rapport with the local community is very important because the locals will stop hustling the tourists and also the locals

would start caring more about the surroundings of the castle. Currently the locals have polluted the area around the castles and the beaches to the extent that deters visitors even from going for a walk along them. Using local guides as well as cooperating with local cultural groups and organising performances for the tourists will increase both their revenue and will improve their relationship with the local communities who at the moment they are just returning the tourists' 'gaze'.

Donor Agencies

It is argued that donor agencies have acknowledged the importance of community participation in the tourism activity. However they are quite insufficient in monitoring and evaluating the procedures of development. As a result of that there is an investment capital leakage and their final objective which is poverty alleviation through development of sustainable tourism is not achieved. Therefore a dependency syndrome is created which is exacerbated by inadequate capacity building of the local population.

Priority should be given to monitoring during development to avoid any unnecessary leakage and ensure greater participation which will be further enhanced by evaluating the project at regular intervals after completion.

Public institutions

The University of Cape Coast and Polytechnic are socially responsible through educating and training future leaders for the tourism industry. However they should create more linkages with the industry so that practical experience is compulsory part of their curriculum as well. It is believed that the creation of the new hospitality school in the University will provide more practical training to students. The Tourism Board and the Ministry of Tourism are regarded by the community as not socially responsible because of their inability to disseminate information, educate, train and create jobs for the local people. The local people themselves are also blamed for lack of interest and of attitudinal problem in regards to development. However it is believed that it is lack of knowledge and lack of opportunities that makes them indifferent. That's why community participation at the very grassroots level is important so that the voice of the poor is also heard because they themselves have also a stake in tourism development.

Responsibility towards Environment by all stakeholders

The environment around the castles, along the beaches, the lagoon in Elmina and the towns themselves are much polluted. The blame falls in both governmental officials and the locals themselves. The government should educate people about the importance of living in a healthy environment and the education should start at a very young age so it will be instilled in them so that they value the importance of sanitation. The traditional leaders or district assemblies should organise groups at a regular basis to keep the towns clean. Even sanctions should also be imposed to those who willingly pollute the environment. At the moment the sanitation problem in the area is such that threatens the lives of both locales and tourists.

7) Importance of heritage tourism on the tourism development agenda

Following the pilot study it was decided that this particular question was only to be asked to the leading figures of the community because it required knowledge about tourism policies. Given the fact that the people at the very grassroots people were illiterate or semi-illiterate they were excluded from it. The particular question was asked in order to establish the length that the heritage of the fortification castles in the area is perceived or not as a comparative advantage.

Despite the fact that Ghana is mainly known for the castles the government has not fully understood the full potential of tourism development in the area and that tourism can give an alternative income to the local communities contributing thus to poverty alleviation. This view can be further supported by visiting the castles, which are in urgent need of restoration. The researcher was told that restoration is undertaken when parts of the castles reach a state of collapsing, and they only paint them every two years, a couple of weeks before PANAFEST.

So far the castles managed to bring some touristy activity into the towns especially after the USAID effort to rehabilitate them. However tourism did not manage to pick up because the initiative did not manage to empower the local community by building capacities. Another major constraint is lack of cooperation and communication at all levels and lack of networking among all stakeholders.

However it made people realise that can earn an alternative livelihood. Therefore the need for lobbying and advocacy groups is recommended to stress the matter further. Increasing thus even more local awareness at a greater extent and bringing the matter to the attention to those authority figures that take and influence political decisions.

The CEDECOM, GMMB, GTB, the NGO and local opinion leaders can mobilise people at both community and national level.

2nd Objective

The following areas will be investigating in connection to the 'Destination Competitiveness Model':

1. Familiarity with the term 'appropriate'

'Appropriate' is tourism which is specifically tailored, not only to the needs and circumstances of the host nation (or destination)-but also a form of tourism that is capable of enabling the nation/destination in question to compete aggressively, but 'appropriately' in a world that I will argue is not always ready to concede its markets to others-no matter how deserving. In brief what is required is a form of competitiveness that reflects a wise deployment of the tourism resources

with which an impoverished nation/destination has been endowed' (Ritchie & Crouch, 2003).

The question about the meaning of 'appropriate' tourism was asked in order to establish the way that the term 'appropriate' is perceived in relation to tourism by the three categories of interviewees; thus assessing knowledge and ideas about tourism development.

Even though the interviewees were not familiar with the term they all responded by commending on the 'appropriate' form of tourism at three levels: economic, social, and environmental. Their replies designate that the need for sustainable tourism development and local participation in the tourism activity is very well embedded in them. This realisation by all three categories which are involved directly or indirectly or represent local community's interests suggests that there is a common wish for locals to have a fair share in the tourist activity and with the least possible negative effects.

2. Marketing Strategies

Marketing is regarded as a key constraint for the expansion of tourism in both locales, and its importance has not been fully acknowledged as yet. However marketing is one of the most essential elements for implementation of pro-poor strategies and the direction of tourism to those areas that are in the most economic need. So if marketing declines any strategy associated with it will also decline, therefore education at all levels is needed.

Dissemination of information to tourists is also needed to familiarise themselves with the areas and comprehend that there is more than the castles in the areas, understand the benefits of buying locally produced goods and using local services. Dissemination of information should also target the locals in order to comprehend the nature and function of tourism, actively participate in it and receive a fair share from it; it is only then that their mentality will change and will start caring about tourism in their areas, be courteous with tourists and market and promote it to the best of their ability. Examples of this dissemination could include word of mouth, encouraging educational media broadcasting programmes in local radio stations and/or television, updating the national tourism website, and designing a new website that will only promote the attractions of Elmina and Cape Coast, publishing of brochures available upon arrival at the airport or before departure at the embassies, high commissions, and consulates and advertisements or informative and commentary articles in newspapers and magazines both domestically and in the Diaspora.

Marketing and promoting the product in international markets is very essential since it enables exposure of the product at a global level. However it should be emphasised that there is need for the marketing not to be left only at the hands of the private sector, as it is mainly the case currently in Elmina and Cape Coast, but to go hand by hand with the government. The Ministry of Tourism, CEDECOM, GMMB, the private sector, the traditional leaders, and the local University and Polytechnic should come together to form a suitable body for the locales marketing strategy based on market research and best practice. Interregional marketing is also recommended so that tourists who express an interest on a neighbouring sub-Saharan country will automatically also be informed about the tourist product in Ghana.

A yearly allocation of a special budget for marketing and promotion of the destinations would

definitely put the destinations on the world map increasing thus foreign exchange and opening up tourism and hospitality markets in the areas for the benefit of both the government and the local communities.

3. Cooperation/ alliances with any other competing destinations

Cooperating/Allying with neighbouring countries is very important in a constantly competitive global environment. Best practice research has proven that newly established destinations can compete better when they form alliances and they share their markets at an interregional level. Ghana is on the right direction in this respect since it follows the international trends by establishing linkages with Senegal, Togo, Benin, Ivory Coast, the Gambia, Burkina Faso, and Nigeria; this in connection to the development of tourism based on the 'slave route'. The cooperation will enable Ghana to increase its visitors by sharing markets, establishing common marketing; imitating good practice policy and avoiding mistakes of already established destinations. An example of such a destination is the Gambia where tourism was developed according to the 'enclave' prototype (all-inclusive resorts) benefiting the local elites and the foreign investors, excluding local participation at the very 'grassroots' level and allowing economic leakage.

At a private level established tour operators in Accra are also cooperating with other countries at an interregional and international level because this way it has been acknowledged they broaden their market. However at the local level in Elmina and Cape Coast the micro tour operators (which are one man's company) work individually. It is recommended to form associations and partnerships with other micro tour operators or big tour operators in Accra in order to increase their clientele, their operational network and their revenues.

4. Qualifying and Amplifying Components

Safety and security (Measures taken for tourists' safety and security)

Safety and security was traced at three levels: state policing, sanitation and infrastructure. The state policing are not sufficient because too many things are taken for granted such as the peaceful nature of the Ghanaians, the peacefulness of the country, the low crime rate of the country, and the limited incidents of attacks on tourists.

However we live in a global environment and tourism is vulnerable to external influences such as terrorism, and organised crime or at a more national level police corruption, and road speed monitoring. Therefore lack of policing jeopardises not only the lives of tourists but also that of the local communities. No measures have been taken at a governmental level to face a possible attack, eliminate corruption of policing or monitor speed levels on the roads. The existence of 'hustlers' around the castles is also perceived as a hindrance. Therefore it is suggested that a tourist police should be formed in order to increase security and safety in the area. However the financial rewards for those recruited should be of a substance in order to deter or eliminate corruption. The 'hustlers' around the castles are recommended to be trained either in handicrafts or as tour guides in order to earn an alternative means of livelihood.

In both areas there is a problem with sanitation. There are open sewers all around the two towns and that can be a threat to the health of both locales and tourists. Tourism and especially pro-poor tourism strategies work better when the whole sector is developing. The open sewers are a hindrance to development because they are aesthetically and hygienically a deterrent. Both locales are eager to keep tourists in the area for more than two days so that the locals' benefit; however lack of sanitation can deter people from staying.

It is recommended that the government in cooperation with the traditional authorities should educate the locals both, the importance of sanitation to the betterment of their quality of life and the sustainable development of tourism.

Community leaders can mobilise the communities towards this direction and disseminate information either by public gatherings or through the local radio. Seminars should also start being delivered at schools so that the importance of sanitation is instilled at people's mind at a very early age.

Individually or as a partnership, the government, the traditional authorities and the donor agencies (that implement tourism development projects in the area) should give priority in this matter when they consider allocation of funds.

Despite the fact that it has been commended that the infrastructure is also perceived as a hindrance; credit should be given to the many efforts made to improve the roads, and communication networks. However more intensive efforts should be made to improve the whole infrastructural system.

Carrying Capacity

Carrying capacity in practice is not taken into account. However there is no problem of over capacity in hotels or guesthouses throughout the year. On the contrary the hotels are complaining of not having enough customers and as a result of that they cannot make ends meet. However during PANAFEST it is claimed that there is lack of accommodation. According to tourism Board there are fewer than 4000 beds in hotels and 60% of them are found in Accra. In the area the capacity is bit over than 1000 beds. Therefore the government should address this issue by wooing private investors. However there should be policy at place that will forbid uncontrollable development that would benefit only the investors. Research has to be undertaken on the matter and be implemented accordingly if they want to avoid any future negative impacts mainly on the environment and society.

Cost /Value

. The prices in hotels are perceived to be expensive not only for locals but also for foreigners; a justification for that is low room occupancy, high maintenance costs and high taxes. However the hotel owners have to realise that a good proportion of tourists are backpackers who travel according to a certain budget and the prices they charge are far too expensive for this segment of tourists. Additionally one of the main markets is Ghanaians from the Diaspora or those who have immigrated abroad and return to Ghana for holidays. The former might choose to stay in

guesthouses or to friends and relatives to reduce costs while the latter to stay in their own home residence. Education and awareness of hotel owners about prices in competitive destinations is of up most importance; charge less so they have full occupancy, or reduce the rates on low seasons and control more efficiently their costs. Competitive prices can become their comparative advantage. The government should consider giving them some discount on their tax returns on the condition that they give 1% of their earnings to the local communities in which they operate. Contributing thus to the infrastructural development of the communities and that would be for the benefit of all stakeholders concerned: the government, the hotel owners and the local community.

The airfares of international flights from America and Europe to Ghana are also perceived to be high Ghana has lost its national air carriers and therefore depends on foreign carriers for its transfers mainly Europeans. For this matter cross governmental efforts between ministries and especially of finance, trade and industry have to address the matter since ministries of tourism are often seen as junior players in governmental decisions.

Liberalisation of air transport can open the destination not only to well recognised international carriers but also to low-cost airlines which can compete more appropriately with decreased prices.

5. Core Resource Component

Culture history (Realisation of uniqueness of castles)

The World Heritage Sites situated in Cape Coast and Elmina makes the locales unique and automatically differentiate them in the tourism market. Pro-Poor initiatives can be applied in these locales because customers come to the product, which is an asset that exists in the areas. Another unique selling point is their rich culture, which is depicted in festivals (durbars (processions) of chiefs), drumming and dancing, old colonial buildings and fetish shrines. Leaving aside the economic benefits, cultural heritage can increase pride in the local communities enhancing thus their national identity. They mainly attract people from the Diaspora who come back to Ghana to find their 'roots', tourists from other parts of the world who are genuinely interested in culture and heritage, and the Ghanaians themselves. However as the Deputy Minister of Tourism noted marketing is insufficient and cultural heritage cannot be exploited to the best advantage of the locale communities.

The product is there but it is not appropriately utilised because of insufficient promotion, lack of trained and experienced people and insufficient funding. Therefore there is need for strategic marketing as well as hiring experienced people in events management and funding. Currently the funding is minimal for tourism and especially cultural heritage tourism development. This tactic totally contradicts the target of the government to make tourism first export product. Funding should also come from local hotel owners in the form of sponsoring the organisation of festivals or any other cultural activity i.e. drumming and dancing in order to increase room occupancy. Tour operators should include in their programmes information about the festivals and organise with local cultural drama or drumming and dancing groups' performances for tourists.

Market ties

In the past the main market was people from the Diaspora who were coming to Ghana to find their 'roots'. However currently the market is varied and visitors come from many parts of the world. The most frequent visitors come from Europe especially the Netherlands due to the special bond with Elmina (colonials), Germans, British, then Africans mostly South Africans and Asians such as Chinese and Japanese and the Ghanaians themselves. The research has shown that Ghanaians appreciated more their culture and started visitations to the castles after seeing increase in tourism because of the castles.

The employment of marketing techniques and promotion of the destination by all stakeholders concerned is crucial for the further development of the destinations and the increase in visitations. Governments, embassies, civil society, NGOs all have a part to play on that; Ghanaian immigrants in many European countries can serve as ambassadors and promote their own country to friends and neighbours.

Superstructure

The superstructure is not sufficient i.e. hotels, restaurants, tourists' information centres etc. and whatever exists is influenced by foreign design and architecture, with limited indigenous flare in it. In Ghana there is a misconception that everything foreign is better and that foreign architecture is superior. This xenophilia is mainly attributed to a colonial syndrome that it is still embedded into people's mind.

However people visit Ghana for its unique culture, and they want to experience staying in facilities that reflect the character of the destinations. Imitating foreign prototypes does not appeal either the tourists or the residents. Education is needed for the locals to realise that the locales will compete better and more appropriately by emphasising facilities in unique locations that blend into the local landscape in order to provide unique travel experiences. Emphasis should also be given in the construction of restaurants, tourism centres and tourists' stopovers since they are integrated part of the tourist experience and contribute to the faster and more development of a destination.

Special Events

One of the most major constraints that local communities do not benefit is traced on the fact that tourists do not spend time at the local communities. They come they tour the castles and they go back to Accra. However there is not much to do in the locales that would motivate tourists to stay. Therefore there is need for complementary products to be developed so that the towns are more attractive to tourists, making them thus extend their length of stay and spending money in the communities. Providing this way an alternative livelihood for the poor whose way of life constitutes a vital part of the holiday experience.

Local festivals and the international acclaimed festival PANAFEST complement both locales. There is enormous potential because of the festivals however the major hindrance is lack of promotion and organisation. More funding should be given by the government and the local

authorities to organise and promote the festivals since tourists are attracted to them since they have the chance to experience a complete different culture.

Another element of the local culture that attracts tourists is traditional dancing and drumming and plays performed by local drama groups. However in the areas there is no organised activity and tourists have only the chance to experience this side of Ghanaian culture during PANAFEST or in funerals. There are so many talented people in the area who feel frustrated because they are not having any substantial support by anybody.

The specific research indicates that tourists would be interested in experiencing cultural performances and therefore it is recommended that the tour operators should pick up on that and establish linkages with local groups for the benefit of all stakeholder: the local cultural groups, themselves, and the tourists. The local groups themselves should mobilise themselves and make contacts with private tour operators market their product and reach a deal which is beneficial for all parties. They can also advertise themselves in local hotels and guesthouses present their product and either set standard performances or to be arranged by request. At the moment there is no information provided to tourists of any cultural activity in the area but the demand is there. NGOs can play a role in it by networking with the private sector and the government in order to help the cultural groups to realise their full potential.

Organisation of conferences can bring more people into the area and that would be to the advantage of organisers, accommodation providers, as well as the poor themselves if the conference were accompanied by cultural evenings that would be consisted of local cultural groups.

Research that has been undertaken so far shows that the area is also suitable for hosting and organisation of sports events such as golf, hockey, or sailing and beach parks. Incentives have to be given to suitable investors to invest and develop in the areas. However the complex issue of buying the land for development chases investors away. In Ghana one can only lease land; a foreigner for 50 years and a local for 99 years. Most of the land suitable for tourism development belongs to the community and that entails long discussions and negotiations with the traditional authorities who are suspicious of foreigners buying the land. That can be time and money consuming for investors. The need for educating the chiefs and local leaders concerning the nature and function of tourism has been traced and is stressed.

Entertainment

Another factor that deters tourists from staying in the areas is lack of entertainment. There are many talented local people who do not have the funding to be part of the entertainment. The castles might be an attraction pole for the visitors in the area but entertainment is also an essential part of the tourists' experience. Therefore development should also be directed towards opening bars, clubs and restaurants, if it is for the tourists to stay more in the area.

Currently in the area the eating or drinking places are few and far in between. In both towns and especially in Elmina people base mostly their livelihoods in fishing. However in the area there is no fish restaurant. Fishermen and one main or a few other stakeholders can come together and

open a fish restaurant that would attract both local and tourist customers. Cultural evenings can be held in the restaurant as well increasing thus more the linkages with the local communities.

6. Supporting Factors and Resources Component

Infrastructure

The infrastructure is inadequate in the areas due to high levels of poverty. The infrastructural problem is traced in transport, communications, water supply and sewage, energy supply and bad roads. Tourism development and pro-poor strategies need to be complimented by local infrastructure. Poor infrastructure will cause a potential decline to any tourism development in short duration and so any pro-poor strategy will decline as well. Infrastructure is very important to poor residents as well since it will uplift the area and better their lives.

Even though efforts are made to open the main road itineraries water supply electricity and communications in Elmina there are still no telephone lines. There is a general discontent about governmental priorities in regards to their area. Therefore the government should give importance to improving the infrastructure in the area because in these two locales is where the comparative advantage of the country in terms of tourists' attraction is based. Infrastructure improvement for tourism development further will create linkages for employment among the poor.

Enterprises

The development of micro small and medium enterprises have not developed at a large scale that is attributed to lack of marketing, funding and most importantly linkages and leakages between the tourism industry and other sectors of the economy and the creation of indirect employment.

Tourism can develop appropriately in both locals. It may not eradicate poverty but it can certainly create alternative forms of income. This is more successfully achieved when tourism initiatives and strategies are planned and managed having the poor at the heart of development. Tourism in the area can be designed on the assets of the poor, which are cultural heritage and natural resources. Because it is labour intensive it can employ and train a significant number of vulnerable people such as women, youth, and unskilled, semi-skilled workers, unemployed, illiterate, and semi-illiterate. The barriers for entry are low and many businesses such as small, medium or community –based as well as the informal sector, can be established; it can also support traditional activities such as fisheries and agriculture. These are generalisation that work well in the specific case of Elmina and Cape Coast

Establishing local micro and SME's businesses is about thinking of the long term and giving power at the hands of the poor. However there are challenges to be met such as access to credit and/or technical advice, motivation, confidence, property rights and legal recognition as well as to secure access to tourism markets.

Therefore there is need for strategic and technical advice and /or access to credit that would assist the poor towards starting up a micro or small business and information of the hospitality industry.

Tour operators, hotel owners, can create linkages with the local poor and create jobs for them in hotel or restaurant construction, customer services and management and local guiding. Hotels in the area can link up with micro and small businesses and get locally produced goods such as handicrafts or fish and also receive local services i.e. local entertainment. The private sector needs to be educated on the need to involve poor people on the touristy activity as well as the need to use locally made products and handicrafts.

In the informal sector there are already fruit, cigarette and handicrafts sellers outside the castles, fish selling along the beaches and some forms of informal accommodation such as guesthouses. Informal sector is very important in the area because it gives direct cash into the hands of the poor. However it is fragmented since it is characterised by too much bargaining and over supply of identical products.

Tourism is a sector that also employs many women. In the area the backbone of the economy is women that are mostly trading in fruits, vegetable, and fish. Tourism can give them the opportunity to realise their full potential in entrepreneurial and management posts. Support is needed though by the private sector, governments and intergovernmental organisations in the form of technical advice and micro-credit. The need for networking, exchange and mutual support of community based tourism initiatives has been expressed in various case studies. Networking among women is essential is argued by many authors. Women have entrepreneurial and management abilities that are, in general, under utilised, their abilities should also be applied within larger firms and organisation. Support from NGOs the private sector governments and intergovernmental organisations can help women to realise their full potential, benefiting not only the women themselves but also the wider community.

Facilitating Resources (Visa/immigration policy; Customs system)

The visa and immigration policy along with the customs system is perceived as hindrance. There is considerable congestion and poor organisation at airport upon arrival and departure, bureaucratic constraints, and cumbersome immigration procedures. There are also complicated taxation requirements of tourism enterprises.

It is suggested that visa is acquired on the spot because visa issuing tends to deter many holidaymakers from choosing a destination. Taken the secondary importance of the Ministry of Tourism in a government, which limits its ability to take or influence governmental decisions, it is suggested that it should engage with the Ministry of Finance, Trade and Industry and form a governmental strategy that will improve facilitating resources. The engagement of other national government ministries is also important for pro-poor growth, pro-poor tourism and ultimately poverty reduction to become part of national strategy.

The human resources that provide the facilitating resources were perceived as a hindrance as well due to lack of courtesy towards visitors. Education and training as to the nature and function of tourism and customer services will eliminate and eventually eradicate the problem.

7. Destination policy, planning and development component

Policy structure and content (Reflection of values and culture)

It is argued that the policy structure and content does not reflect the local views because it is influenced by foreign cultures which they do not resemble the Ghanaian one. Since the main market is foreign there is a conscious effort to satisfy it excluding the local domestic market. So everything is designed and planned having the international market mostly in mind. This is mainly attributed to lack of dialogue and collaboration between policy makers and local people, lack of sufficient knowledge of tourism markets and undermining the power of domestic markets.

Donor agencies should better monitor the country's programme; improve their knowledge and skills in this case from top to down fashion.

The government should consider to decentralise its expertise and authority so that the potential of tourism development in the area are properly assessed and reflect people's expected values and culture.

Policy formulation Process (Consideration of needs and priorities of poor)

There is general discontent because the needs and priorities of the poor are not taken into account. The concept of community participation is rather a new one and its importance in decision making has only recently entered the governmental agenda. However the realisation of its importance is vital because the real needs of the poor would be best comprehended if their participation into policy process is encouraged. This can be achieved by forming focus groups and discussions and/or holding seminars and /or workshops and including representatives from the very 'grassroots' level.

Developing appropriate, sustainable tourism that can contribute towards sustainable poverty reduction requires empowerment of the poor and forming of partnerships among all stakeholders concerned who share knowledge but also access the risks involved in the process of developing tourism. A pro-poor approach into tourism development can address the issues of participation in decision making by the poor, giving voice to the poor, while keeping the negative effects to the minimum. Education at the very top level is needed so that it is ensured the concept of local community participation is embedded into the mentality of governmental officials.

8. Destination Management Component

Human Resource Management (Extend of Tourism and Hospitality Training)

Tourism and hospitality education and training is not regarded to be sufficient. There is fragmentation and lack of synchronisation and that can prove an obstacle for the local people to enter into formal sector. Training, market knowledge, technical advice and direction is very important for those who aspire and/or want increase their involvement in the industry, and especially the poor in order to assist their access to the tourism industry and make good choices in starting small scale enterprises; it is also crucial for those who want to get indirectly involved in

tourism i.e. artefacts, batik tie and dying, hairdressing etc. Education and training should focus on general management, events management, marketing, product development, customer services, literacy, and programmes of foreign languages.

The introduction of the subject of tourism at the national curriculum it is also suggested at all level of education. Further seminars of national tourism awareness programmes should be introduced for all stakeholders concerned. Those who want to get involved in the tourism activity for economic benefits and those who just want to enjoy other livelihood benefits that come along with tourism i.e. cultural exchange, revival of customs and traditions etc. It is the gradual and long-term knowledge that will make people comprehend and appreciate more the benefits of tourism at the economic and societal level. Currently the notion of tourism is alien to the majority of the population and that makes them indifferent to tourism development and the tourists' themselves.

Partnerships between institutions, NGOs, the industry, government, donor agencies can play a vital role on this direction. It is capacity building and local people's empowerment that will eliminate donor dependency.

Organisation (Consideration of Destination Management; Adaptation made; Funding; Human resources)

It is argued that the organisation of the destination is almost non-existent and that is mainly due to financial constraints and lack of cooperation among Ghana Museum and Monuments Board, the Tourism Board, the Ministry of Tourism and the private sector. However the key to success is the right organisational and management structure; Partnerships, should be created between GMMB the Tourism Board, local authorities, the Ministry of Tourism and the private sector in order to develop appropriately the cultural product, market it according to the needs of the destinations and provide information about customers tastes and the market's latest trends.

The donor agencies have a role to play by financing and monitoring the programming of the destination; emphasis should be given on the improvement and /or creation of supply chains between the informal, the formal sector and the visitors. For that matter dissemination of information to the local community is vital in order to enable them to create income-generating activities. Increase in tourists' awareness is also needed about local products such as batiks, artefacts, hairdressing, food and use of local services such as accommodation and tour guides. Adaptations also need to be made so that the destinations compete more appropriately. Best practices from other destinations and lessons learned from experience should assist them develop and sustain tourism development, avoiding thus all the negative impacts that have occurred in other tourism destination.

The positive thing is that the majority of the tourism and hospitality human resources are Ghanaians. They should continue this practice to avoid any unnecessary leakage out of the country, thus empowering the local economy.

Finance and ventures

Currently there is no funding available. However it is essential that the poor have access to credit

or benefit from funding opportunities in order to establish their own businesses or get indirectly involved in the tourism activity i.e. food, souvenir suppliers etc. Donor agencies, NGOs, and the government should allocate special budget in order to assist towards product development, and marketing; as well as to assist those individuals who have the talent, the education and training and/or those who want to get trained in order to get involved in the industry. They should also provide funding to improve infrastructure and collaborate for the creation of sustainable and complimentary shared markets.

Conclusion

Cultural Heritage Tourism development can become the backbone of Elmina and Cape Coast's economy and the driving force for job creation at both formal and informal sector; it can complement fisheries and agriculture, generating an extra income for the local people; ultimately contributing to poverty elimination in both locales. Additionally at the societal level, cultural heritage tourism can become a means for provision of social services, cultural exchange and diversity in the area.

Tourism in the area was developed because of cultural heritage and it is based on the commercial utilisation of the World Heritage Sites: the two castles and the fortress. However there are other attractions in the area that can complement even further the existing product i.e. Benya Lagoon, Brenu Beach, historic buildings etc. Therefore there is need for diversification of the product if it is for tourists to spend additional time in the two locales thus enabling the tourist dollar to be spread around.

Having poverty reduction as the ultimate goal, cultural tourism in the area has to be planned and managed in a way that will ensure community participation, and empowerment, of all segments of the population including the most vulnerable ones, women, youth and marginalised people. A pro-poor approach to tourism development will give voice to the poor, and marginalised people, it will ensure participation in the decision-making process, and it will eventually lead to inclusion in the tourism activity.

The challenge here will be in the commitment of planners and developers to develop tourism as a long-term activity. This could be achieved by reducing leakages and forging linkages and having as a focal point the extended tourism supply chain; support of capacity building and marketing and not only financial giving; to act locally by focusing at the specific locales even so in the context of additional and helpful national policies; monitor the planning process to ensure equitable distribution of wealth and social inclusion; and evaluation of poverty reduction at the final stage.

The need for cooperation, communication, and networking of all stakeholders concerned: the government, the ministries of Tourism, Trade, Industry, Finance, and the Tourism Industry, the Tourism Board, Ghana Museum and Monuments Board, and the poor themselves is of up-most importance for planning and managing tourism in a competitive and sustainable manner in Cape Coast and Elmina.

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Appendix 1

UN Millennium Development Goals (MDG)

By the year 2015, all 191 United Nations Member States have pledged to meet the following goals

1. Eradicate extreme poverty hunger
 - Reduce by half the proportion of people living on less than a dollar a day
 - Reduce by half the proportion of people who suffer from hunger
2. Achieve universal primary education
 - Ensure that all boys and girls complete a full course of primary schooling
3. Promote gender equality and empower women
 - Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005, and at all levels by 2015
4. Reduce child mortality
 - Reduce by two thirds the mortality among children under five
5. Improve maternal health
 - Reduce by three quarters the maternal mortality ratio
6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
 - Halt and begin to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS
 - Halt and begin to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases
7. Ensure environmental sustainability
 - Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes; reverse loss of environmental resources
 - Reduce by half the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water
 - Achieve significant improvement in lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers, by 2020
8. Develop a global partnership for development
 - Develop further an open trading and financial system that is rule-based, predictable and non-discriminatory, includes a commitment to good governance, development and poverty reduction-nationally and internationally
 - Address the least developed countries' special needs. This includes tariff- and quota free access for their exports; enhanced debt relief for heavily indebted poor countries; cancellation of official bilateral debt; and more generous official development assistance for countries committed to poverty reduction
 - Address the special need of landlocked and small island developing States
 - Deal comprehensively with developing countries' debt problems through national and international measures to make debt sustainable in the long term.
 - In cooperation with pharmaceutical companies, provide access to affordable essential drugs in developing countries

In cooperation with the private sector, make available the benefits of new technologies-especially information and communications technologies

Appendix 2

Cape Coast Interviewees

- 1) Mr. Nkunu Akyea (Head of Ghana Heritage and Conservation Trust)
- 2) Mrs. Nana Nyarkya Ocran (Museum Educator, Head of education in Ghana Museum and Monuments Board)
- 3) Mr. Nana[5] Kwamina Ansah IV (Chief of Eguafu and President of the Central Regional House of Chiefs)
- 4) Mr. Spenser Taylor (Executive Director of Central Regional Development Commission)
- 5) Mrs. Georgina Bentum (Acting head of the tourism unit in the Central Regional Development Commission)
- 6) Mr. Nana[6] Osabaramba Kwesi Atta (Paramount Chief, Ogu Traditional Area)
- 7) Mr. Leo A. Yankson (Librarian in the Cape Coast Castle and author of the book the twin castles)
- 8) Mr. Kohain Nathanyah Haveli, Rabbi (Executive Secretary of Pan African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST) secretary)
- 9) Mr. Kwaku A.A. Boakye (University of Cape Coast)
- 10) Dr. Vanessa Amoah Tetteh (University of Cape Coast)
- 11) Professor Kofi Awusabo-Asare (University of Cape Coast)
- 12) Professor L.A. Dei (University of Cape Coast)
- 13) Professor Jeurry Blankson (University of Cape Coast)

Elmina Interviewees

- 14) Mr. Nana James Afful (Owner of Oyster Bay hotel and chief in Elmina he was assigned for the interview by the Paramount Chief of Elmina and he talked on his behalf)
- 15) Mr. Felix Ngua (Micro-Tour Operator in Elmina)
- 16) Mrs. Frimpong (Micro Tour Operator named Nasika Tours and School Director in Elmina)
- 17) Mr. Nana Solomon (Elected Chief for Fisherman)
- 18) Mr. Wallace Quaw (Head of Ghana Museums and Monuments Board in charge of Elmina Castle)
- 19) Dr Anthony Anna-Prah (Head of ECHMP)
- 20) Mr. Ernest Aikins-Quayson (micro Tour-Operator and Tour Guide)

Accra

- 21) Mr. Stephen Asomoah Boateng (Deputy Minister of Tourism and Modernisation of the Capital City)
- 22) Dr. Paa Kwesi Nduom (Member of Parliament for Komenda-Edina-Eguafu-Abrem (KEEA) District, Ministry of Public Sector Reform)
- 23) Mr. Frank Kofifah (Manager of the planning and Business Development Department in Ghana Tourism Board he was assigned by the Executive Director of GTB to talk on his behalf)
- 24) Mr. Lomo Mainoo (Tourism Consultant and Manager of 'Jenin Executive Travel & Tours')

- 25) Mr. Kwame Ansong (Tour Operator and Director of 'Sun seekers' Tours Ltd.)
- 26) Mrs. Bridget Kyerematen- Darko (NGO executive director 'Aid to Artisans')

Focus Group Interviewees

- 1) Michael Kissi (Instructor, Cape Coast Polytechnic)
- 2) Michael Opoku-Sarpong (Instructor, Cape Coast Polytechnic)
- 3) Franklin Dzormeku Dacosta (Instructor, Cape Coast Polytechnic)

Local Community

Elmina

Youth

- 1) Dominique Crensil 19 (Unemployed)
- 2) Otoo Neizer 19 (Unemployed)
- 3) Joseph Assifuah 20 (Unemployed)
- 4) Joseph Mprah 19 (Unemployed)

Women

- 5) Antoinette Cobbina 49 (Hairdresser, unemployed)
- 6) Mansa Awayrama Martin 21 (Designer, Tie & Dye, unemployed)
- 7) Fatina Nyan 32 (Unemployed)
- 8) Winfredes Yasscher 35 (Unemployed)
- 9) Hawamu Musah 37 (Unemployed)

Men

- 10) Koban Ayayerabi 52 (Unemployed)
- 11) Kofi (surname not given) 47 (Unemployed)
- 12) Daniel (surname not given) 35 (Unemployed)
- 13) Kweku (surname not given) 68 (Unemployed)
- 14) Daniel (surname not given) 42 (Unemployed)

Cape Coast

Youth

- 15) Daniel Thomson 21 (Unemployed)
- 16) Nii Okai 19 (Fisherman)
- 17) Papa Appiah 20 (Trainee Fisherman)
- 18) Robert Thomson 23 (Fisherman, part time)

Men

- 19) Kweku Muah 80 (Fisherman)
- 20) Kwamina Afina 53 (Fisherman)

Women

- 21) Nicol (not surname given) 22 (trader, micro-seller)
- 22) Vanessa (not surname given) 19 (trader, micro-seller)
- 23) Fastina (not surname given) 58 (Unemployed)
- 24) Jamila (not surname given) 49 (trader, micro-seller)
- 25) Christiana (not surname given) 35 (trader, micro-seller)

Appendix 3

1st objective

Local people (grassroots level) interviews

1. Significance of Heritage and Culture for the local community

For the local community people, culture is associated with dancing and drumming, meetings among the elders to either discuss the welfare of the community and resolve disputes or advise younger people. Heritage is also associated with drumming but also with jobs' skills (mainly fishing) that were passed down generation to generation.

Perception of castles

There was not extended knowledge as to the use (slavery depots) of the castles. Some people only knew the utility of the castles during the 20th century (use of prisons, accommodation for people, and seat of government). They see them as places where white and African people from the Diaspora visit and take pictures.

They like the castles being there because it brings activity into the towns. They want the tourists to keep coming so that they realise that black people are also in the majority. They are happy the castles are in their community because tourists will learn about the Ghanaian culture and tourism related business will increase.

2. Expression of pride or discontent

There are mixed feelings of pride and discontent. Pride because the castles are the reason that foreigners come and visit the area and some jobs have been created because of their presence in their communities i.e. castle staff, micro-sellers inside and outside the castle.

There is discontent because of what they represent (related to slavery) and because they are not properly maintained.

3. Perceptions of tourism and tourism development

Tourism for the people at the very 'grassroots' level is associated with visiting relatives, acquaintances, and friends domestically/ abroad or funerals. Tourism for them is getting to meet or know better foreigners and probably use the newly established friendships to visit the foreigners in their own country and seek employment there.

Tourism for them is foreigners talking about the beauty of the areas (Cape Coast and Elmina) upon return to their home country. Tourism for them is also charity taking from tourists (Tourists sponsoring the schooling of a poor child, or just giving cash to poor families)

Tourism development because of the castles has not benefited the people at the very 'grassroots' level because no real jobs have been created for them. Only a few micro-sellers have benefited mainly fruit and souvenir sellers, some tour guides and individual tour operators. The only money the locals receive because of tourism is during PANAFEST, to clean up the surroundings of the castles and towns. There is a common request for tourism jobs because unemployment is very high and fishing which is the main occupation mainly for the Elminians is not as much profitable as it used to be.

Possible jobs that are welcome by the people are hairdressing, batik tie and dye, artefacts, sculptures, drumming, dancing and organising plays for the tourists, supply of fish to tourism related enterprises. A good number of people also argued that they do not care at all if tourism is developed in their area or not because so far they have not benefited, so they do not care about the maintenance or the upkeep of the environment outside the castles.

4. Length of local community participation in decision making concerning planning of tourism

There is common consent that the local people are not participating in decision-making process. However they regard community participation to be of vital importance because the castles belong to the local community, and therefore anyone who wants to do anything about and around the castle has to consult the local community.

6. Acknowledgement of responsibility taken by government, tour operators, donor agencies or public institutions concerning the local communities and towards the environment

Government

As a whole local community people think that the government is more interested in developing tourism in order to increase revenues rather than to help the local people. In addition they think that the government does not care much for them or the castles for that matter because they spend minimal money for their maintenance.

Tour Operators

It is believed that tour operators cater for themselves and not for the local people. However some of them introduce tourists to some local people and as a result of that there is some charity giving.

Donor Agencies

The donor agencies are believed that they care for the local community however there is no control over where the money goes. The cultural heritage programme in Elmina is believed to bring jobs in their community.

Public institutions

There is ignorance as to the length of responsibility of public institutions; however the local communities consider the above institutions to be irresponsible because they did not succeed to create any benefits for them.

Responsibility of all stakeholders for the environment

The express responsibility towards the environment however they are either slow to address it or they are indifferent because they either have not realized the importance of sustaining a clean and sanitised environment or they are more concerned to make a daily living.

Local community (leaders and representatives) interviewees

2 Significance of heritage and culture for the local community

Heritage is the legacy and testimony of the generations. It has its political and economic dynamics; it is passed down to contemporary generations and becomes part of history (heritage deals with historical features); and identifies with the people over time. The forts and castles are considered to be the heritage of the people of this country and they are obliged to protect, restore and preserve them.

The national policy categorises heritage into tangible heritage and intangible heritage. The tangibles are the castles, the fort, the monument, etc. The intangibles are the festivals. There are

other things like folklore, dancing, drumming, drama groups that occur periodically but they are not advertised.

‘A society without a culture resembles an animal kingdom and the moment you let go of your culture you lose your identity, since culture keeps people together’ would argue some of the interviewees. Culture are those traditional norms adapted by a particular society, ethnic group or people that identifies them as a people through how they go about and distinguish themselves in everyday life. It is the signature of the people who makes them who they are; tradition also has become a set of standards and norms that have been passed down from generation to generation and also that distinguish a certain group of people to a set of rules of customs and ethics, statues, births, deaths, that’s are traditions that are passed down from generation to generation.

Culture is the way of life and traditions of the people of the community. It encompasses their food, the way of dressing, systems of governance, the way of farming, the economic organisation etc. Culture is something dynamic it is not static and it should be improved upon. If the culture reaches a point where it dehumanises the human being then there is need to stop it. Culture has to be positive in the life of the community.

Ghanaians are very cultural people. However it is quite unfortunate, it is argued, that in Ghana culture and development cannot coexist. People want to remain attached to the culture and therefore resist certain types of development because they cling to the past. Culture is closely tied with heritage. The castles are a gateway to the western influence but they have not contributed to the culture. To some extent the two are almost opposite because the castles represent on the one hand foreign domination and on the other hand western society development, and the Ghanaian culture again is against development.

The difference between culture and heritage is that culture is dynamic and changes in accordance to the influences of the external environment. Whereas heritage is static.

Due to the fact that culture changes, heritage will be different from one generation to the other; because it will have gone through dynamic modifications during a certain life span and it will be handed down to the next generation, as heritage but it was culture in the previous one. So at times the line between the two is fuzzy.

1. Perceptions of castles

The castles are perceived to be equally part of Ghanaians as that of the Dutch, Portuguese, and the British because they all made use of them. They are the physical evidence of what has happened in the past (slave trade), the transactions and interactions that have occurred between the

Ghanaians' ancestors and the Europeans. They are a very strong heritage symbol for the local people because it reminds them of their history.

2. Expression of pride or discontent

There are mixed feelings in connection to the presence of the castles in the local communities. They are admired for their architecture but also loathed upon the atrocities that were carried out in there. There is pride and discontent at the same time.

It is a common view that the castles can play a part in education in Ghana, to learn from the mistakes of the past so that they will not be repeated again. There is also general agreement that there has been a conscious effort to restore the castles and convert them into an attraction for job creation and tourism development.

3. Perceptions of Tourism and Tourism Development

Is there tourism development around the castles? This is what most of the interviewees replied on questions related to tourism and tourism development in the areas of Elmina and Cape Coast. There is a general contention that there is nothing much there. The development is regarded as very 'slow' and 'crude'. The communities do not benefit from the tourist activity and they carry out their daily routine and other non-tourism occupations.

Tourism is perceived as an activity that it does not need planning and it can be left to market forces to regulate; something that it has to be left to the private sector. However there should be public participation.

For the local community at the grassroots level the castles are part of their scenery and people have not been given the chance to know what tourism means and what the future might hold for them. In regards to that it is also argued that Ghanaians are very calm and peaceful to the extent that if something does not affect them personally then they don't need to know. They are not very curious, and besides their priority is just survival, when and where they can get the next meal.

Not much is done on the ground, sanitation is crucial, the beaches for example are polluted; a simple organising of cleaning expeditions by the youth would partly solve the problem but there is no mobilisation of the population. At the moment the polluted environment deters tourists from spending time in the area.

The government has taken over the royalties of the castles and the revenue goes back to the central government and not even a single percentage is going back to the local communities. Strangely enough not even the ministry of tourism has a share in it.

The people who benefit mostly from the tourist activity are the tour operators, mainly those who operate from Accra and that increase the resentment of local people. According to a local proverb 'it is painful to see someone eating in your face' and this is happening over there the locales do not benefit.

Community based tourism is again stressed as a solution, local participation, training and education which will be carried out by the government, NGOs, donor agencies, district assemblies, traditional leaders, opinion leaders. The community should benefit from the running of the castles. For example in Elmina there are very few social amenities. Therefore the income generated from these castles should be used to help the local community, to reduce poverty around the castles; if they do not do that then they end up antagonising the poor people around the castles. To ensure community participation, local people must be involved in the decision making process as well as in the production of the product. Currently non-trained actors control tourism development in the region, which is to the detriment of the local people since they do not have a say as to what is developed and why is developed for.

The land also belongs to the community so if they take it they have to make sure that locals have access to it and benefit from it. Otherwise the locals feel left out and they end up sabotaging the whole entity. There is mentioning of the hustlers around the castles and that is a direct effect of the exclusion and deprivation of the local communities from the tourism activity. It is argued that change will come and tourism will develop if money is used to train people's minds, it is only then that the mentality of people will change and in effect their attitude to tourism.

4. Length of local community participation in decision-making concerning planning of tourism

The concept of local participation is very new in this country. The planning system is realised from top to down. At times there is a call for district assembly leaders to attend governmental meeting but there is no representation from the very 'grassroots' level. However there is a slow realisation that if local people are not involved the project cannot be sustained. Even the assurance of security for the tourists will depend a great deal on the cooperation and hospitality of the local people. The tourism board is aware of that.

The deputy minister of tourism stressed the need for local people's participation because they are part of the tourism activity and they are those who are affected directly by tourism development. The deputy talked about community-based programmes in Cameroon and Botswana

and about plans to develop similar community based tourism programmes in the area as well. They have written to the WTO, as part of the STEP programme in regards to that and Elmina is one of the areas they are looking at.

5. Acknowledgement of responsibility taken by government, tour operators, donor agencies towards the well-fare and well-being of local communities and the environment

Government

According to some of the interviewees the government recognises its responsibility towards the local people but it is slow to address it. So far though, not many actions have been taken for the benefit of the locals and mainly in connection to the castles and tourism development.

However there is also the opinion that the government does not care much about the local communities because all revenue collected from the castles is going back to the central government and not even 1% is given back to the local communities. The paramount chief made an appeal but so far nothing has been accomplished.

Tour Operators

As far as the tour operators are concerned it is commonly agreed that they think mostly of themselves because they do not encourage tourists to spend time on the locales. There is a financial motive for their actions but tour operators themselves agree that they need to work at the supra level first and then at the local level if they want things to improve. At the moment the only benefit that the locals are receiving from tourists is some charitable giving.

The donor agencies

It is argued that the donor agencies have realised the importance of including people at the very grassroots level in tourism development. However whether the local people are included or not that depends on how strong the agency is and the methods used to monitor development and distribution of funds. However it is argued that there is a dependency system because there is no capacity building; the positive thing is that they have managed to create awareness.

Public institutions

It is perceived that in general terms the Ghana Museum and Monuments Board, the Ghana Tourism Board, the ministry of Tourism and the University and Polytechnic are concerned about

local people. The university and Polytechnic are offering tourism courses making thus an effort to educate and train future tourism leaders. The GMMB and Ghana Tourism Board are not regarded as socially responsible because they spend close to nothing for training and capacity building. However the local people at the very grassroots level are blamed for having an attitudinal problem and 'prefer to beg rather than take advantage of some training opportunity' states the head of Conservation and Heritage Trust. Whilst people from other regions i.e. Ashanti are reputed for their entrepreneurial flare.

Responsibility of all stakeholders for the environment

As far as the environment is concerned it has been agreed that not much has been accomplished. The surroundings around the castles, the beaches, the lagoon in Elmina and the fishing market are polluted. Sanitation and waste management should be given some importance, and for that education is needed.

7. Importance of heritage Tourism on the Tourism development agenda

Ghana is mainly associated with the castles. However the government has not acknowledged fully this comparative advantage and the potentials of tourism development. The interviewees stress the need for lobbying and advocacy groups to urge the government to deal with the matter. So heritage tourism is a part but not a prime motivation for tourism development

2nd Objective

Tourism Experts

1. Familiarity with term 'appropriate'

Even though the interviewees were not familiar with the term they all responded that 'appropriate' is tourism that protects the environment, conserves the forest, preserves monuments, provides safe and entertaining activities for tourists and benefits the local people.

2. Marketing strategy

They all agreed that the castles are the main and only attraction in their areas. They all had knowledge that the castles are World Heritage Sites. However as far as marketing is concerned

they all also agreed that is minimal. They put the blame on the mentality of people because they have not recognised its use so they don't give priority to it. It is claimed that the Tourism Board does not promote the country as it should; for example in the World Travel Market their stand is the smallest and people are not making contacts to promote their country. There is indifference, lack of cooperation and communication as well as lack of funds. There is common consent that the World Wide Web and the local radio should be used to promote tourism more, word of mouth is considered to be successful as well as newspapers and magazines.

3. Cooperation/Alliances with other competing destinations

At the private level the tour operators cooperate with Senegal in connection to the slave trade. They also used to cooperate extensively with Ivory Coast, Benin, and Togo; however the war and riots in these countries brought this cooperation almost to an end. The interest on behalf of the tourists is there but the tour operators cannot offer it because there is a security issue. They also try to woo investors from Egypt and Morocco.

The big tour operators are cooperating with other tour operators in the US and Europe. Mainly in regards to cruise ships from the US that make a stopover in Ghana (Tema harbour, Accra city, Cape Coast castle); they take the tourists to see the castles and organise a bazaar for them. At the governmental level there were plans to cooperate with Togo, and Ivory Coast but again because of security reasons they have not been implemented.

4. Qualifying and Amplifying Components

Safety and Security

There is a concern that the safety and security measures are not sufficient and that the government should increase policing around the castles and the towns. However too much is taken for granted for example the friendly nature of the Ghanaians, the low crime rate, and the political stability. Sanitation is also considered as a threat not only for the visitors but for the locals as well. There is also expressed concern about sex tourism and drug taking, which are claimed that have been introduced to their culture by foreigners. As part of the safety and security many interviewees stated the harassment of tourists outside the castles by 'hustlers'.

Carrying Capacity

In governmental documents there is mentioning of the carrying capacity of the destinations however in practice it is not taken into account. The tour operators are allowed to bring unlimited numbers of visitors around the castles. They are not also aware of any research undertaken concerning Carrying Capacity of the destinations.

Cost/Value

The majority of the interviewees agreed that prices in hotels are expensive if one takes into account the cost of living in Africa. However some of them and the deputy minister himself justified it due to the high cost of maintenance. The hotel owners he said 'complain about high utility bills, and multiplicity of taxes. Therefore the high prices are the only way to raise the money for the expenses occurred'. Nevertheless he said that 'the ministry of tourism is trying to tackle the matter by having meetings with people from the private sector and developers'.

As a result of high prices the hotels do not have many customers at a regular basis. This is one of the reasons that in most hotels there is no entertainment, there are not many customers so there are no money to support for example a live band.

The interviewees have also complained about the high airfares; the lack of taximeters allows also taxi drivers to overcharge.

5. Core Resource Component

Culture and history

There is realisation that the comparative advantage of the destinations is the castles and the fortress that are recognised World Heritage Sites because of their history connected to the transatlantic slave trade. The segment of the market they are mainly addressing to are those who would come to find their 'roots' (roots tourism) and those are interested in culture and heritage (cultural/heritage tourism). According to the deputy minister of tourism 'Ghana is built on local culture and customs. This is reflected especially on the festivals where tradition and custom has it for Chiefs and palanquins to parade accompanied by followers' dressed in traditional clothes and drumming. The only thing missing is marketing to promote the existing culture'.

Market Ties

The main market is African Americans especially during PANAFEST, then Europeans

especially Dutch, Germans, and British then there is African market and Ghanaians. The prices are subsidised by the government and the Ghanaian schoolchildren are admitted free of charge.

Superstructure

The architecture and the design are foreign because there is a presumption that everything foreign is better and more superior to the local. In addition it is believed that since the market is for foreigners, the hotel owners try to please them by building something that the foreigners are used to. It is believed that the reason people prefer foreign architecture is because people do not understand the concept of tourism. 'They do not understand that tourists visit Ghana in order to know more about the local culture and see and do something different from what they are used to' said the head of Heritage and Conservation Trust. Only the 'One Africa' hotel is an example that was built with local material and architecture. The 'Anomabo' resort as well follows the traditional African architecture.

There are only a few restaurants in the area that meet the standards for foreign visitors, there are no tourists' stopovers and information centres and that is perceived as a hindrance for keeping the tourists in the locales.

Special Events

There are local festivals as well as one international festival the Pan African, Historical, Theatre, Festival (PANAFEST), and the Emancipation Day that attracts international visitors (mainly from the Diaspora). There is request for people with events management expertise to be hired to organise the festivals so that visitors can stay in the area for the whole week. There was also a request for the organisation of sports events. But then again it was claimed that there is lack of organisation, cooperation and knowledge.

Entertainment

Apart from the local festivals there is no any special local entertainment. As a matter of fact there is no place where someone can walk in and get local entertainment. There is also some occasional drumming and dancing but they do not advertise.

6. Supporting Factors

Infrastructure

The bad construction of the roads is perceived as an obstacle. There are also water shortages and electricity black out at times. However according to the deputy minister of tourism they are opening all the main road itineraries and provisions are taken for constant water and electricity supply. It is believed that the second part of the road that leads from Accra to Cape Coast will be completed within 18 months. There is also a common wish to build restaurants and tourism stopovers.

Enterprises

Some enterprises have been developed but not at a large scale; mainly hotels and guesthouses and some traditional food outlets that are called 'chop bars'. Internet cafes, communication centres, small businesses that sell bottled water and minerals were the direct effect of tourism. However, it is claimed that it raised the conscious of the ordinary man that he can do something, however tourism activity was gradually reduced because of lack of marketing.

The deputy minister of tourism also supports the argument by adding that 'a lot more would have been done but 'the local community is not linked up and that's why the government and the donor community is required to support them. We have written to WTO to help us with the STEP programme. Some people try but it is not massive. So education is needed'.

Facilitating Resources

The acquisition of visa is not perceived as such as an inhibiting factor; however the customs at the airport is very complex and delays the visitors. At times people have to queue for at least an hour. According to the deputy minister of Tourism 'visitors have to fill in a great deal of forms, which is not a great thing for a holidaymaker. We need to streamline our visa application as well as the way the visas are acquired. The landing card as well takes long time. People could fill up the forms at their home country and they can have a visa form at their passport with a barcode. So upon arrival in Ghana they can scan the barcode and that's it. We are talking to the minister of immigration and foreign affairs and we try to eliminate the bureaucracy'.

7. Destination policy, planning and development component

Policy structure and content

According to the tour operators and tourism consultant the policy structure and content should reflect local values and culture but this is not what happens at the moment. It does not address the local needs at all. It is influenced by other foreign cultures, which are alien to the Ghanaians.

The deputy minister of tourism stated that there is a conscious effort to develop community based tourism in Elmina because they don't want to destroy the local culture and the scenery they want to give to the tourist a local feel and involve the local community in the tourism activity.

Policy Formulation Process

The needs and priority of the local people are not taken into account as they should be; when it also comes to revenue sharing local people are sidelined. The prices of the traditional sector cocoa and gold have dropped and no longer fit the needs of the country so tourism is a sector that is pushed for development.

However, the deputy Minister again said that the needs and priorities of the poor are taken into account because they consult the local people and they know what they want. The only thing is that they don't benefit directly and therefore the government tries to improve infrastructure, i.e. roads, schools etc.

8. Destination Management Component

Human Resource Management

Tourism and hospitality training is not sufficient. The University and the Polytechnic are teaching tourism since 1996 but there is a general complain that the graduates do not have practical experience. Then there is a tour guides training and the HOTCATT association that has been established to train low-level staff for hotels.

Once in a while there is training in cooperation with the hoteliers and the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board. In the ITT (Institute of Transferable Technology) College they teach people in Batiks. The District Assembly occasionally organises lectures for professionals

Organisation

It is argued that the organisation of the destination is almost non-existent. Whatever is done is from the private sector because they have financial interests. They have to make adaptations to compete more appropriately. The weak points of the destination have to be considered and try to improve them or avoid them. However as a whole personnel even at the managerial level is consisted of Ghanaians.

Finance and ventures

There was some funding and training for people who were already involved in the tourism activity in 1991-2 by USAID to develop their skills further and open or increase their existed businesses, but since then nothing else was initiated.

Academicians

1. Appropriate tourism

According to the academicians 'appropriate' is tourism that is suited to the destination, and its economic set up; it is culturally 'friendly' and it takes into consideration the people of the destination, it does not cause environmental damage

2. Marketing strategy

There is no marketing strategy and whatever marketing is applied at the moment is not effective because no tourism research has been undertaken so far. They express doubt if the Cape Coast Castle and Elmina Castle are marketing themselves. At the moment the administration of the castles are at the hands of GMMB and all fees are collected by the central government and not a single percentage is going back to the local communities. So the government does not promote them sufficiently. There is need for the government to hand over the administration to the traditional authorities and for the communities to get a fair share so that there is a fair promotion as well.

Whatever promotion is at the moment it is left at the hands of the private sector. Marketing is very important for the promotion of Ghana. It is argued that 70% of budget allocated for tourism development should go on marketing the destination (that will include training and education) and 30% on product development. So far not much marketing has been done because of money constraints. However there is a view against much active marketing, and that the product should be developed first before they start market it

9. Cooperation/Alliances with other competing destination

There is governmental cooperation with Nigeria, Benin, Togo, in relation to the slave trade. Then in the private sector (mainly tour operators) with Nigeria, Benin, South Africa, Burkina Faso, Togo.

4. Qualifying and Amplifying Components

Safety and security

The safety and security measures are not sufficient. It is claimed that if a possible terrorist attack or a theft scenario was initiated the measures at place are not enough. For example in 'Kakum Park' if terrorists or armed robbers attack there are not measures to deal with the situation. As a whole Ghana is a safe and peaceful country but one cannot make assumptions based on that and not take any safety measures.

Sanitation is also perceived as a threat for both locals and tourists, and there is no conscious effort in this direction.

Carrying Capacity

The carrying capacity in the area is not taken into consideration and no research has been taken on the matter. Every year during PANAFEST there is shortage of accommodation.

Despite the fact that there are a few hotels in the area there are not overbooked because they are very expensive and people prefer to stay either at guest houses which have sprung up during the last years; however many of them are not even operating legally.

Cost /Value

All interviewees agreed that the hotel prices are expensive and that the average Ghanaian cannot afford to stay in hotels. However it is claimed the prices are even expensive for tourists themselves and if one wants to attract customers should not overcharge because that drives customers away. Nevertheless it is acknowledged that one has to take into consideration factors such as room occupancy, hotel expenses and the break-even point.

5. Core Resource Component

Culture history

There is realisation that the castles are unique element in their locales; however there is also the controversial view that the castles should not be exploited for touristy purposes at all no matter if that would give an alternative income to the local communities whereas other means such as agriculture should be exploited and promoted instead.

Market ties

Some of the interviewees stated that the largest market is the Ghanaians followed by Africans and then people from the Diaspora and then Europeans. Among Ghanaians the greatest proportion is the student market. Some others stated that the main market is Europeans especially Germans and that are mainly attributed to the huge influx of Ghanaian immigrants to Germany which has had as a result to increase the awareness of Germans about Ghana as a tourist destination.

Superstructure

It is acknowledged that there is not much of an indigenous flair in Ghana. Partly that is because not many hotels have been built to function as hotels most of them are private residents converted into hotels because their owners thought of them as a lucrative opportunity. Nevertheless it is suggested that most of the structures should be designed to conform to the environment; inside they should be comfortable and probably luxurious but outside should conform to the environment, reflect with the environment.

Special Events

Apart from the festivals at times the hotels host small conferences. It is acknowledged that it is very critical for a destination to hold special events because they compliment the main attraction and it assures repeat visits. That's why Cape Coast town cannot keep the visitors because there is nothing apart from the castles, there is not nightlife. Now that the road is going to get better it is going to be even worse because local people are going to be going to Accra more frequently.

Entertainment

The entertainment is very limited and that is not due to lack of demand but mainly due to lack of funds for providing entertainment for the tourists.

6. Supporting Factors and Resources Component

Infrastructure

There is common consensus that the infrastructure is poorly developed for any socio-economic benefits to be derived and a lot more needs to be done. Things are better in Cape Coast but in Elmina they do not even have telephone lines. In Cape Coast underground phone lines were installed as a result of the PANAFEST.

Enterprises

Enterprises have not developed to a large extent. Guesthouses have been developed but the supply is outstripping the demand. Businesses such as handicrafts or hairdressers have been developed but then again one can say that they developed to satisfy the local society's demand. For businesses to develop tourists have to stay in the area more if not they cannot sustain themselves.

Facilitating Resources

As a whole visa/immigration policy and customs systems is perceived as a hindrance and there is a contention that visa should not be acquired on the country of departure but on the spot. There is too much bureaucracy and the personnel is not as courteous as it should be so training and education is needed on that sector.

7. Destination policy, planning and development component

Policy structure and content

It is commonly agreed that the current policy does not reflect local values and culture because the 'ordinary' people are not directly involved when it is composed. The concept heritage is not understood.

The 15-year tourism master plan is very well designed, and at the heart of that document are the local people. However it is not implemented. It is claimed that accessibility i.e. bad roads is the

major obstacle. The subsequent policies are not based on what the people want. It is argued that there are only some small policies about the rural areas and rural development plan that are very sound but they are only implemented when a 'Peace Corps' person i.e. a volunteer gets involved. As for the current government it is claimed that things are a bit ad hoc.

It is also argued that the government wants private participation but it is not easy to acquire land because of the chieftaincy system 'stool land' or 'skin land' is not supposed to be sold. One can lease it but the chief has to discuss this with the elders. The whole process is time consuming and that discourages many investors. There is a lot of suspicion and scepticism about the use of land. There was an official complaint to the government that a lot of land has been taken. However one should educate the chiefs if one wants to develop.

Policy formulation Process

Tourism is an additional income but it does not address peoples' needs. However it is regarded just as a window dressing, since there are not signs of any conscious effort and education, and concrete plans.

In Ghana it was proposed by Dei (1996) a model of consensus concerning the external development of community property which is based on the rational that internal arrangements work successfully when the community property is defended by outsiders. According to the plan there are three types of land, the land that belongs to nobody, the land that belongs to the public and that that belongs to the community. The community and public land will be defended by the people. So if one wants to take over the land that belongs to the community then one has to take into consideration the people that live in that area. Land that has been bought for erection of hotels took no consideration of the local peoples' needs. They use the land to make money and not to bridge the social ladder. Most of the problems that we have at the moment are because of the distribution of wealth. However people do not utilise the resources that they have and then they turn against those who use the resources. Then they say there is a gap between rich and poor which is not fair. Usually people destroy for example properties out of anger. Education is very important and people do that because of lack of education.

8. Destination Management Component

Human Resources Management

The tourism and hospitality training is not sufficient, and there is fragmentation. There is need for synchronisation. Apart from the University and Polytechnic in the area there is nothing else for training. The University of Cape Coast is trying to establish a new school of tourism and

hospitality management to train people for the industry because there is a common consent that they lack expertise. At the same time there is an effort to upgrade the polytechnic.

The university is catering for the future. However it is claimed that the GMMB, is inhibiting tourism development because of their colonial mentality to preserve but they do not think about tourism. They do not look ahead.

Organisation

There is not a coordinated effort. Very little is well organised and managed. Everyone is doing what one thinks is appropriate for one to do. As for the adaptation it is claimed that there is need to start from scratch and do whatever adaptations are needed. However it is perceived that this is one problem with Africa. Probably in the West certain things have been abandoned 50 years ago but in Ghana they do not seem to realise that. People try to copy but they do not realise that in the west the culture and the system is different.

It is claimed that the 'Central Region Development Commission' (CEDECOM) is considered to have done a good job before so it should take over again. However there is no funding available for a more coordinated effort. The positive thing is that in Ghana most of the personnel employed is local and there is an increased tendency most of the managers to be local as well.

Finance and ventures

There is a belief that the ministry has set aside a fund for the training of hospitality people. However as a whole there are no funds currently available for training.

Key Informants

1. Appropriate Tourism

According to the key informants 'appropriate' is tourism that is responsible towards the indigenous people. It respects their culture, their environment, their integrity and land of the people. It brings profits to community without destroying their values, while visitors themselves are content and satisfied. Appropriate tourism is depicted on the commitment on behalf of the local people to maintain their own integrity and set the standards for others. In a way it is tourism that both visitors and hosts are comfortable with.

However a number of people expressed the view that there is no appropriate tourism because there are always external and elitist interests that have to be served to the detriment of local communities and the environment.

2. Marketing strategy

There is not sufficient marketing strategy currently. There is a common consent that all stakeholders like the government, CEDECOM, should come together and form a common strategy. However marketing is not taken seriously and only private companies i.e. tour operators, hotels promote themselves; the government claims that there are not sufficient funds for marketing. Many interviewees said that apart from the hotels that promote themselves they do not think there is any other marketing strategy.

The Secretary of PANAFEST said that on papers again there is a marketing strategy however it is not implemented. Lack of cohesiveness between stakeholders is probably the reason for non-implementation of the strategy. Currently there are workshops where stakeholders and experts come together and share ideas and talk about the difficulties occurred, but no final reports are issued. 'There is no synchronisation and at times people do not know what to do because it is not clear to people of what tourism is and what it can do to them and for them. We try to promote tourism outside the country in fairs, but there is need to develop a website and produce brochures'.

10. Cooperation/Alliances with other competing destinations

There is an effort to launch a West African, interregional tourism cooperation initiative. They are trying to establish linkages with Senegal, Benin, Togo, and the Gambia in connection to the slave trade. Ghana is the head of this initiative.

The government has also signed a protocol with Egypt and Morocco last year to cooperate in tourism. There is also a 'tourism capacity development initiative', which was formulated by tour

operators.

4. Qualifying and Amplifying Components

Safety/Security

Safety and Security is not regarded to be enough. Because Ghana is a peaceful country, and there were not reported many attacking assaults there is a presumption that not much security is needed. The infrastructure is poor and that is not safe for tourists as well; the security in hotels is not strict and sufficient either. The police are not sufficient and well equipped and there is corruption. Tourist police is suggested to be introduced and policemen should be paid more so that corruption is eradicated.

Another issue that was pointed out concerning safety was the 'hustlers' a group of young people outside the castles who are hustling the tourists for money. Some interviewees have also mentioned the increase in incidents of theft in cameras; pocket books, mobile phones as a result of that it was argued that the reputation of the place is damaged and the tourism potentials are halted.

The open sewers that were constructed 75 years ago and they still remain open are a threat in the destination for sanitation reasons. There is not road safety either, there is not monitoring on speed levels.

Carrying capacity

On paper again it is argued that there is consideration for the carrying capacity but not in practice. According to the interviewees everyone can bring as many tourists as one wish and there is no control over that. However the key informants stress the need for the issue to be addressed because at the moment in the area they have a capacity of a little bit over 1000. During the PANAFEST period there is panic when they are told that they anticipate over 3000 people

because they do not know where to house them. The private sector is waiting for the government to do more and to encourage them to invest their money. As for the overcapacity of tourists to the extent that damage the environment there is not such a thing because the number of tourists is not big enough.

Cost/value

The hotel prices are considered to be unrealistic and expensive and that could be a hindrance to tourism development according to key informants. The local people cannot afford to stay in them. Bearing in mind that a good proportion of tourists are backpackers the need is stressed for lower prices so that they are able to afford them.

A justification again for the high prices is the high electricity bills, water bills, staff salaries, maintenance and taxes. So there is a dilemma on how to reduce prices and still meet the responsibilities and remain competitive with high prices. It was also stated that the hotel owners take advantage of the limited number of hotels, the lack of choice, which makes visitors to pay any price for some comfort. There was a general concern about the fact that the prices are also quoted in dollars and not in the local currency.

5. Core Resource component

Culture history

There is realisation that what attracts people to the area are mainly the castles and for the repeat visitors the festivals as well.

Market Ties

The majority of tourists according to key informants are Ghanaians, and mainly school children, African Americans or from the Diaspora, Europeans i.e. Dutch, Germans, British, Africans mainly from South Africa, and Japanese and Chinese who come in groups.

Superstructure

The superstructure is influenced by foreign design and architecture. People have the misconception that if they develop according to African architecture they will be patronised. However it has been said that Ghanaians have not developed this kind of architecture yet. There are still colonial elements into their culture that unwittingly make them look upon the foreign architecture and consider anything foreign to be superior to theirs. However it is argued that mainly this is because people are ignorant and they need to be educated in order to start valuing more their own culture.

Special Events

There are many festivals and especially the internationally acclaimed festival PANAFEST. There is enormous potential because of the festivals however the major hindrance is lack of promotion.

Entertainment

There is drumming and dancing but it is not organised. They mostly perform in hotels, funerals and festivals. There are many local talents but there is no funding so there is no motive for people to pursue it further. There are traditional choir groups who perform at times to tourists but they mostly perform in local events. The need for entertainment is stressed to keep visitors in the area.

6. Supporting Factors and Resources Component

Infrastructure

Improvements need to be done in accordance to health, sanitation, communications, and roads. However there is progress in regards to the opening of the main road itineraries, water supply, electricity and communications. There is expression of discontent as regards to the governmental priorities.

Enterprises

It has started as a result of the USAID programme but it died out due to lack of funding, promotion and marketing. There is hope that the 'Elmina Cultural Heritage and Management Programme' initiated by the EU and the Dutch government will lead to more jobs' creation. More business will open such as eating places, souvenir shops, batik tie and dye, entertainment etc.

Facilitating Resources

The majority of the key informant expressed the view that the facilitating resources are perceived as a hindrance mainly due to bureaucracy. In regards to visa and exports, there is concern that it has to be made sure that the pricing is right for both parties.

7. Destination policy, planning and development component

Policy structure and content

The policy structure and content does not reflect the local views and this is mainly attributed to insufficient collaboration between policy makers and local people. Therefore it is stated that education is needed to bring the local flavour into the industry. Foreign culture it is argued that dominates the subconscious of people, and there is too much preoccupation in satisfying the foreign market and not the local domestic market. The district assemblies, it is said that they are empowered to make some change but so far they have done much.

Policy formulation process

The local needs are not a priority but it should be because everything is happening around them. Tourism is an additional income and it can address people's needs. However the concept is growing and efforts are made to ensure that the local people's needs are met. The hindrance that is perceived here is based on lack of collaboration and on the fact that the potentials of tourism development have not still been realised. Decisions are taken at a national level therefore district assemblies should be more active i.e. training and education of people in regards to tourism

8. Destination Management Component

Human Resources Management

There is acknowledgement for lack of expertise. Occasionally there is training organised by hoteliers and the GMMB. In the ITT (Institute of Transferable Technology) college they teach people in Batiks. The district Assembly once in a while organises lectures for professionals. CEDECOM, UCC, Maryland University selected Coconut Beach Hotel and Elmina Beach Resort for hospitality (University and Polytechnic) students' training In the hospitality and catering association (HOTCATT), there is also training for hospitality staff.

Organisation

The Organisation is not sufficient and there is need for more education to the people. The GMMB is supposed to be responsible for the management and organisation but they are claiming insufficient funding makes it impossible for them to do so. In the past USAID has done that but now there is nothing.

GTB is mainly inspecting hotels to check the expected standards. More training is needed in relation to customer service, best practices need to be developed and adopted.

Finance and Ventures

There is no funding available currently by any source. In the past the USAID was a source of funding for those who wanted to get involved in the tourism activity or were already involved. However in Elmina as part of the 'Elmina Cultural Heritage Management Programme' they train local people in handicrafts, batik tie and die, and hairdressing.

[1]http://www.world-tourism.org/liberalization/poverty_alleviation.htm

[2]<http://www.dantei.org/wto.forum/background-papers.html>

[3] <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>

[4] www.propoortourism.org

[5] Nana is an honorary title given to chiefs and paramount chiefs

[6] The same as footnote 5

Number
of Tourists

Involvement

Exploration

Time

Development?

1950

1960

1970

1957
Independence

1966+
Political Instability

1980

1990

1985
Renewed
government
interest in tourism

2000

1993
Ministerial
Status

2001
Change of
government